GUIDE TO THE SC13 GOAJIRO FILE

[The SC13 Goajiro file consists of ten sources, two of which are translations from the Spanish. Mos of the sources in this file emphasize the Colombian, rather than the Venezuelan, Goajiro. The main sources are the two translations, both written by Colombian ethnologists. 1: Gutierrez de Pineda is a long study of Goajiro social organization, including a description of the life cycle. 2: Pineda Giraldo is a study of Goajiro magical practices and their relation to other aspects of the society. 3: Wilbert is a short source summarizing the kinship and social organization. 4: Petrullo analyzes the ways of composing torts in Goajiro society. 5: Simons is an account of a geographical exploration of the Goajiro Peninsula during the nineteenth century. 6: Santa Cruz is a brief analysis of the workings of the avunculate. 7: Bolinder is an account of a trip by a Swedish traveler, which touches on many aspects of Goajiro culture. 8: Armstrong and Métraux is a secondary summary of the culture. 9: Santa Cruz describes the means of acquiring status in Goajiro society. 10: Gusinde discusses totemistic property marks.

This is a fairly good file for the purposes of cross-cultural research. Social organization and subsistence patterns are emphasized in the materials presented, while human biology, individual psychology, language and the ethnosciences are slighted.

No special marking decisions were made for this file, which was processed between 1961 and 1966.]

[44 cont.]
764 him on his journey and which remain his only possessions, since
784 the rest will be distributed among his heirs — take on the quality
778 of untouchables.

782 2. The poisoned arrow. The second sacrifice about which
789 we gathered information has a greater importance than the previous one for two reasons: first, because it is the sacrifice of a human being, and second, because it is linked to a series of ceremonies set in motion to obtain a certain end, the deadly power of the imára, or poisoned arrow, or better said, the magic arrow.

This sacrifice, so far as we could observe, is no longer
101 practiced in La Guajira. According to the information
105 gathered, it was practiced exclusively by the Kusina Indians,
184 inhabitants of the sierra of that name. They were bellicose
782 Indians, warriors, robbers, and animal stealers, who kept the other communities of the peninsula in an incessant state of tension by their attacks and evil-doings. We think it interesting to point out here that these Indians, commonly known as Cocina, according to all the information obtained did not constitute in themselves a separate cultural group. Their language was the same as that of the other Guajiro; their customs were relatively the same, and their physical type identical. Everything seems to indicate that they were no more than social outcasts, all those who, for crimes committed and not paid for in accordance with established laws, had found it necessary to unite themselves into societies outside the law. The question is not entirely clear, and it will be difficult to make it so because Kusina Indians are no longer found in La Guajira.

411 Bows and arrows stood out among the arms used by the Guajiro, (We say "stood" out because now they chiefly use rifles of foreign make). One of these arrows, which they call poisoned, bears the name of imára. The shaft of this arrow is made of a thin piece of wood taken from the tree called parára and measures approximately 80 centimeters in length. At the upper end of this sharpened shaft is placed poison of a ray
411 or the bone of a poisonous serpent. This imára is what the Kusina
668 Indians used as a last resort in their battles with Whites or with
921

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
SC13 Goajiro SC13

PRIMITIVE MAN
Quarterly Bulletin
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ASPECTS OF THE AVUNCULATE IN THE GUAJIRO CULTURE

ANTONIO SANTA CRUZ
Catholic University of America

THE Guajira peninsula is situated in the northwest corner of Colombia, South America, roughly between the 71° and 73° W. long., and 11° and 12° N. lat. It is rather flat in contour with only some hill ranges in the eastern part. Rainfall is scarce and the vegetation is of a semi-arid type. The region is inhabited by one tribe of Indians, the Arawak-speaking Guajiro. Both culturally and linguistically the Guajira peninsula presents a uniform block.

The present writer visited the territory in the summer of 1940, but due to illness contracted there was forced to cut short his visit. Fairly full data were gathered on all phases of social culture. The present paper deals with certain aspects of one phase only, the avunculate.

The rôle of the maternal uncle is manifold in Guajiro culture, organized as the Guajiro are into maternal sibs. Types of behavior, both prescribed and unformalized, vary, depending on the seniority of both uncle and nephew, but not on that of niece. In this paper we shall be concerned for the most part with the prescribed and voluntary relations between the oldest brother of a given woman and her eldest son, and between this oldest brother and his sisters' daughters. Other relations not involving these specified kin will be touched upon only incidentally for illustrative purposes.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

Foreword

THIS book will take the reader to a peculiar corner of South America, the Guajira peninsula, the shores of which are washed by the warm Caribbean. It has a different climate and nature to those of other, adjacent, parts of the continent. Its inhabitants are Indians who differ largely from most of their fellows in our day, for they are warlike, proud and independent. They are the only people of mounted nomads among the natives of America and they are led by powerful chiefs. They have longest maintained their independence and their remarkable customs. They have been left in peace largely because their country is arid and unattractive, but also because they are not to be trifled with.

I have made three journeys among them. The first, in 1920, was the most exciting and fruitful. Three of us went, my wife, our photographer, Ottar Gladtvet, and I, and we remember it as though it were yesterday. It is that journey which provided the bulk of my material. I supplemented my observations of Indian life by a further short visit that my wife and I made to the peninsula in the 'thirties and by the results of some native researchers.

In 1955 I returned to Guajira, wanting to see how it was after the crisis caused by the recurrent droughts of the last decade. Almost all the cattle were said to have been killed and half the population to have perished or emigrated. When I got there, however, conditions had improved. Much was just as it always had been, and there is every indication that this fine and worth-while Indian people will overcome its difficulties and retain its individuality in many respects.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

551 told that among my own people I was a sort of medicine-man and chief combined.

Nowadays most of the Indians in Guajira acquire three first names: a Spanish one that the white men give them, a nickname, and their true, Indian name, which is secret except to members of their immediate family. When a girl is born, her father names her after her mother or some near female relative, but for everyday use she has a pet name [553] which is only dropped when she reaches marriageable age. She then acquires a new name, which she keeps for the rest of her life.

563 The Creoles called those in the border areas who were not Indians '*gente*', or just 'people'. They could scarcely be 101 called white, for many were as good as pure black, being the descendants of former slaves. When they told us in Rio Hacha that there were not any 'people' living in this or that village, they meant that there were none but Indians there. Those who were not Indians, that is those who wore trousers, also called themselves '*civilisados*', while the Indians called them arijuna.

115 We called our two old Indians Gaffer and Gammer, and the youngest 'The Lad'. We liked The Lad especially. He was 124 strong, merry and did the work of two. The fourth, who, strangely enough, had a crew cut and was supposed to be our interpreter, we called 'Bristles', and he learned to answer to that. He knew a little Spanish, but as an interpreter he was no use. When the Gaffer had been talking to us for a long time and we asked Bristles what he had said, the answer always was: 'Nothing'. Perhaps that was what the other's talk amounted to, but we should have preferred to have judged that for ourselves. We noticed, too, that if we had to scold the Gaffer, Bristles did not dare repeat what we said. With gestures and the few Guajiro words we knew we could make Gaffer realize that we were annoyed with him, but not always why.

291 The men wore nothing but the usual piece of cloth and 386 belt, the *nárete*, or, in Spanish, guayuco, which really means crupper, and sandals to protect their feet from the cactus spikes lying on the ground, but the Gammer was enveloped

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

THE GOAJIRO

By John M. Armstrong and Alfred Métraux

THE REGION

The Goajira Peninsula, projecting as part of Colombia northward into the Caribbean Sea, contains an area of about 5,000 square miles, bordered on the east by the Gulf of Venezuela. The broad level plain known as Lower Goajira occupies the base of the peninsula, while the northern extremity is known as Upper Goajira and is characterized by three distinct ranges of hills. These hills have a maximum height of 2,600 feet (about 780 m.) and are separated from each other by two broad plains which run from sea to sea. The country is dry and infertile, the vegetation consisting of divi-divi, cactus, pricklypear, and other xerophitic plants. Even these are absent where bare rock and stone slides preclude vegetation. Rivers are almost nonexistent, the country being cut in all directions by shallow, dry, sandy water courses which drain off rain as it falls. In the south and west, on the treeless prairies or savannas, the land is more hospitable. Here the Indians do most of their stock raising. [131] 133 [137] [231]

LOCATION AND HISTORY

The pastoral *Goajiro* who inhabit this peninsula (map 6) differ profoundly from the agricultural forest-dwelling *Motilones* and *Arhuaco* to the south. Juan de Castellanos, in his "Elegías de los Varones Ilustres" (1874), is the first to allude to these Indians, though he calls them *Cosina*. He states that in his time, about 1550, cattle were already abundant in the area. It seems that the adoption of pastoral life by the *Goajiro* took place soon after the Spanish settlement of that part of the continent. The name *Goajiro* was, however, already known in the 16th century and was applied first by Pedro Simón (1882–92). The first reliable ethnographic information about the *Goajiro* goes back to José Nicolás de la Rosa (Nicholás, 1901) and Antonio Julián, who both visited these Indians in the 18th century. Jahn (1927, pp. 119–136) has gathered the few data concerning the *Goajiro* which he found in the early literature. A short summary of the first description of these Indians is given by Hernández de Alba (1936, pp. 8–12). 101 ● 231 171 114

9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
SC13 Goajiro SC13

ACQUIRING STATUS IN GUAJIRO SOCIETY

ANTONIO SANTA CRUZ
Havana, Cuba

114 The present paper is based upon field research carried out
121 during a 26-day trip in the months of August and September 1958.[1] The writer had previously visited the Colombia part of the Guajira Peninsula in 1940 as a graduate student of anthropology.

131 The Guajira Peninsula occupies the north-central part of South America and lies between the countries of Colombia and Venezuela. Roughly speaking, about three-fourths of the peninsula belong to Colombia, while only one-fourth is within the
[101] boundaries of Venezuela. Ecologically and ethnographically, however, the peninsula is an unbroken block, occupied mainly by the Arawak-speaking Guajiro Indians. There are no attempts on the part of either Government to hold the Indians within the national territory and as, the frontier is practically unwatched, the natives go back and forth across the boundary much as they please.

121 The primary aim of the 1958 field trip was to find, if possible, a proper locale in which to establish, for the first time in Venezuela, a Pilot Center of Fundamental Education following the patterns—with the necessary modifications for local adaptation—already in practice in countries such as India, Mexico, Peru, etc. The Comisión Indigenista, a branch of the Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Venezuela, of which the present writer was a member of its technical staff at the time of the field trip, has, at present, elaborate and extensive plans to develop Fundamental Education in Venezuela, thanks to the untiring efforts of its Technical Advisor, Dr. Walter Dupouy. The aim is to bring, ultimately, all of the 100,000 indigenous inhabitants of the country into its national life.

Although major attention was given to the primary aim of the field trip, some time was left for pure research. This was aided by the fact that the present writer was in constant company of

[1] Although no direct quotations have been made from the literature, earlier works have been consulted for both historical and present-day ethnographical data.

/531/

Contents:

1. Earlier Reports

2. Most Recent Reports

3. Concluding Remarks

[12] [114] [131] In the middle of 1964 I set out from Caracas via Maracaibo to make anthropological observations in the settlement area of the Yupa Indians (1). In the narrow stretch of Venezuelan

[113] 1. M. Gusinde, "The Yupa Indians in Western Venezuela," Proceed. Americ. Philos. Soc., 100, 1956, pp. 197-222.

territory along the western shore of the Gulf of Maracaibo /Gulf of Venezuela/ I occasionally saw representatives of the Guajiro /Goajiro/ people (2) of every age and both sexes. It

[101] 2. The spelling Guajiro is preferred to Goajiro. Cf. "Etimología de la palabra 'Guajira /Etymology of the word Guajiro'/" in Vegamian, pp. 11-33.

was my wish to see personally the astonishingly favorable adaptation of these Indians to their unusually dry and vegetation-poor surroundings, in order to compare their ecological conditions with those of the Bushmen in the Kalahari of South [114] Africa (3). Already from Bogotá on, Professor Adolf Staffe of

105 /532 cont./
175 highest), Casta de Paguil, Casta de Guacharaca, Casta de
614 Mono, Casta de Machin, Casta de Gallinazo (this is the poorest)" /cited in English/ (ibid.). Explanatory additions are lacking. In the light of later successful inquiries, however, these few statements are given their full meaning.

Not until 1870 did A. Ernst publish an extended list of these totem groups (p. 329). He enumerated twelve of them and called them "tribes /Stämme/," which "have definite dwelling sites." He correctly separated from them the so-
101 called Cocinas, which "perhaps are a different tribe than the
175 rest of the populace and a vagabond gang of robbers that makes
571 all paths unsafe" (6).

6. Father Álvarez had already referred to them as "more barbarous than any of the Guagiros, and consequently less tractable and more dangerous, horrible and proud" /cited in English/ (p. 635). In the same sense Stutzer (p. 136) describes them as "dregs of all castes. They murder in order to rob. It is regarded as dangerous to pass through their area alone or in small groups..." They do not merit further mention.

175 A few years later the British engineer, F. Simons,
614 traveled through Guajira. He related in his excellent report to the Royal Geographical Society (1885): "The Guajiros are subdivided into many families or castes, bearing much analogy to the ancient clans of Scotland. Each caste or rather family circle is united against all comers... Besides the name, each caste or family represents some animal, and many of the minor castes, over and above /533/ /a table appears here/ /534/ their

[text continues on p. 6]

/538 cont./

614 had been insulted or harmed by them. Thus, the leader of
212 the black vultures /Coragyps atratus foetens/ had eaten a
773 head of cattle of the Epiayú, and he therefore remained the
825 symbol for this group. The caricari /Brazilian falcon/ de-
422 voured an animal of the Ipuana group. The Uriana people now have as their totem-animal the jaguar (Felis onca). The Sapuana group claims for itself the alcaraván /stone curlew/ (Burhinus bistriatus vocifer), the Jayariyú people the dog, the Apshana the kite, the Sijuana the wasp, the Urariyú the rattlesnake (Crotalus terrificius), the Jitnú people the fox (Canis azarae), the Soriyú people the cataneja (macaw, Ara), the Pausayú the black wasp, the Uyarayú the deer (Cervus alaphus), etc.

614 /539/ V. Gutiérrez (p. 170) then presents another myth.
773 This describes how the individual totem-clans were assigned their names and definite districts of residence after a fateful, tragic scene of disobedience of the creatures against their creator took place. This report, too, emphatically brings out the fact that Mareiwa personally, by his will and authority, introduced a totemistic way of life for the first living beings in Guajira. The myth has the dramatic conclusion: "For the last time Mareiwa spoke with them [the totem groups] in order to take his leave. He therefore addressed them: It was my will that you should live here! I am leaving now; I shall be watching you from heaven."

614 The individual totem-districts with the thirty-four clan
● 101 names are noted on the map (14).[1] The appropriate clan-

193 14. The spelling and pronunciation
194 of the clan designations favored here
614 by and large resemble the Spanish sounds. Young Indians today feel a marked uncertainty in using the correct Spanish names for individual totem-animals; even in the pronunciation of the Guajiro designations

[1] [see p.9.—Analyst]

/539 cont./

193 194 614 [128] a foreign observer encounters slight variations — as has just been mentioned. For this reason, in the table (p. 5) I put in the names corresponding with precisely the sounds that I heard most frequently; I have taken the map (p. 9) unchanged from the original.

614 marks are found in the table. Every Guajiro knows them. 101 As an established tradition, every generation has taken over the details from the others, either as clan property or as a 178 duty. But as a result of so many hostile encounters of the 101 clans with one another — the Guajiro even in early times 578 made themselves known as very quarrelsome — the boundaries 614 of the individual clan-districts have shifted. Some clans have actually disappeared, either because their members were entirely destroyed or because individuals from them were incorporated into other clans. Therefore, the number and boundaries of the individual clan-districts were and are subject to insignificant fluctuations. I was unable to ascertain when the map provided — taken from a Colombian authority — was drawn; it appears to have come out around 1935. It is also found in V. Gutiérrez (p. xvi).

3. Concluding Remarks

614 Spanish writers have reported on "castas" in Guajira from the early colonial period; the designation corresponds to actual totemistic clans. Recently it could be demonstrated that some thirty of them have existed since antiquity. The members of any one clan were entitled by common law to move freely over the whole peninsula without being hindered [123] by the boundaries. When Petrullo (p. 155) states unmistakably,

1.Gutierrez de Pineda ... E-5 (1947) 1950 SC13 Guajiro SC13

Commmmary of La Guajira

This map was made using that of Major Alberto Lara Santos in the Diccionario Geográfico de la Guajira /Geographical Dictionary of La Guajira/

[pacing p. ii]

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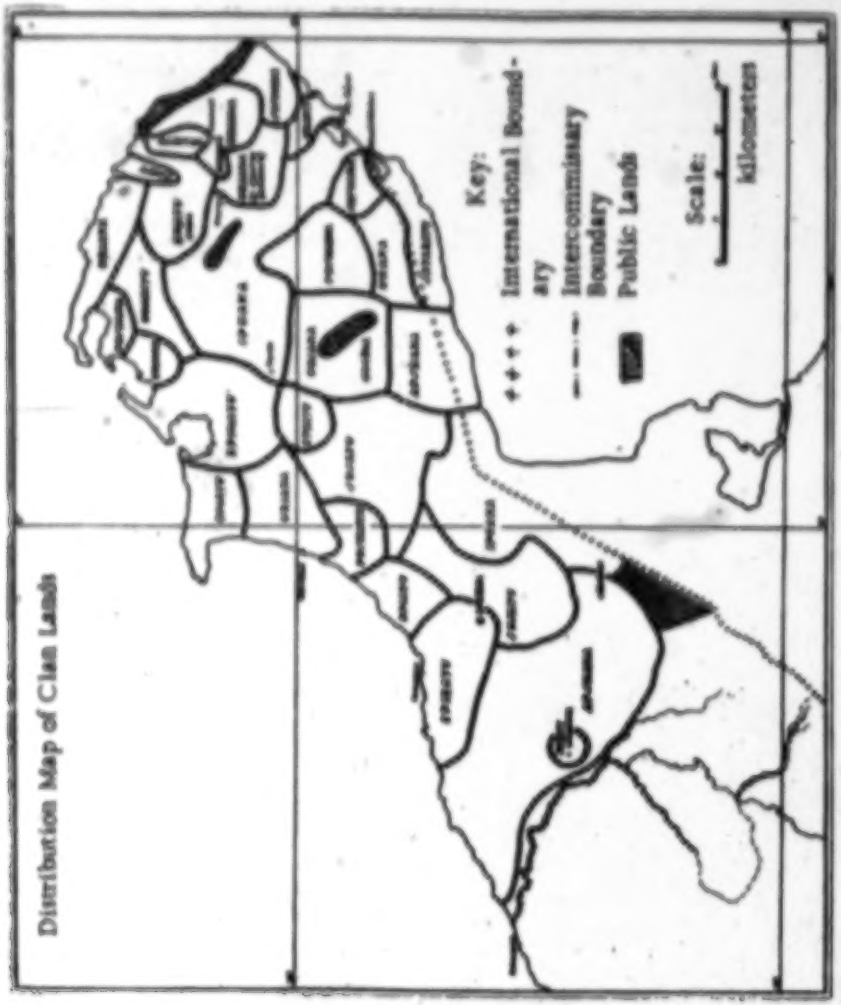

[pacing p. iii]

St Simons X-3 (ca. 1832) 1835
SC13 Guajira SC13

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[1.940-A]

In Simmons K-5 (ex. 1882) 1885
SC13 Guajira SC13

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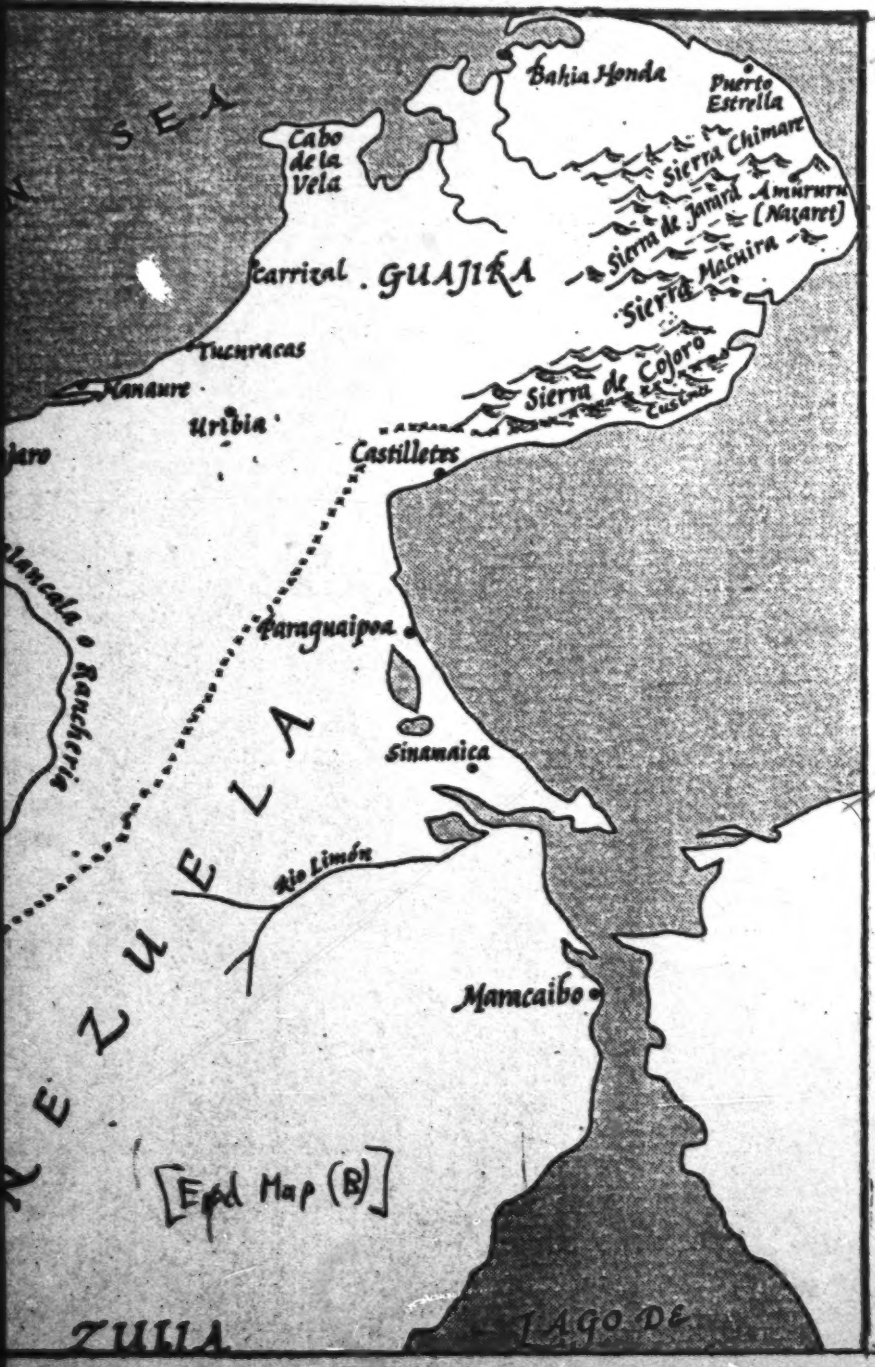
[P. 940-D]

ATLANTIC OCEAN
BRASIL
[Fold Map (A)]
MAGDALENA
SCALE

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13



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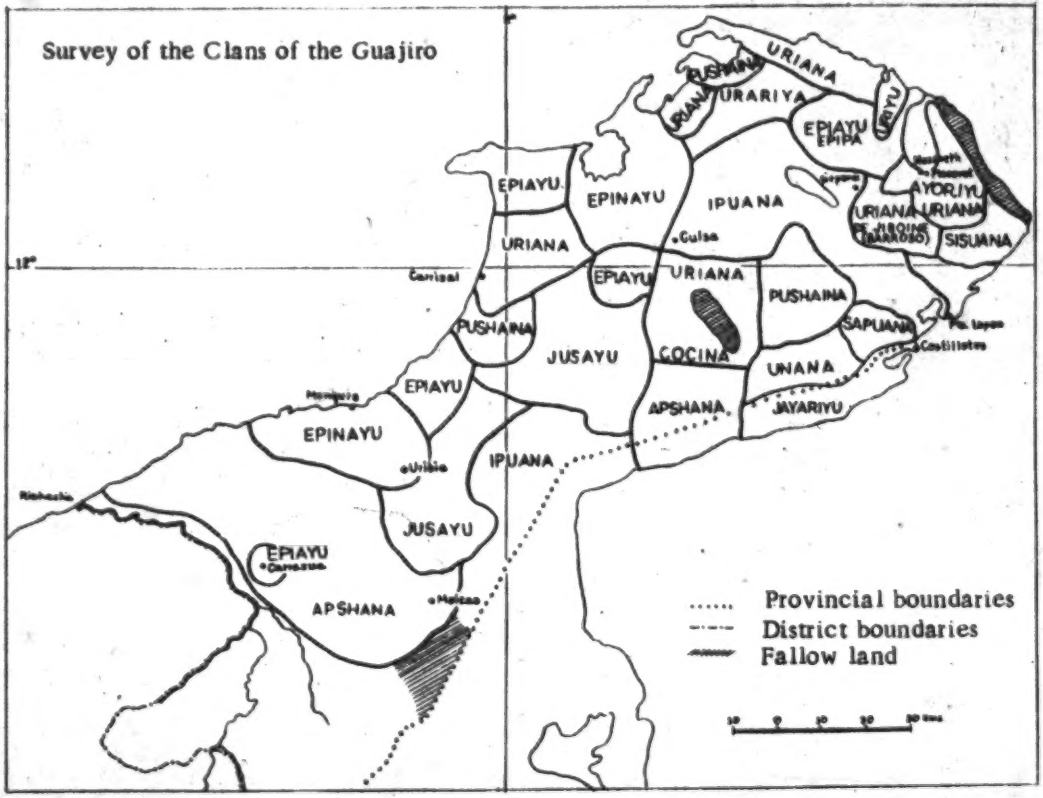

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

133 on a clear day can be seen from any point in it. On the west side a small hill attached spoils its beauty, seen from seawards, otherwise it is perfectly symmetrical in form. The Indians call it Jopitz. It lies [103] in the Cocina district, and is the most dangerous portion of the Goajira. To visit it, I had to persuade Martin, one of the great chiefs, to ac- [115] company me with his three sons, uncles, nephews, &c. We started at daybreak, rode all day, and arrived in time to see the sunset from the [123] top. We only saw three Indians the whole day, yet Martin assured me that all our movements were watched, and pointed out to me two probable places where an ambuscade would be planned for our return. We returned by a different road, getting back at 4 A.M. tired, hungry, and thirsty. I found the height to be 1200 feet above sea-level, or 900 feet above the plain. The rock is composed chiefly of trachyte with large crystals of felspar, similar to those of the Drachenfels on the Rhine. As also belonging to this group may be considered the two isolated hills rising in front of Cardon de las Remedios and Carrisal, close to the north spur of the Cojoro range, called Jallare. They are both insignificant and do not exceed 400 feet in height. The Cerros de Carpintero, a small group of hills behind the Cabo de la Vela, are of more importance, they are about 700 feet above sea-level. From Cabo de la Vela to Puerto Estrella, between the hills and the sea, are innumerable cliffs and banks rising to 200 feet, usually with very abrupt edges, and covered with rolled stones.

Rivers properly speaking there are none in the Goajira. The country is cut up in all directions by shallow, dry, sandy beds of water-courses, that during the rainy season carry off the water as fast as it falls. Not even the Macuira Hills are able to send a flowing stream to the sea during the summer, which here lasts at least eight months. It [552] will have been remarked that the Indians have no collective name for their mountains, each little projecting point rejoicing in its own name. With their rivers it is still worse, for not only every water-hole adds a new title to a river—and these are innumerable, the custom being to dig for water in the sand of the watercourses, and as these wells dry up others are dug farther up stream—but every path that crosses the watercourse has its name. Even any prominent rock or large tree is enough to add to the interminable list of river nomenclature. On the plains below the Tota the drainage is effected by numerous small streams winding about in a most bewildering manner, and although perfectly dry, they usually have pools of muddy water at the bends. As the plain is little above sea-level, the water has cut deep zigzag channels, very different from the shallow sandy beds of the hills. The water remaining dammed up, instead of gravitating to the sea, causes the great fertility of the plains.

312 The principal source of water for the Indians are wells. These are of two kinds; first, the most common, by digging, usually in the dry

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

579 been completely tamed by the Venezuelans. He, with of course his
648 followers, have found honesty the best policy after all, and are now reformed and peaceful members of society, returned to breeding and agriculture. This shows what can be done with firmness combined with a little judicious tact and management.

The Indians build no elaborate dwelling-houses. Their best ranchos
342 are simple, and constructed in a short time. The roof is covered with the split woody core of a tall euphorbia. This makes a good cool roof, impermeable to water and easily removed when the family flits. The rancho is seldom used for sleeping purposes; for this numerous poles
[513] (*tekepsi*) are firmly fixed all over the place for swinging hammocks, often three and four to one pole, and crossing each other. Sometimes two and three sleep in a hammock. Further off other poles (*palúmaler*)
[417] are found, to tie animals up at, and a small corral or sheep-pen for the goats and sheep is also indispensable in every well-regulated family. The site of a rancho is always carefully chosen, much strategy being
361 displayed in locating the whole, so that each rancho covers the other
621 without itself being seen. Although villages are never attempted, yet a family rarely lives isolated. Everybody bolsters himself with that bugbear of Goajira society, his relations. Their ranchos are always within gunshot distance, so as mutually to defend each other. One is
[712] invariably on high ground to dominate the country, the rest are hidden away in nooks and corners where least expected. If one rancho is seen, others are close at hand. In case of attack, this system prevents a whole family being exterminated. One or two ranchos may be taken, but the rest escape or fly to the rescue, as the case may be. At all events the
[552] avenger, so dear to the Indian, survives. Each rancho has a distinct name. Besides, every Indian who is anybody has several ranchos
[423] spread over the country. To collect the names of the ranchos would be paramount to taking a census of the territory. The following are
● 103 well-known ranchos, with usually some half-caste from Riohacha
443 trading with the Indians. In the Macuira range, six miles from Punta
592 Espada, is Guarerpá, at the foot of Ara-ura; chief, Caijuna, a Jirnu. Westwards, close to the sea-shore, Chómunao; chief, José Agustin, a
621 Jallarié, a half-caste speaking good Spanish. At the foot of Itujoro, Magualpá, situated on a slight eminence eight miles from the sea, and is an important trading station. Paralioro, native name of Puerto Estrella, boasts twelve houses and three iron warehouses, with always two or three Riohacheros resident there. The chief, Pedro Quinto, is Epieyu, but his sister Mauricia is the virtual ruler. Inland, 16 miles from Bahia Honda or Tarea is Merunay, another large trading station, usually with two or three Riohacheros established there. The eight ranchos are well located on a plain between Macuira and Parashi. The chief, Saipa, is Epieyu. This is one of the most central stations in the Goajira, and is surrounded by several important places; it is probably

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

the site of the old Spanish settlement San Juan de Ipapa. On the west side of the Parashi Hills in the plains is another well-known central trading station Joroy; chief, Majutó, an Ipuana; probably near the old site of the Spanish settlement Moscote. In the neighbourhood are: Guarirpanturi; chief, Concón, an Ipuana. A Dutchman from Aruba has lived here many years, and has become quite an Indian. Aipiapá, a few ranchos on an eminence commanding the whole valley. The Indians here are rather mixed, but the chief is a Pushaina. The well Kapaulers, at the base of the hill, is the finest I saw, and surrounded with rich green vegetation similar to that of Macuira. Katunasió, the most inland station. It is generally the traders that make a rancho known, for the Indians do everything they can to keep their abodes, if not secret, at any rate as much in the dark as possible. The plains being more unsettled than the mountain district, traders do not venture to establish themselves in the interior, as at Morunay or Joroy, so few ranchos are known. The most important place in the Lower Goajira is Guincua, midway between Riohacha and the Venezuelan town of Las Guardias or Santa Teresa. Paraguaipoa, the new Venezuelan military colony, founded in 1882, counts already 50 houses. It is situated in the plains 12 miles in advance of Santa Teresa, which it completely covers. The garrison at present consists of 30 men, well mounted and found in every respect, under the orders of a commander, two secretaries, and two interpreters; the latter for the purpose of taking statistics as to trade, &c. Altogether it is a model establishment, and does honour to the Government of Venezuela. The entire population of the Goajira may be about 20,000; it does not exceed 25,000, and is not increasing.

As regards manners and customs and the way they enforce their old peculiar laws, these Goajiros are particularly interesting. Of course, like all Indians, they are singularly proficient in begging, stealing, and drinking, but besides these capital vices they add a fourth, that is demanding compensation, tear- or blood-money—principal cause of all the strife and blood feuds between the castes, and an everlasting danger to Indians and strangers alike. Whereas about one-quarter of the male population die a violent death from its result, another quarter are killed by drink and its effects. The laws that govern these compensation cases are very intricate, their number is legion. First is the terrible law of retribution, that makes a whole caste responsible for the acts of any single member. As the Spaniards or white men are considered by the Indians as belonging to one large family, the country is very unsafe for travelling, for every white man is a sort of hostage for the good behaviour of the others. If an Indian should be killed in a quarrel by a white man, the life of another white man, living leagues away, depends upon whether the fee (relations of the dead Indian) or a friend brings the news first. Many an innocent unconscious trader has been sacrificed at one end of the peninsula for a foul murder committed at the other end.

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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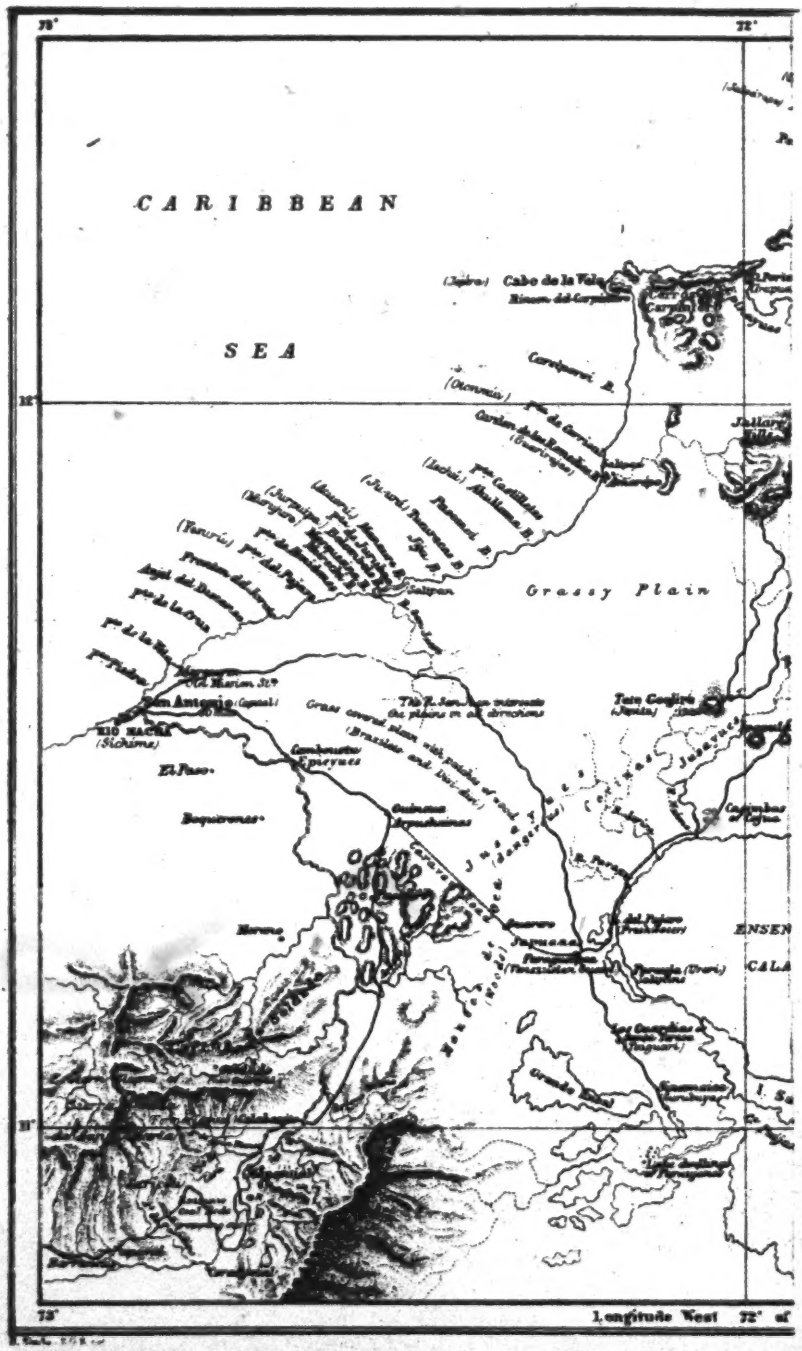

Pub. for the Proceedings of the Royal GEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY, 1885.

[p. 8 a A]

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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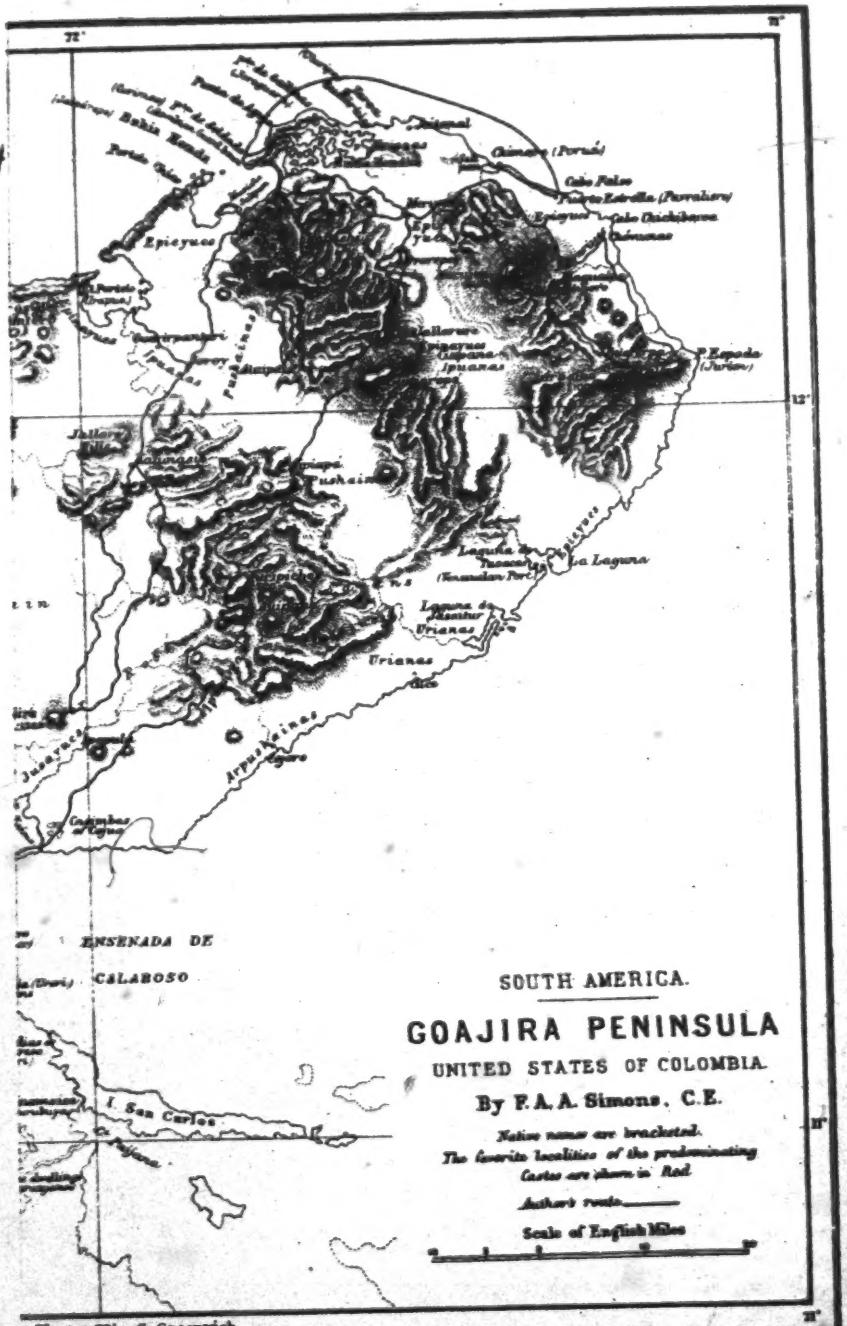

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[p. 840-B]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

We had gone round Sierra Chimare to the north. Understandably enough, since it was the monks' name, nobody seemed to have heard of Nazaret, but they did not react to Amúruru either.

Macuira is quite a large complex of hills, and if the Indians were going to be unable to help us, it might prove quite difficult to find the mission station. Suddenly a man came up on a horse. He was wearing trousers. He was so astonished to see us that he nearly tumbled off and his horse became restive. We told him who we were and where we were going, and his face lit up.

'Let us camp together,' he suggested. 'I have a camp under a tree that is large enough for you as well. I have a herd of goats that I am driving home.'

We went with the man, who was a mestizo—and had two Indian wives, who helped my wife make goat stew.

In Guajira you can sleep in the open perfectly well during most of the year, but it is more pleasant to lie under a tree. The mestizo was able to tell us exactly how to get to Nazaret.

We broke camp at daybreak, before the sun had begun to send its shafts through the sparse leaves of the tree. We three whites started off at a good pace, and soon the mestizo with his goats and our own pack animals had dropped behind. Before long we came in among hillocks sparsely clad with divi-divi and other bushes and trees that did not mind drought. This sort of vegetation the Indians call a wood. The hours passed; the sun was unmercifully hot, as it always was. Our tongues were stuck to our gums by thirst, and a persistent breeze filled our ears with sand. We did not mind, however, for paradise was not far away.

The trees were all withered and leafless. Then we came to valleys filled with white sand, that in places formed terraces. The mules' hooves sank in deep. I realized why we came across sand so far from the sea: all that part of the hills had sunk into the sea during the quarternary period, and had then risen again carrying the sand with it.

Then a hill like a sugar-loaf emerged. That was Ituhor, about which we had been told, and we knew that we were

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

not far from the mission station. Ituhor means 'roast corn' and it does look like a dark golden brown giant corn-cob. Suddenly we were in a valley that was all green. We had to rub our eyes. Not only grass grew there, but tall trees with fresh green leaves. The crests of coconut palms waved high above them. We saw bananas, maize, and all sorts of fruit trees. What a miracle! The cause of it was a little stream that had water in it almost all the year round, though it petered out in sand on its way to the sea. We enjoyed the greenery, the smells and the bird song, and watched the multi-coloured butterflies. The valley was not inhabited; it was a field. After that we came to more white sand, where everything was just as arid as before.

Nazaret lay in the middle of this sea of sand. Ahead of us we saw some whitewashed buildings with grass roofs and one larger building with a turret. A monk came walking briskly to greet us, his white beard waving in the breeze. This was Father Salvador, whom we knew from a trip we had made farther south five years before. He had then been stationed at the foot of the Andes and his flowing beard had been brown. How old he had grown! The desert seemed to have aged him by twenty years at least, we thought. Then the other monks emerged and friendly nuns took charge of my wife.

We had good, sweet water, decent food and black coffee. The kindly fathers at once set about preparing a white-washed hut for us. They wanted us to stay for some time, make Nazaret our headquarters, from which we could go to the Indian camps in the surrounding country, which we would thus get to know. They would also find us good guides.

Then our Indians arrived with our baggage. We paid them and dismissed them. We could not help laughing when Gaffer insisted that he could be of great use to us as a guide, for he had neither been there before, nor even been able to find his way there. His old wife had taken advantage of our absence to appropriate a number of our things, including an aluminium saucepan. This came to light because her pack looked suspiciously bulky and had to be searched, to her

[62 cont.]

825 whole period of pregnancy. The duality of childbirth-serpent
843 is brought to our notice with an insistence and disconcerting realism which we will endeavor to explain.

If we look into the Guajiro family organization we can
596 see how that community taken as a homogeneous whole is
621 divided into series of extended family groups which follow the line of maternal filiation. Belonging to a family group are the mother, the sons and daughters of the mother, the sons and daughters of the mother's daughters, and so on successively. The administration of the family is not in the hands of the father, who is not considered as such, but in those of the maternal uncles, the eldest of these being predominant. Inheritance also
428 is determined by this system, and sons inherit nothing from their natural father, but from their mother or their maternal uncles. The property of the father is split up among his nephews, sons of his sister, whom he considers as sons. Patrilocality and
591 matrilocality exist, the former predominating. The family group, wrongly named by some authors casta is very much
614 extended, and to it belong all those bearing the same surname. Each large family group has its own property mark or brand and a representative animal. Thus, for example: [63]

Family groups	Representative animals
Uriána (41)	jaguar

[104]

41. For the convenience of our readers we have adapted the phonetics of all these Guajiro names to Spanish orthography, using the most apparent sounds.

Urériyú	rattlesnake
Uriyú	snake
Woúriyú	partridge
Uyárayú	cauquero (a species of deer)
Ípwana	cari-cari
Sápwana	bittern

[158 cont.]

262 meat of animals sacrificed during the wake of a deceased member of the family. The murderer's self-denial of all solid food in his daily diet is another proof of the intervention of magic in the aspect of the Guajiro's nourishment. The ceremonies of propitiation for rain and the ripening of the harvests are other palpable demonstrations of the intervention of magic in this way.

[789]

c) And, finally, in relation to aggression, we see the very marked influence of magic, particularly in the charms which are used to cause injury to certain people: for example, those made of a young woman's hair, the blood of a hummingbird, the tail of a dog, and achiote to make a girl fall in love with a man who later intends to betray her; or the one used by women who, having bought a talisman from a woman expert in those matters, place it in the clothes of a man whom they wish to harm after acquiring an old sandal of his and burning it, so as to cause him bodily and mental injury. Furthermore, magic forewarns and allows an individual to foresee the acts of aggression of which he or a clan or a family group is going to be the victim by the interpretation of the shaman's dream or that of a private person, as was seen in the section "Magic and dreams" in Chapter VIII. The effect of magic on the regimen for individual security and collective stability tends to be that of saving the person or the group, as the case may be, from acts of aggression on the part of potential enemies, such acts being foreseen through magic means properly interpreted.

754 789 182 787 789

Names of Plants and Animals

Plants:

104 achiote (Bixa orellana)

192 ahuyama [squash] (Cucurbita máxima)

824 artemisia (f. Synantherae or Compositae)

indigo (f. Leguminosae)

cardon (Pilocereus atroviridis)

mahogany cedar (fam. Cedrilaceae, Sp. Mahogoni of Linnaeus)

lupine (Abrus precatorius) [Indian licorice]

[158 cont.]

104 divi-divi (Libidibia coriaria. Jacq.) [159]
192 frailejon (Espeletia spp.)
824 guamacho (Pereskia colombiana. Webb).
guayacan (f. Zigophyllaceae) [In Venezuela, Tabebuia guayacan (family Bignoniaceae)]
plantain (f. Plantaginaceae, sp. Ureus)
oxtongue (Polygonaceae, g. Rumex)
mamoncillo (f. Sapindaceae, sp. Bijuga)
mangrove tree (f. Rhizophoraceae)
oxeye (f. Papilionaceae)
nettle (f. Urticaceae)
watermelon (Cucurbita vulgaris)
quina dulce [sweet quina] (Cinchona spp.)
sage (fam. Labiataceae) [Labiatae?]
elder or alder tree (f. Caprifoliaceae)
purslane (f. Portulacaceae, g. Portulaca)
vira-vira (f. Compositae, g. Gnaphalium)
yucca, cassava (Manihot utilissima)

Animals:
104 bee (order Hymenoptera)
192 bittern (belonopterus cayennensis)
825 wasp (order Hymenopt)
owl (Bubo virginianus elatus)
cauquero (sp. of deer)
colibri (fam. Trochuilidae)
rabbit (sylvilagus apollinaris)
rattlesnake (Crotalus terrificus)
hunting snake [culabra cazadera] (Clelia clelia)
buzzard (Coragyps atratus foetens)
cattle tick (g. Boophilus)
sparrow hawk (harpagus bidentatus)
iguana (order of the saurians)
owl (Tyto alba sabandeana)
machorro, sp. of lizard (order of the saurians)
bat (Carollia perspiciliata)

[159 cont.]
189 woodpecker (Ceophloeus lineatus)
192 domestic duck (Anas platyrhynchos)
825 partridge (Perdix rubra)
ray (Rajas batis) [160]
jaguar (félis onça)
troupial (f. Icteridae)
peccary (Pecari)
fox (Canis azaroe)
curf (Cavia anolaimae)
mountain cat (margay tigrina)
deer (Cervus elaphus)

[5 cont.]

175 177 into his culture, especially into the economy, some of their social institutions, and even in the aspect of their racial composition. Acculturation has been greatly accelerated in recent years due to the ever increasing presence of foreign elements in [648] La Guajira Peninsula, facilitated by the intervention of the government in this administrative section, by the development of communication, and by the commercial possibilities that dealing with the natives presents.

105 175 177 The fundamental change in the Guajiro's life occurred in their economy. Until the arrival of the conquistador, according to the data available, the Guajiro were a hunting and fishing people who lived in a constant state of nomadism to the point of having no true habitations, as has been stated by different chroniclers of Conquest times. They also practiced a rudimentary agriculture, mainly the cultivation of corn and yucca, the bases of their vegetable food and of their principal drinks.

With the establishment of stock raising centers by the [648] Spaniards in the regions bordering on La Guajira, the natives found a new source of subsistence. They started a series [6] of thefts from the haciendas which enabled them to obtain animals suited for raising, which adapted wonderfully to the normal conditions of their territory, where during the winter season pasture grows spontaneously, pasture which previously had served only to feed the deer and other herbivorous animals which form part of the fauna of La Guajira.

With the introduction of this new economic element the native began, step by step, to change his economy of fishing, hunting, and rudimentary agriculture into a new system based principally on stock grazing. His state of a nomadic hunter was transformed to that of herdsman, also nomadic because of the geographic conditions we have just described in previous paragraphs. They also changed their mode of transport by learning to use horses and asses, and even their tactics of war were appreciably changed once they could make use of horses in their battles, placing them thereby on an equal footing with the Spanish conquistador; as in addition to this decisive element, [439] they could also count on firearms obtained in the pearl trade with foreign ships which came up their coast.

[6 cont.]

105 177 However, at the beginning the fundamental change in their economy did not affect their most characteristic social institutions. They preserved, almost to the present, their family organization based on the uterine line of kinship and all the other institutions which derive from, or are directly or indirectly related, to it. Only now with the presence of an ever increasing number of foreign elements who are attracted to La Guajira territory by different circumstances is the Indian gradually losing these fundamental ideas of his organization and beginning to change them, forced to do so by events, to the point that today it is becoming difficult to decide up to what point a social phenomenon is autochthonous and to what point it is impregnated with new ideas brought in by evangelism, government and military officials, and traders.

195 195 In the racial aspect the phenomenon shows up less strongly, although, as in other aspects, it has been gradually accelerating as means of communication develop and the comshend between the islands of Aruba and Curaçao, the department of Magdalena, and the port of Maracaibo increase. Racial mixing [mestizaje] began in the colony not only between Spaniards and Indians, as happened in the greater part of Latin America, but also with the Negroes who were acquired as slaves from the Dutch and British slave traders in exchange for pearls. Naturally, this mixture was of insignificant proportions, but [7] at the present time it is developing more rapidly, stemming from the element, also Negroid, of the coastal areas of Colombia and Lake Maracaibo. In spite of all this, at the present time one can still find a large percentage of the pure element in La Guajira, especially in the regions distant from the traffic with Maracaibo or with the interior of Colombia, or relatively isolated from civilizado centers of La Guajira such as Uribia, Puerto Estrella, Puerto López, etc.

* * *

132. 93 In the past five to six years La Guajira has suffered extremely severe summers which have almost completely crushed its economic bases, stock grazing and agriculture, for scarcely enough rainfall has fallen to save their pastures or their harvests.

[30 cont.]

But the Conquest came. The Guajiro Indian kept his independence by means of wars and raids and maintained his personality intact as far as possible. His internal organization endured and continued manifesting itself without changes for a time: family organization, bond service, slavery, invasion wars, the laws of inheritance and compensation payment, all the social structure, including marriage, continued in the traditional forms. However, the theft of livestock from the neighboring Spanish ranches began, and the Guajiro Indians learned to master the art of stock grazing until they became converted into a group of herders with occasional agriculture, hunting, and fishing.

The situation was thus undergoing a change apparently gentle in the form it took, but violent in the results it produced on marriage, inheritance, the status of the clan as a collectivity and of the individual in particular, which we attribute to the cause just noted and also to the acculturation provoked by the ever increasing number of civilizado elements in the peninsula: missionaries, military men, employees, traders, and adventurers, who have managed to introduce, as we have said in the introduction, a number of customs from their places of origin, still small [in number] but which slowly are beginning to undermine the social organization of the natives.

All this has clashed with the strongest institution of primitive La Guajira, the shaman, who has had to withstand the challenge of the missionaries, who inculcate in the Indians' minds Catholic beliefs or Christian beliefs in general, absolutely opposed to the primary opinions and the magic laws which determined, and still determine, in part the sex, liver, and deaths in general of all and each one of the members of the Guajiro community.

The new concept of wealth based on stock grazing, the presence of civilizado elements, the network of communications that now crosses the peninsula, the decisive action of the missionaries and schools have all combined to reduce the shaman to his minimum proportions. Of course, there still remain elements in the native which allow one to classify him as formed by a magic mentality, but external influences are carrying him

[94 cont.]
him on his journey and which remain his only possessions, since the rest will be distributed among his heirs -- take on the quality of untouchables.

2. The poisoned arrow. The second sacrifice about which we gathered information has a greater importance than the previous one for two reasons: first, because it is the sacrifice of a human being, and second, because it is linked to a series of ceremonies set in motion to obtain a certain end, the deadly power of the inuka, or poisoned arrow, or better said, the magic arrow.

This sacrifice, so far as we could observe, is no longer practiced in La Guajira. According to the information gathered, it was practiced exclusively by the Kuaina Indians, inhabitants of the sierra of that name. They were bellicose Indians, warriors, robbers, and animal stealers, who kept the other communities of the peninsula in an incessant state of tension by their attacks and evil-doings. We think it interesting to point out here that these Indians, commonly known as Cocina, according to all the information obtained did not constitute in themselves a separate cultural group. Their language was the same as that of the other Guajiro; their customs were relatively the same, and their physical type identical. Everything seems to indicate that they were no more than social outcasts, all those who, for crimes committed and not paid for in accordance with established laws, had found it necessary to unite themselves into societies outside the law. The question is not entirely clear, and it will be difficult to make it so because Kuaina Indians are no longer found in La Guajira.

Bows and arrows stand out among the arms used by the Guajiro. (We say "stand" out because now they chiefly use rifles of foreign make). One of these arrows, which they call poisoned, bears the name of inuka. The shaft of this arrow is made of a thin piece of wood taken from the tree called parika and measures approximately 80 centimeters in length. At the upper end of this sharpened shaft is placed poison of a ray or the bone of a poisonous serpent. This inuka is what the Kuaina Indians used as a last resort in their battles with Whites or with

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
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121 the field of law is 'coterminous with that of organized legal sanctions.' If there are no 'legal sanctions,' obligations are considered as matters of custom and conventions. He further suggests the use of 'public delicts' and 'private delicts' to classify violations of law which in our society would fall into the criminal and civil classes respectively.[3] Malinowski, justly calling attention to the fact that the field of law does not limit itself to prohibitions but also enjoins duties, extends the term to include binding obligations governing the intercourse of daily life and enforced by a 'specific mechanism inherent in the structure of society.'[4]

While it is not within the scope of this paper to examine critically the various concepts of what constitutes law, we may well ask if its existence in primitive society is dependent upon what one accepts as its definition. We are given the choice of admitting either that certain societies do not know law, or that law is present in all societies in the form of reciprocal obligations which include many phases of behavior which we are accustomed to call either custom or moral obligation. Still it may be granted that in any society there occur breaches of custom, which are recognized as trespass on the recognized rights of the individual and perhaps on the entire community, for the composition and rectification of which there are known and accepted acts whose nature is set and limited by precedent. These are in contrast to those breaches which may bring on the offender only social reprobation in a mild form through giving him a 'bad name.' The former ought to fall within the province of law as generally understood in our society, while the latter may properly be included in the field of morals.

●105 Before proceeding with a description of Guajiro concepts of law and of custom it may be well to outline briefly the structure of their society. It is estimated that there are between ten and [161] twenty thousand Guajiro inhabiting the peninsula that takes its name from them. Though most of the territory belongs to Colombia and a narrow coastal strip is within Venezuelan borders, the Guajiro live almost independently of both [133] governments. The land is arid, lacking running water except in the hills of Macuire, where there are some springs. Most of

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
SC13 Goajiro SC13

the men speak some Spanish in addition to their native 105
language. Some of them know how to read and write. They
are almost entirely pastoral, possessing great herds of horses, [233]
asses, sheep, goats, and cattle. They have borrowed a great
deal from the Europeans but they have also kept their own
culture to a remarkable degree. As usual, native elements
are most strongly present in the non-material phases of culture.
Unfortunately they are not united or organized into a modern
state, though against all foreigners they stand together as a
unit. Authority is acquired by certain caciques through their [554]
wealth and membership in the 'casta,' the major social group-
ing in Guajiro society. Each casta claims a mythological 614
origin and holds sovereignty over a well-defined territory. 631
Many of these castas or social groupings are further sub-
divided. Each casta has its caciques whose function is chiefly
to settle disputes and whose position is inherited, matrilineally.
The oldest of them is allowed more authority, but generally it
is the wealthiest man, and the one who can marshal more [556]
retainers, armed with rifles and revolvers, who is listened to
with greater respect. There are further divisions in Guajiro
society. At the top are the caciques and their families who are 565
rich and powerful. The next group is composed of peons or
retainers in the service of the upper stratum, and at the bottom
are the 'slaves' who have been born in that condition or have
been enslaved following an offense to some powerful group, and [567]
who can even be let out to work for planters in the sugar fields
of Zulia The life of the poor people has not changed much
since early times. Polygamy is widely practised, as is also 595
concubinage, by the wealthier men. Each wife lives in her
own rancho and there awaits the occasional visit of her hus-
band. The children inherit property and social affiliations [611]
through the mother. Disputes that arise within a casta are
settled by arbiters chosen by the families of the litigants. [627]
Disputes inter-casta may be settled by arbitration if violence
is not desirable. Generally the killing of an individual gives [628]
rise to armed action with an eventual composition by payment.

My informants attempted to demonstrate the difference be- 671

/531 cont./

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114

3. M. Gusinde. "Bericht über meine südafrikanische Forschungsreise 1950/51 /Report on My South African Field Trip, 1950-51/, " Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 388-404.

Vienna, who at that time was with the Internat. F.A.O. for Colombia, had been very helpful to me. Soon after our auto journey together through that dried-up peninsula, he died unexpectedly. My thanks to him are thus expressed here posthumously.

128 Only a selection from my ethnographic observations among the Guajiro people are presented here. They are preceded by what has already been ascertained on the same subjects by other authors.

1. Earlier Reports

105
175 At the time of the discovery of the New World, the Guajiro were the /532/ branch of the Aruak /Arawak/ group that had pushed farthest to the northwest on South American soil. Before the Conquest they obtained their livelihood from hunting and fishing, together with some agriculture. Animal husbandry, however, acquired considerable ascendancy through the introduction of domestic animals at the time of the Spanish colonization. Juan de Castellanos reported that as early as the period of his sojourn there (around 1550) quite a large quantity of livestock was present. Since then, and up to our day, this economic activity has undergone no structural change worth mentioning; at present, however, far-reaching efforts at accommodation to the so-called Western manner of thinking and way of life are seen (4).

4. Cf. Vegamian, Crist (1958 and 1959), José Augustín de Barranquilla, and others.

/532 cont./

105 Only a few accounts concerning the social order and po-
175 litical organization of the Guajiro are available from that
614 period. It cannot be ascertained when the Spanish conquistadors first found clues to the family groups existing there, true sibs /Sippen/ in the sense of modern ethnology. Father Álvarez José Nicolás de la Rosa (5) in 1739 described certain burial

[113]

5. Under "Álvarez" I am citing in the following the rare work, Floresta de la Santa Iglesia Catedral de la Ciudad de Santa Marta /Anthology of the Santa Iglesia Cathedral of the City of Santa Marta/, compiled by Father Álvarez Don José Nicolás de la Rosa in 1739 and printed in Valencia in 1833. Francis C. Nicholas translated significant sections from this work into English and supplied supplementary notes which a trip through Guajira induced him to make. According to his judgment, "the book forms a stepping-stone to a study of the history and antiquities of the Indians of northern South America" /cited in English/ (p. 606). This translation, with the title, "The Aborigines of the Province of Santa Marta, Colombia," is to be found in American Anthropologist, 3, 1901, pp. 606-649. Pages 625-636 are devoted to the Guajiro.

ceremonies and in this connection made the incidental remark that they were held "according to the castes [clans] by which they are distinguished" /cited in English/ (p. 634). He enumerated six, "thus: Casta de Guacamaya [macaw] (this is the

105 /532 cont./
175 highest), Casta de Paguil, Casta de Guacharaca, Casta de
614 Mono, Casta de Machin, Casta de Gallinazo (this is the poorest)" /cited in English/ (ibid.). Explanatory additions are lacking. In the light of later successful inquiries, however, these few statements are given their full meaning.

Not until 1870 did A. Ernst publish an extended list of these totem groups (p. 329). He enumerated twelve of them and called them "tribes /Stämme/," which "have definite dwelling sites." He correctly separated from them the so-
101 called Cocinas, which "perhaps are a different tribe than the
175 rest of the populace and a vagabond gang of robbers that makes
574 all paths unsafe" (6).

6. Father Álvarez had already referred to them as "more barbarous than any of the Guagiros, and consequently less tractable and more dangerous, horrible and proud" /cited in English/ (p. 635). In the same sense Stutzer (p. 136) describes them as "dregs of all castes. They murder in order to rob. It is regarded as dangerous to pass through their area alone or in small groups..." They do not merit further mention.

175 A few years later the British engineer, F. Simons,
614 traveled through Guajira. He related in his excellent report to the Royal Geographical Society (1885): "The Guajiros are subdivided into many families or castes, bearing much analogy to the ancient clans of Scotland. Each caste or rather family circle is united against all comers... Besides the name, each caste or family represents some animal, and many of the minor castes, over and above /533/ /a table appears here/ /534/ their

[text continues on p. 6]

C /5 cont./
000 curiously enough even the Indians who remain faithful to their own language and customs seem to possess this characteristic more than in other countries.

There was not much more activity in the roads of Riochacha than in the harbor of Santa Marta. A few goletas rode there, which were to leave for Curaçao and Goajira for pearl-fishing and here and there a few dugouts from Dibulla or Camarones, another coastal village. One never sees steamships here. The town was enlivened by poor people, the picturesque Goajiro Indians and Negroes, more than it gave an impression of lively trade and commerce. The few more stately buildings near the shore, which make the town appear rather attractive from the roads, and adjacent to extensive streets of wretched huts. The immediate hinterland, as well as the beach zone on both sides, with their cactus vegetation, gave an impression of desolate wastes.

G
● 105 /6/ The town is given a characteristic coloring by the Goajiro, who come every day in swarms from the eastern shore and provide fish, beef, and milk. Also one can see near the town in many places not far from the sea their more than simple shelters lightly covered with brushwood, which are only supposed to keep out the sun, for in Riohacha it very rarely rains. Many are employed as household help; they draw on a rope along the streets the rolling water barrels that bring water in from outside for all purposes, and they beg, but at the same time always keep a certain decency. The women are dressed in a long, loose, shirt-like cotton garment, which reaches down to the feet. When they raise it to walk, one usually sees black and white strings of beads above their ankles. Strings of beads also decorate their necks. The upper body of the men is bare or clad in a shirt which is held together around the hips by a wide, woven belt and often hangs down a little at the back. They always wear a loincloth. Some look very picturesque with a plaited headband, which among other things bears above the forehead three tail-feathers of the red arara, or even a rhomboid-shaped headpiece, in addition to the black facial painting of both sexes, particularly in the area of the eyes. More often the headband is replaced by a cloth (Ill. 2, 3 a and b).

G /6 cont./
105 Want among them during the past years of drought, which has spoiled the pastures of their herds of cattle, is said to have driven these Indians more and more in among the population of Riohacha. One also comes across them in Dibulla and along the
G 114 coast to it. From the ethnographic point of view the sight of them is a great reproach; why have they not been thoroughly studied long ago? Descriptions of what one sees are not sufficient, no more than the purchase of their tools or grammars and vocabularies in the manner of Father Celedon, which, as scrupulous as they are, are not adequate for what is required today, because of their narrow, schematic reduction to rules and lack of control on the basis of texts. Admittedly we owe him, and all who have written about the Goajiro, our thanks and our appreciation, not only because it is through their efforts that anything at all is known, but also, considering the difficult conditions of that time, for the scientific attitudes and the costs, which could barely be afforded, for long, strictly scientific ethnographic publications. Yes, still today we must be grateful for every single enrichment of our knowledge; but the professional ethnographer must always bear in mind that he should prefer a more detailed investigation of a single tribe rather than a hasty visit to several, or that at least he should not do the latter without having accomplished the former task.

C 000 If, by virtue of its stately buildings, Santa Marta still gave the impression of a princely residence, if one still felt there, through the daily connections with Barranquilla by means of the railroad and inland navigation and by reason of the steamships in the harbor, the pulsebeat of the world's traffic, in Riohacha one had /7/ already moved considerably closer to the native way of life and the isolation which one faced. There were still hotels and newspapers from Barranquilla there, one could still examine there daily the war reports which the German and British consuls received, but, on the other hand, the members of the great nations appeared only by chance, and I was supposed to provide, not receive, the latest news. But I could not confirm the wild rumors that Calais had been taken by the Germans. So now I again had to depend on my personal mail, which arrived at long monthly intervals and which brought me in the Bogotá "Unidad" the German news sent

1: Gutierrez de Pineda, Virginia. Organizacion Social en la Guajira [Social Organization in La Guajira]. Revista del Instituto Etnologico Nacional, Vol. 3, No. 2. Bogota, 1948 [1950].

Pp. xvi, 255.

Yale: C71e 8 3/2. [HRAF MS: pp. i-ix; 1-304]

Translated from the Spanish for the Human Relations Area Files by Sydney Muirden.

[This source, written by a professional ethnologist, is the basic work on the Goajiro. The source deals with the various aspects of the life cycle: birth, child-raising, childhood, marriage, and death. Discussed in great detail are the relations between the members of the family and clan. Also treated in considerable detail are clan structure and the resolution of conflicts between clans, the various categories of crimes and the sanctions for each, and the various aspects of the property system.

1: Gutierrez de Pineda, Virginia.

The author carefully points out which features are more representative of the traditional culture, and which have come about as a result of acculturation. --Analyst]

Field date: 1947
Analyst: James R. Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1961

2: Pineda Giraldo, Roberto. Aspectos de la Magía en la Guajira. [Aspects of Magic in La Guajira]. Revista del Instituto Etnólogico Nacional, Vol. 3, 1947. Bogota, 1950.

Pp. x, 164

Yale: [HRAF MS: pp. iii, 180]

[Translated from the Spanish for the Human Relations Area Files by Sydney Muirden]

[This source deals with religion, shamanism and magic among the Guajiro. Included in the account is information on ceremonies and rituals, charms, magico-medical practices, divination, beliefs about rain, and the initiation and training of shamans. Some material is also offered on beliefs about the spirits of the dead particularly in relation to sickness, and funerals. There is also material concerning

2: Pineda Giraldo, Roberto.

Goajiro divinities, regulation of sexual behavior, feuds and sanctions for violation of legal norms, and beliefs about conception and factors influencing embryonic development. The author is an ethnologist who did field work among the Goajiro. --Analyst]

Field date: 1947
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1961

3: Wilbert, Johannes. Kinship and Social Organization of the Yekuana and Goajiro. Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Vol. 14, pp. 51-60. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1958.

HRAF copy

[This brief descriptive article is divided into two parts, the first and longer section being devoted to the Yekuana and the second to the Goajiro. In each, the body is a listing of the kinship terms of the particular group taken from a single informant. There is also a brief outline of the social organization of each in explication. --Analyst]

Field date: ca. 1957
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1961

4: Petrullo, Vincenzo. Composition of 'Torts' in Guajiro Society. Publications of The Philadelphia Anthropological Society, Vol. 1, pp. 153-160. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1937.

Yale: Nk10 P53e v.1

[This article deals with the problems of differentiating law and custom in Guajiro society, the nature of the differences between them, and the types of sanctions that exist. In the course of this discussion the author considers concepts of liability, the failure to recognize the existence of extenuating circumstances, and the necessity of resorting to "self-help" to insure that compensation is made for offenses. --Analyst]

Field date: 1935
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1961

5: Simons, F. A. A. An Exploration of the Goajira Peninsula, U. S. of Colombia. Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, N. S., Vol. 7, pp. 781-796 and p. 840. London, 1885.

Yale: E10 R8lp I17

[This article offers a brief account of the geographical characteristics of the Goajiro Peninsula along with a general survey of some Goajiro customs. The author discusses the kin groups or castes, settlement patterns and house types, hospitality and etiquette, legal sanctions and concepts of liability, clothing and ornament, girls puberty rites and marriage, funerals, and weapons. A map of the area is appended with a list of Caste territories. --Analyst]

Field date: ca. 1882
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluation: Geographer-5
Processed in 1961

6: Santa Cruz, Antonio. Aspects of the Avunculate in the Guajiro Culture. Primitive Man, Vol. 14, pp. 1-13. Washington, D. C.: Catholic Anthropological Conference, 1941.

Yale: Nk10 C27F 11-15

[This source is a summation of part of the material gained by the author on a field trip to the Guajira peninsula in the summer of 1940. He analyzes avuncular-nepotic relationships first from the point of view of the uncle and nephew, and then from the point of view of the uncle and niece. --Analyst]

Field date: 1940
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1961

7: Bolinder, Gustaf. Indians on Horseback. London: Dennis Dobson, 1957.

Pp. 189; 6 color plates; 20 black and white plates; end map

Cornell: F2270.2 G6B68

[Only pp. 3-10, 47-164 and pertinent plates have been processed for the Goajiro file.]

[This source is the result of three separate trips made by the author, a traveler and explorer, to the Goajiro area in 1920, the 1930's, and in 1955. The book was written for popular consumption, but nevertheless it contains much valuable ethnographic data on the Goajiro Indians, especially in regard to: names and naming, clothing, topography of the region, domesticated animals, slavery, "clan" feuds, foreign trade, weapons, property rights and sanctions for violations thereof, puberty

7: Bolinder, Gustaf.

customs, childbirth and childhood education, marriage, ceremonial dances, shamans and curing, magic, funerary customs, organized banditry, and mythology.

Only pages 47-164 of this source have been processed, since the remainder of the book presents information not pertinent to the Goajiro proper, as for example the sections dealing with the mestizo elements, etc. --Analyst]

Field date: 1920, 1955
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Traveler-5
Processed in 1961

8: Armstrong, John M. and Alfred Métraux. The Goajiro. In, Julian H. Steward, ed., Handbook of South American Indians, Vol. 4: The Circum-Caribbean Tribes, pp. 369-383 [Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 143, Vol. 4, pp. 369-383]. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1948.

1 plate

HRAF copy

[This source is a summary article by two ethnologists, based on previously published materials. It contains information on location and history, subsistence, houses and villages, dress and adornment, manufactures, trade, socio-political organization, the life cycle, and other aspects of Goajiro culture. None of these aspects is treated in depth. --Analyst]

Field date: no date
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologists-4
Processed in 1961

9: Santa Cruz, Antonio. Acquiring Status in Goajiro Society. Anthropological Quarterly, Vol. 33, pp. 115-127. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1960.

Yale: Nk10. C27F. 33

[This source is based on field research undertaken by the author, a professional anthropologist, during a twenty-six day trip to the Guajira Peninsula in August and September of 1958.

The author shows in this source how the acquisition of social, economic and political status in Goajiro society differs from its traditional form, based on a cattle oriented economy, compared to the present-day method of acquiring such status. As an illustration of the above, two case histories are presented showing the traditional means of obtaining a position of high status and prestige in the clan organization of the society, one through the inheritance of such a position, and the other through appointment to leadership by a council of elders. These are then contrasted to the case history of a modern Goajiro who obtained a ranking

9: Santa Cruz, Antonio.

political post in the society through his own efforts and irrespective of clan organization. This illustrates clearly how leadership and its attendant status roles may be attained today without affiliation with any clan--a definite break with the traditions of the past. --Analyst]

Field date: 1958
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1961

10: Gusinde, Martin. Totemistische Eigentumsmarken der Guajiro-Indianer /Totemistic Property Marks of the Goajiro Indians/. Anthropos, Vol. 56, pp. 531-542. Posieux (Freiburg), Schweiz: Anthropos-Institut, 1961.

1 map; 1 plate.

HRAF Copy /HRAF MS: pp. 1-20/.

Translated from the German for the Human Relations Area Files in connection with the HRAF Field Project.

[This source is basically concerned with the mythological origins, totemistic symbolism, territorial boundaries, and socio-cultural development of the Goajiro clans from the early Spanish Colonial period up to the ethnographic present. In the presentation of his data on clan organization the author quotes excerpts from many of the early accounts of missionaries, travelers, etc., who had visited the Goajiro, as well as the reports of modern ethnologists. A good portion of the source is devoted to animal totemism and to the symbolic representation of the clans, adapted by the Goajiro as property marks.
A complete bibliography of all sources of information referred to in the text will be found in the foreign text, category 116, pp. 541-542.]

Field date: 1954
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1966

Various authors. Indios y Blancos en La Guajira: Estudio Socio-Economico /Indians and Whites in La Guajira: A Socio-economic Study/. Bogotá: Ediciones Tercer Mundo, 1963.

Pp. 324; 96 photographs; 9 maps, 7 charts; appendix; bibliography.

Yale: CF2281 G8 153.

[This important study of the Guajira consists of a number of chapters by different authors, including: Geography by Ernesto Guhl, Morphological Outline by Hans Birgi, Natural Resources by A. L. Stafle, The Guajiro Indian: Ethnographic Summary by Roberto Pineda, Social Organization by Virginia Gutiérrez de Pineda, Mestizinsation by Gloria Triana Varón, Legal Institutions by Alvaro Camacho and Nora Segura, Marelwa and Wanurú by Roberto Pineda Giraldo, the Capuchin Mission by José Agustín de Barranquilla, Problems of the High Guajira by Alvaro Guzmán Cortés, The Privileged Situation by Antonio López Epieyu, History by Gregorio Hernandez de Alba and a final chapter on Social Impacts. The volume concludes with an extensive bibliography.]

Surveyed in 1966.

[1]

Introduction

[3] La Guajira Peninsula is situated between 12°-28'-30" and 10°-56' north latitude and 1°-11' and 5° east longitude, taking as a base the meridian of Bogotá. It occupies the northeastern part of Colombia and the most northernmost part of the South American continent. Its boundaries can be defined as follows: on the north and west the Caribbean Sea, on the east Lake Maracaibo, and on the south the department of Magdalena and the neighboring republic of Venezuela. In other words, the Caribbean Sea, Lake Maracaibo, the Río Hacha, and the arroyo Paraguaichón serve as natural boundaries. Part of this peninsula belongs to the republic of Colombia and part, the smaller area, to Venezuela.

[13] Its general geological formation appears to be due to the elevation of marine strata, since fossils of sea fauna are found in the subsoil. Its soil is composed of clay, sand, and calcareous strata on the plains, the higher part belonging to a more ancient formation composed of volcanic rocks, crystalline slate, granite, [15] marble, and jasper, covered by layers of limestone. The predominating minerals are: gypsum, carbonate of lime, argonite, mica, iron ores, and some outcroppings of lignite which have not been exploited up to the present time.

[17] La Guajira proper, as a natural geographical region, starts in the west with the last spur of the Montes de Oca, a continuation of the Cordillera Oriental in Colombia which crosses the Sierra de Perijá and Serranía de los Motilones, mountains whose beneficial influence is felt in the zones of Carraipía and Paraguaichón. But the characteristic relief starts in the southwestern neck and is composed of isolated ridges of mountains whose general orientation is northwest-southeast, running from west to east and known by the names of Cojoro, Jarara, and Macuira. The last has the [2] highest altitude in La Guajira, 887 meters above sea level, according to Brow (1), and runs out between Jipuaipolo and Parajimaní on the

[19]

1. Cited by Pichón in Geografía de la Península Guajira [Geography of La Guajira Peninsula].

eastern coast of the peninsula.

171 [19 cont.]
#756 invocations of the spirits and in the metamorphosis of the shaman."
755 (16) [Cited in French.] The shaman moves his torso in gyra-

16. Ibid., I, 218.

tion. When he is in trance and effecting a cure which requires the invocation of the spirit, no noise must be made as this will cause the spirit to become frightened and to flee; and being left without his protector spirit, the shaman will suffer violent fits and fall to the ground in severe convulsions. The shaman [276] always carries a piece of manilla in these cases; he chews it and becomes intoxicated with the juice, which induces him to sing with greater verve. The juice of the manilla also serves to spray [824] the body of the patient as well as the walls and all around the house to frighten away the malignant spirit. This custom of the magic use of tobacco is also very common in America; not to overexpand the subject we limit ourselves to giving a simple example cited by Pauly with reference to the Araona Indians of Bolivia: "They use tobacco dust mixed with coca to cure their sick and ward off the evil spirits, chewing it and spitting the juice on the body of the sick person. They also spit it at the heavens to calm the storms and at the river when it is in flood." (17)

[113]

17. Pauly, Antonio. Ensayo de Etnografía Americana. Viajes y Exploraciones [Essay on American Ethnology. Voyages and Explorations], VI, 128.

755 The treatment really begins with a chant of invocation to the spirits. While the ceremony is performed the shaman continually chews tobacco and he rubs the juice formed by the saliva and the juice of the plant over the body of the patient; and immediately after this, he energetically sucks several consecutive times at the affected parts of the body of the sick man to draw [753] out [20] the malignancy. (The sickness that the native has, no matter what may be its special characteristics or from whence it may have arisen, is derived from the malevolent action of the

[28 cont.]

114 "Shamans still augur by the direction of smoke, not by smoking
787 tobacco as de la Rosa tells us, but by lighting a small faggot of firewood, tinder, or cotton." (23) But neither the one nor the

[113]

23. Celedón, Rafael. Gramática, Catecismo i Vocabulario de la lengua guajira. Introduccion. [Grammar, Catechism, and Vocabulary of the Guajiro Language. Introduction], p. 25.

other is totally mistaken since, as we have already seen and will note again later, the two systems, divination by means of the firebrand or by tobacco, are actually employed in La Guajira.

*756 With respect to the relations between the shaman and his
775 protector spirits in general, Métraux affirms: "The relations
776 between the shaman and his familiar spirit have been fully analyzed by Barrere: 'Every piaye claims to have a genie, or rather a familiar demon, with which he has a close relationship, and by its intervention he carries out his wishes. This supposed genie is not always so submissive that it does not sometimes get away when it thinks it opportune, escaping to accomplish all the evil it can against the Indians, after which it will return to its abode. The main use of this genie is to assist the piayes either to chase out demons or to carry out some revenge, according to their will, and to kill whatever Indians they see fit, as their power extends equally to heal illnesses or to bring them on those on whom they wish to take revenge.'" (24) [Cited in French.]

24. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 212.

*756 Taboos of the shamans. Shamans are obliged to observe most strictly a series of taboos, related chiefly to sex, to nutrition in general, and to objects they receive in payment for curing sick persons or animals. We shall describe each one of these separately.

[36 cont.]

171 is universal. It is, so to speak, the ultimate end of his mission
*756 in the community. Professor Pinto reaffirms it when, speaking
787 of the Tupinambá pagé, he writes as follows. "Another of the functions or callings of the pagé was to communicate with the spirits or with the devil.... Frequently, as Nóbrega gives us to understand, by means of the maraca ...." And further on: "Naturally, the power to communicate with the spirits raised the pagé to the category of xamã. The xamã in Herbert König's exact definition is characterized by his faculty of speaking with the spirits, especially, in his moments of trance or ecstasy. Or, as Robert H. Lowie explains, the xamã is a kind of "medium" who possesses the gift of relating himself with the supernatural and serving as its interpreter." (31) [Cited in French.]

● [113]

31. Pinto Recife, Esteban. La extraña figura del Pagé Tupinambá [The Strange Figure of the Tupinambá Pagé], pp. 323-324.

171 Our contention regarding the involuntary nature of the pro-
*756 fession of shaman, and by the same token its irrenouncibility, is sustained by this report which Métraux has taken from Nimuendajú with reference to the Bororó: "The Bororó who is called upon to become a bari (medicine man) receives a mysterious order to deliver himself up in the bush, where the spirit will manifest itself to him in the form of a monkey or a water hog and will demand his submission. As a sign of acquiescence, he will give up his bow and arrows. His head will whirl; a thousand colors will dance before his eyes; he has become a bari." (32) [Cited in French.]

32. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 203.
Italics are ours.

*756 Apart from this domination to which the spirits subject the
828 shaman, converting him into a creature at the service of their wishes, there is another factor, perhaps more important in its external form than the previous ones and one that makes us think more of the double life of the shaman: This is his frequent attacks,

[142 cont.]

what God can do for them," phrases which the Guajiro translates in this way: "Nuchúntaca guayú numuín Maléigua 'Pumúliaja guayú.' Je natújain au tu náinjecta nau Maléigua." (69)

69. Carcagente. Guía Goajiro [Guajiro Guide], pp. 18-19. The italics are ours.

The Protestant missionaries, on their part, published in Guajiro and in Spanish a version of the Gospel of Saint Mark throughout which the word "God" is represented in Guajiro by the word "Mareiwa" (70).

70. Máruko: Cf. Bibliography.

Father José Agustín de Barranquilla, a Capuchin missionary who traveled widely through the greater part of Guajiro territory on an evangelistic mission and collected his impressions in a book, when speaking of the qualities and moral defects of the Guajiro, uses the following terms: "He is monotheist, that is, he believes in only one Supreme Being called Mareigua (God) ... he has something similar to the devil which he calls Yarujá or Yolujá..." (71)

71. Barranquilla. Así es la Guajira [This is La Guajira], II, 57.

And further along he adds: "The Guajiro is not like other Indians, idolatrous, because vestiges have never been found among all the Guajiro antiquities either of idols that they worshiped in times past or traditions that show at any time their connection with idolatry, except for certain insignificant talismans of a domestic and family nature which they considered could render them service. They never practiced any cult rendering homage to the sun, moon, or any other visible thing. The Guajiro attributes everything good that occurs in this world to Merigua (God). Mareigua is always good, never evil. He it was that created the world and all visible things. He alone. He is invisible

2: Pineda Giraldo--181 E-5 (1947) 1950 SC13 Goajiro SC13

113 ACOSTA ORTEGON, Joaquín.—*El idioma Chibcha o aborígen de Cundinamarca*. Imp. Departamental. Bogotá, 1943.

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2: Pineda Giraldo--182 E-5 (1947) 1950 SC13 Goajiro SC13

HUBERT, H. y MAUSS M.—*Magia y Sacrificio en la historia de las religiones.* Colección Lautaro. Buenos Aires, 1946.

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2: Pineda Giraldo--183 E-5 (1947) 1950 SC13 Goajiro SC13

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4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
SC13 Goajiro SC13

672 family responsibility for the acts of one of its members. If
628 there is no property composition for a tort committed and the injured family has recourse to arms, the revenge that it may take is limited by precedent. If the family is very powerful
[626] it may dispense with that, but public moral reprobation is a strong barrier to excesses.

NOTES

121 1. J. Austin and T. E. Holland restrict the term Law to those rules which a fully organized state recognises and enforces. I.e., T. E. Holland: 'A law, in the proper sense of the term, is a general rule of human action, taking cognizance only of external acts, enforced by a determinate authority, which authority is human, and among human authorities, is that which is paramount in a political society.' (See Bibliography.)

2. Rivet, Durkheim, Hartland, and Hobhouse express this position.

3. Radcliffe-Brown, 202.

4. See Malinowski in Hogbin.

5. From my field notes gathered in 1935. The Columbia University—
114 University Museum Guajiro Expedition spent three months in the peninsula making an ethnological and archæological survey. The other members of the expedition were: Dr. Paul Kirchhoff; Mr. Lewis Korn and Mrs. Gwyneth Brown Harrington, archæologists; Miss Lydia C. du Pont, photographer; Señor Gregorio Hernandez de Alba, a Colombian student.

6. See Bohlen.

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9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
SC13 Goajiro SC13

writer hopes in future researches to complete the picture of leadership among the Guajiro and the present breakdown in their social organization.

As mentioned above, traditional form clan leadership is obtained either through inheritance or by selection made by a council of elders. Perez's case is entirely different and he has followed white culture means and ways, more or less, in obtaining leadership in Guajiro society irrespective of clan organization. In other words, he has become, in certain aspects, a leader of the Guajiro as a whole and not of a particular clan. It is to be expected that as more and more Guajiro individuals go to Maracaibo for higher education, these new methods, such as those utilized by Perez, of attaining status will become stronger and will also be a contributing factor in the final breakdown of the traditional clan leadership. Some years must pass, however, to determine conclusively whether this is the path that leadership in the Guajira will take. At the moment four important clans still have their traditional leaders—the Pushiana, Uriana, Epinayú, and Epieyú—with strong and well definied heirs to their present leaders; and as long as the inheritance lines remain firm, clan leadership among these four clans will cling to the traditional. The rest of the clans, having lost their lines of inheritance and lacking men of strong personality to become their unquestioned leaders, will tend, we predict, to fall in step with new leaders of the Perez type. Such leaders will, undoubtedly, become more numerous as the acculturation processes go forward.

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Contents:

1. Earlier Reports

2. Most Recent Reports

3. Concluding Remarks

121 In the middle of 1954 I set out from Caracas via Maracaibo
[114] to make anthropological observations in the settlement area of
[131] the Yupa Indians (1). In the narrow stretch of Venezuelan

[113] 1. M. Gusinde, "The Yupa Indians in Western Venezuela," Proceed. Americ. Philos. Soc., 100, 1956, pp. 197-222.

territory along the western shore of the Gulf of Maracaibo /Gulf of Venezuela/ I occasionally saw representatives of the Guajiro /Goajiro/ people (2) of every age and both sexes. It

[101] 2. The spelling Guajiro is preferred to Goajiro. Cf. "Etimología de la palabra 'Guajira /Etymology of the word Guajiro'/" in Vegamian, pp. 11-33.

was my wish to see personally the astonishingly favorable adaptation of these Indians to their unusually dry and vegetation-poor surroundings, in order to compare their ecological conditions with those of the Bushmen in the Kalahari of South
[114] Africa (3). Already from Bogotá on, Professor Adolf Staffe of

/532 cont./

105 Only a few accounts concerning the social order and po-
175 litical organization of the Guajiro are available from that
614 period. It cannot be ascertained when the Spanish conquistadors first found clues to the family groups existing there, true sibs /Sippen/ in the sense of modern ethnology. Father Álvarez José Nicolás de la Rosa (5) in 1739 described certain burial

[113]

5. Under "Álvarez" I am citing in the following the rare work, Floresta de la Santa Iglesia Catedral de la Ciudad de Santa Marta /Anthology of the Santa Iglesia Cathedral of the City of Santa Marta/, compiled by Father Álvarez Don José Nicolás de la Rosa in 1739 and printed in Valencia in 1833. Francis C. Nicholas translated significant sections from this work into English and supplied supplementary notes which a trip through Guajira induced him to make. According to his judgment, "the book forms a stepping-stone to a study of the history and antiquities of the Indians of northern South America" /cited in English/ (p. 606). This translation, with the title, "The Aborigines of the Province of Santa Marta, Colombia," is to be found in American Anthropologist, 3, 1901, pp. 606-649. Pages 625-636 are devoted to the Guajiro.

ceremonies and in this connection made the incidental remark that they were held "according to the castes [clans] by which they are distinguished" /cited in English/ (p. 634). He enumerated six, "thus: Casta de Guacamaya [macaw] (this is the

/541 cont./

614 Crist (p. 485) wrote: "The Indians of the Guajira are divided into various clans or blood groups, castas, each with its distinguishing totem representing the animal with whose traits, according to legend, the clan was originally imbued" /cited in English/.

614 212 The thought complex that has solidified around the totem of our Indians — to mention it once more in conclusion — gets significant confirmation of its truely totemistic character by the visible symbol for each one of the three dozen of them. None of these totem signs — whether one calls them clan signs, symbols, monograms, emblems, property marks, or something else — is revealed as typically [281] Christian or Spanish in design. The Indian women of olden times wove them into their pieces of weaving, and, as has already been mentioned above (p. 10), the men put their clan-signs on other objects. According to the myth, the [773] original ancestor of a given clan was assigned it in an individual presentation by Mareiwa himself, and it has been retained down to the present day. /See the foreign text for the list of "Sources Mentioned," pp. 541-542./

/542/ Supplement:

114 614 As a consequence of a long stay in East Asia, which I concluded a short time ago, two pertinent articles first came to my attention when the article presented here was already in printing:

[113] Santa Cruz, Antonio, "Acquiring Status in Guajiro Society," Anthropological Quarterly, 33, 1960, pp. 115-127.

Wilbert, Johannes, "Identificación Etno-Lingüistica de Tribus Indígenas del Occidente de Venezuela," Mem. Soc. de Ciencias Natur. La Salle, 21, 1961, pp. 5-14.

Both articles refer to the clan-division among the Guajiro described by me. The almost completed printing of my article, however, does not permit me to discuss them in detail; therefore this brief reference must suffice.

/xiv cont./

124 individuals as informants, both men and women, in various parts of La Guajira Peninsula, the natural habitat of the Indians to whom we refer. They have, consequently, at least a margin of sufficiently high reliability, as the check thus obtained allowed for the clarification, confirmation, and correction of all data which were taken down in the preliminary study.

114 We would have liked to start this monograph with a description however brief of the geographical surroundings in which the Indians of La Guajira live, but on this subject we would refer the reader to the previous number of this review in which he will find an article written by my husband, licentiate Roberto Pineda Giraldo, entitled Aspects de la Magía en la Guajira /Aspects of Magic in La Guajira/, in which there is a brief summary of the geography of the peninsula. However, in some of the chapters of this treatise certain references to the geography of the peninsula will be found, as we have considered them to be indispensable for clearing up certain social and economic phenomena which otherwise would have remained obscure, because the economy, as will be gathered from reading this present work, plays a very important part in the functioning of Guajiro institutions.

128 The reader, furthermore, will find certain repetitions in the different aspects treated herein, but this is also due to our desire to leave nothing ambiguous or unclear. Many of the conflicting situations faced by the individual, occurring at different times and in regard to various legal institutions, have given rise to different reactions and phenomena which we felt needed clarification, and consequently we have been obliged to repeat them on the different occasions when they have had to be considered.

56 It may also be observed that the chapter on marriage is the longest of all, and it is in that very chapter that most repetitions 182 and references to past and future reported situations will be found. Marriage in La Guajira may be considered to be the basis of all social organization, for it is via marriage /xv/

/145 cont./

567 the death of his aunt, Umaralí dedicated himself to living in
538 a hut in the near-by woods where his aunt lay buried. There he fed on roots and wild fruit picked in the woods and only received a visit from time to time from his male slave, from whom he had also parted. /146/

175 Negro slavery in the eighteenth century. A most interest-
567 ing aspect of slavery in La Guajira is that related to Negro slavery among these natives, which was at its height during
648 the period of colonization, especially during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and was due to Negro commerce and to pearl fishing. Unfortunately, there remain only a few notes about these happenings, written by Father Julián in the
[114] eighteenth century, which have aided us in writing this last section regarding slavery. In the following lines we transcribe these notes which confirm the first case known up to the present in the history of all American Indians regarding the presence of Negro slaves among them. Father Julián says: "The fishermen of such pearls are the Guajiro Indians, who are in control of all this coast from the Río de la Hacha almost up to the famous lake of Maracaybo. These are the fishermen and owners of the pearls. It is they who sell them, who carry them to the Río de la Hacha, who trade them with foreigners who come in their brigs to these waters or anchor in the Bahía Honda. For the pearls they bring in, these Indians receive firearms, alcohol, wines, and even slaves, all of which they procure, becoming richer and ever more insolent and less conquerable." (1)

1. Julián, Antonio:
La Perla de América, Provincia de Santa Marta, reconocida, observada y expuesta en discursos históricos /The Pearl of America: Province of Santa Marta, checked, observed, and explained in historical

[7 cont.]

Consequently at this time, the Indian faces a situation of misery that has brought him to seek monetary income either as a worker in the maritime saltworks or as a herdsman in the neighboring haciendas of Venezuela and Colombia; or if he is obstinate in his attachment to his native soil, he has to put up with conditions of hunger, bond service, and even slavery in his own territory.

The lack of water has been the main factor leading to the mass emigration of entire native families to the nearest centers of trade and work; there they enroll themselves as paid farm workers; or simply beg for charity, which is frequently seen in the streets and plazas of Maracaibo; or apply themselves to some other trade such as the making of charcoal to be sold in Riohacha; or work in the loading and unloading of ships in neighboring ports.

* * *

All these facts that we have been describing and the little that was known of this interesting Colombian aboriginal community led the Institute of Ethnology and Archaeology of the Ministry of National Education of Colombia to organize an expedition to study for a reasonable period of time the greater part of the characteristic social phenomena of this group of people, the actual social situation of the natives confronted by the new conditions of life, the anthropological aspect, the language, etc. This decision was put into effect with the ethnographic expedition of 1947, which, during the months of July, August, and September, traveled over a great part of the territory making the corresponding studies. [8] This expedition was composed of: the investigator, Licenciado Milciades Chaves, Licenciada Virginia Gutiérrez de Pineda Giraldo, Señora María Rosa de Ferrazzini, and the author.

The result of these investigations is the work we now present, the first of a series of publications which will cover the major part of the aspects of the material and spiritual life of the Goajiro.

The work to which these few lines serve as an introduction is based on facts carefully gathered by us in the field, especially by my wife Licenciada Virginia Gutiérrez de Pineda Giraldo, who kindly handed over data to be studied and added to ours, and at

[8 cont.]

114 now present it embodied under this title Aspectos de la Magia en
121 la Guajira, a title which not only covers what has been known as magic to the Indian but also many of his mental and sentimental attitudes, the classification of which would be difficult in any other way. [9] [Maps of La Guajira Comisaría on p. 9. Page 10 is blank.]

[11] II

Life Cycle of the Guajiro Shaman

*756 Symptomatology. A woman shaman [piache], referring to
757 the bodily symptoms which presented themselves as an indication of her calling, mentioned the following: She began to see before her eyes a kind of little star which fell upon her in the manner of a golden rain, the first sign, according to her, of her person being possessed by a spirit. Her sight became clouded, and she fell to the ground in a faint; she remained stretched out there for some time. Then she very slowly regained consciousness. After this first attack of possession, she felt quite well for two or three days, after which she woke up one morning with a sensation of intense cold such as one feels at the beginning of an attack of malaria; she also broke out in a sticky sweat all over her body; then she was overcome, vomited blood, and remained unconscious until afternoon, lying like one dead in her hammock. She began to recover again, and the spirit came down to her, for she seemed to hear a voice that ordered her, "Eat manilla (2), for if

[2.7% 4.39]

2. A tobacco paste imported by the natives from Ríohacha (Colombia) or from Maracaibo (Venezuela).

*756 you do not, you will die." On receiving this order, she immediately told her relatives to bring her manilla, and one of them went with a gold necklace of hers to look for an old woman shaman that she might come to see if our informant had a spirit and, if it were true,

#756

[13 cont.]

verdict, the decision must be accepted; otherwise he will die for having disobeyed the orders of the spirit. [14]

#756
●114
(7)

Métraux, referring to the abnormal physical and psychic characteristics of the medicine man says: "In Thurn" (Among the Indians of Guiana. London, 1883, p. 334) "declares that among the Indians of British Guiana shamans are recruited from among epileptics, but this affirmation, which no other authority confirms, could well have been inspired by the behavior of the piai in the course of his trances." (9) [Cited in French.]

9. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 201.

On our part, we can say that we also were tempted to classify as epileptic the attacks which the shaman suffers at the beginning of what we have called his vocation, since the symptoms described make one easily believe that they are such. But when we learned of the curious and interesting aspect of sexual taboo, possibly more severe for the woman than the man, which we shall describe fully in future chapters, we were then inclined to think of them as a form of hysteria, and for this reason we have called them hysterical attacks.

It might be thought that the effect of the tobacco or some other narcotic is what brings about this state of trance or ecstasy, but one must bear in mind that one of the clear signs of the illumination is the attack which occurs before taking the narcotic or stupefying drug. This makes us disagree with Professor Métraux when he states: "No anomaly or physical or physiological particularity seems to have been chosen as the symptom of a special predisposition for the practice of shamanism." (10) [Cited in French.]

10. Ibid., I, 202.

Furthermore, the visions and loss of consciousness are confirmed by Kurt Nimuendajú, cited by Professor Métraux when referring to the Bororó:"... a spirit appears before him in the form of a monkey or water hog and demands of him his submission. His head whirls, a thousand colors dance before his eyes; he has

[14 cont.]
become a hari." (11) [Cited in French.]

11. Mélesse. Op. cit., I, 203.

We find another proof of the sick personality of the shaman, which would appear to be an almost indispensable requisite of the profession, among the Tarumo of the plains of Venezuela. "Every community has its own priest or musician. This is a shaman or piache. He is a more or less retarded being from the psycho-physiological point of view and one whose soul -- he says -- journeys to the land of the gods during religious ceremonies." (12) [15]

12. Le Besnerais, Henry. Algunos aspectos del río Capanaparo y de sus indios Tarumo [Some aspects of the Capanaparo River and of its Tarumo Indians], p. 18.

Period of training. Continuing with the story of the woman shaman with which we began this chapter about magic in La Guajira, we shall now see how the older shaman called in for the purpose carried out the training of the aspirant. She transmitted all her knowledge in a long period of training. She took hold of the apprentice, sat her on her knees, made her take up the ceremonial maraca, and with her own hand showed and directed her in all the required movements. She proceeded to invoke the spirits and to make her pupil repeat all the motions, positions, prayers, and canticles. This operation was carried out several times during the day and at times during the night. Furthermore, the old shaman was always on the alert for the various orders and indications which the spirit imparted to the pupil. After some time had elapsed in this training, the spirit said to the instructress: "Withdraw. Now the young woman can be a shaman." Afterward it gave instructions regarding the fiesta of calentamiento about which we shall learn in the corresponding section.

During the period of training the teacher shaman demanded from the initiate some proofs of her knowledge [ciencia]. On one occasion she said, "Take a firebrand and make an attempt at divination." The girl obeyed and proceeded to divine as she had

[17 cont.]
*[illegible]
[illegible] *mapiawa*, *machiawai*, males; and *anapaura*, *ulawaua*, *wardi-ul-uard*, *walwiha*, and *pachiuna*, females.

The common spirit of sickness and death, *wanarí*, in its malignant sense, can be possessed by a shaman, but its possession implies dangers as because of it the shaman can become insane, foolish, or paralytic. It is such an aggressive, haughty, and hateful spirit that, when it turns against a shaman, does so so vindictively that he is compelled to ask all the other spirits to aid him against the *jirairy* or *wanarí*.

But shamans do not know the origin of the spirits in the majority of cases. They do not know from where they come, only that they come from an unknown place, dressed like *aríuna* (civilization). They are *wanarí* that assist them in the struggle against sickness, which is also called *wanarí*. The personal spirit of the shaman, as we have said, does not intervene directly in the healing. It is those other spirits, the ones that have taken possession of him ever since he was initiated into the magic arts, which do so. His personal spirit does not have a special name, nor does the personal spirit of any of the Indians. Only on the shaman's death does his spirit take the common name *wanarí* and a special one if he has been a very outstanding curer.

In general terms, two other classes of spirits exist: that of the shaman himself, of which we have already spoken, and that of the diviner. These two spirits, however, can be absorbed by one person, but this absorption requires two special preparations, one for each activity. The more common procedure is for the shaman to be a diviner also, as this will help him considerably in carrying out his functions, for, on being [18] called to accomplish a cure, he can by means of his prophetic art consult with the fishbone or the tobacco (Cf. "Magic and Medicine") and find out if the sick person in question will recover. In accordance with the results of his findings, he will or will not try to cure him.

Referring to prophecy, Ortoschea in his introduction to Colombia's *Guajiro Grammar* refutes -- we do not know on what authority -- the statement of Ensign de la Rosa when the latter states that the Indians divine by means of tobacco, and says:

[SB cont.]

"Shamans will augur by the direction of smoke, not by smoking tobacco as de la Rosa tells us, but by lighting a small faggot of firewood, tinder, or cotton." (23) But neither the one nor the

23. Celedón, Rafael. Gramática, Catecismo i Vocabulario de la lengua guajira. Introducción. [Grammar, Catechism, and Vocabulary of the Guajiro Language. Introduction], p. 25.

other is totally mistaken since, as we have already seen and will note again later, the two systems, divination by means of the firebrand or by tobacco, are actually employed in La Guajira.

With respect to the relations between the shaman and his protector spirits in general, Méraux affirms: "The relations between the shaman and his familiar spirit have been fully analyzed by Barrère: 'Every piaye claims to have a genie, or rather a familiar demon, with which he has a close relationship, and by its intervention he carries out his wishes. This supposed genie is not always so submissive that it does not sometimes get away when it thinks it opportune, escaping to accomplish all the evil it can against the Indians, after which it will return to its abode. The main use of this genie is to assist the piayes either to chase out demons or to carry out some revenge, according to their will, and to kill whatever Indians they see fit, as their power extends equally to heal illnesses or to bring them on those on whom they wish to take revenge.'" (24) [Cited in French.]

24. Méraux. Op. cit., I, 212.

Taboos of the shamans. Shamans are obliged to observe most strictly a series of taboos, related chiefly to sex, to nutrition in general, and to objects they receive in payment for curing sick persons or animals. We shall describe each one of these separately.

[32 cont.]

*756 various spirits by one person. They are several spirits associated
775 by this post-mortem relationship which act inseparably in their
787 function as counselors.

It is also very probable that the protector spirits invoked by the shamans may not be anything other than the spirits of famous deceased shamans of times past to whom they turn for aid. In this case they would only have to make a change of name due to the taboo relating to the use of the name of dead persons, which we shall explain in the corresponding chapter.

• • •

● 114 Before continuing with our subject, we wish to make cer-
171 tain clarifying statements with respect to the presence of women
562 in the science of magic in La Guajira and in general among
*756 primitive Americans. We have already seen that among the Guajiro Indians the only basic condition required to become a shaman is what we have called the "revelation," accompanied by the symptoms described earlier. The sex, age, or economic and social position of the person is not taken into account in any way. It is, as we have stated, only necessary to be of a hysterical nature. However, Métraux in his work which we have repeatedly quoted states:

"In tropical South America the profession of shaman appears to be as a general rule reserved for the masculine sex. One does find, however, among many writers reference to women shamans." (26) [Cited in French.] According to these authors

26. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 198.

quoted by Métraux, (Rochefort, Roth, Koch, Grünberg, and Ives d'Evreux), women shamans are to be found in the Antilles and among the Tupinamba, Taulipang, Arekuna [Arekena], and Macushi [Macusi].

With reference especially to women shamans in La Guajira, Métraux maintains the following, based on Petrullo's The Yaruros of the Capanaparo River: "Among the Arawak tribe of the Guajiro

[32 cont.]

114 the number of women shamans is greater than that of the men
M1 piai. At the suggestion of these latter, women will enter the
562 profession following a call from the spirit world and [33] are
756 initiated into the secrets of their art by an experienced shaman who at night teaches them to handle the rattle and sing their magic songs." (27) [Cited in French.] He likewise quotes cases

27. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 199.

of women shamans among the ancient Mojo Indians of eastern Bolivia and the Itonama, neighbors of those previously mentioned (28), as well as among the Apapocuva (Guaraní), the

28. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 199.

Cobeuo, the Palikur, and the Carajá (29).

29. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 200.

Further on, speaking of the role of women in witchcraft, he says: "With the exception of the passage in Ives d'Evreux..." (relative to the Tupinamba) "there does not exist any description of a shamanistic seance of the current type being directed by a female piai. This hiatus is perhaps due to the poverty of our sources, but it is also revelatory of the real position of women in shamanism. The profession is open to them, but the role they play in it is modest. It appears they limit themselves to simple and easy cures, to various remedies, and to the recital of charms. Women do not usually take part in the invocation of spectacular spirits before the extraction of pathogenic substances. It is certainly not through the effect of simple coincidence that women shamans appear especially in the cultures that have come strongly under European influence (Guajiro, Yaruro, Palikur, Warrau, Itonama, and Guaraní, etc." (30) [Cited in French.]

30. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 200.

[33 cont.]

●114 We do not wish to question Professor Métraux's statement
177 about the influence of White contact in relation to medicine-
562 women in the other groups cited by him, as we are not objec-
*756 tively acquainted with them. But with regard to the Guajiro, we have to make the clarification that in the descriptions collected by us in the field, it is precisely the woman who really initiates magic, or better said shamanism, among the Indians, when she obliges her nephew to follow her own career. This aspect can be better understood when the reader comes to the section of this chapter entitled "The shaman in oral literature."
[174] The fact that women appear as shamans in oral literature demonstrates the antiquity of the institution, as this literature faithfully preserves the most remote traditions of the group.

*756 The shaman, man of two worlds. All that we have seen in connection with the life cycle of the Guajiro shaman makes us think that he is what we have called him in the subtitle that heads these paragraphs: a man of two worlds — the world of the living and the world of the spirits of the dead. [34]

*756 The communication which he establishes after all the
554 preparatory ceremonies with one or several protector spirits who lavish on him every kind of counsel and instruction and even protect him against evil in all its manifestations: illness, enemies, public calamities, etc., make of him a man distinct from all the rest. His status is superior to that of other mortals because in his hands he has power over both good and evil. It is this duality that binds with his science a man who is both sacred and human, a being respected by all but feared at the same time, a good man, able to cure illnesses, but also a malignant being, liable to let loose the fury of the spirits beyond the grave. He is respected, loved, feared, and even, we might dare to say, profoundly hated.

[783] What predominates in him above all is the characteristic of impurity due to contamination from death. Sacred and impure become confounded in him; he is sacred because he is untouchable, and he is untouchable because of his participation with death through his protector spirits.

*756 His dual position as inhabitant of two worlds, involuntary it is true, depends on two fundamentally simple facts: first, his

[63 cont.]

614

Family groups	Representative animals
Jayáriyú	dog (42)

42. It should be made clear that this animal symbol is, or must be, relatively modern, as the dog was unknown before the Conquest. The substitution of this for some other animal, we do not know which, must have occurred in the Post-conquest era for reasons unknown up to now.

Ápshana	buzzard
Sfjuana	wasp
Soryú	cataneja
Páusayú	bee

The social or mythical meaning of these animals representing the extended family groups has been lost. At least we could not obtain any verbal declaration from our informants in which we could perceive the actuating presence of the totem, which is what possibly in olden times these animal figures represented. *But we have in some cases been able to establish* linguistic correspondence between the name of the family group and its characteristic animal. To verify this we can show some examples (43).

[114]

43. We expound this short linguistic study with some reservations since our stay in La Guajira was relatively short, two months approximately, in which length of time the study of the language scarcely reached the rudimentary stage.

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614
825

1. uri or wíh = make
wayú = Indian, people

[125 cont.]

524 the singer says to her: "You are not a virgin, I would never have believed this of you, but it is true. A pity, my pretty majayura, that you have not your virginity and that men have had their bodies over yours." He than places her in a place separate from the virgins. When he finishes doing this with all the girls in the group, he distributes prizes to the virgins, to [431] those who have triumphed in the trial, and he eulogizes them again. The girls later return the presents which are only simulated gifts.

114 The French writer Roger Callois has interpreted these fiestas carried out from ancient to present times in a chapter called [126] "La transgresión sagrada. Teoría de la Fiesta" [The Sacred Sin. Theory of the Fiesta], and he says in this respect: "To their normal way of life, occupied with their daily work, peaceful, surrounded by a system of prudent prohibitions where the maxim quieta non movere maintains law and order in their world, there is opposed the effervescence of the fiesta. This, if only its external aspects are considered, shows identical reactions at every civilized level. It implies a great number of excited, noisy people. These conglomerations of masses greatly influence the starting of and the contagion of an exultation which spends itself in shouts and gestures and encourages the uncontrolled abandonment of all to the most irresponsible impulses. Even today when without doubt the now impoverished fiestas have very little effect on the grayish background of the monotonous everyday life of the people and appear to be sporadic, spread out, almost stagnated, there may still be distinguished in their celebrations some miserable vestiges of the collective abandonment which characterized these ancient riotous celebrations." And later he states: "In the so-called primitive civilizations the contrast is very much more clearly marked. The fiesta lasts several weeks, even several months, interrupted by intervals of rest of from four to five days. At times it required several years to gather together the quantity of comestibles and delicacies which would be not only consumed or despatched ostentatiously but also destroyed and wasted purely and simply because waste and destruction are forms of excess

[126 cont.]

and they enter into the feast as part and parcel of the traditional ceremony.

"This usually ends in a frenzied, orgiastic manner in a libertine night of uproar and movement which the most ordinary instruments, playing to time, transform into rhythmic motion and dancing. According to the description of a witness, the human mass, crowded together, swaying and pounding the ground with their stamping, turn and shake around a central pole. The agitation is translated into every kind of manifestation which increases it. It grows and is intensified by everything that it expresses: the clash of spears against shields, guttural songs, loudly marking time, roughness and promiscuities during the dance. Violence erupts spontaneously. Every now and again men come to blows. The combatants are separated, lifted on high by strong arms, and are rocked to the rhythm of the music until they calm down. But none of this interrupts the dance. In the same way, the couples will suddenly leave, come together in the adjacent forest, and then return to take their places once again in the whirling crowd which continues until morning.

"One can understand that the fiesta which expresses such a paroxysm of life and stands out so drastically from the smallness of their accustomed daily tasks would appear to any individual joining in the exalted throng as another world, where he feels sustained and transformed by forces that carry him along. His daily activity, harvesting, [127] hunting, fishing, or stock grazing just fill his time and provide for his immediate necessities. No doubt he puts into these activities all his attention, his patience, and his ability, but he lives with greater feeling in the memory of one fiesta and the anticipation of another, because the fiesta represents to him, to his memory and his desires, a time of intense emotion and the transformation of his being." (64)

64. Caillois, Roger, (El hombre y lo sagrado) [Man and the Sacred].

Caillois continues to explain the fiesta as the ceremony of transformation of chaos into cosmos; or in other words, a

[127 cont.]
714 representation of the re-creation of the universe, the resurgence of nature that changes and disappears, to reappear later.

796 In large part, this could explain the whole of the fiesta.
821 In reality what in La Guajira is being celebrated under the name of the Dance of the Kid is nothing but a true re-creation of the world of the natives of those barren plains. With the arrival of the rains the sea of sand is converted into a green world, the dry beds of the streams become powerful streams of water, the dry brushwood is transformed into green forest, anxiety over thirst disappears, fatigue from sun and desert is changed to rest, hunger to abundance, and worry to hope in the ripening of fruits and the disappearance of the specter of poverty which prowls the sierras and the plains. It is Mareiwa, their divinity, their good spirit, who has made his apparition over the lakes of the Sierra de Nevada, unleashing storms and hurricanes and bringing the promised rains to his creatures.

But, on the other hand, the sexual acts we have just shown
826 to be present at this traditional fiesta of La Guajira should be
796 treated apart as they represent a transgression of the established rigid and severe cultural patterns that refer to carnal relations between men and women. As the general interpretation of the *whole of the Guajiro community has not yet been finished*, which could give us sufficient data to carry out necessary clarifications, we shall have to limit ourselves to noting certain outstanding facts.

836 Unmarried men and women in La Guajira, when looked at in its normal state, are subject to rigorous restrictions in their sex life. Sexual intercourse before marriage is not allowed to their women as the men want their spouses to be virgin. The
[684] bachelor is limited in the satisfaction of his sexual impulses by the law of compensation payment, which forces him in the case of his having relations with an unmarried girl to pay a heavy indemnity by which is covered the harm done to the woman, the offense [128] to her relatives, and the possible pains and dangers of childbirth when pregnancy occurs. And if these impositions
[628] are not complied with or if the Indian does not marry the girl, paying the price her relatives demand, revenge and declaration

[131 cont.]

796 summer and over sicknesses, pestilences, and deaths which occur
821 as a consequence of it. But we have no work to sustain this affirmation. Also one must take into account the fact that the
[609] natives are not willing that strangers be present at their Fiesta of the Kid; and when they are, the play is much repressed in its natural expression and becomes a pale copy, artificial, almost we might say a special product for exportation. Missionaries
[797] have contributed greatly to this since they are opposed to the fiesta, considering it amoral or immoral because of the sexual freedom which is shown during its performance and the representation of natural scenes of the procreative life of animals. All the
[114 data that we have are not the product of our own personal observation
127] of the fiesta but are reports collected from different sources in diverse parts of La Guajira. They have, at the very least, the value of data verified several times over.

All this leads us to think that even though the Dance of the Kid is directly related to the rains since it always starts when the rains begin even though it is specially dedicated to Mareiwa, the divinity of the rains, as we shall prove in the coming chapter, even though its name [132] appears to be derived from the stellar constellation of the Seven Kids, iwa, whose association with rain we shall also note in the following chapter, it is primarily a ceremony dedicated to fecundity, fecundity of the soil shown by the sprouting of plant life brought about by the rains. Fecundity and rain are seen, then, as two inseparable factors, two terms in the same equation: life.

526 We spoke of the aspect of demonstration of ability in
796 theatrical representations when we delimited the areas of study of the ceremonial of the Kid. In effect, according to narrations we have at our disposal about the representative games, which we shall describe in detail in the latter part of this chapter, at the end of each one, out of the two sides which have taken part in the development, one side is seen to triumph over the other due to its greater skill or ability in movement or to the physical strength of those taking part when it is a matter of representations of struggles, as we saw in the game of the hawksbill turtle, and as we shall see in the representation of scenes introducing animals,

[144 cont.]

776 "It seems that for the Guajiro there may exist two devils, one called Yarujá or Yolugá and the other the Guanurú. The Yarujá, or devil properly speaking, is the most evil that exists and the most frightful. He is always evil and exercises his actions on man, on humanity, but he acts mainly not through himself but through another and minor devil, which is Guanurú.

"The Guanurú is more involved in worldly affairs; he is the enemy of the body as well as the soul. He is charged with [753] producing sicknesses in people, in animals, even in plants. The Guanurú is also a spirit." (76)

76. Barranquilla. Op. cit., II, 67.

[114] As we see the confusion is great, and it is not all due to the writings of the authors above quoted but also to the natives themselves, as we shall see below.

What may be deduced at present is the establishment of two categories of spirits, one for those of good, the other for those of evil, categories based on their greater or lesser capacity to exercise benign or malignant influences respectively. But if we examine a little more carefully the series of facts observed by us in our journey in 1947, we are able to note some further differences which will enable us to explain somewhat better the problem that appertains to the ideas of good and evil in the native's mind. These differences arise from the presence of beings which have characters, which are disposed to exercise good or evil on the individual or on the community in general, that is, benign or evil spirits that personify [145] good and evil and that preside over actions socially acceptable or reprehensible.

• • •

Mareiwa. In our opinion, Mareiwa is above all the propitiatory spirit of the rains. This statement is based on the following facts:

1. The Dance of the Kid, as we saw in the previous chapter, is dedicated to him and takes place when the summer rains appear.

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
SC13 Goajiro SC13

671 tween law and custom in Guajiro society by a variety of illustrations. One of them said in effect:

> If a cacique visits me and I fail to kill a sheep in honor of his visit
> 574 and to feast him in accordance with the dignity of his rank and my
> 626 wealth, I have broken a custom of my people. However, though I
> 671 offend him by such negligence my guest may take no action to redress the wrong other than to inflict the same discourtesy on me if the opportunity should arise. He may seek neither redress in violence nor composition in payment. My only punishment may be the acquisition of a bad name among my people.
>
> But if I visit one of my wives at her rancho and she fails to kill a
> 586 sheep from her own flocks to feast me, refuses me her person, neglects
> 671 to supply me with hammocks, saddle-bags, and other articles made
> 684 by women, or refuses me shelter, she will have broken a 'law'; that is, she will have broken the marriage contract. In this case I may demand from her and her family payment or a divorce. In the latter case her family would have to return to me the bride-price plus any increase in the herds but less an amount considered fair for my having exercised sexual privileges over her, though I may demand even this if she marries again. In case her family refuses to adjust
> [626] the matter in accordance with our law I may appeal to my family for help in obtaining my just rights. I should be justified in having *recourse to violence. However, the law is so well understood that* it would not be necessary to resort to such drastic measures generally.[5]

671 These informants were acquainted to some extent with
[115] Colombian and Venezuelan laws and were attempting, no
[177] doubt, to classify their own customs in accordance with European practices. Nevertheless it is an indication that in their minds there does exist a class of offenses for which one may seek composition even through violence, and a class that is in the category of merely moral obligations though investigators may not always draw an equally fine distinction. Simons, for example, in discussing Guajiro law speaks of injury
[114] to oneself as giving rise to a legal obligation for composition. My informants, on the contrary, distinguished it from that
574 class of wrongful acts. If a man cuts himself, his father and
626 father's relatives receive an expiatory offering. Had one of
672 my informants, the son of a rich cacique, cut himself he would
602 have given a small barrel of rum and five or more sheep to his

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
SC13 Goajiro SC13

672 family responsibility for the acts of one of its members. If
629 there is no property composition for a tort committed and the injured family has recourse to arms, the revenge that it may take is limited by precedent. If the family is very powerful
[626] it may dispense with that, but public moral reprobation is a strong barrier to excesses.

NOTES

121 1. J. Austin and T. E. Holland restrict the term Law to those rules which a fully organized state recognizes and enforces. I.e., T. E. Holland: 'A law, in the proper sense of the term, is a general rule of human action, taking cognizance only of external acts, enforced by a determinate authority, which authority is human, and among human authorities, is that which is paramount in a political society.' (See Bibliography.)

2. Rivers, Durkheim, Hartland, and Hobhouse express this position.

3. Radcliffe-Brown, 202.

4. See Malinowski in Hogbin.

114 5. From my field notes gathered in 1935. The Columbia University—University Museum Goajiro Expedition spent three months in the peninsula making an ethnological and archaeological survey. The other members of the expedition were: Dr. Paul Kirchhoff, Mr. Lewis Korn and Mrs. Gwyneth Bowser Harrington, archaeologists; Miss Lydia C. du Pont, photographer; Señor Gregorio Hernandez de Alba, a Colombian student.

6. See Sabino.

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5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

An Exploration of the Goajira Peninsula, U.S. of Colombia.

By F. A. A. Simons.

Map, p. 840.

Since the publication of my last paper on the Sierra Nevada in 1881,* I have been commissioned by the National Government of Colombia to survey the two Atlantic States of the Magdalena and Bolivar, and especially to write a report on the hitherto unexplored region of the Goajira Indians. A summary of this I have now the honour of laying before the Royal Geographical Society. 121 122

The north-easterly corner of the United States of Colombia (formerly New Granada) terminates in a large peninsula, that, projecting for some 120 miles out into the Caribbean Sea, forms the extensive Gulf of Maracaybo. This peninsula is known as the Goajira. It was ceded by the State of Magdalena in 1872, to form a National Territory, for the better civilisation of its Indians. One half of it, however, is claimed by the Venezuelans, and a dispute that at one time threatened to culminate in war between the two nations, was amicably settled by referring the question to the King of Spain as arbitrator. His decision has not yet been made public. Three-fourths surrounded by sea, the Goajira is on the land, or south-westerly, side separated from the State of the Magdalena by a natural boundary, formed partly by the Rio Ranchería, with the outlying hills of the Nevada, variously called in old maps Cerros de Soldado, de Barrancas, &c., and partly by the Montes of Oca. 131 175 131

Very little or nothing is known of the history of these Indians. Although the peninsula played an important part in the first discoveries, none of the early chroniclers seem to have paid much attention to the country. Juan de Castellanos, who resided some time at the Cabo de la Vela, dedicates a "solo canto" to the pearls. The "Floresta de Santa Marta," written by José Nicolas de la Rosa in 1739, gives many interesting data on the customs and manners of the Indians; this work must have supplied the more recent writings on the subject, for the same errors run through them all. That the present race are not the original inhabitants of the peninsula is certain. The Indians themselves have a legend that they came from a great distance, and are able to point out traces of villages belonging to the former inhabitants, whom they assert are the Arhuacos of the Sierra Nevada. Sometimes their old graves are accidentally come across, yielding to the fortunate finder a rich harvest of tumas (pieces of polished stone with a hole drilled through), curiously shaped pieces of gold, and other ornaments (clay), identical with those found in great profusion all over the Sierra Nevada. Now, 175 [114] 174 [173] 172

* 'Proceedings R. G. S.,' 1881, p. 762.

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

In weapons the Goajiro uses the old-fashioned bow and arrow, along with the latest breech-loading rifle. He never strolls ten yards from the rancho without his arrows stuck in his sash and the inseparable bow in his hand. Arrows are of three classes: bolts for killing birds and lizards, *kata*, having a nail or piece of hard wood for a head neatly covered with wax; arrows proper, for killing game and war, *ajuarral*, with iron heads made from old knives filed and worked into shape; and thirdly the terrible poisoned rays, *ainard*; these are an ordinary arrow-shaft, with two inches of the long weapon of the sting-ray (*garapat*) loosely fastened to the end, well covered with poison. To prevent accidents, each head is covered by a cane sheath. The poison is putrified animal matter—toads, snakes, and other reptiles allowed to putrefy and boiled down. When newly done the poison is said to be weak, the same when too old, so the arrows have to be re-dipped at stated intervals (about nine months). Death subvenes from three to twelve days afterwards, a sort of blood-poisoning, and is tolerably certain if the ray-bone has not been got out (a most difficult operation) and the wound well cauterised with a red-hot nail. The Cocinas of Yurijuko are reputed the best makers, and enjoy a sort of monopoly. A bunch of twenty-four arrows is sold by them for a dress cut of cotton (eight yards. None of the arrows are feathered; the shafts are made from cane, roots, and also solid wood. As to firearms the Indian prefers the old "Crown" or "Tower" flintlock (carabine) to the Remington rifle, on account of the uncertainty of getting cartridges. The American flint-lock (carabine *capote-pasahan*) is also much liked.

The principal industries among the Goajiros are collecting [illegible] divi-divi, and salt, and breeding horses, mules, donkeys, cattle, and goats, with the accompanying sale of hides. Their animals are celebrated in the neighbouring provinces for being docile, having been all brought up as it were by hand, for the Indian spares neither time nor trouble on his flocks.

With regard to the language, a small grammar was published in 1878 by Rafael Calcaño. Unfortunately it was printed in Paris, while the author was in America, and is replete with errors in consequence. The language is a much richer one than is generally supposed, and taken as a whole has a euphonious, pleasing effect on the ear, much more so than the neighbouring Arawaks. I have no space here to dwell upon its beauties, but cannot dismiss the subject without giving the following three examples of match-mad words:—

Adainga, a name.	Ita, a cup (gourd).	Tam, a bamboo.
Tadainga, my name.	Tatita, my cup.	Tatiyam, my bamboo.
Pandainga, your name.	Pitita, your cup.	Pitiyam, your bamboo.
Ñadainga, his name.	Ñitita, his cup.	Ñitiyam, his bamboo.
Nadainga, her name.	Nitita, her cup.	Nitiyam, her bamboo.

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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ASPECTS OF THE AVUNCULATE IN THE GUAJIRO CULTURE

ANTONIO SANTA CRUZ
Catholic University of America

THE Guajira peninsula is situated in the northwest corner of Colombia, South America, roughly between the 71° and 73° W. long., and 11° and 12° N. lat. It is rather flat in contrast with only some hill ranges in the eastern part. Rainfall is scarce and the vegetation is of a semi-arid type. The region is inhabited by one tribe of Indians, the Arawak-speaking Guajiro. Both culturally and linguistically the Guajira peninsula presents a uniform block.

The present writer visited the territory in the summer of 1940, but due to illness contracted there was forced to cut short his visit. Fairly full data were gathered on all phases of social culture. The present paper deals with certain aspects of one phase only, the avunculate.

The role of the maternal uncle is manifold in Guajiro culture, organized as the Guajiro are into maternal sibs. Types of behavior, both prescribed and unformalized, vary, depending on the seniority of both uncle and nephew, but not on that of niece. In this paper we shall be concerned for the most part with the prescribed and voluntary relations between the oldest brother of a given woman and her oldest son, and between this oldest brother and his sisters' daughters. Other relations not involving these specified kin will be touched upon only incidentally for illustrative purposes.

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

Foreword

This book will take the reader to a peculiar corner of South America, the Guajira peninsula, the shores of which are washed by the warm Caribbean. It has a different climate and nature to those of other, adjacent, parts of the continent. Its inhabitants are Indians who differ largely from most of their fellows in our day, for they are warlike, proud and independent. They are the only people of mounted nomads among the natives of America and they are led by powerful chiefs. They have longest maintained their independence and their remarkable customs. They have been left in peace largely because their country is arid and unattractive, but also because they are not to be trifled with.

I have made three journeys among them. The first, in 1920, was the most exciting and fruitful. Three of us went, my wife, our photographer, Oscar Gladwer, and I, and we remember it as though it were yesterday. It is that journey which provided the bulk of my material. I supplemented my observations of Indian life by a further short visit that my wife and I made to the peninsula in the 'thirties and by the results of some native researchers.

In 1955 I returned to Guajira, wanting to see how it was after the crisis caused by the recurrent droughts of the last decade. Almost all the cattle were said to have been killed and half the population to have perished or emigrated. When I got there, however, conditions had improved. Much was just as it always had been, and there is every indication that this fine and worth-while Indian people will overcome its difficulties and retain its individuality in many respects.

7:Bellinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

Apart from a few old books and what I may have written myself almost nothing has been published about these Indians until recent years. A Colombian expedition, including Roberto Pineda Giraldo, Virginia Gutierrez de Pineda Giraldo and Milciades Chaves made interesting notes. Guajiro has been described historically and geographically in papers by Gregorio Hernandez de Alba, Julio Londoño and Antonio Garcia; and a work by Father José de Barranquilla should also be mentioned.

Many of the photographs used to illustrate this book were taken by myself, others are the work of Oscar Gjedtvet of Oslo, our companion and photographer on the first expedition.

G.B.

[pp. 11-16 not preserved]

THE GOAJIRO

By John M. Armstrong and Alfred Métraux

THE REGION

The Goajira Peninsula, projecting as part of Colombia northward into the Caribbean Sea, contains an area of about 5,000 square miles, bordered on the east by the Gulf of Venezuela. The broad level plain known as Lower Goajira occupies the base of the peninsula, while the northern extremity is known as Upper Goajira and is characterized by three distinct ranges of hills. These hills have a maximum height of 2,600 feet (about 780 m.) and are separated from each other by two broad plains which run from sea to sea. The country is dry and infertile, the vegetation consisting of divi-divi, cactus, pricklypear, and other xerophitic plants. Even these are absent where bare rock and stone slides preclude vegetation. Rivers are almost nonexistent, the country being cut in all directions by shallow, dry, sandy water courses which drain off rain as it falls. In the south and west, on the treeless prairies or savannas, the land is more hospitable. Here the Indians do most of their stock raising.

LOCATION AND HISTORY

The pastoral *Goajiro* who inhabit this peninsula (map 6) differ profoundly from the agricultural forest-dwelling *Motilones* and *Arhuacos* to the south. Juan de Castellanos, in his "Elegías de los Varones Ilustres" (1874), is the first to allude to these Indians, though he calls them *Cocinas*. He states that in his time, about 1550, cattle were already abundant in the area. It seems that the adoption of pastoral life by the *Goajiro* took place soon after the Spanish settlement of that part of the continent. The name *Goajiro* was, however, already known in the 16th century and was applied first by Pedro Simón (1882-92). The first reliable ethnographic information about the *Goajiro* goes back to José Nicolás de la Rosa (Nicholls, 1901) and Antonio Julián, who both visited these Indians in the 18th century. Jahn (1927, pp. 119-136) has gathered the few data concerning the *Goajiro* which he found in the early literature. A short summary of the first descriptions of these Indians is given by Hernández de Alba (1936, pp. 8-12).

ACQUIRING STATUS IN GUAJIRO SOCIETY

ANTONIO SANTA CRUZ
Havana, Cuba

The present paper is based upon field research carried out during a 26-day trip in the months of August and September 1958.[1] The writer had previously visited the Colombia part of the Guajira Peninsula in 1940 as a graduate student of anthropology.

The Guajira Peninsula occupies the north-central part of South America and lies between the countries of Colombia and Venezuela. Roughly speaking, about three-fourths of the peninsula belong to Colombia, while only one-fourth is within the boundaries of Venezuela. Ecologically and ethnographically, however, the peninsula is an unbroken block, occupied mainly by the Arawak-speaking Guajiro Indians. There are no attempts on the part of either Government to hold the Indians within the national territory and as, the frontier is practically unwatched, the natives go back and forth across the boundary much as they please.

The primary aim of the 1958 field trip was to find, if possible, a proper locale in which to establish, for the first time in Venezuela, a Pilot Center of Fundamental Education following the patterns—with the necessary modifications for local adaptation—already in practice in countries such as India, Mexico, Peru, etc. The Comisión Indigenista, a branch of the Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Venezuela, of which the present writer was a member of its technical staff at the time of the field trip, has, at present, elaborate and extensive plans to develop Fundamental Education in Venezuela, thanks to the untiring efforts of its Technical Advisor, Dr. Walter Dupouy. The aim is to bring, ultimately, all of the 100,000 indigenous inhabitants of the country into its national life.

Although major attention was given to the primary aim of the field trip, some time was left for pure research. This was aided by the fact that the present writer was in constant company of

[1] Although no direct quotations have been made from the literature, earlier works have been consulted for both historical and present-day ethnographical data.

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Contents:

1. Earlier Reports

2. Most Recent Reports

3. Concluding Remarks

In the middle of 1954 I set out from Caracas via Maracaibo to make anthropological observations in the settlement area of the Yupa Indians (1). In the narrow stretch of Venezuelan

1. M. Gusinde, "The Yupa Indians in Western Venezuela," Proceed. Americ. Philos. Soc., 100, 1956, pp. 187-222.

territory along the western shore of the Gulf of Maracaibo /Gulf of Venezuela/ I occasionally saw representatives of the Guajiro /Guajira/ people (2) of every age and both sexes. In

2. The spelling Guajiro is preferred to Guajira. Cf. "Etimología de la palabra 'Guajira /Etymology of the word Guajira'/" in Vegamian, pp. 11-22.

was my wish to see personally the astonishingly [illegible] adaptation of these Indians to their usually dry and vegetation-poor surroundings, in order to compare their ecological conditions with those of the Bushmen in the Kalahari of South Africa (3). Already from Regard on, Professor Adolf Dulle of

/931 cont./

3. M. Gustede. "Bericht über meine südafrikanische Forschungsreise 1950/51 /Report on My South African Field Trip, 1950-51/." Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 388-404.

Vieuna, who at that time was with the Interamer. F.A.O. for Colombia, had been very helpful to me. Soon after our auto journey together through that dried-up peninsula, he died unexpectedly. My thanks to him are thus expressed here posthumously.

Only a selection from my ethnographic observations among the Guajiro people are presented here. They are preceded by what has already been ascertained on the same subjects by other authors.

1. Earlier Reports

As the time of the discovery of the New World, the Guajiro were the /930/ branch of the Arawak /Arawak/ group that had pushed farthest to the northwest on South American soil. Before the Conquest they obtained their livelihood from hunting and fishing, together with some agriculture. Animal husbandry, however, acquired considerable ascendancy through the introduction of domestic animals at the time of the Spanish colonization. Juan de Castellanos reported that as early as the period of his sojourn there (around 1550) quite a large quantity of livestock was present. Since then, and up to our day, this economic activity has undergone no structural change worth mentioning; at present, however, far-reaching efforts at accommodation to the so-called Western manner of thinking and way of life are seen (4).

4. Cf. Vergerian, Crist (1918 and 1920), José Augusto de Barranquilla, and others.

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own symbol, adopt another of some more powerful denomination, to enjoy the privilege of a good protector. There are at present, altogether, some thirty odd castes among the Goajiros... There are about ten of importance, chief among these the Urianas. This, the largest caste in the Guajira, has subdivided or split up into many ramifications, such as Uriana tiger, Uriana rabbit, Uriana paularate (a song bird), Uriana gecko (lizard). This family is at present not only by far the most numerous, but also the richest; due to its connections by marriage with the Pushainas, formerly the wealthiest of the land" /cited in English/. In an "Appendix" (p. 796) at the end of his report, Simons gives a "List of Tribes or Castes, with their respective animals and favourite resting-places" /cited in English/; each of the twenty-two names is found in its proper region on the map provided by him (7).

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7. Frazer (Vol. 3, p. 560) reproduced this table in full and clearly expressed his conviction that "the Guajiros have a totemic system of the normal pattern" /cited in English/. In connection with this, he discussed in detail the mother-right customs of this tribe. — Kirchhoff (p. 154) analysed only the relationship between paternal and maternal relatives, so far as it was then possible when "the description of the kinship organization" was" /still/ most incomplete and unsatisfactory." He also clearly made the distinction between the extended family /Großfamilie/ and sib and

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distinctly stressed that the sib "need not necessarily be a local unit... The bond that holds together the members of a sib is the idea that they descend from the same ancestor and are therefore brothers and sisters..." (p. 90). Actually, the clan members /Klanmitgliedern/ of any sib are allowed to move in complete freedom over all of Guajira.— Vegamian (pp. 36, 347), too, explained: "The Guajiro Indians are divided into castes /castas/ of totemic denomination" /translated from the Spanish/. He discussed in detail their local placement and explained the somewhat variable spelling of the clan names among the authors as follows: "Among the same Indians, perfectly expert in their tongue, there is no uniformity in the pronunciation of one and the same word" /translated from the Spanish/.

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A. Ernst in his second report (1887) used the reliable details furnished by Simons and declared concerning them: "One gains from his presentation a clear picture of the peculiar social relations in which the inhabitants of the peninsula live. What the Spanish writers in their meager reports designated with the vague name 'parcialidades /factions, parties/,' Simons recognized quite rightly as family /Familie/ in the ethnological sense (clan, gens) and gave for several of them the habitual place of residence and the totem

/534 cont./
114 concerned..." (p. 426). "Most are no longer explicable
175 from the present language of the Guajiro..." According to
614 Simons, "there is no doubt that the Guajiro believe in their descent from such an animal... How far the use of the totem extends among the Guajiro is not said either by Simons or by any other reporter" (pp. 440f.). For such an animal, Ernst (1887, p. 442) regarded the valuation "totem" as proper and promised a linguistic analysis of the names for the twenty-two totem-animals noted by Simons.

614 Individual clans /Klane/ exceed others in economic influence and social significance. The ones smaller in number of persons attach themselves to one or several others. The belief in the kindred solidarity of the clan members is grounded in the traditionally transmitted conviction /535/ /map appears here/ /536/ of actual descent from the same totem-animal. Ernst further states: "Since the individual families [= clan groups] live, if not exactly in hostility, nevertheless separated from one another, marriages between members of different families [take] place only in rare cases" (p. 442); which is synonomous with clan-endogamy as the prevailing rule.

114 A series of names given by other reporters are found in
614 part in A. Jahn (p. 142), Armstrong-Métraux (p. 383), and R. Crist (1959, p. 485). Occasionally one has the impression that these authors drew on Simons and Ernst as their sole sources. The statements that the journalist J. Weston makes are false.

2. Most Recent Reports

What Virginia Gutiérrez has put down in her article, "Organización Social en la Guajira" (1948) comes from personal field research. Her article became known to me only after my crossing of the peninsula. The myth recorded by her, in which sibs still living in Guajira are mentioned by name, follows here in free translation. The same account was repeated to me, with a few insignificant variations, by

[text continues on p. 10]

/536 cont./

114 614 two wives of the influential and intelligent Cacique Briscol (alias Antonio Juan López); from both I was given the assurance that it is known to nearly all of their people. In a subsequent conversation with still other women it became clear that the social and juristic role of the clan system had become simplified and dulled in the course of the centuries up to the present, and above all that the original rigor of its demands had become milder and in part even lost. Certain practices still maintained and various fragments of tradition permit one to piece together an adequately clear picture of the totemistic organization in Guajira, despite many manifestations of mother-right.

178 614

614 Our Indians have a mythological explanation of how the whole Guajiro people was originally divided into many clans [212] (8). Each totem-clan has its individual symbol, comparable

8. Petrullo (p. 155) supplements this by confirming: "Casta [is] the major social grouping in Guajiro society. Each casta claims a mythological origin and holds sovereignty over a well-defined territory" /cited in English/.

to a monogram. Every clan-member marks himself and his 614 personal goods, predominately domestic animals, with it. 212 The Indians paint this symbol with ordinary watercolor on a 422 stone, carve it in wooden objects (plates, style of a mattock, 231 house posts), tattoo it on their arms, etc., all in plain fun and without any serious intention of demonstrating their right of ownership. On the other hand, the same symbol, which is peculiar to a clan, is branded without exception on every domestic animal that the individual clan-member owns. Obviously it is the same sign for all the animals of all the members of a particular clan; yet the animals remain /537/ the personal property of their owner, and the latter himself

/537 cont./

around the world simultaneously with the domestic animals themselves.

The branding described was probably learned by the Indians from the Spaniards themselves, simultaneously with the adoption of the first European domestic animals, and has been retained since then. It is all the more surprising that the branding iron (hierro) appears in an old myth which for its part clearly states where the customary individual clan-signs came from. The following version (according to V. Gutiérrez, p. 168) is common in the northern part of the peninsula:

Not far from Nazareth (10) a hill rises behind Irojoro.

10. This post lies only several kilometers south of Puerto Estrella and is actually a small Catholic mission station. Cf. Stutzer, pp. 131 ff., and Barranquilla, pp. 181 ff.

Here, under an oil tree, Mareiwa (11) came into the world.

11. That is the spelling of this mythological name that I felt to be correct, as did V. Gutiérrez (p. 168). Chaves (1946, p. 307) explains in the myth concerning "Las Serranías de la Guajira," among other things: "Mareigua [sic] one of the principal deities of the Guajiro people, who with his supernatural power converts persons into hills, separates the

/537 cont./

776
114

sea from the land and the planting of trees and animals to benefit man" /translated from the Spanish/. The original figure of Mareiwa is probably that of a culture-hero. Chaves (1953, p. 183) makes the same assumption, but adds that this personality is "at the present time like God for many mestizos" /translated from the Spanish/. Jahn (p. 183) declares "that the Spanish have identified /Maleiwa/ with the true God or Supreme Being" /translated from the Spanish/. In Torrano (p. 188) one reads "Marégua - God, Supreme Being" /translated from the Spanish/. Unfortunately even today it is still true that the "Goajiro religion is imperfectly known" /cited in English/ (Armstrong-Métraux, p. 382).

614 He was found as an infant, who grew rapidly like any Indian
812 child. He ate tuuma (12) and dressed like the Guajiro.
773

[542]

12. It was identified for me as tuna, which is the fruit of the Opuntia (Indian fig) and very well-known in South America. Cf. Vegamian, p. 214.

The mother was an old woman; her hut stood in the north. The father, a certain Saramai, was also said to be a god.
[529] Because Mareiwa was born under an oil tree, this tree does
[530]

/537 cont./

not lose its green leaves, even in the dry season. The Indians seek shelter under its branches during storms, because lightning will not strike there.

/538/ Mareiwa created an Indian woman named Sorunka; she became the mother of all the Guajiro people (13).

[14] Chaves (1953, p. 181) reports another myth of the "Origen de los Guajiros," in which, however, the totem clans are not mentioned; therefore, no contradiction of the myth presented here can be brought forward from there.

He also gave her a companion, by whom she became pregnant. When the time of her delivery came, however, she felt incapable of giving birth. The pains lasted for three days without delivery. Her vagina was set with teeth. Mareiwa removed them. At the same time he took two ribs, the lowest one from each side, from her mate. He inserted them in Sorunka so that she could later give birth without hindrance, though not without pain.

Since loss of blood was connected with delivery since then, Mareiwa summoned all the birds. He commanded the sagge de toro, or piacwait, to wash itself where the birth took place. He gave the same order to the troupials (weaver birds of the family Icteridae), as well as to the icó [ishu, Phaeniconaspis rubra] with the black wings, whose breast feathers and head-tuft are red in color, and finally to the macaws. The woodpecker [Ceophloeus lineatus] arrived late for this bath. Mareiwa said to him, "You came late, to be sure, but I shall paint your tuft anyway," and he painted it red. Thus, the birds mentioned have red spots in their plumage.

Sorunka bore several children, and the Guajiro proceeded to multiply. When there were many of them, Mareiwa

/540 cont./

614 The continued influencing through a series of generations,
even though nevertheless brief, by Spanish culture and the
614 spirit of modern times has finally also altered the primitive
177 judgment and feeling of these Indians and has strengthened in
178 them the pride to assert themselves now as "enlightened."
It therefore need not be surprising that today they laugh in
the face of a foreign visitor when the latter poses his questions
as though he himself regarded a blood descent of the clan
members from their totem animal as established and factual.
[123] The above-mentioned Cacique Briscol (15) even whispered

15. This pure-blooded, intelligent, and experienced Indian refers several times to the clans of his Guajiro people in his well-written story.

disrespectfully in my ear: "You must not suppose that we
think of an animal when we present the totem as our ancestor.
Every ancestor was as human as we are; only at the very be-
ginning was he just like the totem that each clan has had
since then. Our forefathers respected their totem animal more
than we do today; they neither persecuted it nor ate its flesh.
Now the habits of our ancestors are disappearing among us,
one after another. There are now only sixteen independent
614 'castas'; their number was formerly double that." V. Gutiérrez
773 herself agreed with Briscol's interpretation when she presented
114 the introductory words to another myth. "The Distribution
/541/ of the Clan Districts" (p. 170): Mareiwa "then told
the birds they were Indians" /translated from the Spanish/.
Such words make it clear: the myth knows no distinction be-
tween totem animal and Indian in their mode of being and
acting! Therefore one does not get anywhere in the analysis
of myths with a knife-sharp dialectic lacking any imagination.
614 Thus, I may indeed, along with the reporters from former
times up to our day, regard the social division of the Guajiro
people as properly totemistic in style. Two years ago (1959),

/541 cont./

614 Crist (p. 485) wrote: "The Indians of the Guajira are divided into various clans or blood groups, castas, each with its distinguishing totem representing the animal with whose traits, according to legend, the clan was originally imbued" /cited in English/.

614 The thought complex that has solidified around the totem of our Indians — to mention it once more in con-
212 clusion — gets significant confirmation of its truely totemistic character by the visible symbol for each one of the three dozen of them. None of these totem signs — whether one calls them clan signs, symbols, monograms, emblems, property marks, or something else — is revealed as typically [242] Christian or Spanish in design. The Indian women of olden times wove them into their pieces of weaving, and, as has already been mentioned above (p. 10), the men put their [243] clan-signs on other objects. According to the myth, the original ancestor of a given clan was assigned it in an individual presentation by Mareiwa himself, and it has been retained down to the present day. /See the foreign text for the list of "Sources Mentioned," pp. 541-542./

/542/ Supplement:

114 As a consequence of a long stay in East Asia, which I
614 concluded a short time ago, two pertinent articles first came to my attention when the article presented here was already in printing:

[113] Santa Cruz, Antonio, "Acquiring Status in Guajiro Society," Anthropological Quarterly, 33, 1960, pp. 115-127.
Wilbert, Johannes, "Identificación Etno-Lingüística de Tribus Indígenas del Occidente de Venezuela," Mem. Soc. de Ciencias Natur. La Salle, 21, 1961, pp. 5-14.

Both articles refer to the clan-division among the Guajiro described by me. The almost completed printing of my article, however, does not permit me to discuss them in detail; therefore this brief reference must suffice.

G /6 cont./
105 Want among them during the past years of drought, which has spoiled the pastures of their herds of cattle, is said to have driven these Indians more and more in among the population of Riohacha. One also comes across them in Dibulla and along the
G coast to it. From the ethnographic point of view the sight of them
114 is a great reproach: why have they not been thoroughly studied long ago? Descriptions of what one sees are not sufficient, no more than the purchase of their tools or grammars and vocabularies in the manner of Father Celedon, which, as scrupulous as they are, are not adequate for what is required today, because of their narrow, schematic reduction to rules and lack of control on the basis of texts. Admittedly we owe him, and all who have written about the Goajiro, our thanks and our appreciation, not only because it is through their efforts that anything at all is known, but also, considering the difficult conditions of that time, for the scientific attitudes and the costs, which could barely be afforded, for long, strictly scientific ethnographic publications. Yes, still today we must be grateful for every single enrichment of our knowledge: but the professional ethnographer must always bear in mind that he should prefer a more detailed investigation of a single tribe rather than a hasty visit to several, or that at least he should not do the latter without having accomplished the former task.

C If, by virtue of its stately buildings, Santa Marta still gave
000 the impression of a princely residence, if one still felt there, through the daily connections with Barranquilla by means of the railroad and inland navigation and by reason of the steamships in the harbor, the pulsebeat of the world's traffic, in Riohacha one had /?/ already moved considerably closer to the native way of life and the isolation which one faced. There were still hotels and newspapers from Barranquilla there, one could still examine there daily the war reports which the German and British consuls received, but, on the other hand, the members of the great nations appeared only by chance, and I was supposed to provide, not receive, the latest news. But I could not confirm the wild rumors that Calais had been taken by the Germans. So now I again had to depend on my personal mail, which arrived at long monthly intervals and which brought me in the Bogotá "Unidad" the German news sent

3: Wilbert E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 SC13 Goajiro SC13
YECUANA SS20

some two or three days; from that time on the girl is considered marriageable. Girls are married early and bachelors practically do not exist.

Future field work will have to disclose whether it is true that a unilinear rule of descent has indeed ever been established among the Yiruaina, as our informant told us. So far we can only say that the Yiruaina have a society with bilateral descent, local exogamy, matrilocal residence, Iroquois cousin terminology, and stem-dowry. In general it is rare to find Iroquois cousin terminology with bilateral descent. The stem-dowry structure, however, resulting from local exogamy and matrilocal residence, provides a perfectly good functional basis for Iroquois cousin terminology despite the absence of unilinear descent.

THE GOAJIRO KINSHIP SYSTEM

This section is intended to contribute to the study of Goajiro sociology, by giving some notes on the kinship system of this Indian group. Although some contributions, mainly with respect to the social organization of the Goajiro have been published in the past, information on their kinship system is almost completely lacking.

By chance, the author was visited by J. A. Polanko, a Goajiro Indian in his thirties, who belongs to the Guaurero group of the Venezuelan part of the peninsula "La Goajira." The informant is bilingual, speaking Spanish as a second language to his mother tongue. Although the information acquired through the help of this person has been carefully checked, it may very well be possible that certain mistakes are to be corrected by future research.

Terms

1 mother	FaFa/FaFaBr/FaMoBr/MoFa/MoFaBr
2 father	FaFaSi/FaBr/FaMoSi/MoFaSi/MoMoBr/MoMoSi
3 sib	Fa/FaBr/FaSiSo/FaFaBrSo/FaFaSiSo/FaMoBrSo/FaMoSiSo/MoSiSo/MoFaBrSo (w.s.)/MoFaSiSo (w.s.)/FaSiSo/FaSiDaSo/FaSiDaDaSo
4 sib	Mo/FaBr/Wi/FaSi/FaFaBrDa/FaFaSiDa/FaMoBrDa/FaMoSiDa/MoFaBrDa (w.s.)/MoFaSiDa (w.s.)/FaSiDa/FaSiDaDa/FaSiDaDaDa
5 uncle	MoBr/MoFaSiSo (w.s.)/MoMoBr/MoMoSiSo
6 cousin	MoBr/Wi (w.s.)/WiSi (w.s.)/BrWi (w.s.)
7 girl	MoSi/MoFaSiDa (w.s.)/MoMoSiDa/SoWi/HuMo
8 sweetie	p.Br
9 spouse	o.Br/o.Si (w.s.)

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
SC13 Goajiro SC13

671 tween law and custom in Guajiro society by a variety of illustrations. One of them said in effect:

574 If a cacique visits me and I fail to kill a sheep in honor of his visit
626 and to feast him in accordance with the dignity of his rank and my
671 wealth, I have broken a custom of my people. However, though I offend him by such negligence my guest may take no action to redress the wrong other than to inflict the same discourtesy on me if the opportunity should arise. He may seek neither redress in violence nor composition in payment. My only punishment may be the acquisition of a bad name among my people.

586 But if I visit one of my wives at her rancho and she fails to kill a
671 sheep from her own flocks to feast me, refuses me her person, neglects
684 to supply me with hammocks, saddle-bags, and other articles made by women, or refuses me shelter, she will have broken a 'law'; that is, she will have broken the marriage contract. In this case I may demand from her and her family payment or a divorce. In the latter case her family would have to return to me the bride-price plus any increase in the herds but less an amount considered fair for my having exercised sexual privileges over her, though I may demand even this if she marries again. In case her family refuses to adjust
[626] the matter in accordance with our law I may appeal to my family for help in obtaining my just rights. I should be justified in having recourse to violence. However, the law is so well understood that it would not be necessary to resort to such drastic measures generally.[6]

671 These informants were acquainted to some extent with
[115] Colombian and Venezuelan laws and were attempting, no
[177] doubt, to classify their own customs in accordance with European practices. Nevertheless it is an indication that in their minds there does exist a class of offenses for which one may seek composition even through violence, and a class that is in the category of merely moral obligations though investigators may not always draw an equally fine distinction.
[114] Simons, for example, in discussing Guajiro law speaks of injury to oneself as giving rise to a legal obligation for composition.
574 My informants, on the contrary, distinguished it from that
626 class of wrongful acts. If a man cuts himself, his father and
672 father's relatives receive an expiatory offering. Had one of
602 my informants, the son of a rich cacique, cut himself he would have given a small barrel of rum and five or more sheep to his

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

153 on a clear day can be seen from any point in it. On the west side a small hill attached spoils its beauty, even from seawards, otherwise it is perfectly symmetrical in form. The Indians call it Jepita. It lies [103] in the Cosina district, and is the most dangerous portion of the Goajira. To visit it, I had to persuade Martin, one of the great chiefs, to ac- [115] company me with his three sons, uncles, nephews, &c. We started at daybreak, rode all day, and arrived in time to see the sunset from the [129] top. We only saw three Indians the whole day, yet Martin assured me that all our movements were watched, and pointed out to me two probable places where an ambuscade would be planned for our return. We returned by a different road, getting back at 4 A.M. tired, hungry, and thirsty. I found the height to be 1900 feet above sea-level, or 900 feet above the plain. The rock is composed chiefly of trachyte with large crystals of felspar, similar to those of the Drachenfels on the Rhine. As also belonging to this group may be considered the two isolated hills rising in front of Cardon de los Remedios and Carrizal, close to the north spur of the Cujoro range, called Jullaca. They are both insignificant and do not exceed 400 feet in height. The Cerros de Carpintero, a small group of hills behind the Cabo de la Vela, are of more importance, they are about 700 feet above sea-level. From Cabo de la Vela to Puerto Estrella, between the hills and the sea, are innumerable cliffs and banks rising to 200 feet, usually with very abrupt edges, and covered with rolled stones.

Rivers properly speaking there are none in the Goajira. The country is cut up in all directions by shallow, dry, sandy beds of water-courses, that during the rainy season carry off the water as fast as it falls. Not even the Macuira Hills are able to send a flowing stream to the sea during the summer, which here lasts at least eight months. It [562] will have been remarked that the Indians have no collective name for their mountains, each little projecting point rejoicing in its own name. With their rivers it is still worse, for not only every water-hole adds a new title to a river—and these are innumerable, the custom being to dig for water in the sand of the watercourses, and as these wells dry up others are dug farther up stream—but every path that crosses the watercourse has its name. Even any prominent rock or large tree is enough to add to the interminable list of river nomenclature. On the plains below the Tuta the drainage is effected by numerous small streams winding about in a most bewildering manner, and although perfectly dry, they usually have pools of muddy water at the bends. As the plain is little above sea-level, the water has cut deep zigzag channels, very different from the shallow sandy beds of the hills. The water remaining dammed up, instead of gravitating to the sea, causes the great fertility of the plains.

592 The principal source of water for the Indians are wells. These are of two kinds; first, the most common, by digging, usually in the dry

551 told that among my own people I was a sort of medicine-man and chief combined.

Nowadays most of the Indians in Guajira acquire three first names: a Spanish one that the white men give them, a nickname, and their true, Indian name, which is secret except to members of their immediate family. When a girl is born, her father names her after her mother or some near female relative, but for everyday use she has a pet name [553] which is only dropped when she reaches marriageable age. She then acquires a new name, which she keeps for the rest of her life.

563 101 The Creoles called those in the border areas who were not Indians 'gente', or just 'people'. They could scarcely be called white, for many were as good as pure black, being the descendants of former slaves. When they told us in Rio Hacha that there were not any 'people' living in this or that village, they meant that there were none but Indians there. Those who were not Indians, that is those who wore trousers, also called themselves '*civilizados*', while the Indians called them *arijuna*.

• 115 124 We called our two old Indians Gaffer and Gammer, and the youngest 'The Lad'. We liked The Lad especially. He was strong, merry and did the work of two. The fourth, who, strangely enough, had a crew cut and was supposed to be our interpreter, we called 'Bristles', and he learned to answer to that. He knew a little Spanish, but as an interpreter he was no use. When the Gaffer had been talking to us for a long time and we asked Bristles what he had said, the answer always was: 'Nothing'. Perhaps that was what the other's talk amounted to, but we should have preferred to have judged that for ourselves. We noticed, too, that if we had to scold the Gaffer, Bristles did not dare repeat what we said. With gestures and the few Guajiro words we knew we could make Gaffer realize that we were annoyed with him, but not always why.

551 566 The men wore nothing but the usual piece of cloth and belt, the *ináwte*, or, in Spanish, *guayuco*, which really means cropper, and sandals to protect their feet from the cactus spikes lying on the ground, but the Gammer was enveloped

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SCI3 Goajiro SCI3

great indignation. In those parts to which civilization had penetrated, it was not considered shameful to steal, provided you were not discovered.

Why do all semi-civilized natives, whether Indians or negroes, steal like jackdaws, while primitive peoples in the jungle respect each other's property? Smuggling had become a sport with the half-breed Goajiros, but the Indian law was still enforced: he who was discovered had to replace what he had stolen and pay compensation as well.

The old man took advantage of the confusion to make off. When we had finished with his wife, he and his donkeys had gone, and his spouse had to follow on foot, sweating and cursing as hard as she could.

The two younger Indians did not go with the old couple. They received half a bag of maize and were delighted. It should have lasted them the whole way back and more, but I am sure that they cooked it all, as soon as they could borrow a pot, eating more than they had ever done before and swearing everyone else, and probably going hungry for the rest of the way home.

We had wanted to give The Lad a hat, a thing for which he longed, as he had spent the last few days trying to explain to my wife, for whom he had a great admiration and for whose help he was longing. He had been sure that there would be hats to be had at Nazareth. But of Nazareth both he and we had had exaggerated ideas. It was a mission station, not a trading post. The monks did not sell hats, and they possessed but one spinet. The Lad had earned a hat and would have had one, had it been possible; but he had to walk away as bare of head as he came.

CHAPTER 6

Indiscreet Investigation

123 THAT heading really describes our activities during the next few weeks, while we travelled round among the Indians of Mawsin, visiting them in their meshes and questioning them about all sorts of things. The Indians were not at all self-conscious and gladly and freely told us all
[p 9] we wished to know. They had not been bullied by white people, as so many other Indians have, and we took care not to make fun of their customs. Because of this, they had no inhibitions. The results amused us that on the whole we should be able to make the acquaintance of the Indians in more peaceful conditions in the Mawsin Hills than elsewhere in the peninsula. They had put it about that we belonged to quite a different clan from the Cowries, which our appearance seemed to confirm, and they thought that it would never occur to the Indians to arrange themselves on us, if one of them had been involved by a white person anywhere else. Of course, we ought to be careful, they added, not promised to give us a suitable person. The only little whitewashed hut in which we lived was to be at our disposal as long as we remained in Mawsin. From it we could go off for days of a few days, as it suited us, and so get to know the whole area.

125 We got our servants, an extremely fine Gwairo called Pumbaro who had often travelled with Public Citizen. Pumbaro was peace-loving, but felt as if afraid of his fellow Indians. This was a great advantage. In dealing with primitive people you must always keep calm, especially when they appear aggressive.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

Francisco's blood was slightly mixed, but, of course, he followed his Indian mother's clan and bore the name Ipuana. This clan's symbol is the hawk. Francisco was married and his wife belonged to the Dog clan, Jayariyú. Their children were thus called Jayariyú, and Francisco was not even of the same family, though no one doubted his paternity.

Francisco served us well on our journeys. He was not especially quick-witted, but he was certainly not a simpleton. He suited us well in Guajira, for he knew both the country and the people; later, when we came to parts that he did not know, he was a little out of his depth.

Francisco's wife, Anita—the nuns had called her that—used to help my wife in our hut, and glad we were to have her, for primitive housekeeping involves much hard labour. Anita had a sweet young sister, who had not yet acquired a christian name. She was called Chinca. She had no real business in our hut, but she used to come sometimes and lounge in the doorway, looking rather fetching. We noticed, however, that after each of Chinca's visits something was missing. These were not valuable things, it is true, for we did not leave those lying about, but match boxes used to disappear and occasional packets of oatmeal. Although we still had plenty of the latter and Chinca was good to look at and welcome to stand in our doorway—we thought we would teach her not to steal. We filled an empty oatmeal packet with hay and sand and laid it conveniently within reach. Chinca came and went again, and the packet went too. A few minutes later Chinca came rushing back, flung the packet on to the floor and cursed us up hill and down dale in her own expressive tongue. We could not help roaring with laughter; a thief who goes back to those he has robbed and curses them because the stolen goods have not been to his liking! Anita begged our forgiveness on her sister's behalf:

'After all, she is a heathen and does not know better.'

'And you, Anita, do you never steal?'

'Not now. I am Christian. But when I was a heathen, ah! then I stole such a lot.'

Tillotinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

And her eyes shone at the recollection of the now forbidden pleasures of her girlhood.

When I went on trips in the surrounding country I usually had Francisco with me and often my wife. Anita had then to be ready to feed us when we came home, whether it were the same day, or the next, or three days later. In such things Indian women have patience. They know how to wait, and they are never surprised.

We began our exploration of the brown hills and green valleys of Macuira with a long trip on foot. Laboriously we waded through the fine sand. This is almost firm when it is damp, but it was then the dry season and the sand was loose. We were going to visit relatives of Francisco, simple people, but not actually poor. To us who had already had a certain amount to do with Indians, it was a surprise to find ourselves dealing in such categories as 'rich', 'poor', 'well-to-do', etc., just as though we were concerned with white people. Among all other Indians the difference in economic status between individuals had been relatively insignificant, as, presumably, it had been among the Guajiro before they took to herding cattle.

The Indians we were to visit lived in a beautiful place, just on the fringe of a wooded valley between purple brown heights, with the peak of Itshor dominating the landscape. The valley was like a green Bengal fire against its parched background. There were two huts, built of cactus wood and with roofs of the same material. They were saddle-backed and linked by a wall, which acted as a shield against the wind, that there always blows in the same direction. In front of this wall, that is between the two houses, were the fires. Round about were shelves covered with grass and erected on four poles. The Creoles call these *trojas*. You can sit under them and be out of the sun, and cooking utensils and stores can be kept on them out of reach of animals. Here and there were hammocks stretched between poles stuck in the ground, and there were other poles used in the all but daily butchering of a goat or sheep. Round these there were dark patches on the ground.

Having Francisco with us we were naturally well re-

?:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

In another game the dangerous spirit Yoruyi attacks and kills Indian after Indian till he is set upon by them all and killed; in yet another the Indians hide in a cloud made of cloaks, when the spirit forces its way in, but it is captured by the cloud and vanquished.

Horse-racing is one of the Indians' greatest pleasures at their festivities, but they also indulge in it—without horses—as a game in connection with the dances. Very amusing and picturesque is a game in which they imitate hunting a kind of bird that plunders the seed in their fields. The Indians pretend to be trying to scare them and catch them in nets. Here the seed is represented by some children, some of the men are the birds, others the hunters who catch the birds in their hammocks and then wring their necks!

Another game represents a fight between jaguars and dogs. The strongest of the men are made the jaguars, for these have to win. Then there is a snake game in which men and women crawl along together, imitating the movements of a snake and singing the snake song: 'I am the snake. I creep along the ground. I do harm to none, but punish those who try to trample me. Long must he suffer, who tramps upon me because he thinks me defenceless since I creep on the ground. He must suffer and die.' There are endless variations; but a dance lasts so long that a little variety is necessary.

Once the upper-class dance, the chichamaya, was over, Mouton's people gladly showed us all their games and dances even though it was not the right time of year.

As we were riding home the next day we encountered several companies of Indians returning from a burial-feast. Among them was a young man in a beautifully woven mantle, who joined up with us. He spoke good Spanish and obviously belonged to the upper class. Francisco told him about us, and he was eager that we should be his guests that same day, since his rancho lay on our route. He said that he had a few things that I might well find interesting and he himself would like to see one of my pistols. (Francisco had evidently described how they smoked and made a bang.) Some of the Indians accompanying us now became

1:Gutierrez de Pineda E-5 (1947) 1950 SC13 Goajiro SC13

Social Organization in La Guajira
(Organizacion Social en la Guajira)

by Virginia Gutierrez de Pineda

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INTRODUCTION

121 In accordance with the plan drawn up by the Instituto Etnológico Nacional de Colombia /National Institute of Ethnology of Colombia/ to present a complete monograph on some aspect of indigenous culture in each number of this review, and in order to continue the study presented in the previous issue on the Guajiro community which we visited in 1947 with the licentiates Roberto Pineda Giraldo and Milciades Chaves Ch. and Mrs. María Rosa de Recasens, we here present the Organización Social en la Guajira /Social Organization in La Guajira/, a title which embraces some aspects of the manner in which the individual and his institution function in this community.

We have wished to present not merely an interpretative study but rather a series of facts, as trustworthy as it was possible for them to be, arranged in the way we consider to be best, that is, starting with the individual as the primary cell in the social organization, from the moment of birth on through the most important stages of his life within the group, up to sickness and death, and ending with reference to law, that is, the institutions which govern life in society.

This plan, then, tends to give an objective view of the interrelations between the individual and his group and of the way in which each complement the other in making possible the communal life of the individuals as components of the family cells, the small social groups, and the total collectivity. We have therefore subdivided our work into the two essential parts mentioned above, taking the individual, that is, the average man in the community, as a basis, with his manner of living, his ways of thinking, feeling, and reacting when faced with the various problems and institutions which society has established. In brief, we have wished to present the individual as he confronts his environment. /xiv/

124 The research on which this treatise is based was carried out directly in the field, data being obtained from different

/xiv cont./

individuals as informants, both men and women, in various parts of La Guajira Peninsula, the natural habitat of the Indians to whom we refer. They have, consequently, at least a margin of sufficiently high reliability, as the check thus obtained allowed for the clarification, confirmation, and correction of all data which were taken down in the preliminary study.

We would have liked to start this monograph with a description however brief of the geographical surroundings in which the Indians of La Guajira live, but on this subject we would refer the reader to the previous number of this review in which he will find an article written by my husband, licentiate Roberto Pineda Giraldo, entitled Aspects de la Magía en la Guajira /Aspects of Magic in La Guajira/, in which there is a brief summary of the geography of the peninsula. However, in some of the chapters of this treatise certain references to the geography of the peninsula will be found, as we have considered them to be indispensable for clearing up certain social and economic phenomena which otherwise would have remained obscure, because the economy, as will be gathered from reading this present work, plays a very important part in the functioning of Guajiro institutions.

The reader, furthermore, will find certain repetitions in the different aspects treated herein, but this is also due to our desire to leave nothing ambiguous or unclear. Many of the conflicting situations faced by the individual, occurring at different times and in regard to various legal institutions, have given rise to different reactions and phenomena which we felt needed clarification, and consequently we have been obliged to repeat them on the different occasions when they have had to be considered.

It may also be observed that the chapter on marriage is the longest of all, and it is in that very chapter that most repetitions and references to past and future reported situations will be found. Marriage in La Guajira may be considered to be the basis of all social organization, for it is via marriage /xv/

1:Gutierrez de Pineda no. E-5 (1947) 1950 SC13 Goajiro SC13

Commissary of La Guajira

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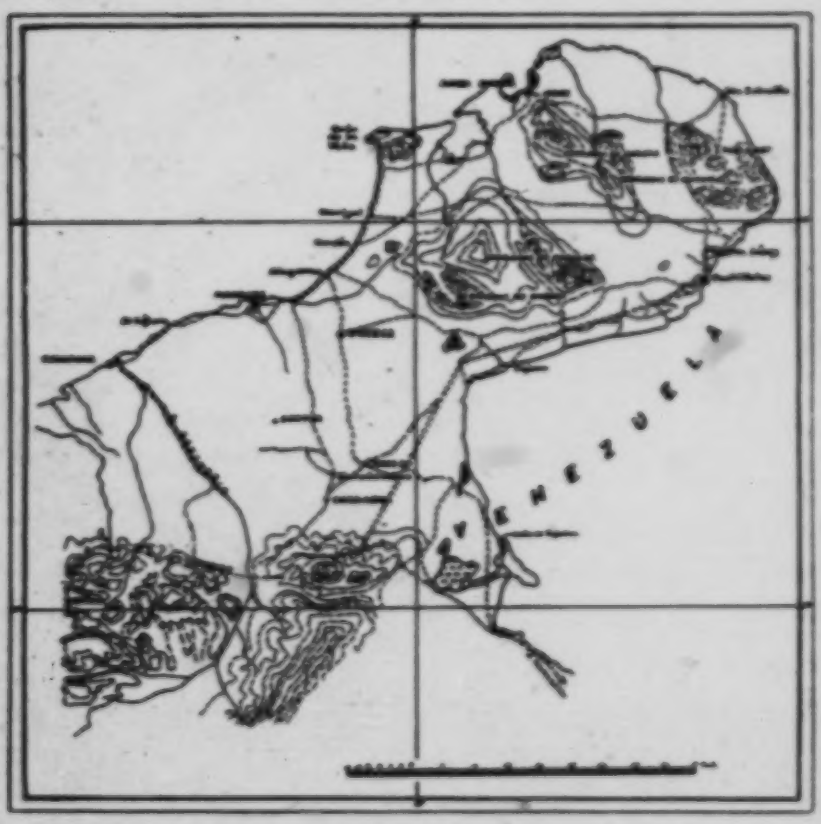

This map was made using that of Major Alberto Lara Santos in the Diccionario Geográfico de la Guajira /Geographical Dictionary of La Guajira/

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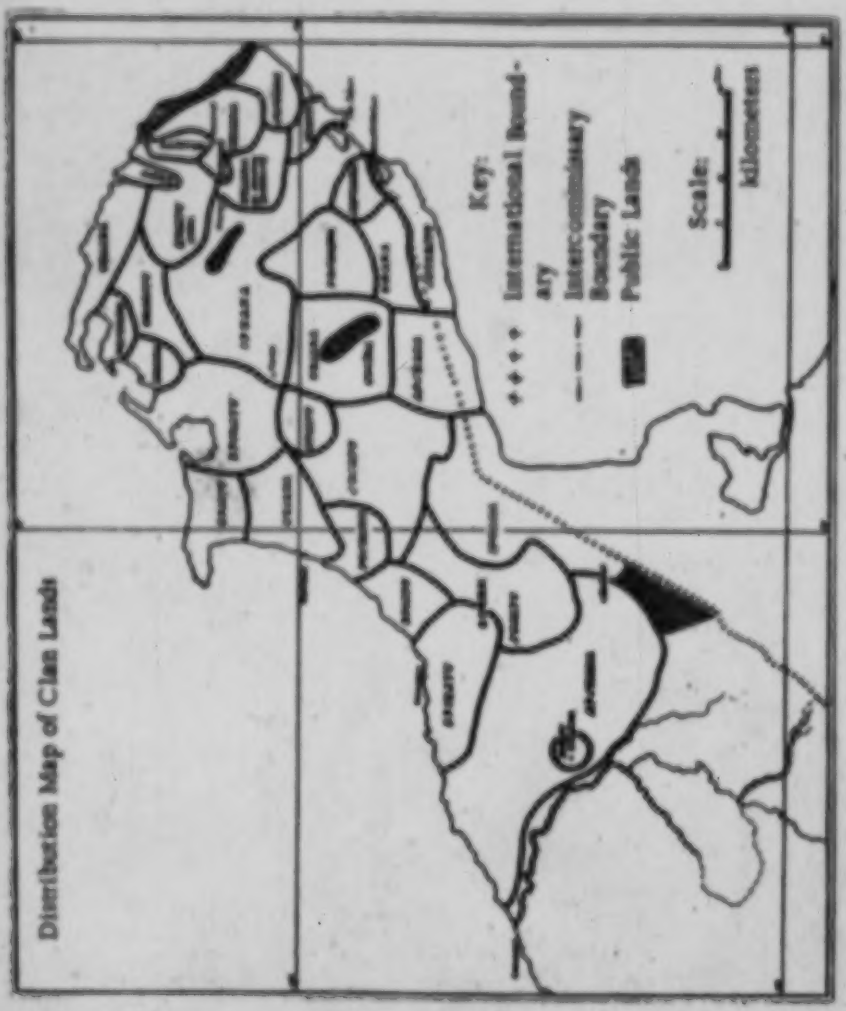

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[pacing p. iii]

/xv cont./

-- the basis of the family -- that the individual makes contact with other family cells, with different clan groups, and, together, with the social group in general. It can be affirmed without fear of error that marriage is, both directly and indirectly, vitally important to the whole social organization of La Guajira, to its economic systems as well as to aspects of the spiritual life of the community, as in it one finds the security and stability of the clan group, the fundamental basis of La Guajira organization. On looking into certain aspects of customary law among these indigenous people, one can appreciate that this is effective only if the clan group which considers itself the injured party has sufficient power to enforce the required compensation payments, or indemnities; otherwise, the law will not function. And, as it is the clan and, in the final analysis, the small family group which has to stand up to aggressions against the code for individual and collective security, making itself in this way the true representative of the individual, one can gather how great is the importance of the institution of marriage in Guajiro life.

We do not wish to finish this introduction without recording our grateful appreciation to the director of the Instituto Etnológico Nacional, licenciado Luis Duque Gómez, for all the facilities he has put at our disposal in making this study and to our fellow expedition members, who at all times assisted us in the collection of data. We are also especially indebted to my husband, licenciado Roberto Pineda Giraldo, who supplied various reports obtained in the field for this study, and who at all times lent his collaboration in its ordering and presentation. /xvi/

1.Gutierrez de Pineda--1. E-1 (1947) 1950 SC13 Goajiro SC13

PRENATAL CARE. BIRTH. CHILDREN.

892 Valuation of children. Every Guajiro family group endeavors to increase the number of its members as much as possible. As a consequence, every birth is acclaimed with happiness so that no newborn suffers from the problem that his arrival may not be welcomed by his parents or relatives. On the contrary, he will always find his place within the group, in which it is hoped that he will play his part adequately.

614 The fact is that the importance of any group depends on the number of its members, as it can be observed that, although some groups are economically strong, the relative scarcity of men causes the loss of directive positions and influence. Relations between clan groups are on a par when they are more or less matched in the number of their males, otherwise any problem pending between them will be decided in favor of the side where the greater influence of the men weighs more. In order to balance forces, the weak group must seek alliance with other groups.

614 Notwithstanding the general eagerness to increase numerically in order to keep the balance or a more just social situation
559 throughout the peninsula, there are some groups that are not so inclined. These are those that have fallen into an inferior state which obliges them to be put at the margin of Guajiro life, where they end up suffering all kinds of injustice and ill-treatment from the others who, finding no force to withstand them, profit by this and, for any reason whatsoever, confiscate their property, deny them all rights, and burden them with demeaning situations like bond service. Such, in brief, is the lot of groups that have few male members and few economic
614 resources. This being so, as a sort of passive defense, the wom-
559 en refuse to conceive: They make use of every empirical re-
892 course to limit maternity. They use herbs which are prescribed

614 /1 cont./
554 for delaying menstruation during the seclusion following the
[842] appearance of puberty, so that the organism may become weakened and the menstrual cycle no longer appears, with which their matrimonial life does not bear fruit. They know beforehand /2/ the destiny of their children. When they become
[567] of useful age a stronger group will fall upon them to enslave them under any pretext -- such as the loss of an animal whose disappearance will be attributed to them without any outcry or civil authority aroused to impede this, and, the injustice inflicted being proved, without any punishment being applied to the aggressor group. Their daughters will be taken as wives
614 without the necessary Guajiro payment, or, simply, they will
554 abuse them, there being no family backing to oppose the de-
593 mands of the men belonging to the stronger groups. If a daughter should be bought, only a nominal payment will be made to silence the protests of her family, but later a very heavy matrimonial retribution will be demanded. Generally, the husband will brag about the way in which he ill-treats the girl, knowing that she is unprotected and that her relatives have insufficient power to demand justice. Thus it is not rare that poor wives are killed by their husbands after a life in which the unfortunate women have been subjected to cruel beatings and even mutilation. And if the family has no alliance with any powerful groups, the death is not indemnified. The mothers also know that should
614 one of their sons, accidentally or in self-defense, wound or kill
554 a member of a stronger family group, the reprisal taken will
628 not be preceded by a demand for compensation payment or any of the legal requirements usually stipulated, but that his whole group will be destroyed or enslaved and deprived of its clan lands, fields, sources of water supply, and personal effects. For such reasons these weak groups are allowing themselves to die out by reducing their birth rate to a minimum.

882 Regarding the special wishes of each group as to the sex of its future descendants, we feel the need of making an analysis of the valuation which each has in the society.

/1 cont./

[582] The father hopes that his first-born will be a boy, as he sees in him a future helper in herding tasks and a companion on long trips. The material family also desires that the first-born be a son because, although he does not hereafter increase the family, because of /the system of/ matrilinear descent, he does contribute to its prestige, as on the number of males depends the family prestige and influence, since it is they who represent it in situations of conflict with other groups and who, because of this prestige, make it possible for their relatives to live a more peaceful life by checking the misbehavior of members of other groups with the women of their group, maintaining the peaceful equilibrium of the conjugal life and preserving a mutual respect for the rights and duties of both sides.

Furthermore, on their importance depends, indirectly, the maintenance of their womenfolks' social standing, as no other Guajiro /2/ would become involved in acts of violation or seduction against them for fear of reprisal. Their daughters, rather, will be bought by men of their own social rank, which would eliminate the possibility of their being lowered. Also, should a relative die, the indemnity is more certain, for fear that the group might impose payment and justice by its own might.

However, the male members always present difficulties. The women of the group are always bound by the conduct of the men, for whatever illegal act is committed against another group affects them directly as reprisals are directed against them. On the other hand, when it becomes known that the men [578] are foregathering, the women must be near by, because the men overindulge in rum and under its influence become aggressive and give free rein to their dislikes and hatreds. The women's role then is to try to keep arguments from degenerating into wrangling and bloodshed by endeavoring prudently to patch up such difficulties as they develop.

[583] Furthermore, although it is true that male economic help is the greater in cases where the group requires mutual

/3 cont./
co-operation, it is also true that their marriages demand heavy disbursements from everyone, not only in animals but in jewelry -- gold ornaments -- which a man's female relatives give him to be handed over to his future wife as a sign of the engagement. Also, the children of a man's marriage are not his in our sense of the word, so that in spite of the expense borne by the family, it does not become strengthened by the increase. All the children belong to the maternal family group according to Guajiro law.

The wife concurs with her husband in hoping that her first child will be a son but thereafter hopes for a large family of girls, who will enrich and increase the family group to which they belong with children and marriage payments, for a woman in Guajiro society has no less importance than a man, as it is she who transmits relationship and, therefore, increases with her offspring the number of consanguineous relatives. In the woman rest the hopes of her relatives for indemnification for the care they gave her in her youth and the maintenance of her social rank, because, on being bought, the eldest daughter indemnifies her father and his family for the expenses they had in livestock and ornaments in buying her mother. The others, with their marriage payments, increase the maternal income and, to a certain extent, augment with this sum the economic backing for future children and for the support of the husband, and form a nest egg to help should any difficult situation of their own or of their family /4/ arise. Moreover, as women have lately been improving the technique of their handwork by the instruction they receive in the Capuchin mission, and these articles are readily sold in the markets of the interior as well as in the neighboring markets of Valledupar and Maracaibo, the woman really constitutes an important economic force that helps to overcome the precarious financial situation in the home, which is aggravated by the intensely hot summers which do not permit all-season agricultural activity and weaken the livestock. With the revenue so obtained she supports her husband, feeds and clothes herself, her children, and her close relatives.

/4 cont./

At the present time the family concept of the woman is changing because of the conduct of mestiso and even pure Indian women brought about by changes in their economic situation and by contact with whites. Gradually, the traditional organization of the marriage payment and fidelity based on the payment is being broken down, because it is the women themselves and not their relatives who receive the payment, and for their activities as prostitutes. The phenomenon is noted not only in the cantons of the interior which have contacts with whites and Negroes -- principally traders and civil authorities -- but also and especially in Maracaibo and some of the towns in the department of Magdalena, to which they have been obliged to emigrate. However, they maintain the family concept of mutual assistance and share their income with their close relatives, not as before in the form of the marriage payment but as income earned in the sex market.

Prenatal care and birth. A woman learns that she is pregnant when she feels a loss of appetite and repugnance for food. The later disappearance of the menstrual period confirms the suspicion, and she immediately sees to it that her husband is informed of the event, so that he may know of his coming fatherhood. Also, in the case where she has had extramarital relations in the absence of the husband, the woman, when she feels these early symptoms of pregnancy, goes in search of him, cohabits with him, and later can tell him of her condition, thus avoiding possible later suspicions. From the time of the ending of the first menstrual period, she begins to count the months, and she expects delivery after the eighth month.

Before the arrival of a child, the woman complies with established rules intended to avoid a lengthy and difficult delivery as well as to safeguard the new arrival from sickness which would affect his normal mental and physical well-being. Included in these prescriptions are to be found some of useful and practical value and others with a marked magic aspect. These magic observances generally affect both parents, although some only refer to the woman, /5/ others exclusively to the man (1).

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49 cont./

1. Fiesta Guajira, Roberto.
Aspectos de la magia en la Guajira
/Aspects of Magic in La Guajira/.
Revista del Instituto Etnológico
Nat., Vol. III, No. 1, 1947.
Bogotá, 1950.

For example, the mother must not eat food that has been tasted by an animal, for if she does her child will develop stomach trouble and will perform its natural functions in the manner of that animal; neither the man nor the woman should watch a snake in its hole nor should the man kill it, because if he does the mother's labor will be long and difficult. The mother-to-be should never attend a primary or secondary burial nor the men dig a grave, as this also may bring on a long and difficult delivery in addition to the child's suffering serious illness, etc.

During the period of pregnancy, the husband avoids torturing his wife and satisfies her whims or desires, because otherwise his child may be born, for example, with a marked expression of anxiety on his face. However much she should contradict him, he should not make use of his authority or beat her, in deference to her condition and also because such conduct would bring grave consequence, for should the wife lose her child through ill-treatment, the responsibility would fall on him and his seers, and he would have to make payment to his wife in compensation for the injury caused. However, there are Guajiro who beat their wives when they are with child, when they know them to be of such low social standing that their relatives will not have sufficient power to assert their rights.

The Guajiro believes that certain actions which influence the psyche of the pregnant woman will have a physical repercussion on the coming infant. This is one of the reasons why the husband takes care to safeguard his wife and please her, avoiding causing her annoyance, scolding her, or ill-treating her. However, among these beliefs there are some which serve to solve satisfactorily certain problems which may arise from the breaking

/5 cont./

843 of social norms. In La Guajira, for example, adultery is at present very commonly practiced with whites and Negroes, and so to explain the appearance of children of a different color or of features distinct from Indian ones, the Guajiro woman appeals to the following belief: If a pregnant woman should receive a shock due to the sudden appearance of some person, her child will be born the color of that person.

We have already seen that if during her pregnancy a mother experiences an intense desire to possess some object and is not able to find it and satisfy her with, the child will be born with the anxious facial expression of the mother and later will cry continually for no apparent reason. In these beliefs the Indian also sees the explanation of the birth of twins and of abnormal children. By the same token, the husband's duty is to prevent such impressions on the /6/ future mother, because a strong feeling of fear during the first months of pregnancy may cause her to have twins, or the impression made on her by an animal or by a physically defective person may cause her to give birth to an abnormal child. This imposes an obligation on the man when on the road to walk ahead in order to warn his wife of the presence of any such phenomena, so that she may avoid seeing them.

Another set of precautions are observed by the woman to prevent her delivery being long and painful. Among these we may name the following:

During her pregnancy she makes use of a special kind of herb which is found wild on the banks of streams and in the mountains, grinding it carefully to make a soft paste with which, from the fifth month onward until her delivery, she massages her stomach every day at dawn, leaving the juice of the herb on her skin throughout the day. When she wishes to make the treatment more effective, she applies the paste from the third month. The infant whose mother has undergone this treatment is born normal but is so reduced in size and weight that he resembles a fetus of four months. Thus the delivery is extremely easy and rapid. Infants who have been subjected to this kind of prenatal treatment are not born sickly or with nervous defects.

/6 cont./

They are normal although extremely small and undernourished. As the months pass, such an infant gradually recovers from the prenatal treatment and toward the end of the third year reaches normal size and acquires the usual physical characteristics of a child of ordinary type.

The Guajiro mother does not like to adopt this treatment, but she will make use of it when in previous cases she has had a difficult delivery. She is proud of the large size and robustness of her children, and it is a cause of pleasure to her when they are admired. It is more usual for her to employ another group of practices, dietetic ones, such as those which advise abstaining from eating cheese, butter at meals, or fat meat, adding milk to corn mazamorra, and drinking large quantities of water daily before eating, during the entire pregnancy, in order to prevent the too active growth of the fetus and to have, as a result, a less difficult delivery.

The practices we have been describing are also recommended to keep the woman from developing to an exaggerated size which would hinder her movements both in carrying out her domestic duties and in the long distances she has to walk.

During the final months of pregnancy, she abstains from sexual relations, both by her own wish and that of her husband, in the belief that /7/ they would cause the child to be born sickly and the delivery to be prolonged, possibilities which are their main concern and the avoidance of which justifies the practice of any treatment that prevents them. Also, during the final months of her pregnancy, the woman is prohibited, within practical limits, from lifting heavy things, carrying water from wells and loads of seeds, carting firewood, or loading burros. But only women of outstanding economic position who have female bond servants and slaves to carry out such chores are able to observe these precautions. It is not rare, therefore, to find that the Guajiro woman is obliged to do her daily work to the detriment of her condition, for after one of these exertions, a woman is liable to suffer an immediate miscarriage.

/7 cont./

843 278 Sometimes a woman who knows that her delivery is likely to be difficult takes various herbs, which she buys from the women of the Sierra de Jarara, who understand their curative properties, or gets someone to obtain them from the Arhuaco /Cagaba/ Indians, to whom they frequently go in search of medical remedies.

844 278 At the time that labor pains begin, the woman takes infusions of various herbs which her relatives have previously obtained. With these the delivery progresses rapidly, and the birth occurs quickly and successfully. Also during delivery she takes one or more doses of the juice of the herb which serves to reduce the size of the fetus.

842 278 Once the child is born and in case the placenta is delayed, the woman drinks the juice from the pulp of a pumpkin (Crescecia Cujeta) and that of a new /nueva/ herb with the purpose, once the delivery has occurred, of preventing an early recurrence of pregnancy once sexual life is renewed. This has the property of preventing conception for a period up to four years when taken in larger than normal dosage.

844 If the herbal remedies do not produce the hoped-for result, the woman's relatives with her assistance recapitulate the taboos that were possibly violated during the months of pregnancy by her, by her husband, or by both, and they endeavor to make some sort of reparation. Thus, for example, if she had seen a snake in its hole or if her husband had killed it, or if she had looked fixedly at it and had not complied with the precept to step over it to arrest its baleful influence, as is their belief, her relatives go in search of a snake of the same species, which they kill and bring to place on the abdomen of the woman in labor, after which the delivery is successfully accomplished. Should they find that the husband was hunting with firearms or had simply fired a gun, they proceed to wash /8/ the barrel of the firearm in question and give this water to the woman to drink. With this the delivery is quickly completed.

/8 cont./

Birth and death of the first-born. The father must pay the 851 expenses of pregnancy and delivery, as well as those occasioned by the celebration of the birth of his first child, and he is expected to offer a special feast at his own expense at the place where the birth occurred. The news of the birth of the child spreads rapidly and draws relatives and friends from all parts. At midday the dance, which lasts all night, begins, in which the [534] single women and all the men take part. The rhythm is supplied [535] by a double-headed drum made of deer or goat hide. The dancing takes place within a large circle, around the edges of which the couples participating and the curious onlookers gather. The women attend in their finest dresses without forgetting their ornaments (necklaces, bracelets, and anklets) and wear wound round the head a handkerchief, which falls over the shoulder, and have their faces very carefully painted. The men wear broad belts wonderfully embroidered and feather headpieces.

[273] The father must supply his guests with Guajiro rum or with smuggled foreign liquor. Also chicha (made from chewed corn) is prepared and is served liberally. Apart from the dancing [541] there may be horse racing, if the people are rich, and for this they bring their finest animals. At dawn the next day cattle, if the father is rich, and goats are slaughtered, which are prepared and divided among the participants according to their importance in the family, the group, and the total collectivity in general. All the participants return to their homes by sunrise.

In addition to the father, the maternal and paternal relatives [431] join in the celebration of the birth, bringing gifts for the newly born. The father also makes him a present of heads of livestock, which constitute almost the only inheritance he will get during [428] his lifetime, as it is the nephews of the father, (sons of his sister) who inherit the capital and not the sons, according to law, when the marriage has been carried out according to the Guajiro rite.

851 The paternal grandfather also shows his recognition and 431 generosity toward his grandson. If he owns livestock, he is 608 obliged to give a pair of each -- horses, burros, cows, goats,

/8 cont./

851 sheep, fowl. The maternal grandfather has a similar obligation,
931 and he is expected to give as much as the other. It is custom-
[603] ary for the most notable /connotado/ maternal uncle to show his affection and recognition of his nephew -- his veritable son -- by making him a special gift of heads of livestock. /9/

In addition, the female neighbors and friends of the mother come to visit her, and they do not fail to bring some present for the new infant, such as balls of thread to make his hammock, his swaddling clothes, etc.

With the livestock received at his birth the child starts his capital. His animals are cared for by his father, together with those belonging to the mother, or by the most outstanding maternal uncle who has shown most affection for his nephew activities until the boy becomes capable of looking after his own interests.

* * *

766 The death of the first-born child is an event of outstanding importance because of the consequences it may bring about. This is one of the reasons why the father is greatly concerned about the first pregnancy of his wife and why he endeavors to take her to the home of her relatives in order that her child may be born there, placing on them the responsibility he seeks to avoid. This is cause enough for later births not to be attended by the maternal relatives, and in the long run the woman may have to give birth alone through force of circumstances.

The wife and her relatives acknowledge responsibility for the first-born's death and not only for his death as such but also as it may bear upon the birth of future children. When the first-born dies he is placed in a clay pitcher head downward, covered with the base of a new clay jar, and buried in the woods, not in the clan cemetery but certainly in land belonging to his family, at the foot of a pole called huruwá, so that the other children to be born will not also die. All ceremonies usual at

/9 cont./

766 the time of other deaths are suppressed, and the eldest maternal uncle takes charge of the burial. Neither the father nor the mother may see the dead child nor assist at the burial, so as to avoid the death of future children.

The first-born having died and the burial requirements
766 having been complied with, the mother must submit, if she
881 wishes to prevent the death of her other children, to a special
845 treatment which is practically a repetition of the ceremonies and the regimen to which she was subjected at her initiation on reaching puberty. Apparently it is believed that she did not fully comply on that occasion with the customary rites and prescriptions meant to convert her into an adult woman with all the functions attached to that state. It is to this fault that the Guajiro appears to attribute the death of the first-born.

766 The mother is suspended for three days in a hammock near the ridgepole of the house. She remains there fasting, covered
881 with a cloth so as not to /10/ to be seen. Let down at the end of this interval, she takes some bija /achiote, or seeds of the annatto tree/ as her first food and thin corn mazamorra; a female uterine relative takes care of her, probably more strictly than during her seclusion at puberty, and she stays for five months in an outbuilding adjoining the household or in a room where she cannot be seen except by other women, speaks softly, submits to a nourishing diet, and is deprived of sexual contact with her husband. Also, the process of fattening with the root of hawapi is repeated as well as the use of herbs to delay the reappearance of menstruation. After this seclusion she returns to her husband's side and takes up her marital life.

766 If another child should have the same fate as the first, the usual burial ceremony takes place: a wake is organized, and animals are distributed as in the case of the death of an adult, the animals being supplied by the maternal and paternal grandparents. The tradition norms having been complied with, the dead child is buried in the cemetery of his ancestors. The mother is given special treatment by the professional herbalists,

/10 cont./

766 but seclusion is not repeated, as the death of children is now attributed to diverse causes, some magic and some natural. Once these causes are eliminated, the native believes he has solved the problem.

845 Birth of twins. The reasons the Guajiro cites to explain the birth of twins have a distinct magic character. Although it is not considered as a foreshadowing of lamentable happenings, it is recognized as a heavy burden, especially when the mother has insufficient means or when the number of children is already large. However, there is never any attempt whatever to end the life of twins when they arrive. They rear them in the best way possible following the same customary regimen used for other children and overcoming difficulties as much as possible.

The reasons the Guajiro gives to explain the birth of twins are the following: During the early months of pregnancy, and especially in the first month, the mother has suffered some very intense emotion on being startled by someone or on receiving some unexpected bad news, etc.; or also she may have mocked some other woman who had borne twins, or, worse still, having been able to assist the other woman and having been asked to help as a wet nurse (the mother being unable to feed her young ones), she refused.

853 Feeding and clothing the baby. The newborn child is not fed until three days after birth, when the milk appears in the mother's breasts, an appearance which varies but is generally within the term of three days. However, this custom is frequently not observed even /11/ on the first day due to insinuations of the family or the midwife when the child appears to be extremely hungry.

The child is not suckled at regular intervals, if by this is meant fixed hours which the mother or wet nurse must hold to. The mother feeds the child when he asks by crying or by demanding by word of mouth, according to his age, and also in order to comfort him when he is hurt or in pain, and when she wishes him to go off to sleep. Only a few mestizos, because

/11 cont./

853 of white education or medical prescription, try to regulate the feeding of their children, but they break the rule frequently, lengthening or shortening the interval in accordance with the [805] appetite of the child and guiding themselves by the position of the sun.

The child has his first meal of the day approximately at three o'clock in the morning, the time that the Guajiro begins [512] his daily work, the last meal at bedtime. At this latter meal the child nurses until, either satiated or sleeping, he lets go of his mother's breast. However, every Guajiro mother habitually feeds her child during the night if he wakes up and cries.

The mother feeds her child herself unless abnormal circumstances prevent this. If the milk completely satisfies the child in quantity and quality, the mother does not add other food, nor does she substitute it during the first six to eight months. 862 From then onward she adds to his diet thin corn mazamorra with a little milk, preferably goat's milk, oat soup, milk, and, much later, cheese and meat. If the mother's milk begins to fail soon after the child's birth, she endeavors to supplement this lack by other suitable food such as sweetened mazamorra or simple dishes of rice meal, mixed with goat's milk, later this same milk alone, until she gradually weans her child to adult food, going through the process just outlined. She also tries to reserve her own milk to give to the child during the night and so avoid having to prepare food during the hours of rest. The first meal at dawn, however, may be a prepared one, as the Guajiro mother, as we have already stated, is an early riser in order to take advantage of the cooler hours of the day to do her work. Before weaning, if the mother's milk supply keeps up, the child learns to eat other foods such as cow's milk and goats milk, corn griddlecake, bread -- if it is to be had, mazamorra, and fruit such as the iguaraya, mamoncillo /honey berry/, olive, and mango. When the child begins to sit up, the mother holds him in her arms during mealtime and gives him bites of food. The child learns to want and ask for food. Thus once he is weaned,

/11 cont./

862 the child is organically ready to assimilate adult food. This gradual method is much easier than when /12/ the mother, because of scarcity of her milk toward the sixth month or from special circumstances, is forced to do it.

Weaning age varies in accordance with the wish of the mother and the special circumstances which may require it. The general custom is to breast feed up to three years, but one finds mothers who nurse their children up to a year, others up to two, and it is not at all rare to find some who do so until after the third year.

The usual causes which influence the Guajiro mother to stop nursing her child are: a) A new pregnancy, because the majority of the mothers believe that the milk then produced has a bad effect on the nursing child as well as on the coming one. Nevertheless, there are exceptions to this custom in addition to the fact that the child may be returned to the breast when the mother has delivered the new infant. But these are special cases. However, it must be taken into account that pregnancies among the Guajiro do not occur rapidly one after the other, owing to the knowledge of contraceptives of which we have already spoken, which allows the mothers a long period of breast feeding for their children. It should also be noted that the Guajiro mother never tells the child that her ceasing to breast feed him is due to the arrival of another baby, so that, it appears to us, such a possibly pernicious insinuation does not influence the child's future behavior. b) Long trips which the mother must make on which she cannot be accompanied by her small child. When the child is somewhat older, she uses her absence as an opportunity to wean him, but if he is still young she is forced by circumstances to do it.

Weaning methods are personal and depend on the wishes or ideas of the mother or on the circumstances of the moment, but they can be grouped into several categories: a) Sudden weaning, when the mother has to go away. b) When the mother's milk is scarce she supplements breast feeding with other food.

/12 cont./

862 In this way the replacement is gradual without organic or other complications for the child. c) When breast feeding is kept on overlong and the child is already eating normally and assimilating adult food, the breast is then simply a diversion that is, at times, voluntarily abandoned by the child. In this category may be included the younger children, or sharé, who considerably prolong the period of breast feeding. d) Very exceptionally it may happen that the mother gets annoyed with her child for biting her nipple and as punishment takes it away, but this punishment occurs only when the child is big, as logically, when the child is small, he cannot so bite.

When the mother is not able to travel, in order to deprive the child she wants to wean, or when it will not take a refusal, [824] she rubs her nipple with the sour juice of a plant called wawá and offers her breast to the child, who /13/ on tasting it cries and rejects it. This practice is repeated several times until the child refuses to respond when the breast is offered. This step is taken when the child is two or three years old and it is considered shameful to continue breast feeding so long, or when the child is small and special circumstances oblige the mother to act in this way.

When the child starts to take other food as a substitute for [415 177] his mother's milk, she feeds him liquids from a vessel made from a gourd /totuma/ (1) which she holds, at the same time

1. At present, some use nursing bottles.

training him to hold it also so that he can learn to feed himself; she gives him soup from a spoon, and she puts solid food into his hand. When he is very small she gives him lukewarm food, but later she gives it to him at the temperature it comes from the hearth, warning him to be careful. At two years the child is self-sufficient in these matters.

/13 cont./

862 At the stage when the child is too young to feed himself, it is usually the mother who feeds him or one of the relatives (aunt, grandmother, or siblings). Also, he may be helped by female servants entrusted to look after him, who coach him so that he may learn to feed himself.

827 853 [755] If, after the delivery and before the milk appears, the woman should have inflamed and painful breasts, the husband must place his bare foot on them for a short time in order to make the swelling disappear. When the milk is delayed, they beat the shoulders of the mother with a herb which has the property of producing a milky substance in abundance. Quick and safe results are also obtained by using an infusion of vira-vira.

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853 The Guajiro mother may be obliged to ask for assistance in the natural feeding of her child: a) when, after delivery, for some pathological reason she cannot feed him because her milk has dried up; b) because she has previously lost several children of a very early age due to gastroenteritis, which is attributed to nutritive deficiency in her milk or to something in it which makes it unhealthy; c) when she has had twins, and she feels unable to feed both children; d) when the mother's milk suddenly begins to become scarce while the child is very small.

In such circumstances she looks for a wet nurse, not because she refuses to feed the child since, as far as we were able to find out, the mother wants to do it herself and considers her maternity frustrated when circumstances force her to find another mother to substitute for her, but because necessity drives her to do so in order to save the child from starvation and death. Apart from the /14/ loving care and the pleasure she feels in fulfilling this function, there are various reasons which induce her to feed her child naturally: Scarcity of milk in a poor mother involves a hardship in rearing the child as she does not always have goat's milk (the best milk in their opinion) available, and

/14 cont./

853 she runs up against the difficulty of accustoming the child to this kind of food, which may cause its death; furthermore, a wet nurse is often out of the question, for unless she is a relative who will do it without charge, it is almost impossible for a poor woman to meet the cost. For this reason the arrival of twins in a poor family is a hard blow, but in these circumstances every Guajiro woman whose services as wet nurse are solicited will consent, as she believes that a refusal would involve her in a double delivery in the future.

Thus, recourse to a wet nurse is limited to mothers with economic resources, who obtain the services of one with a child of an age approximately the same as their own and bring her into the home. The wet nurse receives a payment which has [465] been agreed upon beforehand, either in money, clothes, or animals, as well as her food, in which the mother takes special interest for the benefit of her own child, as also her clothes, which the mother also supplies. The wet-nurse's child is usually left with her relatives, who feed him by bottle on goat's milk, mazamorra, and other food which substitute for the mother's breast, and even if he stays with his mother, he is weaned in order to give a greater amount of breast milk to the other child. Sometimes he is given the breast, but the child of the house in which the mother serves is always given preference. His sustenance, in this case, is included in the payment agreed on.

Generally, the wet nurse engaged by a Guajiro wife is of lower social standing, and she gives her services in exchange for the personal advantages that accrue, since her situation in the house is good for the reasons mentioned, and her standing in the family collectivity is improved, because in a certain physical sense she is comparable with the mother, as on her depends the rearing and the health of the child. This establishes a link and a mutual relationship between them, and the wet nurse acquires a certain superiority as well as a physical bond with the child whom she nourishes. By this, if she is a slave, her position is eased and improved, and she gains in consideration and status. The same conditions apply if she is a bond servant.

/14 cont./

853 Wet nurses can be classed in four groups: 1. The relative who gives her services voluntarily and gratuitously, with the idea of mutual aid /within the family/. The mother feels, however, the moral obligation to repay her for the help given in her time of need, and this she does by taking food and /15/ presents to her relative's house. The child may be taken to the home of the wet nurse or stay in its own if the nurse lives in the same place as the mother. This is the only recourse for the poorer Guajiro woman when confronted with the problem of having given birth to twins or being unable to nurse her own child.
2. A voluntary wet nurse obtained from among friends and neighbors, whose recompense is similar to that in the previous case. This action serves to improve friendship, and the favor given remains a personal debt which should be repaid by the mother when the /volunteer/ wet nurse finds herself in a similar situation. The child is taken to the home of the wet nurse.
3. The paid wet nurse, of whom we have already spoken, whose fee obliges her to give efficient service, even to the point of weaning her own child. She must also act as nursemaid, which requires her to leave her own child in the home of her relatives.
4. The wet nurse who is not free, that is to say, one who is a bond servant or slave and who, being in the necessary condition, is ordered by her masters to give this service and is obliged to do so because of her condition of a nonfree person. In this case, as in the previous one, her own child is deprived of the breast if she cannot satisfactorily feed both children, her own and that of her masters. The child of the wet nurse is fed on special food supplied by her mistress.

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854 The Guajiro mother who is about to be confined prepares certain articles she is going to need. These preparations are quite limited, and it is not unusual for the delivery to begin without her having prepared something to serve as a "layette"

/15 cont./

854 /ajuar/ for the coming child. Many times the mother is forced to improvise items by using old robes to wrap him in or a bag made of agave fiber for his hammock to protect him from the cold at night.

The Guajiro woman who is in contact with civilization and is comfortably off economically prepares a hammock for the arrival of the child, or weaves it or has it made afterward, using the hanks of cotton thread she has received as gifts. Children 854 wear clothes only when they go on trips. If they are baptized 291 in the Catholic faith, they receive their outfit /ajuar/ from their [608 godmother, who is also expected to present a dress to the mother. 431] As the child usually goes about naked, they do not make any clothes to wear. Some rather long cloths useful as swaddling clothes and coverlets are prepared and serve various purposes. Wherever possible the mothers try to avoid the child's dirtying them with his excretions, in order to lighten the problem of cleanliness, since water is scarce. /16/

854 Neither are the Guajiro mothers in the habit of wrapping bellybands round their infants. The navel is left exposed even [164] when it is not completely healed. For this reason ruptures are frequent as well as the death of the newly born due to infection of the navel. But they do use a kind of awning fixed over the [136] child's hammock to protect him from falling centipedes, snakes, and scorpions that abound in the roofs of the huts, which are covered with plant materials.

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Care, training, and treatment of young children. From birth the child is looked after by people other than his mother, as she is obliged to seek such assistance to be able to attend to her other domestic obligations or to rest and have someone to whom she can delegate this care. When she goes to a place relatively near by, the mother does not take the child but leaves it in the care of his older brothers and sisters or her relatives, when they

/16 cont./

854 live together, or her mother if she lives near by. If the mother does not return in time to feed the child, the relatives who are taking care of him will try to initiate him into taking some new food. When the trips are for a long time, the mother takes her little ones along seated on the burro which serves as their transport, in order to avoid the problem of starting them off on a new kind of food when they are very small or when she has no one in whose care she can leave them.

Frequently, the child will attach himself to a relative who shows him kindnesses or small attentions, but he prefers the care and company of his mother above all others and shows his happiness in her presence. This situation can change when the child passes his third year, an age when he begins to lose his devotion to his mother and to show it for a maternal uncle or aunt to whom he becomes attached and whom he follows as they carry out their various duties, even leaving his mother for long periods.

If the mother is poor and has no assistance in bringing up her child -- because she lives far away from her relatives and cannot afford the services of a female slave or bond servant -- she has to take care of him by herself. When the child is very small she [482] carries him in her arms except when he is sleeping, although at times he sleeps in her lap. When he has grown bigger and can sit up, his hammock is tied at the top to prevent his falling out when he wakes up.

The fourth month, when he starts to sit up, she carries him [482] during the day astride her hip and held by her arm. /17/ It must be noted that during the first month he is carried on her shoulder in an upright position, and he is seated on her legs, recumbent on her lap. At two months she does not give him this support for his back, and it is not unusual at four months for her to seat him [145] on the ground. From this time onward he begins to crawl, and it is then that the mother starts giving him slightly less personal attention as she lets him crawl about without worrying about what he picks up to eat or drink, so that it is at this age that the [165] greatest number of stomach troubles and an increase in infantile mortality occur.

/17 cont./

848 Preparation for achieving the upright position is started off by the mother, since when he is three months or sometimes less, she stands him on his feet, supporting him by the armpits and, later, the child will do the same by himself, holding on to his mother's shoulders. When he is going about his usual life on the floor, once he can sit up alone, he finds opportunities to make use of his legs, and once he comes upon something to grip he can pull himself up. With such help he starts off on his first steps, and from the tenth or eleventh month (the fourteenth at the latest), with individual differences, he starts to take his first steps without assistance. Then his mother will fix below the inner eaves /alero/ of the house a horizontal rail of a handy length and height for the child to practice his newly acquired skill.

868 At two years the infant walks all about the house as well as
857 along the paths that lead to the well or the corn field. If it is
231 a boy, the father, the older brothers, or the uncles like to take him with them when they go to near-by places to graze the livestock, so that he may learn and become strong. On these excursions the child begins learning his future work, first by observation and later by participating, when his age permits, until he becomes expert. It usually happens that the Guajiro shows a marked preference even as a child for some certain class of livestock and so, when he is a little bigger, he is put in charge of these, a responsibility he discharges with pleasure during the greater part of the day in the company of his father, uncle, or brothers. After an early breakfast he collects the part of the flock or herd he is responsible for, or he brings them out of the corral where they have slept. He pastures them during the day, never letting them out of his sight, lying down in the shade during the hottest hours of the day, or returning to his hammock at home if not too far away. Toward nightfall he returns home with the livestock to water them and put them into the corrals, or after counting them he leaves them near by in a safe place close to the house.

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854 863 With regard to the training of the child in carrying out his bodily functions, it is the mother or whoever is responsible for him who teaches him; it is usually the mother or his wet nurse. The child learns /18/ shortly after birth to be clean because his mother is concerned with making do with the few pieces of cloth and a scarcity of soap or water to wash them with. Moreover, as the child goes bare, there is little difficulty, when he shows signs of wishing to relieve himself, in taking advantage of the moment to see that he does it in the proper place. Also, she will see that her small child does these necessary functions shortly after feeding, and as she has him in her arms for long periods when he is small, at the least sign of his need she holds him in the right position. If she is seated on the ground or on some object near to the ground, she crosses her legs leaving an opening over which she seats the child so that his excrement falls on the sandy soil, and later she cleans it up. This operation is carried out when the child finishes his meal or whenever he shows signs of needing relief. In this way the child associates the position with the action of fulfilling his need, and he forms the habit of cleanliness, until there comes a time that he is cross or cries if he is not placed in the accustomed position. As he grows, his bodily functions become more regular, and when he starts to walk, it becomes more simple; he learns to squat and later to withdraw to some spot outside the house or to cry out to be taken to such a spot if he is still too small. He also learns to call this function by its proper name or by a special one of his own invention. Later, between three and four he fulfils these necessities without outside help.

The training with reference to urinating is also simple and is a lesser problem for the mother. It worries her less than the former function and follows more or less an identical training process. She moves him to one side so that he does not wet her, [514] and later she shows him, if a boy, how to take the Adult position, or if a girl, to sit on her heels. As the child is naked, the problem is very simple. The child wets his bed for a while, and

/18 cont./

854 for this reason the hammock is made of agave fiber, which re-
863 sists rot, and although a child of a year may still wet the bed, it is usual by the time he reaches this age, and even before, for him to have the habit of cleanliness formed and this problem not to exist, because of previous training. It may be that the child is helped in this by the hot and dry climate of the region, by the reduced quantity of liquid he absorbs during the day, by the physiological phenomenon of perspiration which causes much elimination, and because the mother rises early, at daybreak, and calls the child to his organic necessities, a custom which in time forms a habit, so keeping him dry in bed. /19/

854 When the small family lives apart, especially from the wife's relatives, the rearing and initial training of the children is limited to its members and their maids and female bond servants and slaves if there are any. This training is mainly simple and personal and consists in regulating his daily and nightly feeding, sleep, cleanliness, and beginning to crawl and walk. As the culmination of his preliminary training comes speech.

In this early teaching the average poorer mother plays the main role, as only the better-off mother has the advantage of help from female bond servants, slaves, and servants or wet nurses. We have already seen how the mother carries out these duties or how they are equally fulfilled by whoever assists her.

When she has to go out she leaves the child in the care of her husband, who, following the instructions he receives, feeds the child, watches its cleanliness, its rest, and safety according to customary pattners. At other times the older brothers and sisters have this duty.

[595] If several women live together with a man, it is not unusual that during the absence of one, the others will take care of her children and take her place in protecting and caring for them whether the child is tiny or older. This practice, naturally, occurs only when there is no ill will or hatred between the various co-wives.

[596] When the family life is lived within the maternal family grouping, or when two sisters are co-wives and live in the same

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854 house, the training and care of the children is simplified by the
59% joint support and action of the two sisters, who do not object to giving each other mutual aid in sharing domestic duties and the care of the children during the absence of one of the sisters, so that the children are well cared for and trained as if they were members of one family. In the case of daughters who live together with their respective children in their mother's house, the unity among them is almost equal to the case just described. Thus the absence of the mother is willingly filled in by the desire of the others to assist her and temporarily fill her place. It may also be the common mother /of the daughters/ -- the grandmother /of the children/ -- who replaces all the daughters, or a maternal aunt, or even the grandmother -- great-grandmother of the children -- if she is still of an age to do so, a female cousin, etc. In these cases the mother's influence is amplified with that of her maternal relatives who care for the children by trying to adhere to the general norm of conduct and the particular ways that each mother uses.

854 Another influence that is being felt and can be perceived
591 more clearly at the present time with the problem of crossbreeding and of Catholic marriage is the /20/ acknowledged participation of the paternal relatives in the training. We know that Guajiro marriage is usually matrilocal, but it can happen that later on it may change into a patrilocal one, the children then coming under the influence of the paternal relatives who also assist the mother. In these two cases there seems to be a sort of transfer of the feeling of kinship, and although the maternal may be more powerful in certain aspects, the paternal by fact acquires prerogatives which it wields actively: The new generation comes under the influence of both branches, which co-operate in their rearing and training.

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854 The mother shows every affection for her small child, above all while it is being breast fed, but later the demonstrations of

/20 cont./

§54 affection are not so apparent, and the child develops into a small adult, obeying family authority in his activities and conduct. Now start his training in work, punishments, and learning to put his physical strength to practical use in family life, as he is given responsibilities and duties in the home.

We have already seen how the mother carries her child in her arms while he is not yet sitting up or crawling. It is at this period that she shows him her affection. If he cries or is fretful, she places him upright on her shoulder and gently pats his arms to quieten him and get him to sleep; she lays him horizontally on her lap to put him to sleep, or puts him in his hammock and rocks and lulls him to sleep. While she is working and the child is content, she lays him on rags or matting near to her work, chats to him in baby language and loving pet names. If the child becomes fretful, she lifts him up, offers him the breast, or holds him in her lap while trying to carry on with her work.

To satisfy the child's need to move and to develop his muscles, she seats him on her legs when he is quite small and later helps him to stand up and take steps, stimulating his endeavors with words and cries or laughing at his attempts or tumbles. Lullabies [§58] are very common, and there are typical ones with conventional words and music, or extemporaneous ones, which are in the nature of the description of some action, fable, or story that is hit upon, or simply one that tells the child that she is busy and he should be good and go to sleep. The tune may be one of those generally used for such lullabies or that of any favorite Guajiro song.

When the child wakes the mother picks him up from his hammock, speaks to him in baby language, pets him, and calls him endearing names. /21/ This is the time to feed him, and while she does this she calls him some pet name and pats his shoulders rhythmically. Sometimes she will tickle him, she will teasingly take away her nipple to replace it playfully at once, thus stopping his protests. She lets him play with her hair and even allows him to try to grip her face. The other relatives,

/21 cont./

554 including the men, excite his attention and try to make him laugh, they repeat phrases and words praising his baby efforts, they move a homemade toy in front of him, and praise his progress in talking or crawling or walking and endeavor to stop his crying by picking him up, cooing to him, or playing games with him.

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551 The name. In La Guajira everyone has several names. It appears that originally these were two, but later, with the practice of Catholic baptism, the number increased to three, as follows: a) The individual's personal name which is never used by outsiders but only by the person's closest blood relatives. b) The nickname, which actually becomes his personal name as it substitutes for the latter in order to avoid its being used by outsiders, thus giving the bearer a name for practical purposes. This nickname may be derived from some physical or mental quality or defect, from a resemblance to some object, a difference from others, from some circumstance or special occurrence in his life -- for example, at his birth -- from a distortion of his Spanish name, or from an invention of a younger brother who called his older brother by a word of his own invention or the name of an article he is able to pronounce. Both the family and outsiders usually use this name. c) The Spanish name, given at the Catholic baptism, which takes a very secondary place because, if there is a nickname, it will be used in preference to this, which is only used when having dealings with a white or for legal matters. Frequently, the Spanish name becomes so mispronounced that it is mistaken for a nickname.

One could say that every child is given different names by his mother, father, and brothers until a time comes when one is generally accepted and adopted. Although some names may refer to special occurrences or have a literal translation, others are adopted merely for the sound effect even though their translation (if such is possible) may be repugnant (for example, orko, a girl's name, meaning "horse gall").

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551 The nickname is so generally used that when a personal name is mentioned, few people recall to whom it refers. However, they give their Spanish name to a white, trying to pronounce it properly. /35/

Linked with this question of names is the problem of the Indians who emigrate to the haciendas of Venezuela, where they receive a name and surname, generally that of the hacienda, the owner, or the manager. There they are registered with these names. Moreover, some of the bond servants and slaves when sold are given the name of the master and when freed keep this name, sometimes a foreign one, which later they pass on to their children if they marry in the Catholic church.

Magic is intimately connected with the name question (1).

1. See Aspectos de la Magia en la Guajira by Roberto Pineda Giraldo, for further information. Published in Revista del Instituto Etnológico Nacional, Vol. III, No. 1.

Following is a brief summary of this matter: The personal name must not be used by outsiders, and the breaking of this rule would occasion a compensation payment. At the death of a Guajiro, others of the same name change theirs, at least in the area of the habitual home of the dead man's relatives, in order to prevent that name being used in their presence, as this also would involve compensation payment. As a result of this prohibition, the same person at different times and places may have a different name by which he may be called, which can cause confusion.

The personal name is given, as mentioned above, by his parents or closest relatives. The same applies to the general Catholic or Guajiro name, according to the following rules: If the marriage is a Catholic one, the children are named by the father, whose surname is taken. The daughters are given the

/22 cont./

65| name of his mother or maternal grandmothers or favorite female cousins. Very rarely is the name of an ascendant in the direct male line given and rarer still that of a collateral female relative in this line. The name of a woman friend, however, is commonly used. For boys, the father gives his brothers' or uncles' names or one of his favorite Spanish names. If the marriage has been solemnized by the Guajiro rite, then the mother names the child, also choosing from among those of her ancestors, brothers and sisters, uncles and aunts or of a female friend. She will occasionally accept a suggestion from a female relative or the priest who asks for a Catholic name for the child.

The nickname also originates in the family, as already explained, and it is by this one that the person is identified. At the time of reaching puberty, women try to put aside the name they received when they were children, and their relatives also start dropping it, in order to call them by the one they receive at the initiation. Men, however, generally keep their name unchanged all through life. It appears that the girl, once changed into womanhood by the rite of passage of her initiation, /23/ must not be called by the nicknames she had when she was little, because they are a reminder of her age of immaturity from which she takes leave via each and all of the diverse magic experiences through which she passes, to be reborn (if one may use the word) into a new life and thus enter the world of adults with its corresponding rights and duties. Probably this is the reason why, if the childish nickname should somehow be retained, when they are questioned by a white person, they do not give their name or refuse to answer when thus addressed. However, some girls have common nicknames, but we were able to prove that these dated from after their initiation and refer to some physical characteristic, to a distortion of their name, etc. These names they will tell quite naturally to whoever asks what they are called, never refusing to answer when addressed by this name. Also, in this rests the fact that men generally receive more nicknames than women. The case may be presented that nicknames vary

/23 cont./

551 chronologically because of things that happen or because an alteration in appearance gives rise to such a change, which supplant the former one.

Games. On general lines, the play /lúdicas/ activities in 857 which children take part are in direct relation to the division of 462 labor by sex. Thus, it is strictly forbidden for them to amuse themselves in games which in real life do not correspond to their sex. Boys, for instance, are not allowed to play with dolls or to cook, and girls must not practice archery. The father will openly oppose and invoke all his authority in the small family, to keep his sons, even in play, from doing girl's work. This sense of the division of work which controls their games causes the child, alone or backed up by the influence of his father and of his maternal uncles, to refuse to do anything which does not correspond to the activities of his sex, as it is believed that games or pastimes different from those traditionally established for each sex create a liking for, or a tendency toward, the work of the opposite sex. The Guajiro wants his men to have all the accepted masculine attributes, and his women to be wholly feminine. One of the ways of violating this ideal is shown by intervening in activities of the other sex, either in play when children or in work when adult. Thus, the father will say to the little girl, "You are not to practice archery. Are you a tomboy that you should do such a thing?" And the woman who works on harnesses for animals they also consider very mannish and lowered in her standing as a woman.

Children -- both male and female -- in La Guajira take part in two kinds of play lúdicas: games properly so called and pastimes /24/ which serve as an apprenticeship and training for their work as adults.

Among the first and as a pursuit for boys, one may include 524 games with ropes which, although they do develop manual quickness and ability, are not played for this purpose. These games are practiced either alone or in a group. In the former case, the object is to gain command of the technique and to learn to

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524 participate later in the competitions in which the child challenges his playmates to make a certain figure in the shortest time. Other forms of competition are: that of interposing difficulties in forming the figure, making a greater number of them, or the invention of new ones.

Spinning tops is another game which is played with notable intensity and variations, as the boys learn and practice the different ways known of handling this toy in their country, such as dancing it on the hand, beating the opponent by smashing his top with the opposing one, etc. For this game a special vocabulary and rules have been established as well as techniques to win when taking the offensive or tactics for defense.

They also play with glass marbles or, when lacking these, palm seeds with the edible endocarp. For example, they make "houses" by placing three marbles in the form of a triangle as a base and superimposing a fourth. The game consists in knocking them down with a fifth marble. He who manages to do this takes for himself the marbles or seeds originally placed. Another variation consists of several players placing their marbles on the floor. In strict order each one tries, by flicking his marble with his thumb levering against the index finger, to hit the marbles of his opponents or to place his own at a previously arranged distance from theirs, to win and get their marbles.

857 But these games are practically only for town children or
[369] those kept in school, as the average child has little leisure to play, for from a very early age he is a valuable work unit who must concentrate his activities on carrying out some task, leaving him little time for such diversions. Also, he lives isolated in very lonely places and consequently will rarely meet companions to play with.

[526] Boys also play ball games, which they learn at school, and they learn to act in the Festival of the Kid at harvest time when they take the parts of small animals, children, gifts, or ornaments.

Imitative play activities are the pretending and exercise of adult activities. The child amuses himself, for example, by practicing /25/ hunting, stalking and killing small animals such

/25 cont./

857 as the machorro /edible lizard/, or shooting arrows at something white or at pigeons. These are his diversions when he is herding at the times when the animals are resting or quietly feeding.

As a pastime he practices the exercise of controlling the animals he is in charge of and especially his skill in subduing and lassoing them. This gives him great satisfaction as well as training him for his future life. Also of great interest is horse riding and competing in races, which stimulate competition and /help in/ acquiring training.

Thus, the Guajiro boy can learn and play at the same time, and these activities are permitted, as his relatives find them advantageous, since they fit him for the activities he will have to carry out as an adult. Moreover, the life of the Guajiro boy is spent for the most part in the woods, and his home life is reduced practically to the hours of nightly rest and meals. During the day he is only in the company of his older brothers, his maternal uncle, or his father, and it is while with them that he may indulge in the luxury of playing, or at the times when he is free from chores. For this reason and because one sex is not allowed to take part in the play activities of the other, the possibilities of mixed games are very limited.

In spite of the endeavors of the mothers to keep their sons by every means from playing, or getting together, with the sons [614] of neighbors -- because of the danger there exists of incurring a compensation payment if a companion of another clan is injured -- at times they do join us, and it is then that they play the games just described. The boys also look for companions to help them in their chores, such as carrying a message, bringing in an animal, etc.

The girls' play activities are almost always of a type useful in training them for feminine duties. The girls, spending more time at home than the boys, have less chance of escaping from family pressure, which in the poorer classes requires them to assist their mothers in household duties and care of the younger children from a very early age. When they belong to better-class families who have female servants or slaves, they pass their

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857 time playing with dolls, and in make-believe cooking, and visiting, activities they will be carrying out when older.

During all the time of our stay in La Guajira, we saw no games specially designed for girls beyond those just stated, but it should be noted that when they are together with other girls of their own age they are quite happy /26/ to carry out the household duties with which they are charged, such as bringing water from the well, looking for firewood, etc., as they take advantage of the opportunity to climb trees to look for fruit or simply to swing in the branches, activities which their mothers complain about because they tear their clothes, for which they are punished.

The only mixed activity we had occasion to observe between boys and girls of six to twelve years was the game of sweethearts; they made jokes and played at being annoyed or unwilling and imitated all the attitudes of a couple in love. /27/

II

THE CHILD IN THE MIDDLE YEARS

Punishment. Encouragement. Childish Reaction to Punishment. Training.

861 The Guajiro Indians expect their children to comply with the established norms of conduct, and if they break these rules they are punished in different ways. This reaction is not systematic, as breaking a rule does not mean that punishment will necessarily follow. When it produces no harmful effect, a lapse may be passed over, but if it should cause serious harm the child is punished in consequence. In the question of punishment it would appear that the parents follow the principle of accumulation, that is to say, to put up patiently with a series of misdeeds on the part of the children and at a certain moment to take advantage of an opportunity, at times insignificant, to show their authority and establish the precedent that their orders and wishes are to be

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861 respected. This sudden reaction may be due to personal feelings of the parents; for example, when the mother is repressing some disappointment she will often relieve her feelings by punishing her child, somewhat unjustly, for some fault or faults previously committed. However, it may be that naughtiness is immediately followed by punishment.

Furthermore, the parents being confronted with a repetition of an act previously punished, persistently remind the child of what he suffered before and the possibility of again feeling more severe punishment because of his repeated disobedience, or they simply show him the objects used to press him with a view to compelling him to submit to the paternal will.

The most common causes for punishment are the following:

862 1. Acts against normal feeding habits, such as stealing food,
673 frequently practiced by children for various reasons: a) because he is the last to receive his helping at mealtime; b) because adults ostensibly get preference when any special dish is being served; c) because in times of scarcity it is the elders who avail themselves of the short rations, which provokes a feeling of inferiority in the child that his hunger helps to emphasize and forces him to steal to remedy the situation. This theft may be /28/ of several kinds: Stealing of food which is immediately eaten, since it is cooked or does not require cooking, such as chicha, milk, cheese, panela, sweets, fruit, or a special dish that the mother is keeping in expectation of a visitor or is meant for her husband or an invalid. To steal this food that the mother hangs from the ceiling or puts in some hiding place means that the child must take advantage of some carelessness on the part of the mother to carry out his act.

Another kind is the theft of food that is not to be eaten immediately but that is taken to be hidden and eaten later when he needs it -- while away from home pasturing the animals or when going off surreptitiously to hunt.

Another form of food stealing is that done by the eldest brother or the one with a sweeter tooth than the others. On being handed

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862 their share of food, they quickly eat theirs and wait till the mother
673 is not there to snatch the share of a younger or weaker brother by force, by stealth, by deception, by false promises, or by coercion in some form, such as threatening to reveal to the parents some misdeed not known to them.

862 In general, the growing Guajiro child is never satisfied with
261 the amount of food he gets, and in his craving for more he places no normal restraint on his appetite. He is always capable of eating more than he can normally hold, even to the point of suffering, in the hope of building up a reserve or because, feeling himself undernourished, he finds pleasure and satisfaction in eating to repletion. He always eats as if he were starving, which sometimes is the case, but at other times is only the remembrance of past hunger and the fear of its repetition.

Parents believe that the habit of these small thefts may lead to bigger robberies from people not relatives, which would bring about a series of troubles to the family group to which the young delinquent belongs. Also, the food stolen may be necessary and even indispensable for home use, and the theft means that an adult, a sick relative, or a visitor whom they wish or need to look after is deprived of it. One has to bear in mind that in certain parts of the country the sources of food supplies are so few that food is scrupulously rationed to last out until new supplies become available.

Children are also punished as their parents want them to behave abstemiously and uncomplainingly during the long spells of scarcity so frequent in this country, /29/ although they have their reward later when, in time of abundant harvest, food is plentiful and extravagantly used, only sufficient seed being retained for the next sowing. During these times of scarcity the Guajiro lives on a very reduced food ration and puts up with hunger and thirst to an incredible degree, and mothers want their children to achieve a similar standard: to behave like adults in such circumstances.

862 A further motive for correction and punishment is when the
574 child refuses to share the food that has been given to him or that

/29 cont./

862 574 he himself has obtained by his own efforts, with a brother, relative, or friend who comes to the house. He is made to do so by force if he does not do so voluntarily, for this hospitality is the norm of conduct in La Guajira, as it is customary for the group to afford mutual aid, and the sharing of food is one of the most obvious manifestations of this. For the Guajiro, whether he possesses much or little, will share it with his consanguineous relatives; norms of hospitality founded on the basis of strengthening their own personal prestige, as well as that of their clan, oblige the individual to receive a guest courteously in accordance with his status and that of his group and with his standing as a visitor, a welcome that has the quality of reciprocating attentions of a similar nature received from the guest and a desire to repay the same with interest. For this reason the parents believe that they should make their child comply with these social precepts and show himself to be generous, such being ideal character traits in the opinion of the Guajiro. They regard such cases as an opportunity to train him to comply with established custom; they fear that in the future the boy may not comply with those principles which form the economic link between members of the consanguineous group and are the basis of clan social etiquette. For this reason they punish the child and oblige him to comply.

Another cause for punishment in this matter of food is the 862 waste of food, more so if the child should stamp on it in a temper. In that case, he is severely punished. We believe that the Guajiro is right, because fear of the scarcity of food is an ever present problem which causes both adults and children to eat beyond the limit of their normal appetites in times of abundance. For this reason they believe that if the child wastes food he will suffer shortages greater than ever, and this punishment, by social law, will apply, as is natural, to all of them.

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867 2. A principle that the child must comply with under parental authority is submission to orders given him, whether

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867 positive or negative. He must fulfill as if he were a small adult the obligations that are imposed on him, carry out the chores that he is charged with, and assume satisfactorily the responsibilities he has to discharge. /30/

867 Thus, boys and girls must carry messages from one place to
857 another, from the house to the fields, for example. The girls bring firewood from the woods and work in the kitchen, etc., while the boys carry out efficiently the pasturing of the herds. These are positive orders. Of negative nature there are, for example, those that forbid the climbing of trees for fear they will tear their clothes; sneaking away from home to go among neighbors, especially when the neighbors belong to a different clan, as the mother always fears that if for some reason or other her son has a quarrel with a playmate and they come to blows, or if directly or indirectly he causes blood to flow, she will be responsible economically for the damage done as immediate compensation payment will be demanded. They likewise fear that some criminal act might be committed by the children, the consequences of which would fall on the instigator.

3. Children should never fail to tell the truth; even though
867 what they are saying is the product of childish imagination, this does not excuse or mitigate such a lack of truth; it is considered as an open lie by the family and clearly merits punishment. The child should never make a statement that is not true; that is to say, he is prohibited from lying in any possible form or manner. The Guajiro believes that if children lie they do it, deliberately, and if the vice is not corrected it will have troublesome consequences both in the family life and in the whole social collectivity because there is a compensation payment for slander, deceit, etc. Besides it could bring about difficult situations between individuals of the clan, with lamentable consequences. One exception appears to us to be that adults and even the older children boast of their strength, of their prowess in hunting, in war, and in their love affairs, and even about their economic standing. Frequently, they are imaginary happenings that they boast and crow about.

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865 4. The child should adopt certain habits in the conduct of his relations with his parents and relatives: to listen submissively to remarks without a haughty reply or showing unwillingness to carry out orders or making gestures that might appear arrogant; never to give a rude answer to whoever gives them orders about their work; never to answer discourteously nor in a way to show displeasure or arrogance when reprehended or punished nor to run away in these circumstances, as then the punishment would be greater; never to use bad words in Spanish as that implies a double offense: that of making use of a foreign language as well as bad words as such, besides coarseness and insults between adults lead to the compensation payment, which (as all of these social payments do) falls on the relatives. /31/

[191 195 689]

5. Besides aggressive acts toward his elders, we have those that can occur with his playmates or his own relatives and which acquire a more serious character when they affect his friends from other clans, and when from the verbal offense -- which may also have to be compensated -- they pass to fighting, because if blood should be shed the mother of the injured boy will make her claim for compensation payment (unless both combatants are hurt, in which case it is cancelled). In these cases of bloodshed, as will be seen hereafter, the relative social and economic strength or weakness of each of the clans to which the combatants belong is an important factor, as the stronger group always imposes its interpretation of justice on the weaker. These are the reasons that compel the mother to try to prevent her children from playing with those of another clan to forestall such possible claims. In spite of this, however, the boys escape her vigilant eye, ignore her orders, and manage to get together in most of their boyish activities. The prohibition to join up with boys of another clan develops also from the fact that if a boy is invited to join another group and some accident should occur, the responsibility will fall on the group of the boy who extended the invitation.

865 593 The relationship between siblings is usually peaceful especially between those of the same sex. They readily become comrades.

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865 693 Nevertheless, there are cases where the elder brothe attempts to impose his authority and oblige a younger brotherto obey his orders, building up his part. From ten years of age onward the relation between brothers and sisters becomes rougher and occasionally quarrelsome, but after passing puberty and initiation, when the girl has become a woman and the boy an adult, their relationship takes on a definite shape, to be reflected in the future friendship between the two and in the ties thatwill exist between the brothers and the children of the sisters, over whom they will exercise their authority and protection.

We have already described one of the aggressiveacts between brothers on the part of the older toward the younger, in the theft of food behind the back of the mother or whoever represents authority /in the home/. There is another form of aggression which the younger child adopts in order to get what he wants from his elders and from his siblings: He throws himself on the ground, where he rolls and kicks, screaming and crying inconsolably. His mother punishes him to stop him from giving way to his bad temper, considering his action harmful because when big he might continue with his rages and while in that mood cause grave injury to his people and to himself. For in reality when the Guajiro becomes furious, he goes completely 152 out of his mind and commits deeds he would not dream of doing 865 in his proper senses. If he cannot get his way he becomes so [762] angry /32/ that often he will hang himself, doing this in such a rage that he loses his instinct of self-preservation and even when he is half dead will insist on finishing himself off, so throwing the responsibility of his death onto the person who caused his bad temper. If his mother is unable to control these exhibitions of childish rage, it will continue with him during his youth and as a man will become increasingly worse, often causing him to leave home in the excess of his fury and giving rise to suicide when he is thwarted or opposed.

864 835 6. Delinquent acts that may appear among children about ten years old are the sexual relations between girls and their brothers when the latter are busy with their pastoral tasks and

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864 the girls go into the woods to round up the burros or for other chores.
835 We know that if the mother learns of these happenings she immediately hands out punishment; we also know that it is considered very bad because of its prematurity, because of the act in itself, and because of reasons of blood relationship; but we do not know in what way punishment is meted out or the reaction and the social and family attitude when it becomes known. The fact is that the mother with girls of that age prevents their meeting their brothers outside her personal vigilance. The disregard of that prohibition even if it is not presumed that such a delinguent act
864 has taken place leads to punishment, because the mother knows
581 that these prepubertal relations will later have a decisive influence on the girl when she seeks marriage, as the future husband expects her to come virgin to him and the payment he makes for her includes such a concept. If she is not he has the right to claim a compensation payment and to obtain the legal refund of part of the animals he has paid; or they are obliged to admit it before the marriage, with the prospect that they will be denounced or the hoped-for /marriage/ purchase will not go through. In any case, with foreknowledge or without, the loss of her virginity reduces the value of a marriageable woman in the eyes of the men seeking her as wife.

861 There are punishments of various kinds. Some are corporal and consist of striking the child, and these are the most frequent. They slap them on the mouth when they are insolent when given an order or when they give a sharp answer to the father or mother. They are punched and kicked or are whipped with lassos or riding whips, with twigs from the woods or cudgels, but the mother generally beats them with a bunch of nettles when they commit any kind of naughtiness, such as throwing themselves on the floor and rolling around from temper, sneaking out of the house without permission, disobeying an order, etc. /33/ In order to punish them the mother tries to take them by surprise and catch them firmly by the arm or hand so that she may punish them before they can escape her. She beats their legs or shoulders with the nettles as these parts are usually bare. This punishment is very painful

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861 but does not produce bad aftereffects as blows with sticks do, and it makes the child take warning and promise not to repeat his disobedience; before a relapse, it is sufficient to mention the punishment for him to comply with the order given him.

Another quite common form of punishment is to take the child and put him into a mesh bag of agave fiber, sling it on one of the high branches of an enramada /bough-covered shelter/ and rotate it until the child is nauseated and vomits, becoming unconscious. He is then lowered and left on the ground until he recovers. The mere threat of repeating this punishment or just showing him the bag is sufficient for him to do as he is told. These punishments are generally inflicted for disobedience.

Stealing food may also be punished in a like manner. This disobedience may also be corrected by the child's losing his ration of food, which is considered the hardest punishment of all and which the child willingly exchanges for the worst of beatings. This kind of punishment is considered unjust by the society, but it is nevertheless employed, especially when the child has pettishly or in a temper thrown away his food, to remind him, moreover, that he had wasted it before.

When children up to five years of age are very gluttonous, the mother will serve them a very large helping of food and oblige them to eat all of it until they vomit. She believes that in this way she will cure what she considers a defect. Beatings are the usual way of checking gluttony, stealing food from the mother or younger brothers, wasting or damaging it, not wishing to share it with a brother or with a friend. When the child refuses to eat and spurns his food with disgust after having been punished or reprehended, his mother pretends not to see and lets the child have his way, or she takes it away, leaving him without food.

There are punishments of a different order from the preceding, based on the recalling of a punishment previously suffered, when they repeat to the culprit what he said on being punished, his sobs and promises, trying to mimic each one of the details humilating for the little one, to shame him, or showing him

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861 what was used for his punishment, such as the nettles or the bag. Terrified by these, he will obey the commands of his elders.

On giving an order or forbidding a child to do something, they may threaten him various times beforehand in order to ensure obedience. /34/

When the boy or girl is approaching puberty or has passed it, the verbal reprimand or scolding is the more common. This [762] nagging disapproval may be repeated to a point where the boy or girl in desperation will leave home or even commit suicide. Another way to enforce obedience from a young child or to get him to sleep is to frighten him, when he is very small, telling him that the cocón (1) will take him or that some old drunk will

1. Degeneration of the word coco, used in Colombia to frighten children in expressions such as: "The coco will take you" and "There comes the coco," etc.

carry him off. The small child is frightened and obeys, but when he is older he loses his fears and the threats are no longer of any use.

The mother, the aunts, and the grandmothers take the [602] principal part in applying punishments; also the maternal uncles. [689] The father's part is limited in this respect as his children are not considered to belong to his clan (cf. kinship) so that should he go too far and draw blood from the boy or should the boy kill himself or become ill through his fault, the mother would claim compensation payment from her husband. Nevertheless, this is reciprocal, for if the son commits suicide because of the punishment inflicted by the mother, it is the father who then presents the corresponding claim for compensation payment.

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861 The reactions of the child to the punishment he receives for the different offenses considered punishable are diverse. Thus we see that during his early years, on being beaten he will scream, cry, and try to run away or endeavor to show his resentment by becoming enraged and throwing himself on the floor, where he rolls furiously, an attitude he will also assume if he cannot get his own way. On again being beaten with nettles for this act, he takes warning and only at long intervals will he have a relapse, because he is threatened by a repetition of the punishment.

861 When he is able to walk and run perfectly well, the child attempts to escape punishment whenever possible by running
858 away when he sees his mother or the person who means to punish him, or he endeavors to keep away from home in the hope that their annoyance will pass. When the beatings are very severe or very frequent or he considers them unjust, it is common for the boy to run away, going as far away as possible, in search of an uncle or relative who will offer him protection. The flight from home is more usual among boys than among girls and is more liable to occur toward the prepubertal age, because the youth feels restricted by family demands and /35/ aspires to get free of them. At this age corporal punishment and deprivation of food are punishments much less used, but criticism and verbal reproaches are the most used, and the young people react violently against these. In the cases where the scolding comes from the father, which is rare, the mother tries to pacify the boy, pointing out that he should not give such importance to the matter. But when it is she herself who reprehends him, the furious boy leaves home or stays in the house sulking and not speaking to anyone, showing his resentment and refusing to eat. When he leaves home, the mother allows a certain time to pass, during which she makes inquiries as to his whereabouts and what he has said. Then she asks an uncle, a brother, or his favorite friend to speak to him and persuade him to return. When he comes back she makes no allusion to the matter, and home life then goes on as usual.

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861 Another very usual reaction is that of learning each day to dissemble and show astuteness in avoiding punishment. When he sees the attention of his mother or his elders is distracted, he will do what has been forbidden: go to visit at a neighboring house, steal food, climb trees, etc. Later he will lie barefacedly to avoid the possible punishment.

861 When a boy is very frequently punished, which does happen in some homes where the mother is continually beating the chil-
593 dren, the child becomes sullen and withdrawn; he stays away from home, passing most of his time out and about or in the neighbors' houses, endeavoring to avoid the presence of his parents. We have heard of a mother who asked her eldest son, who was in Venezuela, for money as she needed it urgently. His answer was: "I have no mother. She was a tyrant to me and to my brothers, and I plan to bring them here with me so she will not be able to beat them for nothing. I will send her no money as she was always so wicked and cruel she does not deserve it." When the mother learned of this reply, her reaction was to cruelly beat all her younger children as a warning to them not to [762] do what their elder brother had done. The husband reprehended her for her cruelty, and she ended by hanging herself. There are several similar cases which show the later resentment of some sons against their parents for the harshness of their treatment during their childhood. A boy can bear a permanent grudge, and as soon as he feels strong enough to oppose his will to that of his mother or his elders in general, he becomes stubborn and stands up to them. On occasion, if opposed in his deepest feel- [762] ings and blind with fury because of some punishment inflicted, he will hang himself, by which deed the consequences of his [689] death fall on the originator of the punishment, as the other parent will put in a claim for compensation payment, alleging that the boy was so exasperated it drove him to /36/ to take his own life. This law of obligatory payment tends to limit the application as well as the violence of the punishment, although, in spite of it children are cruelly treated in many homes.

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884 Toward the prepubertal age the boy begins to show his reaction to family punishments and controls, a liberating phase which culminates after puberty with the handing over of his animals when he marries, or before if his pastoral ability allows his taking full charge of them. Then, with his economic independence assured, he is freed from the discipline of the small family. He wants to figure as an adult and take an active part in the life of the community. For the male there is a difficulty as regards the coming of age because they have no initiation rite so that the time of his independence is subject to his economic circumstances and is in consequence elastic. On the other hand, in the case of women the biological phenomenon of menstruation marks the end of their childhood and their transformation to womanhood with all its privileges, rights, and duties.

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861 The mother and the persons charged with the care and training of the child not only make use of punishment to obtain his obedience and submission to traditional norms of conduct but also have recourse to other kinds of stimuli which we might call positive. For example, when the boy tends to cry overmuch and is cowardly when faced by some slight problem, he is told: "Don't cry so much. Are you a girl that you go about crying so much? We should send you to take part in a wake /veloriar/ (1)."

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1. Veloriar is used to indicate attendance and participation in the wake for a dead person, during which those present weep mournfully over the corpse.

If the crying is caused by an injury which the mother had foreseen, she says to him: "I told you so; you alone are to blame; no one did you any harm so you need not cry as it is all

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861 your fault; and as you would not listen to me, you can suffer the consequences." Or she consoles him by saying: "Don't cry, it doesn't really hurt; It is not worth crying about. Be a man." If the one hurt is a girl, the mother soothes her saying: "Why are you crying when you are braver than any man? You always behave with more pluck than they do."

Another way to get them to respect an order is to have recourse to stimulation by comparison. "Your brother -- or so-and-so -- obeys /37/ his mother promptly and helps her without being told what to do." Or she tells him, to encourage his efforts: "Why won't you be able to do such a thing if X... who is smaller than you already can do it?"

Obedience and submission are also achieved with presents. When the parents go to a village, they bring back for the son something he has wanted. They will also promise him some gift, trying to satisfy his taste or the particular liking of the child. "I will give you such-and-such a sweet cake"; "I will give you this"; "I will let you go to that place"; "I will let you play with your friend if you will do what I ask promptly and well."

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769 The cult of the dead is fundamental in the social life of the Guajiro, and the child is instructed in it. This cult represents,
867 moreover, another bond of union among the living, by its reminder of a tie of common blood, which relates to a third person to whom mutual relationship is recognized; moreover, it makes common cause with the incidents of his life and death, evoking a strong sense of solidarity.

The cult of the dead expressly implies a series of obligations in which the child is instructed and compliance with which is directly associated with the maintenance of the status of the dead person's family group, obligations which this training tends to render unavoidable.

Probably the cornerstone of this instruction is the daily calling to mind of dead relatives, for at three o'clock in the morning,

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769 867 more or less, when the people who sleep in the house have not yet risen from bed, the woman of most authority in the home -- the mother, the grandmother, the maternal aunt, or the eldest sister -- begins to recall their departed ones by a long-drawn-out wail the same as is customary in the lamentations at the wake, and immediately following she starts sobbing and in a mournful tone recites an account of her sorrows for the death of her relatives. She says, for example: "Oh! We have no mother; it is sad she did not die of some sickness, but that they killed her...," and she goes on describing her death with all the sorrowful details: the humiliations and troubles she had to put up with from another group, emphasizing especially this death has not been satisfied, that is to say, is without a just compensation payment, that those who killed her are living tranquilly; that the family blood was spilled by people who are still unpunished. She then relates the social dangers that threaten her family at the moment from other groups, their anxieties over the coming summer /the dry season/ which will further impoverish /38/ them and thus bring them less justice, but returning continually to the theme of the dead relative, going back even to the long past death of some other member of the family who often even her own mother had not known, associating in this way the family dead of different periods, referring again to his or her natural or violent death with all its details, trying in accordance with the Guajiro point of view to discover the person who, for whatever motive, is responsible for the deed, making the whole weight of responsibility fall on him or her as a relief to her sorrow.

Once this narration has ended, the sobbing is suspended for a few minutes, and then another of the women of the house returns to the same subject in identical form, until every adult woman in the house has unbosomed her sorrow, referring to the past with its bitterness and to the anxieties of the future, recalling the memory of their lost ones and the causes of their deaths. This daily repetition results in the children's not only learning the cult of the dead but also the past history and the fellowship of feeling of the family group. They learn to admire the virtues

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769 of their ancestors or to sympathize with their humiliations, share
867 in their hatreds and common sorrows, as well as to learn to perform this practice and repeat and transmit it when they form their own homes.

764 Furthermore, the presence and participation of the children
769 in the ceremonies which are performed at the death of a relative
867 are meant to teach them through experience each one of these ceremonies. Thus he learns and has engraved on him the feeling of mutual support that exists between related members of a group, such as the financial help that must be forthcoming, when it is a case of a poor relative, in order to be able to sacrifice animals and to see to the necessary amount of liquor and hospitality customary on such occasions, and the shrouding of the corpse, the etiquette that life beyond the grave demands from the wife, the relatives who intervene in these activities and their behavior (such as their weeping at the foot of the corpse), fasting and abstinence from meat: in fact every one of the established cultural patterns obligatory at these times, and it is an apprenticeship which the child receives through explanation and personal observation.

The child also shares in the family life during the days immediately after the burial; in the offerings that are taken to the dead one when it is feared, by magical indications, that his life beyond the grave is not normal for lack of something that he needs; in the periodical visits made to the grave and in the bonfires that for several nights are lit to illuminate the path of the dead.

Later he joins in the ceremony of exhumation. He knows
769 his part and that of his immediate relatives and, as in the
571 previous cases, each one /39/ of the traditional norms. But
867 the most important thing about all these activities is not to learn to carry them out correctly, but to establish the sense of solidarity with the dead one, with the family, and with the society in which he lives. With the dead, by fulfilling an obligation of consanguinity in order to assure him -- even by coercion of

/39 cont./

769 his spirit -- a proper life in the future. With his family, by
571 mutual aid and solidarity in sorrow and in their joint economic
effort, and in the case of a violent death, by making common
867 cause in order to obtain effective justice and the negotiation
for the compensation payment, in order that the blood spilled
may be properly atoned for.

He also learns the extent of the injury to a dead relative, linked to the mention of his name, which may revive all the sorrows, feelings, and painful past of the group.

Regarding society, the child learns how he, personally, must behave and also what the behavior of his group must be, the rules that he should comply with so that his prestige be not diminished since such would involve the lowering of the prestige of his group and have its repercussions when they try to obtain justice after any friction. This is what causes the bonds of consanguinity to tighten more and more and manifest themselves in the generous gifts each individual member subscribes to help another at a time when the clan, as a group, is being appraised by outsiders; and it is this that the child must learn, really learn: proper cult practices for his ancestors at the moment of their death and later, corresponding to their social status and that of the consanguineous relatives.

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604 The training of a child of the middle years is not connected to the localization of the family, because at this period he breaks away from the small family circle in order to live with his other relatives for long periods of time.

When the marriage is solemnized under the Guajiro rite and when that tradition is still followed, the young boy is initiated and instructed almost entirely by the maternal uncle of most importance or of highest standing in the family circle. So, once the little boy can get around alone from place to place, this uncle, who generally will have in his possession all the

/39 cont./

604 presents of livestock the boy received at his birth or later or the legacies from his father, takes him under his care. He, the uncle, is not only responsible for looking after his social conduct and for instructing him in normal behavior while he is under his 868 care but also for teaching him the work of pasturing. He takes 604 the boy with him /40/ when he is so occupied, and he passes on his knowledge in order that the boy may become a well-trained owner of livestock or, if he is poor, that he may learn how to look after them, because it is not infrequent that a Guajiro has in his charge the livestock of some rich man, and with these he teaches his nephew.

As the preference of a Guajiro for one special type of livestock shows up early in his life, the uncle should guide him along those lines, giving him every kind of advice in the best way to care for them, with practice to prove his theories.

867 During this time the uncle not only passes on his knowledge 604 of stock raising to the boy but, when talking to him of the past of his group or family, when he recounts some incident, when correcting him or telling him a story, he passes on the strict traditions of the community. For it is the uncle at this period who is responsible for his nephew, and as he considers him his actual son, he tries to make of him someone similar to himself.

Another of the uncle's responsibilities is to show the young- 868 ster how to carry out agricultural duties at the right seasons. 604 If he owns agricultural land he will usually give him a plot so that the boy can till it when he acquires the strength to do so; or else he continues to teach him on his own piece of land until he is trained in these activities. This handing over of a plot of land, as well as of his livestock when the boy is considered capable of handling his personal property successfully, is the basis of his family and economic independence and the road toward the purchase of his first wife, by which the boy becomes a man and is ready to live his life as an adult. This plot of [428] land, for which he inherits rights of cultivation, gives him a certain prestige because arable land of fertile quality is scarce,

868 /40 cont./
604 and if he inherits a piece he will acquire the status of the uncle
[728] who has made him the owner.

The boy also learns from the uncle skill in certain tasks in which the latter is practiced, such as the making of harness and weapons, housebuilding, and other accomplishments like horse riding, lassoing, horse racing, etc.

867 Another very important function also learnt from the uncle,
604 although it might be self-taught, is that of arbitrator or cacique. From the uncle the boy takes in the legal tradition of the peninsula, and, listening to stories of acts which have occurred in the past, he learns the line of reasoning observed, the psychology, and the problems of his kin, the mastery of the language, all essential requirements for success when the responsibility passes into his hands.

868 While living with the uncle the boy also becomes adept
604 at hunting, as he accompanies him on his expeditions, during which he learns all the necessary details until he becomes expert in all /41/ respects, including laying traps to catch the animals that damage the crops. And secondarily, in addition to hunting and livestock or pastoral activity, the boy learns the art of stalking, which in hunting is important in order to get better results and is useful in stock raising also, for various reasons, such as finding a lost animal or following up thieves who attack his herd, etc.

868 Also, in war he is on this relative's side, because, accord-
721 ing to traditional Guajiro law, war unites the consanguineous
604 relatives on the maternal side. So he learns, when warlike deeds are spoken of, how to carry them out, and it is not unusual for him personally to experience the conclusions. He puts these ideas into practice when his kin go to war, headed by the maternal uncle of highest standing or the consanguineous head of most prestige. He goes with them to swell their ranks, so putting into practice what his theoretical education has taught him. Indirectly he has been training for the fray when employed in making weapons for hunting and perfecting himself

/41 cont./

868 721 604 in the way they are used. When taking part in these warlike operations he makes use of all his social and legal training, and puts into practice the tradition of his group, besides which the basic principle of consanguineous relationship, mutual aid, and backing to resist aggression from outside elements is brought home to him.

593 604 178 It is almost entirely from his maternal uncle that he learns the cultural patterns of his masculine world, as the uncle becomes for him a mold and patterns, whose example he should follow as the leading male figure on the family level. But with the process of acculturation the influence of the father has now come to the fore. Nowadays, when the father expresses a wish that his first-born should be a son, to be a companion to him in his life as a shepherd, he thereby indicates that it is he who is going to educate his sons, or at least the first-born, supplanting to a certain extent the old family figure represented by the maternal uncle. In this case the boy shares with his father the care of his own livestock as well as his father's herd, and even his mother's dowry when her elder relatives consider it advisable. And there, as in the previous case, the boy learns both the economic and cultural side of group life and becomes attached to his father both in affection and materially, a tie that did not exist before but may lead him later to take a hand in his interest, thus bringing about something previously unheard of in Guajiro tradition, that the son goes to fight in the ranks of his father's group, without any consequent claim for compensation payment or other social demand being made.

Also, as when he is with his maternal uncle, he can join in and learn at his father's side agricultural lore, hunting, fishing, and how to go on excursions into the surrounding country; /42/ he also learns the technique of masculine occupations, but what it appears he cannot yet participate in is the political life of his father as cacique, or arbitrator, as this still remains an inheritance possible only from his maternal uncle, nor in the activities relating to the shaman /piache/ as an institution.

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/42 cont./

593 With respect to the training of girls, the mother and the maternal relatives play an overwhelming part. When the family lives an isolated life, the influence of the maternal relatives diminishes, as we previously had occasion to see, but as the girl approaches puberty, she may be sent to the home of her grandmother or maternal aunts with whom she will live and whose influence will surround her at this period. We should moreover consider the occupations of a girl as she passes through different phases. When she is very young, in the poorer Guajiro
868 home, she is counted on as a helpmate to assist and replace the mother in her domestic duties so that with her and the other adult women of the family she learns to take her part in household activities: care of the children, drawing water and fetching firewood, cooking food, keeping up the fire, cleaning house, washing clothes, etc.

868 Later comes the time for her to help in the agricultural
462 work. As emigration has reduced the population of La Guajira
167 in the past few years, women have found themselves obliged to carry out work traditionally done by men. Thus there is a need to employ all hands available, and the girls of prepubertal age must contribute their help in the work. Although clearing away trees and underbrush and plowing are men's work, these are now being done by women in addition to the traditional jobs usually expected of them, such as sowing and harvesting, in which latter activity they are more effective than the men. The girls are trained in all these operations alongside the older women until they become completely expert.

868 Another angle of feminine economic life is weaving.
883 Only when she is at the prepubertal age, do the mother and her female uterine relatives take charge of training the girl, as they consider that at this age her babyhood is over and it is necessary that she should give up the freedom she has so far enjoyed in order to take an interest in weaving. If there is an aunt skilled /at weaving/ at home, she will teach the girl; if not, she goes to the home of some kinswomen and stays with

/42 cont./

868 them for long spells, working at her apprenticeship in the art,
883 which she must perfect and complete during the time of seclusion at her initiation, very likely under the vigilant care of the same women. /43/

867 Also, from her elder maternal kinswomen the girl acquires all the cultural legacy of the group as well as the particular traditions of her extended family. She experiences and participates in the daily cult of the dead, and at times when an exhumation or wake takes place she attends, accompanying the women of her family, so becoming initiated into all the ceremonies and prescriptions. She also goes with them when she is approaching the threshold of puberty to be company for them on their visits in order to learn comportment in social life; she also learns the norms of hospitality when visitors come to her home, and she has to assist her kin in fulfilling them adequately. Slowly, by indirect participation, she learns the use of love cóntras /charms/ in the feminine struggle for predominance in the polygamous household, and she comes to know of these problems as she sees them being worked out in the lives of her mother and her relatives. She also gets to know of the intergroup struggles and their consequences; of migration; of magic in all its intensity; of legal norms; things she learns by constant repetition of cases which have occurred in the peninsula and which she hears referred to by her relatives and friends, men and women who frequent the house.

All this cultural life reaffirms and completes the special training received during the seclusion which follows her first menstruation, when she is committed to the care of her kinswomen, who will give her detailed private and personal techniques and information and the specialties traditionally entrusted to certain families, if she is a member of such, such as, for example, the making of pottery, medicinal and magical knowledge of herbs, preparation of charms of various sorts, etc.

857 Childhood occupations. The occupations of the child are
442 determined by its sex, just as in the matter of games, so that

/43 cont./

857 462 they are oriented toward and are practiced in terms of this biological division. Let us analyze this separately:

a) Boys: We saw when speaking of games how adult men are opposed to a mother's obliging a boy to carry out feminine jobs as they think that such work degrades him, means a loss of manly dignity, will cause him to become effeminate, and will militate against their making of him a brave man, the ideal of the Guajiro. The boy begins the activities corresponding to his sex at an early age, almost as soon as he can follow his father or favorite maternal uncle about in their daily pastoral work, especially the first-born, as the father, as we have already noted, expresses his wish for the first-born to be a boy so that he can join him in his comings and goings.

857 462 231 So from the time he is very young, the boy rises at three in the morning, goes in search of the livestock that sleep in the corrals or fields /44/ near by, and drives them to water. During the day he keeps the herd together in the places where there is grass, not going too far away from the wells, watching them continually to prevent thefts, especially of the young calves by wild animals, or those entangled in brambles; during the long summer he learns the job of casimbero /"water controlled" -- Tr./, that is to say, to wait at the edge of the casimba (1) for the arrival of the animals who are in search of

1. An artificial well.

water, in order to give them enough, putting it in the troughs that surround the well. He learns to milk, a job that is generally given to the men, though in grand houses it is frequently done by the female bond servants and slaves. He also learns from the grownups to whose care he is entrusted how to handle newly born animals and sick ones, to lasso them, to master them in order to brand them; to mark goats by a cut in the ear; to break in horses; to recognize the good points of a saddle horse; to track an animal that is lost by the tracks it leaves,

/44 cont./

857 462 231 an activity he should practice from an early age as he is obliged to find all animals that wander away; to make bows and arrows and stalk animals when hunting. On his own part, with his small friends he organizes hunts for machorros (2) and various

857 462 224

2. Edible lizard.

kinds of birds and makes traps in the wells for pigeons. He helps catch the seasonal birds which arrive at harvest time, keeps watch during the night on traps set for deer, learns to slaughter the animals required for household consumption and to make the best use of them.

857 462 241 In agricultural work he helps in the task of clearing his maternal uncle's land of trees, and later looks after his own piece if he has such, clearing it and leaving it ready for the women to sow the seed; he also plants fruit trees and creepers and attends to weeding. Harvesting work is done by the women. In places where fishing is practiced, he takes part, when he is about ten years old, in related activities, such as opening to extract pearls. He also takes part in making farm tools, sacks, harnesses, hats, coconut-husk necklaces, etc., when his elders are employed in these activities.

857 462 415 To the boy falls the preparation of gourd vessels, basins, cups, plates, etc., used for different domestic purposes. The job of preparing the gourd dishes includes all the processes from picking the fruit when /45/ ripe, opening it and taking out the pith, and, when the rind is still tender, incising decorative [531] designs on it with a metal knife or the sharp point of a bone or stone. These designs are usually of his own personal invention.

857 462 Lastly, he may be given odd jobs to do such as the delivering of a message, the fetching of some necessary article or other, accompanying someone sent from his home, etc., but fundamentally he devotes himself to his pasturing, the constant occupation of the Guajiro.

/45 cont./

857 462 A joint duty of children of both sexes is the care of their younger brothers or sisters when circumstances require it, though this is mainly performed by girls when there are any of the right age.

b) Girls. Little girls five years old are given small tasks, such as carrying messages, going to the fields to take some small item to the father or an uncle, drawing water in vessels so that the elders may bring it on burros up to the house. At six or seven they begin to do some cooking. From ten to twelve years, that is to say at, the prepubertal age, they are initiated into the different ways of weaving, and they can go alone from [835] one settlement to another. It is at this time that they occasionally have sexual relations with their brothers or with their father.

857 462 252 Almost from the time she can look after herself -- toward three or four years of age -- the girl assists her mother in all her work, especially when she is the eldest and when she belongs to a family with few economic resources. In the kitchen she learns to prepare food such as mazamorra, bollos /rolls/, and arepa /ground-corn griddlecakes/; to hull corn and grind it with the traditional equipment, the pestle and mortar made of stone; to light and keep the fire going; to handle the pots on it and build new hearths; and, in time, to prepare the various kinds of chicha and the customary soups for special occasions, to make use of the different fruits, both wild and cultivated, and to serve up various local dishes such as sancocho de chivo /goat-meat stew/, the way of preparing meat etc., until, having arrived at the moment of puberty, she is on the whole acquainted with all the customary culinary procedures.

Other work they are taught to do quite young is fetching water and firewood as well as a series of household chores such as house cleaning, taking care of the younger children, and at times feeding them and keeping them clean. They are sent to the woods to bring in the burros that are used for carrying water or fruit or serve for the women to ride on. /46/

857 462 222 They also start to lend a hand in the harvest and accompany the women when they collect wild fruits such as olives,

/46 cont./

857 462 [222] [482] iguarayas, and trupillo pods, as well as in gathering divi-divi, which is sold in the port towns for export; their labor is used for portering (women's work): they carry on their backs or shoulders the collected fruit, the firewood, and the water when the family does not own the necessary animals.

When ten or over the girl, taught by her elder kinswomen, starts to handle the spindle and loom, work in which she perfects herself during the seclusion of her initiation.

857 184 556 In general her occupations during childhood are affected by the economic and social position of her relatives, since a child of a well-to-do family will spend her childhood playing, without occupying herself with domestic chores except occasionally, since she is not considered as a small-sized adult as happens among poor families, but as a little girl, and she is treated as such. Certain light duties might be imposed but never a definite or clear-cut responsibility. She is expected to obey, mainly so that she recognize the authority of her elders, but when she enters the prepubertal age her mother and relatives start to take a more personal interest in her and to think it to be the opportune time to start training her in the duties pertaining to her position and her sex, teaching her all the household occupations that she will later improve on and become expert in during her seclusion, which will last longer the greater the wealth of the family.

264 592 Food, sleep, dress, and ornaments. Even before weaning, when this is delayed beyond the first year, or at times before, the child starts being fed adult food. By that time he asks his mother for food and she gives it to him, when he is small, more generously than she can at a later date; but later on he himself looks for it and, in order to satisfy his hunger, frequently steals food from his mother that she has put away, and this obliges the mother to hide it. (Cf. Punishment, Chap. II.)

The apportioning of food in a Guajiro household is done by the mother, who serves each one his share, starting with the husband, afterward the children, she being the last to eat. If she has a preference for a child, she shows it at this time by

/46 cont./

264 giving him a portion that is larger and better than the others,
592 which is grumbled at and envied by the rest. When there are numerous daughters and only one boy in the family, he is the favored one and, in the absence of the father, is served in his place on the dishes the father customarily uses for his food and is served first as is done with /47/ the latter. When there are several sons these privileges go to the eldest. When food is scarce the elders are the first to get it, and whatever remains is divided among the children of middle years. The same occurs when there are special dishes, which the children may occasionally taste if the father or uncle gives them some. But usually there is not enough for the child; when he grows up and is a man he will have his share of these special dishes. This makes the boys envious, and they will snatch whatever one of them may receive, or the eldest will leave the smallest without food after having eaten his share as quickly as possible, and it also explains the theft of food and provisions in spite of the punishments inflicted by the mother, which have been enumerated in another section.

Should the child have a noticeable liking for a certain kind of food, the mother indulges him when possible, giving him a larger portion of it, but this behavior cannot always be repeated as the boy must learn to eat everything, as it is not possible for him to be allowed to eat just the food he considers most appetizing. Furthermore, each child has his own dishes
[415 422] and cutlery for eating, such as gourd plates and spoons, etc., which he recognizes and insists on being served from. These articles are usually their private property.

862 The child of middle years shares fully in adult food by gradual change from his infant diet after weaning and by the adequate rationing of his new foods, so that his organism becomes accustomed to them and more readily assimilates them. First of all, the mother's milk is replaced by goat's milk and later by thin mazamorra prepared with a little milk, until he gets only this. They gradually feed him the various kinds of

/47 cont./

862 chichas and cojosa (sour milk), and, when he cuts his teeth, solid food which had previously had to be mashed for easier swallowing. After passing this period, the child eats the same as any adult, with slight differences marked by the family organization, as we have just seen, receiving the plain food served since it is unusual for him to share in any special dishes which the adult members of the household may eat.

252 262 [222] During periods of scarcity the gathering and use of wild fruits is an important item in the household economy. The Guajiro, when he finds any such fruit, will immediately eat as much as he can, until satiety is reached. Regularity in hours of eating is very difficult in such circumstances -- one might say that the Guajiro has no fixed mealtimes, but that he eats when he obtains some food. In normal times and in homes where the shortage of food is not much felt, the family's hours /48/ for meals are more or less as follows: On rising, very early, they take a little coffee with panela, if there is any, [272] or more often a gourdful of cojosa (1); in the evening after

1. Milk which is left to sour in special food vessels.

sunset, upon returning from work, they have their principal meal composed of mazamorra with milk, some rolls or corn griddlecakes and coffee or a chicha of fruit, corn, or yucca. The normal diet does not include the daily eating of meat, which is only eaten on certain rare occasions, the same as cheese and certain vegetables such as ahuyamas /Cucurbita berucosa/, gourds, yucca, etc. Toasted corn with salt or something sweet is frequently eaten, rice soup (a very much-used food), dry rice, or a soup of trupillo pods /Mimosaceae/, which are chewed after having been parboiled, the fibers later being spat out, or mixed with milk. At periods when food is in short supply, they have the habit of making use of the tender shoots of cacti, which are roasted over a flame in order to get

/48 cont./

252 at the heart, which they eat, for by cooking in this way it be-
262 comes soft and digestible. They also include in their diet soups and special dishes made of beans.

264 The boys employed in work other than pasturing, who stay
262 at home or can readily return there, take the usual breakfast upon rising; later, when the hours of heat begin and the Guajiro returns to his home to rest on his hammock in the shade of his enramada /a bough-covered shelter/, he eats a meal which is more or less similar to that described above, and, toward seven at night, another.

A boy will add to his usual meals what he can find by picking wild fruit, hunting small animals or birds, by stealing food at home, and by drinking the milk he can obtain from the goats or other animals he has in his care.

264 We must add in conclusion that in no case does the woman occupy the first place when food is being served if there are men in the family. At the most she may occupy her mother's place if no older female relatives are present, it falling on her in this case to serve the food. If there are female slaves or bond servants or maids in the home these will carry out this duty under her supervision. These cases when the mother is replaced by the daughters in the task of serving the meals to the family are not frequent, as it is customary for the head woman not to leave her post for any lengthy interval without placing her responsibilities in the hands of a person competent to replace her.

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855
513 The child of middle years keeps the same hours for sleeping as the adult. Generally, the child possesses from his birth
[352] onward an Indian-style hammock /chinchorro or hamaca/ /49/,
[868] that is to say, one made of cords of twisted agave fibers arranged in horizontal rows. This type of hammock is meant for young children, because bed-wetting at night is frequent in some cases, but especially because it is strong, cheap, and readily replaceable. We never heard of a case of a child sleeping on the ground.

/49 cont./

855 Sometimes they may share their hammock with a brother, not
513 a common occurrence, or sleep on occasion in that of an adult.

The hours of sleep are regularly those from eight at night to three in the morning, when the child takes up his pastoral duties. During the hours of midday heat, he may return (when pasturing near by) to sleep under the bough-covered shelter /enramada/ at home, or drowse in the woods under the trees. If he is not a herder, he may get up later in the morning and will also take a siesta during the hot part of the day. He sleeps in his usual clothes, the guayuco /loincloth/, only loosening somewhat the belt at his waist which holds it, to lessen the tension.

In the regions of the mountains, where it is cold in the early morning, hammocks are placed near the hearth where a fire has been left burning or which is lit during the night to temper the low temperature, and no one sleeps outside the house but inside. At times a sheepskin or that of some other animal or a robe /manta, "robe, usually worn by women"/ is thrown on the hammock, or for want of these, they get up and huddle round the fire to warm up and then go back to their hammocks and try to sleep until the intense cold obliges them to repeat the process.

* * *

291 The boy goes about naked up to a certain age, variable
855 according to the group. For instance in regions which are in contact with the whites, when around six or seven years old, they wear a guayuco very similar to that of an adult, held up by a homemade belt. They use no other addition, unless occasionally they get some other item of clothing, generally from a white source, which they keep on until it is worn out. When they are old enough to put on the guayuco /loincloth/ and even before if they to pasture the cattle, they start to use guaireñas "

/49 cont./

291 855 (Guajiro sandals made at home) to protect their feet from the hot, sandy soil. They very rarely use a hat, and at a more advanced age, and at times it is replaced by a kióra /headband/, [292] but without feathers, as these are a special privilege of the adult to be used on feast days. They go about, then, generally bareheaded and exposed to the strong rays of the sun. Almost at the period of transition from childhood to puberty, [415] Guajiro boys begin to make use of small woven woolen pouches which are attached to the belt and which serve /50/ as a purse and a depository for charms /contras/ (in the case of adults), small objects for personal use, etc.

301 778 855 Boys do not use necklaces. Only, and with the sense of their being a protection rather than an ornament, they wear when they are small jet beads on their wrists, small pieces of coconut husk or coral, a piece of wood of medicinal value to prevent grippe, or some object of magic value, things they leave off using toward their fifth or sixth year.

291 855 With a girl the period of complete nakedness is shorter than with a boy, although there are regions in the peninsula where they may be older, owing to the poverty of the relatives, who are unable to supply them with clothes until they are past the average age for dressing. The girl is dressed in a garment which is practically a man's guayuco and which, later when an adult, she uses as an undergarment, like a pair of pants. It is a belt of white or striped cloth, doubled and placed between the legs, held at the ends to the waist by what is called a sirapo, a kind of wide, heavy belt made of glass beads or seed-glass beads of all colors. The girl's trunk remains naked until much later. During the prepubertal period, when the development of the mammary glands begins to be marked, she puts on a sort of blouse made with the technique for hammocks (horizontal threads held together by some cross threads), which is intended, as the girl is already beginning to be initiated into the art of weaving and consequently is in a stooping position much of the time, to keep her from becoming humpbacked; also for reasons of modesty and because this blouse, as

291 /50 cont./
855 it fits very tightly, facilitates the normal development of her breasts. Like the boys, the girls wear some wrist ornaments,
301 magic preventatives, and it is not rare for them to wear some
751 necklace with magic objects which have been "made sacred,"
855 to avoid bad influences; nor /is it rare/ that they already have
[304] their ears pierced and occasionally wear earrings, although this ornament is for grown women. They do not cover the head
302 and usually wear the hair short, as if it had been shaved and
855 the hair was in an advanced state of growing in again. Never-
291 theless, though the garb described is the usual thing, the present-day girl frequently uses the adult robe /manta/ from the time she is very small, especially among upper-class mestizos. /51/

III

INITIATION OF YOUNG WOMEN

881 The life of a girl approaching puberty becomes less free in the upper classes, because her maternal relatives apparently then take her into account and endeavor to train her in feminine activities. In the lower classes the same preoccupation is shown, but oriented in another direction, as her labor has already been made use of very early in the family life, since, as we have already stated, they see in her the future adult woman for which reason they discourage her somewhat in her comings and goings into the woods, although it is also true that they show more concern than if they treated her as a child. Furthermore, they start to use blouses, as we described in the previous chapter, and she is told at a convenient time of the biological phenomenon which is to take place in her: menstruation. When the time comes and this shows itself, her first reaction is to inform her mother, or in her absence, the kinswoman with the most authority.

/51 cont./

881 As soon as the menses appear, the head of the girl is closely shaved. She is placed naked but wrapped in a robe /manta/ in a supine position in a hammock which is slung up close to the ridgepole inside the house. Beneath the hammock a cloth is strung so that the girl cannot be seen from below.

In this position and as immobile as possible, she remains for five days (some say for only three), without eating and complying with a series of rules which later will have importance in her adult life. For this reason these rules must be observed by her to the letter, and she must be closely watched and counseled by a kinswoman, generally a maternal aunt, who does not leave her by day or night while she is suspended above, reminding her of what she should do and prohibiting her from doing what is tabooed so that she may not suffer the consequences in her future life.

Before being placed in the hammock, the woman who is [208 in charge of her gives her a herb drink to make her vomit a 789] great deal, with the aim that the girl will hurl out, along with the food she took when she was not yet adult, all her infantile psychological characteristics, such as her mischievous and disobedient nature, her imagination, her way of thinking and believing, her /52/ irresponsibility, her incapacity for work, and, moreover, all those characteristic bodily mannerisms of a girl. Beyond this, the mother a kinswoman, or female friend [832 who may have a potent love charm considered of great effectiveness, places it on her neck or, if it is for external application, rubs it on the genital organs, on the breasts, and all over the body as prescribed, because at this particular time it is effective and especially because it is the propitious moment to acquire powers of attracting the opposite sex, qualities she will have to have in adult life to obtain the married happiness for which she is now being prepared.

If these two prescriptions are not complied with or are carried out faultily, the girl, changed into an adult, will be lacking in judgment and common sense in her actions, which

/52 cont./

881 will mean serious troubles for her family, since the noncompliance with social norms will bring the consequences of her illegal behavior on the family group. In addition she will be lacking in responsibility and will perform badly her role as sister, wife, and mother, just the functions for which she is preparing, and these two factors weigh very much in the life of the Guajiro woman as a member of society. The charms properly applied so that they transmit their power will assure her married happiness: She will not find herself exposed to the problems of polygamy, which imply lack of affection and ill-treatment from the man who buys her for his wife, and in this way she will have the longed-for predominance over him and over the co-wives, who in consequence will take a secondary place by the force of her personality.

Once inside the hammock she must not move nor change
881 her original position, because it is believed that /should she
784 do so/, on being brought down later, she will have one leg longer than the other. Neither may she scratch any part of her body because that will leave visible scars. This matter is very important as the ceremony of the seclusion transforms her physically from a girl to a woman, wholly bound to the canon of beauty held by her group, an aspect, which like the others will also greatly affect her adult life. One must also
[826 take into account that in La Guajira a physical defect has
578] a powerful influence on the individual and to mention it is equivalent to an insult which will give rise to resentment on the part of the adult and could bring sinister consequences upon the offender.

Neither should the initiate spit on the floor, because by doing so her honor will be slandered in her unmarried life as well as later after marriage, as they would say of her, judging by appearances or through unfounded malevolence, that she had dealings with a man. They will say she is a "madcap" /cabeza-loco/, a nickname they give to a woman of easy virtue and which causes discord between men and women and which will deeply affect her legitimate hopes for marriage.

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881 While the girl is in the hammock, friends and relatives
keep arriving in large numbers, announced by the family, es-
292 pecially when welcoming well-to-do people, and then they
start preparations for the feast: preparation of beverages and
slaughtering of animals. All the consanguineous relatives con-
tribute their share and foregather to join in what is called the
chichamaya dance, during which are passed around large quanti-
ties of rum for the men, chicha for the women, and meat for
all the participants. The guests turn up dressed in their best
dress-up clothes: the men with their wide festival belts, their
finest robes, their headbands (kiára) with the crest of feathers,
or lacking such, hats adorned with feathers. The women /wear/
robes of brilliant colors, plenty of jewelry, very long shawls
which hang down their backs nearly to the ground, sandals with
[302] large, brightly colored tassels, and, above all, facial painting,
preferably red, very carefully applied. On these occasions
they dance through the night, the following morning, and the
afternoon, and in this latter part of the day they may hold
horse races on which large bets are wagered.

881 When the prescribed number of days are over, during
which the girl has not satisfied any of her body needs, not
784 having taken any food during that time, according to what they
say, her relatives unsling the hammock in the early hours of
dawn and the girl descends, faint with hunger. The first food
she receives is a drink of bija /achiote/ dissolved in water.
Presently, little by little, they add to her diet thin corn
mazamorra without milk or salt, and later a little milk and
[262] meat. She must not, for example, eat any animal udder, be-
cause by doing so she would age prematurely and her face
would be lined with wrinkles, deep and numerous, like that
food.

881 The girl is bathed with four earthen jugs of water which
have been previously left exposed to the evening dew, as this
832 gives it a special quality for whitening, which is important
for the high appreciation both men and women have for a

/53 cont./

88| light-colored skin; For this reason, during the period of seclu-
832 sion the girl is bathed every morning with this water by the woman charged with looking after her. There was some talk of a second bathing at nightfall, but we could find no confirmation of this.

88| After being lowered, the girl is confined in a room separate from the house, the walls of which are sufficiently thick to prevent her being seen from outside, or, more generally, she is placed in a small room communicating with the house by a small opening so low and narrow that one can only enter it by crawling and which is closed off by a wooden door or a cloth to keep the adolescent from being seen. This room is built or improvised by the male relatives of the girl, who from this moment /54/ may not see her while the seclusion lasts. During all this period she is taken care of by one of her maternal kinswomen who is thoroughly acquainted with this rite of passage, who has the time to spare to devote to this service, who enjoys the full confidence of the family, and possesses all the ideal qualities of an adult woman, so that she may make of the novice someone similar to herself. It is also essential that she should know well the whole corpus of Guajiro culture so as to be able to instruct the initiate in it, especially the aspects relating to marriage and maternity. And, finally, she is required to be well practiced in domestic duties, especially in weaving. However, in these technical matters she may be replaced by, or receive help from, another close female relative in the training of the novice.

This woman bears the responsibility for the diet and medical care of the girl; she must herself prepare the prescribed
[514] foods and serve them to her, look after her hygiene, supplying her with a utensil to satisfy her body needs (a wooden box with a little sand), and require of her pupil that she keep her head
[832] covered with a kerchief, so that her growing hair may grow very black and shiny, which is of particular importance within their ideal of feminine beauty and also because this hair, as

/54 cont./

881 well as the whole organism of the future woman, must be com-
832 pletely renewed and different from what she had when she was a child and which she leaves behind on suffering the first menstruation, as well as each one of her childish psychic and physical habits.

One of the principal preoccupations of the person responsi-
881 ble for the care of the novice is her medication. This medical
278 treatment includes especially the daily and repeated drinking of infusions or juices of certain herbs which are intended to assist her to reach perfection in all that is related to her future life. One of these medicines is the herb called hawapi, which is obtained from the herbsellers of the Sierra de Jarara and Sierra de Macuira, who grind it carefully into a paste which hardens with time. They daily scrape off a small portion of this, which is dissolved in water and given to the girl before her first meal, after the daily bath, at midday, and at sunset. The aim of this is to give the young woman a bodily aspect different from the childish one she had, as by its means she loses her drawn-out lines and her sex is defined by the development of her breasts, of her hips, and all of the adult female form, following the accepted canons of feminine physical beauty: a tall body with broad hips, breasts well developed, erect, solid, and having pronounced curves but firm of flesh. This herb, according to local belief, supplies fat to the essential parts of the body. /55/

Another of the medical attentions is directed to avoiding the return of menstruation during all the time the girl is secluded. If she is well cared for, says the Guajiro woman, it will not reappear; otherwise, however, it will. To obtain this result she has recourse to the empirical and traditional knowledge which she has of plants, and she gives her a series of juices or potions to avoid menstruation. The women say that these medicines influence their married life, as the woman who is well looked after during her seclusion will have easy deliveries, normal pregnancies, healthy children who will grow

/55 cont./

881 normally, and above all she will not be worn out by too frequent
278 childbearing, since all these remedies in the long run are made use of to avoid the woman's having these cares, so much so that in the case of the very poor girls sterilization or at least a very limited fecundity is hoped for, because they know that they and their offspring will be practically in the hands of the stronger groups who can easily enslave their sons and daughters and nephews and nieces by the arbitrary and exaggerated use of legal institutions.

Even if the girl enters the Capuchin mission and for this
881 reason does not go through with the initiation in her home, and
278 even if her parents, influenced by the missionaries, decide to
797 forego this custom or are prevented by poverty from holding it, she does not forget -- and her companions back her up -- to take the medicines prescribed even though she does not undergo the regimen of seclusion. During a long period of time -- which shows what value she herself sets on her novitiate -- every morning she takes the juice of herbs which she knows of or which are given to her, to avoid menstruation and to obtain the objectives mentioned above. (In order to clarify further of the significance with respect to maternity in the initiation of young women, we refer the reader to the section Death of the First-born, Chap. I, pp. 10 ff.)

The economic aspect which she must learn and which by
881 the perfection and acquisition of new techniques now plays a
286 very important part is that of weaving. The woman during her seclusion improves her knowledge of this trade, which she began to learn during her prepubertal period. This matter has so much importance that in cases where a girl has been abducted and her maternal relatives present their claim for compensation payment, the man can refuse to buy her, alleging she is not able to weave. Furthermore, the woman by weaving earns money for the support of the home which is in her care. She must also supply her kin, including her husband, with guayucos /loincloths/, saddle blankets /pellones/, and other woven necessities.

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881 Also, she has to acquire full knowledge of domestic duties: how to prepare special dishes as well as the ordinary ones; the norms of hospitality toward her friends and those of her husband, and toward him especially; what in her married life she is allowed to do; the consequences of her conduct in married life; /56/ the problems of polygamy and the way to face them; her role as administrator of the home; feminine life as such; the sexual act; notions on fertility, pregnancy, and prohibitons when in this condition; legal obligations that her husband should comply with; giving birth; diet, etc; her role within the family as intermediary-regulator of relations between her people on the one hand and the husband and his relatives on the other, her co-wives and the children of these if they live a life in common, etc. She likewise learns the past history of her group with all its eminent members and their deeds, its economic position, its status, etc., all of which will show her how to identify herself with them and acquire the affectionate contacts which the consanguineous tie imposes.

881 784 A special condition during her seclusion is the isolation of the girl from all the male members of the house and from those who come to visit. She is not allowed to see them or to be visited by them. No man is permitted to enter her room so that it is redundant to state that she is prohibited from all sexual relations. So much is this so that it has occurred (in areas where there is little or no contact with whites, where the poor Indian woman is at the mercy of the abuses of the rich) that girls during their seclusion have been violated by a powerful Indian, and her parents have terminated the seclusion and made the man pay (if they can muster enough backing) for the abuse committed but not for the possible pregnancy, as they do not believe that this will happen if the girl has been properly cared for. If a man should enter her temporary lodging, she is expected to hide herself and not look at him.

Lastly, she must observe the custom of speaking softly to the woman who is caring for her and to her female visitors, and of speaking little and not laughing stridently.

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881 The duration of the seclusion was longer in past years,
184 longer than at the present time, and there still may be found
556 cases among rich families where this period is extended to five years, but normally among poor families it may last only one month or even less, and in the middle-income group it averages six months to one year.

884 Once the family in conclave or the mother and the aunts
881 decide to terminate the seclusion, the final feast is given, in which the girl appears and behaves as an adult. She is presented as such, and she is given the opportunity to occupy the place of, and to take part in the activities corresponding to, a marriageable young girl. Frequently at this feast some interested guest may offer to buy her for his wife.

881 The news of the "coming out" of the young girl is rapidly spread throughout the peninsula. All the friends of the family arrive at the feast, as also the important people of the region, who have been invited beforehand, and, very specially, all the well-to-do marriageable men. If the woman is of estimable qualities and talents, /57/ those who are looking for a wife for the first time attend. The family preparations for such a feast are very complete, according to their status. There is an abundance of drinks for all, men and women, music for dancing, horse racing when they want to give more splendor to the gathering, and slaughtering of animals. The maternal relatives make their donations and meet to help their relatives in the fulfillment of the customary norms of hospitality. The more important visitors are received in the house itself and given preferential attention, according to their standing. The
[308] girl is bathed for the last time at dawn with the traditional earthen jugs of water, and her hair is cut in the fashion, that is to say, leaving it a short, disheveled mop. This is done by an experienced woman of eminence who can transmit her excellent personal qualities to the girl. The latter carefully keeps her hair in her bag with her intimate personal possessions and later places it under fresh cow dung with the hope that she

/57 cont./

881 will soon be bought with heads of cattle. This signifies that her value will be high, such as corresponds to a woman of standing. She likewise takes great care that her hair does not fall into strange hands, as it is believed that it might be used [882] by some man who wants to do her harm by making with it a magic charm which would have the quality of causing her to fall in love with him; he on his part would scorn her and abuse her, as she would be left submissive to his will.

After the haircutting she is dressed in the traditional costume of an adult woman and is decked out with the customary jewelry and ornaments in accord with her family rank. She receives this jewelry from her mother, from her maternal aunts, and from her grandmother, and they are placed on her by the woman charged with caring for her or by a well-to-do kinswoman, so that they may never be lost. After this, they apply the facial painting, also for the first time, which, it being a feast day, should be made from red annatta /bija/. Then she makes her appearance at the feast, and she may dance and be courted. At this moment, crucial for her life, she must give signs of adult capabilities, showing evidence of the worth of the years of her novitiate, not only in the physical aspect of her fair skin and dark hair, in her mature figure, in her dress and ornaments, but also in the proper fulfillment of cultural patterns. The relatives carry on the feast as long as they can or think in keeping with their position. Afterward, the woman, ready now for marriage and motherhood, starts to comply with the patterns established in her culture for the adult woman.

Summarizing, we can say that the initiation of young 881 women has the following characteristics: /58/ 182

1. It has the significance of a new birth, preceded by a process of spiritual-physical transformation which converts the girl into an adult woman.

2. It is a system of preparation for adult social life, in the sense that /by its means/ are acquired knowledge of proper cultural patterns.

/58 cont./

881 3. It represents a period of apprenticeship during which she acquires mastery of the general techniques of the culture 182 and the specific ones pertaining to her family.

4. From the knowledge obtained from the past history of her consanguineous family group, the initiate is identified with it, giving rise to the reaffirmation of the bonds of union, as an adult member participating in it.

5. It is a period of preparation for the perfect fulfillment of the socio-physical function of motherhood.

6. Lastly, it constitutes a thorough training in the biological and social functions of the woman in carrying out well her role as a wife. /59/

IV

PREMARITAL CONSIDERATIONS

562 Independence of the man. In the Guajiro family organization the man occupies a privileged position which is apparent from his childhood onward.

The father, as we have seen, hopes that his first-born will be a boy, and the maternal family also cheerfully accepts that wish, as it is the male elements that strengthen and give prestige to the family, who defend it in disputes with other groups, and who can help the group forward as a powerful economic factor.

For these reasons Guajiro boys are reared with more freedom and privileges than girls. In the absence of the father, the eldest son, or in any case the male child, takes the father's place in important matters in the home, being consulted by his mother, who respects his opinion, and he occupies his father's place and has his privileges at meals.

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884 It is toward his fifteenth year that the beginning of the age of manhood is noticed, and with it, the boy starts to break free from family tutelage, giving his opinions and making decisions on his own account. This independence, as we have already had occasion to see, is linked to the complete handing over to him of his animals, as he is already well practiced in the matter of livestock care to which he has been accustomed since his early years. It is also linked to agricultural work done on his own account, since he can develop new land when the traditional family land becomes scarce owing to excessive subdivision or monopoly by some member or members.

However, although his independence has increased, his relatives consider they have the right to ask him to account for his actions and oblige him to assume a fixed line of conduct, because he must always circumscribe his conduct to the family norms. At sixteen his physical development affirms his desire for independence, and at seventeen, or even before, he accentuates his manly traits so as to give the impression that he is a man in every sense of the word, and he becomes a caricature of that: he drinks ostentatiously at family gatherings; quarrels with his elders, expressing his opinions in a loud voice, and lets his boastful and arrogant comments be heard; he exaggerates the actions in which he has taken part; he adopts extreme positions in the face of unalterable situations; he shows off in any danger, /60/ trying to convince others of his grown-up manly qualities. At the beginning he is admitted reluctant-
885 ly into the men's gatherings, but this situation changes into one of acquiescence which becomes full acceptance as the measure of his personality becomes definitively delineated, and the boy is converted into a real economic force, until he fills a clear and definitive position in the family and social group.

This position of equilibrium is not reached until his twentieth year and in many cases not until the twenty-fifth, depending on personal qualities. And among all these extreme masculine attitudes that the youth adopts to establish his status

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885 as an adult man in his group, it is probably marriage which definitively gives him his passport of citizenship, if we may so express it, as this includes not only the biological act of a physical coming of age and its legal recognition, but it also carries with it an interesting social aspect in that the Guajiro who contracts marriage, if it is true that he then reaches the maximum expression of freedom, must, on his part, pay back in his behavior and usefulness to society some of what he possesses through it. In other words, his personality is definitively formed, and he is considered a member fully entitled to all rights, but with the obligation to comply fully with all those duties which up to that moment had been gradually meted out to him, according to his age.

And in order to marry, the man must comply with a series
583 of social and legal requisites traditionally established, which
885 lead him to contract long-term obligations with all his relatives and with society in general, obligations which restrain that freedom of action longed for in his youth and which constrain him to depend more and more on his family and the group. If, for example, he has had to ask for assistance in order to pay for his wife, he takes on as a result legal obligations with all his relatives and friends who helped him, obligations which will never end throughout his life. Upon getting married, furthermore, if it is true that he will be considered an able member capable of surviving economically by himself, the advice that his father gives him on handing over his livestock shows him that although he will have backing in the family, he must have recourse to all his forces in order to attend to his sustenance and the fulfillment of his matrimonial duties: "Now you are married and must make your own home; you have to be a different man from now on. You can't laze around but must carefully watch your animals and those of your wife and administer everything she has. You must put up the fence round your corn field to help maintain your wife and your children. You must be a man and not a lazybones now that you are married."

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583 The married man is the head of a new cell, and this im-
885 plies family and social obligations. These he must face up to as a head of a family under peril of loss of prestige and lowering of position. With the coming of children his position becomes more and more extended, as his duties and rights are becoming joined and broadened, for to the obligations of a husband are added those of a father. And these are further complicated on contracting marriages with new women, as then he has reached, according to the Guajiro way of thinking, the maximum development of his male personality.

Valuation of virginity and of the woman. The value of
581 the Guajiro woman is fixed by the marriage payment, that is to
562 say, it is the economic assessment of her worth. The conditions of this valuation, traditional among the upper classes (as the lower classes have lost them through socio-economic conditions which even influence those of some standing), may be summarized thus:

The physical qualities which make a Guajiro woman
581 desirable are those that comply with the traditional aesthetic
832 norm and are those that the woman after her seclusion (Cf. Initiation of Young Women) makes every endeavor to acquire at any cost: tall stature, balanced by well distributed flesh which gives her an appearance of robustness and full-bodiedness, so that when walking decked out in her ample clothes, she has an appearance both elegant and majestic; wide and robust hips (probably with an unconscious biological end in mind, or a sexual one, or a combination of both); small and upright breasts, as the opposite is considered almost repulsive; and, above all, firm flesh. This last is probably the most desired quality, as the man openly confesses that when his woman over the years loses it, he replaces her by another one who has it. The shape of the legs has no importance, probably because with the full, long dress they are out of sight. In the main, they are thin in relation to the body and frequently bowlegged /?cascorvas/.

/61 cont./

581 832 278 842 847

A woman tries to maintain these qualities as she well knows that they form the center of attraction to a man and that maternity steadily destroys them. This may be one of the reasons for the increasing use of birth control, for which they take herbs that do not allow them to conceive, abortives of all kinds, and they take advantage of their knowledge of their periods of sterility and avoid sexual intercourse at other than these periods.

Their facial features are of no great importance to them so long as they conform to the anthropological norms of the group. They prefer a face with large, dark eyes and beautiful, healthy teeth. Also, they are especially attracted by the whiteness of the skin as it indicates social standing because it is a sign that the woman is better able to look after herself by protecting herself from the sun of the region. During her /62/ seclusion the girl does not expose herself to the sunlight, and her greatest pride is that her skin has become whiter. Every morning she bathes with water left out previously in the evening dew, which besides having magic effects has the property of whitening the skin, and when she goes visiting she always covers her face with facial paints -- a customary practice required by etiquette, which also protects her from the sun's rays. During her seclusion the girl also complies with other beautifying and magic practices, such as denying herself certain meat like deer meat or animal udder, since this last, for example, will wrinkle her rapidly and she will lose some of her physical attractiveness.

A woman is well aware that her future married life will be affected in great measure by her preserving an agreeable appearance and that if the man does not feel satisfied she will be relegated to second place, and he will acquire another woman. For this reason she continually struggles to benefit by all known means to recapture her husband and retain him and avoid his acquiring other women. This is the reason that the mother, when her daughter is in the hammock ready to be hoisted up during her initiation, places on her a love charm which has the property of attracting men and of which we spoke in a previous chapter.

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581 The Guajiro woman also knows that men admire dress and
832 so endeavors to adapt hers to their taste: robes of light, attrac-
291 tive colors, amply cut, considerably ornamented (acculturation),
201 and for feast days or visiting all the collection of jewelry:
bracelets, anklets, necklaces of several strings or thick chains
with a pendant, numerous rings with big stones, especially
tumas, jewelry she was given on finishing her seclusion by her
maternal relative of the most distinction and prestige. From
then onward she begins to wear them, in smaller quantities
when she is at home, but the whole set when attending a feast
[554 or visiting. In Jarara a distinctive mark of high social standing
304] is the use of earrings /orejeras may mean earplugs. -- Trans-
lator/, because in this region the women, who are not very
careful in their dress, use this ornament which is an indication
of their social and economic position.

581 The combination, then, of dress and physical appearance
are two essential conditions of the attractiveness of the Guajiro
woman, which determine her success in order to be bought at
a good price or that her husband may not lose interest because
of other marriages. The preservation of her physical attractions
is a struggle which she maintains for these two reasons; also,
dressing well, apart from making her attractive, is a sign of
the class to which she belongs and which she must preserve at
any sacrifice, as therein lies the prestige of her kin and the
maintenance of their status. /63/

In addition to the sexual incentive expressed in previous paragraphs, the Guajiro seeks in his marriage an economic value, that is to say, a woman who possesses certain qualifications that will assure him a certain latitude. The payment he makes for a wife permits him to demand of her his keep and that of his children, for which reason he seeks one capable of complying with this custom by her own efforts.

The work that the woman can carry out to fulfill this economic responsibility is of a domestic nature: the making of hammocks /chinchorros and hamacas/, bags, belts, pottery,

/63 cont./

581 harness for animals, and, when living among civilizado /nonnative/ groups, domestic service in the homes of whites and mestizos, the carrying of water and part of the agricultural work in areas, such as Nazaret, where cultivation is possible on the banks of streams, as well as in regions where only temporary cultivation is carried on. In places like Carrizal and Bahía Honda they collect divi-divi, and in the saltworks they do secondary work for pay or simply to assist their husbands.

This aspect of Guajiro marriage is so important that when 581 a man has abducted a woman and he is considering whether he 593 will buy her or only make a payment for the abuse he has com- [684] mitted, he obtains plant filaments or cotton and sets her to work to make a hammock or a belt. If the woman is not capable he will reject her, as he will reckon that he should not pay for her a price as high as is being demanded. The fact that the woman is an independent economic unit with her children allows her husband to dedicate himself entirely to his pastoral work, to go to the men's gatherings and to the various fiestas, to participate in communal work when asked, to go off on hunting trips for weeks at a time, without having to worry about his home, to join up with his group to fight when necessary, to go traveling from place to place where his other women are, where he gets other economic assistance; in fact to lead a life without worry, although at the present time, owing to conditions of diverse nature, he is finding it necessary to change this pattern of living and to take a more active part in economic life, through the necessity to migrate or to work in the urban centers. This does not mean that he is forced to give more direct assistance to the home: He still follows the traditional way in which his help is only sporadic and absolutely voluntary, leaving to the wife's care the support of the home and of herself; only at the present time when he receives a day's wage for his work, he will drink more and spend more time in idleness while he is spending his earnings.

/63 cont./

581 The Indian also values the relatives of his future wife, be-
593 cause if she has rich relatives and he pays well for her, these will feel themselves obliged to supply her and her children with means of subsistence to live, freeing him from a responsibility which would otherwise restrict his freedom. /64/

To marry into an economically strong group has the advantage that this will bring to the marriage a dowry fitting his esteem, which the future husband will administer, as well as a series of gifts which the women's relatives will make to his children, and, what will increase his prestige, the number of ornaments, dresses, etc., which she will bring with her and in which she will appear in due time. Furthermore, although his marrying one of these women implies a heavy disbursement at the moment, in the long run he will receive suitable reimbursement with the payment for his first daughter to be bought, which belongs in full to the father.

584 Neither does the man disregard the social value of the
583 woman, above all in his first marriage, which is the one that represents it. By this purchase he and his relatives, as well as those of the girl, try to arrange an alliance which will reinforce two strong families or tighten the bonds between them. This induces them in many cases not to consider the choice of the bride (not so much at present), the elders freely making arrangements, in order to obtain the advantage of a high price, the linking with a group whom they fear, avoiding thus prejudice and strengthening friendship, but at the same time hazarding the possibility of the woman's committing suicide. This same fact is what permits the abduction of a woman, which is not considered such in the wide sense of the word but rather an acquiescence on the part of the woman's relatives, who look complacently on these relations, having confidence in the compliance with the payment on the part of the man. It is a deed which demonstrates good faith on the part of relatives on the woman's side to which the man must respond by arranging an immediate and satisfactory payment, if he does not want to

/64 cont./

584 have a serious stain placed on his prestige as a man in good
583 financial standing and one who complies with Guajiro law. So they test, unconsciously perhaps, the feelings of the two groups who are seeking the alliance: trust on one side and solvency and good faith of the other. It is a test of friendship in which each side puts in evidence the wish of surpassing the other.

555 Also figured in the social valuation of a woman is her knowl-
581 edge of the language as this means in Guajiro that she has
593 palabra /literally, "word"/ (Cf. Caciques), that is to say, that
[191] she has a wide knowledge of the language and can use it adequately in delicate situations in which it is necessary to bring to bear every oratorical gift and know how to measure her words and the customary phrases in order to attain her end or to guide the discussion to a level where the facts will follow the legal line. A woman, when she has these qualities, may act as a mediator in a quarrel, and on the result favorable to the person she has represented will depend her personal aggrandizement, by which she acquires prestige and is called in to mediate in even more complicated matters, /65/ by this means increasing her personal position and that of her group and converting other clans into satellites, submissive to her will, in payment for benefits received, thus still further increasing her power which indirectly extends to her husband. This acquisition is a cause for vanity and pride in the husband.

From this talent of tener palabra /literally, "to have word"/ there emerges a series of sequences which build up the social aspect of a home. A woman who possesses that quality knows the Guajiro social protocol and can fully comply with it, thus avoiding conflicts with other groups; she also knows the legal system of the peninsula and by such knowledge can protect the interests of her family group, including her husband, as she will confine his conduct to that which is established, which eases the husband's life and his relationships with his feminine relatives. She makes possible the knitting together of these two disparate elements and creates the bond of union between the

/65 cont./

555 two; she increases the man's prestige because in carrying out her
581 duties as mistress of his house and representative of the home,
593 she knows by suitable attentions (agreeable talk, preparation of food according to traditional custom, hospitality appropriate to the social standing of a guest, etc.) how to win everybody's appreciation, consideration, and respect.

Furthermore, as the maintenance of prestige rests partly on the wife, the knowledge of the psychic and legal life and customs of the society in which she lives enables her to act correctly and without errors. She will maintain due solemnity in carrying out the most important acts in life, as, for example: the seclusion of young women, marriage, illness, etc., so strengthening her status. She will also rule her family more correctly and constitute herself the guardian of tradition, which is so respected by the Guajiro and in which resides the strength of their culture.

* * *

583 The price that the Guajiro man pays for his wife includes
636 several conditions among which is the assumed virginity as he will expect his wife to come to the marriage as such each time that marriage penetrates into his psychic life, and he will feel defrauded if she does not, so much more if the status of the bride is high and even more if she is his first wife.

The man takes into account various aspects of virginity:
[554] First, he finds a special attractiveness in the virgin woman for the satisfaction of deflowering her, which, apart from the sexual attractiveness, gives him in the future a reason for boasting and prestige, the halo of a fortunate man which /66/ fills him with pride and gives him a feeling of superiority. Second, and from the economic point of view, because he has paid the price asked, convinced that his wife is a property which belongs to him, wholly and exclusively. Third, because he thinks that if a woman has given herself to another man, secretly, it was because she was drawn to him by a great affection or because she is a

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583 836 cabeza loco /madcap/, according to the Guajiro expression, two things which he cannot bring himself to accept: the first, because he considers that having paid for his wife, she should belong to him from years back and the thought that someone else has possessed her makes him feel that he has been defrauded in his payment; the second, because he fears this may repeat itself in the future and conjugal fidelity will be doubtful when he is away on his duties as a nomadic herdsman. This doubt, in time, becomes an obsession, and it sows difficulties in their matrimonial relations, because the uneasiness of the man may explode when least expected for any cause that fires his passion of jealousy. He is always jealous of someone, and he fills his life permanently with questions, suspicions, precautions, and traps, in the attempt to discover who was his predecessor, whose name the woman will hide with the same zeal that he shows in trying to find it out. This doubt even reaches his children, because the man feels he has no certainty of his paternity. He spies on every small detail about his wife in her behavior with the men he is acquainted with, to learn if one of them could be the father; he checks minutely the physical appearance of his child, his gestures, his expressions, to see if he can find any similarity to someone he knows, also consulting the opinion of others in order to get that peace of mind he so much desires in himself.

If the man should confirm that the woman has belonged successively to several men, he asks the return of his payment, or he abandons her after humiliating her to compensate himself for his inner suffering.

Generally, the man on confirming that the woman he has bought is not a virgin immediately presents his claim for compensation payment to her relatives. Initially he informs the father (among the mestizos) or the closest maternal uncle. The claim for compensation payment demands the immediate return of half of the property given in payment for the woman, as this amount is the evaluation of the extent of the fraud which has been practiced on his spirit and his pocket, the rest being left as payment for his future cohabitation with her. With this reimbursement

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583 836 the man feels satisfied, because the price paid included, tacitly, her virginity. If the woman's relatives do not handle the situation prudently, reprisals and hostilities may take place between the two groups. Also in these cases the man will claim the necklace which he gave the woman as a sign of their betrothal the day the marriage was arranged. But he does not do this with an eye to gain but to make the woman suffer some part of the humiliation /67/ he himself felt on learning of the deception. Furthermore, as the necklace is a sign of engagement, asking for its return resembles an act of breaking it, although, in point of fact, the woman continues to be tied to the man with matrimonial obligations.

At times the man will follow another norm of conduct, especially at the present time when this state of affairs occurs more frequently and the claims for compensation payment for this condition are losing importance: He himself assumes the punishment for the deception. He roughly inquires of the woman: "Why are you not a virgin when I bought you believing that you were? Why don't you say who possessed you before I did?" He goes from insult to action and beats the woman, who, recognizing her inferior situation does not dare to protest.

It is possible that the Indian will not at first go beyond insulting the woman in private, but under the influence of alcohol the [152] resentment grows out of hand, and it is then that, in the presence of his friends, he will recount his problem and complain. Not content with this, he makes up songs referring to the subject which contain insulting commentaries and will sing them to his wife when with his friends to humiliate her in front of them and so obtain some satisfaction for what he personally suffers. In this [578] state of drunkenness it is not uncommon that he will beat his wife, shielding himself from reproach by the fact that as he has not been repaid the part of the marriage payment due him, her relatives are not in a position to protest.

Often with time the matter gets forgotten, and it only crops up on certain occasions when they quarrelsomely bring up all the past with its emotional content, due to some disobedience on the

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583 836 part of the woman, a rough gesture, or a rude answer. Sometimes the matter is settled by the woman's being abandoned.

If the woman divulges the name of the man who originally possessed her, or if it is learned by some means, the husband will present his claim for compensation *for abuse, because the one* who enjoyed her, without payment, made use of something which belonged to him by act and right of purchase.

[587] The economic valuation of virginity can be confirmed by the fact that a widow who refuses to live in marital life with the maternal nephews of her late husband must pay a sum equal to that paid for her by her husband, less a discount for not now being a virgin. Also, when a woman has committed adultery, the husband has to be compensated for the offense received, and a payment is then made which is less than that for which the woman was bought, as a discount equivalent to the value put on her virginity is allowed, it being supposed that this existed at the time of her marriage. /68/

The Guajiro woman who is not a virgin and is about to be bought generally prefers, in consideration of the consequences, to inform her future husband of the facts. She tells him: "I warn you I am not a maiden, but if you truly care for me you have to buy me as I am. I tell you this beforehand so you can think it over and not throw it up to me afterward, seeing that I am not deceiving you." The woman is forced to make this confession in view of what might occur later when her lie is found out. Nevertheless, she will suffer much uncertainty as she has to face this dilemma: To tell the man offering to buy her and thereby expose herself to the possibility that he will withdraw, disillusioned and goaded by the desire to find out who had done such a thing and whether she would be faithful to him in their married life, and, furthermore, exposing herself to the danger that he might divulge her "secret" on a day of heavy drinking, by which her prestige before everyone would be wrecked and no man would come forward to buy her for a wife; or not tell him and suffer the consequences. However, it sometimes happens that the man reacts to

/68 cont./

583 836 the situation in a different manner. He says: "The past does not matter to me. I suppose he did not cut out your organ." In this way the woman gets tranquilly married, and the husband, aware of the facts, makes no later claims, though it may happen that the price paid is lower, although this is not usual, as the man in recognition of the woman's confession shows a generous attitude.

In the case when the woman who is about to be bought has received payment for abuse, the man takes into account the intervention of the maternal family who saw to it that the feminine elements of the group were respected, which proves to him that it is a family group that insists on the law being complied with and for this reason has sufficient prestige and masculine elements to enforce it and is a group that, because of the payment he will make, will look after the security and stability of his marriage. Also, the knowledge of every one of the details of what happened (violation or marriage not carried out because of the nonpayment of the second payment) is an adequate palliative which excuses, to the Indian's way of thinking, what has occurred and does not constitute a deception or an economic or moral fraud.

When in consequence of premarital relations a pregnancy has [684] resulted, the man who causes it must pay for the birth in addition to the abuse, in accordance with Guajiro tradition: a number of animals to the mother or the immediate relatives for the troubles of pregnancy and for the birth itself, which includes the pain suffered and the blood lost. If this woman is later bought, an amount is deducted from the payment, which tacitly amounts to the value of her virginity, already paid for in the sum given for the abuse. It can, however, occur, and in effect it does occur, that the man /69/ ignores the past when he has a special affection or feels greatly attracted by the woman, in which case he pays the price asked without the afore-mentioned discount.

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836 The virginity of the single woman is becoming very rare in La Guajira. Premarital relations have been occurring with greater frequency in recent years as a consequence of the social disintegration of this indigeneous group, caused by a multiplicity of reasons, among which stand out: the influence of the so-called white groups, among whom free union is common practice; emigration to regions such as Venezuela, where the Indian women break away from the norms of their ancestors and find an atmosphere which does not resent the sexual adventures of women but rather stimulates them; the scarcity and hunger in certain regions which push the inhabitants toward the urban centers of the peninsula, where the woman gives herself in exchange for the wherewithal to satisfy her vital needs of food and dress, an attitude which her relatives recognize and tolerate because, indirectly, it also helps them. The premarital relations forced by circumstances or encouraged by them have been creating a social class of women which previously did not exist nor could fit within her social organization: the prostitute. It must be noted that it is the mestizo woman (mixture of Indian with white or negro) who more easily takes this road.

[548] [563]

Also one has to take into account the premature premarital relations that have always existed in La Guajira and which take place between the girls and their brothers, and even their fathers, when the girls are about ten or more, when they go to the fields or the countryside in general and meet the boys who are devoting themselves to pasturing. (Cf. Chap. II.)

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836 558 178 The common type of furtive sexual relations of the adult woman causes her to drop in social esteem and particularly in that of the men, producing, indirectly, the phenomenon that virginity as a basis for marriage has become overvalued. Before, it was a fact that was logically expected as an essential, and the lack of this condition created social and psychic problems.

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836 Today this causes less repercussion, and the phenomena which were
558 aroused in the society and the individual have become weakened.
178 But by contrast, it /virginity/ is an object of greater search, and the man who is successful /70/ in finding a virgin bride publicizes it as an individual reason for prestige. Furthermore, men are complaining less and less when their wives have not come as virgins to the nuptial hammock, and they only make it the subject of satirical songs when they are drunk. That is to say, they take the matter more broadmindedly, giving it the character of an accomplished fact and almost to be expected.

Violation and rape. The payment for abuse is that which the
684 Guajiro must pay for illicit sexual relations with an unmarried woman, being a material compensation for the improper use made of her and returning to the woman her position of respected spinster, with the possibility that another man will court her and buy her for himself, without the fact of the abuse weighing as a dishonor in her past or having any echo in the future. It is also the compensation to the maternal relatives of the woman for the material and moral offense of violation of a right. They receive this payment because, by not accepting it, they would lower their kinswoman, and through her all of the family, to the category of "a dog or a burro," with no one to make their rights valid, and in order to prevent others wishing to do the same thing to other women of the family, which would bring the prestige of the group to an end. Also, because the man made use of a right which he should have paid for beforehand, to compensate the woman's relatives for rearing her and for the social support they have given her. The payment covers two distinct aspects of different value: violation and rape.

In the first case, as it is considered that the woman has shown
684 willingness in the act, only the abuse is taken into account. In
839 the second, as force has been used, a compensation payment is demanded not only for abuse but for violation, specifying that the man used force and thereby humiliated the woman, made her dishonor and her physical weakness more obvious, and offended

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684 her maternal relatives by reducing them to the level of a con-
839 quered group whose women are the easy prey of any man as they have no one strong enough to back the claim for them. For this an increase in the payment is included as indemnity. Also, if when the assault took place the woman was injured, the payment is further increased because they also collect compensation payment for the spilling of blood, the common link of kinship and vital element of the body.

It frequently occurs in certain places where the economic differences between different groups are very pronounced, that when a young girl is in the period of seclusion and her relatives have had to leave her alone in her room to attend to work outside the house, rich Indians take advantage of the occasion to violate her. In such a case /71/ when the offended group obtains the backing of another group that is as strong as that of the offender's, the payment for abuse is very high, because in addition to the lowering of family prestige, they consider the value of the girl's seclusion and her isolation from men to have been lost, so placing her and her relatives on an inferior plane by not being able to comply in full with the traditional formalities usual in order to become a complete woman in the Guajiro sense. If the payment is not effected due to the inferiority and lack of backing of the offended group, one of the members of the clan, feeling the humiliation of his kinswoman, will wait for an opportunity to kill the culprit, but by doing so he will cause the destruction and exile of his family group.

684 It can happen, and it is very frequent at the present time, that a woman has received payment for successive abuses. The young girl, demoralized for various reasons, gives herself secretly to a man, an act which on becoming known leads to a claim for compensation payment. It may also come about that a woman comes to be bought as a wife after what has happened. As the young Guajiro woman considers it an honor to be bought rapidly and at a good price, she looks enviously at the luck of such women, and since she thinks that they owe it to their way she tries to do the same. This increases the frequency of the act, which in

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684 poor groups does not call for compensation payment as it is a distinct source of income, which compensates for a payment difficult to obtain and which necessitates invoking the force of the whole family group, usually very dispersed due to migration.

It must also be made clear that the payment demanded has a special character with regard to the amount, which should not reach or be equal to a marriage payment in normal times, because in that case the man could retain the woman as his own property. Also, this payment must come from the personal capital of the guilty individual as his relatives or friends will not be disposed to bring forward livestock or jewels to accept conduct not in accord with the legal norms of the peninsula. Also, this payment is not at all large, and in a certain sense it is a sanction against lack of control in conduct and a defense against the disintegration of the family, basis of the social structure.

We have to include in this section a payment which in a certain way covers the same conditions already described. It sometimes happens that a woman is sold by her relatives under agreement to pay in two installments. On paying the first, the man has free access to cohabit with her. But if the second installment is not paid up at the end of the stipulated time, the maternal relatives of the woman take her back with any children she might have had, the man losing his right to claim the amount already paid on account, /72/ as this sum is considered a payment for abuse although it may be a higher price than that established by custom.

We should note that the Guajiro, on paying the sum claimed as indemnity for transgression of the law of marriage, considers he has terminated all his relations, and he must again pay, if he reinitiates such relations, an amount equal or greater, according to what the young girl's relatives decide. If after the payment he wants to buy her as his wife, he can claim what he has paid for the abuse as an advance payment toward the marriage payment.

548 Prostitution. Guajiro law excludes the prostitute absolutely from their society. We have seen how on reaching adult age, the

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548 woman is submitted to the ceremonies of initiation in preparation for her future life, in order to enter society without the young girl's restrictions but with all the responsibilities of a young unmarried woman. During this time she is obliged to guard her chastity, as a condition which is valued in marriage, as we have seen in the section, Valuation of virginity and of the woman, in this chapter. We have also seen that the payment for abuse is no more than an economic reparation for the illegal use of a woman, who is considered to be the personal property of her relatives, and as indemnity for the loss of prestige of the woman and of her maternal relatives. It is not a payment for services but compensation to the relatives for the offense and abuse of property.

We said, furthermore, that if a man obtains a woman through purchase with a payment in two installments and he does not comply with the second, the woman is recovered by her relatives, the installment paid being converted into a payment for abuse; and that, if the woman cohabits with a man who has not bought her, their law obliges the man to pay for her as a wife or to separate himself from her after meeting the payment demanded.

Another proof that the prostitute has no place under Guajiro law is the fact that adultery is only considered in relation to the woman, and it carries the penalty of having to return to the husband the purchase price, the children of the marriage, and a payment for the offense; besides which the lover is obliged to pay to the husband whatever he demands, or to buy the woman in question and take her for his wife.

Finally, the woman on becoming widowed is not considered to be free but becomes the property of the heirs of the husband, so that, even then, she is not able to practice prostitution freely.

Summing up, the woman is considered as private property which can be acquired by purchase and which no one except the owner may enjoy or dispose of. She is always the private property of someone: when a young unmarried woman, of her

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548 maternal relatives; when married, of her husband; and if he dies, of his heirs. In case of adultery it is her lover who must pay to have legal right to her.

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Prostitution, which is continually growing in La Guajira, has many causes, which have developed rapidly in recent times, endangering all the social organization. The principal ones are:

548 Slavery. The /social/ organization in La Guajira has
567 created for itself this class of social elements placed at the
627 very margin of life. Its origin is in the clan groups which, when weakened by economic failure and the scarcity of male elements to strengthen them, have been slowly pushed to the margin /of society/. The murder, for example, of a member of a powerful group caused by a member of one of these groups spells its ruin. The law establishes in such cases a considerable payment to the maternal relatives of the murdered man by the clan group that is responsible for his death, a payment which has to be transacted in accordance with special forms which facilitate peaceful settlement between both parties and a reasonable time limit, at the termination of which both groups renew their peaceful relations and give proofs of new friendship, although in practice these appearances show themselves to be quite false. However, when the aggressor belongs to an inferior group, these negotiations are not followed out, as it would appear that added to the sorrow over the death of the offense of the crime having been perpetrated by a group without social standing, without prestige, and without sufficient means to pay the indemnity. "These people," say the offended ones, "who have no money to pay us for the grief they have caused us have no right either to a legal negotiation." They fall on the small group in overwhelming numbers like an avalanche, on their lands and their houses, leveling them to the ground without

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548 mercy, burning their homes with the occupants in them, destroy-
567 ing the crops, filling up and poisoning the springs, carrying off
627 the few livestock and personal effects there may be about. The worst fate is suffered by the children and especially the women, old women, young women, and girls, who are carried off as trophies of war to pay with their service as slaves for the crime committed by their relative.

548 Although these women are not to be considered as true
567 prostitutes, their daughters are forced to suffer this illegal condition because, although they belong to their mother's master, they are strongly besieged by all the men, especially by those who have not yet been able to buy a wife and who will find /74/ satisfaction in them without economic or social responsibilities. The girls submit little by little to this situation, giving themselves to whoever gives them presents, and eventually become harlots. (Cf. Slavery and Bond Service.)

Furthermore, many of these girls are sold by their masters to be sent out of the peninsula (to Aruba, Maracaibo, Curaçao, Riohacha, etc.), but when they grow up they escape and, when it is possible for them, they return again to La Guajira, where the fate that awaits them is no better, for they have been placed, so to speak, outside the law, as they lack the two strong social bonds: land and blood. Hence, not possessing these, they are free, which is equivalent to being without protection. No one will take notice of what they do, but neither will anyone speak up for them to prevent their being the victims of force. They have no economic backing nor private means. Moreover, many of them have been started off in prostitution during their servitude. In the circumstances described, it is rare that they can raise themselves and manage to find a place again in a society that turned them out, so that they find themselves obliged to live on the margin of society, as also their offspring. In this way slavery creates the prostitute, a public property, something that does not fit within the legal norms, as we have seen throughout this chapter.

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548 566 Bond service. Bond service is different from slavery in that it is not the result of a conquest in war of one group by another, but rather the consequence of economic decline, since when a group cannot support its members, they sell them. Years ago large numbers were sold to Venezuela as farm hands to the Caribbean Islands, etc., and although the investment was never very safe, due to the escaping of the Indians, the sales were numerous, and even today they are very frequent. Furthermore, it is common practice at the present time in the Jarara region, short of resources in summer, to take the nephews and nieces of an individual who has been forced by necessity to commit robbery as bond servants to repay by their own labor what was stolen.

Women in this situation, separated from their group and unable to be helped by them, are coveted by the men. Those who are sent away, on their return, find themselves in a situation similar to that of slaves who have come back. They settle in the cities and turn to prostitution, as the whites find in them a simple solution of their problems, and they find a means of subsistence.

548 177 The mestizo. Cross breeding /mestizaje/ has not affected Guajiro culture in respect to the tradition regarding magic, language, organization, etc., but has had an effect on social morality, which /75/ is readily forsaken by the mestizo woman of lower class, commonly called cabeza loca ("madcap"), by the general run of Indians, owing to her sexual promiscuity, her easily becoming a prostitute and giving herself and living for certain periods of time with a man, (mestizo or white as a general rule) to leave him later to follow an endless chain. The pure-blooded Guajiro woman, even if she takes to prostitution, never abandons, from any motive, the established norms of modesty, [578] such as never to show herself naked, never to behave rowdily, etc., as there is no greater insult than that a man should affirm such things about her. The mestizo woman, however, does not respect these concepts. For this reason she is sought after more and more, and she freely and openly throws over the traditional

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548 177 limitations. We have said that this applies to the lower classes because the mestizo woman of the upper-class groups are as modest and conservative, or more so, than the pure Indians. The mestizo woman of lower class is not under the control of her maternal relatives, and for this reason there is no repressive power capable of making her submit to that which is right.

548 167 Geographic conditions. A natural phenomenon is basically the cause of prostitution in La Guajira: the long summers /dry season/ that the peninsula has suffered during the past five years, a period in which the winter seasons /rainy season/ have been nonexistent, so that neither stock breeding nor agriculture have been able to subsist and have dwindled to a minimum, so ruining the traditional economy of the population. The result is that the native, seeing himself without resources to live, migrates or succumbs through inanition, as we were able to observe during our stay in that region. In this state of affairs the native will go to Venezuela where he finds paid work which alleviates his situation and that of his relatives in the peninsula. Sometimes the women also migrate with their families.

When the men emigrate, the family groups lose their elements of support in difficult situations, and the women and children are left with diminished protection and control, that is to say, they depend on themselves. When the assistance from the men is limited, the families must live by any means they can, and they then feel the attraction of the /urban/ centers where they expect to be able to find the solution to their problem of making a living. They migrate, and their only opportunity is in prostitution. There the women begin a way of life foreign to their social organization, made easier by the absence of male relatives who would put a stop to that way of life, since by being absent they cannot present their claims for compensation payment, and, furthermore, they are, generally, unaware of this state of affairs. The married woman whose husband is absent over long periods, impelled by this same situation and her own sexual need, turns to prostitution without anyone /76/ to make the corresponding claim. Married

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548 167 and unmarried women come for periods from the country to the urban centers; they settle in shacks on the outskirts, live by easy virtue for a time to procure enough to purchase new robes and food, and return home until these provisions have been used up, when they again return to the centers and to the sex market.

548 434 167 In addition to the summers which have made the traditional economic life impossible, the situation is made more acute by the fact that provisions have to be brought in from the neighboring department of Magdalena, since of all that is consumed in the peninsula nothing can be grown there. But the contraband agricultural produce smuggled from this area to Maracaibo, where for various reasons they pay a higher price for these products, encourages the export of these from the country, so increasing the problem of hunger in La Guajira, as the cost of provisions rises and the trader, on his part, increases his price to cover what he considers his due as middleman. In this way the basic things required by the Guajiro, corn and panela, reach an exorbitant price, especially in the more remote places where the source of supply is in the hands of one trader.

548 167 Furthermore, the woman finds few sources of income in the centers. Only those women of upper La Guajira /La Alta Guajira/ who have been educated in the Capuchin mission can work different kinds of woven cloth which find acceptance in the markets of Maracaibo and in the department of Magdalena. Practically no one wants to work in domestic service because their natural independence unsuits them to accommodate themselves to the demands. Some collect divi-divi in season, others help their husbands in the saltworks, but there the wages paid are so low that they are almost worthless and not encouraging.

Having little to occupy themselves with, their domestic work being reduced to a minimum, they pass the time in incredible idleness, gossiping among themselves, lying in their hammocks, and in the evenings going into the urban centers, if they live near by, to offer themselves to the natives of the civilizados /nonnatives, see below/ who at that hour are leaving their work.

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548 Another of the aspects in which emigration influences
167 prostitution among the Guajiro women is that when they, alone or with their husbands and their relatives, go to Venezuela, they usually settle in Maracaibo and other centers in the state of Zulia, where the civilizado element looks on the Guajiro woman as a coveted solution to their sex problems. Various causes influence this outlook: The women have no effective protection, they are healthy and easily seduced with cheap presents which they overvalue in their poverty; also, they are nearly always looked down on as inferior, as belonging to the lowest social level. This pursuit of the women for sexual purposes is so intense that the story is told of /77/ girls arriving in Maracaibo in the morning who have by afternoon received attractive offers before which they have succumbed. The missionaries endeavor to intervene, but it is useless; the cajolery and promises are more attractive than good advice and the training of their childhood and youth. When they are not public prostitutes they are bought, according to Guajiro law, by married Venezuelan men and are thus partially introduced into that society in the role of concubines until they are repudiated at the whim of their masters.

548 In addition to these reasons, the women see the apparently advantageous situation that their friends and relatives have acquired for themselves, and they think that what they have to lose is not so much when compared with the resulting benefits. The poverty they have suffered at home in their own country and the promise of an easy solution overcomes the resistance of the most reluctant. Furthermore, their friends are the first to advise them to take the step. Guajiro law is so far away it seems they are beyond its reach, and they cannot weigh the disastrous consequences of this life except from their own and immediate point of view. All these combined causes lead the Guajiro woman who migrates on the road to prostitution, which unavoidably happens sooner or later, and she will not afterward return to the normal life of her /family/ group.

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548 648 The civilizado /civilized/ element. A civilizado according to the Guajiro concept is one who does not belong to their community or the mestizo who has adopted a culture different from theirs. The classification covers people on the Atlantic coast both Columbian and Venezuelan (negroid for the most part) and some other white or mestizo groups in the interior of Columbia.

This civilizado element puts the native on an inferior plane not only where their material culture is concerned, which they despise, but also their spiritual aspect. They look with compassion and curiosity at the manifestations of this and find them difficult to accept. They regard them as savages, and they respect them only because they are strong. This has provoked in the native a feeling of suspicion and misgiving in all that is dear to him, and he has become resentful to a point that he hopes to find a similar failing in the white man in order to reproach him with it.

The cultural norms of a social and moral aspect that they receive from the civilizado are precisely what lead to the systematic destruction of their organization. Generally, the white men who go to La Guajira are men who have to be absent from their families for various reasons, and they find the solution for their biological needs in the Guajiro woman. Their temporary residence there will not permit them (as it might when they make it their permanent home) to buy a girl for a wife, because the price is high for their small means, and it would cause /78/ problems with their own families, so that a man of this type solves the situation by making an easy arrangement with an Indian woman, who gives herself to him in return for presents or a money payment on each occasion.

The Guajiro woman who has emigrated from her district sooner or later returns home and finds in the peninsula a propitious medium for the life she began when away, because beside finding it difficult to obtain a legitimate source of income, her prime needs continually demand immediate satisfaction.

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548 Consequences. The consequences that prostitution has brought
177 to Guajiro society are various: The first and decisive one is the almost absolute wreck of the social organization due to the destruction of marriage, the mainstay of social life based on the purchase of a woman, who by this transaction becomes the private property of the man in the matrimonial sense. If she is unfaithful there arise the claim for compensation payment and the whole series of consequences which we have seen previously, all tending to preserve conjugal fidelity. On the woman's turning to prostitution, the legal norms which establish that marriage payment and the very constitution of the family become useless as it erases the essential character of the family: i.e., procreation. There is an end to the principle of the establishment of new social cells and fecundation takes second place. It is the biological satisfaction that is sought, not the procreation of children, a phenomenon which constitutes a grave social problem for, although many people accept contraceptives, others through ignorance or thoughtlessness on the part of the man do not use them, and the natural consequences of pregnancy are not long
[847] delayed. Then they have recourse to all the abortives they know of empirically, using the herbs whose active qualities are claimed by the old women of the Sierra de Macuira, or those they have traditionally learned from their ancestors, or they ask the assistance of a woman practiced in these matters, who for a fee provokes the abortion by traumatic massage on the abdomen of the pregnant woman and keeps the secret.

848 Besides abortives, the Guajiro woman uses potions of herbs which sterilize her for a time, up to three years, without stopping menstruation, and others which interrupt the menstrual cycle for long periods with the result that her sexual relations do not lead to pregnancy. She even appeals to magic to get this result, for example, by drinking, while fasting, a potion made from mule's
[237] excrement left to soak overnight and then decanted. They believe that as this animal is sterile so will the woman who imbibes the preparation.

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548 177 Furthermore, doing away with marriage by payment destroys with it the family backing which, in the economic sense, means as much to the woman, the man, and the children as to the maternal relatives through the system of payments, repayments, and compensations that are consequent on it. Above all, the woman loses the social and economic backing of her group, and the man the guarantee of her fidelity.

The woman who has migrated and has taken to this way of life while outside her native land, or who has accepted it in her own homeland, usually will not return to the country, or if she does it is only to live there while she spends the money she has earned, to return later and resume her trade. Today prostitution is a menace to all La Guajira. Young Indians who have not been able to obtain a wife or simply anyone who wants sexual satisfaction will find it with a Guajiro woman by means of a casual payment, and with prostitution has come a new scourge for the Guajiro: [164] venereal diseases, brought and spread by those who have acquired it in their relations with the civilizados. Ignorance on the part of the prostitute of hygienic precepts which would free her from these ills has resulted in the disease increasing dangerously. [757] Moreover, there exists in the peninsula no clinic where the native can go for treatment, and there is only one doctor and a poorly equipped hospital in Uribia. Hence, prostitution has aided, and still aids, not only social bankruptcy by the wreck of the institution of the family but also physical degeneration by the unrestricted spreading of venereal diseases among the youth of the country.

583 Outfit and dowry of the woman. When a Guajiro woman is bought the family gives her the inheritance, in livestock, which is hers by right. These gifts go to her in accordance with her social standing and with the amount of the marriage payment, because this establishes the prestige of the maternal relatives. They know that a man who has paid dearly for his wife expects that she has not cost so much just for the sake of the marital satisfactions she may give him, or for her known high social status, but that in her price there will be included an inheritance handed over to the bride for life and at this time. He could not

/79 cont./

583 understand that she would have such a price for only the two things mentioned, and if the woman were not well dowered with livestock and jewels, he would pass the word around among his friends with detriment to the prestige of the girl's relatives, that she, his wife, cost a high price but had nothing, which is equivalent in Guajiro society to a fraud, as we know that the traditional norm of social conduct is based on each group surpassing the other. For this reason the maternal relatives /80/ of the bride take up a combined collection of livestock, in order to present it and numerous jewels and dresses, so that in this way she may appear before her husband without loss of prestige when compared with his relatives. These gifts she receives from her maternal uncles, and the jewelry, usually, is presented to her by her maternal aunts and female cousins.

The care of these animals generally is the responsibility of the husband. He pastures and looks after them with his own and those of his sons, but it may happen that the wife's relatives, if the husband is a drunkard or spendthrift, will take charge of them personally to avoid mismanagement.

With respect to the household equipment, the only contribution that the husband makes is the hammock, which he buys from the woman's mother, a purchase and which includes as well the right to cohabit with his wife after its purchase. The rest of the household goods are the responsibility of the woman, who at first, as she lives with her relatives, uses their utensils but slowly starts collecting her own for the time when she establishes her own home or when the needs of the growing family oblige her to do so. She buys the pottery, by barter usually, from the pottery makers of Jarara, who at fixed times travel through the peninsula with their goods; she sets up looms and with these makes the hammocks for her children and those required for visitors. For the rest of the utensils, simple as they are, she uses coconut shells and gourds, with which she makes plates, bowls, spoons, tobacco containers, etc. She and her daughters make bags by different processes, using imported

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583 thread or spinning and dyeing cotton. They bring in logs, which serve as seats, they make the harness for the burros and horses. In other words, in some places the woman tries to become self-sufficient, and in other places, according to the established division of labor, she sells whatever she makes and with the proceeds buys the food, clothes, and utensils she may need in the home; or more simply she relies on barter to gain her object.

583 177 The problem is different in the case of mestizos, if the marriage is not carried out under Guajiro law, and in that of whites who have married Guajiro women in accordance with the rite established for the community. In both cases the man provides, besides the house, all that is essential for the home such as furniture and domestic utensils according to the custom of civilizados /nonnatives/, and later, as they wear out, he substitutes new ones. With respect to the dowry, we may say that the man may take charge of his wife's animals, if she so wishes, but he may not arbitrarily dispose /81/ of them. The capital acquired between them is the inheritance of their children, as we have seen. It does not devolve, as in Guajiro practice, to its original source (the wife's maternal relatives). Since he did not make a marriage payment, it is up to the man to shoulder the responsibility and provide for all the necessities of the home. /83/ /page 82 is blank/

V

MARRIAGE

583 436 Purchase procedure. The traditional Guajiro marriage is brought into being through the purchase of the woman from her maternal relatives, payment being made in animals and ornaments and, at the present time, in bolivars because of the influence of trade with Venezuela.

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583 Generally, the girl's family is advised by the suitor's relatives that they will come to buy her. The man, on his part, has requested his most influential maternal uncle, or one who is considered a "cacique," to go in company with his mother and other friends to arrange the purchase of the girl of his choice. They arrive dressed in their best and receive the most generous hospitality from the girl's relatives. They hand over as a sign of the engagement the so-called "prendas /"ornaments"/," which [301] are necklaces of gold set with tuma stones (1), the value and

1. A mineral quartz used as a precious stone.

number of which depend on the economic strength of the suitor, going all the way up to ten in persons of the highest standing, especially when the man is acquiring his first wife, who as we have seen is the principal one.

If the girl's relatives see that the marriage is an advantageous one, they accept the gifts. If they do not accept them, this [578] indicates a definite refusal and rarely occurs, since it implies contempt which could give rise to serious differences between the groups concerned. Once the necklaces are handed over, the spokesman for the bridegroom offers to buy the girl, and the girl's maternal relative of most authority replies, fixing the price, [554] which generally is equal to that paid by the girl's father for her mother; often they get a higher price, which increases their prestige. They argue for a short time until they arrive at an arrangement between them as to the price and the basis of payment. Then the young man's relatives leave to tell him of the arrangement made, which he respects and accepts without making any kind of objection, and he gets ready to pay the payment agreed upon in order to obtain his wife. /84/.

556 583 Payment in cows. The number of heads of livestock that a man has shows his economic position and through this his status in the family group and in the whole community, because stock

/84 cont./

556 raising is the basic occupation of the Guajiro wherever the soil
583 permits of agriculture during certain times of the year. The worth of a woman is similarly determined. She aspires to be paid for in cows, which show that her physical, spiritual, and social qualities are being adequately paid for, that her traditional rank and the power of her kin is justly valued, that the education that she has received at puberty is appreciated, that her standing as a married woman is going to be maintained adequately, and that her children will have an identical valuation, which means that her social status will be improved.

The Guajiro woman is so eager to be paid for in cows that the lower-class women (we do not know if the higher class do also) resort to an act of magic to help achieve this and, an act consisting of burying their hair when they cut it under cow dung.

583 Ways of paying. Paying for the woman entails the right to take her as a wife and can be effected in the following ways: When the man is rich, he hands over the purchase price in one payment, a sign of personal prestige which indicates his own economic capacity and that of his group, who do not need to make a large payment in installments. This makes the bride's relatives very proud because it shows they have made an alliance with a group of power and prestige.

But the most commonly used system allows two payments: the first, on a day agreed upon before the marriage, and the other, some time later. The first payment, as we have seen, confers the right of matrimony. On the due date the livestock arrive, driven by the servants of the bridegroom's maternal family and accompanied by the uncles who arranged the purchase of the woman. These make a ceremonious handing over of the livestock in order to put their payment on record. Then it is the turn of the bride's maternal relatives to comply with all the duties of hospitality, the warmth of which is in direct relation to the size of the payment and, above all, to their standing. If the bridegroom's relatives arrive early with the livestock, the arágrash (the eldest man of the family) orders a small bull killed

/84 cont./

583 and offers them hospitality in his own house. The small bull, the best of the herd, serves to make a special dish and is also divided among those who have come so that each takes with him a good portion, /85/ the higher the guest's standing the better the piece. In the afternoon they return home. If they come to make the payment in the evening, then the attentions are [213] different. They must have a great quantity of chicha made of masticated corn and yucca, which is accompanied by pieces of meat and bollos /corn rolls/. The bridegroom's companions sleep in the bride's house and leave at dawn after breakfast, for which an animal is slaughtered, the meat of which is distributed among the visitors.

In the first case when women attend, they must each be presented with the gift of a goat or a sheep to take home with them; in both cases there must be an abundant quantity of rum for the men.

The bridegroom does not come at this time either, but when he wants to make the girl his wife, he brings more cattle (ten cows when the girl is of high standing), which he hands over to the mother in payment for the matrimonial hammock; with this payment he has fulfilled the final requirements for access to his bride, who awaits him in a neighboring house, and there they hang up their matrimonial hammock, which serves them as a marriage bed.

Sociological significance of the marriage payment. Through the payment the matrimonial tie is strengthened and its legal organization is passed on to the descendants of the new family cell. Thus the laws of inheritance are structured by it: The man [428] pays for his wife with the co-operation of his relatives, and for this reason the children, who belong to the mother's blood, are deprived of the right to inherit the father's goods at his death, because they are not consanguineous relatives, and, moreover, the mother and her maternal relatives received the purchase price. The children take the surname of their mother, a further [551] proof of their bond with the maternal clan, in which they find all the economic and social backing they need.

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583 Furthermore, the marriage payment includes a compensation for the care the woman received during her life in the family and the obligations that her group will incur in taking charge of the children of the marriage. And in relation to the lands, it permits the husband and his relatives the usufruct of the land belonging to the woman, where from then on they are permitted to pasture their livestock, cultivate the soil, and establish their home. In this way the right over the land of a certain family group is extended to others, and at the same time, the woman's relatives acquire identical rights in respect to the land of the husband and his maternal group; the children they have in the marriage have rights over both. /86/

The payment is also the regulator of conjugal relations and is in a way the yardstick by which the man measures the virginity of the woman when he marries her, on the one hand (cf. Chap. IV, section on Valuation of virginity and of the woman), and on the other, the fidelity to him she must maintain according to Guajiro law.

583 It is in this question of fidelity that the marriage payment
684 plays a predominant part. With the roving life of the Guajiro Indian due to his occupation as a nomadic herder who looks for water and grass for his livestock and now migrates to Venezuela for long periods of time, the assurance of his wife's faithfulness rests on this payment. During his long absences his wife generally lives with her relatives, who feel themselves obliged to watch her surreptitiously and give an account of her conduct to the man, and even more they feel responsible to him for her actions, for if her infidelity is proved, the payment must be returned to him who paid it to them, confident in the honor of his wife and counting on the backing of his in-laws. This prevents all right of protest from them and requires immediate and effective repayment, for otherwise the offended husband might kill his wife's lover, and with that the relatives of the guilty woman would find themselves involved in a death compensation payment since she was the cause. In such a case the maternal relatives of the adulterous

/86 cont./

583 woman are at the mercy of the offended husband's demands:
584 return of the animals he gave as payment for the woman and the giving up of the children conceived in the marriage, plus an additional payment as compensation for the insult received. As the children belong to the maternal relatives, to have them taken away is a terrible disgrace, and for this he /the injured husband/ accepts in lieu of them further indemnification in animals, and they hand over one /of the children/.

583 The payment made for the woman also serves as a controlling factor on the general conduct of the wife, preventing her from leaving her home and obligations while her husband is away.

On the other hand, the payment regulates the relations of the man to the woman, because if he subjects her to bad treatment, and this treatment forces her to leave him, then the man is dispossessed of his right over her, because she cannot be obliged to live with him if he has made her life unbearable, and furthermore neither does it give him the right to present a claim for compensation payment for her leaving her home and obligations, which in the other case, as we have seen, implies the return of the amount handed over for her purchase.

The payment that the man makes to the woman's maternal relatives gives him a proprietary right over her as if she were /87/ chattel, in a way, because if, for example, the woman is coveted by another man who wants to buy her, the two -- husband and would-be-buyer -- may come to some arrangement, through intermediaries (if the woman is not of a high class or a first wife) to make a deal, the husband, in exchange for the wife, receiving a payment which is nearly always less than he gave for her originally, taking into consideration the use he has made of her in sexual relations and the children they have had. This second husband may sell her to a third, and so on successively. This usually occurs when a married woman goes off with somebody and lives with him, in view of which the husband resolves to make a claim against the lover, who, accepting it, accepts also the transference of the right of a legitimate spouse. This system,

/87 cont./

583 then, allows the transference of a woman from one man to another like any domestic animal and also the easy conversion of an illegal relationship to a legal one by paying for the woman.

But where the payment plays the most important social part

583 -- if we consider the different social classes found in La Guajira

565 -- is in the fixing of the social status of each woman and her descendants.

The status of a clan group rests on the marriage value of its women. This valuation dates back to distant times and has been transmitted from mother to daughter. For this reason the Guajiro when speaking of the price of a woman says: A free Guajiro woman is worth as much as her mother cost, and the latter had the same price as her grandmother. This is why payment for a woman has such enormous importance in her life and why, when she comes out of seclusion, all her attention and interest is concentrated on one thing: to be bought well, which amounts to finding someone who values her as she should be valued. It is also for this reason that white people cannot understand the pride with which a Guajiro woman relates that she was bought very dearly or that more cows were given for her than for some other woman. In the number of these heads of livestock is the valuation of her standing and the recognition that she belongs to the rich Guajiro class of better status. Hence she resorts to every kind of magic within her power to be bought well, to find a man who, paying for her what was paid for her mother, establishes her status, or paying even more, he being rich, raises her standing immediately by recognizing her personal qualities which make her worthy of such an increase; for if a woman cannot be bought (in normal times in her clan group) for less than the price paid for her mother, she can, on the contrary improve her standing through a higher price. In this way, the daughters born to the couple will be more expensive; that is to say, their status will have advanced as compared with /88/ that of their grandmother; and the man, if it is true that he has made an investment greater than he was legally obliged to, has increased his prestige, by having acquired

/88 cont./

583 for himself a woman who was worth so much; also his outlay will
565 be compensated by the payment he will receive for the first daughter who marries, which will be identical with what he paid for her mother.

583 Another interesting point is the regulating aspect the payment has on the moral and social conduct of a woman before marriage, since it obliges her indirectly to accept and comply with all the determined ethical and social norms, without which her value as a future wife would go down. For example, when the woman belongs to a high class, she must not accept proposals to elope with a man who loves her but who lacks sufficient money to buy her. This is allowed, however, in women of a lower social class who have no standing to lose, where there is not sufficient force to back the claims their relatives might make, and where their value as wives is not constant but varies, depending almost always on the financial capacity of the buyer and very often on the economic situation at the moment. In summer /the dry season/, for example, things get so bad in these lower classes that a woman can be bought for a little corn.

582 These facts give rise to a certain stabilization of the existing difference of status, for the women of high class can only be bought by men of the same or better position, which limits in this way the possibilities of acquiring a rich woman and prevents high-class family groups being mixed with poor groups or those of a lesser social standing.

583 A woman who wants to maintain her standing cannot run away with a man and be paid for later. This implies that the man, after a time, if he is not satisfied, can repudiate her for this act alone, paying only for having abused her, which, if of little importance to a woman of low social standing, is definitely very important for one of high standing. Also, if the compensation claim is not met peacefully or if the payment is not made, war may be provoked between her group and that of her husband, and all the consequences fall on her. It can also happen that the man, in view of the accomplished fact, may wish to take advantage of a

/88 cont./

583 situation favorable to himself and only pay for her a sum much lower than that stipulated by tradition, which is what generally happens and which is why the woman's relatives are extremely upset, since some other Guajiro might abuse any other of their women with impunity, because he considers their men incapable of making him /88/ pay what is due. When this happens the clan becomes demoralized, its women are not respected, and, in a word, the prestige of the group deteriorates considerably.

Distribution of the woman's marriage payment. Given the clan family organization so extensive in La Guajira, which we shall see in detail further on, the payment (livestock, jewelry, etc.) which is received on the sale of a girl in marriage falls into various hands. In the first place, what is received as marriage payment for the first girl who marries depends entirely on the father, since the amount at which she is valued is the same that he paid for her mother; she represents the return that the law allows him, after a long interval, for the investment he made when he bought the girl's mother. He receives this payment, but it does not become entirely his since, as he received help from his family group, he must repay this help in proportion to what he received, until he has satisfied all and each of those who co-operated at the time he bought his wife. If they are dead he must give their shares to their legitimate heirs.

The necklace which is given as a sign of the engagement of this first daughter goes to the paternal grandmother, as it was she who had to hand it /over?/ over as approbation of the proposed purchase /of the girl's mother? -- Ed./.

The payment for the second daughter goes to the mother's family and is distributed among them according to their kin relationship; first to the mother and most influential maternal uncle, who bears a large part of the responsibility of the family and is considered as father; later to the other people, not forgetting the head of the extended family group, the so-called "cacique," from whom they receive help when a son is getting married, for a wake, etc., although the kin relationship on many occasions is distant.

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583 They also send a part to the most friendly neighbors who have marriageable daughters, because they hope that when one of these marries the present will be amply repaid. It is customary when they are distributing the marriage payment, if they have friends who have no daughters, for them to send them nothing, because they say: "Those people have no daughters and so they will never be able to return our gift."

The goods obtained from the sale of the other daughters who marry go to the maternal patrimony, although, as we have seen, the bridegroom's relatives participate because a goat or a sheep is presented to each of the women who intervene in the handing over of the animals. The necklaces which are given on betrothal are for the girl's mother, who in /90/ turn must supply one to each of her sons when they become engaged to be married.

Moreover, there is a special payment which is always made to the mother of the bride, and this is for the matrimonial hammock made by her. Generally, the price is ten cows in rich families, and when this payment is made, which is done personally by the bridegroom to his mother-in-law, it signifies that he is going to take possession of the woman he has bought; and she is then indirectly handed over to him, since the place (a neighboring room) is pointed out where he will find the hammock and the woman who will be his wife. This payment gives him the right to the conjugal bed and to cohabit with the woman whom he has bought and must be paid to the mother, partly because she made the hammock and partly because she brought up her daughter, bearing all the costs of rearing her and educating her. No one else shares in this amount.

When a female bond servant or slave is getting married, the product of the sale goes to her master exclusively, without having to be shared with anyone, first because the price is low, and 547 422 second because the ownership of a slave or a bond servant is individual.

When the marriage payment has been arranged to be paid in installments and the second of these is not forthcoming in the

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583 stipulated time, the woman's family takes her back again without any claims allowed from the man. But if some time later the man wants to pay what is owing, he enters into conversation with his affinal relatives who, once they have received the necessary amount, hand his wife back to him.

The distribution of payments obtained through different forms of marriage other than the traditional one will be seen as they are studied in detail.

Payment for childbirth and pregnancy. Apart from the price
583 of the woman the man must pay, whether the relationship is legal
262 or illegal, for the inconveniences caused by pregnancy and delivery. This payment is made in cows or other animals to the woman's family, who can use these animals for slaughter or sell them or include them in the family herd. But the woman may not eat the flesh of these animals which are given in payment for the troubles she suffered during pregnancy, for the blood she spilled, and for the pains she bore during delivery, because they represent a payment of her very being and are identified with her. To eat them would be almost like eating her own flesh or something similar, and for this reason she cannot have any part of them, either directly or indirectly. /91/

Marriage before puberty. At the present time a man contracts
583 marriage for the first time when he has obtained his economic
582 emancipation when he is about nineteen. His subsequent marriages are the result of his inclination and the opportunities he may have to buy other women.

As a general rule, women marry when they have passed puberty and the period of seclusion. However, a very general custom existed, and to some extent still exists, in regions which because of their geographical situation were inaccessible to the white man and the missionary, but now tends to disappear: the purchase of impuberal girls about ten years old (who have not yet developed physically nor passed through the traditional ceremonies of seclusion) by rich Indians, already old, who have a considerable number of wives. These old men pay a price which

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583 satisfies the girl's parents, who, attracted by the economic possi-
582 bilities of their future son-in-law, arrange the marriage without consulting the wishes of the impuberal child, although they sometimes try to persuade her, making her see the advantageous situation such a marriage may ensure. The girl in many cases has a child before her first menstruation appears.

It is said in La Guajira that old men practice this custom because they derive more sexual incentive from young and undeveloped feminine figures, and this prolongs their masculine potency.

583 Marriage of Guajiro women with civilizados. With very few
177 exceptions intermarriage is carried out between Indians and civilizados /nonnatives/. It is of two kinds, temporary and permanent, in accordance with the length of stay of the civilizado man in the peninsula and is nearly always limited to the Guajiro law of marriage by purchase of the woman.

The temporary marriages consist of unions established between traders or civil or military authorities who must stay some time in the peninsula, having come alone and finding in the purchase of a native woman the solution of their personal problems. They live with the woman they have bought, adapting themselves to the norms of life in La Guajira, and have children who, according to legal tradition, do not belong to them. As their obligation to their family is so limited and the maternal relatives have continued to give backing to the woman, they can go away at any moment, as indeed they do, without altering the life of the home that they founded, because the woman has not been uprooted, as in the case of a Catholic marriage, from her social institutions nor her relatives, who, once the marriage is dissolved /92/ by the definite absence of the white element, take her back again into their midst. The woman continues to sustain the family and bring it up under the protection and counsel of her maternal relatives, since very frequently nothing is ever again heard of the father. Sometimes they marry again or live with another man.

Permanent marriages are effected with civilizado men who, having definitely settled in the country, sometimes decide to get

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married in the Catholic church or to buy a woman (usually one with standing) and found a home, which in the first case shows signs of the predominance of the father's culture and in the second is much nearer the customs and usages of themother, by whom it is much more directly influenced due to the form of marriage. The children conceived /in the marriage/ are legally recognized in the case of the Catholic marriage and very frequently are sent to the interior of the country to be educated. In the case of the Guajiro form of marriage, the children belong to the mother and her consanguineous relatives, whose surname they take.

Temporary marriages may be due to the fact that the women belong to a group of low status and are sold by their parents because they are in a desperate economic situation. For this reason it is not unusual for a white man to have several wives, as many as he can buy and support. We know that the woman who has been bought must furnish the home, but this is not the custom when she marries a white man, for in spite of the payment the civilizado man must make himself responsible for the proper maintenance of his wife and children in shelter, food, and clothes.

These material advantages make it possible and frequent for one to find young Guajiro women married to decrepit old men who can give them a comparatively comfortable home, which they share with their relatives, who find a solution for their economic difficulties in unions of this kind.

The problem of these marriages lies in the fact that the woman consents only because of hunger, and when the opportunity presents itself for her to give way to her affection for someone else or to satisfy her instincts, she easily abandons her civilizado husband and runs away with her lover, far away from any action her husband may try to take, whose claims are usually ignored by her consanguineous relatives, to whom he has made the marriage payment, because they know that the white man has neither a powerful group nor the Colombian law to back him. Once the civilizado leaves La Guajira, the runaway pair legitimize their union, contracting marriage through a payment which the man can make anew to the girl's parents.

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583 177 Permanent marriages take place generally between women of standing and whites of recognized influence, and they are more stable. The conduct of the woman and her relatives is in accord with the rank of her husband, and he on his part maintains toward his wife a certain courtesy and gives her the good treatment she deserves as a person of high status. In these cases it is not unusual that the woman has been bought in accord with Guajiro legal tradition and that the marriage lasts; but frequently it is ratified later in the Catholic church, or both forms were used from the first moment.

177 595 849 It is possible, also, that the white man, following Guajiro custom and in spite of his Catholic marriage, has other wives of lower status than the first, who always keeps the rank of legitimate wife in our sense and on whom depends the social representation of the children, the only heirs of the father and of the home, legal center of the family. The other women, although bought according to Guajiro law, acquire more or less the rank of concubines in our culture, and their children, the position of illegitimate ones. Catholic missionary influence and relations with whites have made the Indian come to regard his form of marriage as a little immoral. For this reason they now say when speaking of a Guajiro woman married with the rites of their culture: "She is So-and-so's woman," and the woman who has been married by Catholic rite says: "I am So-and-so's wife." Thus when one asks a Guajiro woman, for example, "Where is your husband?", one must be careful to use the right word for husband /marido/ or spouse /esposo/, using the first word in the case of a marriage according to peninsula rites and the second in the case of a Catholic marriage, the word "marido" being considered offensive when improperly used. As a consequence of this fact, the concept of legitimate and illegitimate children has sprung up, a concept which has no place in primitive Guajiro law. A child even though born as the result of illicit relations is a child without adjectives, either of scorn or contempt. In such cases the mother has received by force through her relatives the payment for her abuse and the

/93 cont./

177 birth in such a way that they are never placed outside the pale of
595 the law. This may be due to the uterine line of kinship in which
948 the father does not count in the recognition of children.

In these cases of marriage between whites and Guajiro women there also occurs a union of these two ideas. The white man refuses to buy the woman or legitimize their union through the [583] necessary traditional proceedings demanded by her culture. The refusal to comply with the main traditional requisite makes the man unacceptable, and he is considered an intruder.

The children, illegitimate /94/ according to the paternal mentality, meet a natural reluctance among their mother's relatives, who however in the long run have to accept them.

Consanguineous marriage. Although the Guajiro community
582 is in an obvious process of disintegration, there is a characteristic which is strongly maintained: exogamy, which, at the present time, does not mean the prohibition of marriage within the same clan group, but within a limited circle of close consanguineous kin: brothers /and sisters, hermanos/, uncles /and aunts, tios/, and ascendants in the female line. Thus today in La Guajira we find marriages between individuals of the same clan, since the tie has weakened so much that although they belong to the same clan group, they do not consider themselves relatives.

If the marriage takes place within the small family circle, the opinion of society and of the relatives is never favorable. They cannot explain why nor wish to accept that an individual should marry a consanguineal kin included among those just mentioned. Their magical beliefs reinforce this, because these beliefs establish the prohibition that a man must not marry a relative, or he will be come bald.

582 Guajiro mentality cannot accept as natural the marriage of
598 a woman to her maternal uncle. This would be incest at its worst, because the maternal uncle has the position that a father has with us. There was a case, and a similar attitude has always been observed in like cases, of a Guajiro girl who had sexual relations with her maternal uncle. After pregnancy became

/96 cont./

evident, a Catholic missionary married them according to the Catholic ritual. This act seemed a crime to the natives; that a Guajiro woman should be legally married to her maternal uncle was impossible to understand. Rumors and a kind of social vacuum began to surround the pair, and even threats, to the point that, seeing life was becoming impossible for them among their own people, they abandoned all they possessed and migrated to a distance, where there would be no Guajiro who knew their story, in order that they might not have to put up with the social situation which their illegal conduct toward their traditions had provoked.

The pure Guajiro is the one who preserves in its most extreme form the principles of exogamy among the different family groups. Mestizo men, educated and influenced by the kinship principles followed by whites, reduce the wideness of the scope of this prohibition against the marriage of individuals within the same clan and marry /96/ female first cousins in the maternal line, defying the natural revulsion of the Indians who still consider such unions incestuous.

We must note again that it is not rare for girls before puberty to cohabit with their own brothers (in the Guajiro sense) and with their father, naturally without pregnancy as a consequence, but with the loss of their virginity. Guajiro mythology contains a story of a girl who, having become pregnant by her own father, *overcome by her physical condition* and the social ostracism which her action had provoked, hanged herself, thus establishing this type of suicide as a means of a woman's doing away with herself when her wishes are opposed, especially in cases where she is obliged to marry a man whom she dislikes or in circumstances similar to those in the story.

These incestuous sexual relations are frequent in nearly every part of La Guajira. They happen when little girls go from one settlement to another carrying a message or to the woods in search of the pack animals or of fruit, at the same time that the boys are there looking after the livestock. Usually these relations cannot be considered as a violation, as the girls consent willingly, a state

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835 of affairs of which we could find no evidence after puberty and the seclusion had taken place. It appears that the only case we can quote is the one referred to above and which is preserved in the traditional lore.

583 Catholic marriage. Guajiro marriage is the basis of all the legal organization of the peninsula, because in it, represented by the marriage payment, are concentrated all economic life and social laws. For these reasons Catholic marriage encounters much opposition on the part of the native and causes a series of problems for those who contract it.

The first of these is that such a marriage is done outside of the family social organization and leaves whoever contracts it dependent on their own efforts to confront the social collectivity of the peninsula. We shall see why: If contracting a Catholic marriage means for the woman that her relatives do not receive the customary payment as recompense for bringing her up and as a backing in the future for her and her desendants, the system of mutual aid between consanguineous groups which demands repayment at some future date, will create a very difficult situation for her father as an active member of the clan, since, on not receiving money for the first daughter that marries, he cannot comply with the system of repayment and mutual help, which his relatives then resent and which diminishes his prestige, since it was with this payment that he expected to pay the debts he incurred when he bought his wife. /96/

The woman who marries according to the Catholic rite also encounters another series of problems with her consanguineous group: Her husband, although legal, is an intruder and the direct cause of all the troubles which overtake them. It is difficult for them to tolerate him because, besides being the person who separated their relative from her consanguineous ties, it was he who obliged her to break with all legal tradition, putting them all in a secondary role. He acquires, then, the standing of a lover, because they feel that such a marriage is as illegal as is having a concubine in our culture. He has acquired a wife without paying for her and for this reason is considered to have usurped a right

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583 which legally belonged to her consanguineous relatives. With this refusal to pay, he has destroyed the standing of the woman, since it is the size of the payment which fixes this, and this denominator of her family now does not exist. This lowers her consanguineous relatives, the bitterest insult to the Indian, for whom the conservation of prestige, its strengthening and increase, is a permanent concern and a rule of life. It puts them in the position of a weak group in which their daughter has been abducted without having received the corresponding payment. They await a similar situation for the descendants of the couple since they, with only the backing of their father and mother, must face all hazards that present themselves, without counting on the economic and social help of their relatives.

[595] Furthermore, although the man may marry in the Catholic church, this does not mean for the woman that her husband is going to be monogamous, because he will live as suits him best, buying all the other wives he wants according to the peninsula system, without taking into account that the first marriage prohibits him from having other women.

583 177 Catholic marriage, which presents itself as one of the best ways to achieve the acculturation of the Indians, his passage to *civilization, and his definitive incorporation into Colombian life* is now beginning to be gradually accepted and in this way is breaking down the old matrilineal clan organization. It contains various outstanding facts which radically transform the traditional customs. We shall see some of these:

a) The preparation of the home, which in the traditional Guajiro marriage is the woman's responsibility, in the Catholic marriage is entirely the man's, even to the house itself. We know that the payment which the man gives for his wife is made so that the wife and her maternal relatives can take over these /domestic/ obligations. There being no such payment in many Catholic marriages, the man must necessarily, and in fact does, build his own house as soon as possible and must have it adequately furnished with all the household goods necessary for domestic life.

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583 177 b) The responsibility for the support of the home also falls to the man, not only in regard to food for himself, his wife, and the children, but also for clothing for them all.

c) The Guajiro marriage, as the base of all social organization, necessarily holds sway over inheritance laws. If a couple marry in the Catholic church, they break with this law, and Colombian law is substituted for the laws of the peninsula which no longer cover them. In this way, on the death of the father, his goods are not inherited by his maternal nephews, but rather, in accordance with the Colombian law in force, by his wife and children, obligatory heirs. The custom of gifts to the sons from the father during his lifetime may go on, but these never constitute the whole of the inheritance.

583 177 423 d) Traditional Guajiro organization in respect to land makes of it communal property divided among the various family groups, who are permitted use and usufruct, but with alienation expressly forbidden. These rights to settle, to cultivate arable land, to pasture, to use the sources of water supply, to take advantage of the products of the woods, etc., are all denied to the couple who have married in accordance with the Catholic church.

583 177 e) There are also appreciable changes in residence of the *newly married pair, which will be seen in the paragraph about* it in this chapter.

f) Catholic marriage, as is known, gives primacy among us to the transmission of the father's surname, but a marriage consecrated with the Guajiro rite does not, since in this case the children belong to the mother, are of her blood, and use her name exclusively. This fact shows clearly how, by accepting the Catholic bond, the woman isolates her children from the group to which she belonged, because from then onward they do not bear her name, the expression of her family affiliation, and for this reason her maternal relatives do not have to give them economic aid or social backing when they need it. On their part, the maternal relatives of the father have difficulty accepting the children of one of their menfolk as their children in place of their

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nephews and nieces, and the fact that they bear their surname when they are children of a union with a woman of a different family group is hard for them to take. In a certain way, the children, although nominally belonging to the father, find themselves in an abnormal situation among their paternal relatives and have a feeling of being rejected, and among their maternal relatives they find a similar attitude and hurt feelings because they have been separated violently from them by their mother's /98/ Catholic marriage, which has completely broken the traditional blood relationship, giving them another surname.

g) If Guajiro custom gives the woman the right to give her name to her children, Catholic marriage transfers this right to the man. She generally gives the child the name of an ancestor, a brother /or sister/ or an uncle /or aunt/; and the man, having been conceded this right, does likewise. If the marriage is Catholic, the children are also baptized. This does not mean that children born to a typical couple married by Guajiro rites are not also baptized, but this is rarer.

h) With the breaking of the consanguineous bonds which bind the child to his maternal relatives, his education is influenced more directly by the father, since he definitely respects his wishes *and consults him, the father, in this way, taking the place of* the mother's brothers, who in the traditional marriage assume these responsibilities. The children respect and obey their father, and the duality of authority which one observes in the Guajiro home is not felt here because the man, from the first moment, establishes the predominance of his will over his wife and children. In this way, the sons identify with their progenitor and defend him because he is their real father and not somebody who has no consanguineous tie and no interests in common with them.

The fact that the father assumes the responsibility for the actions of his sons does not mean that, as in the case of a Guajiro marriage, the mother then obtains the right to claim compensation payment from her husband for anything that may happen to them in any circumstance, or vice versa, but that both assume the total responsibility, without giving rise to any compensation claims

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583 from one or the other when the blame for any particular act falls
177 directly on one of the parents. Each one is free to punish the children, without asking the approval of the other; neither feels inhibited about giving an order, nor is it necessary to consult the relatives of either before making a decision. In this way, authority makes itself felt in the home, is more closely linked with the parents, less liable to interference from consanguineous relatives, and less limited, making the education of the children easier for this reason and ensuring a unity of authority in the home.

Marriage through sexual relations between the unmarried.

636 Sexual relations before marriage are strictly forbidden in the
583 Guajiro community except during the celebration of the Dance of the Kid (ceremony of propitiation of the rain and the harvest) when it is permitted without /99/ entailing social punishment for those guilty. When times are normal a compensation claim for abuse or usufruct is presented, or a mutual pact made for marriage, legalizing in this way the antisocial act committed. The varieties that may appear in this regard are the following

583 For abduction, which may have two aspects, sham abduction and real abduction.

Sham abduction *is looked upon with favor by the woman's* maternal relatives, who, knowing about the affectionate relations between her and an individual belonging to an important family group with whom it would be very convenient to be linked by marriage even without an offer for her hand or the stipulation of payment, let the girl go with her lover without offering any opposition. After a time they present their compensation claim, and the man sends his relatives who are acting as his spokesmen /padrinos familiares/ to make an arrangement with the woman's maternal relatives. They then come to a reasonable agreement, and the man hurries to pay the price arranged. This proceeding is carried through peacefully, always counting on the good faith and acquiescence of the two families, although it does have the appearance of an abduction.

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583 Real abduction takes place when a Guajiro youth is not yet able to buy a woman with his own possessions, or does not want to collect payments from the family to buy her, or because, in the case of a new wife (polygamy), he resorts to this action, often thinking that he will be able to avoid the payment altogether or get a price or installments more in keeping with what possessions he has. He then abducts a woman and goes away as far as possible, taking his cattle with him. This abduction offers two possibilities when the claim for compensation payment is presented to him and in fact to his relatives: first, to pay the price of the woman through a later arrangement, in which case the marriage is legalized. The payment is usually made in two installments. Second, to cover the price of the abuse, that is, the usufruct he has taken of the woman without previous payment and later, if she is pregnant, for the pregnancy and the pains of delivery. In this case the payment is less than that of a poor marriage and does not give the man any right over the woman or over her child.

583 948 Illicit pregnancy. When an unmarried woman becomes pregnant, the maternal family is gravely offended, and it is not unusual for her brothers to beat her brutally, saying, "You have not been bought, and you are like a burro," and they try to make her confess who /100/ the guilty man is. The mother and the aunts intervene also, scolding her harshly. Very poor families, knowing that it is all useless and that they cannot make the man comply with their compensation claim for abuse, resign themselves to the situation almost without protest. The most they say to the girl when she has the child, in the most contemptuous way, is, "You have given birth like a bitch," that is to say, "You, whose pregnancy and labor pains nobody paid for, you, whose maternity is not even recognized by he who caused it, you, who do not have a man who honors you in your maternity, you are like a bitch that gives birth alone and does not even know who caused its pregnancy." When the woman is of high class she is nearly always abandoned by her relatives.

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842 When the girl is of easy virtue /ligera de cascos/, generally
836 a mestizo of low class, she frequently has sexual intercourse while unmarried, hiding it carefully from her relatives. She receives presents from her lover to satisfy her needs or wishes for adornment or clothes which she could never manage to obtain honorably. But she avoids pregnancy, which according to her own ideas is possible by not having sexual relations during the ten days following menstruation, or by obliging the civilizado man with whom she is living to use contraceptives.

836 It also happens sometimes that a middle-class girl, seduced by her sweetheart with the promise of matrimony, consents to live with him and keep their illicit relations secret. The man says to her: "Don't tell anyone, because I cannot buy you for my wife now. If you say nothing, within a year I shall have sufficient money, and then I will buy you. You will see best how you can fix things so that your people do not know." But on occasion the woman becomes pregnant, and her relatives, when they know about it, oblige her to confess who caused her condition, and, as we have said before, she is usually badly beaten. Then they present the compensation claim against the man. The girl's relatives feel that with this act they have been deeply offended, since an abuse of one of their women lowers everyone in the whole clan group, putting them in the class of slaves without relatives to claim retribution for offenses committed against them, and establishing a precedent before all the community which puts them in a position in which all their women can easily be possessed by anyone who feels like it, because no family male power protects them. Also, the men lose prestige as influential persons in the group and as men who are not afraid to face bravely and successfully any situation like the present one to protect the honor of the clan. For this reason, the woman who has had illicit sexual relations and realizes she is pregnant does everything possible, as we have seen, to produce an abortion, and in the majority of cases she is successful. /101/

Because of these difficult situations, when a Guajiro sees a woman friend or relative of his talking to a man, he has no

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836 compunction in reproaching her, saying: "What! Is that man your father, your uncle, or your brother that you go walking with him, talking and laughing?" She must at once stop talking to the man and submissively pay attention to the admonition, because if not, the individual in question will go to her parents' house and will say to them: "Who is this that your daughter is talking and laughing with? Has he perhaps already bought her?" And her parents, very much annoyed at her conduct, will interrogate the girl more or less in this manner: "Who is this whom they tell me you are talking to? What does he want from you?" She will answer that he is her sweetheart and wants to buy her, to which her parents reply: "It is not to you that he has to speak but to us. Do not speak to him again."

839 583 Apart from these cases, which one might call voluntary, there are cases of violation which, as we know, give cause for a compensation claim for the illegal use of the girl, compounded by the abuse of subjecting her against her will and for the injuries she may have suffered on being violated. If she becomes pregnant as a consequence of such a union, then the corresponding compensation claim will be made for the troubles of pregnancy and labor. But the action by which the woman suffered will not be made the object of recrimination, nor will it lower her value in the eyes of the Guajiro collectivity, if the payment for what has happened is paid in full. There is nothing to object to after that, either in her or in her relatives, and the child will belong to her and will not be the object either of rejection or contempt.

Lastly, it is necessary to take into account the frequent violations of young women still in seclusion by rich Indians, when the girls belong to a poor group and their relatives have to leave them alone in the hut for some reason or other. They say that, as the woman is under treatment and during this time whoever is in charge of her avoids the appearance of menstruation by means of herbs, she does not become pregnant if she has sexual relations. But if such an act does occur, the woman is taken out of seclusion immediately, and the corresponding compensation claim is presented.

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839 In the cases that we have described, as in that of abduction,
583 the relatives of the girl oblige the seducer to marry by paying the stipulated price, or to pay an amount they arrive at for the abuse committed. If neither of these alternatives is complied with, the enmity of the two groups involved becomes so bitter that war ensues. /102/

Marriage by adultery. When a woman commits adultery
839 and the case is known, attempts are made to settle the matter
583 legally: the lover is obliged by the maternal relatives to pay what is claimed by the legitimate husband, or to pay to them the value of a usual marriage, in which case the woman involved on the litigation becomes his lawful wife, according to Guajiro law.

At the present time this custom, which previously used to end with the death of the lover, the husband, or of both, since the husband tried to solve the problem in this way in spite of future consequences, is now dying out due to the emigration of the men and the growing prostitution among the women, both in and outside the peninsula, for the many reasons already seen.

Marriage of female bond servants and slaves. Although this
583 aspect will be treated fully in the chapter headed Slavery and
587 Bond Service, we would like to present it, if only summarily, in this chapter so as not to disturb the order of the ideas we are tracing.

The women and children taken prisoners in the wars which strong clan groups declare on weak ones when these have caused the death of one of their members enter into the state of slavery. This means that the all-powerful will of their owner may be imposed on every act of their lives, even up to his being able to kill them without possibility of claim, since their relatives who would be the claimants have been slaughtered or dispersed.

In this way adult women and girl slaves may be sold, and in effect are, especially to be taken to Curaçao, Trinidad, etc.; they may be given away to their owners' relatives, or used in domestic service. If the master of a woman slave wishes to

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583 possess her, she must submit, and the child that may result will
587 be the property of the father, owner of the slave. Furthermore, if someone who likes the slave wants to buy her, he may negotiate with her owner and pay what he asks, with which payment she is freed and given the standing of wife, and the children will be free and belong to the maternal group which their oppressors had tried to extinguish. If the woman slave has had sexual relations with someone and as a consequence is pregnant, her owner hurries to oblige her to confess who caused it in order to make a compensation claim. If the payment is only for abuse (which is what it is considered when the lover is someone influential), the owner receives it, and the child remains a slave like his mother but with a lesser degree of oppression. /103/

567 Sometime the man who causes the slave's pregnancy is the son of her owner. In such a case there is no compensation claim. At most his mother scolds the boy, the pregnancy is allowed to take its course, and the child remains in the same condition as its mother, that is to say, slavery.

What puts a limit to the sexual freedom of a man is the compensation claim that the woman's relatives might present; consequently, when she has no relatives or if those she has are not powerful, the woman is the object of insolence and desire on the part of men who find in her an easy and not at all dangerous satisfaction. Thus, women slaves are continually abused by everyone, having no defense whatever since their owners sometimes make no claim, as the children born represent a profit because they become their property.

The same or an even worse condition is the lot of the daughters of slaves who have been bought as wives from their owners by someone, because they belong to a maternal family group that has been destroyed or dispersed and they are really the last of their clan. In this situation, they have barely reached puberty when they are violated or besieged and, having no possibility of defending themselves, they go on submitting until they end up as prostitutes.

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583 567 Returning to the women slaves, we would say lastly that the owner may give a woman slave to one of his other slaves for a wife or sell her to another owner to be the wife of one of his slaves. If the owner buys a woman slave to provide a wife for one of his male slaves, the children of the union belong to him, and he also collects the marriage payment for the first daughter of this couple to marry, in order to be repaid the amount he paid for her mother. (Aspects of descent will be treated fully in the chapter, Slavery and Bond Service).

591 Marriage residence. Guajiro law covering land gives the Indian ample scope to fix his residence once he has married, for apart from the fact that primarily the new family cell may establish its home in the maternal house of either the wife or the husband, it also offers the following possibilities: a) on the wife's side, on the land of the wives of any of her brothers, since the payment made by the family for each of them included the right to establish homes, to open cleared land, and to pasture livestock, a right which also holds good on the clan lands of the wives of maternal uncles; b) on the husband's side, on the lands of his father and that of the wives of his brothers and maternal uncles, for the same reasons as stated above.

But Guajiro custom generally inclines toward establishing a dwelling beside that of the wife's mother, so that one can say /104/ of marriage that it is matrilocal. The newly married couple live for a time in the same house with the wife's maternal relatives, but when their family increases and they begin to acquire a certain financial independence, they build a house near that of her mother.

Presumably the marriage payment contributes to the marital residence of the couple, since, as we have seen, this requires the girl's consanguineous kin to supply room and board to the husband.

After a more or less lengthy interval has been spent on the lands of the woman's clan, the family, now considerably increased and economically established through the efforts of the

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591 woman and the collaboration of the children, establishes a new home in the settlement of the husband's parents, where they remain until the home is broken up by the death of one of the couple. If it is the man who dies, the woman and the children go back again to the side of the maternal grandmother; if it is the woman, the man remains in his settlement, but the children return to the lands of the maternal clan, to which they belong according to the principle of uterine descent. The same thing happens if both parents die.

So much for the traditional Guajiro system. But in recent times, due to the influence of the mestizo and that of acculturation, the situation has changed. Among the mestizos it is very common for the man to take his wife to his parent's home so that his mother may show her and instruct her in domestic tasks. Presumably, this residence is also influenced by the marriage payment /or rather its lack/, since when the woman has not been acquired in accordance with Guajiro law, the support of the home falls entirely to the lot of the man. Then the help that he may receive will come exclusively from his parents, and this is exactly what determines the patrilocality in these cases.

After a time, if the economic situation of the husband is good, a dwelling is built next to that of his parents, the initiative and construction of this dwelling usually being the responsibility of the man's father. It is frequent, however, that due to particular circumstances of the family, their living all together is prolonged indefinitely.

575 591 This residence in both cases refers to marriage to the first wife, since the later wives go on living usually in their parents' homes. At most, in these cases of polygamy, various wives may live together in one house, particularly when they are sisters or get on well together. With the death of each one of the wives, the family begins to break up in the manner previously described.

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591 In the case of the marriage of a Guajiro woman with a civilizado, they may respect the matrilocal tradition or establish

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591 themselves in any place, in accordance with the husband's convenience, since in this case also, it is he who must take chage of the economic necessities of the home. Generally, the residence is established in an urban center.

593 Family intervention in marriage. In the first marriage of a Guajiro man, the family plays an outstanding role, not only in respect to the woman but also to the man. In connection with the latter, the sense of co-operation and mutual aid of the clan group makes itself felt. The man of marriageable age is already economically independent, but he needs the help of his kin. The marriage payment /or installment/ is high, and he cannot cover it with his personal contribution. The aid of his consanguineous relatives puts him in the position of being obligated to them. He must then do something similar when a relative is in a like situation, and much later he will repay those who aided him when he receives the marriage payment for his first daughter.

Another aspect /in which the family plays an outstanding role is/ that of inheritance. The economic contribution given by his kin leaves out his children and his wife, since they have already received their inheritance in the person of the uterine relatives with the purchase price.

The two families take an active part in the ceremonies of negotiating for and buying the wife (Cf. Purchase procedure in Chap. V), and in those connected with her being returned, when she was not found to be a virgin at marriage, in cases of adultery, desertion of her home, or neglect or death of the children. (Cf. Valuation of virginity, and the woman, Adultery, and Dissolution of marriage in Chap. V. Maternity, Chap. VI.)

It falls to the wife's consanguineous group, according to their means, to supply the husband with means of subsistance when she is incapable of doing it herself. The group complies with this function as an obligation derived from the marriage payment.

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513 But the family influence of the woman's consanguineous kin is most marked and most decisive in her marital life when her marriage is the result of an illegal act: abduction or seduction. The reason for this rests on the fact that it brings into play the prestige of the clan group.

When the marriage is performed in accordance with the Catholic ritual, it is not unusual for the maternal family to use its influence in order to see that the marriage is accompanied by the traditional Guajiro marriage payment, with the object of ensuring that the new family cell will not remain outside society and outside Guajiro culture. /106/

533 Sexual life. The sexual aspect is one of the basic attractions in the matrimonial life of the Guajiro. The man expects his wife to satisfy him sexually, and similarly the woman when she marries knows beforehand that one of her principal duties is to have marital relations with her husband, and, more than that, to satisfy his inclinations in this matter, putting aside her own desires and wishes, offering herself willingly each time that he asks and adopting the positions that will give him greatest pleasure.

The woman gives no importance to her own wishes and whims in their marital relations for two reasons: first, because she considers and knows -- by reason of the instruction she received during her seclusion -- that that is her obligation and in great part the happiness of her conjugal life is based on it. Second, because /she knows that/ by satisfying even the smallest sexual caprices of her husband she acquires great dominance over him. For this reason she restrain the natural repugnance which these acts may cause her because, furthermore, she has to take into account that although a Guajiro may be quite satisfied and proud of his wife as the mistress of the house, as the administrator of the family possessions, as a good worker, as an expert in all cultural norms, etc.., if with the passage of time and particularly with frequent maternity she loses her physical attractions, he will replace her with a younger woman, who will follow the

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833 general rule of giving herself up docilely as an instrument of pleasure to her husband in order to gain dominance over him and to gradually succeed in replacing the previous wife.

All these considerations impel the woman to make use of her sex appeal in the marriage in order to maintain her ascendancy over her husband and avoid at all cost that he should buy another woman who would cause her to lose her importance and her initial dominance. And it is also for this that she tries as far as lies in her power to retain the real source of her attractiveness and makes use of medicinal herbs or submits to a series of magic rituals designed to preserve her physical attractiveness and to prevent maternity to the point of making it impossible.

Although the Guajiro is passionately attached to the woman who gives him greatest /sexual/ satisfaction, he does not fail
[50] to recognize and highly prize other qualities, especially when he is about to buy his first wife. The reason for this lies in the fact that she, and not the others, will represent him socially on all occasions of collective life.

Conjugal relations of a couple who are pure Indian are carried out openly without precautions against the presence of outsiders -- either at home or in the fields -- even in front of the smaller children, /107/ who from a tender age are accustomed to see calmly these biological acts.

If the woman gives way to the will of her husband who claims satisfaction at any time or place, she expects on her part a satisfaction of her own desires, to which the man accedes if possible for fear of adultery on the wife's part, which would lower his prestige.

515 The Guajiro is accustomed to live close to the woman or
833 women whom he most desires, or to visit them frequently and spend long periods at their side. During these periods the other co-wives show jealousy or find opportunities for infidelity. Since in a way the husband's prestige rests on doing so, the Guajiro goes from one place to another cohabiting with his women without taking heed of his excuses as he thinks that this

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595 833 is clear proof of his manliness, that it gives him greater physical strength and better development of his masculine functions, a very important aspect this as it corresponds to the Guajiro ideal of a man.

When special circumstances force him to be absent from his women for more than three days, it is not rare that he will suddenly abandon his work, and although he may have to walk a long distance or make big sacrifices, he will go off to his favorite wife. She, knowing that the man wants her and that she has been chosen from among all the others to satisfy him, does her utmost to please him and thus once again assure her superior position over the other co-wives and eliminate them from her husband's life in a permanent and hidden struggle against polygamy.

833 The biological act in married couples has no formal limits, but when it is a matter of illicit relations the woman does not permit any deviation from the normal, going as far as not to permit the man seeing her body as she considers that by doing so she becomes a toy or plaything, a mere instrument of pleasure, like an animal, shameless and without any sense of dignity. For this reason she keeps still and absolutely quiet as she does not want the man in one of his frequent drunken sprees to hold her up to ridicule. Also because /she thinks doing otherwise might cause him to/ classify her as one of the slaves who cannot in view of their status offer any resistance to the demands of their owners.

It must be observed that if it is true that the married woman lends herself to the caprices of her husband for the reasons noted, it is also true that she feels internally both disgust and disillusion for marriage and its functions, which convert her in her opinion primarily into an object of pleasure, which puts aside or into a secondary place the other possibilities and qualities which the Guajiro woman might possess, and, as in the case of the illicit relations mentioned above, she sees herself lowered /108/ from her standing of a free woman, of a rational human being. She feels that she has

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833 been deprived of her will and that she does not count as a person. For these reasons she regards her marital life as a hard duty to perform, at odds with her own personality. Possibly, for this reason, the man seeks out the mestizo, who is free of these prejudices and for that reason more capable to give and to derive for herself greater satisfaction from her marital life than the pure Indian woman.

595 As it is not uncommon for a man to have two, three, or
833 even more co-wives living together in one house, his conduct in his conjugal relations must be very circumspect if he wishes to preserve, at least in appearance, a cordial or friendly feeling among them, because if he is not circumspect, jealousies will spring up and a bitter struggle of lengthy repercussions ensue. As each one of the wives endeavors to find a motive that will justify her as superior in the eyes of the others, he has to behave with extreme caution. For this reason he sleeps outside in the enramada /bough-covered shelter/ while his women and their children sleep inside the house. He never suggests to any one of them that they should spend the night together, as the one thus favored would announce this preference to place herself on a superior plane. For this reason he receives whichever one goes voluntarily to him to his hammock.

834 The man suspends marital relations during the time the woman's pregnancy is advanced. He does this for fear of causing a miscarriage for which he might be blamed, and because of the belief that it might give rise to a bad delivery.

After the birth of the child, marital life is not resumed until the woman voluntarily asks for it.

842 Ideas about fecundation. The Guajiro knows that fecundation is the result of the combined action of the woman and the man through the means of the sexual act. They know that in this act the man gives an element which joined to the feminine one will form the new being. They say that the
[826] woman has in her internal parts a special organ in which this new being will gradually take form, the womb, called in their

/108 cont./

842 language the urá-hu-chon ("place where babies are formed"). But in order to be fruitful the woman must menstruate at regular [826] intervals. Otherwise they will be sterile, and in La Guajira cases of this are known.

They explain the necessity of menstruation for fecundation by saying that after a woman has had her monthly period, in spite of bathing her body and her exterior genital organs most carefully, there remains in the interior of the womb a small quantity of menstrual blood, the last of that period; and when the sexual act occurs, the male sperm mixing with the female blood will form the new being, who from the first moment shows all the characteristics of an adult in miniature /109/ but needs a period of residence in the maternal womb to be nourished and to develop properly. When this moment arrives, birth takes place. They do not know what causes the difference in sex. They think, furthermore, that the female blood beside being a contribution to the initial formation of the new being is also its food, because they have observed the disappearance of the menstrual cycle during pregnancy.

Consequently, for the loss of blood the mother suffers during her pregnancy (nourishment of the fetus) and during the birth, her relatives claim compensation payment from the husband; they demand two payments in this connection which we have already described in a special section of this chapter.

Now we can understand why the payment made in such circumstances cannot be touched or made use of by the woman when it is a payment of animals, because, as we have said, it would mean that she was figuratively consuming herself, as it represents her lost blood, part of her very life.

843 The woman during pregnancy acquires certain magic properties and she finds it necessary to observe a large number of taboos in order to carry to a happy fulfillment the gestation which is taking place. She herself is considered a being of potential and dangerous magic for weak and sick people, whom she must not visit because she will instill a feeling of sorrow and sickness in them, and this could cause them to have a relapse or lead to their death.

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842 The Guajiro also knows that at a fixed time in her life the woman's menstrual cycle ceases, and he affirms that from then onward she will have no more children because her internal organ has "been damaged," that is to say, "it no longer works," and in consequence is incapable of supplying blood, the female element indispensable for fecundation.

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825 The Guajiro also has his own theory with respect to the fecundation of oviparous birds and animals. He believes that in the sexual act the male deposits in the entrails of the female the masculine element necessary for the formation of the new animal. This masculine element unites with the contribution of the female, and when she lays the egg both parts are working together, and if the process of hatching follows successfully, the result is the new being. They compare this last process with that which has been verified in the womb of the woman, with the difference that the necessary nourishment is to be found in the same elements, feminine and masculine, that form the egg. The warmth is contributed by the parents.

The masculine element in the egg is represented by two parts: the red point, or germinative part, without which the development /110/ of the chick cannot take place; in consequence, they consider it of more importance than the white, which from its similarity to the sperm they believe is also supplied by the male. What they call the red point is, according to their opinion, the really vital part, because they have observed that when this is missing, the egg does not hatch in spite of having the other male element, the white, which is of secondary value.

The female contribution is represented by the yolk. They have found on opening a hen that inside it has the so-called "ovarium" containing the yolks or ova, and they believe that this is the only part that nature assigns to the hen.

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825 With respect to the fertilizing of viviparous animals, the Guajiro has certain empirical views obtained from personal observation and his frequent contact with animals. They know that the females of such animals undergo the phenomenon of menstruation but note that it is not definitely periodical and constant, but sporadic. During this biological process the female becomes fertile and looks for a male, because during this period she can make her contribution of menstrual blood. At such a time the male animal feels attracted to the female and he becomes heated, which results in his pursuing the female until he impregnates her. On mating, his semen enters and mixes with the blood in the womb, and thus the new embryo animal is formed, which, like the human being, requires a period of gestation before birth.

They have also observed that once the male has accomplished the fecundation, as menstruation does not return until after the birth takes place, the male does not become heated again for this female, but respects her. He observes this in contrast with man, who has carnal access to a pregnant female even in an advanced period of pregnancy.

593 Behavior of the woman with her husband. The payment which the man makes for the woman establishes the principle that compels her to take upon herself a series of material obligations attendant with the requirements of hospitality, feeding, clothing, and sexual satisfaction; and the nonmaterial ones of submission, obedience, and fidelity. To carry out the first, she avails herself of the money obtained from the sale of the woven articles which she can make, her personal property in livestock, and the corn fields /siembras/ and wild fruits.

When the husband arrives home the woman hurries to hang up his hammock in the enramada /bough-covered shelter/, as this attention is basic in the general norms of etiquette and of hospitality to visitors, relatives, or strangers /111/ who arrive at the house, but above all to the husband. If he returns from a hunting expedition she will have ready for him various containers

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593 of water so that the man can bathe before entering the house and can rest in his hammock in the enramada; she also provides clean clothes, that is, a belt and guayuco, the common dress. She will immediately bring him a refreshing drink made from wild fruits, corn, or yucca. If after a hunting expedition the husband returns home and does not find all these things ready, he will complain to the woman and reproach her for lack of attention. A few moments after the man's return, the woman should produce food, preparing a portion of the game he has brought home, trying to make a dish that will be to his taste. Later she will sit by his side on the ground at the feet of the hammock on which he is resting, and she will recount to him all that has happened during his absence and the conduct of each and every member of the house in this lapse of time. If the man falls asleep she will stay silently at his side.

Another of the obligations of the woman to her husband refers to sexual satisfaction, which we have noted in a previous section.

Her duties in respect to feeding relate not only to the [264] obligation to supply him with food, but also to the special way of doing it -- to serve him the best portion in a special vessel and before anyone else in the house and to cook the food in accordance with the man's special taste.

Also the proper attention due to her husband's friends 593 when they come to the house is another of her obligations. 594 It is customary for the man to bring his intimate friends to his first wife's house to entertain them, and his wife should then carry out adequately the part of a good housekeeper, complying with all the traditional norms of etiquette and hospitality, such as supplying them with hammocks in the enramada, bringing fresh drinks and especially a cup of coffee, and, whatever the hour of day or night they may arrive, giving them food in accordance with the tradition of her people and the particular rank of the visitors, and chatting

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593 with them, seated near her husband at the foot of the ham-
574 mock he occupies. If it should happen that the husband and his friends are on a spree and have gone to the house to continue drinking, she may only take part by bringing them drinks, by answering briefly the questions they put to her, without entering into the man's conversation, because if she should the group would dissolve, beginning with the husband, who would angrily accuse her of being a meddler. Her behavior at these times must be very circumspect, and she should be ready to prevent any /112/ controversial discussion bordering on a quarrel, which might bring troublesome consequences. In case this should occur it is her obligation to calm and separate the contenders so that they may not do each other harm, and later to endeavor to calm the inflamed tempers.

574 If any visitor should arrive at the house when the husband is absent, the wife should attend to him properly, for if not the guest will complain to the husband of the discourtesies of his wife. But in these circumstances she should observe certain norms of conduct intended to defend her own honor. For example, a hammock should be slung in the enramada so that the visitor can rest, but she should never let him follow her into her room or into the house, because if her husband should hear of it he would bitterly reproach such behavior. Also any curious passer-by could recount the presence of a strange man in the room while her husband was away, giving the latter ample cause to complain openly, putting the woman's prestige in jeopardy. When the guest is resting in the hammock, she sits at the foot to attend to him, occupying herself with some manual labor which permits her to give her attention to the visitor.

593 The woman should show special interest in keeping up and improving her husband's belongings. It is her duty to keep his clothing, his weapons, his personal effects, etc., clean and in good repair and to be able to give a good account of all these when her husband asks about them. The

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913 same applies with respect to the livestock when the man is away from home; she must see to it that the boys or the servants take proper care of them.

If the husband falls ill she must look after him with great care and immediately inform his maternal relatives, so that if he should die she will not be blamed for his death. If it is necessary to seek the professional services of the shaman, she should first get the consent of his close relatives, who are those responsible for making such arrangements, and in the event that the shaman does intervene, she should offer her services, although generally he -- the shaman -- prefers to have a sister or the mother of his patient as his assistant in his magic operations. If it is one of the children who falls ill in the absence of the husband, her immediate duty is to send a messenger to tell him the news, in order to avoid later recriminations and claims for compensation payment on the part of the man should the child die. This last is due to the fact that the woman is responsible to her husband for what might happen to the children in his absence or in consequence of an order she has given. But this is reciprocal. For example, if because of any reprimand one of the children should commit suicide, the responsibility for his death falls on whoever was responsible for /113/ the admonition, who must pay to the other parent and his or her maternal relatives an amount decided upon.

The wife's attentions to her husband are most concentrated and clear when the man is drunk, as at this time she must not leave him and should go in search of him if he is alone when she learns he is intoxicated, in order to prevent his offending any outsiders by word or act. Such offense might give rise to annoyance and quarrels which might involve his family in troubles, in which her own relatives might become implicated, if she were not on the alert to avoid it, in which case she would be judged the guilty party. Furthermore, a man in this condition not only may cause offense to

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593 others, if his wife does not control him, but may even attempt to take his own life. If for any reason the drunken man not accompanied by his wife should commit suicide, the blame for this act would be fixed on the wife as the indirect cause, since her neglect would be considered to have led to his death. Her duty is therefore to lead him away from such places where he is likely to get into trouble and, if she cannot succeed in this, not to leave him for an instant while there is a possibility of a fight. She should also obey him promptly and gratify him in all his whims. Guajiro women state that the Indian when drunk becomes quite childish and self-willed, and when he is in this condition he will even ask his wife to sing him to sleep, fuss over him, let him lie in her lap, or ask her to lie with him in his hammock, all of which she should do to please him. Others, on the contrary, become aggressive, and it is then they revive the insults they have had to suffer in the past. The woman should remain silent when he is in this mood so as to give him no cause for possible argument, which might make the man beat her in his fury. Neither should the woman reproach the man for whatever ill-treatment she may receive from him when in this condition, but she should wait until after he has slept and the drunkeness is past. Afterward, when he asks her what happened during his drunken bout, she has an opportunity to make her protests, which he will carefully listen to, excusing himself the best he can or repaying in some way the wrong he has done her -- for instance by presenting her with a new robe, if during his tantrums he has torn her other one, or making protestations of his love for her and excusing himself, saying that he was not responsible for what happened while in that drunken condition and she should take no notice of it. The woman after these explanations should not bear rancor.

595 With regard to polygamy the woman must assume an attitude of resignation, put no difficulties in the way of a new co-wife, and if she is taken to live in the same house try to avoid friction and quarrels, treating her in a sisterly fashion without /114/ being jealous of her or her husband. When

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595 co-wives live together they should be generous to one another, as if they were good comrades. In that way it is expected that they share the game the man brings back from the hunt, that they help each other when in need, that they not indulge in recriminations when the husband for some reason and for a time spends all his time with one, that they not ridicule each other in his presence, that they share the food that there is in the house, and that they look after the children in a motherly fashion. At the death of one, the others should go to the wake and show their grief. In short, they should adopt an attitude of mutual loyalty. These are the ideal responses their culture expects from the Goajiro women confronted by the problems of polygamy. However, reality is very different. The woman prefers to have as co-wives friends whom she likes very much or, better still, her sisters, since in this way life is more supportable, and they can share the affection of their husband with a real sense of companionship.

The woman's conduct when her husband returns, even after a very long absence, should be of loving solicitude as if his absence did not matter; she should not ask why he was absent if the man does not explain, accept his excuses even when she knows them to be lies, should not be sarcastic nor mention other women nor say, for example: "How could you leave-to-and-so's pretty face?" The woman should adopt this attitude because her husband may return, primed by the other woman to expect her displeasure, and finding her so different will disarm him. It is possible that the previous co-wife has said: "Your other wife is badly brought up. You are very good and should not live with her because she is haughty and disobedient. She does nothing but insult you because you love me. She envies me and does not respect you. I don't know why you let her say such annoying things." The passive and understanding attitude of the wife convinces the man of the falseness of all that he has previously heard, and on his return he says to her accuser: "What you told me is not true.

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595 She has received me lovingly and attentively. She didn't say anything about you." Sometimes the husband, wanting to ascertain what intrigues are going on, makes some comment about his favorite wife. The other should agree heartily and praise her. In such a case the husband will return to his favorite with the news: "My other wife is good. She said a lot of nice things about you. She likes you and is not envious." Nevertheless, the favorite will probably reply that she only spoke like that because she was afraid, and so a real struggle of intrigue goes on between the women, each one trying to monopolize all the husband's affection for herself. This is why the use of very expensive love charms is so general and why the complex /115/ of magic practices is used to keep a man's love. For although culturally it is not accepted, the attitude of each and every woman is one of permanent aggression. This obliges the Guajiro man, when not dealing with women, to keep his different wives separated as much as possible, for when chance brings them face to face, it is not unusual that they insult each other, passing from words to acts to the point of injuring each other. The hostility of one toward the other is heightened by the comments and bits of news that their friends bring about the behavior of the husband and what each one says about the other. These are brought with the idea of getting some kind of payment (it is customary to pay for information). The situation may get so tense that when the husband goes out the women follows him to see where he goes, observes his tracks, and when she cannot follow him herself sends a child to watch him and tell her what happened.

When several co-wives live in the same house and do not get on, it is common for the struggle between them to reach the point of mutual destruction of personal property. When the husband gives a present to one, her most open enemy takes advantage of her absence to search everywhere for it and when she finds it to break it into pieces or burn it. At times this belligerent attitude is expressed in the presence of the husband, who has to resort to all his authority and

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595 even to force to separate the rivals as insults pass from words to acts.

When a man dies his relatives go to the house where the death occurred and begin the wake according to his standing. His wives attend and must show their grief and occupy the place appropriate to them as wives of the dead man, and must carry out the traditional practices of their cult for the dead.

The wife is not obliged to make common cause with the husband. However, at the present time cases have been seen in which the wife of an assassin has been burned or tortured, because she was included in the category of consanguineous relatives of the husband. But their culture establishes the principle that women do not participate in the men's fights.

Behavior of the man. Although the Guajiro woman always

593 has the backing of her maternal relatives to counteract her husband's possible ill-treatment and although any such misbehavior on his part is illegal, women in general are not well treated, /a fact/ which many of them from various regions attribute to the problem of polygamy.

When a man has only one wife his life follows the cultural patterns, and he shows himself affectionate toward her, /116/ giving her and the children presents and voluntarily helping her to provide food and clothing. But when he buys another wife, the new one displaces the first one, who may be relegated to last place, although she keeps her social prestige as first wife through the economic and social backing of her family, which is considerable, and for this reason it is difficult for the husband to ill-treat her, so that the worst thing he can do is to abandon her.

He will abandon the other wives in turn, and they know it, but it sometimes happens that one of them attracts the attention of the man, and he abandons all the rest or makes them the victims of his constant ill-treatment.

This is what gives rise to the struggle of the woman against polygamy. She suffers and is bitterly resentful of her husband's marrying again. She thinks that it is because she no longer

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593 satisfies him, and she becomes jealous; and this jealousy and the recriminations which it causes may be the source of the quarrels between husband and wife so frequent in Guajiro homes.

A second cause of the ill-treatment from their husbands which the Guajiro women suffer is the inequality of status between the two. When the wife lacks effective backing, the man does not attempt to limit his quarrelsome conduct nor his reactions of anger. She on her part hides her problem from her relatives and from outsiders in order not to show the lowering of her prestige and position, which might be taken advantage of by third persons to further trouble her or her children.

593 A third cause is the abuse of the drunken man, who takes
578 advantage of fiestas or gatherings among themselves or outsiders to attend these parties and drink, or does the same without any excuse whatever. It is at these times that such a man shows the worst sides of his character. He becomes aggresive, looks for quarrels with anyone, mulls over the past, and if he can finds some reason for taking offense, although it may be completely insignificant, and enlarges on it, giving free rein to his aggresive impulses -- for example, if a man's wife was not a virgin when he married her or he is not sure of her faithfulness. The slightest disobedience may be sufficient stimulus for the man to unleash his wrath against his wife, singing allusive songs about her lack of virginity before she was married or other faults and later passing from words to threats and then to acts, beating her and even mutilating her, as happened in Nazaret to two women belonging to a poor group whose drunken husband went to visit them. One of the women had her upper lip bitten off and the other woman was gravely injured. They hid the affair for a long time, /117/ but they were obliged to ask the Capuchin mission for help when the wound was already very infected. In another case the husband bit off his wife's nose. There are detailed cases of women who have had their ears torn off in moments like

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593 578 these or have been brutally kicked or beaten with sticks or dragged by their hair, etc. The only sanction, the claim made by the woman's family, is frequently not made, and these episodes end in one of two ways: First, with the death of the woman, in which case her husband makes some payment, under pressure of popular opinion of outsiders or of his own relatives, who refuse to admit into their midst a criminal with no justifiable motive, or because of the possible connections and alliances which his wife's relatives may be able to make in an extreme case like this. Second, with the suicide of the woman, since she hangs herself, blind with pain, anger, and mental suffering, and in order that the blame of her death may fall on her husband. This solution is tragic and very common, and as a result when a husband has murdered his wife, he tries to make it look like suicide. In Nazaret we witnessed one of these cases, where the death was made to appear to be suicide by hanging, when the real cause of the woman's death was a kick in the stomach. Among the information we gathered is a reference to a similar case in Lower La Guajira, in which the cause of death was discovered only when the relatives of the woman washed her body before embrouding it, as is the custom in La Guajira.

593 837 A fourth cause of ill-treatment is suspected or proven unfaithfulness on the part of the woman; the resentment appears when the man gets drunk or when the woman disobeys or gives some reason for complaint. He says in this case: "You didn't obey me because what I order is not ordered by so-and-so" (here he uses the name of her lover if he knows it) or "by the man who has taken my place" (if he does not know or only suspects it.) Frequently, he adds insults and blows. In these cases of suspicion or proof of infidelity, the lack of understanding between the couple increases and the ill-treatment extends itself to the children, whose paternity the father is beginning to doubt. At times, although the infidelity has been clearly proved, the man does not leave his wife nor apply the corresponding legislation, because he loves her and

/117 cont./

90 pretexts to pardon her, but the offense he has received shows
137 itself at times in aggressive action and ill-treatment, for which he is very keen, as we have said.

When suspicion does not reach the proportions of reality, the marital life of the couple is naturally less calm than it was. The husband tries to obtain proofs at all costs /118/ and lives a life of constant alertness, trying to induce his wife to confess and looking for an opportunity to catch her infraguami (for further explanation see the section Adultery in this chapter).

91 As a fifth cause of marital ill-treatment one may cite the woman's deficient compliance with the obligations she is supposed to undertake, which may result from two reasons: First, the husband may have paid a low price for her when he made the marriage payment arrangements; second, she may have been forced by her relatives to marry a man she did not like at a time when she was in love with another man. If the husband knows of this situation, he makes it a basis for his insults, refers to it as the palpable cause of her lack of attention to him and to the management of her home. He will say, for example: "You don't want to attend to me because I am not that so-and-so, whom you used to love so much. Of course you would be glad to serve and obey him in everything. But you will have to serve and attend to me, although you don't like it, because you are my wife and not his."

On occasions it is disobedience of the husband's prohibitive orders which lead to his attack. He tells his wife, for instance, not to leave the house, and she in spite of this leaves the house and goes visiting somewhere. Then the Guajiro, believing his rights are being flouted, punishes and mistreats the woman in order to force her to submit to his every wish, which is to him a symbol of his manhood.

95 Relations between co-wives. Life between the different wives of a man fluctuates between genuine cordiality and an internal struggle.

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Generally, the cause of this struggle is jealousy and the consequences of every kind that follow in its train. The women say: "Before he found this other woman, he came home with pleasure, brought us presents, liked being in our company, and never found any reason to quarrel. Now everything has changed. He never comes, or if he does he always looks for a pretext to mistreat us and insult us. He comes home drunk, looking for any reason he can find to get mad. He never brings us anything, not even the fruit of what he has seen even though we know that he has some. It is the other woman who will not let him be good to us and tells him lies to get him away from us."

Working on this principle and on the fact that a new marriage puts the previous wife on a secondary plane in her husband's estimation, the woman struggles desperately to keep her position with her husband. /119/ Because once it is lost, she knows that she will have no legal backing to make him comply with his obligations.

She then follows two general courses of conduct: one is open and assertive and is manifested by insults in word and act to her rival (Cf. Behavior of the women ... in this same chapter), by gossip, and even personal attack when they meet by chance. When they live under the same roof, the husband's presence is no obstacle to the showing of aggressiveness. Some get their close relatives, a child for example, to spy on the rival's conduct to have some reason by which they can attack her, or they use their friends (whom they afterward have to pay) to investigate all that she does or does not do, with the same purpose. When the husband leaves the house, she spies on him to find out if he visits his rival and to ascertain what goes on.

The struggle at times is not open only against the rival co-wife but goes farther and is directed openly against the husband. The complies with her wifely obligations to him and to the customary norms of keeping hollowcoolly, the

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595 receives him ungraciously when he arrives, without rising from where she is to hang his hammock; she does not offer him refreshing drinks or coffee, and when he asks her to do something for him she replies: "Why don't you ask that so-and-so, whom you like so much and who is so prudent? What do you see in her who is nothing to admire, who doesn't know how to do such-and-such things, that you should be so silly about her and can see nothing except through her eyes and can believe nothing except the lies she tells you? She is a shameless hussy who goes about laughing with all the men, who doesn't know how to work, and you love her anyway. I am going to do the same so that you care for me."

She also answers his questions rudely, answers him with monosyllables, or pretends not to know what she really knows quite well. This conduct may exasperate the husband, who tries to reassert his authority in the home, resorting to insults and blows, especially if he is drunk and the scene has been repeated many times. On other occasions he tries to calm her and openly denies his affection for the rival in question, overlooking his wife's conduct and promising her presents and that he will stay with her a long time.

This aggressiveness is adopted not only against the legal co-wives but also against all women who try in an illegal way to usurp the affection of the husband. Against these, the wife's reaction is openly aggressive, because in the majority of cases such women are generally at the bottom of the social scale, either because they are slaves or bond servants or belong to an unimportant group. A story is told of a Guajiro woman of /120/ high class who, learning for herself of marital relations between her husband and one of her sisters, attacked the latter with a knife, obliging her to flee during the night and not permitting her to live anywhere near the wife's home. Others turn out their women slaves after beating them cruelly and present the husband with a claim for compensation payment when the slaves are personal property /of the woman/. They

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98 follow the same line of conduct with regard to the bond servants who serve their husbands as concubines. However, this legal action is not always taken, and the wife may overlook the whole affair.

When a wife feels despised or mistreated by her husband and put in an inferior position by a co-wife, it is not unusual for her to wish to kill her husband and actually to carry out this desire. The Guajiro, who knows this sentiment, appeals to it when there is a fight going on between two clan groups, by paying the woman whom he knows is unhappily married to kill her husband. At his suggestion, she gives her husband algodonillo /? algodoncillo, a milkweed/ poison in his coffee, ground-up glass beads, poison for jaguars /tigres/, or puts the juice of a small, very poisonous lizard into the rum her husband is accustomed to drink. This practice is so well known that men, during war time, do not go to their wives' houses.

The other norm of conduct followed by the wife in such cases is a passive one: She does everything possible to condition her conduct as a married woman to the idealized cultural pattern in order to try to retain the affection of her husband to the utmost and thus prevent new women taking her place. If the husband is not completely satisfied in spite of these efforts, the woman tries to please him sexually. She believes that if she attains this objective, her matrimonial security is assured. That is why, besides doing everything they can to obtain such a satisfaction, they have recourse to magic, as we have explained several times in this work.

Finally, the woman may adopt an attitude of indifference to her husband, without any claims or artifice, taking his lack of affection as the most natural thing in the world, in this way trying to bring about his return; or she may praise her rival when her husband mentions her in order to give the lie to any accusation that the other women may have made. (Cf. in this chapter, Behavior of the woman with her husband).

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Another way of carrying on the struggle is to exaggerate the usual norms of hospitality. She tries to please him with food, with solicitous attention on arrival, hanging his hammock, bringing him coffee, bringing him water to wash with, etc., in short pleasing him in every way possible. She suppresses /131/ all recrimination that might anger him, all allusion, veiled or open, and all reproaches at his conduct, since she believes that the man will consequently rectify, analyze, and weigh his conduct and decide that she is better than the others. If she does not succeed in keeping his affections by this, at least she knows that she will not be mistreated. In any case, she is convinced that in the long run she will have to resign herself to the presence of other women, in other words, to polygamy.

In her struggle to keep ascendancy in her husband's affections, the woman also resorts to birth control to conserve her physical attractiveness, as we have seen in the section Sexual life in this chapter, or gets her husband to buy her friends as wives, especially her younger sisters, because in both cases she will find in the co-wives companions and mutual aid. And the Guajiro, who does not like quarrels between his wives is willing to do this.

We must consider the norms of conduct for the woman confronted with this problem. Guajiro culture expects that the wife, the first one as well as the rest, should take the husband's new marriages with resignation, without opposing his wish, and, above all, without attempting future reprisals against him and his new companion. She should content herself with the husband's assurances that her predominant position as first wife will never be lost and that he has had to buy the others because the previous ones had not been able to satisfy his needs or his love. It also expects that new wives will not try to new discord in the group and will not exert a pernicious influence, trying to inspire dislike for the rest in the mind of the husband. Also, it expects that she will submit to the wishes of her husband, who has the option of taking her to live with the others.

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In such a case, the man reconcile herself to the situation and lead a harmonious life of true friendship with her companions, without showing her influence, or setting one against another, and especially not setting her husband against one or another of the co-wives. On their part, those who are already present should offer a benevolent welcome to the new wife, respect her property, and share with her the common goods and rights.

The man in particular and the social collectivity in general expect the woman who lives in polygamy not to feel jealous, or at least not to show it openly. A home consisting of several wives living in continual discord is a specialle degrading to the husband, since the other men consider it an undesirable problem, and they throw up at the husband his lack of skill in managing his wives properly, thus lowering his prestige /155/ by involving him in gossip which the society relays avidly for their amusement.

The society believes that a woman who feels herself lowered by her husband or by a co-wife should maintain a resigned attitude. They concede that she may use passive means, but she must not have recourse to open struggle against the favorite to regain the affections of the husband.

The wife's duty to satisfy her husband sexually presents difficulties to the co-wives when all live under the same roof. The woman may have access to the husband in normal times when she desires it or he demands it by going to the ayawacala /bough-covered shelter/ where he sleeps, if one of her companions has not gone there first. The husband must not express preference at such a time for anyone, nor leave one unsatisfied to go with another, because this is the most common cause of jealousy. In spite of this, on occasion the favorite wife takes over the fulfillment of this obligation almost exclusively, when the others are very seldom visited by the husband.

Their culture also demands of the man's various wives that they maintain a relationship of cordiality and mutual help (Cf. Behavior of the women with the husband) and that they

/122 cont./

585 become co-participants in the husband's goods and what he takes to one of the houses. When they live together in the same house, the children of any one of them should be looked after by the rest in the mother's absence, and all food should be shared, when one of them has none.

Generally, each of the wives has part of the objects of the husband's personal use -- the robe, the guayuco, the belt, the sandals, the arms, the hammock -- and when he asks for them, each one should answer with her part; the goods he brings belong to all the women, and with them they attend to their personal necessities, those of the children, and those of possible visitors.

The co-wives must share together in each others' difficulties. It is not at all well regarded that one should rejoice at the suffering of another, even though she be the most hated rival. Nobody must show their pleasure at this. If the husband's marital preference changes, the other women must not comment sarcastically on his inconstancy. The favorite -- so Guajiro culture considers -- should have sufficient kindness to try to level out the conduct of the husband and intercede for the less favored ones, asking for benevolence or help according to the needs of each. However, in reality this does not happen. The favorite tries to eliminate the others and vice versa, openly or under cover, /123/ unless the co-wives are bound to her by ties of consanguinity or by previous friendship.

When one of the co-wives dies, if her companions are noble and have good feelings, they must go to the ceremonies which take place at such a time and express their regrets to the relatives. If they do not comply with this basic act of courtesy, not only do the relatives of the dead woman resent it, but it gives occasion to bitter remarks from the rest, who accuse them of bad feeling.

The first wife, even if she finds herself definitely abandoned by her husband, who is now attracted to one of the later wives, does not lose her legally predominant social position.

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595 He has the best livestock on her land; it is she who is really considered as his main wife, who represents him in rank, and whose children belong to a higher group than the rest. And it is to her home and not to that of any of his other wives that the Guajiro takes his friends when he owes them some attention, if they are people of a status equal or superior to his own.

She adopts an attitude of simulated indifference before society with regard to the polygamy of her husband. She does not comment on the matter or associate with the others, although in the lower classes she is frequently obliged to live with them, in which case she will tenaciously defend her privileges.

Also, the Guajiro man at the present time marries by the Catholic rite but later contracts other marriages under the Guajiro system. In these cases it is not unusual for the first wife to be unaware of his subsequent marriage, since the husband hides it, but she may also get to hear of it because of the general practice of selling information among some women. In such a situation she maintains a reserved attitude before outsiders, and although she really recognizes the importance of such acts, she behaves as though her husband's later marriage means nothing in her life; she considers such things as misdoings on her husband's part and regards other wives, even those legally bought, as concubines and their children as having the illegitimate standing they would have in our society.

As the acquisition of each new wife may bother the previous ones, he does not insist that they attend the marriage ceremony, unless they are pleased about it because the new wife is an intimate friend or a sister.

837 [684] Adultery. We have seen in this chapter that the man's first reaction to knowledge of his wife's adultery is to kill /124/ her lover and bring on all the consequences this death may entail or, as an alternative, to demand indemnification from his wife's maternal relatives for the offense suffered. However, when the man cares very much for his wife, he may forgive her after a terrible quarrel. It can happen that she may go away for some time with another man, and her husband will later live with her

/124 cont./

83 /again without any claim whatever. They may live together peacefully again without the man's making any reproaches, /at least/ when he is not drunk.

The causes which have extended the problem of adultery, together with prostitution, are very diverse and have made the oly type of law, already described, ineffective to a certain degree. Because in modern times infidelity does not occupy its former important place in the mind of the Guajiro; cases of it multiply and the previous scruple of regarding it as an antisocial act is disappearing. The growing emigration of men to Venezuela in search of work, which leaves women abandoned for long periods; the contact of women with other cultures which have different ideas about such matters; the economic misery accentuated by the long summers; the opportunity to earn a little money through extramarital relations, which helps to sustain them; the breaking up of native social institutions; and the easy ways that the guilty parties now have of escaping the consequences of their actions are all new causes, which together with the traditional ones which have led the Guajiro woman to break the social principle of marital fidelity -- such as being forced into a marriage when in love with another man; the lack of control and of sexual satisfaction resulting from one man's being permitted to have a great number of women -- all these causes tend to increase the problem of adultery now more than before, since in the old days the law was followed to the letter in spite of the social convulsions which its application might provoke.

[S83] The attitude of a man who suspects his wife of infidelity is always one of violence, because he feels himself ostensibly defrauded; from then on he becomes a tyrant to his wife and takes advantage of every opportunity to hurt her, insult her, and pour scorn on her. The woman in such cases limits herself to emphatically and constantly denying her guilt and adopting the position of one unjustly accused. The testimony of someone who has surprised her in the act is necessary to make her

/124 cont./

837 confess and admit her guilt. Her conduct when she commits adultery /125/ is always under cover. Thus, if during a long absence of her husband she has had relations with another man and, her menstrual period failing to appear, she fears she is pregnant, she goes to look for her husband on the pretext of taking a present and lives with him in order to supply herself with an alibi. As the pregnancy advances she makes her husband believe that it originated on that occasion, thus defending herself from the possible consequences of her infidelity. The husband, who does not bother much about dates, accepts the alibi as a fact. However, certain cases are cited in which the man has later become aware of the deception, usually from observing a marked likeness the child bears to the real father. Then he concentrates on making his wife confess her offense or on trying to prove it himself. If she confesses, then he invokes the law covering adultery; if she does not, there is nothing he can do legally, but he delights in throwing his suspicions in her face; he gets drunk with his friends and sings insulting and offensive songs to her; he treats her badly, hitting her on any pretext. As for the child whose paternity he doubts, he dislikes it, barely tolerating its presence and waiting until it grows up to see if the physical likeness becomes clearer so that he can take advantage of it as decisive proof against his wife and demand the prescribed payment. He spies on her every movement. He leaves the house declaring that he is going to be away a long time and returns when least expected, or he hides and watches the movements of his wife when she goes out to get water, firewood, etc., and follows her tracks until at times he discovers the place she meets her lover, and
837 if he finds there the proofs of infidelity he seeks and the tracks
684 of the lover, he goes home hurriedly and brings his wife to the spot to confront her with everything and to oblige her by force of blows to confess. Sometimes he manages to catch the guilty couple together, and in the exultation of his jealousy he kills both the woman and her lover. Sometimes the lover manages to escape, and at other times, after a furious fight, they both

/125 cont./

837 die, which complicates the situation gravely, because it brings
684 the three clan groups into the picture: the woman's, the man's, and the lover's. In such cases, the payment usually falls on the group weakest both socially and economically, even though it may have lost one of its members, is least to blame, or has acted only in self-defense. If the lover is of low standing and dies, his relatives must pay the husband and the wife's relatives the amount established.

586 If in any case of adultery the man possesses sufficient proof
837 to accuse his wife, he can demand from her maternal relatives the return of the purchase price plus the indemnity considered just /126/ and the children they have had; if, on the other hand, the relatives can prove that before the adultery the man mistreated her, neither the payment nor the indemnity are justified, and with the return of one of the children of the marriage to the man, the whole matter is closed. At the same time the man loses his right to the woman, this being the only case of true dissolution of marriage.

Dissolution of marriage. A Guajiro marriage can, in a way,
586 be considered indissoluble. The woman who is bought according to the law of La Guajira is considered as the husband's personal property, property assured by the girl's relatives, who have received payment for her, and this restrains the girl from behaving in any way different from the traditional.

Proved adultery can be the cause of dissuiting the pair, as we have just seen. In such a case, the offended husband demands the return of the payment made when he bought his wife, with which the tie is considered broken and the woman may abandon the home and return to her kin, losing the right to keep her children, who are of her blood and her family but in this case pass into the possession of the husband.

The lover, who cannot consider himself free of responsibility for the problem he has created, becomes, voluntarily or involuntarily, by the payment which he has to make to the woman's relatives, the husband of the woman accused of adultery.

/126 cont./

586 As we can see, the dissolution of marriage does not really apply to the woman, who is merely transferred from her legitimate husband to her lover through the payment for damages claimed by her maternal relatives.

Nowadays, if a Guajiro knows that another man covets one of his wives, he will make a friendly arrangement, as we have seen, through intermediaries for the interested party to pay a sum which will give him the right to take the woman as his legal wife. The price of this transfer is generally lower than that paid by the first husband, because it is felt that she has lost value complying with the sexual obligations owed to her first husband. One can even cite cases where a woman who has changed her husband three times by this system, without ever having a marriage dissolved or recovering her initial freedom. She is a chattel whose usufruct is always in force.

587 Neither does a married woman recover her freedom on the death of her husband, since she, as his private property, is subject to the general rules /127/ of inheritance and is passed on in accordance with them, first to her late husband's nephews, sons of his sister; lacking these, to the brothers of her husband through the maternal line; and lacking these, to the dead man's cousins, sons of a maternal aunt. This custom, rigorously observed until a short time ago, has been losing force and today is only effective when the widows are young and coveted by the legitimate heirs of the husband. The older widows refuse to comply with the law or simply are not forced to fulfill this obligation by the heirs. Many young widows of the present day escape from the legitimate heirs to places where they are not obliged to comply with the laws of inheritance and where they can remake their married life to their own convenience. The law, however, gives them a door of escape since it permits them, in cases where they do not wish to live with their husband's heirs, to pay the latter an indemnification.

588 A woman may free herself of her marriage obligations when she commits adultery because her husband mistreats her and makes

/127 cont./

S&L home life impossible. If she can prove this, the law exempts the woman's relatives from returning the marriage payment and only obliges them to hand over one of the children of the marriage. In other words, the man's ill-treatment of the woman permits her to abandon the home and return to her maternal one. But in this case, as in any other in which summary law comes into play, it is necessary that the litigant party possess sufficient force to oblige the other party to comply with what is legal. If not, if the S&L offended one is completely in the right but lacks this force, he S&L will never manage to make his just claim effective. They tell of an infinite number of cases in which the acts of cruelty suffered by women of an inferior class at the hands of their husbands are so grave that any one alone would be sufficient cause to dissolve the marriage through the return of the woman to her maternal home. But the maternal family of the husbands inhibited the women to such an extent that many of them, unable to offer any resistance, died at the hands of their husbands without the law -- so severe in cases in which blood is spilled -- being able to oblige the culprits to pay a suitable payment.

The demoralization which the Guajiro of lower class has suffered due to the different causes we have noted has weakened marriage ties to such a point that the woman considers her obligation broken when her husband emigrates, harassed by the vital necessity to obtain something to feed himself and his family, or when she finds herself abandoned for a long number of years, in which case she /128/ goes away with whoever will satisfy her economic and biological needs, thus dissolving, if not by law at least by act, a tie which may not be broken by anything but her own society, and so breaking up slowly but dangerously the traditional culture of her community.

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VI

MATERNITY

844 Care of the mother at childbirth. The responsibility for the life and well-being of the children is shared by the father and the mother, but it falls directly on the mother when the father is absent from home during her pregnancy or delivery; she must give him a full account of his children, since otherwise he will put in a claim against her for any supposed neglect, making her pay for the death of the child. This is why the woman during the delivery of her child submits to all the customary prescriptions covering these cases and seeks the help of her relatives and their backing, because the responsibility in the last instance will fall on them, since it is they who must pay the corresponding indemnity.

The first child is born in the maternal home. If the mother is not already there, the husband should take her to her maternal home before the event, with the careful attention necessary so that no ill-effects are caused by her traveling. At the moment of delivery she is preferably attended by her mother, or if she is not available, by her eldest aunt or by the most important and knowledgeable aunt in preference to the others, should the first be unavailable. The grandmother may also assist if she is still capable. In the absence of the relatives just mentioned, the sisters are asked to help. The married ones are preferred to the unmarried, but in the event of special urgency one of these will [197] be called in. It would seem that these preferences are due to white influence because in localities less in contact with the said /white/ culture there is less concern in this regard.

For some time now they have been making use of Indian women expert in midwifery, who give their services for a fee. The midwife may be accompanied and aided by the mother of the pregnant woman in the first place or successively by the others just enumerated if they wish to be present and co-operate in the delivery.

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844 At later births the Guajiro mother may be obliged by special circumstances to receive assistance from other persons. When she lives with her husband's relatives she gets help from her mother-in-law or from one of her husband's aunts. If she should be alone and her home is some distance from neighbors, she will arrange beforehand for the presence of a midwife and for her /130/ assistance later or that of a very friendly neighbor. Nevertheless, there are occasions when she can receive no other aid than from her sisters-in-law, and then married women are preferred to single ones. If the woman is alone with her husband, he, being acquainted with the physiological process, will help her because he knows what to do and because circumstances oblige him to intervene. But it is frequent for a woman to give birth alone because the event takes her by surprise on the road while she is traveling, or in the woods while gathering fruit, or in the forest, where she has gone to round up the animals, collect firewood, etc. Also /she gives birth alone/ when her home is located in a remote place and she is unable to get help in time.

The place of birth of the infant varies according to his seniority, that is to say, the first is born -- as we have seen -- in the home of the mother's parents or of her most important uterine kinswoman. It is arranged to occur there for two reasons: so that her relatives may take charge of the case and give better care to the mother and child; and because the birth of the first child is considered the most difficult and if the woman is not with her relatives the latter cannot assume responsibility for her life before the husband, who in the event of his not having taken her to them will have to face the consequences before her relatives, who may present a claim for compensation payment in case of the death of the mother, of the child, or of both. Also included in this is their feeling about the death of a first-born child, which by their magic interpretation requires the mother to submit to a special after-treatment, which is handled by the maternal consanguineous relatives and which has been spoken of in a previous chapter.

/130 cont./

The second child is usually born in the house of the husband's parents where the couple sometimes goes to reside. The former in this case take over the responsibility for the life of the child and the welfare of the mother and baby.

The third and subsequent children are born at the place where the parents established their permanent residence.

When the woman can obtain assistance, she waits until she feels the birth pains with a certain intensity and frequency and then calls the woman who will deliver the child. We have no knowledge of the use of any means to accelerate the birth. The woman who acts as midwife gets together beforehand a large gourd for a low seat, which she uses for the birth. She places it on something soft (clothing) or on the ground in the central part of the room, or on a small mound of sand which is covered with cloths onto which the child can fall without getting hurt at the moment of birth.

At the beginning of the delivery the mother walks about the room or the house, and when labor is advanced she is seated on the edge of the seat, or gourd, /131/ with her legs apart, in position to give birth. During the spasms of pain she supports her elbows on her knees and presses her stomach, as she is told to do by her helper, and keeps as still as possible, because otherwise the head of the child as it emerges might be rubbed against the edge of the seat, and thus he might be hurt or even killed, for which she or the midwife could be held to blame and be obliged to pay the husband for the mishap.

Another way of giving birth is to squat when birth is imminent or to kneel, bending forward to help the descent and egress of the baby. Also nowadays the mother is made to lie supine on the ground on some clothes, with her legs drawn up and open.

The child is received into the hands of whoever is assisting the mother, or else the latter bends over to let him fall onto the pile of sand and clothes laid on the floor for this purpose, or when she happens to be outside the home onto some leaves if the birth has given her time to collect them. The mother then awaits the afterbirth, after which she lies in her hammock with her baby

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844 wrapped in clothes either specially prepared for the event or improvised. The umbilical cord has already been tied by the midwife, and in the cases of unaided childbirth the mother does this herself, even cutting it with a splinter of wood and tying it as best she can with a vegetable fiber.

184 844 The midwife or the mother takes the afterbirth out of the house and throws it some distance away (a custom of Upper La Guajira) so that it shall be lost. They believe that if they bury it the newborn baby will have bad luck, will sicken and slowly die practically by wasting away. Nevertheless, there are regions, as in Uribia, where the custom prevails of burying it outside the house; in other parts, as in Jarara, the usual way is to put it under a fireplace /fogón/, which is then lit to give strength to the child and ward off infantile sickness.

845 When the delivery shows signs of complications or is abnormally delayed, the male consanguineous relatives in the house are asked to help by lifting up the woman by her armpits during the spasms of labor pains and by this means accelerate the process. Her husband may help at these moments, but at the present time children, youths, and virgins are not allowed to be present, although there are regions, such as Jarara, where the woman gives birth in a passageway or under the ramada /bough-covered shelter/, in full view of everyone, even her small children. There is no concern at all over this matter; childbirth is considered a normal phenomenon and unmarried women may also be present. /132/

[554] Rich and powerful women go to Maracaibo to have their children when their previous births have been difficult, as there they have clinics and doctors at their disposal.

844 Midwives. The midwife is a woman, usually married, who has lived her own professional experiences and has had further experience among her consanguineous relatives. Practice, inborn ability, and empirical knowledge of the phenomenon give these women a certain technique which makes them so famous that their services are greatly in demand. Some of them also know what care and attention the pregnant woman should receive as regards

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diet and the magic preventatives required for a healthy baby and an easy delivery; they also often have a knowledge of the properties of various herbs of which they make frequent use in the exercise of their profession, as well as the magic requisites necessary to counteract the ill-effects of the violations of some taboo during the period of pregnancy, a transgression which may cause abnormally long labor.

For this reason their services are very efficient and highly valued by the community; on their experience and the success of the cases they handle during their career depend their reputation, their popularity, and the fee they receive.

The midwife's position is an honorable one. This is not an occupation that can be looked down on, although it is not practiced by women of high class, it does give those who exercise it a certain elevation to their familial and general status.

Prior to the birth an arrangement is made regarding the services of the midwife. She is paid according to the economic capacity of the future mother, adding something more to the agreed-on fee when the delivery happens to be extremely prolonged and difficult, that is, when it requires greater effort and assistance than the normal case. The usual payment includes a length of material for a robe (ten yards) of the color and quality requested by the midwife, several bottles of rum (five or more), some ornament, etc. The midwife's request is not always the same but varies in accordance with her personal needs at the time. Also she must be well fed all the time that her presence is necessary in the home of the mother.

Personal regimen. Guajira mothers follow a special regimen which is in accordance with their social position. Those of strong class groups who have at their disposal a large number of women servants and slaves can enjoy /133/ the luxury of remaining undisturbed without being bothered by any domestic duties, aided by their maternal kinswomen or those who replace them in caring for them. Guajira women say that when the first child is born it is customary for the mother to remain in bed and out of the sunlight

/133 cont./

846 for one month, taking light food such as thin mazamorros with
556 milk, cojosa /chicha made of sour milk/, etc.; to be bathed with hot water at daybreak by her kinswomen or by the midwife, who also take charge of the newborn child and of all domestic activities. As the first delivery takes place in the home of her uterine kinswomen, these activities naturally are reduced to a minimum. When the second child arrives, if the delivery has been easy, the period of care is shortened, and in the following deliveries the rest period is restricted to what her domestic duties will permit, as then she gives birth in her own home and in many cases alone.

Among the poorer classes, in which the woman carries the burden of all the domestic chores, such as attending to her husband and carrying out economically lucrative crafts in addition to agricultural work and collecting, etc., the /special/ regimen followed by the mother becomes very attenuated. Her activity is not really interrupted except while she is giving birth and from that moment her normal life continues. In the hamlets on the outskirts of Uribia, we had the opportunity to visit two women who had just given birth. The births had taken place in an enramada /bough-covered shelter/, and afterward with the newborn babies in their arms, the mothers went about their ordinary household duties. They did not even protect themselves from the burning rays of the sun, as one of them was out in the open just at midday, cooking trupillo pods to eat and going about her other domestic work. In reply to our remarks on this behavior, she said that she did not feel in the least indisposed and she was not accustomed to follow any special regimen at all. We got the same reply from the other Guajiro mother, who said that she had gone on with her normal activities the same afternoon that she had had her child. One woman was from Jarara and the other from upper La Guajira.

1:Gutierrez de Pineda--167 E-S (1947) 1950 SC13 Guajiro SC13

VII

THE CACIQUE

Authority in La Guajira is not concentrated but is distributed among each of the clan groups into which society is divided. It is practically a hierarchy, whose primary nucleus is the small family, after which follows the extended family, which includes uncles and aunts /Spanish tíos/, cousins, nephews and nieces /Spanish sobrinos/ on the maternal side, and, finally, the clan, into which are collected all individuals bearing the same surname and possessing the same symbol animal. It can therefore be said that in La Guajira there is no authority which imposes its will on the collectivity. There are, however, mestizo individuals who, owing to their economic position and social status, have acquired a measure of authority over their Guajiro relatives and over other local groups, an authority that is exercised although not legally recognized. Because of their outstanding economic position these mestizos keep on subordinating a series of people around them: their servants with their families, their many wives and children and the families of these latter who depend directly upon them; with the economic subordination comes submission of will. The authority of these mestizos is increased furthermore because of the influence they have with civilizado /nonnative/ groups because of their personal dealings with them, and their facility in mediating facing the civilizados gives them a superior position within the collectivity. To this class of individuals the name "cacique" is given, even by the Indians themselves, but they are not caciques in the true sense of the word.

In La Guajira there is another institution which is also called caciquism, which we will continue to describe briefly below.

The necessary conditions for being a cacique in the Guajiro sense and the attributes and responsibilities of the position are the following.

/135 cont./

622 1. The cacique's maternal family must be strong in masculine elements who are ready to back up his decisions and enforce compliance to his will.

2. He must be a Guajiro and of high social standing. /136/

3. He as well as his relatives must be rich, possessing goods, represented above all by animals, which is what gives most prestige in the eyes of the other natives.

4. He must tener palabra /literally, "have word"), that is
622 to say, he must have oratorical talents (Cf. Valuation of the
537 Woman, in chapter on Premarital Considerations, and Compensation payment for death, in chapter on Law), because from this skill he derives one of his principal attributes: acting as intermediary in the punchis, or wars between clans, and in all quarrels between groups and individuals. Tener palabra is the primary and basic talent for the acquisition of prestige as a cacique, for on this gift of oratory, on the practical knowledge of native psychology and of traditional law which guides him in his decisions, depends the success of his arbitrations.

The opinions of the cacique, mediator, or orator /Spanish
622 palabra, lit. "word"/ -- all of which titles he has -- are respected, his counsel is asked for, his help is solicited in time of need, his opinion is consulted in the varying circumstances of the life of his kin and of others who know him. His accurate deductions and prudence keep strengthening his power until he becomes the headman of a district, which sees in him its representative and lawyer in all its problems and expects from him in exchange for the submission made to him, that he be capable of winning every time and easily dominating every abnormal situation that might arise.

In every family group one of these caciques will be found in power and one or more others capable of succeeding him, but circumstances will eliminate competitors until only one remains.

The authority of a headman is recognized primarily by his extended family group, but outstanding qualities of one of these family heads may cause his influence to be extended to other groups who, by considering him more powerful and influential

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622 than their own head, will solicit his intervention in special problems, especially when these refer to personal differences with groups stronger than themselves. This attitude is taken with the approval of the other cacique, who also on occasion will call his officers to assist him when he wants to impose his point of view on another very strong clan group.

When a pact in which he has mediated or lent his ceremonies is not complied with, he must resort to force, if the noncompliance of the opposing party drives him to this extremes, so as not to lose his power and authority, and he has to give examples of great personal courage, exposing himself more than the other who go to back him up. If he does not wish to lose credit in the opinion of his own people as well as of outsiders, but to give the impression of a real headman, successfully directing any warlike actions that may develop. He should let himself be killed before yielding in his task, /137/ and fight on until he has made the enemy comply with the pact made and agree to the recognition of his authority and to complete submission. In this fighting all his relatives in the maternal line join up with him, but not his own sons, because, as we know, these do not form part of his family and if they were wounded, their maternal relatives would present a claim for compensation payment against the father, and thus the number of his enemies would be increased. However, at the present time, through the influence of the civilizados, the son is following and backing up his father in spite of Goajiro law.

[913]

Another of the functions of the cacique is to counsel his people and those who recognize his authority and who seek his opinion in any of their problems. In these cases his advice is to be prudent. He exhorts them to comply with the law; He obliges the thief to return the stolen goods, and he reprimands him for his felonious action; he tries to arrange that those in enmity over the spilling of blood arrive at an equitable settlement to avoid later reprisals; he asks the women to be faithful to their husbands; he mediates in conjugal arguments and quarrels, trying to obtain from the men more consideration for their wives.

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642 As he is the recognized family head, his own conduct should be strictly in accordance with Guajira laws, although this does not imply that he does not try to obtain the maximum advantages, even beyond those stipulated, when he intervenes in his own people' affairs.

His own personal superiority obliges him to show his economic strength. In every collection that may be made for the marriage of a relative of his, or for any other kind of payment, he should head the list with a good subscription which should in no case be less than any other contributor's. At wakes he should do likewise, and also, by his authority, oblige all his own people to contribute adequately, as this establishes the good name of the family group which he heads and directs.

He ought to be kindly, amiable, and cordial with all, listen to all complaints calmly and patiently, be ready to help everyone, he should keep his house open to everyone, for his hospitality must be the most ample and welcoming.

The office of the cacique is transmitted in two ways. It is inherited, in which case it passes to a nephew, the son of a sister, and is to acquired by virtue of personal and family merit: high social and economic position, facility in oratory, knowledge of native psychology, a suave but energetic character, power of conviction, friendliness, and diplomatic talents. /138/

VIII

SLAVERY AND BOND SERVICE

647 Causes of slavery. Slavery is always an outcome of the violation of the regimen for social stability in the community; this means that if an offense is committed against a member of one of the consanguineous groups (totemic clans) existing in La Guajira,

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567 punishment is inflicted on all the members of the offender's group, punishment that may reach the point of slavery. To clarify this, we quote an example: If a member of the Uriyú clan, or consanguineous group, should kill, for whatever reason, a member of the Jusayú group, an aggressive situation arises. The proceedings to resolve it are as follows: The offended group sends its delegate, or orator /Spanish palabra, lit., "word"/, to the offender group to request the indemnity for the offense received. In its turn the offender group appoints its orator, or intermediary, and these two come to an agreement to establish the terms necessary for solving the conflict, terms which consist of the special payment which the offender group must pay to the family of the dead person, generally paid in livestock (cattle, horses, sheep, goats, etc.), precious necklaces and jewels. If the payment agreed on, to which all the members of the offender group will have to contribute, is paid, the problem is settled. But if, on the contrary, the offender's group refuses to pay the sum demanded by the offended, that is, if the two sides do not arrive at a settlement, a state of war without quarter is declared: each group looks for alliances with other clans and, as a result, the original act committed against social stability can involve practically all of La Guajira in war. Alliances between groups are established on the basis of kinship or of marriage unions.

As a result of the conquest of one of the groups, slavery appears. All the members of the defeated group who were not killed in the war or could not manage to escape fall into the hands of the victors and are considered from that moment to be slaves without restriction to age, sex, or status.

It should be pointed out that for a situation such as the one we have given as an example to arise, it is essential that the offended person belong to an /140/ economically stronger clan than that of the offender or that he be united by marriage alliance or some other tie with such an economically stronger clan. In the case of the offended person's belonging to an economically weaker clan, without allies and few in number, his clan will always reach an agreement, because in every case the weaker group will have

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567 to accept the conditions proposed by the other, owing to its inability to defend itself. Furthermore, when the offender clan is very inferior to that of the offended person then claims are not even presented; the stronger group proceeds directly against the weaker and exterminates or enslaves its members.

The condition of conflict which we have described in the previous paragraphs is reached not only after homicide or after a delict involving bloodshed, but also for abduction of women, proven adultery, etc., when the indemnity claimed by the clan of the offended party has not been paid.

(For further information read the chapter on Law).

[72] It is also very important to note that in La Guajira, wars are not intentionally made with the manifest aim of acquiring slaves by the defeat of another group; slavery in La Guajira, as we have stated, is a consequence of the violation of the code of social order and not an end in itself. It is, then, a social punishment, not a commercial or economic institution. So much is this so, that female slaves are sold at low prices and male slaves may even become an economic burden which the owner bears rather than giving them freedom.

Control and regulation. Slaves and their property are divided according to the social position of the participants of the victorious group in the following way: by the head, who is usually the maternal uncle of highest prestige in the small family group initially offended; or by the mother; or the eldest son appointed by the mother; or, finally, by the head who acted as leader of the punitive expedition. First, the part going to the injured family is handed over as payment for the offense. Of this sum the greater part is for the mother, then another share goes to the maternal uncles /and aunts? tios/, after this some part to the nephews /and nieces, sobrinos/, and, finally, a share to the brothers /and sisters, hermanos/ of the man directly offended. Of the remaining booty, the greatest and best part goes to the head of the expedition if he does not belong to the same small family as the injured man; the balance is then divided among

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567 those who took part in the war. If the head of the expedition is a maternal uncle of the offended man, his share is considered as already included in the portion which his small family receives. Also, when an expedition enslaves captives, its chief will usually later distribute /141/ among his close relatives part of the booty which has come to him: first to his mother, then to his sisters and his aunts, and then to the rest of his relatives, if there is a sufficient number /of slaves/; the same is done by the rest of the relatives /of the injured family/ when the booty has been considerable; booty includes slaves and their personal property, real property, and their livestock. As a general rule, slaves acquired by the defeat of a group become the property of the relatives of the injured man as a recompense for the wrong done.

Treatment of slaves. The slave is considered by his master as a thing, as any item of property; he can dispose of him freely, either selling him, giving him away, or making use of his labor; [838] he can take female slaves as his women and make use of the males in homosexual practices if he is deviant in this way. He may even kill them without it being considered a social offense /falta/, because of the fact that as the slave belongs to a consanguineous group which has been annihilated or at least conquered, no one can make a claim for his death. Women slaves may be used as objects of pleasure by the sons or the maternal nephews /sic/ of the master as soon as they reach the age of puberty, the age at which boys begin to seek them out to require love making without their parents being aware of the fact, obliging them to have sexual relations about which they are unable to protest, as the boy is, in a way, also their master; it appears /moreover/ that female slaves customarily are willing to accede to the wishes of the boy.

Rights and privileges of slaves. The slave has to be fed by the master, who generally gives him the remains from his meals, although he may at times give him corn to make mazamorra; clothing also must be supplied by the owner, and it is considered an obligation of the master to supply wives for male slaves, for

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567 which purpose he gives them women slaves he owns, or buys for them women of a poor clan for whom he will pay an insignificant price, ten male goats, for example. When a slave becomes pregnant by one of the master's sons, the mother must allow the slave's pregnancy to proceed normally and limit herself to reproaching the boy.

Rights, privileges, and powers of the master. Masters are absolute owners of the goods of their slaves. As slavery is always the consequence of war between two clan groups /caused/ by an offence by one against the other, /142/ the property of all the members of the conquered group passes under the control of the victors according to the system of distribution explained above. That is, the fields, pastures, woods, water, wells, domestic utensils, clothes, livestock, jewelry, etc., of the conquered group become the property of the conquerors. As regards the slaves themselves, we have the following facts: Males are put to work by the master in all activities, especially in agriculture and pasturing, and are made use of as objects of homosexual pleasure if the master is a /sexual/ deviant. (We have no data on homosexuality as social etiquette, that is, lending a slave for homosexual practices to sodomitical guests). The owner may punish his slaves freely even to killing them.

Women /slaves/ are used, as we saw previously, in domestic labor, weaving, etc; they are obliged to act as wet nurses of the children of the master at his wife's request. In this case, the slave's child has to be weaned and brought up on corn mazamorra; the slaves also carry out the role of nursemaids to the children, and are used as objects of sexual pleasures by the master, the master's sons, and his guests, following a formula of social etiquette in La Guajira. We do not know of any datum which can confirm homosexuality practiced with female slaves by their mistresses, nor of the corresponding aspect of hospitality.

In remote times, old women, young women, girls, and youths, boys, and adult males were enslaved, but at the present time it is almost a norm to keep only women as slaves of war.

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567 The owner, or better the person to whom human booty goes after the war, may keep men as slaves or simply kill them off; the latter is usually done now for fear of having to support and /thus/ give opportunities to an adult who wants to avenge himself; at the same time male children will be killed to avoid the similar risk of vengeance when the youngsters reach manhood, as it has been demonstrated that when a slave has been placed in such a state in his childhood, he waits until the head who conquered his family has grown old and then kills him, often torturing him first.

The owner may sell his female slaves as wives for free men; from that moment he loses his rights over them as these are transferred to the husband. They are also accustomed to selling young slaves of both sexes for the islands of Aruba and Curaçao, the haciendas of Venezuela and Magdalena department in Columbia, and for other Columbian and /143/ Venezuelan cities. They do this instead of killing them in order to get some economic usufruct. Finally, at any time they can kill any /of their/ slaves, man or woman.

Punishment of slaves at times reaches the point of savagery. They tell, for example, of a native family which had as a slave a girl of tender age, who on a certain occasion disobeyed an order of her mistress; for punishment her hands were pushed into a fire, and as a consequence of the burns the child lost both of them. The child was found later in the woods -- her mistress in addition to burning her hands had thrown her out of the house -- biting off the green portions of a cactus with her teeth to feed herself as she could not gather them with her hands, whose flesh was putrid and eaten by worms; the child was suffering incredibly from hunger and thirst. She was taken to the Capuchin mission, where they gave her medical attention and where she is now living. The Indians of Nazaret when telling about this act of savagery spoke of it with horror.

Slave trade. Slave trade in La Guajira has three principal aspects: a) trade between natives; b) trade between natives and whites; c) trade between whites.

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567 In relation to the first aspect we have the following facts.

1. A master sells his women slaves for three ends: a) as wives for free Indians at very low prices; b) for domestic service in the homes of other Indian families, who in this manner acquire ownership of the slave; c) for social etiquette, when importuned by a friend.

In the first case it can be said that the woman is freed, while in the other cases she remains in her position of slavery and only experiences a change of owner.

2. Men slaves are sold to another free Indian who needs manual labor in his agricultural and pasturing work; the slave keeps his same social status.

3. Furthermore, the Guajiro also sells his slaves to whites (white being understood to be all who are not Guajiro), either in the interior of the peninsula or in the islands or neighboring lands. The young men are sold to be brought to the islands of Aruba and Curaçao, where they customarily escape with frequency, traveling as stowaways on ships; when they reach La Guajira they regain their freedom. Slaves are also sold to the haciendas of Venezuela, especially those devoted to the cultivation of cacao and sugar cane or stock raising. In these places slavery reaches a point of /144/ maximum expression, for the slave is branded with the brand of the owner of the hacienda, loses his Indian surname, and is renamed after the owner or hacienda where he works. The slaves sometimes escape from these haciendas also, but only with great difficulty, for on fleeing they are pursued in what becomes a veritable man hunt.

Prepubescent girls are frequently sold to be carried outside the peninsula by whites. Usually they escape on reaching puberty and return to La Guajira, where as a general rule they regain their freedom. This sale of young Guajiro girls has given rise to an extensive trade in which individuals of the department of Magdalena in Colombia, of Venezuela, and of the adjacent islands take part. At times it reaches scandalous extremes, and it has become a source of riches to th -called

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567 Guajiro "caciques," who are no more than mestizos or mulattos who take advantage of the unfortunate social situation of the Guajiro Indians and exploit them for commercial gain, making themselves absolute masters over human lives and possessions.

The Capuchin mission with their establishments in Nazaret and Riohacha buys slave children to educate them in the orphanage under their charge and to give them back their freedom. Until recently, the Colombian government included in the budget a subsidy given to the mission for carrying out their activities, a sum for the purchase of these slave children. For some years, however, the appropriation of this sum has not been forthcoming.

The trade in Indian slaves between white women or women civilizados is found especially in the districts bordering on Venezuela and in the department of Magdalena, but up to the present we do not know the intimate details of this traffic.

Permanence of the status of slavery. The individual taken as a slave retains this status during his lifetime unless some special occurrence brings him his freedom. His children may or may not remain in the condition of slaves according to the character of their birth with respect to the matrimonial or extramatrimonial unions, which we can define as: (1) the children of men and women slaves are slaves and belong to the owner of their parents; (2) children of a slave father and free mother are not slaves even if the mother has been bought by the owner as a wife for his slave, since according to the Guajiro custom of affiliation they belong to the mother. These children, however, have certain characteristics of bond servants although these are not well defined. The wedding payment made for the first daughter /145/ of this marriage belongs to the owner, who is thus repaid for what he paid for the mother. The children of these mixed marriages go to serve in the house of their parent's master. Generally, their own parents sell them when they are children as bond servants for Aruba, Curaçao, Riohacha, Maracaibo, Barranquilla, and Santa Marta. When they become adult they often return to La Guajira, but as they belong to a

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567 conquered group they lack all rights in their society, since they are exiled from their original home, without consanguineous relatives because of the extinction of their clan or because of its poverty; consequently, they remain marginal to society in the class of pariahs; for this reason, women, on returning, resort almost without exception to prostitution. (3) The children of a slave woman and free father retain the mark of the mother unless she has been bought as a wife.

Manumission. The three forms of manumission of slaves known to us are the following:

1. By flight from the home of their masters. The slave, nevertheless, remains in a rather difficult position.

2. By purchase of female slaves as wives for free men.

3. By purchase of girl and boy slaves by the Capuchin mission to educate them in an orphanage and give them their freedom.

567 538 Slavery in oral literature. Slavery is mentioned in the oral narratives of the natives that refer to legends as much as it is in those that have the character of true histories. Of these we can present two: One is connected with the Kusina Indians /renegade Guajiro, more commonly spelled Cocina. -- Ed./ who one night decided to steal the livestock of an Indian called Kurírapáta of the Sierra de Jarara, who, while defending himself was shot in the thigh by the marauders. The story relates that Kurírapáta was picked up by his sisters and taken to their home, and that one night he dreamt that he should swallow a charm (a túma, "precious stone") and leave his wife, taking in exchange for her one of his female slaves. He carried out what his dream had commanded him; he swallowed the túma and called in one of his slaves, saying to her, "Come with me; you are to be my wife." In this way he cured his ailment.

In the narration of the Guajiro myth, the shaman Umaralá recounts how he received on the death of his aunt -- who had a great affection for him -- all her possessions as inheritance, and among them, her slaves. Disillusioned by sorrow over

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567 the death of his aunt, Umaralá dedicated himself to living in
538 a hut in the near-by woods where his aunt lay buried. There he fed on roots and wild fruit picked in the woods and only received a visit from time to time from his male slave, from whom he had also parted. /146/

175 Negro slavery in the eighteenth century. A most interest-
567 ing aspect of slavery in La Guajira is that related to Negro slavery among these natives, which was at its height during
648 the period of colonization, especially during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and was due to Negro commerce and to pearl fishing. Unfortunately, there remain only a few notes about these happenings, written by Father Julián in the
[114] eighteenth century, which have aided us in writing this last section regarding slavery. In the following lines we transcribe these notes which confirm the first case known up to the present in the history of all American Indians regarding the presence of Negro slaves among them. Father Julián says: "The fishermen of such pearls are the Guajiro Indians, who are in control of all this coast from the Río de la Hacha almost up to the famous lake of Maracaybo. These are the fishermen and owners of the pearls. It is they who sell them, who carry them to the Río de la Hacha, who trade them with foreigners who come in their brigs to these waters or anchor in the Bahía Honda. 'For the pearls they bring in, these Indians receive firearms, alcohol, wines, and even slaves, all of which they procure, becoming richer and ever more insolent and less conquerable." (1)

1. Julián, Antonio:
La Perla de América, Provincia de Santa Marta, reconocida, observada y expuesta en discursos históricos /The Pearl of America: Province of Santa Marta, checked, observed, and explained in historical

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discourses/. Madrid, by don Antonio de Sancha, 1787. 1st III, 12. NOTE: all italics are ours.

Further on, he repeats the reference in these terms: "The value given them by the buyers is represented by three kinds of things. For the pearls, the foreigners give them: firearms, nails, and even slaves, in addition to cloth brought from Europe...." (2)

2. Ibid., 1st V, 19.

More explicit in relation to the problem is the following paragraph: "The Guajiro are fishers of pearls which they sell to the dealers, who in turn sell them to certain brigs and packetboats in exchange for spirits, Negro slaves, and firearms." (3)

3. Ibid., 2nd XII, 187.

And finally he ends by outlining the duties that these Negro slaves carried out and the recial mixing that resulted between them and the Indians in the paragraph which we transcribe as follows: "...He then gave me two rather useful pieces of information which I, impelled by zeal for the good of the Guajiro Nation and of the Monarchy, now retell. /147/ The first is the provision of arms and knowledge of their use which they get from constant trade and contact with foreigners, and the second is that through these /foreigners/ have now been introduced male and female Negroes and intermarriage with the same Indians who buy them and keep them as slaves, and this leads not only to an increase in the number of people among the Guajiro but also to an increase in a diversity of fearsome races of Mestizos, Mulattos, Zambos, etc., who, united with the Guajiro, will make this Nation formidable

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175 ever more and more difficult to conquer. In fact,
567 when we came into the lands of the Guajiro the Cacique came
648 to meet us with two Negroes as lackeys, dressed in bright red uniforms with all the corresponding facings and braid, something which was quite a novelty to me and made a deep impression." (1)

1. Ibid., 2nd XIV, 159.

BOND SERVICE

566 There is a fundamental difference between the concepts of slavery and bond service in La Guajira. While it is certainly true that in both cases the liberty of the individual is restricted, it is also true that it is restricted in different degrees. Similarly, we can state that while in slavery the owner has absolute rights over the person of the slave, in the case of bond service he has power only over his working potential.

Bond service includes certain groups whose economic, social, and numerical situation has weakened; they are clans which, to a certain point, are without effective male backing and who for this reason attach themselves, if not by law at least by act, to a family of superior position belonging to a strong group, in exchange for the use of their services.

Origin. Bond service has three causes. First, the voluntary sale of men and women, and particularly of children /en la edad infantile/, by their immediate owners, the mother, the maternal uncle of most authority, the grandmother, and the maternal aunts being considered as such; second, when a group cannot comply satisfactorily with its economic-social commitments, such as the payment of debts, indemnity for an offense, etc.; and, third, in cases of social inferiority in which the application of the law is up to the offended party, and certain members are taken from the lower social group as bond servants, especially when the offense committed is robbery.

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566 Obligations of the master. It is obligatory on the part of the master to supply his bond servants with quarter, clothing, and food; in this last respect /food/ the bond servants occupy the lowest place together with the slaves, that is, they get the leavings from the master's meals, and special food made for them consists almost entirely of corn mazamorra.

Duties of bond servants. Female bond servants are generally employed in domestic work: cooking, drawing and carrying water, collecting firewood, picking cultivated fruit, gathering wild fruit, taking care of the masters' children, nursing sick members of the house, and going with the masters when needed to carry out these duties while the latter are on the move.

The men on their part engage in agricultural activities during the times of the year when this is possible and regularly work at pasturing; beyond these labors they have to do others in the masters houses with regard to work that requires masculine co-operation.

Their legal position in the Guajiro community can be described thus: As they are not members of a clan group exterminated by war but rather lowered by their precarions economic circumstances, their position and rights are in intimate relation with the social power their group may still have. This means that if the group to which a bond servant belongs, by alliance or by any other circumstance, is able to present a compensation claim to the master, it can in this way keep the bond servant from being mistreated, made to shed blood, or killed, for in any of these cases the bond servant's relatives may make a claim against the master or perhaps attack him, and he will find himself obliged to pay the indemnity.

Any violation or abuse committed on a female bond servant evokes a demand for the corresponding payment, made not by the master, as in the case of slavery, but by the bond servant's own relatives. The same thing happens in cases of pregnancy.

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566 All this indicates to us that the bond servant is an individual who in spite of not being able to freely dispose of his labor is an active member of society. His services are not voluntary, but he is ruled by the general norms which govern the community: His life is respected, his women may not be sexually assaulted nor taken as wives without their own consent, and, above all, his children are always free and all the family property remains in their hands or those of their relatives.

Rights of the master. The master has the right to make free use of his bond servants in all the manual labors he considers necessary /149/ and the right to sell them, but no matter how often the bond servant changes masters, the sale refers to the use of his labor, not to his person.

Sexual life of bond servants. Women bought as bond servants are not sexually under the control of their masters or of his family. However, when their consanguineous relatives live so far away that they cannot exercise their influence, female bond servants are taken advantage of by their masters, not by right but by act. This situation of relative sexual freedom means that they are besieged by men more than are slave women, as the latter are protected by their master. As a consequence [548] of this state of affairs, female bond servants frequently become prostitutes through not having the protection either of their masters or of their relatives.

It may happen that the owner falls in love with one of his bond servants and has sexual relations with her, in which case his wife ill-treats her and turns her out; then the master may decide to buy her from her relatives, continue to cohabit with her (polygamy), and not infrequently he may abandon his first home.

If a bond servant should become pregnant her relatives present the claim for compensation payment to the group of the man responsible for the situation.

When a man has lived with a bond servant, and her relatives present a claim for compensation payment, two possibilities

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566 are open to him: to pay for the abuse and the troubles caused by pregnancy and birth, thereby losing all right to the woman, or to buy her as a wife. In the latter case she is liberated from the position of bond servant, since some of the money paid for her in marriage is used to pay off the debt to her master which gave rise to her bond service. The sale of the bond servant may also be negotiated directly with the master, a sum being paid to him which makes it possible to free her, and another sum being handed over to the woman's relatives.

566 548 Prostitution. The female bond servant, like the slave who is sold to the whites, will escape from the house where she has to give her services and return to the peninsula, and if the control of her relatives in authority is absent, she readily turns to prostitution, it not being unusual that she has started this way of life during her time of service. When her relatives stand in the way, she may also prostitute herself behind their backs, trying to avoid in this way the consequences of the sexual commerce, or compensating them with part of her earnings. This situation may be considered abnormal in the Guajiro social system, as prostitution is considered to be /150/ outside the law. But when the demands of hunger are felt, due to the prolonged summer /droughts/, the situation becomes normal in the social levels less favored economically, and families have to tolerate their single women prostituting themselves and assisting with what they receive from their commerce in the maintenance of the other members.

566 Situation of the children. The children of a female bond servant are always free; frequently they work in the house of their mother's master as compensation for the cost of their keep, but legally they are free.

Trade. During the fierce summers that scorch La Guajira Peninsula, which seem to follow a 25- or 30-year cycle, the sale of human beings as bond servants becomes more intense. It is at these times that poor families are obliged to part with relatives they can do without, especially those who cannot

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566 contribute to their upkeep, with the aim of getting rid of this obligation and at the same time getting money to help sustain the rest of the family. These bond servants are sold abroad, into Venezuela and the Dutch islands and with the cities of Barranquilla, Ríohacha, Santa Marta, and a large area of the department of Magdalena for work on the stock-raising haciendas; this is a trade between Indians and whites. They also sell children to other native families but on a much smaller scale, as it is rare for an Indian to buy another Indian openly in order to use him as a bond servant; for bond service among the Guajiro is usually brought about by way of payment for a theft or a debt, or by taking advantage of the weak situation of poor groups to compel them to work in service.

Persons sold as bond servants are generally children or youths who are beginning to look after themselves and can be put to work. In Venezuela these bond servants are used as agricultural hands on the haciendas, where there is a scarcity of labor due to the competition of near-by oil fields and the demand for workers in dock work, where the laborer can get higher wages. Females, wherever they may be as bond servants, are used for domestic service.

The attitude of the whites regarding the problem of bond service in La Guajira takes various forms: one is to take advantage of the native's wretched situation, in which the white figures as intermediary in the purchase of children and young people of both sexes and takes them to the /151/ buying centers to fulfill a commitment he has made to another, or else simply to resell them and make a profit. The bond servant thus is converted into an object of trade, showing a good margin of profit for the merchants who carry on this traffic. At the present time one finds cases of recruiters, owners of haciendas or managers from Venezuela who buy bond servants for agricultural work.

There is another passive atttitude that regards bond service as an established fact and tolerates it without direct intervention. Finally, there is the position taken by the Capuchin

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566 mission, which is to buy bond servants and slaves, educate them, and then return their lost freedom.

Center of forced bond service and centers of sale. The Sierra de Jarara is the region where bond service most commonly originates, because of the obligatory loss of personal freedom that results when not able to fulfill a pending obligation or pay a debt, or when a poor native, during the summer (which because of geophysical conditions is more severe here than in the rest of the peninsula), is forced by hunger to steal animals. The injured party is paid by taking away from the thief, who has no other means of paying damages, a boy or girl, usually his maternal nephew or niece.

On the other hand, the major sale center and the true distribution market for bond servants is Maicao, because of its being in Lower La Guajira which is another of the Guajira regions which suffers most cruelly from long summers and in which women do not have the economic resources which those of Upper La Guajira have, such as supplying /traders with/ woven articles, but have to live without /productive/ employment /of any sort/, and in consequence without means of supporting themselves and their families. For these reasons mothers are forced to sell both their unmarried daughters as bond servants and their younger children. The fact of Maicao's being on the only commercial route between Venezuela and Colombia is also a contributing factor. /152/

/153/ IX

SICKNESS AND DEATH

755 "...in the aspect of Guajiro medical treatment there are four different factors which we can define in principle as follows:

1. Medicine exercised directly by the shaman through his communication with benevolent spirits.

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2. Medicine through divination, dependent or independent of the shaman and which creates another social position not very well defined: that of diviner.

3. Medicine which we might call home treatment, independent both of the shaman and the diviner, which is applied through the pragmatic knowledge of the curative properties of plants, by observation of certain customs related to taboo and which, as we shall see later, are of the preventative type.

4. Medicine as practiced by foreigners. This last factor must have had its origin in historic ethnography, and it seems to us to be difficult to classify. It deals with the medical intervention of the curanderos /curers/ of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, to whom, on certain occasions, the Guajiro Indians go for treatment. . .(1). "

1. Cf. Pineda Giraldo, Roberto: Aspectos de la magia en la Guajira, IV - 52 and 53 in Revista del Instituto Etnológico Nacional, VI, III, No. 1. Bogotá, 1950.

[78] For these reasons when a Guajiro child becomes sick, if his relatives are well-to-do they send for a woman diviner to determine the causes of the illness and to prescribe the corresponding curative system. When the patient is an adult and his illness shows no serious symptoms, they call in the herbalists (women who know the curative properties of certain plants), or they use their personal knowledge, that is, what we call "home" cures. If it is a matter of a serious chronic illness, they will most certainly use the services of a curandero of the Arhuaco /Cagaba/ tribe (Indians of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta), whom the relatives of the sick man go to see, or the latter himself if it is possible. This curandero supplies

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755 him with a series of magic remedies and medicinal plants which have been fully described in the article /154/ previously cited. Also at the present time it is not uncommon for them to call in the services of a white doctor, either in Uribia, the capital of the peninsula, or in the near-by cities of Venezuela, such as Maracaibo, or in the neighboring Colombian department of Magdalena.

But their culture possesses a traditional institution that 756 answers these requirements: the shaman, whose essential 755 activity has been fully treated in the work which we cited at 177 the beginning of this chapter and to which we refer the reader. This institution, perhaps the most powerful in Guajiro culture, has been losing value for various reasons already studied in the article we have cited, but it still occupies an outstanding place within the social and cultural whole, to the point that when an Indian is gravely ill, his relatives think immediately of the shaman as the most advisable means of curing the sick man, as this functionary (the shaman) possesses considerable magic powers due to his having been selected by the benevolent spirits to be their intermediary in their frequent contacts with the community. For this reason, to obtain the aid of the shaman is to have in one's favor the friendship and co-operation of the well-wishing spirits who can save the patient from death, [763] because for the Guajiro, illness is caused by the action of pernicious spirits who want to cause harm and to avenge themselves.

755 The first necessary condition for the shaman to take charge of the cure is the gift to him of a piece of jewelry, an orna- [431] ment of gold, generally a necklace, /the value of/ which should be in relation to the family status of the patient as well as the standing of the shaman. A second condition is the tacit submission to the shaman's demands and instructions.

The shaman, once he has decided to take charge of the cure of the patient, goes to his house and submits the sick man to the customary ritual. His practices, which last several

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755 days and can even be drawn out for months, are a mixture of incantations and invocations, accompanied by canticles; massages with spittle mixed with chewed tobacco; sucking of the painful parts of the sick man's body; the application of his empirical knowledge of the medicinal use of plants; and the propitiation of the spirits of sickness and of death -- wanurú -- by means of gifts which the patient or his relatives supply in order to obtain the victorious return of the patient's spirit to his body and with this his definite cure. As soon as he has secured this objective, the shaman calls for the celebration of a feast. /155/

If on arriving to give his services, the shaman can see, by some magic process which he explains, that there is no hope for the sick man, he will withdraw. For the patient there is no other possibility open but to wait for death -- which usually occurs shortly after.

755 782 It is also up to the shaman to decide what sacrifices should be offered to propitiate the adverse spirits when these are preparing a harmful incident for a Guajiro. Generally, this harmful incident implicitly involves the death of the individual who, with the sacrifices and propitiations recommended by the shaman, will counteract the action, canceling it. If the recommendation is not followed, the prediction will be fulfilled. Guajiro tradition narrates among many cases the following: An old female shaman foretold a Pushaina (1)

1. Pushaina: name of a Guajiro clan.

individual that he would die at the hands of a member of his own clan and that a series of bloody events would occur as a consequence of his death. To avoid these happenings she told him he would have to make a sacrifice of several animals and bathe himself with their blood. The suggestion was not followed, and every one of the calamities occured just as the shaman had forecast.

/155 cont./

755 Any person who dreams of a future happening and the ways of avoiding it can predict in place of the shaman. During our stay in Uribia a chicha-maya dance took place, and a series of propitiatory sacrifices were made which were repeated for three nights. The mother of a Guajiro dreamt that her son would be killed by the husband of a woman with whom he was maintaining illicit relations.

It can happen that the shaman practices his curative system and his efforts do not have the hoped-for result. When death occurs, the shaman withdraws after returning the presents that his spirit had demanded, if his treatment was ineffective. In many cases, however, he keeps them for himself when he 764 can find an excuse to justify his failure. As soon as the relatives learn of the death of the sick man, they rapidly cover him and leave him in peace for about half an hour, so that his spirit before going to the place where he will live henceforth may "retrace his steps," that is to say, may roam about among the places familiar to him and say good-by to his friends and relatives. During these moments the persons visited by him feel his presence, which is manifested in some manner and lets them understand by various means the object of his visit. When this time has passed, his whole body is bathed with water and soap; mostly his closest relatives take part in this operation, men and women, in the maternal line and after them the affinal relatives (wife, sons-in-law, and /156/ daughters-in-law). After being bathed the corpse is carefully dried, and if it is a woman her face is covered with paint of the color and kind which she preferred when living because, as she is going visiting according to their belief, she should comply with this precept of etiquette since, if not, she might feel ashamed on meeting her friends and relatives. The paint is also intended to protect her from the action of the sun's rays on the long trip she has to make. They adorn her with all the jewelry she possessed. If she had a large number of earrings, for example, all of them must be

/156 cont./

764 fixed in her ears suspended in a chain, starting with those of her greatest preference; all her necklaces, bracelets, anklets, and rings must be placed on the corresponding part of her body. If the deceased is a man, they also put on his jewelry, as his spirit

764 will need them in the other life to maintain his status beyond the grave. If he belonged to the rich class, he is shrouded in the

554 following manner: First, they cover his head with a special cloth woven by his wives; the bottom of the cloth covers his face, and the ends are fixed behind his head. Over this is placed a second cloth which reaches down to the belt and pins the arms laterally along the body. A third cloth covers the legs, and a fourth may be added to wrap the whole body, but the use of this latter has been gradually disappearing. Thus enshrouded, he is put in the enramada /bough-covered shelter/ within the coffin

[173] -- modern custom -- or enveloped in a still fresh hide and placed in a hammock. Then the lamentations begin.

The custom exists of sending to all the absent consanguineous

764 relatives, the most intimate friends, and in general all acquaintances, word of the death or of the patient's being near death, as the illness is made known from the first moment, especially

[202] 554 to close relatives. If they are important people, runners are sent as soon as the sick man worsens, so that at the time of his death, the house is already full of people. As those who arrive to show their sympathy are so many and they appreciate how impossible it is for the master and mistress of the house to offer them all adequate hospitality, the visitors arrive with their hammocks, water in large pitchers, food, etc., which they bring on their burros.

The messenger sent with the news, especially when he

764 carries it to a consanguineous relative of the deceased, knows

SS that he must not pronounce the dead man's name, as this would

[207] gravely offend his relatives. For that reason he usually says: "That relative of yours who lived in such-and-such a place, who did such-and-such an important thing, has died." Furthermore, none of those attending /the funeral ceremonies/ will pronounce

/156 cont./

the name of the dead man in front of anyone, again for fear of offending his relatives, /157/ who, although they may not be present, might be informed by someone looking for payment for talebearing.

One by one as the persons notified arrive, they express their sympathy. The form of doing so is as follows: The /dead man's/ kinsmen are seated on the ground, or nowadays more generally in the interior of the house (the new customs require the female relatives to remain inside the house seated on the floor, with their faces covered with a large cloth black like the robe they wear). When the outsider arrives he sits down beside them. Then begins the lamentation of the mourner, who mourns with his head bent forward, covered, as is his face. He cries for a more or less prolonged time, interspersing his weeping with short phrases which refer to his sorrow and his loss. He ends his lament, which is taken up by the visitor, and once he has finished they give the traditional Guajiro salutation, initiated by the mourner. They all begin to cry again in chorus, which they suspend to recount the process of the man's death in all its details.

Around the corpse are slung a series of hammocks at graded heights, which are occupied by the closest women relatives as they take turns in the weeping or by a newly arrived one, who, after expressing her sorrow to the family, must weep near the corpse, bending forward over the coffin and placing a hand on it, a magic action which will help her to dream of the deceased. In this position, the visitor, whether outsider or consanguineous relative, weeps in that tone and manner characteristic of the culture, which rather than weeping is like an intoned, melancholy complaint. The Guajiro men weep in a different manner, giving shouts of despair at intervals, without any definite timing. They do this standing up, bending over the coffin and covering their faces with a cloth, a hat, or a hand. On asking some outsiders, participants at a wake, how they were able to cry so intensely and realistically, they explained

/157 cont./

764 that it was not really for the dead man that they kept vigil,
152 because many times he might be unknown to them, but for the evocation before the corpse of the total sufferings of their group and their personal sorrows.

While visitors and part of the maternal and closest paternal relatives take their places around the deceased in order to take their turn in keeping up continual wailing, the remaining relatives of the dead man comply with the norms of hospitality and courtesy customary on such occasions, which are to receive the sympathy of those who arrive, to serve drink to the men, and to constantly maintain the funeral spirit. The maternal relatives must attend to the distribution of the /158/ livestock of the dead man, a part of which it is customary to give to the visitors who come to offer their condolences.

764 A wake can and should be prolonged as long as the live-
554 stock of the deceased lasts, and in the event that these are too few to maintain the prestige of the status of the dead man's consanguineous relatives, recourse must be had to contributions from the latter. From their point of view, the veritable economic-social status of the dead man is shown by the slaughter and distribution of animals which is made at this moment; also, this has its effect on his life beyond the grave, as the livestock slaughtered and the funeral outfit form the basis of the deceased's status in his other life.

In La Guajira the deaths of some of the most outstanding clan chiefs are long remembered. It is recounted, for example, that the wake of the cacique José Dolores lasted two and a half months until the animals he owned were completely slaughtered and distributed among those who came to show their sympathy. The whole /population of the/ peninsula was mobilized to accompany his kinsmen. They say that no less than 30,000 bolivars (Venezuelan money) were spent on eau de cologne to overcome the putrefaction and the bad odors given off by the corpse during such a long time in the hot climate.

/158 cont./

764 554 The distribution of animals and drink is made according to the standing of the visitor. Those of high class should be given cattle, mules, or horses (already mature), and rum or brandy in abundance; the poor, goats and sheep, and drink in lesser quantity and quality. In some cases a piece of meat is distributed among them so that they can eat during the funeral gathering.

It is customary to retain a reserve of animals for the second burial, which in a certain way is a repetition of the first.

When the personal property of the dead man is not sufficient to maintain adequately the status of the clan group, his consanguineous relatives, headed and directed by the family head, start a collection which is obligatory in nature to gather together livestock and drink in order to sustain the prestige of the collectivity and that of the dead man in particular. This collection is repeated for the second burial.

764 Once all the livestock of the deceased has been distributed, the family orders the burial. If the death occurred outside the lands of his consanguineous relatives where the clan cemetery [492] is located, he is carried there, tied on a horse. All those attending the wake accompany the corpse, on horseback or on foot, drinking incessantly during the whole procession. The grave has been opened previously by a very close and dear relative of the dead man, usually /159/ a nephew, his sister's son, who feels honored with this responsibility. If he should [689] refuse to do it, it would imply the greatest offense to his group, but we found no such case of refusal to comply with this honorable duty. (The influence of the mission in Upper La Guajira has caused the Indians there to place the body in a crude coffin of wood of the pionillo, a leguminous tree which is very abundant in the region. In Lower La Guajira the body is wrapped in the fresh skin of one of the slaughtered animals, one or two /sic/, which preserves it from putrefaction for a longer time.)

In front of the open grave the funeral procession halts while the children related to the deceased, and later the adults, walk over it, with the idea that this will delay /the return of/ death.

/159 cont./

764 The corpse is lowered into the grave with ropes, with the greatest care taken not to bang it or lower it roughly to the bottom of the grave. This would mean an offense to the dead man, who in some way would show his annoyance at this lack of care, which is in itself an insult; and the relatives would feel considerably offended at the want of respect shown to one who was of their blood and at a time so important to the Guajiro as that of burying a kinsman. It represents, to his way of thinking, an insult almost as great as to refuse to dig his grave, to speak ill of a dead relative, or to pronounce his name.

764 783 The same individual who digs the grave covers it with the excavated earth, doing his work with extreme care. Then he goes to his home where he is submitted for some time to a purification ceremonial. The people who formed the procession return to their homes, after shooting off their firearms while the burial is in progress with the idea of frightening off all evil spirits. In times past they shot arrows repeatedly. Upon return the relatives also go through a purification ceremony, and generally, gathered together, they slaughter an animal for themselves from among those which had not been presented nor had belonged to the deceased.

764 For the dead man they place a supply of food and drink in the grave (his favorite food), and if while alive he liked to get drunk, they place an abundance of liquor. His most valued [514 personal utensils, especially his chamber pot, an indication 554] that the owner was of high status, are placed on his grave, as are his cups and dishes, which also give prestige to the dead man.

765 During a more or less lengthy period his closest relatives go frequently to visit his grave, taking with them food which they eat over it, after weeping there for a long time and asking the dead person to join them. On the eighth day after his death it is mandatory /160/ to make such a visit, later, at the end of each lunar month after the occurrence of the death. These visits are made with more frequency when the relatives believe

/160 cont./

765 that they have felt the spirit of the departed, which to them is an indication that they have not complied fully with the funeral ritual or that something was missing from the post-mortem attire or that he lacks some material necessities beyong the grave. For this reason they take him food and drink. Another practice is that any Guajiro -- man or woman -- who passes by the cemetery must enter, above all if he knows there has been a recent burial, and cry a little over the graves, recalling his own troubles and those of his clan. In the period immediately following the burial, the relatives of the dead person light bonfires in his honor during the night in order to illumine the road he must follow until he arrives at his future home, and so that his spirit will not continue to wander, like that of a murderer or a suicide, or become harmful. In Santander del Sur this custom existed in the distant past but nowadays the peasants limit themselves to placing a candle inside the sleeve of the deceased's shroud, so that he may light his path.

The Guajiro family remember their relative for a long
765 time. Every sunrise before starting their day's work, they
769 weep for him and the others of their clan group who have died (Cf. Chap. II, Cult of the dead).

When some time has passed after the burial of their relative (four or five months), two women return to his grave, almost secretly, his mother and his most beloved aunt, or his first wife. They reopen the grave until they find the body, raise it halfway up the grave, putting earth inside and then re-covering it. They say the object of this is to avoid the skeleton's being dispersed at such a depth when the exhumation takes place. These two women, after having carried out this
[793] labor, go through a special purification. About two years after death comes the time for exhumation, when all the relatives come together. They send out runners to announce the exhumation. All come to this ceremony in which the slaughter and distribution of animals and of drink is repeated; it takes place in the house of the deceased or in the cemetery itself,

/160 cont./

765 where an enramada /bough-covered shelter/ is erected if the
769 house is too far away. The remains are put into an earthenware urn which is placed on a hammock around which they all congregate, also on hammocks, the female friends and relatives weeping over the dead man a second time. A new grave is dug in the clan cemetery, in which his remains are deposited. At the present time it is customary for each small family of means to have a common funerary urn /161/ in which the bone remains of all the immediate consanguineous members are accumulated.

The exhumation of the remains is a labor entrusted to the very close relatives of the dead man who were much attached to him. By this action they are offered a family honor which, like the digging of his grave, is never refused. These individuals, two in number, open up the grave; and one, his body totally covered with a robe and his hands wrapped in a cloth, scratches in the earth to find the bones. As the region is so dry the bodies are marvelously preserved. First of all he brings out the skull with much respect amid the silence of the others gathered around. He cleans it carefully, showing his affection for the deceased in each of these details, and then he passes it to his companion, together with the rest of the bones. This assistant is covered, especially his face, and his work consists in placing the remains in the urn destined before-
[783] hand for such a purpose. These two persons, once having finished their operation, carefully purify themselves and for some time after follow a special diet.

In these exhumation ceremonies, the relatives of the
[262] exhumed person submit to the same dietary proscription of not partaking of the meat of the slaughtered animals, and they receive the sympathy of their relatives and friends, who have come together again for this purpose.

768 A funeral custom still exists but has been weakened in some sectors that are more in contact with whites and the influence of the mission, and that is to abandon the house where the sick man died immediately after the body has been buried,

/161 cont./

768 or later on if it is impossible at that moment. Sometimes, if the person died tragically, the house is burned. The reason given for this custom is that the illness was produced by an evil spirit which from then onward takes up residence there, taking possession of the house and able to continue killing the rest of the occupants. At the present time this custom is generally reduced to abandoning the habitation that the dead man occupied. They believe that at night one can feel lamentations there and that the spirit of the dead person frequently returns to that place to show his unrest if his relatives have forgotten him in the special cult of the dead. The tragic character of the case is accentuated when the person died violently in that place, in which case the house is definitely abandoned, because the frequent repetition of the scene during the night would make it impossible to live there. When the death occurred as the result of /162/ illness, and the house is not abandoned, if another member of the family should die in [787] it of the same sickness, then it is absolutely necessary that they leave it, as to them it is a clear indication that the spirits of that sickness also reside in the house and sooner or later will kill off all its occupants. /163/

X

THE SMALL FAMILY

592 836 Nowadays the Guajiro man and woman have their first sexual experiences very early, more or less toward the age of ten, but formal marriage is later for the men than the women. Premarital sex relations are casual events. The man may continue them sometimes to a more advanced age, but these also are occasional and their consequences -- pregnancy -- may

/163 cont./

592 lead him to pay for abuse or to marriage. In these days
836 prostitution of the Guajiro woman frees the man from these legal dangers and gives him, as it does to bachelors in our society, free access to women before marriage without the attendant unfavorable consequences of previous times.

592 The Guajiro man marries for the first time at an age that
582 varies between seventeen and the maximum of twenty-five, an age which coincides with his economic independence from the family nucleus. With his own livestock and with the gifts he receives from his relatives, he buys a woman but remains in debt to his family until he can repay them by the sale of the first of his daughters in marriage. Once his wife has been handed over, he begins his marital life, (some times, when the marriage has been by abduction, he starts beforehand), traditionally in the maternal home from which place, as the
[591] family increases, the new cell will move to the father's hamlet /ranchería/ where the young couple will build their own home, or they will make it in the wife's hamlet.

592 The first child of this union is born, as a general rule, at the wife's home, that is, in that of her maternal relatives,
611 and the mother is attended by her mother or her aunts, or by
602 her grandmother in the maternal line, or when these are not available, by her married sisters. Nowadays the services of a midwife are employed. This child belongs to the maternal house as it is of their blood, since the mother is the one who transmits this quality, and even if the birth of the child is not preceded by a union legal in the concept of the Guajiro, the consanguineous tie does not differ in its transmission. It is always the mother who transmits this characteristic, and being hers and in no /164/ way counting on the father, the child not only takes the maternal surname but is also included within the kinship circle to which his mother belongs. Thus we have:

1. His legitimate feminine ascendants are his mother, maternal grandmother, and maternal great-grandmother, etc.

2. Also, the maternal aunts in different degrees are his relatives.

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592 3. In the collateral line the mother's sisters and their
602 descendants.

611 4. His closest male relatives, his mother's brothers and those of his grandmother and great-grandmother, etc., in the maternal line.

5. The sons of the sisters of his mother, his grandmother, his great-grandmother, etc.

In this way, the kinship ties of the newborn child extend back indefinitely along the female line and extend forward in the same manner.

With respect to the kinship with individuals of the male sex, this is limited to the collateral branches and to the sons of female relatives. That is, the newborn child does not count male ascendants or the children of his male relatives as his own relatives. Furthermore, if the new baby is a boy he will not in the future count his own direct descendants as relatives.

592 It would be extremely difficult to make a separate study of
593 the exercise of authority in the small family or in the extended family, because these two bodies so intimately interpenetrated due to their members living together that any analysis of them separately would be inaccurate; also, because of the effects of acculturation, the exercise of authority based on the consanguineous unit stemming from the traditional legal union reflects forms different from those developed according to legendary cultural patterns.

593 These two extremes -- traditional culture and culture influenced by whites -- cover an infinite range of varieties difficult to classify and must be studied as special cases (Cf. Marriage).

593 It is essential to recognize that in the civilizado-type home
178 the influence of the maternal family tends to be nullified, a
596 very slow process with regard to the totality of all the members, but a very rapid and effective one with regard to the maternal uncle, for in this case there occurs the phenomenon of transfer: All his influence passes to the father, who from that moment acquires and exercises all the authority delegated by Guajiro

/164 cont./

593 culture to the maternal uncle. Another phenomenon /165/ that
178 develops in this type of marriage is the appearance of paternal
596 relatives who are gradually acquiring places in kinship to the point that they almost hold positions similar to those held in our society. In fact, the children of a marriage so constituted begin to consider their father within the boundaries of their relatives; initially, he was not so considered, but by degrees, he is acquiring this manifest recognition in the act of their taking sides with him, being represented by him on outstanding occasions such as marriage, receiving help and assistance from him, and later on being his legitimate heirs.

In the classical Guajiro home the outstanding authority is that of the maternal uncle, who surpasses the eldest person in order of importance. There can, however, be an exception when another of these relatives has acquired a position that is not only more prominent than any of his brothers but also extends its radius of action to all the clan group and even passes on to other clans. Individual personal merit or wealth may be the cause of the elevation of his status, which is fully recognized within the family to the point that he may supplant the brother who by chronological order he ought to obey. According to the
[561] old order, age was the index of the exercise of authority, an arrangement that defined succession in case of death.

596 It also may occur that in any one of the different homes formed by each one of the sisters of a family, preferential deference and recognition is given to one of the sisters without taking into account the hierarchy established by age, status, etc.

This preference is due to the affinity shown by the mother for one of her brothers, a preference that has a reciprocal effect extending to the sons of the sister from whom he will receive greater respect. Beside respect the influence goes deeper and the effective assistance of this brother is greater than that rendered by the others. This is shown especially by his gifts at the birth of the children of the sister and above all by his taking charge personally of educating them in pasturing and in masculine

/165 cont./

596 activities in general. After the uncle, the function of authority falls to the mother. They, uncle and mother, on occasion make decisions together after prior consultation and agreement, but if there should be a difference of opinion the uncle's decision prevails. After these comes the authority of the children, which also runs in chronological order and by sex. First is the authority of the eldest son, since in case there are several daughters /born/ before a son, the authority will be exercised by the latter no matter what his position in the family is in order /166/ of arrival into the world.

The female descendants in the mother's line also have much authority, and their opinions are listened to and given attention, and the mother's sisters, after the maternal uncle, are the most respected and exercise considerable influence over the nieces, especially at the time of their initiation and during the arrangement of their purchase as brides. The mother's aunts and her female cousins, generally called aunts, may be listened to, especially when some one of them holds a preferential position within the family or within the culture.

In the home the authority for the general organization of
592 the administrative life rests in the wife. She should impose her will and be responsible for the decisions she makes. She exercises control over her children, nephews and nieces, servants, slaves, and hired help /criados/, organizing their work and being responsible for their conduct: This authority is more extensive when the economic and social position of the woman is higher, as those of the upper class have around them a larger staff and an endless number of relatives other than their own children, nephews and nieces, over all of whom they must impose their authority. Also, in the case of the first wife, who is the principal administrator of her husband's property and the builder of his real home, this authority grows even greater. However, the power of the woman cannot extend to the homes of her married daughters or to the homes of her other female relatives. She may give voice to her opinion on some matter,

/166 cont./

592 but the decisions made must be made by the woman head of the house. Every married woman exercises independently her authority in her home without intereference from the female relatives of her group except when she asks for assistance in an attack from her husband. On the other hand, there is the authority of the man, who is in control of the staff and his nephews and other relatives. He is responsible for the execution of all male work, as much for his own personal duties as for the work force he has at his disposal for such a purpose. When he is absent his authority and responsibility are taken over by his eldest maternal nephew.

In case the father lives at home, that is, in the house of his first wife, it is he who makes arrangements, gives orders, carries out the organization of administrative life, the daily pasturing chores, and the periodic and occasional agricultural work done by /members of/ his sex. In his absence he may be replaced by his sons, in chronological order. As at the present time male emigration is so widespread and as in general the father is periodically absent on pasturing activities or on his visits to his other women (polygamy), the woman who has no responsible son may on her own account order work to be done, even if such work comes /167/ under the husband's jurisdiction. Once the boys are grown they begin to supplant the maternal uncle or the father in masculine work. Also, as they grow older and become adults, family authority gradually loses its power over them. The boy begins to make [67a] his will felt and to take the initiative, but he must be responsible for his actions, because Guajiro law establishes culpability extensible to the consanguineous relatives when any social or cultural rule has been violated. The boy, then, becomes gradually independent from direct family tutelage and is able to plan his life in accordance with the cultural norms of the society and within these to develop his own personality. He does not attain absolute independence. He breaks away from the family discipline represented in the person of his mother,

/167 cont./

592 his maternal uncle, and his most immediate relatives in the family circle, but he is required to obey those legal forms which offer him the protection and mutual aid of the same relatives from whom he is becoming emancipated. This freedom is limited for the male to economic independence and his first marriage. For the woman, relative emancipation from the family comes with marriage; even after being initiated she must submit, perhaps more than before, to the prescriptions and orders of her relatives; but on being married she becomes somewhat free from direct family control, although she also has to respect new cultural patterns and a new authority: that of her husband.

Once the daughters are married the mother, although she may try to exercise dominion over the running of the homes that these are establishing, must in any case make her voice heard; her influence is felt through the conduct of the daughters. If the new couple goes to live with the mother, according to [184] the traditional form of matrilocal residence, or if the newly married sons take their brides to their maternal home, a common occurrence among mestizos, the mother does not hand over the reins of family administration, either to her daughters or to her daughters-in-law. When she dies and each one of these forms her own home, each will take on the direction of the family administration and will follow the same norms. With respect to the matter of marital authority, we abstain from repeating the observations already made and refer the reader to the chapter, Marriage.

The authority that Guajiro fathers have over their children depends on their position before them. They are not considered consanguineous relatives, and consequently their authority is very limited. The children may not take their fathers' side for this reason, but they must respect them as older persons. The father is limited in his rights by the maternal uncle who takes his place and by the mother. He may not hurt his children because he has no rights over them, since they are not of his blood. Nevertheless, in a certain way he

/167 cont./

592 has some authority over them because, if during his absence some carelessness on /168/ the part of the mother causes the death of one of them, he can collect a compensation payment from his wife's maternal relatives. But at the present time, among mestizos and especially among those who contract Catholic marriages, the father's authority is immediately felt in accordance with the custom of our culture. He represents the home and the children before the other individuals of the social totality as was previously done by the uncle.

This authority has reference not only to the home and to the compliance with certain norms of courtesy, such as those of hospitality for example, but also to the decisive events in family life, such as the marriage of a son, the compensation payment for an offense, the purchase of a daughter, etc. His will is consulted, and the wife obeys it, even against the personal insistence of her mother; in other words, the mother loses authority and responsibility with regard to her children, who now use the father's name and with this the new ascribed kin relationship. /169/

XI

THE CLAN

614 On studying clan organization we wish to present it as it apparently must have functioned in the past and to show the changes it has undergone up to the present. To this end, we make use of mythology to clarify happenings in the remote past.

614 A story from Upper La Guajira runs as follows: "Not far
773 from Nazaret there is a hill lying behind Itojoro. There
539 Mareiwa was born under an olive tree. There he was found as a tiny infant, and he kept growing and growing as rapidly as

539 /169 cont./
614 an Indian. He ate tuuma and wore a Guajiro robe. His mother
773 was an old woman. There she had her home. The father was one Saramai who, it is also said, was a god. As Mareiwa was born under an olive tree, the tree never loses its green leaves during any summer. And when there is a storm the Indians take shelter beneath its branches because lightning cannot penetrate there.

"Mareiwa ordered that there should be an Indian girl whom they called Borunka who was the mother of all the Guajiro Indians. Mareiwa gave her a husband by whom she became pregnant, but when the time of her delivery arrived she was not able to give birth. She had already suffered three days of labor pains without birth taking place. The cause was that her genital organ had teeth. Mareiwa extracted them, and later he took from the husband two ribs, the lower ones from each side of his body, to place in Borunka so that she could give birth to children without difficulty, though not without pain.

"Since there is always some loss of blood when there is a childbirth, Mareiwa called together all the little birds: the one called Sangre de Toro /Bull's Blood/ or pincwait he ordered to go and bathe at the spot where the birth had taken place. Also /he called/ the troupial, the icó with black wings and a red breast and crest, and the macaws. The woodpecker arrived late at the bath. Mareiwa said to him: 'You came late but I will anoint your crest,' and he painted it. For this reason, all these birds have red patches.

"Borunka had several children, and thus the Guajiro went on multiplying. When they became numerous, Mareiwa returned and distributed among them seeds of watermelon, corn, and melon, all of which the Guajiro eat to this day. Until this /170/ time the Guajiro had not sown seed, but had collected only the wild fruits of the forest. Mareiwa brought together all the troupials and woodcocks /zancalargas/. A flock of these he sent far away, very far away, and there they

/170 cont./

539 ate prickly pear and iguarayas. He also called a flock of
614 pigeons of the woods that brought cherries from Hepechi. Then
773 Mareiwa dispersed these little birds all over La Guajira, who with their excrements showered seeds, which germinated in the earth, covering it with plants which bore fruit and served as food for the Indians.

"To each male Indian Mareiwa gave a pair of animals: goats, burros, cows, horses, and pigs. Then he brought them all together with their animals at a place called Arachi, near Siapana, (to the S. W. of Nazaret), and on a stone he engraved the marks he gave to each group of Indians, sons of Borunka. And even today the marks on that stone can be seen.

"There he formed the Epiayú, Ipuana, Uriana, Sapuana, Jayariyú, Apshana, Sijuana, Urariyú, Epinayú, Jitnú, Soriyú, Pausayú, Uriyú, Woriyú, Urenanaka, Matpishana, Uyarayú, Wariruyú, Jusayú, Woruboruyú, etc. Mareiwa gave them these marks so that the livestock of one would not be confused with those of another.

"Each group has an animal which distinguishes it from the others: These animals (the present-day totems) according to the creation myth were to have become Indians, but they ate the livestock that Mareiwa had distributed to each group and he, then, to punish them left them in their primitive condition as a symbol of the group they had offended. Thus, the royal turkey buzzard for example ate a cow /res/ belonging to the Epiayú so for this reason it became the symbol of that group. The caricari ate an Ipuana animal and so remained with them. The Uriana have the jaguer /as totem/ because it did the same. The Sapuana group have the bittern; the Jayariyú, the dog; the Apshana, the buzzard; the Sijuana, the wasp; the Urariyú, the rattlesnake; the Jitnú, the fox; the Soriyú have the cataneja; the Pausayú, the bee; the Uyarayú, the stag /Venado Cauquero/, etc."

Another story relates: "... as there was nothing on the Earth, Mareiwa said: 'What shall I do so that there may be something and so that I may then return to Heaven?'

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"He then said to the birds, who were Indians at that time, 'Make your homes and your enramadas /bough-covered shelters/ as I am going to Heaven and I will return.' He went away then, and a few days later he was back again from Heaven. Heaven was then like the Earth today with similar trees and fruits. The birds, who were Indians, did not carry out the order of Mareiwa as they neither built houses nor enramadas. When he returned, Mareiwa found out that what they had built were nests in the trees. /171/ Mareiwa told them angrily: 'Turn into birds and be Indians no longer since you did not obey, and from this originated the different kinds of birds.

"After cursing the birds, Mareiwa took up a quantity of clay and began to make dolls like those that are made now at Jarara and various other kind. He sent for the cucarachero /in Colombia and Venezuela, a songbird which eats cockroaches. -- Ed./ to sing to the dolls while he was making them. The bird did so and in its song mentioned the color and kind of clay of which they were made. He later called for the woodpecker and said to him: 'Go and look for my grandfather,' and when he had come he ordered the bird: 'Name the clan of each one of these dolls.' He said: 'This is Apshana; this Epiayú: this Uriana, etc., etc., etc.' In payment for having named the clans so well, Mareiwa gave him a white necklace which he still wears. Finally, the bird said: 'The Ipuanas and Sapuanas will be allies in matters of putchi (war); the Epiayú with the Apshana.' 'Very good,' said Mareiwa.

"All the groups having been named, the clay dolls were converted into real men and women. Mareiwa then distributed the women and sites so that there should be no fighting afterward. Thus he said: 'You will live with your wife there; you here, etc.' Nowadays the men look for and take more women, but in those days Mareiwa gave each only one. These are latter-day customs. He put the Ipuana in Jarara, the Epinayú in Lower La Guajira, the Urariyú in the region of Nazaret, the Epiayú in the region of Puerto Estrella, and so on with all the rest who were distributed

/171 cont./

539 throughout La Guajira. Mareiwa spoke with them for the last
614 time to bid them farewell. Thus he spoke to them: 'That is
773 what I wanted, that you should live here. I am going away now, but will continue to watch over you from Heaven.'"

* * *

614 To better understand their mythology, it is essential to know the organization of La Guajira. Let us see this in brief.

The whole peninsula is divided among diverse groups having special characteristics, which have received in popular language the name of castas /"race," "breed"/. These castas are really clan groups whose most outstanding traits are the following:

1. Each one, as we were able to see in the preceding stories, has a totemic animal which serves to group together all the individuals belonging to the same clan. With respect to the totem animals we find the following:

Clan	Representative animal
Epiayú	Royal turkey buzzard /172/
Ipuana	Caricari
Uriana	Jaguar

Alfred Jhan[a] (1) adds for this same clan group the following

1. Alfred Jhan:[a] Los aborígenes del Occidente de Venezuela /The Natives of Western Venezuela/, p. 144.

totemic animals:

Uriana	Jaguar (Zone of Taroa and Bahía Honda)
"	Rabbit (Cruce coast of Maracaibo) /Las Cruces.--Ed./

[a] [25, should read Jahn. - Ann Lyon]

614 /172 cont./

Uriana	Pauralata (in all parts)
"	Jokóriú /Spanish, tuqueque/(in all the plains)

Professor G. Hernández de Alba (2) points out for the same

2. G. Hernández de Alba: Etnología Guajira /Guajira Ethnology/, p. 46.

clan group other representative animals:

Uriana	Jaguar (Canahapur)
"	Lion (Guasach)
"	Cat (Mussa)

In spite of the diversity of the representative animals ascribed to the same clan group, all agree in pointing out first of all the jaguar for the zone where it predominates; moreover, it is the best known in the entire peninsula.

Sapuana	Bittern. For the same group Jhan, in the work and pages cited, gives "hen."
Jayariyú	Dog
Apshana	Buzzard
Sijuana	Wasp
Urariyú	Rattlesnake
Jitnú	Fox
Soriyú	Cataneja
Pausayú	Bee
Usarayú	Stag /Venado Cauquero/
Epinayú	Burro /173/
Jusayú	Mapuro /a kind of opposum/
Uriyú	Partridge
Sapuana	Machorro /edible lizard/
Pushaina	Wild hog

For some very /numerically/ reduced groups such as the Urenanaka, Woruboruyú, and Mapishana, we have not found a

/173 cont./

614 representative animal. It is not that they do not have one, but that in some region there are no members of their group /present/, and the other people do not know them /that is, the totem/.

At the present time the association of a clan group with a particular totem animal does not imply that its members need offer sacrifices or keep taboos. The belief that they descend from it no longer prevails nor does the special prohibition that no harm is to be done to it or that it should not be killed. The idea that the genesis /of the group/ is to be found in the totem animal does not appear to have been present even in their remote past. The origins that we found in the native narratives do not include this idea. Nowadays, they laugh when one questions them about the animal of their casta; many confess proudly that they belong to the jaguar, to the bee, or to the rattlesnake.... They say they are brave, just like those animals, and that they always cause harm to whoever bothers them. Sometimes they will give an example of how the jaguar devours the other animals, and they believe it is the bravest of them all. It thus acquires the sense of a symbol that prompts them to be aggressive. However, there are others who feel troubled if they have to confess /the name of/ their totem animal as is the case of the clan group represented by the burro. The children refuse to do so and if they do name it say their animal is very ugly, that they do not like it, etc.

614 787 Where we found a strong manifestation of the survival of the identification of the individual or the group with its totem animal is in the interpretation of dreams. In some cases, if a person dreams of one of these symbolic animals, it means that he is going to have something disagreeable happen to him at the hands of some members of the corresponding clan, that he will be visited by them, that a marriage alliance is forthcoming, that some relative of whom he has dreamed is going to upset social stability by wounding one of the clan symbolized by the

/173 cont./

614 animal, or the reverse, etc., according to the nature and the
787 particular details of the dream.

* * *

614 2. We find the origin of clan marks also commemorated
422 in the preceding narratives. Every group of individuals with
304 the same name living in the same place had the problem of /174/ distinguishing their animals from those near by or at a distance. Maréiwa did not want this situation to give rise to problems. Along with each group of animals, he gave the corresponding name and representative animal and the property mark, which he engraved on a stone. At the present time they still recognize the generic mark of each casta used to brand the animals and /mark/ the individuals belonging to it. Nevertheless, a variation of this original idea is to be found. Clan marks are degenerating into family marks, and in a process even further advanced we find individual marks, constituted sometimes by a special sign or by the owner's initials branded by a hot iron on some visible part of the body of the animal, or a special cut or nick in the ears of sheep or goats. Tattooing the clan mark on individuals is becoming more and more rare; it is more common in the lower than in the higher classes, and among the less acculturated than among those brought into contact with whites. Regional and family variations are found in the same class. The clan mark persists in some localities but as an adornment, a "luxury," as they say when questioned. To this end they replace the totem by a schematic figure of the animal, and among the mestizos, by the initial of the name. The parts of the body where these marks are generally located are the upper part of the thigh on men, and the upper surface of the forearm on women.

614 Sometimes they still place the totem mark of the clan on
422 objects of domestic use, (gourds, pottery, bags). But this practice is not very common. At the present time, articles of

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G14 personal property are marked with letters, especially such items
922 as clay and gourd vessels and parts of the harness of riding animals and their hammocks /chinchorros and hamacas/.

G14 3. Naming. According to mythology, every clan had its
551 personal name given to it by Mareiwa directly or was inspired by him. It covers all the individuals belonging to the same clan and is the indication of blood relationship. Clan disintegration at the present time has made it necessary to add to this generic name the name of the locality and the name of the most outstanding family head (cacique).

At the present time a Guajiro individual feels that in spite of being linked to another by an identical name he is not a relative /of that person/, and he makes a distinction within the same clan of diverse groups with more or less prestige. However, at a time when attacked by another group, they may make /175/ common cause if their co-operation is needed.
[175] Furthermore, the introduction of the Catholic marriage has given equal value to naming by using the paternal surname followed by the maternal surname, although in a stage of transition the second of these has greater value.

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G14 4. Consanguinity. Consanguinity plays an important role
602 in the Guajiro concept of kinship, which embraces all individuals joined in a chain through common female ascendants, that is, uterine kinship. In this way they set aside the paternal branch, which may be found in opposition and enmity, because in the Guajiro mentality the father-son biological bond, although it exists, does not count in determining kinship. The common tie that embraces all the individuals of a clan is the mother's blood in the biological act and in the process of gestation. From this premise the Guajiro derives the importance of the spilling of blood through themselves or outsiders, because it represents the destruction of the kinship tie and of the vital element. This valuation is the outstanding concept in the regimen for social stability in the culture.

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614 602 Furthermore, consanguinity regulates some fundamental aspects of clan organization, such as inheritance -- of wealth and of name; group identification; the place to locate the home, the cemetery, and marriage.

Within the group of consanguineous relatives, the influence of the maternal uncle is the one most felt, since the father lacks such authority. The uncle holds in his hands the rights and obligations which in other cultures, like our own, are assigned to the father. Another concept included in consanguinity is that of considering as sons and daughters all the members of the generation immediately following one's generation, and as siblings all the members of one's own generation within the clan group. The nexus of consanguinity within the clan is kept alive in its obligations and rights by the economic and social backing given to all its members. Between the dead and the living, for example, the tie is preserved through the special ceremonial made in tribute to the former (Cf. Cult of the dead, Chap. II) to keep alive the emotional bond between past and present generations.

Relations with other clan groups are controlled through compliance with the regimen for stability and by punitive measures that control aggression. Should aggressive acts occur, the aggressor and the injured party can strengthen their /respective/ positions by /176/ alliances with other groups, thus forming a bloc with sufficient power or coercive strength to bring about a favorable legal settlement.

178 602 614 At the present time all these bonds are becoming weakened by the change in the direction of kinship. The old total group concept has changed, in consequence of various influences, into another which is almost totally opposite. In the first place, the clans show subdivisions which affect their original unity and which have come about by members of the same clan settling in different parts of the peninsula, who, after a long period of growth and assisted by the springing up of their own caciques and for want of contact with the original cell, have become veritable independent groups with a sense of unity, although they all preserve the same totem and a common name and clan marks.

/176 cont./

178 In the second place, we observed a limitation in the exer-
602 cise of the clan's function. The concept of consanguineous kin-
614 ship between all its members has relaxed to the point that con-
sanguineous ties are considered to exist only among the closest relatives. An individual's kinsmen have become limited to his mother and her female ascendant, and to his mother's brothers and sisters together with their offspring. Some extend kinship to include relatives of the fourth degree of collaterality, and then to the brothers, sisters, and their descendants. By limiting the concept of kinship, all obligations attached to those no longer considered consanguineous are lost. Consequently, clan unity begins to disintegrate.

178 Another change in the concept of kinship has been intro-
797 duced by Catholic marriage. It implies the abolition of the
602 uterine affiliation, the basis of clan organization. It introduces
614 the paternal branch into the kinship system and places it on a superior plane since the father's name and not the mother's, as it was traditionally, comes first in the offspring. /According to the Spanish custom of compound surnames, one's father's surname comes first. --Ed./ Furthermore, it destroys the authority and predominance of the maternal uncle because that of the father replaces and surpasses it.

178 5. Exogamy. The Guajiro clan was essentially exogamous.
614 Acculturation has made marriage possible and legal between
582 members of the same clan. In other words, clan exogamy has disappeared, and only family exogamy is followed.

614 6. Location. With respect to clan settlement the myths
423 already quoted resolve the problem by assigning fixed regions to
178 each of the groups which Mareiwa created. These lands are held in common by each clan, which also works them communally. The /177/ improvements introduced, such as roads, wells, and cemeteries, are made with the assistance of all the clan members who will make use of them. At the present time individual solution of the water problem has permitted the splitting up of the communal pasturage land. Furthermore, there is a strong trend toward the breaking up of agricultural land.

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614 7. Work. Labor is obligatory and communal for carrying
461 out work necessary for the general well-being of the group.
476 In the case of labor on property held by a single individual, aid is voluntarily lent by all the others, including men who may not belong to the same clan. The aid is reciprocated by the return of identical service when it may be requested.

614 8. Location of the dwelling. We have already spoken about the location of the home of the new family cell (Cf. Marriage residence in the chapter on Marriage).

614 9. The clan cemetery. Every clan group has a cemetery
764 on its own land, built by the co-operative work of its members. In it all the members of the clan should be buried; if it is not possible to do so at the time of the first burial, it is mandatory that the ashes /sic/ at least be taken there. With the individualization of property, the small families have constructed private niches situated in sites near the family house to be used as the temporary resting place of the remains of their closest relatives.

614 10. Group feeling. The consanguineous tie between all
571 the members of the same clan group had brought about a natural feeling of group unity. This feeling included a series of mutual duties and a number of rights they all could enjoy. The principal and most outstanding of the first was that of presenting a solid front in the face of any breaking down of the regimen for social stability when they felt injured by an offense or when one of the members had broken some cultural pattern, an act for which the whole clan had to bear responsibility. To get satisfaction and to give it as a total collectivity was their essential duty, as it was also to keep in force their prestige and status through adequate compliance of each of those functions which put the clan to the test.

The disintegration of the clan unit into more or less large family cells broken down the group feeling and transfered it to the family as an independent unit. /page 178 is blank/

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XII

LAW

683 Delicts of aggression. The regimen for social stability is breached, according to the Guajiro Indian's tradition, when aggressive acts are committed in one way or another against the security of individuals.

Let us see some of these infractions which are considered punishable acts that cause the culprit to be sanctioned, in each case in the form of a material indemnity of variable amount, paid to the offended party.

The Guajiro thinks that life rests in the blood, since it is the vital element of most importance (See Ideas about fecundation in Chap. V). To spill blood in any way implies taking some part of his life away from its owner, and in addition, as blood is not the property of the individual only but of all the consanguineous relatives since it is the tie of solidarity through the uterine line, it is necessary for this reason to indemnify these relatives for the injury done to one of their members. Translated into its legal aspect, this means that the breaking of the regimen for stability through an offense or by a delict involves not only the individual but all his consanguineous relatives. But not only are the cases that involve the spilling of blood considered as punishable acts, the Guajiro also classify as delicts against the regimen for social stability all those that in some manner constitute in themselves an open aggression against the person of an individual and that therefore extend to his relatives.

Injuries. Various causes lead to this aggressive act /sic/. The majority of these stem from an old quarrel between two family groups that has not been effectively solved by a payment that should clearly have settled it, so that the members of the two sides are always openly antagonistic, and this feeling,

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683 kept below the surface for various reasons, suddenly shows itself at a given moment. That is to say, the cause is in short a family vendetta which may break out at any instant. Another of the causes can be an enmity originating in an illegal act committed by one group against another, such as the stealing of animals, /180/ the abduction of a woman without the corresponding payment, or suspicions or evidence of adultery. In addition one must consider those aggressive acts which occur on the spur of the moment, that is, aggression provoked in the majority of cases by alcoholic abuse.

683 One must also consider many aspects itself of spilling blood which extend responsibility for this aggressive act to one or
672 various persons who did not participate in it directly, but in a passive form. Thus we have the situation that the person guilty of a punishable action of this class is not only he who does it willfully, but also the individual who does it involuntarily, as illustrated in the following example. Two very intimate friends went out one day to hunt. They belonged to different family groups. They had hunted all afternoon and were returning to their homes when a chance of a shot presented itself. When the man carrying the gun tried to shoot, the gun went off unexpectedly and wounded his friend. The culprit, with his relatives, suffered all the consequences connected with breaking the law. No attenuating circumstances of any kind were considered -- neither the friendship nor the involuntary character of the act.

683 The owner of a firearm which causes injury or death brings punishment upon himself and upon his relatives. For this reason, the man who lends a weapon must suffer the consequences of its wrong use, whether voluntary or involuntary.

Injuries to oneself. Anyone who wounds himself must pay his relatives for having shed blood, their common bond to which he has no right.

When some person with an object owned by him injures another person. From among others we cite one case as an example. A rich Indian living in Nazaret got drunk one day.

/180 cont./

683 Already very intoxicated, he started off for home at nightfall, riding on a very frisky burro. For some reason the animal got frightened on the road, near a fence of sticks which protected a corn field belonging to a family different from his own. Because of the jumping of his mount and his own condition, the Indian fell off and scratched his face on the fence, and received in addition several wounds caused by the out-of-control animal. The injured Guajiro charged the owners of the fence with the responsibility of his having shed blood and to indemnify him for this involuntary spilling of his blood, the owners of the sown field were punished by the destruction of their fence, which meant that they lost their harvest. The owners, of a group inferior to that of the injured man, had to resign themselves to this punishment /181/ for fear of worse sanctions, without being able to appeal at all to their favor lack of guilt, since the fence, as their property which it was, had caused the loss of blood. They could be thankful, furthermore, that they were not forced to pay a much higher compensation payment which the injured Indian initially wanted to claim.

Also grouped together under this heading are injuries caused by an animal, whose responsibility is transferred to its owner, who must pay the indemnity due. We have the following case of this. A dog belonging to the convent at Nazaret bit a calf that was in the convent's sown field. After a time the calf died. The wounds received were then taken as the cause of death and payment was demanded for the animal on both counts /of injury and death/.

[672] When one Guajiro lends another any animal, he makes himself responsible, as in the case of firearms, for anything that may happen as a consequence of the loan. Thus, for example, if the loan of a beast of burden or a pack animal leads to the borrower's getting hurt, the owner of the animal must pay the damages incurred, because they say that if he had not lent the horse the incident would not have occurred, hence he is the cause of it.

/181 cont./

683 A man who employs another runs the risk that something may happen to him while he is in his service or carrying out one of his orders.

A little girl in the orphanage burnt her leg in the kitchen when carrying out a task she had been told to do while learning to cook. Her mother, when she heard of the incident, came to the convent in spite of the fact that the burn was insignificant and formally demanded compensation payment from the Reverend Sisters, the persons responsible for what had happened to her daughter as she was under their orders.

A rich mestizo woman one night requested the services of a Guajiro girl who lived in the neighborhood to help her prepare a meal quickly for her husband and some of his friends who had arrived unexpectedly. While this girl was dressing a hen she cut her finger. The wound bled a little but was of no importance. Nevertheless, very early the following day her mother appeared and demanded compensation payment from the mestizo for the blood shed by her daughter. As the girl was of low status, the mestizo only had to pay four goats, five pigs, 15 hens, 25 skeins of thread for hammocks, five bars of soap worth $1.50 /sic/ each, and several mirrors and kerchiefs. /182/

Contagion. The passing on of a disease, when it does not cause death, can be considered an aggressive act liable to a payment in accordance with the consequences of the contagion.

Any accident, even if caused directly by an enemy of the family or a personal one, which occurs to a person sent by another in compliance with the latter's orders, makes the responsibility and the fault lie equally with the direct causer of the accident and the man under whose orders the injured man acted, since the victim's relatives allege that if he had not been sent under orders to such a place, the act would not have occurred.

Involuntary responsibility implies payment in cases such as the following: A girl was going with a burro to a near-by well for water. Passing the house of a friend, she invited her to

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683 accompany her. Both got on the burro, which was loaded with the pitchers. The animal reared, and the second girl fell on a cactus, whose needles caused her to bleed. The injured girl's mother demanded compensation payment from the other, and thus made the mother of the first girl go from house to house among her friends and relatives to collect animals and objects with which to pay for her daughter's wrongdoing. If the girl had not invited her friend and if she had not mounted her on an animal which was her property, the accident would not have occurred was the reason presented by the mother of the injured girl when pressing for payment.

A person is also considered to culpable if through giving advice, he causes a particular course of action during the execution of which something happens which brings harmful consequences to the person who took his advice or to his family. We heard for example of the case of an Indian who had advised a friend not to use the customary road to get to a certain place but to take another which he judged to be shorter; his friend took his advice and suffered a fall from his horse, and consequently the Indian had to pay an indemnity, since his advice became an aggressive act against the other, which although involuntary required an indemnity.

It is not considered an attenuating circumstance of guilt when an injury results from an act done in the case of injury or defense. A native of Upper La Guajira very frequently bothered a mestizo because the latter would not get drunk with him, insisting that his refusal was due to his considering the native's group to be inferior to his and that he wanted to humiliate him with this. The mestizo showed himself unwilling to please him until one day they happened to get drunk together in the mestizo's house. The Indian revived his ill-humor and said insulting things about the mestizo's maternal family. The latter, on one hand, should have asserted himself before the onlookers, but on the other hand, the law /183/ did not give him the right, in s pite of the offense, to hit one who insulted his family in his own house and in front of onlookers.

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683 Furthermore, the laws of hospitality held him back. But there came a moment when he could stand no more, and he hit his tormentor, making his nose bleed profusely. The claim for compensation payment was immediate: He had to pay 45 goats, ten mules, two demijohns of rum, two gold necklaces, 25 skeins of cotton thread, ten hens, four machetes, large kerchiefs, and 80 pesos to a white doctor for his medical services. All this he paid in less time than that agreed upon, with the intent of humiliating his enemy and making a public demonstration of his consanguineous relatives' prestige as rich people.

That the aggressive act is done in legitimate self-defense does not excuse the man who does the injury from culpability. Above all, the claim for compensation payment is promptly presented and the amount is considerable, if the wounded man is the richer.

We must also note the following case: If someone is hurt in the house of some Guajiro the culpability extends to the family head of the home, who in this way is involved in the payment, since it is said that if the man had not been there, the deed would not have happened. The culpability is even more certain if it is established that the owner of the house invited the injured person.

In the general case of injuries we must consider those which are mutually caused by children of different family groups either during their childish activities or those which can be included among the causes just seen. A single exception is made, however, where the two disputants are both slightly hurt, and more or less equally so, while they are playing. But in spite of this, if one of the mothers demands compensation payment from the other, the latter will have to pay. For this reason the mothers try, with the means they have at their disposal, to prevent their children being in the company of children of another family group.

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683 The responsibility for the delict in La Guajira is borne not
672 only by he who gave the order but also by he who carries it out. Both are involved to an equal degree in the aggressive act. Furthermore, all the people accompanying an individual at the time this person breaks the legal system for stability and injures a /184/ family group are involved in his culpability. They tell of the case of a well-known putchi (1) between Jayariyúes and

1. War between two clan groups.

Pushainas, in which all the people accompanying the aggressor had to contribute to the payment because they found themselves involved by the very act of being present in a common complicity.

They consider as a transgressor, and therefore culpable, any individual who indirectly aids the aggressor in accomplishing his delict. It is not considered extenuating that the help was given without previous knowledge that the act was going to occur. We have already seen the case in which the culpability extended to the owners of a firearm, for example, or to those who were along. We must also classify in this totality people who collaborate in transporting the offender in a vehicle or on an animal to the site of the crime, even if they lack knowledge of the reason for such transport. That the crime took place is sufficient for them to be included as culpable.

When a Guajiro spreads slander, if it can be proved to be false, he is obliged to pay for the offense and for the damage he inflicted on the slandered person. This type of case is common among men in respect to the chastity of their women and is used as vengenace against the woman who has refused their amorous attentions or their desire for marriage. The payment demanded as indemnity covers the moral injuries caused, the material consequences, and the pain occasioned to the injured person and to her consanguineous relatives.

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683 The native adds a great deal of his own phantasy to the truth of the facts. For this reason his testimony is sometimes false. He sometimes lies deliberately to obtain the personal advantage of demanding a payment for himself or for someone who has bribed him. If the lie is proved, or if the instigator of the idea is known, the responsibility for the punishable act embraces both, who are jointly punished.

We have already seen a case in which a disinterested and sincere piece of advice led to a man's being saddled with culpability by the one to whom he gave it, since he was regarded as an indirect participant in an aggressive action against the person who took his advice. Ill-intentioned advice is also considered as a transgressive act, which if it is followed by bad results to the person who takes it and if the bad intentions are proved, the counselor is considered guilty because he has caused a break in the regimen for social security. Furthermore, if the crooked intentions of the advice are proved beforehand, the culpability is clearer and demands an economic indemnity.

The following are also considered to be aggressive acts:/185/

683 a) Pronouncing the personal name of an individual. This
689 name, according to Guajiro custom, may only be pronounced without giving offense by the closest maternal relatives. To pronounce it or to make it known to other people is to inflict an insult on the individual and involves punishment. This is probably due to the identification of an individual with his personal name. To betray the name is to betray the individual.

b) The worst offense that a Guajiro can receive from an outsider is for the latter, consciously or unconsciously, to pronounce in front of him or in front of his relatives or friends -- who would tell him about it -- the name of a dead maternal relative. The offense is as great as the relative is close. This aggressive act includes not only pronouncing the name of the dead relative when referring to him, but also addressing someone with the same name. From this stems the established custom of changing the names of all the namesakes of a person when he dies.

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683 The reason which justifies compensation payment in Guajira
689 mentality is that saying the word which designates a dead relative immediately brings back a vision of that person with the remembrance of his death, and recalls the anguish and pain of that moment. The pain of his absence is renewed, and they are reminded of how much they miss him in the group which may have suffered socially and economically due to the lack of effective backing which the dead man used to provide. All this revival of memories and the consequent affective valuation of the deceased gives great pain to his relatives, for which they must be indemnified.

The offense is graver when the individual for some reason mentions the dead person in a contemptuous way. This may cause the offended relative to kill the offender, as a natural reaction to an aggressive act, even though such an offense is not considered extenuating in this type of homicide.

The act of stepping on a Guajiro's grave is considered an aggressive act against the regimen for social security. If someone sees this happen he informs the relatives, who immediately demand an indemnity of considerable size from the relatives of the offender. This payment has to be made very quickly, since it is an assault on the cult of the dead and can give rise to an armed struggle between clans.

683 Another aggressive act which can give rise to compensation payment is contemptuous allusion to a physical defect which an individual may have or the mention of his nickname, if this refers to a bodily deformity, such as the case of a person who is one-eyed, squint-eyed, /186/ lacks an arm, or has very noticeable scars on his face or on some visible part of his body.

An offense on the same scale as the above is to mention ironically or contemptuously or in a pejorative manner the maternal relatives of someone, especially their ascendants in the female line, or their uncles, criticising their physical defects or their acts.

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683 An insult is taken as an offense that has legal sanction. We note the case of two co-wives who did not get on well. One day they met unexpectedly on the road. One insulted the other with obscenities (in Spanish) and spat on the ground when she passed. This led to her being considered the author of an aggressive act and having to pay an indemnity for the moral offense caused.

When obscenities refer to a woman's honor they are specially injurious, the more so when they refer to her genital organs or to the sex act.

To show open suspicion of another person is also an offensive action which is punished. The story is told how in the Nazaret orphanage some clothes which had been left all night in one of the interior patios to dry were stolen. The Father Superior, looking for the thief, walked around the vicinity visiting the huts and obtaining information. He wanted to find out indirectly who was the thief, and in each house he got new data. In one of these huts, the owners were away and only the servants were there, for which reason he did not enter but only looked in from the outside in a guarded way. This action was noticed, however, by a bond servant, who told his master, a laborer who worked at the orphanage. Time passed and the Father needed someone to accompany him on a trip and when he asked the Indian, the latter openly refused to go with him. Asked why, he said that he was terribly resentful because the suspicion expressed in the Father's act of curiosity had pained him profoundly. If he was not paid for the pain thus caused, he would not go with him. The Father had to indemnify him.

683 522 Another act considered offensive in the Guajiro mentality is to ridicule someone. The Indian has a jocular nature, but to make someone openly the butt of his jests may cause such a feeling of offense that the man whose feelings have been wounded demands payment. It is not unusual that they joke among themselves, especially under the effects of alcohol, but it is also not unusual for their feelings to be hurt very easily, and a simple joke may cause offense, even between very close friends. To erase the effect of the hurt and /187/ sorrow (as the Guajiro says) caused by

/187 cont./

683 being put in a ridiculous position, the individual demands a pay-
[522] ment that compensates him for what was said.

It is also considered offensive and therefore contrary to the regimen for personal safety if one man hits another without wounding him. There are two aspects to be considered in this act as aggravations: the physical, that is, the blow in itself, and the psychological, for the Guajiro thinks that by being hit in this way he has been reduced to the status of a slave or bond servant; and consequently he has not only been lowered in his standing as a free man but has also been placed on a plane of dependence with respect to the person who hit him. The indemnity must satisfy both offenses.

To tear someone's robe also has a double significance as an aggressive act: the material damage caused, which must be replaced by buying a new one (conduct of a drunken husband); and the psychological damage, as it is like injuring the person himself, since a person is identified with the clothes he wears.

Any damage to the property of a person is an aggressive act and punishable as such, and the indemnity should be greater than the loss, since the excess represents the grievance suffered.

* * *

689 The transgression of the legal norms illustrated in the above
191 aggressive acts against the regimen for stability in La Guajira must be paid for both by a member of the society as well as by an outsider. But there are two things which can only apply to a native individual, an active member of the Guajiro community. These two things are the following.

a) Language. The Indian very much values his native language and tries to preserve it at all cost. His women do not want to learn Spanish and pretend they do not know it when they are questioned. It constitutes in itself a grave offense if one native speaks to another in Spanish instead of his native tongue. The story is told of a Guajiro who spoke to a relative in Spanish during

/187 cont./

689 191 a family chat. The man thus addressed, greatly offended by what in Guajiro culture is considered a great insult, flogged him pitilessly, after having hung him by his hands from a tree. Later he wanted to kill him but was prevented by the onlookers. As he was a close relative he could not demand compensation payment, but he repaid himself for the offense by inflicting punishment. This was so terrible that the boy became mentally unbalanced and up to the time of our visit had not fully regained the use of his faculties. /188/

It is believed that the native who does not use his own language as a medium of expression among the other natives does not because he is ashamed of his own people and openly disowns them by substituting one language for another. Also, to accept another mode of expression indicates a superiority of the latter over the former, and of the foreign element over the native.

b) Breaking away of the individual from the consanguineous

689 family group and, in general, from the Guajiro community. This

291 is best expressed by the following facts. Some time ago, the

177 Guajiro boy educated in the mission or who emigrated to other centers was obliged to use the clothes used by civilizados /non-natives/. If he returned to his own environment again he had to use the guayuco once more and give up trousers. Nowadays, mestizos and rich Indians have adopted the use of a shirt or undershirt but without abandoning the guayuco, which has become converted into a garment of a distinctive Guajiro character. When a man from the peninsula wishes to show that he has broken with Guajiro culture, that he has thrown off affective, consanguineous, and legal ties, and that he has placed himself outside their society, he refuses to use a guayuco, which he hangs up in some noticeable place as a symbol of his break with the past. An equivalent act can be seen in the women. The Guajiro Indian woman denies that she is such when she refuses to wear the robe, but at present the significance of this rejection has weakened and is now replaced by the open abandoning of an undergarment, which corresponds to the men's guayuco, both functionally and symbolically. It is a

/188 cont./

689 kind of trousers which is kept up by the so-called sirapo, a belt
117 of cords and beads whose inheritance has a special meaning.
[291] The Guajiro woman who wishes to renounce her society and her culture hangs these garments up and leaves her home.

These two acts are carried out when individual interests clash with collective ones, when a social pattern must be complied with at the risk of not surviving. Here we have the case of certain Guajiro girls educated by Christian norms. When they reach marriageable age, they must submit to their own cultural patterns, which permit polygamy, and they must be bought, just as their female antecessors were. This clashes with the education they have received under other norms. Others reject the family's imposition of its own candidate for a husband and the fact that they are not allowed to follow their own affectionate impulses, etc. To such a girl there are various solutions she may take to disregard the social norms of her consanguineous relatives: committing suicide, if it comes to that, but this idea, which in extreme cases is carried out, also clashes with the moral concepts in which she has been educated; running away, but this recourse is very difficult for a woman of standing with /189/ many relatives. Then she sees as the ultimate solution the prospect of breaking with her culture, which is no longer compatible with her world view as a civilized /civilizado/ woman. She looks for refuge in a civilized institution of this kind and finds it in the Capuchin mission. In this way a number of young Guajiro have arrived looking for protection after having hung up the guayuco and the sirapo as a symbol of the break with everything that was theirs.

This is an offense of a very grave character, not only for the abandoned relatives but for the whole social collectivity. It is thought that whoever does it expresses clearly his contempt for the whole cultural group to which he belonged, placing it by this act on a lower plane. This hurts the native and increases his feeling of inferiority when confronted by the white man and brings to the fore resentments which sometimes have remained

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689 177 hidden. The breaking up of the cultural institutions against which the aggression is directed is accelerated, and these forms /of protest/, in spite of the disagreeable consequences to the individual who makes them, are becoming more numerous. Lately it has not been necessary to resort to such extreme attitudes as those mentioned, since the tenacious refusal of a woman who does not want to conform to a cultural pattern has been sufficient; this conduct does not now place her outside the institutions to which she belongs by birth, but permits her -- without sanction -- to adopt the cultural norms of the whites in this respect, or violate her own as in the case of prostitution and adultery.

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684 Another type of aggression directed against the regimen for collective stability is that determined by punishable acts relating to sex.

The abuse of a young Guajiro girl without legal purchase is an act of aggression which gives cause for the paying of an indemnity.

In this aspect of abuse one must consider violation and surreptitious sexual relations.

The first is more grave and demands a large payment from the offender, not only for illegally making use of property to which he had no right, but for the way he did it, socially humuliating for the woman and her consanguineous relatives because force is employed and wounds received, /both/ evaluated as injuries.

In the second case, in which the expressed consent of the woman is taken for granted, payment is demanded only for the sexual use of the woman and for taunting the woman's family group.

The man who pays for abuse in either of these two cases does not acquire future rights over the woman. He has paid

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684 for what he took advantage of in the /190/ past and nothing more. If he wishes, he may buy the woman as a wife after what has happened, but this is voluntary, whereas the previous payment is obligatory and its compliance is as strictly enforced as it is in cases of bloodshed. In this payment for abuse, the offender is not helped by his consanguineous relatives nor his friends, who show their disapproval of his conduct in this way, but they will intervene to oblige him to pay an adequate indemnity.

In cases of adultery when the man not only is certain but has proof of the infidelity of his wife, he demands from her maternal relatives a payment for the offense that the act has inflicted on him (See Adultery in Chapter V).

In cases of pregnancy, the woman's condition is considered in a certain way as an aggressive act on the man's part because it gives rise in her organism to a series of inconveniences for which the husband or the man who caused the pregnancy has to pay, and in effect does pay, in livestock, which he hands over to the pregnant woman's maternal relatives and of which she may have no part since they are subject to a magic taboo. This payment is still made even though the pregnancy is illegal and the price for abuse has been paid.

Payment for giving birth (suffering and bloodshed) is also demanded in the case of both legitimate and illegitimate birth. This indemnity is paid to the woman's uterine relatives.

Abortion is an act of aggression, and the injurers in this act may be either the husband or the woman's consanguineous relatives, according to who provoked it. If the man did by ill-treatment or sexual demands, the woman's family presents the claim for compensation payment. For this reason the man never suggests abortion to either his wife or his mistress and for the same reason she never confesses it to him when she resorts to it, even when it was done during the time when she was unmarried to free herself from the problems inherent in an illegitimate pregnancy.

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684 832 When the abortion is provoked by the woman when she is in an advanced stage of pregnancy, the husband demands compensation payment, and the act is considered a homicide.

684 838 An offense of a very grave character for an individual and his relatives is the attempt made by a homosexual to abuse him. Generally, this aggressive act is directed against defenseless young boys, who can be physically forced to submit. Their relatives demand compensation payment, not only for the physical molestation suffered by their relative but for the psychological and social significance of the offense, which completely devolves on them.

684 839 Exhibitionism of a sexual type is considered a punishable act because it entails an offense against the modesty of those present, and if /191/ the spectator is a person of high standing, it implies moreover a grave offense to his high status which demands respect from others; in this case the payment is greater and may cause strong reprisals to be taken against the offender's relatives. These offenses may refer to homosexual practices, suggestions or representations real or imaginary of copulation, or exhibition of the genital organ. Both sexes may undress in public without the spectators feeling offended, as happens at [5½ 831] the public baths, where the women bathe without concern, taking care to cross their legs. The man holds the penis to his waist in a way that his hairiness covers him and so does not offend the modesty of the bystanders.

684 Other aspects which have to be taken into consideration are the offenses that the woman can inflict on the man during married life. Let us remember that Guajiro women, even to this day, are bought without their wishes being taken into account, and that those who cannot avoid this marriage -- by means of suicide, flight, or breaking with the community -- may refuse to cohabit with the husband imposed on them or to satisfy his sexual desires. The man then abandons such a woman or demands compensation payment for the pain her attitude has caused him and refuses to resume his position as

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684 husband until this payment has been made. It is very common for the man not to make any demand for money for the hurt inflicted but to try to revenge himself by his future attitude. The Guajiro women say that a woman once initiated into sexual life acquires the need for repetition of the act. Then the man refuses to satisfy her, does not frequent the home, and does not give the slightest sign of his affection. The woman is in fact abandoned and yet in the situation of a married woman without a husband, with the obligations inherent in marriage and none of its rights.

Another aspect considered as an aggressive act is the fraud entailed when a man discovers that the woman he has married is not a virgin (See Valuation of virginity in the chapter, Pre-marital Considerations).

684 As homosexuality is very much disapproved of in the culture and regarded as almost an enforced degeneration of
818 the young slaves, whoever practices it draws on himself the
628 contempt and scorn of society, and his status is compared to that of those outside society. It is the custom, when two groups are at enmity, to hurl an insult which must result in a decision by arms. This insult consists in telling the enemy that their men would not even serve as women for their opponents. The hidden aim is to avoid legal proceedings and to start a war without quarter, in which they hope to obtain more advantages than by peaceful and orderly negotiation. /192/

682 The most serious aggressive act is homicide. No attenuating circumstances are taken into account, not even that the killing was involuntary or done in self-defense, since the Guajiro solely considers the act itself: An individual took the life of another and serves punishment.

Let us consider some aspects of this type of aggression.

1. Voluntary homicide, that is, one person killing another consciously and deliberately.

2. Involuntary homicide, that is, one person killing another without intending to execute an aggressive act, such as

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682 when a shot hits a person during hunting, or when a shot is fired accidentally at the moment the owner or someone else is cleaning a gun and in this way kills another, etc. Included in these cases we must note one that occurs very frequently when a man lends a gun. If an accident occurs which results in the death of a third person, that is, a homicide, the owner of the gun must help the man who caused the accident to pay for the death. If it is used to commit suicide, again it is the owner of the gun who must pay. For this reason the material objects that a person uses for [672] killing himself are punished. As the general custom is to hang oneself, the beam and the rope are burned at such a time; and if the act was done inside a dwelling, it is also burned, although in this case for another reason connected now with magic. In summary, then, we can say that homicide is considered as such without any excuses for those who commit it, directly or indirectly.

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682 Suicide brings punishment on the person who has provoked it, directly or indirectly. Very frequently young men commit suicide 762 when their father, mother, or other relatives reprimand them or do not satisfy some whim. And girls do the same when they are sold in marriage by their uterine relatives without taking their wishes into account.

In this case those who gave cause for the suicide are held responsible. If it was the mother or some relative of hers, the father of the suicide demands compensation payment, or if the reverse -- if it was the father -- the mother with her relatives do the same. /193/

If a man should commit suicide because of unrequited love, when for example he asks to buy a girl and her relatives will not let him have her as his wife or she refuses his amorous attentions and in consequence he commits suicide, the claim for compensation payment for his death is made against the maternal relatives of the girl or against whoever refused to let him buy her.

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681 762 As the most important function of a wife is to take care of her husband, particularly his health, she must answer for it to his maternal relatives, if for some reason he commits suicide; she is considered guilty of his death, as well as guilty of not having been at his side to prevent it. We have information of men who committed suicide while they were drunk and their wives were absent for some very well-justified reason, and the husbands' maternal relatives made the wives responsible for their deaths because they said that it was their first and most important duty to avoid these tragedies by watching their husbands every moment while they were drunk.

If ill-treatment by the husband or other act for which he is responsible provokes his wife's suicide, her relatives present a claim for compensation payment against him as guilty of her death.

Anyone who by a slight, a joke, or an offense drives someone else to commit suicide is made responsible for the death and for this reason must pay for the criminal act.

Attempted suicide is also punished; the maternal relatives demand from the person who made the attempt an adequate indemnity for having broken a law, because he has no right to spill his own blood, the bond common to the other members, nor to dispose of his life, which belongs to the consanguineous group, nor to cause the group the pain of his death.

682 Guajiro law considers the uterine relatives of the expectant mother responsible for the life of the child about to be born, and if the child dies they are made responsible and must pay the husband, if the cause of the death was a wrong movement made by the mother during the delivery, or noncompliance with the midwife's instructions, etc. But if the child is the first child, who must be born in the home of the expectant mother's maternal relatives, and the father has not taken her there and the woman does not receive adequate attention and the baby dies, the blame is placed on the husband, who must pay for the death of his son to his wife's maternal relatives.

If a child dies while the father is absent, and the mother has not complied with her obligation to give him immediate news

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682 of the child's illness, he may demand a compensation payment as though she had been to blame for the child's death. /194/

When a woman dies in childbirth, her maternal relatives demand compensation payment from the husband.

When the death of an individual is caused by the infidelity of one of his wives, that is, when the husband kills her lover because he has discovered her committing the delict of adultery, or simply because he suspects it, the dead man's family demand compensation payment for homicide from the husband's family, in spite of the fact that he isbacked by popular opinion since it is considered a sign of manliness to kill one's wife's lover. Apart from this demand, they may make a second one for compensation payment, this time from the adulterous woman's relatives as they consider her to have been the cause of the tragedy.

When both husband and rival perish in the struggle, which sometimes happens, the richer and more important family demands compensation payment, even though they are the lover's family and in spite of the fact that his death is considered justified by Guajiro legal conscience; his relatives allege that the maternal relatives of the husband must pay because they are not their economic and social equals. In this way the principle of justice which inspires all Guajiro law is satisfied; the law favors the litigant group of relatives which has the higher status. The payment the woman has to make is twofold: to the maternal relatives of the lover and to those of the husband, since she is responsible for the whole affair.

When the husband kills the lover in a fight which originated from the wife's adultery, the husband is made to pay for the death, especially if the dead man's consanguineous relatives belong to a group of superior status. They legalize their claim for compensation payment by saying: "What right has this man who has nothing to pay us with to put his hands on our relative, to spill his blood, taking away his life and separating his spirit? What does it matter that he did it in defending his right to his wife whom he bought for himself, if he has nothing to pay us with?" In this case the family group of the dead man, without any negotiations whatever, takes justice into its own hands, razing, destroying, and

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682 taking for itself everything it can lay hands on, unless some alliance of relatives reinforces the unprotected position of the husband's group and obliges the others to follow legal proceedings.

If a Guajiro, man or woman, dies suddenly in a house where he has sought temporary hospitality, the woman who is head of that house must pay for his death to the dead man's maternal relatives, who, considering her culpable, demand compensation payment. A case is known in Upper La Guajira of an individual who, having helped in the communal work of seed sowing, drank a great quantity of chicha made from wild yucca /yuca brava/ given to him by the owners of the field. He started off for home late in the afternoon in an advanced state of drunkenness. As it was getting late, he asked for hospitality /195/ in the first house that he passed on the road. To comply with the laws of hospitality, they took him in, hung up a hammock in the enramada /shelter of boughs/ so that he could go to bed and spend the night. They gave him nothing to drink. The next day they found him dead. It is very probable that the chicha of wild yucca had not been sufficiently cooked and for that reason had not lost its toxic nature, and this had killed him. Nevertheless, because he died in the house where they had hospitably taken him in, the owners of the house were held liable to his maternal relatives for his death.

This application of the law makes the Guajiro very solicitous of those who ask for hospitality and also obliges him to do his utmost if his guest becomes ill, to attend to him, and to report the news at the earliest possible moment to his relatives so that they can come and see him and thus free the host from the responsibility for his death.

Guajiro law considers the head of the house as author of, and the one responsible for, the death when he gives the participants in a communal piece of work insufficiently cooked chicha made of wild yucca which intoxicates and kills any of them. This covers any food or drink believed to cause the death of anyone.

Here we must add the delict of causing the death of another by spreading a disease. We have the case of a native woman from

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682 Upper La Guajira who arrived in Uribia suffering from measles and asked for hospitality in the house of a friend of hers of the well-to-do class. This friend, the owner of the house, could not deny her request and as a result caught the measles and died. The family of the dead woman demanded a very high compensation payment from the woman who brought the disease.

One must also consider the homicide caused, according to the Guajiro mentality by the breaking of a taboo. The Guajiro woman during her periods of pregnancy and menstruation, the murderer, and the participants in funeral rites are at all times bearers of a malignant magic power that can infect, hurt, or kill young children and people seriously ill. If one of these tabooed people presents himself at a house where there is one of those liable to this evil influence, and this person dies within a period such that it can be presumed that the death was the result of the transgression of the taboo, his maternal relatives declare the tabooed person guilty of the death or illness of the child when this occurs, or of the seriousness of the sickness in question.

When a Guajiro's death is caused by a white, that is, by an 682 individual who does not belong to the community, the idea of 648 blame is governed by the norms just set forth. At the present time they generally submit /196/ to Guajiro law as the punitive form, but customarily in the peninsula, one of these deaths is paid for by the death of three civilizados /nonnatives/, since many Indians still believe that every civilizado is part of a homogeneous consanguineous family group. Others know this is not so, but nevertheless the death of an Indian by a white gives rise to strong reprisals and even to the death of the white man. If the murderer remains in the peninsula territory or near it, it is almost certain that he will be killed magically by some relative of the murdered man, who will wait, although already well paid, for some suitable occasion to kill him.

685 Other kinds of aggressive acts are those involved in the theft of food, livestock, and personal belongings.

The first two are the most common in the peninsula, to the point that some authors and travelers have considered theft to be

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685 a peculiar characteristic of the Guajiro Indian. They steal from the time they are children, since the scarcity of food in La Guajira makes the child steal food from his younger brother, from his relatives, and from outsiders; and he eats it immediately or takes it away and hides it in the woods to use when it is possible and convenient to his need.

This means that they are punished when they steal food from their own homes and praised when they steal it from outsiders. Even men frequently steal from the sown fields at night, and there is hardly a stock breeder who does not have to exercise scrupulous vigilance over his livestock day and night to avoid being the victim of thieves. At night the livestock must be shut up in well-fenced corrals, annexed to the houses, but even so they are frequently stolen. During the day the flocks are never allowed to pasture without someone looking after them. The Guajiro knows and can distinguish from others the tracks of his animals, which permits him to track them over long distances, helped by the sandy soil, until he finds where they are. The tracker follows the thief until he finds him, and if he discovers him with the stolen animal it is not unusual for him to kill him. If he knows who the thief is, he goes at once to this man's closest relatives, demanding indemnity, which they will certainly pay, because if they do not, the wronged man will take advantage of any opportunity to recuperate his loss and damages by his own hand.

[787] When they wish to know who the rustler is, they frequently have recourse to the diviner, who takes a cigarette, a wand, or a firebrand, according to his speciality, and lights it. In the wisps of smoke and in the way the flame consumes the burning article, he believes that he can find, after long observation, the thief and the place where the stolen thing can be found. /197/

When they recover an important object, the family that had lost it give a small feast in which an animal is slaughtered to [533] divide among attending friends; chicha and rum are drunk, and [535] a drum is beaten with the monotonous, prolonged rhythm to which they dance the chicha maya for several nights.

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685 The punishments which the Guajiro establish to punish crimes against property are varied and very elastic in their application, since it depends on the standing and strength of those concerned.

We have seen how the first reaction when a thief is discovered is to kill him, in spite of the consequences it can bring. If they do not kill him at once, they follow a curious magic process aimed at the same end: to contrive the thief's death. "This is why when they recover a cow or an animal that had been stolen from [989] them, or it reappears, they cut its hair and bury it up to its neck; the owners surround it and cry as if they were at a wake; they insult and curse the thief, reinforcing their actions with explosions of gunpowder, which they mix with ashes and the hair of the stolen animal. In this way they believe they will cause the death of the thief (1)."

1. Jahn, Alfred. Los Aborígenes del Occidente de Venezuela, page 187.

Guajiro law stipulates as indemnity for the theft of an object or an animal, double or sometimes three times the value of the stolen item. Generally it is double, to pay for what was stolen and indemnification for damages. But the application of the law exceeds this at times, particularly when it is made effective on unprotected groups, in which case it has on occasion gone as high as ten times the value of what was stolen and even the elimination of the thief's family, leaving them in abject misery because they took away all their herds, as happens in Jarara. In this region, which is dryer than the rest of the peninsula and consequently lacking in agricultural resources, the whole economic life is centered around stock raising, which provides food and in olden times helped to provide clothing. If the thief is punished by taking away his livestock, he is by that act reduced to the margin of the social collectivity, since he finds himself obliged to emigrate as he has no other means of livelihood. When he emigrates he abandons his lands, which his enemies take. These

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685 groups left destitute by the application of the law governing theft join others, impoverished by the summer /droughts/ for example, and form the social part of the community which is easily forced into bond service by the stronger groups. (Cf. Chap. Slavery and Bond Service.)

Informer. In La Guajira the informer acquires the character
203 of an institution which helps to maintain the regimen for social
691 stability in /198/ the peninsula. This individual -- man or woman -- busies himself bringing to members of any family group news of an infraction of any legal precept which affects them and which has not been done in their presence. For instance, if the name of a dead man was spoken, if a joke was made about him, if someone stepped on his grave, etc., the informer carries the news to the interested parties, so that when the indemnity is paid for the aggressive act, he as informer will get his share. When two family groups find themselves enemies through the violation by one of the sides of some section of the regimen for social stability, they are very careful not to comment about the case in front of outsiders, because the news, misrepresented, may be taken to the opposite side, obstructing at times the legal work of the arbitrator and causing an open struggle between the two sides. The informer wants to have the right to a part when the distribution of the indemnity is carried out.

Where the action of the informer is most noticeable is in the case of a constant struggle among various co-wives. He takes advantage of this situation of mutual rancor, bringing and taking news of the movements of their husband from one to the other, etc., to obtain a remuneration for his services.

The informer defends his position, participating directly but without getting himself involved in the legal infraction against the family group to whom he reports. Later he justifies his right to receive indemnity by asserting that he too has suffered pain, has shed tears for example, when the offense has led to the death of a person, and he served as a mourner during the ceremony which followed the death.

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681 614 It is with this understanding that the distribution of animals is made on such an occasion, and with it, payment is made for the pain received for any offense. On the day that such a payment is to be made, all the friends of the beneficiary arrive, reminding him of, and drawing his attention to, the information they gave him and the pain that the offense has given them. At this time the services already given to the group in the past are evaluated and possible future aid is taken into consideration. The totality of various attitudes observed at this moment is known to the Guajiro by the name of jurijonear, which means "to be present at a distribution in order to obtain for any reason some part of it."

In Guajiro law there exists one aspect which we must consider: when the clan group does not accept joint responsibility for an infraction against the regime for social stability by one of its members.

One of the cases when the coercive action of the whole clan is /199/ shown is when an individual commits a delict of such a nature that it provokes in his own consanguineous relatives the reaction of considering him to be outside the collectivity, which signifies in fact that he is also outside Guajiro society. This was the case of the Kusina, marginal outlaws, who were slowly extinguished by all the other clan groups, who made common cause against them. They were individuals turned out of the cl[illegible] organization by their own consanguineous relatives becau[illegible] violations against the culture's regimen for social stability.

681 682 614 With respect to the breaking of the regimen for social stability by homicide, it is necessary to note the individual expiation that the violator is obliged to carry out. The offender submits himself voluntarily to a special regimen (1) the object of which is to make

1. Pineda Giraldo, Roberto. Aspectos de la Magia en la Guajira, Revista del Instituto Etnológico Nacional, Vol. III, Part 1, 1947. Bogotá, 1950. Pages 82 and following.

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681 amends to a certain extent for the wrong both before his own
614 conscience and the opinion of his kin; the Guajiro murderer tries
682 by means of this expiation to avoid being again involved in an act the consequences of which have already fallen so heavily on his kin; to free himself in some way from the social coaction which his act has provoked; and most particularly to placate the dead man's spirit which from the moment of his death has followed him everywhere, crying for satisfaction and helping in the punishment of the offender. The Guajiro murderer believes so fully that he is pursued by the spirit of the murdered person that in those cases in which the author of the crime is not known, the guilty man, obsessed by such a belief, especially when he is sick, confesses his crime publicly and submits to the legal prescriptions which envelop both him and his kin.

After this regimen of expiation, the Guajiro murderer must bear the social coaction which forms all around him, expressed especially by the isolation which is imposed on him. Certain aspects of magic are connected with the murderer which oblige him to keep on the margin of society; for instance, he cannot visit sick people because he will make them worse, nor homes where there are children because they will become sick at his presence; wherever he goes he will carry with him the infuriated spirit of the dead man, which produces these evil results.

His social status goes down as an immediate consequence, and his economic position suffers considerably, because the delict of blood prohibits him from freely and efficiently exercising the productive activities which he used to perform, besides condemning him to live in exile for many long years. /page 200 is blank/

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XIII

PRESENTATION OF A CLAIM FOR COMPENSATION PAYMENT

628 A claim for compensation payment /cobro/ is presented to a family group when it has violated some point of the regimen for personal security or collective stability, thereby violationg a civil or judicial right of another group. It is an essential condition that the two groups should be more or less equally placed socially and economically, because when there is inequality, the stronger does not wait for the regular procedure of justice, but gains it by its own hand, in accordance with its own wishes.

The person who brings the "word," that is, the one who is charged with presenting the claim for compensation payment to a family group is, as a general rule, the cacique of a region (Cf. Chap. VII) or someone else of prestige, who receives from the offended clan group the charge of delivering its demand and demonstrating /the grounds for/ the complaint to the other group. Let us see how a claim for death is effected.

A claim for death is presented when the family of the murderer is considered capable of paying for the murder, that is, of a social and economic position equal to that of the dead man.

The man who speaks for the offended clan, in addition to belonging to neither of the two bands, must tener palabra /"have word"/. By tener palabra a Guajiro means a person, man or woman, who is a master of the native language, knows very clearly the suitable course /to take/ for every situation; who is capable of expressing his thoughts in a fluid and clear form, without hesitation, with the necessary energy before all the men congregated together to hear him; who, possessing the gift of clear and serene exposition, at the same time is easy and pertinent in repartee; who can dominate his audience because his phrases have great power of conviction to establish, above all, the superiority of the group which he is representing against its

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628 adversary; who knows how to describe the situation of the offended group without humbling it or provoking a negative reaction from the enemy; who is capable of making the opponents feel their guilt without injuring them; who leads them by means of considerations of personal convenience to the acceptance of a commitment which benefits the group he is defending, without being too /202/ onerous for the other; who does not provoke resistance and criticism from the opposing group; who does not appear to be a prosecutor but rather a mediator of good will in the problem of the interested parties; who knows how to listen serenely to the insults that the two groups hurl at each other and does not transmit them literally, but rather in a form that will lead to a settlement; who knows how to get the better of his adversary, not only through his inferiority as the guilty party but through his personal weaknesses as a man; and finally, who conducts the discussion cleverly, now humbly, now proudly, in accordance with the changes of opinion of his hearers, recalling the past or presenting to the enemy the dangers of an anxious future if they do not come to some settlement, showing the bitterness of exile and the distress of a life without peace and the natural advantage of a settlement which benefits both equally, until he overcomes the antagonist and obliges him of his own accord, without annoyance of rancor, to make the peace after a solemn promise to make a settlement or a commitment to pay a just amount to the offended group.

The procedure is as follows: Having been charged with the representation of one group to present the claim for compensation payment to the other, he who brings the "word" goes to the house of the murderer's closest relatives.

He arrives very early, at two o'clock in the morning generally, before the assembled family has dispersed to attend to its daily work.

He draws the attention of the owners of the house to his [576] presence, and they give him the usual salutation, Ansh pía ("Have you arrived?"), which permits him to introduce himself. They all rise and talk to him; then he explains the reason for his visit; he has come to present a claim on the part of such-and-such a

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628 group for such-and-such a delict, and he expounds at once the conditions, if the deed is not considered very grave, that is, if it is not for murder. If it has assumed a special gravity, he asks for a gathering of all the men of the family in a certain place, near which the men of the offended group will also meet. He serves as intermediary between the two in order to arrive at a settlement.

At the specified place on the day set both groups gather, armed and considerably animated, which makes it necessary to maintain a certain distance between them to avoid clashes and worse consequences.

Then begins the most interesting part of the mediator's work, trying to bring to an agreement the interests of the two bands, taking into consideration the means of the offender without defrauding the offended. Success depends in great part on his action. He listens to the demands and charges of one, which he then carries to the others after thinking them over, and after expounding /203/ them and listening to their reply, which he transmits to the other group. His attitude must almost be neutral; if the opponents get angry, he must remain impassive because he must not lose his serenity, or he will not be able to reply in a convincing manner. His words must be measured, although at times he may have to allow himself to be swayed by the force of the sentiments of one or the other side in order to persuade. His first moments of contact between the two bands is dedicated to directing soothing, calming words to the offended ones, making promises of a possible settlement because the other side wishes it, appeasing their bad feelings and somewhat restricting their excessive demands. On the other side, he represses the outbursts of rebellion, the tendency to solve the problem by arms, and endeavors to give to his mediation the aspect of a disinterested counsel, in which capacity he hopes to be listened to.

Thus he takes to the group he represents the words of their adversaries: "It is better that we do not wage war, brother. I come with my men to attain the peace which a settlement with you can give me. I want to satisfy your just anger. And the

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628 fact is that I don't have, as you do, enough enramadas /bough-covered shelters/ to bring together all my people attacked by yours." (He may be richer than his adversary and the person who brings the "word" makes his side believe that there is a strong desire to come to a settlement on the opposite side. With this their anger and their pretensions grow less, and a settlement is possible. He does not repeat, for any reason whatever, insults and threats, because it would only increase bad feeling and cause the mediation to fail). "I lack sufficient hammocks to offer them hospitality. I don't have enough cooking pots and provisions to satisfy their necessities and sufficient animals to slaughter every morning. We want to work. We want to go back peacefully again to our everyday work. I want to be free; to be able to sleep peacefully in the early morning without fear of attack, without the worry caused by hearing the dogs barking to announce the arrival of your people in a warlike manner. I want my mother and my sisters, my aunts and my nieces to be able to wander in peace about the woods looking for iguarayas; I want them to be able to go each day to the well for water without being waylaid and without having to be escorted, to be able to walk on every road without fearing an attack from your people, to be able to go visiting without worry, and not to wait anxiously every day for the return of our sons. I don't want to think that the women of my family or my nieces may be made into slaves by your violence after having been born free. I don't want you to seal my springs nor violate my women. I want to live peacefully with my own people, who respect me; I want to die peacefully on my land and be buried in it. I don't for a moment want to meet death at the hands of your people, a death which all future generations of my descendants will bewail /204/ and which will make our enmity the greater. For this, brother, I do not want war and come for peace."

These words, although they are not said by the adversary, must be said by the good arbitrator to his own side, who in this way believe they see in their enemy good will to make amends for the ill done to them, and so their feelings are predisposed

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628 toward making a settlement and establishing a payment which will restore peace. The people, on hearing the words, are moved and applaud the facile oratory of the person who brings the "word"; they praise him and begin to give ground in their too onerous demands against the clan of the murderer; they put to one side the haughty tone with which they started the proceedings and begin to outline the basis for a settlement, which the arbitrator then transmits to the other side.

However, it may happen that the clan that has suffered the death of its relative, inflamed by the loss and also wishing to prevent the other side from thinking them afraid, boasts of its force and shows its dislike of the settlement. Thus, it declares to the other: "I am a rich Indian. My people are brave and are ready to fight. I want our people to measure their strength against yours. We are not able to forget that one of your men cowardly spilled our blood and took away a life, which was part of ours, too. His spirit cannot rest and still wanders about the places where he was slaughtered. We want to make felt in those of your blood what they have done to ours, so that you do not laugh at our pain nor think us cowards. Dying means nothing to us if for each one of ours we kill more of yours, and our nephews will multiply to avenge our deaths. We're not afraid of you, and we want to fight. We are eager to prove to you that we are capable of making you respect our pain and of avenging our spilled blood. We are not cowards; nobody can yet dominate our men, and they have the courage to make themselves respected. Yours aren't even good as women for ours. We ask for war."

628 577 554 The Guajiro Indian fears above everything else that he be thought a coward, because then the other groups would not respect his rights. His women would be easily violated without obligatory payment; his cowardice and his fear would be thrown up at him at every moment in such a way that his social life would be made impossible. On the other hand, as long as they are more brave and more cruel, they are sure of implanting fear, and with it authority and power. A group that is feared is a powerful group and one that maintains its status.

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628 On some occasions the offender group replies again that it wants peace. "Yes, I know that you are rich and want war. I know that you are well armed and that your people busy themselves night and day preparing for the struggle. But I don't want this." (He returns to the humble tone as a tactic for obtaining a lesser obligatory payment.) "I'm not rich. You do not know /205/ that I don't have enough enramadas /bough-covered shelters/ to shelter my people molested by yours. I don't have enough hammocks to give them hospitality or animals to slaughter or pots to prepare their food. I've told you that they want to go back to their work again, look after their livestock, and await the first rains to do their sowing. They prefer to make a sacrifice and pay you for the offense we have done you so that we may go hunting in the woods and travel on the roads without having to take short cuts because of the fear of meeting some of you. I want to live many years to see my niece's children. I want to take my livestock to distant pasturage and in the winter see them grazing peacefully on my land, which I do not want to be obliged to leave. I want to die and be buried on the land of my people. War is not a game nor a light thing; for this reason I tell you again that I want peace."

In addition to these words spoken by the head of the group to which the murderer belongs, the arbitrator emphasizes to the side he represents the willingness their enemies show to come to some agreement, how pained they are by the bad thing that was done and in which they find themselves involved against their will; they declare it was an accident. He reminds them that they have nieces and sisters who would suffer the consequences of a war. He begs them to think of so many innocent people who are going to suffer the consequences of a rash attack. He talks to them about the future of the group, so peaceful and so happy before, worried and constantly disturbed by a war without quarter which little by little will destroy the important members of the family; he tells them it is better to come to a friendly settlement which offers security and an indemnity for the wrong done than to take justice into their own hands, risking their own lives and those of their relatives without any advantage. Furthermore,

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628 he reminds them of their group's past, the favors they have received at times from their present enemies; the happy hours pamed in their company, etc., always emphasizing that what happened was an accident, a misfortune for which those responsible now wish to make amends in the best way possible, and wooing them with the prospect of the economic advantages they can obtain by a peaceful settlement that brings with it all the advantages of peace.

The arbitrator returns once more to the other group, carrying his impressions back and forth and the bases for an agreement, which begins to outline itself, until he achieves a final settlement.

However, in this first meeting the arbitrator sometimes does not reach anything conclusive, and to see if he can obtain better results, he asks for a second session to try his luck. /206/

Once the two bands have decided that the affair can be arranged by means of a payment, the difficulty of getting them both to agree on the amount arises; one side asks too much, surpassing the means of the other to pay, and the latter in turn does not want to pay what is just in such cases. At times the offended group demands things which can hurt the feelings of the other side: the necklace that the murderer's mother received when she got married, for instance, with the idea of humiliating them. Or a very high price is demanded, which causes the offenders to protest: "Don't demand so much. It is true that we ought to pay you more but remember that we are not rich. The long summer parched our grass, and our animals, thin with hunger, died beside the dried-up wells. Our crops dried up for want of water without giving any harvest, and our families suffer from scarcity and need. The epidemics at the end of winter took our loved relatives, and the rest have had to emigrate to foreign lands, looking for work and food. In spite of our troubles, we want the peace that a friendly settlement with you would bring. We want peace. We do not want to look at you with hate nor to have to avoid each other on our common roads. We ask for justice, reminding you of all we have said, and then, to please you, we will gather all our available means. We will beg amongst all of us until we manage to get what you demand, but do not make it so much."

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628 At last the amount of the payment is definitively stipulated; so many animals, so many ornaments etc. The offenders fix a date on which they hope to have everything gathered together in the house of their leading man. The arbitrator goes there on that date and through their arbitrator, or cacique, they hand over to him in a solemn manner each one of the things they have promised to pay, so that it can be finally and duly noted. The representative then gathers together everything that has been handed over and counts it very carefully in full view of everyone. He receives the ornaments agreed upon and puts them away.

He asks for help in taking the animals given in payment and the other objects to the lands of the others. Members of the group accept this charge at the order of their leader and drive the animals to the borders of the litigants' property, and then return. From there the livestock are taken by members of the offended clan to the house of the murdered man's mother or to that of his maternal uncles. The head of the family group receives from the hands of the arbitrator the stipulated payment and distributes it in a way that we shall see later on, in the pertinent section.

When feelings run very high on both sides and when after postponing and holding several different meetings no agreement is reached /207/ between the two groups, due to the exaggerated greediness of one side and the bad will of the other, the moment arrives when the arbitrator can do no more, and as the problem remains without a peaceful solution, that is, without an agreement to pay, war becomes the only acceptable formula between the two enemy groups, a defensive war on the part of the group to which the murderer belongs, an offensive war on the part of the offended group. Before they know if there is a possibility of a peaceful solution, the men of each group begin to arm themselves quickly;
411 they take animals to town to trade them for guns and equipment,
278 and they quickly make bows and arrows, especially those with a point made from the sting ray which are used in war; they prepare poisons from poisonous animals, which they leave to rot and then use to put on the points of these arrows; and in addition, they seek, if possible, magic arrows in order to obtain an easy conquest of their enemy.

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628 They go fully armed to market gatherings to prevent a possible attack from the other side; this situation, which is also expected by the opposing side, in some cases makes a peaceful settlement impossible, because the Guajiro feels that, being armed, he can violate the law with impunity; he feels it best to arrange things by armed force, and thus an atmosphere of hot-headedness is produced which at times explodes into armed clashes that end in real battles, which worsen the problem and make a legal solution impossible from every point of view, because from these fights new situations of conflict arise which cannot be resolved except on the basis of mutual reprisals that are prolonged over several generations.

When war is declared, wherever two men of the opposing groups meet, they attack each other instantly, because the fight is to the death, and if at the beginning it is the offended group which takes the offensive, from the moment that the fight is on, both sides are constantly in a state of defense and attack. Then men never go out alone but always in well-armed groups, and they try not to pass places frequented by the others, although sometimes they do so to provoke the opposition. Women of each side stop going alone to the wells, but always go escorted; they do not go visiting or looking for fruit or burros lost in the woods, because they could be attacked by the enemy, who spy on them to take them for slaves or to kill them. There is a continual state of upset and uncertainty; any moment they expect an attack from the opposite side, and everywhere they go they expect to meet an enemy or to encounter death. They cannot sleep peacefully because generally the enemy attacks at dawn to take their opponents by surprise and set fire to the dwelling, forcing the women, children, and old men to stay indoors. /208/

Attacks are frequent, and in them some of each side die, with which the enmity gets worse and worse and is carried on for several generations, each of which feels the full weight of the acts done, which naturally increases hate and the idea of vengeance, which they carry out the moment they have a chance.

Distribution of the payment. The amount of a payment depends on the value the culture puts on the offense. When dealing

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with the payment for the death of a Guajiro, man or woman, it is generally customary to make it in three installments, which are distributed in this manner; the first immediately after the burial; the second at the exhumation of the remains; and the third a short time later, at the final armistice, which puts an end to the family fights and closes the offense and the period of aggression, which continues until the legal infraction has been effectively purged, that is, until the final payment has been made.

The arbitrator receives the payments from the hand of the principal head of the offender group and takes it to the house of the principal head of the offended group. All the relatives who feel themselves injured by the aggression, their friends, and the informers who have made common cause with them gather there, as do those also who with their economic and social backing have reinforced the position of the injured party in order to enable the securing of the payment.

The arbitrator hands over to the most important family head what has been obtained from the opposite band, making quite clear in the presence of all what he has given, in order to avoid later problems. The distribution begins; usually it is done by the head of the family group, that is, the cacique if he has intervened, or the group head most closely related, that is, the dead man's maternal uncle with the highest position and greatest age. If no one with these two qualifications is present, the mother may carry out this function, but generally she delegates it to her eldest child or her male child. First he gives their part to the closest relatives, and then to the rest of the relatives, to recompense them for their sorrow and in order that what they receive should soothe feelings still bitter against the aggressor. This part is greater than all the rest. The relatives are /considered/ in this order: The mother, to whom they give the marriage necklace belonging to the murderer's mother; the brothers /and sisters? hermanos/ and uncles /and aunts? tios/, when the murdered person is a man, for if it is a woman, children are considered before uncles /and aunts/. Then the arbitrator is given his share, a payment settled beforehand, generally in cattle of good quality and size. Later, in order of

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628 importance, the other participants in the negotiation of the payment get their share, that is, those who reinforced the group with their attendance at the meetings, those /209/ who most impressed the relatives with the intensity of their grief, weeping for the dead and making a great show of their regret for what had happened, and particularly the men of high position who supplied great supporting strength, for one cannot alienate these connections which supply help at a moment's notice. These are given their share for their pain and their tears proportional to their position, so as not to hurt them socially, which would imply an offense and therefore enmity.

A share is also given to those who in a similar distribution had given a portion to those who are now distributing; to these they give in proportion, if not more at least an equal value to that received. And lastly, those who come to jurijonear, that is, to see what they can pick up, are not allowed to leave empty handed.

When no agreement is reached or the offenders do not wish to pay an indemnity, this is obtained by an expedition of war to the lands of the relatives of the offender; the members of this expedition sieze goods and people, after burning and razing all they cannot take and killing all the men they cannot enslave. With the booty taken, they return to the house of the closest relative to carry out the distribution. Generally, the head of this punitive expedition is the closest relative, or the so-called cacique of the family group. They initiate the distribution in a form similar to that already described, handling over in this case in addition to the material goods -- livestock and ornaments -- the slaves captured, whom they distribute in the same proportion as the rest of the booty to the closest relatives, then to distant ones, and then to the participants in the armed attack, according to their status.

The other payments, the second and third, are distributed in the presence of all, favoring the nearest blood relatives and those of higher position with the larger portions.

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628 Long after these payments have been made, sometimes 30 years or more later, some Guajiro groups of relatives have resurrected the family past and with it have remembered the deaths which took place. As a consequence of this renewal of times gone by, some of the present-day descendants, without having known their distant relatives, want to start demands for payment from the descendants, also distant, of the homicide group; and it has happened sometimes that the latter, intimidated, have paid again the debt that their ancestors had already paid to excess. /page 210 blank/

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XIV

LAND

423 With regard to ownership, land in La Guajira Peninsula is divided into three classes: a) land that belongs to the civil and ecclesiastical authorities and to some whites and mestizos, whose ownership is governed by the Colombian code; b) Indian land of clan ownership; c) wasteland. We will study the last two types which are those related to this study.

Clan land. Clan land includes the territories occupied by different groups of relatives and their ownership is determined by oral tradition which indicates the places where their ancestors were established in accordance with legends associated with Mareiwa (Cf. The Clan). However, the lands of each clan are not circumscribed to a particular region but are rather more or less extensive properties spread over various places in the peninsula. A single clan group can have property in Upper La Guajira and in Lower La Guajira and at the same time in different places in each of these, which in great measure has facilitated the gradual dismemberment of the clan. Each portion is subdivided into land suitable for planting crops, grassland for pasturing, woods, and wasteland zones.

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423 The geophysical conditions of the region limit the likelihood
428 of agricultural land, which is reduced to strips on the banks of streams or even to the beds of these streams, which are dry during the summer months, and to the immediate environs of wells. As a consequence this limitation has resulted in these arable portions being traditionally in the hands of a number of small families of the clan group, who hold them among themselves; and the right of usufruct is passed from uncle to nephew following the maternal line, in such a manner that, within the common ownership which governs clan land, these plots are a kind of private family property. It is for this reason that a man owning a piece of this land will parcel it out to his nephews, the sons of his sister, when these youths reach an age in which their capacity for labor fits them for agricultural work. Thus it is true that by this system /212/ of inheritance, the ownership of agricultural land is kept in the clan, but held also by a particular family of the clan.

423 One can also mention a second form of access to arable land: when the father cedes to his sons a part of his ownership for its usufruct and in order that they may help to maintain the home. But the use of this plot can be in effect only during the father's lifetime because when he dies his nephews, the sons of his sister and his legitimate heirs, will take definitive possession of the land.
[177] Only in the process of acculturation does this system break down, since with Catholic marriage it is the father's sons and not the nephews who become the recognized heirs of such property.

One may also obtain possession of plots of agricultural land by the opening up of new land, which occurs when the traditional family lands lose their fertility or are reduced in size due to successive inheritance. But for some years this phenomenon has been quite rare for two reasons: the prolongation of summers, which makes agricultural work impossible, and emigration, of which we have already spoken extensively in this study.

The agricultural plot, which is almost individual property,
423 can be demarcated by its owner. We say almost individual
425 ownership because the right to it may be sold. /But/ there is this fundamental principle with reference to immovable property:

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423 It is inalienable. That is, it cannot be sold or given to another
425 group or to a white, as the sale or gift would have no legal value. The only element that is marketable in the property is the right of usufruct. Thus with regard to land, ownership is established as follows: 1) Agricultural products are the sole individual property, with conditions of use and abuse. The individual may sell it, give it away, destroy it, etc. 2) Traditional agricultural land is also almost individual property because anyone may dispose of it within the circle of his immediate consanguineous relatives by willing it. What can be inherited, however, is not the land itself but the right to cultivate it. And this right is reduced to a limited number of families within the clan.

231 Another aspect which we should consider in the distribution
423 of clan land is that of the pasturing zones. Nomadic pasturing is the most important occupation in the economic life of La Guajira, but it is subject to the geographic conditions of the peninsula, and it is especially determined by the presence or absence of water, as this element is indispensable for making use of the territories /213/ available for pasture; in addition, the concept of wasteland is likewise ruled by lack of water. Water, furthermore, after the introduction of stock raising, which was initiated during the time of the Colony, caused the evolution of the concept of ownership in communal land. We shall see how.

We know that before the introduction of stock raising into La Guajira, land was distributed among the different clan groups, and that among them there existed communal use for hunting and collecting, activities that still subsist. It would appear that in that epoch the zones of greatest value were under the dominion of certain families who regularly enjoyed their usufruct. Dwellings under the special conditions of their economic activities were very mobile and improvised. On accepting stock raising as the chief activity in their economy, the Guajiro, forced by the physical and climatic conditions of the land, continued the nomadic life he was accustomed to, driving his herd at different seasons to the regions of best pasturage when this was scarce, and being guided

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231 in this by the availability of water. For these reasons dwellings
423 continued to be mobile and transitory, though not so improvised as before, since some were built in regions that served as general headquarters while they were absent with their herds.

231 In order to take full advantage of pasture in some regions
312 where water was scarce during the summer, the community would
423 dig wells and even build small dams to collect rain water which could be made use of by all those who had co-operated in the construction or by those who legally had access to them. Land which the new well or dam brought into use could be used by all those who had rights to it to water their livestock, a legal form practiced to this day.

At the present time we find on the land of each clan a variable number of wells which generally have been made by communal labor; all members of the family group are permitted access to them. Based on this indispensable need for water the Indians have built more stable, secure, and comfortable housing around these watering places, which are to be found on the best grazing land without encroaching on agricultural land and avoiding causing harm to their neighbors' pasturage. In this way every clan member in any region has ample pasture land at his disposal situated /214/ near his dwelling, on which he can graze his livestock during normal times in the peninsula without having to drive them to other pasture with the change of seasons or interfering in the economic life of his close neighbors.

However, as La Guajira suffers from periods of drought
231 during prolonged summers which totally destroy all grass and
423 dries up the sources of water, the Guajiro is forced to migrate
361 from one place to another in search of food and drink for his herds. In these movements he calls at the traditional clan lands situated in different parts of the peninsula, to which he has legal access by marriage rights; or, as a last resort, he va de remonta, that is, he drives his herds to the pasture lands of the clan groups living in the mountains where the winter arrives earlier than in the other regions and consequently is ready for earlier grazing; hence they can lend their aid to the men of the plains /llanura/ who

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231 find themselves in difficulties. In payment for this benefit of
361 pasturage and use of water a cow /res/ or goat is given on enter-
423 ing. Also, it is customary voluntarily to give another animal when leaving, or a personal gift to the head of the region visited.

423 Recently a new aspect of this general situation has risen:
425 Small but well-to-do families construct a well near their dwell-
178 ings or in the adjacent pasture land without any assistance from the community. The other Guajiro admit that the family who made this well has first right to its use but affirm that they are under obligation to permit it to be used by others when in need. Nevertheless, it is becoming common for well-to-do families to deny its use even to needy individuals of their own clan, with whom they no longer wish to recognize family ties that would otherwise bind them.

These phenomena have made the concept of communal land ownership evolve. By depriving others of access to the sources of water supply, rich families usurp for themselves the common lands to which this water source is essential. In this way zones of private property are established which permit more sedentary stock raising as well as the construction of sounder and more comfortable dwellings. These new landowners are beginning to fence off their property into veritable haciendas, a state of affairs which were never before seen in the former stages of social evolution.

Another fact that is giving rise to private ownership of land is the reclaiming of wasteland by the construction of wells, since whoever makes one becomes the individual owner of the land involved, land which can be transmitted by inheritance according to the norms of inheritance already studied. /215/

In addition to the cases noted, there is another system of acquiring land, and it is the usurpation of the property of those conquered in a war provoked by the breaking of the regimen for personal security and collective stability of a clan group. Such land, distributed with all the other goods taken from those conquered, goes to enrich the family property of the victors.

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423 Within the legal system regarding pasture land we must consider the aspect of the rights that each individual acquires to visit land other than those of his own clan as a result of newly contracted marriages and those that are legally ceded to him according to customary Guajiro law.

Referring to the last, we have seen that the herdsmen of the plains /llanura/ at the end of summer have the right to visit the grassy regions in the mountains where the pasture has recovered because of the earlier winter. This fact is to be found in the oral literature and is a theme of theatrical representation during the celebration of the Festival of the Kid, in which the appearance of the rains and the ripening of the harvests are celebrated.

The rights conceded by marriage alliances refer not only to pasturage but in general to all the ways of making full use of the land, including forest exploitation, collecting, and hunting. Thus the man who has married in conformity with the traditional rite of La Guajira has the right to establish his dwelling, cultivate the land, dig a well to supply himself with water, etc., on his wife's relatives' land because this is authorized in the payment he has made for his wife at the time of his marriage. This right is extended to the maternal relatives of the man because, as we have amply seen, all of these contribute their quota to the marriage. Reciprocally he /the husband/ has territorial rights on the landed property of each one of the wives of his maternal relatives. When boys of the new marriage grow up, they establish themselves, by custom, on their mother's land although they may also do so on that of the father. Once they contract marriage they go to live, like their father, on the land of the wife.

Another aspect that has to be considered because of its relation to the distribution of land is the application of sanctions for an infraction of the regimen for social stability. The clan wars which these infractions give rise to cause the Guajiro, fearful of being stripped of his property (Cf. Delicts of aggression), to spread his herds all over the peninsula on the land legally at his disposal with the end of defending them from a surprise attack.

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423 Some clan groups possess very widely dispersed land, which gives rise to the splitting up of the groups, causing them in time to lose /216/ cohesion to the point that members of the same name living traditionally in different districts end up by not identifying with each other in practice, in their legally ascribed rights and attributes.

The right of usufruct of the forest and sterile lands belongs by act and by law to every member of the clan, and those who are tied by matrimonial unions. The case can arise when dealing with the collecting of wild fruit or divi-divi that members of the clan oppose the latter's usufruct of their right, but this is comparatively rare, since in general the abundance of fruit does not give rise to disputes of this nature.

423 Furthermore, every Guajiro has the right of passage over
499 clan lands and to use it to connect some territories with others when the land of an outsider comes in between. When it is a matter, for example, of the opening of a road, the regional heads of each of the proprietary clans get together in order to reach an agreement on a plan that will satisfy the needs of all parties. With all of the men of the two clans interested, they construct a preliminary path to mark out its course, and then from either end they begin the final work, determining in advance the place where they will meet; that is, the point where the work of each should reach. Each group must pay for the labor force and feed its men until the work is finished. Such roads can be used by all the Guajiro.

Related to land and its distribution, as we have seen, are
423 the sources of water, which can be of two kinds, natural and artificial. To the first, every member of the proprietary clan of the land where it is situated, as well as those tied to the clan by marriage alliances, has access. To the second kind, the same may also have access or only those members of a specific family, according to the case; in other words, if the well has been made with the aid of all the members of the clan, then its usufruct is common, but if it has been built by one family alone it is reserved for its exclusive use.

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423 764 The cemetery is also very closely related to land rights because every individual hopes to die on his own land, that is, in the place where his elders live and his ancestors lived: on clan territory; and he also hopes to be buried in the communal cemetery. These wishes and hopes of every Guajiro are what elicit long journeys with corpses relatives who died on alien land to give them burial in the cemetery of their ancestors. For this each clan owns a cemetery in certain places of its territory where /217/ the bodies of the deceased members or their bones after the celebration of the ceremony of the second burial may be buried. But in recent times many families who have outstanding social and economic position in the social collectivity have constructed private cemeteries or mausoleums in the vicinity of their family lands for their exclusive use. /page 218 is blank/

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XV

LAWS OF INHERITANCE

428 178 In the present state of the Guajiro culture it is extremely difficult to make a basic study of the laws of inheritance because with the process of acculturation taking place in the community, there has been introduced a series of new practices which, combined with the primitive and traditional forms, make the present system a structure difficult to mark off and to subject to fixed norms. We will confine ourselves to giving a few indications of what constitutes what we might call the code of inheritance, but we must make clear that the information we give is by no means complete, and it is possible that certain statements made may have to be rectified later. In general, we can affirm that they constitute the law for that section of the Guajiro community with which we have been in contact. With this in mind we continue our study.

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428 Laws of inheritance in La Guajira are determined by marriage. It follows that if the traditional Guajiro union is complied with, the customary laws of inheritance will hold. Let us see how the system works in its different aspects.

In the first place, inheritance is determined by the law of uterine affiliation. Thus the child does not inherit from his father but from his mother. The goods that belong to the father pass at his death under the control of his maternal ascendants, if any, of his brothers and sisters and of his nephews /and nieces? sobrinos/, children of his sister. If it is the mother who has died, her goods pass into the hands of her children, her maternal ascendants, her brothers and sisters, and the latters' descendants. If a person -- man or woman -- should die before marrying, his goods go under the control of his mother, if she is still alive, to his brothers /and sisters, hermanos/ to descendants through the female line, to the maternal uncles /and aunts? tíos/, to the children of the mother's sisters, etc. We give below a number of cases of inheritable goods and the system involved.

a) The surname is inherited from the mother, as we have explained fully in previous chapters. /220/

b) On the death of an individual his debts and obligations are inherited by his relatives, who are categorically responsible for them and who try to satisfy them as rapidly as possible for three reasons: to maintain respect for the memory of their dead relative; to avoid possible slanderous talk from the creditors or any other members of the community; and to avoid any loss of prestige for the individual in particular and the clan group in general.

428 c) The wives of the deceased are transferred as a possession
587 to his heirs. Inheritance of the women generally falls to the maternal brothers of the deceased, though by preference they should go to the youngest of these, particularly if he is still unmarried. To him they will give the youngest wives. This part of the inheritance may provoke conflicts between the brothers and nephews of the deceased, who also have a right to the wives. To illustrate this point we mention the following occurrence: An

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428 587 influential Guajiro of Upper La Guajira had contracted marriage with two women from each of the two clan groups of La Guajira. Becoming very ill and feeling his last hours approaching, it pained him that his illness did not permit him to buy a prepubescent girl he desired so that after his death his nephews would have a motive for quarreling; he was extremely sorry that he would not be able to be present at their squabbles.

The possession of women by inheritance has been gradually weakened, especially in cases where they would have young men as future owners, they being already mature. However, the social precept is maintained that if they wish to contract marriage, the man who wants them must give an agreed-upon sum to their new owner.

d) Bond servants, slaves, and their descendants pass under 428 the control of the consanguineous relatives of the deceased in accordance with the special rules of inheritance. This human property passes under the new ownership under the same special conditions of low status under which they were living previously.

e) As regards land, we can say that usufruct of communal property is inherited as well as the right to usufruct of the family agricultural plot, following the uncle to maternal nephew succession in this case.

f) With respect to the dwelling we have the following situation: Every important family usually locates itself in a place of easy access with abundant water, or at least sufficient for their needs, and at the center of the regions of pasture land. The consanguineous members of these families usually form /221/ their new family cells around this primary nucleus. On the death of the owners the original house becomes the property of their descendants through the maternal line.

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428 A particular form of inheritance that we ought to consider 431 in this study is that of gifts made while the owner is alive, gifts

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428 of livestock, jewelry, and personal objects, made by the mother
431 and uterine relatives on one hand and the father and his ascendants on the other.

As regards jewelry and personal objects, there are two things that move the native to make these gifts while alive: 1) Because these elements of material culture must be buried with the owner, and this custom prevents their distribution in the form of inheritance, so that their acquisition can only be accomplished by gifts made during /the owner's/ life. 2) Because the father and his ascendants do not consider themselves consanguineous relatives of the son, and for this reason he has no right to inherit from them. The payment that the man makes for his wife to her uterine relatives indemnifies her descendants for this exclusion from participation in his legacy. But nevertheless the culture allows and insists that jewelry and personal objects on the part of the maternal relatives and livestock on the part of the paternal relatives should be given to the children, and it establishes special opportunities for doing so, such as the following: when the young women emerge from their seclusion during the initiation ceremony; at the time of marriage in order to make up a suitable dowry for the young wife in accord with her status and that of her husband; also when a man is about to contract marriage, as we explained in the pertinent section; and, finally, when any one of the members of the group has violated the regimen for social stability and it is necessary to indemnify the offended party, when donations have to be provided by the relatives through the maternal line.

The gift of livestock on the part of the father and his relatives takes place on successive occasions. When the first-born arrives, he receives a gift from the paternal grandfather, who "has the obligation of giving him a horse, burro, cow, goat, sheep, and hen" (pairs of these animals for breeding). The father should give as much again on the birth of each succeeding child. And on successive occasions he gives each one of the children some animal as a reward or stimulus. When the boy comes of age,

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428 that is, when he gets married, his father must hand over to him all the animals that are his personal property. It is then that
431 the largest of the gifts is given. /222/ If this is not given, the boy is always waiting for his father to give it on some other occasion, but should the father die before having given it, the paternal relatives will not concede it to the young man, even though this may be a cause of fighting between the two clan groups.

428 The payment in livestock which the wife receives from the husband for inconveniences suffered during her pregnancy and for each childbirth can also be considered as indirect participation in his goods.

We know that funeral customs establish that when a man dies livestock that is his property must be slaughtered and distributed among the friends who attend the wake at the time of the death and those who attend the second burial. In order to comply with this norm the Guajiro has established gifts of livestock from the maternal relatives, the same as the father does with his children. When a new family member is born, the maternal uncles, especially the one most looked up to by the mother, make a present of livestock to the child which constitute, with the gifts he receives from the paternal relatives, his initial patrimony. These goods keep on growing with successive calving and with the addition of the gifts he receives from his mother, his maternal grandmother, and from other relatives when he becomes capable of caring for them himself. Finally, on marrying for the first time (we must keep in mind that polygamy exists), all the animals destined for him are handed over.

The daughters receive the larger portion of livestock on getting married, especially when they belong to groups of high status and they have been bought at a high price to be consistent with this high value and to maintain the social and economic standing of their family.

428 It should be emphasized, finally, that at the present time
178 the laws of inheritance, as we stated at the beginning, are no longer uniform, due to the steady process of acculturation in the

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428 Guajiro community. As a consequence, this phenomenon has
178 brought about a series of struggles among family groups related by marriage ties, as the children now expect to inherit from their fathers, and they consider themselves to have more right to it than the maternal nephews /sobrinos maternos/ and the other obligatory traditional heirs. The situation of conflict has reached such extremes of malevolence and rancor that many times the maternal relatives of the deceased will not resist such claims but will relinquish their rights to the dead man's descendants. /223/

XVI

WORK

461 There are two forms of communal work, depending on the
476 ends in view.

a) Communal work with the object of carrying out a job of general utility or utility to the clan.

b) Private work that benefits an individual and his immediate family.

In the first class we have the example of the construction of roads, dams, wells, cemeteries, etc. In La Guajira passage is free over all roads. Consequently, their construction benefits the social collectivity and, more particularly, those groups who wish to be connected by means of them. To open a new road, the beneficiaries most concerned get together with the aim of coming to an agreement on the plans, the preliminary location, and the distribution of the span of the work which will be handled by each group. The collaborators, on their part, redistribute the cost and execution. Thus one day one family supplies food and drink to all the workers; the following day another family, and so on successively until the work is finished.

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476 The male members of the clan group take part in carrying out the work, bringing their own tools and contributing to the supply of essential materials. They all give their co-operation in order to have the right to benefit by the work, secondarily, in order to be well fed at the time of the work, an aspect that attracts them.

In the construction of wells or dams they take into account the utility they will have and the neighborhood to be benefited, so that the /residents of the/ latter will give their co-operation both with labor and with economic aid, with the upkeep of the workmen, or empirical aid in the search for /potential sources of/ drinking water.

The system that is followed in this class of labor is very similar to the previous one /road construction/. The families who stand to benefit take turns in feeding the workers; all the men to benefit contribute with their labor, their tools, and the necessary materials. /224/

With respect to clan cemeteries, as these are of interest only to a restricted group, all of the same name, it is exclusively its members that take part in the construction, either actively or by paying for the upkeep of wage-earning peons.

The second type of communal work generally refers to the carrying out of work that benefits only one small family, but for which the assistance of others is sought since the family finds it impossible to accomplish the necessary work by itself alone. All give their co-operation willingly and as an obligation which authorizes reciprocity when aid is solicited /later by any of the participants/. While the work is in progress, the Guajiro who has asked for communal co-operation procures food for the participants in the best way possible and supplies abundant liquor, by which he hopes to pay for part of the services received. In this way they clear the ground of trees and bushes for sowing, build fences around crops, cultivate a plot of land, harvest the crops, and build dwellings. The Indian who needs the help of others to carry out personal work advises his friends and relatives beforehand

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476 of the date work will begin and asks for their co-operation. Meanwhile at his house abundant food is prepared for the occasion and drink in considerable quantity: chicha made from chewed wild yucca or from corn. And each Indian who decides to lend a hand brings the tools required for the job and arrives at sunrise. At night he returns to his dwelling after working all day, generally drunk from the great quantity of chicha or rum which he has drunk. This cycle repeats itself daily during all the time necessary to finish the work. The owner of the house, or one of the volunteers of most experience, assumes direction of all the activities and gives orders which are quickly carried out. We will take as an 476 example the case of the construction of a dwelling. For this, 842 necessary plant materials are located beforehand in the woods of the clan property or in wasteland, and the services of an individual 824 acquainted with the method of housebuilding is also secured beforehand and the work carried out under his direction. The according to the ability of each of the workers, tasks are distributed; some prepare yotojoro (1), which is the roofing material; some

1. The woody part of the cactus called cardón.

lay the roof while others cover the walls with the bark of the trupillo /Mimosaceae family/, with grass stems, or with bahareque /small sticks with canes and clay, sometimes also called bareque/, according to the region or taste /of the owner/. In this way /225/ the work is finished in a short time. By the same procedure the excavation of a well or the building of a dam for rain water is carried out.

476 When it is a matter of preparing ground for sowing or any other agricultural work, the activity is carried out in an identical manner. Some go to give their services to a friend so that once they have finished work on his agricultural land, the friend will [626] immediately reciprocate by lending his assistance on their land. The Guajiro keeps very much in mind the person who refuses to

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476 give his co-operation on occasions like these, so that later, if he
[626] asks for his help, he also refuses.

There is one type of communal activity carried out by the women; it is that connected with the work of chewing which they contribute in the preparation of chicha of wild yucca or of corn used at all their festivals or on the eve of male communal work. On such occasions the women's assistance is requested, and they all gather, very pleased with the work they have to do, by virtue of which once finished they receive rum or chicha as recompense, and can eat large quantities of yucca and corn cakes on the sly while they are doing their job. The two types of communal work are substantially different. The first benefits all the community or at least a clan group, while the second affects only one individual and his immediate relatives. The participation of the individual and of the family in true community work acquires in some cases the character of an obligation inherent in the position of a member of a given clan group. In others his co-operation depends on the benefit he is likely to derive from it: the use of a cemetery, wells for water supply, etc.

In the second type, on the contrary, the individual participant derives no benefit from the work in itself, but from the reciprocal co-operation that the beneficiary on that occasion must give to each of those who have helped him. To refuse to participate is
[681] an infraction of a norm that may isolate the man from society.
[626] What is accomplished by the co-operative work of various groups acquires for this reason a communal character in its utilization. In the second case it is individual or family private property.

For the first, the Guajiro gives his aid in labor, the loan of tools, the maintenance of laborers, the handing over of part of the construction materials, etc. For the second, he gives nothing more than his labor and the use of his tools because the maintenance of the men is the direct concern of the party benefited.

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462 Domestic work. The division of activities by sex is one of the primary classifications that can be made in La Guajira in

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462 relation to domestic work. We have to bear in mind that this tra-
[558] ditional separation is strictly complied with, because anyone doing the customary work of the opposite sex loses personal value. And in order not to be seen as an object of ridicule to others, Guajiro men and women try to avoid carrying out any function identified with the opposite sex, even as a diversion, as in the case of children, who may not play games of make-believe other than those ascribed to their sex.

All work related to the care and nomadic pasturing of various classes of livestock is traditionally masculine work. Each Guajiro who owns livestock or who has them en cuido /lit., "in his care"/ (an exchange which means he has a herd from another Indian in order to pasture it in exchange for which he receives payment) gets up at daybreak with his nephews or sons and drives the livestock in search of pasture. During the day he guards them closely to prevent them from being stolen by men or harmed by carnivorous animals. At nightfall he waters the herd at the wells /casimbas or jagüeyes/ and then shuts them in the corrals of the house, after checking that all are there. Combined with these activities there are, for example, the treatment of sick animals, their branding, helping the shaman who treats by magic animals attacked by pests, breaking in the young colts for pack or saddle horses, making all necessary harness from saddles to reins and straps with their diverse variations and, finally, the slaughter of animals with the exception of domestic poultry.

Another traditional male activity is hunting. From childhood the Guajiro practice hunting small birds and animals, which is also a preparatory exercise for war, an employment which requires mastery in the use of firearms. Neither women nor children are allowed to participate in hunting expeditions.

Connected with the activity of hunting are fabrication of weapons, which comprises making bows and arrows, head guards, and various magic charms to make the hunt easy and productive; making and placing traps used to protect the sown fields from harmful animals or as a means of collecting edible animals.

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462 Fishing, an activity of relative unimportance in Guajiro economic life, is also done by the men. It is limited to obtain-
[226] ing certain edible species or to gathering oysters for the pearl trade, and, as in hunting, it is the men who manufacture the necessary equipment and implements.

Agricultural work is divided between the two sexes. The man is responsible for the preparation of the land for sowing: cutting, clearing and burning, and the tasks of weeding and hilling. Although planting is women's work, certain vegetables have to be planted by men because according to their magic beliefs if these plants are sown by women they will never give a good crop either in quantity or quality; such plants are, for example, fruit trees and creeping plants such as the water melon, melon, calabashes, etc. It is also men's work to fence in their plots of land.

The migration of many males to Venezuela and to other regions bordering on the peninsula, due to the climatic conditions already mentioned, has made it permissible for the women to take part in agricultural tasks normally considered suitable only for men.

The Guajiro man is the one who builds the dwelling. He obtains the help he needs in the form of communal labor, and with this aid he transports the materials and builds his house without any aid from his wife.

In leisure moments or during the hottest hours of the day,
462 while resting on hammocks, young Guajiro men apply themselves
32 to carving rings, beads for necklaces or bracelets, and amulets or small figures to hang round the neck or wrist, which yield a small income; to make these he uses broom handles, small plastic combs, ram and goat horns, coconut shells and coral. During these moments or whenever the opportunity arises, he also makes toe pieces for his sandals, using a small loom. This
[439] occupation has an economic end in the towns where such articles find a ready sale.

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462 The Guajiro boy has the job of carving the gourd vessels used as domestic utensils, and it is also the men who make the hats and headpieces, or kiára, which pure Indians still use as an adornment in their festivals.

As war is essentially a masculine occupation, men make the weapons used, arrows and poisons, even those of magic value.

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The heads of each family, and in their absence the sons in chronological order, or the nephews, sons of a sister, are those in charge of directing and ordering the daily work, especially when free or communal labor is not available and paid labor is used.

We may also consider as masculine occupations in La Guajira participation in community work and in mutual help such as making wells, dams, cemeteries, roads, etc.

The woman, on her part, has in her charge a multiplicity of activities, among which we can enumerate the following as the principal ones:

462 Weaving. This activity includes spinning, dyeing, and weaving the cloth itself. At the present time this occupation is 286 dying out, particularly spinning, because the ease of obtaining imported thread makes this laborious work almost unnecessary. With respect to the weaving itself, foreign-made cloth and the trade in Colombian cloth supply the natives, especially the women, with dresses of varioud colors and diverse quality, which has caused a decline in this feminine activity, at least with regard to the use of homemade material for apparel. But, on the other hand, the acquisition of new techniques and the improvement of autochthonous ones in the Capuchin mission school has brought about greater development in the weaving of hammocks and bags, which, going beyond domestic needs, bring a good price in the markets outside and even within the peninsula, and in this way constitutes an appreciable source of income for the women. In addition to this, certain items of clothing such as the Guajiro belt, traditionally worn by the men and woven at

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462 home, have not found a substitute and have to be made by the
286 maternal relatives or by the wife.

Among the items that have survived we should include the blouses used by girls of prepubertal age.

The application of weaving by the women extends to the manufacture of some parts of the harness for horses, such as cinches, surcingles, saddle blankets, croup belts, etc., in the making of which they employ diverse techniques and both autochthonous methods and those introduced through acculturation.

While the manufacture of saddles, trappings, and accoutrements of horses is done by the men, the women make the adorn-
[492] ments for them and the headstalls of the halters and blinkers,
[554] with the complicated system of knots and tassels which indicate the standing and wealth of the rider. /229/

Finally, it is strictly the women's task to make all the utensils used in weaving, from the most elementary type of loom made with two vertical sticks and used for making the classical Indian hammock /chinchorro/, to the most complicated, such as those used for weaving double-faced hammocks; and from the wooden bobbins to the vegetable colors and mordants used in dyeing the fabric or the thread.

462 Domestic work is also women's work, and it includes obtaining and preparing food and drink, and serving, storing, and preserving it, as well as killing small mammals and domestic birds, and cleaning and seasoning the intestines and other offal of cattle, sheep, and goats.

Within the Guajiro dwelling the woman maintains cleanliness
[296] and order, and she is also held responsible for making, repairing, and washing the articles of clothing of her husband, her children, and herself.

The care of minor children occupies much of the Guajiro woman's time (Cf. Chap. II) as does their training, and it is exclusively the women's function to look after and instruct the girls during the traditional seclusion at puberty. Also, it is their responsibility to teach feminine tasks to their young female consanguineous relatives.

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462 The woman usually takes charge of the care of all sick persons in the home whether they are being submitted to treatment by the shaman or are just simple cases. She remains by their side and gives them all necessary attention.

The Guajiro woman should carry out two general functions in her home, functions that acquire more or less importance according to the standing she has. One of them is to see that all the chores and work of the home are adequately done; she must carry out these personally or be assisted in them by her daughters or other consanguineous female relatives with whom she lives, or be assisted by female servants, bond servants, or slaves. In the first case, the activities are distributed by mutual agreement; and in the second, she must take charge of the ordering, the overseeing, and the direction of all work and of the personnel who assist her.

462 674 The second of these functions is that of fully satisfying the traditional norms of courtesy and hospitality; attentions that must be shown by giving lodging and meals, etc., to every visitor who comes to the Guajiro home, because the visitor is a guest, because considerations of friendship or blood tie him to his hosts, and because of reciprocity for similar hospitality received previously, which for the sake of prestige, /230/ the host must repay in equal or in greater measure. In all these tasks the woman can count on the aid of her consanguineous relatives and on the female staff she has under her orders. Furthermore, every wife personally carries out for her husband or a male relative certain gestures of hospitality and care (when he is a head), which their culture requires from each of them and which not only cannot be delegated but have an obligatory character within the conjugal life.

462 Normally, the man, head of the house, directs the family activities that must be accomplished each day in the different branches of work. He does this personally or with the aid of his relatives or staff. When the head of the house and his sons are absent from home, it is up to the wife to direct the activities that are usually in the hands of the husband, or to carry them out in the same way as the sons would.

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We find that some of the feminine activities are carried out jointly with the man, as in agriculture in which the woman's part is to place the seed in a hole, which is made by the man with a sower's tool for this purpose (but not in the case of planting creeping plants and fruit trees); and to collect fruit when it is all ripe, or little by little as the fruit becomes ready. Besides these regular activities, the women collect wild edible fruits which constitute practically the only source of nourishment during the summer in some regions. They also collect some forest products that the whites buy from them, such as the divi-divi, which constitute a source of money income.

Transportation is an activity that traditionally has been done by the Guajiro woman. Before they raised pack animals, the women did such work themselves. Nowadays, it can be said that it is rare to find a home that does not have an animal, generally a burro, at their disposal, on which they can transport from place to place their small children and the provisions and utensils, etc., which they require. Nevertheless, we do still see some families who lack this means of transport and have to make use of feminine labor.

Ceramics also is an activity that is assigned to women. In the regions where raw materials are abundant and of good quality, the women of some families apply themselves to this craft, in which they reach quite a high standard of perfection; the technique is transmitted from generation to generation so that the craft becomes a traditional family occupation.

When the families of potters are forced to emigrate to urban centers, they carry there the raw material /231/ required for their work from its original source. With this they peovide the family with domestic utensils and use the rest for barter with others.

The empirical knowledge of the magic and curative properties of plants is known, apart from the shaman, by some women who usually live in places where contact with whites is less frequent. They transmit such knowledge to their descendants, most frequently to the eldest daughter.

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462 The care of women at the time of childbirth has also been culturally assigned to women (Cf. Marriage). However, in certain cases the husband may be present at the birth to give secondary assistance, but only at the request of the expectant mother and the midwife.

When recently born infants develop illnesses of gastro-intestinal types, it is a custom in La Guajira to obtain the services of a woman, who attempts to deduce the magic cause of the illness from different characteristics of the /child's/ excrements.

Tattooing, generally used to mark the different clans, and other kinds of markings, in some cases initials or names, are carried out by Guajiro women.

462 472 Remunerative work. This form of work, a consequence of the process of acculturation, is developing, especially in urban zones and their environs; it has not, however, broken the traditional distribution of labor by sex but has become subordinate to it, so that the men work for wages in activities appropriate to their sex and women do the same.

Among the remunerative occupations in which the Guajiro 472 man is employed we can point out the following:

463 a) Pearl fishing, in the zones in which oysters are very abundant such as in the ports of Cardón, Ahuyama, and Carrizal. The native either fishes on his own account and sells the pearls on the open market, or he works for a wage under orders given by a white or a mestizo who hires him as diver. He also participates in small shellfishing for cockles and other species in the northern coastal zone, although sporadically, with the idea of selling his catch on his own account, or as a paid assistant of the whites who are in this business for profit. /232/

b) As a day laborer. At some ports where the loading and unloading ships is of some importance, as happens in Puerto Estrella and in Riohacha, it is the native, who, provided with a boat of his own or one belonging to a merchant, contracts to transport cargo from the ships to land and vice versa. He collaborates especially in the commercial moving of contraband which forms the base of the economic life of these ports.

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c) Mechanic. The Guajiro has a special capacity for learning manual and mechanical work. As a result he rapidly becomes skilled as hauler and even as chauffeur on the roads that cross the peninsula, in the neighboring republic of Venezuela, and in the zone of banana plantations. This activity is very popular among the natives.

d) As an agricultural peon. Another part of the Guajiro labor force finds work in agricultural activities, although agricultural tasks in themselves are not particularly attractive to the native. However, they take up this kind of work more frequently around Riohacha, toward the zone of the so-called "Province" (department of Magdalena), and in Venezuela.

Within the peninsula the Guajiro carries out these activities for mutual assistance and only on rare occasions for payment of wages on the haciendas of rich mestizo or native families. In stock raising there is a special form of remunerative activity for the poor Guajiro who looks after the herds of more well-to-do owners. This form consists of the animals (carefully counted) being handed over to the herdsman to be pastured in exchange for the use of the products from the livestock, milk, hides, and meat of those that die -- some are raised and, sporadically a little corn, c loth for a robe, etc. As we see, it offers a special form of remuneration.

e) As paid laborer. The native works in the saltworks of the Bank of the Republic established on the north coast of La Guajira. Following the traditional division of labor by sex, the men pick and shovel the lumps of salt from the deposits and leave the rest of the work to the women. They do not receive a daily fixed wage but a sum in accordance with the amount done during the day. They also work on a daily paid basis either for a private concern or for one of the various branches of government, working /233/ in trades such as that of bricklayer, salesman, laborer in the making of bricks, burning of lime and charcoal, carting of material, excavation of wells in the Water Supply section, or messenger or servant in the houses of the families of civilizados /nonnatives/ in the urban centers.

/233 cont./

472 f) As a hobby. During the hottest hours of the day or during
his spare time, he makes at home small objects that can be sold
473 to his fellow Indians or to whites, such as tools, harness, figures
of coconut shell and of plastic material, necklaces, bags, sandals,
weapons, hats, etc.

Along with the profession of shaman in which both sexes participate, and that of diviner, we find the occupation of arbitrator, which demands the personal qualities already enumerated in the pertinent chapter and which gives to the individual who exercises it not only prestige among his relatives and compatriots but also the right to remuneration.

Another trade that has become remunerative is that of harness and saddle making. Although some women compete successfully in the manufacture, the culture considers them intruders, because this is an activity recognized traditionally as belonging to the masculine sex.

441 As a product of acculturation through whites and facilitated
178 by civilization and the closeness of Venezuela as well as by the
decline in traditional economic activities, commercial activity
has developed among the Guajiro. It is not so much the pure
native as it is the mestizo of some economic means who devotes
himself to this /commerce/; the fact should be noted that women,
under equal conditions, participate actively in the exploitation of
this economic source. They go to Aruba and Curaçao and obtain
cheap merchandise on credit, which they bring in by smuggling
to sell in Colombia, following the route to Riohacha or Valledupar
or continuing on the route to Venezuela. Some do not work
directly as owners of the goods but as carriers across the peninsula
to deliver them at their destination.

Women find remunerative work especially in domestic service,
472 such caring for children, preparing food, carrying water and
473 firewood, cleaning, etc. They also work in the capacity of maids
with the obligation of living in the home where they work. The
Guajiro woman does not willingly work under these latter conditions as she prefers the free life of her own home, although food

/233 cont./

472 there may be scarce; living in her employer's home, while it may
463 satisfy her basic needs, imposes on her a discipline to which she is not accustomed. For this reason, she looks for a way to combine both systems and sells firewood and water in the urban centers, carries messages, washes clothes, clears away rubbish, sells coal, /234/ milk, and foodstuffs, or cooks at some house. But in the evening she returns to her home, /usually/ an enramada /a shelter of branches/ on the outskirts of the city.

Toward the north coast of the peninsula, in the wooded lands of this zone, divi-divi occurs in sufficient quantity to enable the Guajiro woman to collect and sell it to the whites, who send it to the interior.

The women also take part in the work in the saltworks, as we have seen, in order to assist their husbands in the transport of the material.

The women of Jarara have been the principal makers of pottery, since they have abundant raw material at their disposal, which is lacking in other regions. For this reason, at the present time, they try to supply the entire peninsula by making a considerable supply with which they travel through the country and obtain an adequate remuneration either by barter or by sale.

Weaving of cloth, as we have said, supplies the women with
286 a source of income. Some well-to-do Indian and mestiso women
463 have organized a /specialized/ division of labor to supply the
472 demand for hammocks and bags in the markets of Maracaibo and in some towns in the department of Magdalena.

These women, well informed about the state of the market, prepare in their homes hammocks of fashionable colors and regulation size. They hand over a design of their own or one copied from a magazine to a poor Guajiro woman who takes it to her house and works it up on her own loom during her spare time. Once the central part is woven the owner hands it on to a worker expert in finishing, then a third one with her spinning tackle makes the cords. While these portions are being made in sequence, the fringes to match the color of the central part have been made by

/234 cont./

472 one or more other women, who if required will complete the
463 work by making the tassels that adorn it. Each one of these
women workers is controlled by the owner, of the raw material
226 from whom they receive it. They do it in their respective homes.
The completed work is paid for in accordance with the skill and
quality /of its execution/ and not by the time spent on it. The
finished product is the property of the owner of the raw material,
who can sell it at her convenience. The tools and equipment
employed belong to the workers. Another common practice is
for some poor women to weave the cloth on their own account,
and later to sell it to a rich woman who has facilities for bringing
the product to the market. The cloth is always sold at a lower
price to give the intermediary a margin of profit. /235/

A third form consists of receiving orders and weaving personally, or using weavers who receive wages and who work at home, hammocks, bags, and items of harness previously ordered by the merchants.

An occupation that allows the Guajiro woman to obtain some
472 income is dressmaking. Guajiro women learn to sew the robes
463 for both masculine and feminine use, and other articles of apparel,
which they sew not only for their home needs and their relatives
but also to fill orders from customers.

In the Sierra de Jatara and the Sierra de Macuira and in other places distant from urban centers, some old women live who are acquainted with the magic and curative properties of various plants. This knowledge is usually transmitted from mother to eldest daughter and is much sought after and remunerated in proportion to the importance of the case, its efficacy, and the prestige of the herbal expert who prescribes it, and the importance of the person who requests it.

Another profession is that of midwife, who receives payment in relation to her ability and the means of whoever applies for her services.

Unfree work. This is done by bond-servant or slave labor. See chapter /VIII/ Slavery and Bond Service. /page 236 is blank/

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CONCLUSIONS

I

177 Guajiro culture and society can no longer be considered to be homogeneous bodies. Each of them has been subjected to the influence of contact with other civilizations which are distinct from their own both in manifestation and in human constituents and which have left the mark of their wake in the transformation of institutions as well as individuals. This process, which we may suppose started before the Conquest through relations with other neighboring native groups in the adjacent department of Magdalena and in the bordering republic of Venezuela, was accelerated after the area was colonized and its rhythm has been increasing, in a progression we might call geometric -- with the advance and the development of the republic of Colombia, especially in the latter period of its history when migratory currents have made themselves felt with greater intensity over the length and breadth of its territory for reasons we will not mention here as they are outside the scope of this work.

177 563 In any case, racial and cultural mixing /mestizaje/ is one of the most important factors in the study of La Guajira. As one has been able to note in the contents of this study, its institutions and primary cultural patterns -- the traditional ones being understood by this -- are in part conditioned by the new cultural forms adopted through the impact of different groups which have penetrated peacefully or violently into their innermost lives. First, the Spanish conquerors; then the European merchants who took advantage of the pearl trade of the Guajiro Indians; later the colonists, also Spaniards, who established their haciendas in regions in close contact with the peninsula; and last, the mestizo groups, generally negroid, from the Colombian and Venezuelan coasts, who have most directly influenced the social and cultural changes in the Guajiro by reason of their having at their disposal an excellent network of communication by air, land, and sea

/237 cont./

177 which furrows all the territory inhabited by the Indians, from the
563 towns of the department of Magdalena to the dominant /238/ urban center of the region, Maracaibo, in the neighboring republic of Venezuela.

177 To these factors, which we might call unconscious or involuntary, must be added others that are not so, such as the missionary influence and that of the schools for natives, which, although very few up to the present in comparison with the number of inhabitants in the peninsula, have definitely impressed cultural norms of a civilization quite distinct from autochthonous ones, especially with regard to religion. For, as noted by my husband in his work, Aspectos de la Magia en la Guajira, published in the previous number of this review, magic -- although it influences and determines many of the cultural patterns of the natives and their reactions and ways of thinking -- has been losing ground day by day as the new ideas of the Catholic religion are inculcated in the individual; and its most genuine representative, the shaman, or medicine man, has to a great extent lost his value as spiritual director of the community and is reduced today to the status of a simple curer /curandero/ who sees himself facing an unequal struggle with the medical doctors who arrive in the peninsula, to the point that "if the medical and hygienic services of La Guajira were intensified by the Colombian government, in the course of a few years the shaman would disappear as an institution in the peninsula, and the greater part of the aborigines' magic beliefs, especially with respect to sickness and death, would disappear from the collectivity and would remain only as folkloristic manifestations which recall his presence in times past."

Furthermore, these two factors have determined appreciable changes in another of the strongest Indian institutions: marriage. As the reader will have noted, the chapter which we dedicated to this social aspect is probably the most extensive of the study we have just presented, a fact due not to a greater collection of notes on this subject but to its relative importance within the aggregate of cultural institutions. From it is directly derived the concept of

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177 family, of status, education, etc., and with it are related phenomena as outstanding as the clan. A great portion of customary law applies to married life. The breakdown of traditional marriage has brought as a consequence, as we have affirmed in the pertinent sections, the decline of the institutions that are linked directly or indirectly with it. The greatest changes suffered by Guajiro culture are due to transformations of marriage traditional forms brought about by acculturation in recent times. /239/

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II

177 But the action of acculturation has not been completely
191 unilateral; that is, it is not only the Guajiro who has felt the influence of mestizo groups, but in his turn he has imposed some of his cultural patterns on them, which, as is logical, are hinged to the three most characteristic aspects of his culture: marriage, magic, and language. For it is certain that foreigners -- understanding by this term those who are not Guajiro -- who enter their country find themselves obliged to learn the Guajiro language in order to carry on business transactions and even to enjoy friendly relations with the natives; otherwise they will likely fail in their intent because, although the native as a general rule is acquainted with the Spanish language and handles it relatively well, he nevertheless refuses to make frequent use of it. It can be observed in the business center of Uribia, the capital of the commissary, that the business establishments most patronized by the Indian are those whose owners use Guajiro for their conversation and business. And the so-called "caciques," who in general terms are no other than Guajiro mestizos or foreigners who have acquired a strong economic position in the country, do not reach their degree of prestige until they completely master the language with its conventional turn of sentences for solemn occasions and the proper use of convincing words, as we stated in the pertinent chapter.

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177 582 We also saw in the section referring to marriage that the individual who goes to La Guajira and seeks to marry has two ways of doing so: by following the traditional norm of La Guajira, that is, buying the woman in accordance with the conventional payment and in agreement with the girl's parents and submiting to all the regulations in force regarding marriage, or marrying in the Catholic church, in this case causing the woman to break away from all the norms of her culture and from her society to the point of her being no longer considered a member of the same and in consequence finding herself excluded from all the guarantees that this same society can offer her in any case of difficulty or conflict with her husband or with other groups distinct from her own clan group. Although many make use of this second form of marriage, the majority do marry by the Guajiro ritual, although they may introduce certain changes and frequently do not comply with all the laws and obligations which form part of the primary institution of traditional Guajiro marriage.

177 As most of the inhabitants of the Colombian and Venezuelan coast are negroid, as we have just stated, and for this reason /240/ have a past of considerably superstitious and magic traditions, it is logical that they are readily influenced by the beliefs which dominate the Guajiro mentality. It is for this reason that these people are so eager to buy different kinds of magic charms and so strict in the observance of set norms of conduct related to the totality of Guajiro magic practices.

III

Culture, therefore, has suffered appreciable changes which have considerably altered the traditional conformation. But this change has not taken place in isolation. It has developed in unison with a transformation of society as a whole, which is also outstanding. The mixing /mestizaje/ of

/240 cont./

177 the races, as well as of cultures started in the colonial period, according to the records of the chroniclers of those times, not only with the whites who penetrated the territory on expeditions of conquest or trade but also with the Negroes whom the natives had taken as slaves in exchange for pearls each time that the slave ships dropped anchor off their coast. This mixing continued sporadically, giving the characteristics of indomitable ferocity of La Guajira throughout the colonial period, and has accelerated as has cultural contact during recent years for reasons already noted.

This does not mean, naturally, that the racial composition
144 of the La Guajira Peninsula is exclusively mestizo -- a mixture
177 of Indians with whites, mestizos, Negroes, or mulattos -- be-
563 cause the greatest percentage of inhabitants is still pure Indian, especially so in the districts where they have had less contact with the civilized world, as happens in the Sierra de Jarara, for whose inhabitants there is a term very common in the whole territory, cerreros, that is, pure Indians in the widest sense of the word: Indians who preserve not only their physical characteristics but their unalterable psychic and cultural traits.

This crossing, as has happened in all the cases which we have been able to observe in societies dominated by other cultures, has been effected by the combination of the feminine element in the dominated race and the masculine element on the dominating side. The cases where the opposite has occured are very rare. It may be added that this appears to be a general law, at least among the South American communities which had to submit to the invasion of Europeans, brought about in various ways and according to the period of penetration. /241/

177 Guajiro traditional institutions were so strong that the changes
563 in social composition did not at first essentially affect their cultural patterns. The newcomers adapted themselves perfectly to the norms of native life and made common cause with them, only differing in their physical type resulting from crossbreeding /mestizaje/ and possibly some cultural manifestations

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177 imposed by the father, if he stayed in the peninsula. Even
83 today, many of the mestizos of La Guajira follow the Indian way of life, accepting their norms and being subject to their laws, and approving and participating in all outstanding times of life. One may often observe in them the appearance of a civilizado, that is, of an outsider to the Guajiro culture, by their external appearance and by certain forms of their conduct; but when one gets closer to them or sees them in their drunken moments, all their native ancestry comes to the fore and the mestizo, who had appeared to be a "white," becomes completely Indian.

IV

177 But the process of acculturation brings about, in the individuals, as it does in the case of culture and society, definite new forms, which slowly go adjusting their ways of feeling and thinking, which condition their reactions to new patterns, the fruit of mixture of the traditional and the foreign. It could not be otherwise, given the interaction existing among these three component elements of the group: culture, society, and the individual. For this same reason, the personality of the Guajiro is very difficult to explain today given on the peninsula, as we have just seen, that persons and even entire groups who preserve intact their original cultural birthright live together with individuals and groups who have adapted their system of life to a new method, the product of the mixture of several cultures. But the process is in action and one can safely presume the ultimate unification of all the individuals under the new patterns.

The forms of reaction of the individual, as we have noted in the early chapters of this study, which correspond to what is the life cycle of the individual in La Guajira, have become transformed. Their response to different situations has changed, and their systems of compulsion related to these situations have suffered variations in practice, which it is natural to expect. The /242/ very morals of the native have weakened from their

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177 original form because the concepts of marriage, family, and social organization in general have been partially transformed by external intrusions. It is clear that the climatic changes of recent years, with their disastrous consequences, have contributed in an appreciable manner to these changes, among which should be counted emigration and prostitution. But the fundamental cause of change in Guajiro cultural structure has been conditioned by acculturation.

It is almost impossible for a primitive community placed in contact with pockets of modern civilization which surround and encircle them more and more to remain unaltered in their ways of life. It is logical that it will have to accept new techniques, more modern economic systems, ideas more in accord with new times, and for such reasons be forced to change the legendary institutions, if not consciously then unconsciously, slowly in some cases or violently in others. This is the case in La Guajira. Systems of violent interaction could not break the Guajiro spirit. The natives knew how to preserve their independence in the face of the continuous assaults by the Spaniards and in spite of the peaceful penetration of settlers, but to do this they had to adopt new methods copied from their enemies: They were forced to use firearms and horses for war, two vital elements in their independence; to change their war tactics and break down their traditional isolation and the proverbial independence of the various clans that compose their society and to unite in the struggle against the white invaders who envied them their pearls and dreamed of adding another people to the chain that they had made subject to the Spanish crown. From then on, Guajiro culture felt foreign influences which finally annihilated it and incorporated it into the Colombian nation.

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V

177 It would seem that when acculturation was less, the status ascribed to the individual was founded on his membership in a clan. If this clan was economically strong with numerous male members, the individual occupied a well-established position, that is, there was a clan stratification which conferred on its members by fact a corresponding social position. Within each one of these consanguineous units there was a second stratification according to which its members were graded, usually with reference to their personal wealth and their particular /243/ physical, psychic, and cultural conditions and qualities -- shaman, cacique, etc. A third scale was within the family itself and referred to the special position of each one of its components within the family circle. The head of each one of these social units occupied the predominant place -- the maternal uncle most important -- and the grading went in descending order down to the sharé, or younger child.

But at the present time the dispersion of the clan, due to acculturation which grows greater every day, has caused less importance to be given to the initial stratification, because within the peninsular territory the same clan now occupies different positions or statuses in accordance with the region in which it moves and with the members composing these groups separated from the original consanguineous unit. Contributing further to this is the fact that territorial property which previously was absolutely communal has gradually become individualized and converted into the privilege of a limited number of families of those that comprise the clan collectivity. The consequence of these phenomena of acculturation is that it is no longer the clan that determines the ascribed status of the individual in the first instance, but this is given, first of all, for his personal psychic, physical, and cultural conditions and for the restricted family unit to which he belongs.

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177 In other words, in previous times status was recognized as a function of the clan and for the clan, while at the present time status has a more universal value as it is related to all the social conglomerate, since, as we have said, the clans have been splitting up and losing their original cohesion due to the phenomena of acculturation. Nevertheless, even in those times there were certain individual statuses that transcended the narrow limits of the clan and invaded the community as a whole. Such, for example, was the case of the piache, or medicine man, who occupied a superior position within the general stratification in relation to the rest because his function as the intermediary between two worlds, the real and that of the spirits, benevolent and malevolent, conferred on him the position of a true spiritual director, not for the reduced group within which his totemic, consanguineous relatives moved, but for the entire community, for every person who required his services, for every family that needed his help, all, of course, within the limitations which interclan relations imposed, particularly when the regimen for social stability had been violated and the clan groups affected were in a situation verging on war. On the level immediately below was the arbitrator, /244/ or palabra /literally, "word" in Spanish/, wrongly called "cacique" on occasion, whose prestige by reason of his office as intermediary between different groups having a quarrel about a violation of the regimen for social stability also went beyond the limits of his own clan and extended far beyond the borders of his consanguineous limits, because the economically and numerically weak clan groups made a practice of seeking the services of an arbitrator belonging to a high group to represent them in their conflicts.

These two statuses were, and still are, determined by different causes: The first, or that of the medicine man, was, as shown by my husband in the study previously quoted, involuntary, so to speak, as it was the spirits of departed shamans who in a moment of exaltation or of illumination conferred on him this power, which was later ratified by a committee of shamans and diviners. The second, on the other hand, depends above

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177 all on very well-defined personal qualities, such as command of the language, possession of wealth, etc.

Within the evolutionary process occurring in Guajiro institutions, these categories are beginning to be inverted so that at the present time the position of political head, or arbitrator, is probably more important than that of shaman. The "cacique" is today a type more universal, more consulted, and more respected. The shaman's power is obviously declining, and he is ceding his position to foreigners.

Following the descending scale of positions, we come to the herder, whose function which has come about as the result of a new concept of wealth: stock raising. We have repeatedly remarked in this study on the essential value of nomadic stock raising in the economic life of the peninsula, which has created a new outlook in La Guajira, where wealth is always interpreted in terms of the number of cattle that an individual is able to own. For this reason, he who is outstanding in this activity is the one who does it successfully, who possesses the greatest head of cattle and controls land of personal or communal ownership suitable for grazing, that is, with good pasture, early rains, and wells giving a constant supply of water.

Also included within the scope of economic life and as an effect of acculturation we find the functions of trader and public employee. The trader, usually a mestizo, is associated with the movement of contraband merchandise throughout the peninsula, with agricultural products being sent to Venezuela from the department of Magdalena, or with foreign manufactured goods introduced from the islands of Aruba and Curaçao. His intervention is due to the perfect knowledge that /245/ he has of the country on one hand, and, on the other, to his being on many occasions driver or owner of vehicles which he places in the service of smugglers, as partner or for payment. At times he smuggles on his own account, buying contraband merchandise which he moves to Venezuela, sells in La Guajira, or transports to the interior of Colombia, following the route through the department of Magdalena.

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177 Working as a government employee also confers prestige and furthermore constitutes a sure income within the economic ups and downs of stock raising conditions extant in La Guajira. These administrative posts are in the main given to individuals who already have great prestige in the zone administered, with the object in view of facilitating administrative and, on occasion, legal work in the commissary government.

The status of hunter was without doubt the most important when this activity was one of the sources of economic life in the peninsula. Today it is reduced to a secondary plane, but it is still maintained in the person of the chief of hunting expeditions, who is the one best acquainted with the topography and the most likely haunts of game, who knows the feeding habits of animals, the paths which they take, and, from the smallest detail, can deduce what kind of game is near, its size, etc., since one of his essential qualities is that of being a skillful tracker. Furthermore, he is in possession of weapons adequate for each type of animal, weapons which he has made himself and magic charms for each species to ensure safety and success in hunting. It is also necessary that he be perfectly familiar with the tactics of hunting so as to be able to place to the best advantage the different participants in the expedition; he should sacrifice his personal interest in favor of the others so that his companions will recognize his generosity when distributing the catch.

* * *

177 246 When we consider the individual in the family unit, we also find a gradation of status in direct proportion to the importance and position of each member of the family in the home. At the very head we find the eldest maternal uncle, whose responsibilities for the economic-social backing of the family, especially in relation to nephews, his sister's sons, are very important, as we have noted throughout this study. He is the

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177 head of the family and his decisions are accepted because he
596 assumes absolute responsibility for the family. Hence the absolute obligation of consanguineous relatives dependent on him to respect /246/ his wishes and give way to his decisions. In the Guajiro family organization, in which descent is matrilineal, the father is simply a biological element without social or family ties with his children. This is what occurs in the traditional family system, but at the present time the status of the maternal uncle and the father are in conflict, and the latter tends to replace the former in the family group, due to the change in the concept of kinship which is upsetting the legendary canons of matrilinear descent. Thus the status of the father is gradually rising, affecting the relations between nephews and sons, for, if previously the nephews, sons of a sister, were those who attracted the men's attention, now it is the sons who are gradually taking this place to the extent that, as we mentioned in the chapter entitled Inheritance, veritable clashes arise between one and the other after a man's death with respect to sharing in the goods of the deceased. Male children, in view of this new concept of kinship between father and son which has arisen, particularly through the new form of marriage brought about by acculturation, believe themselves to have inalienable rights to their father's possessions at his death to the exclusion of the maternal nephews, who should submit to the same rule and expect their inheritance not from their uncles but from their own fathers. Furthermore, son and father, in accordance with the system of uterine descent could become, and actually did become, enemies when the paternal and the maternal clans went to war with each other, but now the son fights at the side of his father in the majority of cases and is, in turn, represented by his father in rites of passage.

177 Again, the question of marriage presents itself as one of the most important, if not the most important, in Guajiro social organization. Any upheaval that occurs in this has its repercussions on all other traditional institutions, which do not

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177 resist the pressure exercised on the latter. Changes in the idea of marriage automatically will change: descent, inheritance, intercian relations, the value of women, the education of children, the concept of kinship, the right to land, etc., -- so closely are all these items tied one to the other!

VI

177 SLQ As was natural to expect, acculturation has also affected the status of women considered as members of the consanguinous group. In the traditional organization, we can say that the preponderant status of the woman within the family is that of mother, who is, so to speak, the second head of the home, after the /247/ maternal uncle who guides and directs the activities of the cell. But this unilateral valuation is being transformed into a double one: that of wife-mother. We will clarify this point. We have seen in the pertinent chapters how a wife's value was determined exclusively by her position, which in turn was determined by the maternal clan to which she belonged. This valuation was materially shown by the high or low payment which a man decided to pay for her on taking her for his wife, in accordance with her clan position. Within the man's clan, relations with the woman were limited to the mutual help given to her husband for her purchase price and their assistance in the preparatory ceremonies of the marriage. But there was no link that tied them to her or to her children, as a consequence of uterine descent. But at the present time the presence of the wife of one of the male members of the clan is taken into account since she now fulfills certain functions which permit her relative incorporation into the clan, or at least into the small family of the husband. On his part, the man has changed his position with regard to her by not looking on her simply as a biological being, but as a companion. For the same reason the status of maternal aunt,

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177 in relation to her sister's children, has been weakened in view
512 of the intervention of the paternal aunts, previously unrecognized in relation to their nephews and nieces in the masculine line.

Women, considered simply as a social component, have acquired a higher position owing to the cultural changes that have affected the community due to their contacts with other civilizations. The most important advance, perhaps, is the relative liberalizing of clan rules in their relation to marriage, as the woman does not submit so voluntarily to the husband that her maternal relatives pick for her, but has sufficient strength of will, backed up by actions which are happening with ever greater frequency, to choose her man herself even though this may mean for her the breaking off of all ties which link her to family and clan organization. Furthermore, she acquires with the white marriage institution legal powers to combat polygamy.

VII

654 Having outlined the various influences of acculturation on the individual, on society, and on Goajiro culture, and having sketched in this study the life cycle of the individual and some of the most characteristic social institutions of the community, we can now refer in a general way to the conformation of the status of the native in its different aspects. /248/

The points of reference of individual status of an inhabitant of La Guajira may be summarized as follows:

1. Membership through blood in a powerful clan, and within it being the son of a woman of high position, who is a first wife (remember the presence of polygamy and its conflicts). This implies:

A. Control of sufficient wealth represented by:

a) Numerous heads of livestock, preferably cows and horses.

b) Family jewels set with tuma, the traditional stone; possession of ancient, solid gold or silver idols.

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554 c) Control of both agricultural and pasture lands of first quality.

d) Access to wells with constant supplies of water for watering the livestock and for domestic needs.

e) Possession of numerous bond servants and slaves, who will free the women of the clan from domestic duties and provide the men with physical pleasure and a source of economic exploitation.

f) Commercial activities.

g) Holding government posts in the national official bureaucracy.

The economic solvency of the clan allows both the individual member and the family adequately to maintain its prestige in society.

With reference to the individual, because of the opportunity to have:

Expensive clothing for all occasions in accordance with the new patterns introduced by acculturation.

Modern weapons, also a new element in his culture, (guns, rifles, carbines, etc.) and poisoned and magic arrows of great value because of the supernatural powers they have and because they imply the sacrifice of children (Cf. Aspectos de la Magia en La Guajira) by Roberto Pineda Giraldo, Revista del Instituto Etnológico Nacional, Vol. III, Part 1, 1947. Bogotá, 1950).

Magic charms, especially those that are related to obtaining riches and love, prestige and affection, and /success in/ war. /349/

Numerous submissive wives, the first, who is the one who represents him socially, being of high standing.

Utensils and personal effects in accordance with his rank and with /the standards introduced by/ acculturation.

Thoroughbred horses and luxuriously adorned gear and trapping.

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554 With reference to the family, because it permits it as a unit to comply with the commitments it has contracted with each one of its members in particular and with society in general, as for example:

To give financial aid to its members or their friends in the outstanding moments of their lives, as for instance, in the case of a first marriage.

To entertain friends at obligatory social festivities with corresponding ostentation.

To attend to guests who visit the home in accordance with the family rank and that of the visitor, and with the idea of more than reciprocating previous hospitality received.

To be able to pay rapidly and satisfactorily any agreed-upon payment arranged with another group for the violation of the regimen for personal safety or collective stability, on the part of one of its members.

To fulfill adequately the magic sacrifices of propitiation and prevention when this is required either for the violation of a taboo or to forestall the effects of dreams, etc.

B. Numerical strength of the clan in male members of economic solvency and social prestige.

The aspects expressed in paragraphs A and B are extremely important for the individual in the family and in society.

In the family group, because with these advantages he will enjoy respect and a distinguished position among his kin which will automatically make him the head of the family.

In society, because he will receive indemnity rapidly and effectively when a violation of the regimen for individual security or collective stability has injured him directly or indirectly, and because it allows for the submission to his will of family or clan groups other than his own, who will recognize him as their cacique and whose influence they will seek at times when they are in trouble or conflict.

The second large group of conditions which affect the individual status is made up of his personal qualities, which may be subdivided in the following manner:

/250/

554 a) Physical qualities. Having a normal physical appearance, that is, conforming to the aesthetic ideal of the group; lack of defects or deformities, such as the lack of a limb or an eye, presence of visible scars, especially on the face, etc., and to be physically strong.

b) Psychic and cultural qualities. Among these qualities the following should be pointed out: 1. Capacity to bear fatigue. 2. Resistance to hunger during times of scarcity; ability to withstand prolonged thirst. 3. Cruel in reprisal. Inflexible in decisions. 4. Vindictive. 5. Spiteful. 6. Proud. 7. Fearless. 8. Introverted as much as possible. 9. Hospitable and generous. 10. Sexually insatiable. 11. A good drinker. 12. A skillful shot. 13. Possession of a life record of numerous wartime and amorous adventures. 14. A good rider. 15. Never having violated the regimen for social stability by murder or robbery. 16. Possession of a perfect understanding of the native language and bilingualism, with oratorical qualities which increases his capacity to convince others in cases when this may be necessary. 17. A clever versifier.

c) Within the division of labor to be able to fill some of the following offices: 1. Shaman. 2. Arbitrator or cacique. 3. Skillful and rich herdsman. 4. Accomplished hunter and fisherman. 5. Good harness maker. 6. Trader. 7. Public employee.

554 As to feminine status we can state that it has the same
562 essential points of reference with certain variations due to her sex, which we shall briefly enumerate:

1. Membership by consanguineous ties in a powerful clan with the same characteristics as for the man, which implies:

A. Control of sufficient wealth to maintain personal prestige represented by:

a) Abundant and costly ornaments.
b) Expensive clothes and articles of personal use.
c) Possession of charms, especially those for love.
d) Numerous staff, free or otherwise.

/250 cont./

554 562

e) The services of paid wet nurses to feed her children.

f) Good horses with the corresponding ostentations harness. /251/

g) Her own dwelling apart from that of her husband's other wives.

h) Costly outfit and dowry /on marriage/.

In her relations with her family and with society:

A free and protected childhood, that is, no material obligations to carry out until the prepubertal period.

Rites of passage in accordance with the strictest norms.

Being bought as a first wife with cows and in one payment, at a higher or equal price to that paid for her female ancestors.

Being able to give to her sons /and daughters, hijos/ and nephews /and nieces, sobrinos/ costly jewels when they are about to be married or when they have to compensate someone for an injury inflicted.

To be in a position to send her children to study at civilizado centers.

And all the other /items/ we have seen in the case of men.

B. As in the case of the man, her clan should include numerous males of socio-economic prestige.

Aspects A and B are most important for her both in the family group and in society in the following manner:

In the family group, by enjoying respect and acquiring an outstanding position, which converts her also into the first woman of the family.

In society, by likewise enjoying the respect of the community, by not /becoming involved in the/ violating the code of personal security as it refers to acts of sexual aggression against herself, her female relatives, or her female slaves and bond servants. Besides, by occupying the position of first wife in the marriage and being able to intervene as an arbitrator in interclan disputes, and being able to do her part, as head of the household, in cases of putchi /clan war/.

2. Personal qualities:

/251 cont./

554 a) Physical. As in the case of the man, to have a physique
562 in accord with/the ideals of/ cultural patterns and without outstanding physical defects.

To be sexually attractive.

To be a virgin at marriage.

b) Psychic and cultural qualities. 1. Reserved. 2. Faithful to cultural patterns. 3. Prudent. 4. Respectful. 5. Hospitable and generous. 6. Faithful wife. /252/ 7. Sisterly with her co-wives. 8. Good manager of the home. 9. Affectionate mother. 10. Capable of economic independence. 11. Mastery of the language.

c) Within the framework of the division of labor: to be a shaman or diviner; to have a knowledge of magic, particularly in the making of charms; good midwife, dressmaker, potter, herbalist, or competent maid.

VIII

554 A violation, in active or passive form, of the system of law and order by persons who are unable to pay a satisfactory indemnity for the infraction leads to their being given a special extrasocial status with very clear characteristics. They occupy the lowest place on the social scale. They are the bond servants and slaves whose general characteristics, as we have seen in the chapters referring to them, are:

Lack of family ties, since their consanguineous units have been broken up by their defeat in war as punishment for breaking the cultural rules connected with law and order.

As a consequence, lack of economic backing.

Lack of territorial connections, the land of their consanguineous unit having been taken over by the victors.

Loss of the position of being free, becoming chattel over whom their owners have the right of usufruct and abuse.

/252 cont./

554 626 In addition to bond servants and slaves who at any rate are still part of the Guajiro social conglomerate in their special status, there exist those outside society who have got into this situation as a consequence of breaking of the regimen for social stability, security, but who besides not having paid the indemnity required for their delict are cast out of the community because their clan group refuses to admit any responsibility for the crime, by which act they are excluded from the community and have to flee and go into exile. This appears to have been the case with the Kusina Indians, who have already definitely disappeared, due to the exterminating expeditions that have been launched against them by all the consanguineous Guajiro groups and by whites. They were a group of Indians ostracized for delicts committed, who had no family backing and who gathered together to live by robbery and murder of other Indians and the whites who lived in the neighborhood of their hideouts in the Sierra de los Kosina. /253/

IX

554 548 Prostitutes also can be classified among those of lowest feminine status, as their conduct is not in accord with the female cultural patterns for women in the community, which practically treats them as outcasts. Although they may enjoy a measure of individual prestige due to the satisfactions they give, they attract to themselves the contempt of society as they are constantly violating culture patterns. They are evaluated in two ways, but primarily are classified as despicable beings, violators of cultural patterns.

Nevertheless, during the summers, which are the periods of scarcity and misery, their conduct finds, if not approbation, at least excuse among their relatives, who see in their way of life a means of income which assists in part to supply the most basic necessities of life. Furthermore, with the change in ideas

/153 cont./

554 with respect to social questions as fundamental as marriage,
548 there has been a change in the judgment of prostitution and concubinage, two ways by which a woman escapes from legal strictures, almost always because of necessity or the special circumstances in which her group is placed.

X

559 We should note here the important fact that the functions
542 ascribed to the working Guajiro woman no longer count when
883 she has passed through her adult change of life, that is to say, when she has passed the menopause. From this moment it appears that she enjoys absolute freedom within the community to do those things that are prohibited a woman before she reaches that condition, such as to become inebriated, to smoke, to indulge in sexual liberties; certain taboos now no longer refer to her, and the cultural patterns need not be so rigorously complied with; she is not obliged to become the wife of the heir of the dead husband, etc. Her status again becomes effective with all its attached functions after her death, as we shall see.

XI

594 The active presence of an individual in Guajiro society is
769 not lost at his death. In the concept that these natives have
775 about death, clearly expressed in the study made by my husband to which we have /154/ made reference several times, every member of the community continues being a member of it and exercises influence over his fellow men after his death. His status in the afterlife is determined by the same conditions that he had during his earthly life: the acquiring of greater wealth and of prestige confers a higher status in the world of the spirits.

/554 cont./

554 His functions keep on being carried out by means of inter-
769 mediaries, as happens in the case of the piache, since the
775 shaman, or medicine man, is nothing more than an intermediary between society and the world of the spirits; his illumination is determined by the action of famous dead shamans who are reincarnated, one might say, in the living one and determine many of the actions of the community, especially those with reference to Illness and to Death. In other words, the shaman in his life is not guided by his own personality but rather by that of the shamans who have deigned to come down to him to indicate the functions that he must comply with, the rules that he must observe, and, in short, all the indispensable acts of his profession. The spiritual direction of the group is thus in the hands of the dead, who continue to look after their group in a more effective manner than when they were alive.

The gradation of status which we have seen in Guajiro society in previous paragraphs is also followed in the world of the dead, in which murderers, for example, occupy their same condition of outlaws, as also do suicides; they do not wander about freely as the other spirits do but are condemned to crawl face downward along the ground. And, if while in life they were a threat to the regimen for personal security or collective stability, they are also so after dying; from this develops the series of preventive practices relative to these spirits.

XII

557 Status is susceptible to modifications both upward and down-
558 ward. The causes of ascent are implicit in the conditions referred to, which as they are reached one by one confer on the individual an increase in his prestige, or keep it maintained. Among the causes of descent we can enumerate the following as the principal ones: a) the scarcity of male members for consanguinity or other in the clan unit or in the small family

/254 cont./

554 group, which implies in fact a lack of social backing; b) eco-
558 nomic losses which prevent their maintaining their clan or family rank and, therefore, their individual prestige. c) the breaking of the regimen for personal security and collective stability which implicitly carries /255/ with it the lowering of status, because when a group which has suffered considerable losses in number as well as in capital commits a punishable act against an individual of a superior clan, it becomes liable, not to the legal negotiation for indemnity but to extermination as a free unit, because the offended group, being superior, will not deal with the offenders on a legal basis. Furthermore, if the infraction wrongs a group weakened in its economy and in the number of its male members, the indemnity is not governed by legality but rests on the individual judgment of the powerful offender, in conflict with whom the offended one cannot put up sufficient coercive force to insist on an adequate indemnity.

671 This phenomenon is due to a clear and precise fact within
627 the social mesh that holds the clans together in La Guajira: questions of law are applicable only when the clan groups who are challenging each other are equally equipped in economic strength and in fighting men. It is only then that the legal action of the arbitrators can be brought into play to negotiate an arrangement equitable to both sides. Law, therefore, is regulated by equality of strength. But once this equilibrium is broken, law no longer exists as an institution if it is contrary to the will of the /stronger/ injured side, which will impose the indemnity by means of its strength and according to its personal ambition, sacrificing the offender both socially and economically, or when the injury has been inflicted on a weaker group, allowing the aggressive action to go unpunished.

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PAUL RIVET

DIRECTOR DEL INSTITUTO
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LUIS DUQUE GOMEZ

BOGOTA

1 9 5 0

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ORGANIZACION SOCIAL EN LA GUAJIRA

VIRGINIA GUTIERREZ DE PINEDA

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INTRODUCCION

Dentro del plan que se ha trazado el Instituto Etnológico Nacional de Colombia de presentar en cada entrega de esta Revista una monografía completa sobre aspectos indígenas, y para continuar el estudio iniciado en el número pasado sobre la comunidad guajira, visitada por nosotros en el año de 1947 en compañía de los licenciados Roberto Pineda Giraldo, Milciades Chaves Ch., y señora María Rosa de Recamán, presentamos ahora la Organización Social en la Guajira, círculo que recoge algunos aspectos del modo como funcionan en esta comunidad el individuo y sus instituciones.

Más que un estudio de interpretación hemos querido dar una serie de datos lo más fidedignos posible, ordenados en la forma que nos ha parecido más conveniente, empezando por el individuo, como célula primaria de la organización social, desde el momento del nacimiento y a través de todos los estados trascendentales de su vida dentro del grupo, hasta la enfermedad y la muerte, terminando con la referencia al derecho, es decir, a las instituciones que rigen la vida de sociedad.

Esta secuencia tiende, pues, a dar una visión objetiva de las interrelaciones entre el individuo y su grupo, y de la manera como uno y otro se complementan para permitir la vida en común de las personas, como componentes de células familiares, de pequeños grupos sociales o del conjunto total. Y, por lo mismo, hemos distribuído el trabajo en los dos partes mencionadas que subdividimos nuevamente, tomando como base al individuo, el tipo medio de la comunidad con sus normas de vida, con sus maneras de pensar, de sentir y de reaccionar frente a los distintos problemas o a las instituciones que la sociedad ha establecido; en una palabra, hemos querido mostrar al hombre frente a su medio.

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Las encuestas en que se basa este trabajo fueron hechas directamente en el terreno y tomando como informadores a distintos individuos, tanto hombres como mujeres, en diferentes lugares de la Península Guajira, habitat natural del indígena a que nos referimos. Tienen, pues, por lo mismo, un margen de seguridad bastante alto, ya que el chequeo permitió la aclaración, la ratificación y la rectificación de todos los datos que se tomaron en la primera encuesta.

Habríamos querido iniciar esta monografía con una descripción aunque fuera rápida del medio geográfico en que se mueven los indios de la Guajira, pero nos limitamos a remitir al lector a la entrega anterior de esta misma Revista, en donde aparece publicado un trabajo de mi esposa, el licenciado Roberto Pineda Giraldo, sobre *Aspectos de la Magia en la Guajira*, en la cual se encuentra una visión resumida de la geografía de la Península. Sin embargo, en algunos de los capítulos de este trabajo, se encontrarán referencias a algunos aspectos de la geografía, porque los hemos considerado indispensables para aclarar ciertos fenómenos de tipo económico y social que de otra manera no podrían entenderse, pues la economía, como podrá verse al leer este estudio, juega un papel muy importante en el funcionamiento de las instituciones guajiras.

El lector encontrará, por otra parte, algunas repeticiones en los distintos aspectos que se tratan aquí, pero ellas se deben también al deseo que nos animó de no dejar ningún aspecto incluso. Muchas de las situaciones conflictivas del individuo provocan en distintos momentos y sobre las diversas instituciones legales, reacciones y fenómenos diferentes que hemos creído necesario aclarar y, por lo mismo, nos hemos visto obligados a repetirlos en las distintas posiciones en que ellos deberían ser considerados.

Por lo demás, se podrá ver también que el capítulo del matrimonio es el más extenso de todos, y es, justamente en él, en donde podrá encontrarse el mayor número de repeticiones y de llamadas a situaciones anterior o posteriormente expuestas. El matrimonio en la Guajira puede considerarse como la base de toda la organización social, pues es con él,

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base de la familia, como el individuo se pone en contacto con las otras células familiares, con los grupos clánicos diferentes, y, en conjunto, con el grupo social general. Puede decirse, sin lugar a equivocaciones, que el matrimonio interesa, de manera directa o indirecta, a toda la organización social de la Guajira, a los sistemas económicos, e inclusive a los aspectos de la vida espiritual de la comunidad, como que en él se cifra la seguridad del grupo clanil, base definitiva de la organización guajira. Al mirar algunos aspectos del derecho consuetudinario de estos indígenas, podrá verse que él tiene efectividad si el grupo clanil que ha sido ofendido tiene la fuerza suficiente para imponer las cobros o restricciones requeridos; de lo contrario, el derecho no funciona. Y, como es el clan, y en último término la familia pequeña, la que responde de las agresiones contra el régimen de seguridad personal o colectivo, constituyéndose de este modo en el verdadero representante del individuo, puede deducirse entonces la importancia que tiene la institución del matrimonio en la vida guajira.

No queremos terminar esta Introducción sin presentar nuestros más rendidos agradecimientos al señor director del Instituto Etnológico Nacional, licenciado Luis Duque Gómez, por todas las facilidades que nos brindó para este estudio, a nuestros compañeros de expedición, que en todo momento nos ayudaron en la recolección de los datos, y en especial a mi esposa, el licenciado Roberto Pineda Giraldo, quien suministró varias fichas recogidas en el terreno para este estudio, y en todo momento prestó su colaboración para la ordenación y elaboración del mismo.

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1

PRENATALES — PARTO — NIÑOS

Valoración de los hijos.—Cada grupo familiar guajiro procura mantener en lo posible el número de sus miembros. Como consecuencia, cada nacimiento se acoglido con alegría, de manera que ningún nuevo ser coincide con el problema de que su advenimiento no haya sido aprobado por sus padres o familiares; por el contrario, siempre encontrará su lugar dentro del grupo, en donde se espera que cumpla su papel adecuadamente.

Y es que la importancia de un grupo depende del número de sus miembros, pues se observa que, a pesar de que algunos de ellos son fuertes económicamente, la relativa escasez de hombres provoca la pérdida de su prestigio directivo y de su influencia. La vida de relación entre los agrupamientos clánicos tiene el carácter de igualdad cuando los conjuntos se equiparan, más o menos, en elementos varoniles; de otra manera, cualquier problema pendiente entre ellos se inclinará favorablemente del lado donde pese más la influencia mayoritaria de los hombres. Para equilibrar fuerzas, es necesario que el grupo débil acuda en solicitud de alianza a otros grupos.

No obstante esta cabida general de conservar nacimientos, a fin de mantener equilibrio en una situación social más justa en toda la Península, hay grupos que no propenden por ello. Son los que se encuentran en una condición inferior que los obliga a colocarse al margen de la vida guajira y que acaban por sufrir en carne propia todas las injusticias y desmanes de los demás que, no encontrando fuerza suficiente para su contención, aprovechan y se aprovechan por cualquier motivo sus bienes, los despojan de todos los derechos y cargan sobre ellos situaciones desagradables como la servidumbre. Son, en resumen, los que tienen pocos miembros varoniles y menos mujeres casaderas. Entonces, como defensa propia, las mujeres se niegan a concebir; se valen de todos los recursos empíricos que frenan la maternidad; toman las pocas que durante el embarazo que sigue a la aparición de la pubertad, son generosas para abajar la menstruación, para que el organismo se vaya debilitando y la regla no aparezca más, con lo cual la vida sentimental no tiene ningún freno. Ellas saben de antemano

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-mano al destino de sus hijos; los dé sin grupo fuerte, cuando los vean débiles, caerán sobre ellos para esclavizarlos bajo cualquier pretexto, como la pérdida de un animal cuya desaparición se les atribuye, sin que ni una vez, ni la autoridad civil, se levanten para impedirlo y sin que, comprobada la injusticia del caso, aparezca sanción de parte alguna. Sus hijos serán tomados como mujeres sin que se cumpla el requisito guajiro del pago o, simplemente, abusarán de ellas, porque no hay respaldo familiar que se oponga a los deseos de los hombres de los grupos fuertes. Si alguna llega a ser comprada, pagan por ella una suma cualquiera para acallar las protestas de sus familiares, pero luégo exigen una retribución matrimonial muy fuerte. Generalmente, el marido hace alarde de malos tratos para con ella, porque la siente sin apoyo y sabe que sus parientes carecen de fuerza suficiente para entablar un reclamo. Por eso no es raro que los maridos de mujeres pobres les den muerte después de una vida en que las infelices han sido rudamente golpeadas y aún mutiladas. Y como su familia no tiene ninguna alianza con grupos poderosos, la muerte queda sin resarcir. Saben también que si uno de sus hijos varones hiere o da muerte ocasionalmente o en defensa propia a una persona de un grupo familiar superior, la represalia que se sigue no irá precedida del cabro, ni de ninguna de las circunstancias legales estipuladas sino que todo su grupo será destruido o esclavizado y despojado de sus tierras clanilas, labranzas, pozos de abastecimiento de agua y bienes personales. Por tal razón estos grupos se dejan extinguir, reduciendo al mínimo la natalidad.

Respecto al deseo particular que cada grupo tiene sobre el sexo de sus futuros descendientes, merece que hagamos un análisis sobre la valoración que cada uno de ellos tiene en la sociedad:

El padre desea que el primer hijo sea varón, porque ve en él un futuro ayudante en las faenas de pastoreo y compañero durante sus largos viajes. La familia materna anhela también que sea del sexo masculino porque, aunque no aumenta la familia posteriormente, a causa de la descendencia matrilineal, sí contribuye a su prestancia, ya que del número de miembros varones dependen su prestigio e influencia, pues son ellos los que la representan en las situaciones conflictivas con los otros grupos y los que, mediante su prestigio, hacen posible a sus parientes disfrutar de una vida más tranquila al inhibir los desmanes de los miembros de otras agrupaciones con las mujeres de su grupo, equilibrando la sociedad conyugal y logrando un mutuo respeto de derecho y deberes entre ambos.

Por otra parte, de su importancia depende también, indirectamente, la conservación de la categoría de sus parientas, pues ningún otro guajiro

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se comprometerá en acciones de violación o de seducción con ellas, por temor a las represalias; sería, en cambio, comprada por hombres de su rango, eliminándose de esta manera las posibilidades de inferiorización. Además, en el caso de muerte de algún pariente, el resarcimiento es más efectivo por el temor de que se cumpla el principio de pago y justicia por propia mano.

No obstante, los miembros varoniles representan siempre dificultades. Las mujeres del grupo viven supeditadas a su conducta, pues cualquier hecho ilegal contra otra agrupación, las afecta directamente, como que las represalias se dirigen contra ellas. De otro lado, cuando se verifican reuniones de hombres, las mujeres deben estar cerca de ellos, porque abusan del ron y bajo su influencia se tornan agresivos y dejan traducir y hacen efectivos sus odios y venganzas. Su papel consiste, entonces, en evitar que las discusiones degeneren en derramamiento de sangre, procurando zanjar prudentemente las dificultades que surjan.

Por otra parte, si bien es cierto que el aporte económico masculino es el mayor en los casos en que el grupo exige mutua cooperación, también lo es el que sus matrimonios demandan de todos fuertes desembolsos, representados no sólo en animales, sino en prendas —joyas de oro— que les dan sus parientas para ser entregadas a la prometida, en vez de compromiso. Además, los niños que los hombres generan en sus matrimonios, no son sus hijos en nuestro sentido; de modo que, a pesar de los gastos habidos en la familia, ella no se ve acrecentada con nuevos elementos humanos que la refuercen. Los hijos todos pertenecen a la agrupación familiar materna, de acuerdo con su legislación.

La mujer se plega a la voluntad del hombre en el deseo de que su primogénito sea varón, pero anhela luego una descendencia abundante en mujeres que enriquezcan y aumenten con hijos y reembolsos el grupo al cual pertenece, porque la mujer en la sociedad guajira tiene una importancia no menor a la del hombre, ya que es ella la que transmite el parentesco y, por tanto, la que aumenta con sus hijos el número de consanguíneos. En ella finca toda la parentela la esperanza de un resarcimiento a los cuidados que tuvo que dispensarle durante su crianza y por el mantenimiento de su rango, porque al ser comprada la primera hija, indemniza al padre y a los suyos por el gasto que hubieron de hacer al comprar a la madre en ganado y en joyas. Los deudos, con el pago de su matrimonio, acrecientan los ingresos maternos y en cierto modo aumentan con esta suma el respaldo económico para los futuros hijos, para el sostenimiento del marido y tienen una base económica para sus momentos apremiantes o los de su

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familia. En todos estos casos en la actualidad la mujer ha ido perfeccionando las técnicas de sus trabajos, por la enseñanza que recibe en la Misión Capuchina, y desde tiempo fácil salida en los mercados interiores y en las vecinas de Valledupar y Maracaibo, ella constituye realmente una fuerza económica que ayuda a subsanar la situación precaria del hogar, agravada por los veranos intensos que no permiten la agricultura permanente, y debilitan la ganadería. Con los ingresos obtenidos, sostiene a su marido y se alimentan y se visten ella, sus hijos y sus familiares cercanos.

En la actualidad, el concepto familiar de la mujer está sufriendo un cambio por la conducta de la monitora y ésta de la india pura, transformada por su situación económica y por el contacto del blanco, pues se ha ido cumpliendo la organización del pago tradicional y la fidelidad a base del mismo, porque son ellas y no ya sus familiares, las que reciben dicho pago, pero en calidad de prostitutas. El fenómeno se observa no sólo en los centros internos que están en contacto con blancos y negros —en su mayoría comerciantes y autoridades civiles—, sino también, y especialmente, en Maracaibo y algunas poblaciones del departamento del Magdalena, a donde se ven obligadas a emigrar. Sin embargo, ellas conservan el concepto familiar de ayuda mutua y participan a sus inmediatos familiares de los ingresos, no ya en la forma tradicional de pago matrimonial, sino como ganancia obtenida en el mercado sexual.

Cuidados prenatales y parto.—La mujer se da cuenta de su estado de gravidez cuando manifiesta una pérdida sensible del apetito y repugnancia ante los alimentos. La desaparición posterior de la menstruación confirma la sospecha y ella procura inmediatamente que su esposo se entere del hecho para que tenga la seguridad de su próxima paternidad. También, cuando ha habido relaciones extramatrimoniales en ausencia del marido, la mujer que siente estos síntomas delatores del embarazo, va en su búsqueda, cohabita con él y luégo le manifiesta que se encuentra embarazada, salvando así la sospecha posterior. Desde la desaparición de la primera menstruación, empieza a contar los meses, esperando el alumbramiento a partir del octavo mes.

Antes de llegar un hijo, la mujer cumple con determinadas reglas tendientes a evitar un parto prolongado y difícil o a preservar al nuevo sér de enfermedades que atentan contra su vida normal mental o física. En la esfera de dichas prescripciones se encuentran algunas de carácter real y otras de marcado aspecto mágico. Estas observancias mágicas afectan por lo general a ambos cónyuges, aunque algunas se refieren sólo a la mujer.

y mata, ocasionándose el hombre[1]. Por ejemplo, la madre no debe comer alimentos que hayan sido probados por un animal, pues si lo hace, su hijo nacerá enfermo del estómago y será dependiente consigo o lo de aquél; ni el hombre ni la mujer deben observar una conducta decente de una cuarta, ni el hombre mentirle, porque el parto se prolongaría más difícilmente para la madre; la madre no debe concurrir a una ceremonia de iniciación primaria o secundaria, ni el hombre cazar una equivocada, porque sucedería algo consiguiente a la ceremonia, además de que el hijo tendría una grave deficiencia; etc.

Durante el período del embarazo, el hombre evita concurrir a su mujer y satisface sus deseos o antojos porque si no lo hace así, su hijo tendría, por ejemplo, una superstición anómala marcada en el cuerpo. Por más que ella lo convenciera, él no hace uso de su sexualidad, ni la golpea, no considerándose a su estado; y también, porque este hecho le acarrearía grave consecuencia, ya que si la mujer pierde el embarazo, a causa de malos tratos, la culpa recaerá sobre él y sus hijastros, pues debe pagar una suma a su mujer por el mal ocasionado. Sin embargo, hay ocasiones que golpean a sus mujeres cuando saben que se de cada tan pobre que sus familiares no tendrán la suficiente fuerza para hacer valer los derechos de su parentela.

El guajiro cree que determinados hechos que ocurren sobre la pareja de la madre grávida, también repercuten fuera en la criatura que va a nacer. Esta es una de las causas de que el hombre se preocupe por cuidar a su mujer y complacerla, evitándole los disgustos, repugnancias y malos tratos. Pero en estas creencias hay algunas que sirven para hallar soluciones satisfactorias a determinados problemas, que pueden tener su origen en la convivencia de las culturas vecinas. Es muy frecuente, por ejemplo, el adulterio actualmente en la Guajira, con blancos y negros. Para hacer para explicar la presencia de hijos de color diferente y generalmente diferente al indígena, la mujer guajira apela a la creencia siguiente: Si una mujer no recibe grávida recibe una fuerte impresión por la aparición repentina de una persona, el hijo que nazca tendrá el color de esa persona.

Vemos anteriormente que si durante el embarazo la madre experimenta en forma muy intensa el deseo de poseer alguna cosa, no satisfecho y sin satisfacer su deseo, el niño tendrá la superstición alrededor de la madre y también Relegando sin motivo conocido. Y en esta creencia encontrar el indígena también la explicación del nacimiento de gemelos y de niños fenómenos. Por lo mismo, el varón está en el deber de evitar esta superstición a la

[1] Pineda Giraldo, Roberto. Aspectos de la mujer en la Guajira. Revista del Instituto Etnológico Nal. Vol. III. Entrega 3ª 1. 1947. Bogotá. 1950.

[illegible] cuidado, pues una fuerte corrientita de aire durante los primeros meses del embarazo, puede dar origen a los gusanos; y la inapetencia unida por un animal o por una persona tomada fidedignamente, o los regurgitados. Este obligar al hombre, cuando vea de cerca, a la cabeza para advertir ó no mejor la presencia de una de esos fenómenos, o fin de que ella los vea con la vista.

Otra clase de cuidados son observados por la mujer para evitar que su parto sea prolongado o difícil. Entre ellos podemos encontrar los siguientes:

Durante su embarazo hace uso de una clase especial de polvos que se encuentran diluidos en las clases de las aguas o en las semillas, pulverizadas cuidadosamente hasta hacer con ellas una pasta blanda, con la cual, desde el quinto mes hasta el alumbramiento, frotándose todo el vientre cada día al amanecer dejando todo el día el resto de la pintura sobre la piel. Cuando se quiere hacer más efectivo el nacimiento, se aplica a partir del tercer mes. La criatura, cuyo medio ha sido tomado de este modo, nace normal en su conformación, pero con cabeza de tamaño, que consiste en [illegible] de cuatro meses. De este modo, el parto se verifica con mayor facilidad y en corto tiempo. Los niños nacidos a este tratamiento general no aparecen enfermizos, ni con heridas de tipo nervioso. Son nacidos, aunque en menor grado pequeños y desarrollados. A medida que los meses van pasando, el niño se va consolidando para a parte del tratamiento general y hacia los tres años adquiere el tamaño normal y las características físicas comunes a un niño de tipo mestizo y cualquiera.

La madre guajira no gasta de ninguna a esta tratamiento, pero la partera tomada en los casos anteriores ha tomado un desarrollamiento difícil. La guajira se acompañaba del hace tomada y la adquirir de un niño y su medio de complementarlo para ello que se las ofrecen. En este caso que se necesita a este tipo de parteras, diferentes, como las que consiste diferentes de cuatro aparte, necesitan en la cantidad suficiente a cuatro grandes; apagando hielo o la necesitarse de mido, a tomar diferentes agua en aparte en hacerse cantidad, durante todo el embarazo, para impedir el nacimiento anegando del feto y por tanto, un parto difícil.

Estas parteras que venimos describiendo son aconsejadas también para que la mujer no adquiera un volumen exagerado que la inhiba en sus movimientos, en el cumplimiento de sus oficios domésticos y en las largas caminatas que debe hacer.

Durante los últimos meses del embarazo se abstiene, por voluntad propia y de su marido, de las relaciones sexuales, porque cree que su compañ-

[illegible] como consecuencia que el niño nunca enfermase y el parto sea prolongado, aquellas cosas que constituyen su preocupación principal y que justifican la práctica de cualquier tratamiento que las evite. También le será prohibido, durante del lapso de la preñez, en los últimos meses de su gestación, levantar cosas pesadas, cruzar aguas de los caminos y cargar de las [illegible], acostar leña y cargar las [illegible]. Pero estas precauciones sólo pueden observarlas las mujeres de posición económica destacada que tienen a su servicio criadas y sirvientas que cumplen con tales ocupaciones. No es, pues, cierto, que la guajira se vea obligada a ellas, con perjuicio para su estado, pues después de una de estas colaboras, las mujeres tienen un aborto inmediato.

Algunas veces, la mujer que conoce la dificultad de un parto, tomó diferentes pedas que compra a las mujeres de la Sierra de Jarara que conocen sus propiedades curativas, o procura que alguien se las consiga con los indios [illegible], o las que van frecuentemente en busca de remedios para su salud.

En el momento en que los dolores del parto se presentan, la mujer toma infusiones de diversas plantas que le han conseguido previamente sus familiares. Con ellas el parto progresa rápidamente y el nacimiento se consigue pronto y fácilmente. También toman una o más veces, durante el alumbramiento, cosas de la pedra que sirve para disminuir el cansancio del frío.

Una vez nacido el niño y cuando la placenta se demora hubo el pago de la cuna del calabazo (*Crescentia Cujete*) y el de una nueva vasija que tiene por objeto, una vez pasado el alumbramiento, impedir que cuando la vida sexual se reanude de nuevo, la mujer quede fácilmente embarazada. Tiene la propiedad de no permitir la concepción por un período hasta de cuatro años, cuando se toma en cantidad fuera de la normal.

Si los remedios empleados no producen el efecto buscado, los familiares de la mujer, apoderados por ella mismos, hacen un recuento de los posibles culpables violadores durante el embarazo, bien por ella, por su marido o por ambos, y tratan de hacer una reparación. Así, por ejemplo, si fue que ella vio una serpiente mientras en una cueva o su marido le dio muerte, o ella la mató figuradamente y no cumplió con la prescripción de 'pasarle por encima para contrarrestar la influencia nociva sobre su alumbramiento, como se comenta, sus familiares van en busca de una culebra del mismo género. La matan, la asan y la colocan sobre el vientre de la parturienta, con lo que el parto se consigue fácilmente. Si encuentran que su marido estaba cazando con armas de fuego o las disparó simplemente, entonces proceden a [illegible]

el arma en cuestión (el cuchillo) y a dar una agua a la mujer, con la cual el parto termina pronto.

Nacimiento y muerte del primogénito.—El padre debe pagar las molestias del embarazo y del parto, lo mismo que la celebración del nacimiento del primer hijo, y se espera de él que ofrezca una fiesta especial a sus amigos, en el lugar donde ha ocurrido el nacimiento. La noticia de la llegada del niño se propaga con rapidez, lo que atrae a las familiares y amigos de todos puntos. Al mediodía comienza el baile, que se prolonga durante toda la noche y en él participan mujeres adultas y hombres de toda condición. El sitio lo lleva el tambor de doble membrana de cuero de venado o de cabra. Se baila en un gran círculo a cuyo alrededor se agrupan los parejas participantes y los curiosos. La mujer va con sus trajes más vistosos, sin olvidar sus joyas (collares, brazaletes y aretes) y lleva un pañuelo amarrado a la cabeza, que cuelga sobre la espalda, y la pintura facial muy cuidada. El hombre, la faja ancha, maravillosamente trabajada y su corona con penachos de plumas.

El padre debe atender a sus invitados con sus guajiros o con licores extranjeros de contrabando. También se prepara chicha mascada de maíz, que se reparte en cantidad. Fuera del baile, pueden apostarse carreras de caballos, si se trata de personas ricas, para lo cual llevan sus mejores animales. A la madrugada siguiente se sacrifican vacas, si el padre es rico, y cabras, que se preparan y se reparten entre los participantes, de acuerdo con su importancia dentro de la familia, del grupo y del conjunto tribal. Al amanecer, todos han regresado a sus casas.

Fuera del padre, participan en la celebración del nacimiento, las familiares maternas y paternas, con donativos al recién nacido. También el padre le hace un regalo en cabezas de ganado, que constituye casi la única herencia que obtiene en vida, pues son las cabezas del padre, hijo de hermana, las que heredan el capital y no los hijos, según los principios legales, cuando el matrimonio se ha cumplido por el tío guajiro.

También el abuelo paterno muestra su expectativa y generosidad con el niño. Si tiene ganados, le da, por obligación, caballos, burros, vacas, cabras, ovejas, gallinas —una pareja de cada una—. El abuelo materno tiene igual obligación y se espera de él que dé tanto como el otro. Es costumbre que el tío materno más cercanado dé muestras de su afecto y reconocimiento hacia el sobrino —su verdadero hijo—, haciéndole un donativo especial en cabezas de ganado.

Además de esto, los vecinos y amigos de la madre vienen a visitarla y no dejan tener al recién nacido algún obsequio, como maíjao de hilazo para fabricar su chinchorro, pañales, etc.

Con los grandes cuidados en su nacimiento, el niño inicia su capital. Sus cuidados son administrados por el padre, en compañía con los parientes de la madre, o por el tío materno más descuidado, que más ahorro haya acumulado a su sobrino, y a quien corresponde la educación del niño en las actividades pastoriles hasta que el muchacho sea capaz de valerse por sí mismo.

* * *

La muerte del primogénito es un hecho de marcada trascendencia por las consecuencias que puede acarrear. Es esta una de las razones por la cual el hombre se preocupa grandemente por el primer embarazo de su mujer, y que la mueva a llevarla al lugar de sus familiares para que dé a luz allí, descargando en ellos esa responsabilidad que no quiere para sí. También explica el que los partos posteriores no sean atendidos por los parientes maternos y que a la larga la mujer tenga que dar a luz sola, forzada por las circunstancias.

La mujer y sus familiares se responsabilizan de la muerte del primer hijo, no ella como muerte en sí, sino como acto consuetudinario para los futuros nacimientos. Cuando el primogénito muere, se colocado en una mitaca de barro con la cabeza hacia abajo, cubierta con el mismo de una olla de barro nueva, y enterrado en el monte, ya en el cementerio chimil, pero si en los tierros de sus familiares, al pie de un palo llamado dividivi, a fin de que no siga muriendo los demás hijos que nacieran; se repiten todas las ceremonias que se celebran en cualquier muerte y el tío materno mayor se encarga de darle sepultura. Ni el padre ni la madre pueden ver al niño muerto, ni asistir a su entierro, para evitar que mueran los demás hijos posibles.

Muerto el primogénito y cumplidos todos los labores de conservación, la madre debe amamantar, si quiere evitar la muerte de los demás hijos, a un tratamiento especial que se casi la repetición de las ceremonias y del régimen a que se vio obligada en la iniciación, al aparecer la pubertad. Puesto que se cree que no se cumplió satisfacoriamente a cabalidad con los ritos y procedimientos acostumbrados, tendrían a convertirla en una mujer adulta con todas las funciones adscritas a su estado. A esta falta parece atribuir el guajiro la muerte del primer hijo.

La madre se aislada por tres días en un chinchorro, cerca de la cumbrera de la casa; permanece allí en ayunas, cubierta por una tela para no

su vista. Rajada el finalizar una gestación, vuelve a emitir hijo como primer alumbrar y consecutivo alumbrar de mellizo; una gestación siguiente se encarga de cuidado, quedó solo acontecimiento que en el embarazo de gobernado, y permanece durante cierto tiempo en una construcción, dedicada a la vivienda o en una gloria donde no puede ser vista sino por mujeres, hablar para, tener necesidad a una dieta alimenticia y privada de contacto social con su familia. También regular el proceso de engendramiento con la vida del *hombre* y la modificación a base de pulsos para evitar la aparición de la menstruación. Pasado este contacto, regresa al lado de su familia y reinicia su vida sexualmente.

Si un nuevo hijo nace la misma suerte del primero, se sigue el curso normal de la secuencia de acontecimientos se hace un relato y se aparta mínimo, como en la muerte de un adulto, mínimo que son proporcionados por sus dueños mayores y parientes. Cumplidos los ritos tradicionales, se entierra en el cementerio de sus antepasados. La madre se mantiene a medicinas especiales de los pulsores profesionales, para no se regular el embarazo, pues la muerte de los niños se enlaza ya a diversos casos, indígenas casos y extraños los casos. Superándose estos casos, el indígena cree que Epiolú el problema.

Nacimiento de gemelos.—Los casos que ahora el guajiro para explicar la fecundación gemelar, son de marcada carácter mágico; aunque no se considera como presagio de hechos funestos, si se tiene como una carga pesada, mínimo cuando la madre no tiene suficientes bienes de fortuna, o cuando el número de los hijos se considera; sin embargo, no hay manera la intención de poner fin a la vida de los niños así Epiolú. Son criados lo mejor posible, siguiendo el mismo régimen acostumbrado para los demás, y salvando hasta donde es posible las dificultades.

Los casos que da el guajiro para explicar el nacimiento de gemelos, son los siguientes: que durante los primeros meses del embarazo, y especialmente en el primero, la mujer sufre una impresión muy intensa, ó ser acompañada por una persona, ó recibir una mala noticia de impresión, etc.; o también, que se haya burlado de otra que tiene gemelos, y esto sea, cuando profundo apodado y habiendo sido solicitados sus servicios como médico, por incapacidad de la madre para alimentar a sus niños, se haya negado a ello.

Alimentación y cuidado del bebé.—Al niño no se le suministra alimento hasta tres días después de su nacimiento, cuando aparece la leche en el seno materno, apariciéndose que se verificó para que mejor, generalmente, en este lapso de tres días. No obstante, esta costumbre está quebrantarse sino el

[illegible] día de comida, por intermedio de las familiares o de la persona, cuando el niño manifiesta mucho apetito.

Los comidas del lactante no son regulares, si por tal se entiende un horario fijo al cual se ciñen la madre o la nodriza. La madre dispone, el niño cuando tiene la edad, fisiológicamente o desarrollándose una patología, según la edad, para comunicarla cuando la solicita un golpe o cuando algún dolor, o para consultar que se duerma. Sólo algunas maestras, por educación liberal o principalmente médica, tratan de reglamentar la comida de sus hijos, para lograrlo esta tratan de conseguir momentos, cargando o acostando los intervalos de comida con el apetito del niño y guiándose por la posición del sol.

La primera comida la recibe el niño aproximadamente a las seis de la madrugada, hora en que los quejidos tratan con bálsamo diarios, la alimenta a la hora de acostarse. En fin, el niño como hasta que, cansado o dormido, recibe el pecho. En madrugada, toda madre quejido acostumbra a alimentar a su niño durante la noche si se despierta y llora.

La madre alimenta a su hijo, a no ser que circunstancias contrarias se lo impidan. Si el alimento satisface completamente las necesidades alimenticias del niño, por su cantidad y calidad, la madre no le agrega ningún otro complemento, si no lo satisfaciera, durante un período de seis a ocho meses. De igual no satisfacer, tratar a su dieta mantenerla clara de modo que un poco de leche, preferiblemente de cabra, sopa de crema, leche a, muy condimentada, queso y carne. Cuando la leche materna empieza a escasear temporalmente, trata de suplirla con otros alimentos líquidos, como mantecados, cubiertos o cangelos de harina de arroz, mezclados con leche de cabra; cada vez más mezcla leche sola, hasta llevarla gradualmente a los alimentos de los adultos, pasando por el proceso anteriormente colocado y, además, procura guardar un alimento para darle al niño en la noche para evitar tener que prepararle comida a esta hora de descanso. Para la primera comida en la madrugada puede ser artificial, para la madre quejica, como ya le dijimos, se levanta muy temprano para aprovechar en sus labores la hora fresca del día. Antes del desayuno, cuando la lactancia se prolonga, el niño aprende a tomar otros alimentos, tales como leche de cabra y de vaca, caldo de carne, pan —si la hay—, mazamorra y frutas como la ciruela, el mamey, la guanábana y el mango. Cuando el niño empieza a caminar, la madre permanece con él en las horas a la hora de comida y le da bocados de alimento; el niño se va acostumbrando a dormir y a pedir la comida. De esta manera, cuando el destete tiene lugar, el niño se halla capacitado satisfactoriamente para asimilar la comida de los adultos. Este proceso se completa

una mayor fecundidad que cuando la madre debe hacerlo obligada por circunstancias de índole hasta los seis meses o forzada por circunstancias especiales.

La edad del destete varía de acuerdo con la voluntad de la madre, y de las circunstancias especiales que pueden forzarlo. La norma general es la lactancia hasta los seis años, pero se encuentran madres que dan el seno a sus hijos hasta el año, otras hasta los dos y no son raros los que lo hacen hasta después de los tres.

Las normas generales que influyen sobre la madre guajira para suspender el seno a su hijo son: a) Un nuevo embarazo, porque la generalidad de las madres creen que la leche sol productible, cómo dicen dañina sobre el organismo del niño en lactancia y sobre el nuevo hijo. No obstante, hay excepciones a esta normalidad, a más de que el niño puede volver a tomar el seno cuando la madre da a luz el nuevo hijo. Pero son casos particulares. Sin embargo, hay que tener en cuenta que las embarazas no las guajiras no son muy regulares, por las consideraciones antimagníficas de que ya hemos hablado, lo que les permite una prolongada lactancia del hijo. Hay que anotar, además, que la madre guajira nunca destete al niño que la quitada del seno se debe a la llegada de un nuevo hijo; por lo tanto, nos parece que tal influencia parcialmente no se manifiesta en su futura conducta. b) Los viajes de la madre, en que no puede llevar consigo a su niño pequeño. Cuando el niño ya se suspendió, aprovecha esta oportunidad para destetarlo y si está pequeño aún, le hace forzado por la necesidad.

Las normas de destete son casi individuales, de acuerdo con la voluntad de la madre o con las circunstancias del momento, pero pueden agruparse en varios clases: a) Suspensión repentina de la lactancia, cuando la madre debe ausentarse; b) Cuando por escasez de leche, diarrea con el seno otras dificultades. De esta manera la suspensión es paulatina y sin complicaciones orgánicas o de otro tipo para el niño; c) Cuando la lactancia se prolonga demasiado y ya el niño crece y adquiere normalmente la dimensión de los adultos; el seno se retrasa casi sin necesidad que se abandona a veces voluntariamente. En este caso pueden ser incluidos los niños mayores a cinco años, dado su condición, alargan considerablemente el período de lactancia; d) Puede ocurrir excepcionalmente que la madre se vuelva con su hijo porque deja de necesitar el seno y como castigo se lo suprime; pero este niño cuando grande, porque no los creen no que el niño es pequeño, no retorna, lógicamente.

Cuando la madre no puede viajar para dejar a su niño que quiere destetar o que le cale la suspiro, se vuelve el pecho con el jugo amargo de las hojas de una planta llamada [illegible], la llama a tomar el seno, pero el niño,

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el pectoral el cabo, hasta del segundo mamero llorando. La operación se repite varias veces y el niño acaba por negarse a aceptarlo cuando se le lleva. Esta medida se toma cuando el niño tiene dos o tres años y se considera vergonzoso prolongarle tanto tiempo la alimentación materna; o cuando pequeñito, por circunstancias que fuerzan a la madre a ello.

Cuando el niño va empezando a substituir el seno materno por alimentos, la madre le da las líquidos en una tetera[1] que ella sostiene, obligándolo a la vez a hacerlo para que sea capaz de valerse por sí; le da la sopa con una cuchara y los sólidos se los pone en la mano. Cuando está muy pequeño le dan los alimentos sólidos, pero luego se los proporciona a la temperatura que salgan del fogón, advirtiéndole que se cuide de quemarse; hacia los dos años el niño se basta a sí mismo en quien mamaterno.

En la etapa en que el niño no está capacitado por su corta edad para tomar por sí solo los alimentos, generalmente es la madre quien se los da o uno de sus familiares (la tía, la abuela o las hermanas). También puede ser ayudado por las sirvientas encargadas de cuidarlo, las que lo van entrenando para que aprenda a hacerlo por sí solo.

Si posteriormente al parto y antes de la aparición de la leche, la mujer tiene los senos inflamados y dolorosos, el marido debe pasarle el pie desnudo sobre ellos por corto tiempo para que la hinchazón desaparezca. Cuando la leche se demora, se toma una yerba que tiene la propiedad de producir un líquido lechoso muy abundoso, para atacar las espaldas de la madre; también produce efectos rápidos y seguros la infusión de la sira-sira.

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La madre guajira puede verse forzada a pedir ayuda en la alimentación natural para su hijo: a) Cuando después del parto, por un hecho patológico, no puede criarlo porque su leche se ha secado; b) Porque se le hayan muerto varios hijos de corta edad, anteriormente, de gastroenteritis, lo que atribuye a deficiencia nutritiva de su leche, o a que hay en ella algo que la hace malsana; c) Cuando el parto ha sido gemelar y no se cree capaz de alimentar a sus dos niños conjuntamente; d) Cuando acaba el niño muy pequeño, la leche de la madre empieza a escasear repentinamente.

En tales circunstancias, busca una nodriza, no porque ella rehuse alimentar a su hijo, pues, hasta donde nos fue posible averiguarlo, está satisfecha de hacerlo personalmente y considera frustrada su maternidad cuando las circunstancias la fuerzan a buscar otra madre que la sustituya, sino por la solicitud a que se ve avocada de no dejar morir a su niño. Fuera del

[1] Actualmente siguen usos liberales.

cuidar y el gusto que siente en realizar esta función, hay varias razones que la inducen a proporcionarle su alimento: La cantidad de alimento no una mujer puede implica desmedro en la criatura, porque no siempre dispone de leche de cabra (la más adecuada según ella) para criar a su niño y requiere con las dificultades de acostumbramiento a otra clase de alimentos, que pueden crear la muerte del niño; además, encontrar a las nodrizas es difícil, pues a no ser una parienta que pueda hacerlo sin exigencia de su parte, es casi imposible que pueda contratar los servicios de otra lactante. Por esto en las clases de pocos recursos económicos, la llegada de gemelos es muy dura, y de ahí, el que toda mujer guajira, cuyos servicios de nodriza son solicitados en tales casos, acepte, por creer que la respuesta a su negativa, implica para ella un próximo doble embarazo.

De esta manera, el recurso de las nodrizas queda limitado a las madres de recursos económicos, que solicitan los servicios de una madre lactante de un niño de edad aproximada a la del suyo y la llevan a su casa. La nodriza recibe un pago convenido de antemano, bien en dinero efectivo, en ropa o en animales, a más de la alimentación, en la que se incluye la madre, en interés del desarrollo de su niño, lo mismo que en el vestido, que también corre por su cuenta. El hijo de la nodriza es dejado generalmente entre sus familiares, que lo crían con recursos de leche de cabra, mazamorras u otros alimentos que substituyan el seno materno y siempre permanecen al lado de su madre, se desnata, para darle mayor cantidad de alimento al otro: algunas veces le dan el seno, pero tiene preferencia el niño de la casa en que sirve su madre. Su alimentación, en este caso, queda incluida en el pago convenido.

Generalmente, la mujer buscada por una guajira para que preste los servicios de nodriza, es de categoría inferior y acepta sus funciones, por las ventajas personales que acarrean, pues dentro de la casa su posición es muy buena, por las razones ya anotadas, y porque su categoría en el conjunto familiar se eleva, puesto que en cierto aspecto físico se la equipara a la madre, y porque de ella dependen la crianza y la salud del niño, lo que establece un lazo de relación y de mutuas influencias entre ambas, y la mujer nodriza adquiere cierta superioridad y cierto nexo físico con el niño que cría. Por eso, si es una esclava, su posición es más suave y halagada y gana en consideración y en status; la propia actitud si es sierva.

Las nodrizas se pueden clasificar en cuatro clases: 1º La nodriza parienta, que presta sus servicios voluntaria y gratuitamente, con sentido de ayuda mutua. La madre siente, sin embargo, la necesidad moral de retribuir la ayuda prestada en tal necesidad, y lo hace, llevando alimentos y

[illegible] a la casa de su parientes. El niño puede ser llevado a casa de la madrina o permanecer en la maya si desea vivir en el mismo lugar de la madre. Este es el único recurso de que dispone la guajira pobre para solucionar su problema personal cuando tiene gemelos o no puede amamantar a su hijo. 2º Las madrinas voluntarias (amigas) entre amigas y vecinas, cuya actitud es semejante a la del caso anterior. Este hecho sirve para enlazar la amistad, y el servicio prestado queda como una deuda que debe ser retribuida por la madre cuando la que hace de madrina se encuentre en caso semejante. El niño es llevado a la casa de la madrina. 3º Las madrinas pagadas, de las cuales ya se ha hablado, y cuyas honorarios las obligan a prestar un servicio eficiente y sin hacer o dañar a su propio hijo. Estas deben prestar, a la vez, el oficio de niñeras, por lo cual se ven precisadas a dejar a su hijo en casa de sus parientes. 4º Las madrinas sin libros, en las que quedan incluidas las niñeras y mujeres en estado lactante, que son obligadas por sus casas a prestar este servicio, obligación por su condición de parientas sin libros. En este caso, como en el anterior, los hijos propios son excluidos del seno, si la madre no puede alimentar satisfactoriamente a ambos, el propio y el de sus amos. El hijo de la madrina se alimenta con cuidados especiales que el caso le proporciona.

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La madre guajira que espera dar a luz, aparenta algunos casos que va a nacimiento. Estas apariciones son muy limitadas y no es raro que el parto sobrevenga sin que ella disponga de algo que pueda servir como ajuar del niño; se ve forzada muchas veces a improvisarlo utilizando las mantas viejas para envolverlo, o de un cabrito de fique para hacerle un chinchorro, a fin de evitarle el frío durante la noche.

La guajira que está en contacto con la civilización y que dispone de medios económicos, prepara para la llegada de su hijo un chinchorro o la teja o la mecedora a hacer posteriormente, con las donaciones que recibe en medejas de hilos de algodón. A los niños solo les ponen vestidos para llevarlos de viaje. Si son bautizados por el rito católico, reciben el ajuar de manos de su madrina, la que tiene también la obligación de regalarle un vestido a la madre. Como que el niño está desnudo regularmente, no hacen pesado de vestir alguno. Unas telas más o menos largas que sirven de pañales y taparrabos, son preparadas y prestan varios servicios. La madre evita en lo posible que el niño [illegible] con sus excrementos, [illegible] el problema del aseo, debido a la escasez de agua.

Tampoco recomiendan los madres guajiras colocar cuidadosamente a sus niños. El cuidado permanece descuidado, con excepción en bajo circunstancias excepcionales. Por lo mismo son frecuentes las heridas de este tipo y la muerte de los niños nacidos por infecciones mortificadas. Se recomienda, sí, el cuidado de niño colocado sobre el chinchorro del niño para defenderlo de los zancudos, mosquitos o chiscos, que son muy abundantes en las noches de las madres que se colocan con mosquitos regulados.

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Cuidado, educación y entretenimiento de los niños menores.—Desde el nacimiento el niño se ve rodeado de cerca por otra persona diferente a la madre, porque ella se ve forzada a solicitar sus servicios para cumplir con sus numerosas obligaciones domésticas o para descansar y tener un quito de lugar este cuidado. Cuando no a un niño relativamente cercano, la madre se lleva el niño con que le deja el cuidado de los hermanos mayores, de sus parientes, cuando viven juntos, o de su madre, si vive cerca. Si la madre no consigue a tiempo para el chinchorro del niño, las parientes que le dieron a su cuidado le van iniciando en nuevos cuidados. Cuando las visitas son por tiempo largo, la madre lleva consigo a sus pequeños, mientras en el hogar que le sirve de colaboradora, a fin de evitar el problema de iniciarla en nuevos tipos de alimentación cuando son muy pequeños, o cuando no tiene a quién dejarlos a cuidar.

Frecuentemente el niño se apega al pariente que le demuestra más preferencia y cuidados, para sus chiscos, prefiere la compañía y el cuidado mencionado hasta el punto de descuidar alimento y de manifestar complacencia por su presencia. Esta situación puede cambiar cuando los niños adquieren los tres años, edad en que son dejados el apego a la madre para establecerlo, por ejemplo, a un tío o una tía maternos, a las cuales se acepta en seguir en sus actividades, sin dejándose de la madre por largos temporales.

Si la madre es pobre y no dispone de alguien que la ayude en la crianza de su hijo —aunque viva bajo de sus familiares y no pueda proporcionarse los servicios de una cuidora o de una sirvo—, tiene que cuidarlo por sí sola. Cuando es muy pequeñito, la lleva siempre en brazos, siempre cuando duermen, aunque algunas veces la hace también en el mismo momento, cuando ha cuidado un poco y no espera de mamarse, el chinchorro se ata por encima para evitarle una caída al despertar.

Hacia los cuatro meses, época en que empieza a mamarse, la lleva durante el día a horcajadas sobre la cadera y sujetada con un brazo. Hay

que tienen que salir del seno de la familia al hombre en posición vertical y al niño en las posiciones anteriores, mantenido sobre el regazo. A los dos meses se le deja un rato apoyado en la espalda y no se cree que a los cuatro la madre le coloca de un lado en el suelo. De ahí no adelanta mucho o gana y se comienza cuando la madre se ve desprendiendo un poco de su cuidado, pues le deja acostado por el suelo, sin preocuparse de lo que tiene y como de él, lo que hace que no esté adelantado el mayor número de ambientes digestivos y comienza la curva de mortalidad infantil.

En la preparación para alcanzar la posición erecta, es necesario que la madre, para cuando tiene unos meses y no antiguos meses, le pone de pie sobre las piernas convenientemente de los niños y luego el niño, por sí mismo, realiza una actividad parecida de las hombres de la madre. Cuando hace su vida regular en el suelo, el mayorcito sin apoyo, encuentra oportunidad para seguir desarrollando sus piernas, y el mayorcito de donde sienta, se levanta. Con esos apoyos empieza a dar los primeros pasos y desde los 10 a 11 meses, hasta los 14 los más tardíos, son diferentes individuales, empieza a dar sus primeros pasos sin apoyo. Entonces la madre coloca bajo el dintel de la cama, una cuerda horizontal, lo suficientemente larga y a altura adecuada, para que el niño participe su nueva adquisición relacionada de ella.

A los dos años está por todo la casa y sale por las ventanas que llevan a la cocinada o a la cocina. Si es necesario, el padre, los hermanos mayores o las tías, quienes de llevarlo consigo cuando vaya a otra vecindad o quienes el quedado para que aprenda y se familiarice. En este mayor el niño ya aprendiendo sus futuras labores, primero por observarse y más tarde participando en las actividades a su edad, hasta llegar a dominarlas. Consideramos necesario que el quedado mayorcito desde niño encargado profesión por determinado clase de quedado y no así como un poco más grande recibe el encargo de cuidadoso, niños que desaparecen con gente y no el que pasa la mayor parte del día, en compañía de su padre o de su tío o hermanos. Después del desayuno hasta la parte del almuerzo que está bajo su responsabilidad, a la vez del corral donde duermen, la pasamos durante el día, en diferentes partes de casa, mandándose a la cocina en las horas de mayor calor a repartirse el chinchorro de la casa cuando no está bajo el cuidado mayorcito con el quedado para almorzar y llevarlo. Los corrales o dejarlo como después de comerlo, en lugar seguro cercano a la casa.

Respecto de la educación del niño en el cumplimiento de las necesidades corporales, con la madre o la encargada de cuidarlo que nos ha sido encomendado, la más cercana es que sea la madre o la madre... El mayor aprendiz

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el poco tiempo de sentido o ser limpio, por la preocupación de la madre que dispone de poco agua y escasa agua y jabón para lavarlos. Además, como ya dicenido, no presenta ningún problema, al manifestar deseo de satisfacer una necesidad corporal, aprovechar el momento para que la cumpla en lugar adecuado. Por otra parte, observa que su hijo pequeño satisface sus necesidades poco después de tomar el alimento, y como cuando está pequeño lo tiene por largo tiempo en sus brazos, a la menor muestra de deseo lo coloca en posición adecuada. Si está sentado en el suelo o sobre un objeto de poca altura, cruza las piernas dejando un orificio sobre el cual sienta al niño, para que los excrementos caigan sobre el suelo cercano y luego proceda a la limpieza. Esta operación se ejecuta al terminar de comer el niño o cada vez que manifiesta deseo. En tal forma, el niño conoce la posición con el cumplimiento de la necesidad y desarrolla el hábito de limpieza, hasta el punto de que se muestra contrariado y llora si no lo ponen en la posición de costumbre. A medida que crece, su funcionamiento orgánico se más regular, y cuando se desarrolla el proceso locomotriz, gusta en sentarse: aprende a ponerse en cuclillas y un poco más tarde a retirarse a un lugar fuera de la casa y a llamar para que lo transporten a tal sitio si aún es muy pequeño; se acostumbra también a conocer esta función por el nombre genérico o por uno especial de su invención. Un poco más adelante (3 ó 4 años), cumple estas necesidades sin intervención ajena.

El proceso de la micción es también sencillo y ofrece a la madre menos problemas. Lo precede menos que el anterior y sigue más o menos idéntico proceso educativo. Lo retira hacia un lado para que no la moje y luego, si es hombrecito, le enseña a tomar las actitudes del adulto y a las niñas a ponerse en cuclillas. Como el niño va desnudo, el problema se reduce al mínimo. El pequeño humedece la cama por algún tiempo y por eso su chinchorro se hace de fique, material que pudre más difícilmente; y aunque niños de un año todavía lo hacen, lo común es que, merced a la educación anterior, al pasar esta edad y más antes, ya sean limpios del todo y no ofrezcan estos problemas. Puede que en ello esté ayudado y condicionado por el clima cálido y seco de la región, por la poca cantidad de líquidos que toma en el día, por el fenómeno fisiológico del sudor que le permite una eliminación interna, o porque la madre se levanta muy de madrugada y llama al niño a cumplir sus necesidades orgánicas, costumbre que le forma hábito con el tiempo, permitiéndole ser limpio en la cama.

Cuando la familia pequeña vive aislada especialmente de los parientes maternos de la mujer, la crianza y primera educación de los niños queda encomendada a sus miembros, fuera de los criados, sirvos o esclavos si los hay. Esta educación es generalmente de tipo negativo y consiste en regular su vida alimenticia diurna y nocturna, el descanso, el aseo y su desenvolvimiento humanizado. Como culminación de su primera educación viene el lenguaje.

En este sentimiento juega papel decisivo la madre de tipo materno, pues la de congorio solo esta dispuesta de la ayuda de sirvos, esclavos, criados o cuidados. Ya hemos visto como realiza la madre estas funciones, que son observadas igualmente por quienes la sustituyen.

Cuando ella tiene que salir de la casa, encomienda su hijo al esposo, quien, de acuerdo con las instrucciones que recibe, le da alimento, vigila de su aseo, de su descanso y de su seguridad, siguiendo las pautas acostumbradas. Otras veces son los hermanos mayores (hombres y varones), los que deben cumplir con esta obligación.

Si varias mujeres conviven con un hombre, en su casa que es materna de la casa las otras mantienen una actitud protectora hacia sus niños y tratan de complacerla en sus cuidados, tanto a el niño en pequeño, como a su mayor. Esto sucede cuando no hay mala voluntad o malquerencia entre las compañeras.

En caso de que la vida familiar se desenvuelva dentro de la agrupación familiar materna, o cuando dos hermanas son compañeras y habitan la misma casa, la educación y cuidado de los hijos encuentra el apoyo y la ayuda conjunta de las dos, que se reparten sus posiciones mutuas ayuda, se comparte los trabajos domésticos, y la responsabilidad de los hijos en la ausencia de alguna de ellas, de manera que los niños crecen medianamente cuidados y educados como si fueran una sola familia. En el caso de los hijos que convivan en casa de la madre, con sus respectivos hijos, la misma suerte ellos se casi igual al caso anterior. De esta manera, las ausencias de la madre están compensadas desinteresadamente por el deseo de las otras de ayudarla y complacerla. Puede ser también la madre casada —la abuela— la que los complace a todos, o una tía materna y sino la abuela —bisabuela del niño— si todavía está en edad de tocarlo, una prima etc. En estos casos, la influencia materna se ve ampliada con la de sus parientas maternas que cuidan de los niños, tratando de cultivar a la manera general de conducta y a los detalles particulares que cada madre emplea.

Otra de las influencias que pueden sentirse y se perciben más claramente hay con el problema del matrimonio y del matrimonio católico en la

acuando participación educadora de los parientes paternos. Sabemos que el matrimonio guajiro es generalmente matrilocal, pero puede ocurrir que posteriormente se convierta en patrilocal, quedando entonces los hijos sometidos a la influencia de sus familiares paternos que también ayudan a la madre. En estos dos casos hay como un traslado del sentido del parentesco y, aunque el materno sea más fuerte en ciertos aspectos, el paterno adquiere de hecho prerrogativas que ejerce activamente; la nueva generación participa de las dos ramas, que cooperan en su crianza y educación.

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La madre demuestra mucho afecto por su niño pequeño, sobre todo durante la lactancia; pero posteriormente estas demostraciones van perdiendo importancia y el niño adquiere el carácter de adulto pequeño, sometido a la autoridad familiar en sus actividades y conducta. Empiezan entonces la labor educadora, el castigo y la utilización de su fuerza de trabajo en la vida familiar, asignándole responsabilidades y papeles dentro del hogar.

Ya vimos cómo la madre lleva al niño en sus brazos mientras no se sienta ni gatea. Es entonces cuando le demuestra sus afectos. Si llora o está molesto, lo coloca verticalmente sobre el hombro y le golpea suavemente los brazos para acallarlo y adormecerlo; lo coloca horizontalmente sobre el regazo para hacerle conciliar el sueño, lo pone en el chinchorro y lo mece y arrulla para que se duerma. Mientras ella está trabajando y el niño está satisfecho, lo coloca sobre trapos o esteras cerca de su sitio de labor, le dirige la palabra, le dice frases cariñosas y apodos simpáticos; si el niño se impacienta, lo alza, ofreciéndole el seno, o lo deja en el regazo, tratando de continuar su labor.

Para satisfacer la necesidad de movimiento del niño y tratar de desarrollar sus miembros, lo sienta sobre sus piernas cuando es muy pequeño y luégo lo ayuda a mantenerse de pie o a dar pasos, estimulando su actividad con frases y gritos o riendo de sus tentativas o fracasos. El arrullo es muy acostumbrado y los hay típicos, con música y letra convencionales, o inventados, condicionando la descripción de un hecho cualquiera, de un cuento, de una historia que se recuerda, o, simplemente, diciendo al niño que ella está ocupada y él debe ser juicioso y dormir. La música puede ser la usada tradicionalmente para los arrullos o la de una canción guajira cualquiera.

Cuando el niño despierta, la madre va a sacarlo de su chinchorro, le habla su lenguaje típico, le prodiga mimos, y le dice palabras cariñosas.

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Este es el momento de darle el alimento y, mientras lo hace, la madre le dice algún nombre cariñoso y le golpea los hombros rítmicamente. En ocasiones le hace cosquillas, le quita de improviso el pezón para prodigárselo de nuevo en seguida, acallando sus protestas. Lo deja jugar con sus cabellos y no evita que el niño trate aún de agarrarle violentamente el rostro. Las otras familiares inclusive los hombres, le llaman la atención y procuran hacerlo reír, le repiten frases o palabras celebrando sus aciertos, le hacen mover ante sus ojos un juguete improvisado, celebran sus progresos en el lenguaje o en la locomoción y ayudan a distraer su llanto alzándolo, arrullándolo o haciéndole juegos.

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El nombre: En la Guajira cada persona posee varios nombres. Parece que primitivamente fueron dos, pero luégo, con la práctica del bautizo católico, el número aumentó a tres, así: a) *El nombre propio* del individuo que no puede ser pronunciado por los extraños, sino por sus parientes consanguíneos más cercanos. b) *El sobrenombre,* que adquiere la categoría de nombre propio, pues substituye al anterior para evitar que sea pronunciado por extraños, y permitir que el individuo sea nombrado en alguna forma. Este sobrenombre puede corresponder a cualquier defecto o cualidad físicos o psíquicos, a la semejanza con un objeto cualquiera, a una diferencia con los demás, a una circunstancia o hecho especial de su vida, por ejemplo en el nacimiento, a una deformación del nombre español, o a una invención del hermano menor que llamaba a su hermano mayor con una palabra de su creación o con el nombre de una cosa que puede pronunciar. Familiares y extraños generalizan este nombre. c) *El nombre español,* impuesto en el bautismo católico, y que ocupa un segundo plano en su utilización, pues si existe un apodo se le substituye por aquél y solo se da para informar al blanco o para la tramitación de negocios civiles. Frecuentemente el nombre degenera en tal forma, que acaba por parecer un apodo.

Puede decirse que cada niño adquiere diferentes nombres, puestos por la madre, el padre y los hermanos, hasta que llega un momento en que hay uno de mayor aceptación que se generaliza y se impone sobre los demás; y aunque algunos corresponden a hechos especiales o tienen traducción literal, otros se adoptan sólo por sonoridad, aunque la traducción, si la hay, sea repugnante (*órko,* nombre de niña, "matadura de caballo").

El apodo se impone tanto que cuando se dice un nombre propio, muy pocas personas saben a quién corresponde: sin embargo, el blanco dan su nombre español, tratando de pronunciarlo correctamente.

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Ligado al nombre está el problema de los indígenas que emigran a las haciendas de Venezuela, donde reciben un nombre y un apellido, generalmente el de la hacienda o el de su dueño o mayordomo. Allí son cedulados con este nombre y apellidos. Además, parte de los esclavos y siervos vendidos, reciben el apellido de su amo y, al ser libertados, conservan este nombre, extranjero en ocasiones, que transmiten luégo a sus hijos, si se casan por lo católico.

La magia está íntimamente vinculada con el problema del nombre [1]. Resumimos aquí algunas de ellas: El nombre íntimo no puede ser pronunciado por extraños, pues la infracción originaría un cobro. A la muerte de algún guajiro, sus homónimos se cambian el nombre, al menos en la zona de residencia habitual de los familiares del difunto, para evitar que alguien pronuncie tal nombre delante de ellos, pues ello también implicaría cobro. Secuencia de esta prohibición es que una misma persona tiene en distintos tiempos y localidades un nombre diverso, con el que se le puede llamar, lo que origina confusiones.

El nombre íntimo es puesto, como ya dijimos, por sus padres o allegados más íntimos; lo mismo ocurre con el nombre general católico o guajiro, de acuerdo con las siguientes reglas: Si el matrimonio es católico, los hijos son nominados por el padre, que es quien da el apellido. A las niñas les pone el nombre de su madre, de sus abuelas maternas, de sus primas más estimadas. Muy raramente el de un ascendiente por línea masculina y más raro aún, el de una parienta de esta línea en sentido colateral. Es común también el de una amiga. Si son niños, les pone nombres de sus hermanos, de sus tíos o nombres españoles de su predilección. Si el matrimonio se ha cumplido por rito guajiro, es la madre quien impone el nombre, orientándose también por los de sus antepasados, hermanos y tíos, o el de alguna amiga; acepta a veces la insinuación de una parienta o del sacerdote que solicita un nombre católico para el niño.

El sobrenombre se origina también en la familia, como ya lo explicamos, y con él se identifica al individuo. Las mujeres tratan de eliminar el que recibieron de niñas, cuando pasan la pubertad, y sus mismos familiares lo van rechazando, para llamarlas por el que reciben en la iniciación. Los hombres sí lo conservan generalmente de por vida. Parece ser que la niña transformada en mujer a través del rito de paso de la iniciación, no

[1] Para mayor información, véase el artículo "Aspectos de la Magia en la Guajira", de Roberto Pineda Giraldo, publicado en la Revista del Instituto Etnológico Nacional, Vol. III, Nº 1.

1: Gutierrez de Pineda SC13 Goajiro

debe ser llamada por apodos de cuando era pequeño, porque son el recuerdo de la edad impúber, de la que parece desprenderse en todos y cada uno de los diversos actos mágicos que con ella se cumplen, para renacer, si es admisible la palabra, a una vida distinta, e ingresar así en la categoría de adulta, con deberes y derechos anexos. Quizás sea esta la razón por la cual, cuando el apodo infantil perdura, al ser interrogadas por el blanco, no dan su nombre, o se niegan a contestar a quien así las llama. No obstante, algunas tienen apodos muy generalizados, pero se pudo anotar que son posteriores a la iniciación y responden a alguna característica física, a una deformación del nombre, etc. Estos se dan tranquilamente a quien pregunte por el nombre, y no tienen ningún rechazo por parte de su propietaria. También en esto reside el hecho de que los hombres reciban comúnmente más apodos que las mujeres. Puede presentarse el caso de que los apodos varíen cronológicamente por los hechos que van ocurriendo o porque una transformación física dé motivo a tal cambio, suplantando al anterior.

Juegos.—En líneas generales las actividades lúdicas en que pueden participar los niños, están en relación directa con la división biológica del trabajo. De esta manera, les está terminantemente prohibido distraerse u ocuparse en juegos que en la vida real no corresponden a su sexo: Al niño no se le permite, por ejemplo, jugar a las muñecas o a cocinar, ni a la niña ejercitarse en el tiro del arco. El padre se opone abiertamente y hace valer toda su autoridad en la familia pequeña, para impedir que al hijo se le obligue, aunque sea por juego, a realizar actividades femeninas. El sentido de la división del trabajo que cobija los juegos, hace que el niño, solo o respaldado por la actitud de su padre y de sus tíos maternos, se niegue a cumplir actividades que no le atañen biológicamente, pues se cree que el juego o la actividad distractiva distinta a la tradicionalmente establecida para cada sexo, cree en el opuesto simpatías perjudiciales o propensiones a las labores de su sexo contrario. El guajiro quiere que sus hombres tengan todos los atributos masculinos de su canon y que las mujeres sean integralmente femeninas. Una de las formas de violación de este ideal se manifiesta por la intervención en actividades del sexo opuesto, bien en el juego cuando niños, o en el ejercicio del trabajo cuando adultos. Así, el padre dice a la niña: "tú no puedes ejercitarte en el tiro al arco. Acaso eres un marimacho para que tal hagas?". Y a la mujer que trabaja en aperos para bestia, la llaman también marimacho y la consideran rebajada en su categoría femenina.

Los niños —varones y hembras— realizan en la Guajira dos clases de acciones lúdicas: juegos propiamente dichos, y actividades distractivas.

o sea los que implican el aprendizaje y entrenamiento de una ocupación de adultos.

Entre los primeros y como ocupación infantil masculina, se pueden incluir los de cuerdas que, si bien es cierto que dan destreza y habilidad manual, no es ese su fin primordial, sino una consecuencia secundaria. Estos juegos se practican aisladamente y por grupos. En la primera forma, para adquirir el dominio de la técnica y participar luégo en las competencias, en las cuales el niño propone a sus compañeros la realización de una figura determinada en el menor tiempo posible. Otras formas de competencia son, la de poner dificultades a la realización de la figura; hacer el mayor número de ellas, o la invención de nuevas.

El trompo es otro juego que alcanza notable intensidad y variantes, pues conocen y practican los diversos modos de empleo de este juguete en el país, como bailarlo en la mano, eliminar al adversario destrozándole su trompo con el errón, etc. A esto se agregan reglamentación y vocabulario especiales y técnicas para triunfar en el juego cuando toman la ofensiva, o tácticas para la defensiva.

Se juega también con bolas de cristal, y en carencia y reemplazo de ellas, con semillas de palmas de endocarpio comestible. Por ejemplo, hacen casas, colocando tres de ellas en triángulo como base y superponiendo una cuarta. El juego consiste en derribarlas con una quinta bola. El que lo consigue, toma para sí las semillas o bolas puestas inicialmente. Otra variante consiste en colocar varios jugadores las bolas sobre el piso. Cada uno de ellos, por turno riguroso, trata, impulsando la suya con el dedo pulgar que hace palanca en el índice, de tocar las de sus contrarios o de dejar su bola a una distancia previamente convenida de las de sus contrincantes, para obtener el triunfo y las bolas de los vencidos, además.

Pero estos juegos son casi exclusividad de los niños de los pueblos o de los recluídos en el internado, porque el niño libre muy poco se puede ejercitar en ellos, pues es, desde muy temprana edad, una verdadera fuerza económica, que debe dirigir su actividad al cumplimiento de una ocupación, restándole muy poco tiempo para tales diversiones, además de que vive en regiones muy aisladas y, por tanto, raramente encuentra compañeros para jugar.

Practican también juegos de pelota, aprendidos en las escuelas y participan en la fiesta de la cabrita durante la recolección en las representaciones que exigen animales pequeños, niños, regalos o prendas.

Las actividades recreativas de imitación, son la simulación y el ejercicio de la actividad adulta. El niño se divierte adiestrándose, por ejemplo,

en la caza, persiguiendo y matando animales pequeños, como los machorros, o disparando sus flechas contra un blanco cualquiera o contra las palomas. Estas son sus distracciones cuando está pastoreando y en el momento en que el ganado descansa o pace tranquilamente.

Como actividad distractiva practica el ejercicio de dominar los animales que se le han encomendado y, sobre todo, la habilidad para someterlos y enlazarlos. Esto le proporciona gran placer, además de que lo entrena debidamente para su vida futura. También es motivo de distracción, montar a caballo y apostar carreras, estimulando así la competencia y adquiriendo adiestramiento.

Así, el niño guajiro puede aprender y divertirse a un mismo tiempo; y estos ejercicios le están permitidos, porque sus familiares los encuentran provechosos, porque encajan dentro de las actividades que habrá de cumplir como adulto. Además, la existencia del muchacho guajiro transcurre casi en el monte, pues su vida en el hogar se reduce prácticamente a las horas de descanso nocturno o de comida. En el transcurso del día tiene sólo la influencia de sus hermanos mayores, de su tío materno o de su padre y cuando va con ellos es cuando puede permitirse el lujo de jugar, o en los momentos en que sus responsabilidades se lo permiten. Por esta razón, y porque un sexo no puede participar en las actividades lúdicas del otro, las posibilidades de juegos mixtos están muy limitadas.

A pesar de que las madres evitan a todo trance que sus hijos jueguen o se reúnan con los hijos del vecindario por los peligros del cobro que puede provocar una lesión en un compañero de clan diferente, a veces se juntan y es entonces cuando se realizan los juegos descritos; también buscan compañía para cumplir cualquiera de sus quehaceres, como llevar una razón, traer un animal, etc.

Las actividades lúdicas de las niñas pertenecen casi todas al tipo de entrenamiento en los quehaceres femeninos. Las niñas, por estar más en el hogar que los niños, tienen menos posibilidad de escapar a la presión familiar que las obliga, dentro de las clases pobres, a ayudar a la madre desde muy pequeñas en los menesteres de la cocina y en el cuidado de los niños menores. Cuando pertenecen a familias más acomodadas, que disponen de sirvientas o esclavas, se dedican a jugar a las muñecas, a hacer cocinados, a efectuar visitas imaginarias, etc., actividades que cumplirán cuando lleguen a la mayor edad.

En toda nuestra estancia en la Guajira no pudimos ver juegos particulares para las niñas, fuera de los enumerados. Pero hay que anotar que cuando están acompañadas por otras niñas de su edad, encuentran satis-

fanciña en cumplir las actividades caseras que se les encargan, como traer agua de la caimba, buscar leña, etc., pues aprovechan la oportunidad para subirse a los árboles a buscar frutas, o simplemente para columpiarse en ellas, actividades que reprochan las madres porque rompen las ropas, caso en el cual son castigadas.

La única actividad conjunta que tuvimos oportunidad de observar entre niños y niñas de seis a doce años, se refería a jugar a los novios: se daban besuras y manifestaban entonces su enojo o inconformidad por las mismas, o simulaban todas las actitudes de una pareja enamorada.

II

EL NIÑO MEDIANO

Castigo. Estímulos. Reacción infantil frente al castigo. Educación.

Los guajiros esperan de sus hijos el cumplimiento de las normas de conducta establecidas y cuando las violan, reaccionan castigándolos de diversas maneras. Esta reacción no es sistemática, pues a la violación de la norma no sigue necesariamente el castigo, sino que, cuando no tiene resultados perjudiciales, puede ser pasada por alto; pero si acarrea consecuencias graves, se castiga necesariamente. En el castigo parece que se sigue la práctica de acumulación, es decir, soportar pacientemente una serie de contravenciones por parte de los niños y, en un momento dado, aprovechar una oportunidad, a veces insignificante, para demostrar su autoridad y sentar el precedente de que sus órdenes y voluntad deben ser respetadas. Esta reacción momentánea puede ser debida a un estado anímico especial de los padres; por ejemplo cuando la madre tiene una contrariedad reprimida se desahoga muchas veces castigando a su hijo, un poco injustamente, por una falta o faltas cometidas anteriormente. No obstante lo dicho, puede ocurrir que a la travesura siga el castigo inmediato.

Por otra parte, los padres, ante la repetición de un hecho previamente castigado, recuerdan insistentemente al niño lo que ha sufrido y la posibilidad de volver a sentir el castigo, aumentado por la reincidencia, o, sencillamente, le muestran los objetos utilizados para reprimirlo, con el fin de coaccionarlo para que se someta a la voluntad paterna.

Las causas más comunes de castigo son las siguientes:

1º—Hechos que contravienen las normas alimenticias, como el robo de comida, bastante generalizado en el niño por varias razones: a) Porque es él el último en recibir la porción a la hora de comida; b) Porque se prefiere ostensiblemente a los adultos cuando se trata de alimentos especiales; c) Porque en las épocas de escasez son también los mayores los que se aprovechan de la exigua comida, lo que provoca en el niño una situación de inferioridad, empujado por la propia necesidad orgánica, que le obliga a remediar su situación robando los alimentos. Este robo puede ser

[p. 27]

de varias clases: Robo de alimentos que se consumen inmediatamente por estar preparados o no necesitar cocción, como la chicha, la leche, el queso, la panela, gallinas, frutas o algún alimento especial que la madre guarda en previsión de una visita, o que destina a su marido o a un enfermo. Estos alimentos que la madre coloca colgados del techo o en lugar oculto, exigen que el niño aproveche un descuido de la madre, para llevar a efecto su fechoría.

Otro tipo es el robo de alimentos que no va a consumir inmediatamente, sino que los toma para esconderlos y utilizarlos cuando tenga necesidad —mientras se aleja de la casa pastoreando el ganado o va de caza subrepticiamente—.

Otra forma de robo de alimentos es la que hacen el hermano mayor o el más goloso, a los otros. Al serles repartidas sus raciones alimenticias, consumen rápidamente la propia y esperan a que la madre no esté presente para quitar la suya al hermano menor o al más débil, a la fuerza, a hurtadillas, o engañándolo con falsas promesas o coaccionándolo en alguna forma, tal como delatar a sus padres un hecho suyo delictuoso, no conocido por ellos.

Y es que en general, el niño guajiro grandecito no queda satisfecho con lo que recibe y en su angustia por el alimento no encuentra límite normal a su necesidad. Siempre es capaz de comer más de lo que podría ingerir normalmente, quizás con angustia, con el deseo de hacer provisión, o, porque viéndose limitado encuentra desahogo y satisfacción comiendo hasta el hartazgo. Permanentemente tiene la actitud de hambreado, que en algunas ocasiones corresponde a la realidad, pero que en otras corresponde al recuerdo y a la angustia de la posibilidad de repetir hambres pasadas.

Sus padres creen que estos pequeños hurtos pueden conducirlo, con la reincidencia, a robos mayores a personas no familiares, lo que provocaría una serie de perjuicios al grupo familiar a que pertenece. Además, tales alimentos pueden ser necesarios y aún indispensables en la economía casera, y su hurto implica que un adulto, un enfermo o algún visitante que se desea y se necesita atender, carezcan de ellos. Hay que tener en cuenta que para ciertas zonas de población, las fuentes de aprovisionamiento son tan reducidas que un alimento es tasado en forma tan escrupulosa que alcance hasta el límite o hasta cuando se pueda conseguir nuevamente.

Y se les castiga también porque se quiere que sean sobrios, tranquilamente, en las largas épocas de escasez, tan frecuentes en esta tierra, que

luego tienen su recompensa cuando en las buenas cosechas se despilfarran las provisiones, no guardando más que la semilla para la próxima siembra. En la escasez, el guajiro vive de reducida ración alimenticia, aguanta hambre y sed en proporciones increíbles, y a esto quieren las madres que llegue el niño: a saberse comportar como adulto en tales situaciones.

Motivo de correcciones y castigo es también el que el niño se niegue a compartir su comida que le han dado o que ha conseguido él mismo, por su propio esfuerzo, con un hermano, familiar o amigo que llega a la casa. Es obligado a la fuerza si no cumple voluntariamente esta hospitalidad, pues ella es norma de conducta en la Guajira, como lo es entre el grupo la ayuda mutua, residiendo en el alimento una de sus manifestaciones más claras. Porque el guajiro, tenga poco o mucho, lo comparte con sus consanguíneos; las normas hospitalarias lo obligan, sobre base del afianzamiento del prestigio personal y del clan, a recibir adecuadamente, de acuerdo con su status y el de su grupo y con la categoría del visitante, a su huésped, recibimiento que tiene sentido de retribución y superación. Por eso los padres creen que deben obligar al niño a cumplir con tales preceptos sociales y a mostrarse generoso, aspectos ideales en la psicología individual del guajiro. Ellos piensan que en tales casos está la oportunidad de obligarlo a cumplir con lo establecido; temen que en el futuro el muchacho no cumpla con esos requisitos que forman el lazo económico entre el grupo consanguíneo y la etiqueta social entre los clanes, y, por eso, lo castigan y lo obligan.

Otra causa de castigo en el aspecto alimenticio es el desperdicio de comidas, máxime si el niño llega a pisotearlas con enojo. Entonces es cuando se castiga más severamente. Creemos que el guajiro tiene razón, porque la escasez de alimentos siempre está presente en él y su imagen es lo que en la abundancia hace que comas fuera del límite tanto el adulto como el niño. Por eso piensan que si el niño despilfarra la comida, sufrirá escaseces peores que hasta entonces y este castigo, por ley social, se extenderá, como es natural, a los suyos.

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2º—Una norma que debe cumplir el niño ante la autoridad paterna es la sumisión frente a las órdenes que se le dan, positivas y negativas. Debe cumplir, como si fuera un adulto en pequeño, las obligaciones que se le impongan, realizar los trabajos que se le encarguen y asumir satisfactoriamente las responsabilidades que en él se descarguen.

Así, niños y niñas deben realizar la misión de llevar una razón de un lugar a otro, de la casa a la labranza por ejemplo. Las niñas, traer leña del monte y atender a la cocina, etc.; los niños, llevar a cabo, adecuadamente, las funciones de pastoreo. Esto como preceptos positivos. Como negativos están, por ejemplo, la prohibición de subirse a los árboles, por el temor de que rompan la ropa; escabullirse de la casa e irse a la vecindad, especialmente cuando los vecinos pertenecen a clanes diferentes, pues la madre tiene el temor de que si por alguna circunstancia pelean con su compañero de juego y le llegan a golpear o si directa o indirectamente le hacen verter sangre, ella tendrá que responder económicamente del hecho, pues sobrevendrá el cobro inmediato. Temen, además, la comisión de un hecho delictuoso por parte de los niños, cuyas consecuencias recaerían sobre el iniciador.

3º—No deben faltar a la verdad, refiriendo lo que sólo es producto de su fantasía infantil, puesto que tal hecho no se considera ni sirve como atenuante, sino que para su familia es una mentira abierta y clara que merece ser castigada. No debe, tampoco, informar nada fuera de la verdad; es decir, que les están vedadas todas las formas o posibilidades de la mentira. El guajiro piensa que si los niños mienten, lo hacen deliberadamente, y que de no ser corregidos este vicio tendría consecuencias perjudiciales dentro de la vida familiar y del conjunto social, pues existe el cobro por calumnia, por engaño, etc. Además, podría provocar situaciones difíciles en la vida de relación de los individuos con funestas consecuencias. Un escape a la mentira nos parece la jactancia que el adulto y aún el niño mediano, hacen de su fuerza, de sus éxitos en la caza, en la guerra y en el amor, y aún de su valor económico. Muchas veces son hechos imaginados que viven y cantan.

4º—El niño debe adoptar en su conducta determinadas normas en relación con sus padres y familiares: atender sumisamente sus observaciones sin responder altivamente ni manifestar que no quiere hacer lo mandado, ni hacer gesticulaciones que puedan considerarse altaneras; no dar malas respuestas a quien le ordena algún trabajo; no responder descortésmente, ni en forma que manifieste desagrado o altanería cuando es reprendido o castigado, ni huir en tales momentos, porque el castigo será mayor; no decir malas palabras en castellano, porque ello implica doble ofensa: utilización de un idioma extraño y la mala palabra en sí, además de que las groserías e insultos, entre adultos, dan origen al cobro que, como todos los demás, recae sobre los familiares.

1: Gutierrez de Pineda SC13 Goajiro

5º—Fuera de las formas agresivas para con sus mayores, tenemos las que pueden ocurrir con sus compañeros o sus propios familiares y que adquieren mayor carácter cuando tienen lugar con sus amigos de diverso clan, y cuando de la ofensa de palabra —que también puede ser cobrada— pasan a los hechos, porque si llega a haber sangre, la madre del muchacho lesionado presentará el cobro, a no ser que ambos se lesionen, caso en el cual se anula. En estos hechos de sangre, como se verá más adelante, interviene el equiparamiento social y económico de los dos grupos clanilos a que pertenecen los contendores, toda vez que el más fuerte impondrá su justicia al más débil. Son estas las razones que obligan a la madre a evitar los juegos de sus hijos con niños de otros clanes, para prevenir posibles responsabilidades, a pesar de lo cual, ellos burlan su vigilancia y su prohibición y procuran acompañarse mutuamente en cada una de sus actividades. La prohibición de reunirse con niños de clan diferente, obedece también al hecho de que si a un niño que fue invitado por otros, le ocurre algo, la responsabilidad recaerá sobre el grupo del niño que hizo la invitación.

Las relaciones entre hermanos son más bien pacíficas, sobre todo en los del mismo sexo. Se convierten muy fácilmente en camaradas. No obstante, hay casos en que el niño mayor trata de hacer valer su autoridad y de obligar al más chico a cumplir con la obligación que le hayan impuesto, agregando algo de su parte. De los diez años en adelante, las relaciones entre hermanos y hermanas se vuelven rudas y en ocasiones agresivas, pero después de pasada la pubertad y la iniciación, cuando la niña se ha transformado en mujer y el niño en adulto, esas relaciones toman contornos definidos, delineándose entonces la futura amistad entre los dos y las futuras vinculaciones que existirán entre los hermanos y los descendientes de sus hermanas, sobre los que ejercerán su autoridad y su protección.

Ya hemos descrito una de las formas de agresion entre hermanos, por parte del mayor hacia el menor, en el robo de comida a espaldas de la madre o de quien represente la autoridad. Y una nueva forma de agresión que el niño menor expresa para lograr sus deseos, forzando la voluntad de sus mayores o la de sus hermanos, es la de arrojarse al suelo en el cual se revuelca y patalea, dando gritos y llorando sin consuelo. La madre lo castiga para que no se deje llevar de su mal genio, considerando que es perjudicial, porque de grande podría seguir con sus cóleras y ejecutar en ellas hechos dañosos para sí y para los suyos. Porque, en realidad, cuando el guajiro se enfurece se pone fuera de sí y comete actos que no haría en su sano juicio. Cuando se violenta su voluntad, entra en cólera en forma tan

quemando, que muchas veces se mata ahorcándose y realiza este hecho con tanto ensaño, que pierde el instinto de conservación y aún en la agonía insiste en acabar consigo mismo, haciendo recaer así la responsabilidad sobre la persona que dio origen a su mal humor. Si la madre no logra vencer esta manifestación anímica infantil, perdura en él cuando joven y cuando hombre con manifestaciones más intensas cada vez, abandonando muchas veces el hogar en un acceso de furia o dando origen al suicidio cuando se le contraría.

6°—Un hecho delictuoso que se puede presentar en los muchachos hacia los diez años, son las relaciones sexuales que tienen lugar entre las niñas y sus hermanos, cuando éstas se ocupan en sus labores pastoriles y ellas van al monte en busca de los huevos, o a cumplir cualquier encargo. Sabemos que si la madre se entera de tal hecho, procede al castigo inmediato; sabemos, además, que se considera muy mal por lo prematuro, por el hecho en sí, y por las razones de parentesco; pero desconocemos en qué forma se castiga, así como la reacción y la actitud social y familiar al conocerse. El caso es que la madre evita que sus niñas en tal edad se reúnan con sus hermanos fuera de su vigilancia personal. La violación de dicha prohibición, aunque no se presuma que el hecho delictuoso se haya realizado, origina castigo, porque la madre sabe que estas relaciones prepuberales van a tener luégo una influencia decisiva sobre la mujer cuando quiera contraer matrimonio, pues el hombre espera que su mujer llegue doncella a él y el pago que hace por ella incluye tal concepto. Si no lo es, tiene derecho a presentar cobro y a la devolución reglamentaria de parte de los animales entregados; o ellas se ven obligadas a decirlo antes del matrimonio, con la perspectiva de que sean delatadas o de que no se realice la esperada compra. En todo caso, con conocimiento o sin él, la falta de virginidad hace perder valor a la mujer casadera ante los ojos de sus pretendientes.

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Hay castigos de varias clases. Unos son de tipo corporal y consisten en propinar golpes al niño. Son los más frecuentes. Les dan bofetadas en la boca cuando son groseros al recibir una orden o cuando dan una respuesta áspera a la madre o al padre. Les dan puñetadas y puntapiés, o son azotados con lazos y rejos de los aperos, con varas de monte o con garrotes; pero la madre los castiga especialmente con hojas de ortiga cuando cometen una travesura cualquiera, como tirarse al suelo para revolcarse cuando tienen rabia, escabullirse sin permiso de la casa, no obedecer una orden, etc.

Para castigarlos, la madre trata de sorprenderlos a fin de coger fuertemente de un brazo o de la mano para poderlos aplicar el castigo sin dejarlos huir. Los ata las piernas con una yirba, o las espaldas, que llevan generalmente desnudas. Este castigo es muy doloroso pero no produce malas consecuencias como los golpes con palos, y hacen que el niño escarmiente y prometa no volver a desobedecer; ante la reincidencia, hasta sólo la amenaza del castigo, para que cumplan con el mandato exigido.

Otra forma de castigo bastante generalizada es tomar al niño, meterlo en una mochila de malla de fique, colgarlo en uno de los palos altos de la enramada, darle vueltas hasta que se marea y vomite, quedando desmayado. Entonces, bajarlo y dejarlo en el suelo hasta que se repunga. La simple amenaza de repetir este castigo, o el hecho de mostrar la mochila, son suficientes para que el niño en una próxima oportunidad pliegue su voluntad a la de sus mayores. Estos castigos son generalmente utilizados para corregir la desobediencia.

El robo de alimentos también puede ser castigado en igual forma. Las desobediencias pueden corregirse igualmente por la pérdida de la ración alimenticia, castigo que se considera el más duro y que si vale cambia gustosamente por el más fuerte de los corporales. Esta forma de castigo es considerada como injusta por la sociedad, pero sin embargo se aplica, especialmente cuando el niño ha botado su comida caprichosamente o por enojo, recordándole, además, que antes la desperdició.

Cuando los niños hasta de cinco años son glotones en grado sumo, la madre les sirve una gran porción de alimento y los obliga a tomarlo todo hasta que vomiten, creyendo que de esta manera los corregirá de lo que considera un defecto. Los golpes son forma común de corregir la glotonería, el robo de alimentos a la madre, a los hermanos menores, el desperdiciarlos o dañarlos, el no querer compartirlos con su hermano o con un amigo. Cuando el niño no quiere comer y retira su comida con disgusto por haber sido castigado o reprendido, la madre se hace la desapercibida y deja al muchacho hacer su voluntad, o se la quita, dejándolo sin alimento.

Hay castigos de orden diferente a los anteriores, basados en el recuerdo de un castigo sufrido anteriormente, repitiéndoles lo que dijeron al ser castigados, los llantos, las palabras y promesas, procurando remedar cada uno de los detalles humillantes para el pequeño, para avergonzarlo; o mostrándole los instrumentos del castigo, como la ortiga o la mochila, con lo cual, atemorizados, cumplen con las exigencias de sus mayores.

También son amenazados previamente algunas veces, al hacerseles alguna prohibición o al dárseles una orden, para forzar su observancia.

Es cuando el muchacho o la muchacha se acuerda o le pareció a la adoptante, le sale sangre en el cuerpo y le duele cabeza. Cuando ya le dan la cita realizada, se sepa fuertemente en tono de desprotección, hasta que el muchacho o la muchacha se acuerdan y hagan fuertemente de la cara o se mitiden. Otra forma para hacer la obediencia del niño o para que se duerma se amarrado dulcemente, cuando es muy pequeño, que se le lleva el cuerdo [1] o que una vieja borracha se le llevará. El niño pequeño obedece y tiene miedo, pero cuando está más grandecito pierde el temor y no le valen las amenazas.

En la aplicación de los castigos tomen parte principal la madre, las tías y abuelas, la misma que las tías maternas. El padre se se limitado en su aplicación, por no ser con hijos de su mismo clan (Cf. *Parentesco*), de modo que si se enoja y le hace hacer sangre al muchacho o por su culpa éste se mitiden o se enferma, la madre permanecerá cubrir a su marido. Sin embargo, esto se malpensa, pues si por el castigo de la madre, el hijo se mitiden, el padre se mantiene quien presenta el cubrir correspondiente.

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Las reacciones del niño frente al castigo que recibe por las diferentes hechas consideradas posibles, son diversas. Así tenemos que durante los primeros años, al ser golpeado, grita, llora y trata de huir o deja caer su pretexto escabullándose y arrojándose al suelo donde se revuelca violentamente, actitud que siempre cambiará cuando se convertirá en su voluntad. Al ser golpeado nuevamente por otra hecha, con hojas de ortiga, trata de escarmiento y sólo muy de vez en cuando reincide, porque se le amenaza con la repetición del castigo.

Cuando las funciones de locomoción son perfectas, el niño trata de burlar el castigo cada vez que le es posible, huyendo cuando ve a la madre o a la persona que va a castigarlo, o pretende no asistir a la casa en espera de que les pase el enojo. Cuando los castigos son muy frecuentes, cuando se le aplica una muy fuerte o que él considera injusta, se resiste que el muchacho escape, pueda lo más lejos posible, a buscar a su tío o a un pariente que le ofrezca respaldo. La fuga del hogar es más usual en los hombres que en las mujeres y alcanza su mayor intensidad hasta la época pospubertad, pero él se siente atraído dentro de las asignación familiares y

[1] Deformación de la palabra cuna. Voz utilizada en Colombia para acostar a los niños, con expresiones como: "Ya Tata al cuna"; y "Niñi viene al cuna", etc.

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supera a libertad de ellos. A esta edad los castigos corporales y de privación de alimentos se hacen más escasos, pero los regaños o reprensiones son los más utilizados y contra ellos reacciona más violentamente. En tales casos, cuando el regaño viene de parte del padre, lo que es raro, la madre trata de conciliar la voluntad del hijo, diciéndole que no debe darle importancia al hecho. Pero cuando es ella personalmente quien lo reprende, el muchacho, escolerizado, huye o permanece en la casa sin hablar con nadie, mostrándose resentido y negándose a comer. Cuando huye, la madre deja pasar un tiempo durante el cual averigua dónde está y qué ha dicho. Luégo le envía a un tío, a un hermano o amigo de su preferencia, para que hablen con él y lo convenzan de que debe regresar. Cuando retorna, ella no menciona el acontecimiento, y la vida sigue normalmente.

Otra de las formas de reacción bastante generalizada es la de hacerse cada día más disimulado y astuto para contravenir el castigo. Cuando ve distraída a la madre, o a sus mayores, lleva a cabo las acciones por ellos prohibidas: ir de visita a la casa vecina; hurtar alimentos; trepar a los árboles, etc. Luégo miente descaradamente para librarse de la posible corrección.

Cuando es muy castigado, como ocurre en algunos hogares donde las madres lo hacen con extrema frecuencia, el niño se vuelve hosco y retraído, permanece poco en el hogar, pasando la mayor parte de su tiempo en los alrededores o en las casas vecinas, tratando de evitar la presencia de sus padres. Tenemos la referencia de una madre que solicitó dinero de su hijo mayor que estaba en Venezuela, porque lo necesitaba urgentemente. Su respuesta fue: "Yo no tengo mamá. Ella fue una tirana conmigo y con mis hermanos, a quienes espero poder traerlos para que no les pegue más por nada. No le mando dinero, porque ella fue siempre tan mala y tan cruel, que no lo merece". Cuando la madre supo la respuesta, reaccionó tomando a cada uno de sus hijos pequeños y castigándolos rudamente para que escarmentaran y no fueran a repetir el hecho. El marido la reprendió por su crueldad, y ella se ahorcó. Como éste, hay varios casos que muestran la reacción posterior de los hijos contra sus progenitores por la dureza con que los trataron en la infancia. El niño permanece rencoroso y, cuando siente que sus fuerzas pueden oponerse a las maternas o a las de sus mayores en general, empieza a reaccionar contra ellas, tornándose altanero. En ocasiones, contraído en lo más profundo de sí mismo y ciego de enojo, por un castigo que se le ha impuesto, se ahorca, con lo cual las consecuencias de su muerte recaen sobre el autor o autora del castigo, pues su cónyuge le pondrá cabro alegando que lo empujó tanto que lo indujo a

quienes la vida. Esta ley del pago obligatorio, limita la aplicación y sobre todo la violencia de los castigos, aunque, a pesar de ello, el niño es crudamente tratado en muchos lugares.

Hacia la edad pubescent empieza a manifestarse propiamente la reacción abierta del muchacho contra los castigos y las imposiciones familiares, fase liberativa que culmina después de la pubertad, con la entrega de los animales cuando se cree o antes si sus capacidades pastoriles le permiten su propia administración. Entonces, con su independencia económica, se libera de las imposiciones de la pequeña familia. El quiere ser un adulto y tomar parte activa en la vida de la comunidad. Para el varón hay una dificultad de limitación de edades y es la de no existir el rito de iniciación, de manera que la época de su independencia se halla supeditada a sus condiciones económicas y es, por lo mismo, elástica. En la mujer, en cambio, el fenómeno biológico de la menstruación pone límite a su infancia y marca el paso a la edad adulta con todas sus prerrogativas, derechos y deberes.

* * *

La madre o las personas encargadas de cuidar y educar al niño, no sólo apelan a los castigos para obtener su obediencia y la sujeción a las normas tradicionales, sino que recurren a otra clase de estímulos, que podríamos llamar positivos: Cuando el niño se muestra extremadamente llorón y cobarde frente a cualquier suceso, se le dice: "¡No llores tanto! ¿Acaso tú eres una mujer para que andes llorando a cada momento? Podrías mandarte a volverte" [1].

Si la causa del llanto es un golpe, resultado de un hecho que la madre previno, le dice: "Yo te lo advertí; tú eres el único culpable; nadie te hizo el mal; de manera que no debes llorar porque tú eres el único responsable y ya que no quisiste oír mi advertencia, sufre solo las consecuencias". O lo consuela: "No llores que nada te hicieron: Eso no vale la pena, Tú eres un hombre". Si la herida es una mujer, la madre la tranquiliza diciéndole: "Por qué llorar si tú eres más guapa que los hombres; tú te portas siempre más valientemente que ellos".

Otra forma de provocar el acatamiento de una orden es recurrir al estímulo de la comparación: "Tu hermano —o falano— sí obedece pun-

[1] Voltear se utiliza para indicar la asistencia y participación en el velorio de un difunto, durante el cual, los asistentes lloran plañideramente sobre el cadáver.

tendencia a su mamá y la ayuda sin necesidad de mendigarla". O decirle, para estimular su esfuerzo: "¿Cómo no va a ser capaz de tal cosa, si X... más chiquito que tú, ya lo hace?"

También se logran la obediencia y la sumisión con los regalos. Cuando los padres van a un poblado, traen a su hijo algunas cosas que le divierten. También le hace promesas de diversiones, tratando de satisfacer el gusto o la afición particular de un niño: "Te daré tal alimento, te regalaré esa cosa, te dejaré ir a aquella parte, te permitiré jugar con tu amiga, si cumples bien y pronto lo que te ordenan".

* * *

El culto a los muertos es fundamental en la vida social de la Guajira y de ahí que el niño sea educado en él. Este culto representa, por otra parte, un lazo de unión más entre los vivos, por la consideración de un vínculo de sangre común, que hace referencia a una tercera persona a quien se reconoce parientes muertos; además de que hace cosas comunes con los acontecimientos de su vida y de su muerte, provocando un fuerte sentimiento de solidaridad.

El culto a los muertos lleva expresa una serie de obligaciones en las que se educa al niño y cuyo cumplimiento va ligado directamente al mantenimiento del status del grupo familiar del muerto, obligaciones que la educación tiende a convertir en indelebles.

Tal vez la forma fundamental de esta educación es la remembranza diaria de los parientes muertos, pues a las tres de la madrugada, más o menos, cuando las personas que duermen en la casa no se han levantado aún, empieza la mujer de más antigüedad en la familia —la madre, la abuela, la tía materna, la hermana mayor— la remembranza, iniciando un canto prolongado, igual al acostumbrado en el Baño del velorio, y acto seguido inicia con tono ligadero y lastimoso la narración de un pesar por la muerte de un pariente. Dice, por ejemplo: "Ay! No tenemos madre, tiene no que ella no pereciera de alguna enfermedad, sino que la mataron..." y va refiriendo su muerte con cada uno de los parientes dolientes: las humillaciones y vejámenes que tuviera que soportar de otro grupo, recalcando sobre todo en que los muertos está sin satisfacer, es decir, sin sus debidas justicias; que los que la mataron, viven tranquilos; que inmediatamente se derramó la sangre cosida por gente que ahora está sin castigo. Muestra luego los peligros sociales que su familia tiene en el momento frente a otro grupo, con propósito alarmo por el vacío que los empobrecerá más, haciendo

[illegible]

Terminado este narrativo se suspende por unos pocos minutos el Boro, y otra de las mujeres de la casa vuelve sobre el tema en forma lúdica, hasta que todos los personas adultos del hogar han desfilado en pocos relatando el pasado con un amorgoro y los sugerirse del parentesco, atribuido necesario a los parientes desaparecidos y recordando el motivo de su muerte. Esta repetición diaria hace que los niños aprendan en ello el culto a los muertos, sino el pasado y la comunión general de los antecesores del grupo familiar. Aprende a adorar los vínculos de sus antepasados o a compadecerse de sus beneficiarios; participa de los ritos y los pocos conocen y aprende también a realizar esta práctica para repetirla y transmitirla cuando forme su propio hogar.

Por otra parte, la presencia y participación de los niños en las ceremonias que se realizan a la muerte de un pariente, tienen con fin conocerlo experimentalmente cada una de ellas. Así conocen y gozan en él el sentido de mutuo apoyo entre los miembros familiares de un grupo, como el aporte económico que debe hacer cuando se trata de un pariente pobre, a fin de poder sacrificar los animales y atender con la bebida y el bagaje, acontecimientos en tales ocasiones, lo mismo que el acontecimiento, los nuevos de etiqueta que la vida de ultratumba exige a la mujer, parientes que intervienen en estas actividades y sus atributos, como el Boro al pie del cadáver; el ayuno y la disminución de carne; en fin, cada una de las pautas culturales establecidas y obligatorias en estas ceremonias, aprendizaje que recibe por indicaciones y observación personal.

Participa también en la vida familiar durante el período inmediato al entierro; en los alimentos que se llevan al muerto cuando se trata, por indicios mágicos, que su vida de ultratumba no es normal, por falsedad algún requisito de su parte; en las visitas periódicas que se hacen a la tumba y en las fiestas que durante varios meses se realizan para disolver el contacto al muerto.

Más tarde interviene en la ceremonia de desentierro. Conoce su papel y el de sus parientes inmediatos y, como en las otras ceremonias, cada una

de las normas tradicionales. Pero lo más importante de todo este estudio
[illegible] a aprender a cumplirlas debidamente, sino fijar el sentido que el
muerto, con la familia y con la sociedad en que vive. Con el muerto, mo-
dificando sus obligaciones de consanguinidad a fin de conservarle —aunque
sea por conciliar del espíritu— una vida adecuada en el futuro. Con su
familia, por la mutua ayuda y solidaridad en el pesar y en el infortunio
económico; y en el caso de muerte violenta, haciendo cuanto convenga para
conseguir una justicia efectiva y la transacción del cobro, a fin de que la vengan-
za resulte sea debidamente reparada.

También aprende el valor de la alianza a su muerte familiar, legada
a la conciliación de su nombre, que revive todas las penas, los sentimientos y
el pesado deberes del grupo.

Respecto de la sociedad aprende su comportamiento personal y el de
su grupo frente a ella, los requisitos que debe llenar para que su prestigio
no se vea disminuido, ya que ello significa una decadencia de los suyos,
que se pone de manifiesto cuando se trata de hacer justicia por cualquier
felonía. Esto es lo que hace que los lazos de consanguinidad se aprieten
más y más y vengan su manifestación en la dirección generosa que cada
individuo aporta para ayudar a su miembro en el momento en que el clan,
como conjunto, va a ser valorado por los extraños, y es este el sentido que
el niño debe aprender, y aprende realmente un cabal adecuado a sus ex-
pectativas en el momento de su muerte y posteriormente, acorde con su
status social y el de sus parientes consanguíneos.

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La educación del niño indígena no está en relación con la localización
de la familia, porque en este momento el niño se desprende gradualmente
del círculo familiar pequeño para ir a residir por largos temporales con
sus otras familias.

Cuando el nacimiento se ha hecho por el otro grupo y cuando aun
no sigue la residencia, el niño varía en tamaño y adecuado casi totalmente
por el tío materno de más consideración o de mayor prestigio dentro del
círculo familiar. Así, cuando el pequeño ya puede trasladarse fácilmente
de un lugar a otro, este tío, que generalmente tiene en su poder todos los
regalos en ceremonias que el niño recibiera al nacer o posteriormente, o
las herencias parentales en vida, le lleva a su lado. El es el encargado de
velar por su bienestar social y de educarlo en sus normas mínimas de
vida a su residencia, sino de enseñarle las formas parentales. La Mra. comen-

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mientras las cumple y le va transmitiendo sus conocimientos para que llegue a ser un buen propietario de ganados; o si es pobre, para que aprenda a manejarlos. Porque no es raro que un guajiro tenga bajo su responsabilidad los ganados de un rico y con ellos ejercita entonces a su sobrino.

Como las predilecciones del guajiro por un tipo especial de ganado se manifiestan tempranamente, el tío debe encauzarlas, dándole al niño toda clase de consejos sobre la mejor manera de cuidarlos, con prácticas que corroboren la teoría.

Durante este tiempo el tío no sólo le transmite su saber en ganadería, sino que, al referirle el pasado de su grupo o de su familia, al narrarle un hecho cualquiera, al corregirlo o al contarle un cuento, le va transmitiendo el acerbo cultural de la comunidad. Porque el tío en estos momentos tiene la responsabilidad de su sobrino y, como lo considera su verdadero hijo, trata de hacer de él algo semejante a sí mismo.

Otra de las responsabilidades del tío es la de enseñar al muchacho el cumplimiento de las faenas agrícolas en tiempos propicios. Si posee tierras agrícolas, lo común es que le dé una parte de ellas para que el muchacho la roture cuando ya está en capacidad de hacerlo; o lo va enseñando en la suya propia hasta que lo entrene en tal actividad. Esta entrega de la parcela, como la de los ganados cuando el niño se considera preparado para hacer progresar su riqueza personal, son la base de su independencia económica y familiar y el camino hacia la compra de la primera mujer, con lo cual el muchacho se hace hombre y se capacita para vivir su vida de adulto. Esta parcela, cuyo derecho al cultivo hereda, le da cierta prestancia porque las tierras laborables en buenas condiciones son escasas, y si hereda una de ellas, lleva consigo el status del tío que lo ha hecho dueño.

El niño aprende también del tío la habilidad en ciertas labores en que éste es hábil, como la hechura de arneses y de armas, la construcción de habitaciones, y ciertas habilidades como la de montar, enlazar, correr los caballos para las apuestas, etc.

Otra función muy importante, aprendida también del tío, —aunque puede ser educación personal—, es la de componedor o cacique. Del tío recibe el muchacho la tradición legal de la Península y, oyendo la relación de los hechos ocurridos en el pasado, aprende la dialéctica utilizada, la psicología y los problemas de los suyos, el dominio del idioma, condiciones esenciales para triunfar cuando el cargo pase a sus manos.

Por otra parte, en la convivencia con el tío materno el niño se adiestra en la caza, pues lo acompaña en sus expediciones, durante las cuales aprende todos los detalles, hasta alcanzar la suficiente habilidad en todos

sus aspectos, inclusive para armar trampas a los animales que dañan las sementeras. Y secundariamente a la caza y a la actividad ganadera o pastoril el niño ejercita la cualidad de rastreador, que para la caza es importante a fin de conseguir mayor éxito, y para la ganadería la requiere con diversos objetivos, como conseguir un animal perdido, perseguir los ladrones de animales que atacan su rebaño, etc.

También vive al lado de este pariente la guerra, pues ella, según el tradicional derecho guajiro, vincula miembros consanguíneos por línea materna. Entonces él aprende, cuando se narran hechos bélicos, la forma de practicarla; y no es raro que viva sus consecuencias personalmente. Entra a practicarla cuando los suyos, encabezados por el tío materno más prestante o el jefe consanguíneo de mayor prestigio la dirigen. Y va con ellos para reforzar sus filas, aprendiendo en la práctica todo lo que ha ido educando su mente teóricamente. Indirectamente se ha ejercitado en la lucha al trajinar con la hechura de armas para la caza y la manera de manejarlas. Con la participación bélica pone en ejercicio toda la enseñanza social y legal, y hace efectiva la tradición de su grupo, a más de que realiza el principio básico de su relación consanguínea, la mutua ayuda y el respaldo en la agresión de elementos extraños.

Casi es de su tío materno de quien el muchacho aprende aquellas pautas culturales de tipo masculino, porque el tío se convierte para él en el molde o patrón que debe seguir como figura varonil primera en el plano familiar. Pero con el proceso de transculturación, se destaca ahora la influencia del padre. Actualmente, en la expresión de los deseos sobre el sexo del primer hijo, el padre interviene para decidirse por un hijo varón que le sirva de compañero en su vida de pastor, indicando de esta manera que él va a ser el educador de sus hijos, o, por lo menos, del primogénito, suplantando en cierta manera la antigua figura familiar representada por el tío materno. En este caso, el hijo cuida con él de sus propios ganados y del rebaño del padre, y aún de la dote materna cuando sus mayores por esta línea lo crean conveniente. Y allí, como en el caso anterior, va aprendiendo el lado de la vida económica, la cultural, y se va ligando afectiva y materialmente al padre, vínculo que no existía y que lo lleva posteriormente a participar conjuntamente en sus intereses, viéndose el caso, insudito para la tradición guajira, de que el hijo milite en las filas guerreras del padre, sin que le sobrevengan consecuencias efectivas de cobro o de otra índole social.

También como con el tío materno, puede él participar y aprender, al lado de su padre, la vida agrícola, la caza, la pesca, y las excursiones; y

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aprender las técnicas de las oficios masculinos; pero en lo que sí puede poder participar es en la vida política del pueblo, como cacique o compositor, puesto que esto sí permanece como posible herencia del tío materno. Tampoco en las actividades relacionadas con el *piache* como institución.

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Respecto a la educación de las niñas, juegan papel muy trascendente la influencia de la madre y la de las parientas maternas. Cuando la familia vive aislada, la influencia de los familiares maternos se ve disminuída como ya lo vimos; pero cuando la niña va acercándose a la pubertad, puede trasladarse a la casa de su abuela o tías maternas, con quienes convive y de quienes recibe la influencia en este período. Debemos considerar, por otra parte, las ocupaciones de la niña a través de sus edades. Muy pronto es considerada en el hogar guajiro de escasas posibilidades económicas, como una fuerza de trabajo que secunda y reemplaza a la madre en sus ocupaciones domésticas, de manera que con ella y con las otras mujeres adultas de la familia aprende a desenvolverse en las actividades hogareñas: cuidado de los niños, acarreo de agua y leña, cocción de alimentos, mantenimiento del fuego, limpieza del hogar, lavado de la ropa, etc.

Luégo viene su intervención en las faenas agrícolas: como en la vida de los últimos años la emigración ha despoblado la Guajira, la mujer se ve obligada a cumplir con faenas tradicionalmente asignadas a los hombres. Así hay, pues, necesidad de emplear toda la mano de obra disponible y las niñas de edad prepuberal deben contribuir con su fuerza de trabajo. Aunque el desmonte y la roturación son labores masculinas, actualmente las realizan las mujeres, además de las tradicionalmente asignadas a ellas, como son la siembra y la recolección, actividad esta última en que resultan más efectivas. Las niñas se van adiestrando en estos trabajos al lado de las mujeres adultas, hasta dominarlos totalmente.

Otro aspecto de la vida económica femenina, es el de los tejidos. Sólo hacia la edad prepuberal la madre y las parientas maternas toman a su cargo la enseñanza de la niña, pues se considera que a esta edad su vida infantil va terminando y por tanto es necesario que pierda la libertad de los años pretéritos, para internarse por los tejidos. Si en la casa hay una tía hábil, ella misma le enseña; si no, va a casa de sus parientas y pasa con ellas largas temporadas en el aprendizaje de estas artes, que habrá de perfeccionar y completar en su encierro de iniciación, muy posiblemente bajo el cuidado vigilante de las mismas.

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También de sus parientas maternas mayores ella va recibiendo todo el legado cultural del grupo y la tradición particular de su familia extensa. Vive y participa en el culto de los muertos a diario y, temporalmente, cuando tiene lugar un desentierro o velorio al cual concurre en compañía de las mujeres de su familia, iniciándose así en todas las ceremonias y prescripciones. Y va con ellas, cuando empieza a acercarse al umbral de la pubertad, a servirles de compañía en las visitas para aprender a portarse en la vida social; conoce, además, las normas hospitalarias cuando su hogar es visitado y tiene que secundar a los suyos para llenarlas cabalmente. Lentamente, por participación indirecta, se da cuenta de la utilización de las *cástras* amorosas en la lucha femenina por el predominio en la poligamia y conoce estos problemas que viven su madre y sus parientes. También de las luchas intergrupales y sus consecuencias; la migración, la vida mágica en toda su intensidad, y las normas legales, aspectos que ella aprende con la repetición constante de los casos ocurridos en la Península y que oye referir a sus familiares y amigos, hombres y mujeres que frecuentan su hogar.

Toda esta vida cultural reafirma y completa la educación especial recibida durante el encierro que sigue a la primera menstruación, encomendada a sus parientas, que le darán técnicas y conocimientos muy particularizados y las especializaciones encomendadas tradicionalmente a ciertas familias, si es miembro de ellas, tales como la fabricación de cerámica; conocimiento medicinal y mágico de las yerbas; preparación de cóntras de diversa índole, etc.

Ocupaciones infantiles.—Las ocupaciones del niño están condicionadas por su sexo, tal como ocurre con los juegos; de modo que se orientan y ciñen a esa división biológica. Veámoslo por separado:

a) *Los niños:* Vimos al hablar de los juegos cómo los varones adultos ven mal el que la madre obligue al niño a realizar ocupaciones femeninas, porque creen que dicha actividad lo rebaja, lo degenera en su dignidad varonil, lo vuelve afeminado y no podría hacer de él un hombre valiente, ideal del guajiro. El niño comienza las ocupaciones de su sexo desde pequeño, casi desde que puede seguir al padre o al tío materno preferido en las actividades pastoriles, especialmente el primogénito, pues el padre, como también ya lo anotamos, manifiesta su deseo porque el primer hijo sea varón para que lo acompañe en sus andanzas.

Así, desde temprana edad empieza a levantarse a las tres de la mañana; va en busca del ganado que duerme en los corrales o en los campos

cercanas y la lleva a abrevar. Durante el día la mantiene en corrales en las rancherías donde hay yerba, sin dejarla demasiado de las penas, vigilándola permanentemente para evitar las robas, sobre todo de las crías pequeñas por los carnívoros, o que éstas se extravíen en los matorrales; durante los veranos largos aprende el oficio de *cuidadora*, es decir, a esperar al pie de la *cuidada*[1] la llegada de las reses que vienen en busca de agua, para dirigirlas en cantidad suficiente, colocándolas en los corrales que rodean el pozo. Aprende el ordeño, actividad que está encomendada generalmente a los hombres, aunque es común en las casas grandes que la realicen las esclavas y siervas. También aprende de las personas mayores a quienes está confiada, la forma de atender las animales recién nacidos y las enfermas, la manera de calmarlas, de dominarlas para aplicarles la marca; a señalar las capricas por cortes en las orejas; a amansar caballos; las cualidades y características de un buen animal de silla; la manera de rastrear un animal que se ha perdido, por las huellas que deja, actividad que debe cumplir desde muy joven, puesto que se ve en la obligación de hallar las reses que se dispersan; hechura de arcos y flechas, y a rastrear animales durante la cacería. Por su parte, ensaya con sus compañeros pequeñas expediciones de caza para matar *marbeyas*[2] y diversas pájaros y armar trampas en las penas a las palomas. Ayuda a cazar los pájaros estacionales que llegan durante las cosechas; vela por las noches cuando se arman trampas a las venados; aprende a sacrificar los animales que se consumen en el hogar y la forma de beneficiarlos adecuadamente.

En los trabajos agrícolas ayuda a la tarea del desmonte en la zona de su tío materno y, más tarde, cuida de la suya propia, si dispone de ella, desmontándola y dejándola lista para que las mujeres depositen la semilla; además, siembra las frutales y las plantas rastreras y desyerba. La tarea de recolección corresponde a las mujeres. En las regiones donde se practica la pesca, interviene a los diez años, más o menos, en trabajos anexos a ella, como la apertura de las ostras para la extracción de perlas. También interviene en la hechura de aparejos, mochilas de carga, arcaos, [illegible], collares de cortezas de coco, etc., cuando sus mayores están empleados en otras labores.

Al muchacho corresponde la preparación de tutumas, botas, tazas, pocillos, platos, etc., que van á recibir diversa aplicación doméstica. La tarea de preparación de las tutumas incluye desde bajar el fruto cuando

[1] Pozo artificial.
[2] Lagarto comestible.

está madura, abrirla, secarla la carne y, cuando aún está tierna la corteza, dividir con un cuchillo metálico o con la punta aguzada de un hueso o de una piedra, dibujos que le decoran. Estos dibujos son generalmente producto de su iniciativa personal.

Por último, se le pueden encargar trabajos accesorios tales como llevar un recado, ir a buscar algún artículo necesario, conducir algún animal de su casa, etc., pero se dedica fundamentalmente a los trabajos pastoriles, ocupación permanente del guajiro.

Obligación conjunta de muchachos de uno y otro sexo es el cuidado de los niños menores, cuando las circunstancias lo requieran, siendo sin embargo función privativa de las niñas cuando las hay en edad apropiada.

b) *Las niñas.* A las niñas de cinco años se les encomiendan pequeñas tareas, tales como portar recados, ir a la tienda a llevar algún objeto pequeño al padre o al tío; recoger agua en las vasijas para que los mayores la acarreen en burros hasta la casa. A los seis o siete años empiezan a practicar el arte de cocinar. De los diez a los doce años, es decir, en la edad pubescencial, se inician en los labores de tejidos y ya van solas de un caserío a otro; es entonces cuando ocasionalmente tienen relaciones sexuales con sus hermanos o con su padre.

Así desde que la niña puede valerse por sí misma —hacia los tres o cuatro años—, secunda a la madre en todos sus trabajos, sobre todo cuando es la mayor y cuando pertenece a una familia de pocos recursos económicos; en la cocina aprende a preparar alimentos como mazamorra, bollos y sopas, a pilar y a moler el maíz en los instrumentos tradicionales, el pilón y el mortero de piedra; a encender y mantener el fuego, acomodar en él las vasijas y construir nuevos hogares; y, lentamente, a preparar las diversas clases de chicha y las sopas acostumbradas en tiempos especiales, a aprovechar los frutos de la cosecha y los silvestres, a adobar diversos platos típicos como el "sancocho de chivo", la forma de preparar la carne, etc., hasta que, llegado el momento de la pubertad, conocen en general todos los procedimientos culinarios acostumbrados.

Otra actividad que desde muy niños se les enseña es el acarreo del agua y de la leña, lo mismo que otra serie de oficios domésticos tales como la limpieza de la casa, el cuidado de los hermanos menores y, a veces, alimentos y aseo de los mismos. Deben ir al monte a traer los burros que se utilizan en el transporte del agua y de los frutos o que sirven de cabalgadura a las mujeres.

También empiezan a prestar sus servicios en la recolección y acompañan a las mujeres durante la cosecha de frutos silvestres como ciruelas, guayavas y vainas de trupillo, lo mismo que en la cosecha del dividivi, que se vende en las puertas para exportarlo; su fuerza de trabajo se utiliza en el transporte, ocupación femenina: ellas llevan a cuestas los frutos recolectados, la leña y el agua cuando la casa no dispone de animales apropiados.

Hacia los diez o más años empieza a manejar el huso y el telar, enseñada por sus parientes mayores, ocupaciones que perfecciona durante el encierro de iniciación.

En general, las ocupaciones infantiles se relacionan con la posición económico-social de sus parientes, pues una niña de familia rica pasa toda su infancia jugando, sin ocuparse de los trabajos domésticos sino esporádicamente, ya que no es considerada como un adulto en pequeño, como sucede entre las familias pobres, sino como niña y como a tal se la trata. Pueden imponérsele pequeñas obligaciones, pero nunca una responsabilidad clara y definida. Se le exige que obedezca, exclusivamente por reconocimiento a la autoridad de sus mayores. Pero cuando entra a la edad púberal, su madre y sus parientes empiezan a preocuparse por ella y a pensar que es el momento oportuno para enseñarle los oficios acordes a su posición y a su sexo y la entrenan en todos los menesteres caseros que dominará a perfección en su encierro, el cual se prolonga más mientras mayor sea la capacidad económica de su familia.

Alimentación, Sueño, Vestidos y Adornos.—Desde antes del destete, cuando éste se prolonga después del año, y aún antes, el niño se inicia en la comida del adulto. Entonces pide a la madre el alimento y ella se lo da, cuando es pequeñito, más abundante que puede serlo un tiempo después; pero luégo él mismo lo busca y es frecuente que hurte a la madre los alimentos que ella guarda, para satisfacer su necesidad, lo que hace que la madre se vea obligada a esconderlos. (Cf. *Castigos*, Cap. II).

La repartición de la comida en un hogar guajiro la realiza la madre, quien va suministrando las porciones, primero a su marido, después a sus hijos; siendo ella la última en comer. Si tiene preferencias afectivas por un hija, las manifiesta en estos momentos dándole mayor porción y mejor calidad que a los otros, hecho que es reprobado y envidiado por los demás. Cuando en la familia hay numerosas hijas y un solo hijo, es él el preferido en ausencia del padre, para servirle en el puesto y en los platos que acostumbra para tomar su alimento, y en primer lugar, como se hace con

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aquél. Cuando son varios los hijos, estas prerrogativas corresponderán al mayor. Cuando la comida es escasa son los grandes siempre los que reciben primero el alimento y si algo queda se reparte entre los niños medianos; esto mismo ocurre cuando hay alimentos especiales, de los que el niño puede participar esporádicamente si el padre o el tío le obsequian un poco. Pero lo común es que no alcance para él: cuando crezca y sea un hombre, tendrá participación en esta clase de alimentos. Estos hechos hacen que los muchachos se envidien y peleen la comida de niño que alguno de ellos pueda recibir, y que el niño grande trate de dejar sin alimento al niño pequeño después de haber comido rápidamente su parte, y explican también el robo de alimentos y provisiones, pese a los castigos maternos ya enumerados en otra aparte.

Si el niño tiene marcada preferencia por un alimento, la madre la complace en lo posible, dándole mayor cantidad de él, pero esta conducta no se cumple siempre porque debe aprender a comer de todo ya que no es posible que ingiera sólo lo que más le apetece. Por otra parte, cada niño tiene sus vasijas e instrumentos especiales para comer, como platos y cucharas de totuma, etc., que ellos reconocen y exigen que su comida les sea servida en ellos. Estos objetos son, generalmente, de propiedad particular.

El niño mediano se encuentra ya totalmente incorporado a la alimentación adulta, por sustitución paulatina y progresiva de la dieta infantil, desde el destete y por dosificación adecuada de los nuevos alimentos, a fin de que el organismo se acostumbre a ellos y los asimile fácilmente. Primero se substituye la leche materna por la de cabra y luego por mazamorra de maíz clara con un poco de leche, hasta llegar a darla sola. Se le van suministrando las diversas clases de chicha, la cujara (leche agria) y, al aparecer los dientes, los alimentos sólidos que antes eran amasados para su fácil deglución. Pasado este proceso, el niño vive distríctamente como el adulto, con alguna diferencia marcada por la organización familiar, que acabamos de ver, recibiendo la comida de tipo ordinario, ya que es raro que alcance a participar de los alimentos especiales que pueden consumir los miembros adultos del hogar.

En las épocas de escasez la recolección y aprovechamiento de frutos silvestres desempeñan gran papel, pues cuando el guajiro llega a encontrar algunos, los consume inmediatamente, en las cantidades que es capaz, hasta encontrarse saciado. La regulación alimenticia es muy difícil en tales ocasiones, pudiendo decirse que en ellas el guajiro no tiene un horario fijo de comidas, sino que lo hace cuando consigue algo. En tiempos normales, y en los lugares donde la falta de alimentos no es muy marcada, el horario fi-

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millar de comidas es más o menos como sigue: Al levantarse, muy temprano, toman un poco de café, con panela, si la hay, y más frecuentemente una totuma de *cojeso* [1]; en la tarde, después de que el sol ha caído, al regreso de sus labores, hacen una comida principal compuesta de mazamorra con leche, algún bollo o arepa de maíz y café o chicha de frutas, de maíz o de yuca. La dieta normal no incluye la comida diaria de carne, sino en algunas contadas ocasiones, lo mismo que de queso, y algunos vegetales como ahuyamas, calabazas, yucas, etc. Se come corrientemente maíz tostado con sal o con dulce, sopa de arroz —alimento muy generalizado—, arroz seco, o una sopa de vainas de trupillo que se mastican una vez sancochadas, escupiendo luégo el bagazo, o mezcladas con leche. En las épocas de falta de alimentos, es costumbre utilizar los cogollos tiernos del cardón, las cuales se asan sobre las llamas para extraerles el corazón y comerlo, pues de esta manera es digerible y blando. También se incluyen dentro de la dieta alimenticia la sopa y los platos especiales de frisoles.

Los muchachos que se ocupan en faenas distintas del pastoreo, que permanecen en la casa o pueden regresar con facilidad a ella, toman el acostumbrado desayuno al levantarse; luégo, cuando comienzan las horas de calor y el guajiro retorna a la casa para guarecerse bajo la enramada en su chinchorro, toma una comida que es más o menos semejante a la descrita anteriormente, y hacia las siete de la noche, otra.

El muchacho añade a sus comidas usuales lo que puede encontrar en la recolección de frutos silvestres, en la caza menor, en el huerto de alimentos en el hogar y en la leche de las cabras o de los otros animales que tiene a su cuidado.

Agreguemos, por último, que en ningún caso la mujer ocupa el primer lugar en la repartición de la comida, si hay hombres en la familia. A lo sumo, ocupa el de su madre, a falta de parientas mayores, tocándole entonces repartir el alimento; si hay esclavas, siervas o criadas, son ellas las que desempeñan este papel bajo su vigilancia. Estos casos de suplantación de la madre por las hijas en la faena de repartición de alimentos son poco frecuentes porque es común que la mujer-jefe no salga de la casa por tiempo prolongado sin dejarla encomendada a alguna persona capaz de reemplazarla.

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El niño mediano lleva en el sueño un horario semejante al del adulto. Para tal fin, generalmente el pequeño posee desde que nace un chinchorro

[1] Leche que se deja agriar en vasijas especiales.

o hamaca a la usanza india, es decir, hecho de cuerdas de fique retorcido, dispuestas en hileras horizontales. Se destina este tipo de chinchorro para los niños, porque la micción nocturna es frecuente en algunos casos y más que todo porque ofrece buena resistencia, es barato y de fácil reemplazo. No conocimos casos de niños que durmieran sobre el suelo. Algunas veces pueden compartir su chinchorro con otro hermano, hecho no muy común, o dormir ocasionalmente en el de un adulto.

Las horas de descanso abarcan regularmente desde las ocho de la noche hasta las tres de la mañana, cuando el niño se ocupa en faenas pastoriles. En las horas de calor del medio-día, puede regresar, cuando pastorea cerca, a dormir en la enramada de su casa, o dormitar en el monte bajo los árboles. Cuando no es pastor, se levanta más tarde y hace también la siesta en las horas calurosas. Duerme con su vestido habitual, el guayuco, aflojando sólo un poco la faja de la cintura que lo sostiene para que disminuya su tirantez.

En las regiones de la Sierra, donde hace frío a la madrugada, los chinchorros se colocan cerca al hogar que se deja encendido o se enciende en la noche para evitar las bajas temperaturas y no se duerme fuera de la habitación, sino dentro. En ocasiones colocan sobre la hamaca un vellón de carnero o la piel de algún animal, o una manta, y a falta de esto, se levantan y se arriman al fuego para calentarse y luégo regresan al chinchorro y concilian el sueño hasta que el frío los obliga a repetir la operación.

* * *

El niño permanece desnudo hasta una edad variable, según los grupos. Así, en las regiones que están en contacto con el blanco, hacia los seis o siete años ya llevan un guayuco muy semejante al del adulto, sostenido por una faja de confección casera. No usan otro aditamento, a no ser que esporádicamente consigan otra prenda de vestir, generalmente de procedencia blanca, que lleva sobre sí hasta que se acaba. Cuando aparece el guayuco, y aún antes si tienen que pastorear, empiezan a usar guaireñas (sandalia guajira de confección doméstica), para defenderse del suelo arenoso y caliente. El sombrero lo usan muy rara y tardiamente y a veces es reemplazado por la *kitóu* (diadema), pero sin plumas, ya que éstas son privativas del adulto en los días de fiesta. Llevan, pues, generalmente, desnuda la cabeza y expuesta a los duros rayos solares. Casi hasta el período de transición de la niñez a la pubertad, aparece en los muchachos guajiros el uso de pequeñas bolsas tejidas de lana que sujetan a la cintura y que prestan los servicios

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de manubrio y dependiente de *cámaras* (en los adultos), pequeños objetos de uso personal, etc.

Los niños no usan collares. Unicamente, y con sentido de protección más que de adorno, cuando son pequeños, les colocan cuentas de azabache en las muñecas, manecitas de corozza de coco o de coral, algún pedazo de madera de valor medicinal para prevenir la gripa o algún objeto de valor mágico, artículos que dejan de usar hacia los cinco o seis años.

En la niña el período de desnudez completa es menor que en el niño, aunque hay regiones de la Península en que llega a ser mayor, debido a la pobreza de los parientes que no pueden suministrar vestidos a los niños hasta edad tardía, en relación con los demás. A la niña se le cubre con una prenda de vestir que viene a ser el guayuco masculino y que de adulta conserva como prenda interior, a manera de pantalón: es una faja de tela blanca o rayada, doble, colocada entre las piernas, sujeta en sus extremos a la cintura por el llamado *sirapo*, especie de cinturón ancho y pesado de cuentas de vidrio o chaquiras. El torso va desnudo hasta muy tarde. En la época pequeberal, cuando empieza a marcarse el desarrollo de las glándulas mamarias, se le pone una especie de blusa hecha con la técnica de los chinchorros (hileras horizontales anudadas transversalmente por algunos hilos), cuyo sentido es evitar que la niña, que ya empieza a iniciarse en los trabajos del tejido y permanece por lo mismo mucho tiempo agachada, se jibe; además, por pudor y porque esta blusa, muy adherida al cuerpo, facilita el desenvolvimiento adecuado de los senos. Como los niños, las muchachas llevan algunos adornos en las muñecas, preventivos mágicos, y no es raro que se les ponga algún collar con objetos mágicos que han sido "secreados", a fin de evitarles malas influencias; que ya tengan las orejas oradadas y ocasionalmente lleven orejeras, aunque este adorno es atributo de las adultas. No se cubren la cabeza y llevan el cabello generalmente corto, como si hubieran sido rapadas y el pelo estuviera en proceso avanzado de crecimiento. No obstante que este traje descrito es el usual, la niña actual lleva frecuentemente la manta adulta desde muy pequeña, en especial entre los mestizos de clase alta.

III

INICIACION DE LAS JOVENES

La vida de la niña hacia la edad prepuberal empieza a perder libertad en las clases altas, porque sus familiares maternas parece que entonces la toman en cuenta y tratan de ocuparla en actividades femeninas. En las clases bajas se muestra esta misma preocupación pero orientada en otro sentido, ya que su fuerza de trabajo se utiliza desde muy temprano en la vida familiar, pues, como lo dijimos, ven en ella a la futura adulta, por lo que la inhiben un poco en sus andanzas por el monte, aunque, también es cierto, le dispensan más interés que si las trataran como a niñas. Por otra parte, comienzan a usar las blusas, como lo describimos en el párrafo anterior, y está instruida convenientemente sobre el fenómeno biológico que se va a realizar en ella: la menstruación. Llegado el momento en que ésta se pone en evidencia, su primera actitud es dar cuenta a su madre, y en ausencia de ella, a su parienta más autorizada.

Inmediatamente aparece la regla, la cabeza de la muchacha es pelada a rape. A ella la colocan, desnuda, pero envuelta en una manta, dentro de un chinchorro que se cuelga cerca a la cumbrera en el interior de la casa, de manera que quede en posición de decúbito dorsal. Debajo del chinchorro se coloca una tela para que la niña no pueda ser vista desde abajo.

En esa posición, y tan inmóvil como le sea posible, permanece por cinco días (algunos dicen que tres solamente), sin comer nada, y cumpliendo con una serie de requisitos que tendrán luégo importancia en su vida adulta, por lo cual es necesario que los observe al pie de la letra y que en ellos tenga la vigilancia y el consejo de una parienta, generalmente una tía materna, que no se aparta de su lado ni de noche ni de día mientras está subida en lo alto, recordándole lo que debe hacer prohibiéndole ejecutar lo tabuizado para que no sufra las consecuencias en su vida futura.

Antes de ser puesta en el chinchorro, la mujer que se encarga de su cuidado le da una bebida vegetal para provocarle abundante vómito, a fin de que la niña arroje fuera con el alimento que tomó cuando aún no era adulta, todas las características psicológicas infantiles, tales como su carácter travieso y desobediente, su imaginación, su manera de pensar y de creer, su

[p. 51]

irresponsabilidad, su incapacidad para el trabajo y, además, todos aquellos humores corporales característicos de una niña. Fuera de este aspecto, la madre, una parienta o una amiga que tenga una cóntra amorosa de gran potencial, se la pone al cuello o si es de aplicación externa, se la unta en los órganos genitales, en los senos y en el cuerpo en general, de acuerdo con lo indicado, porque en este momento tiene efectividad y, sobre todo, porque es el instante propicio para adquirir sus virtudes de atracción al sexo opuesto, cualidades que habrá de tener en su vida adulta para lograr la felicidad conyugal, ya que para ello se está preparando.

Si estas dos prescripciones no se cumplen o se hacen defectuosamente, la niña, transformada en adulta, carecerá de juicio en sus hechos, lo que implicará para su familia serios disgustos, pues el no cumplimiento de las normas sociales atrae sobre el grupo las consecuencias de lo ilegal. Por lo demás, carecerá de responsabilidad y desempeñará mal su papel de hermana, de esposa y de madre, funciones para las cuales se va a preparar; y estos dos factores pesan demasiado en la vida de la mujer guajira como miembro de la sociedad. Las cóntras, debidamente aplicadas para que traspasen su virtud, le darán la felicidad marital: no se verá expuesta a los problemas de poligamia que implican desafecto y maltrato por parte del hombre que la compra como esposa; de este modo tendrá el ambicionado predominio sobre él y sobre las coesposas, que de hecho pasarán a plano secundario por la imposición de su voluntad.

Una vez dentro del chinchorro, no deberá moverse ni cambiar la posición inicial, porque se cree que al bajarse tendrá una pierna más larga que la otra. Tampoco podrá rascarse ninguna parte del cuerpo porque le dejará cicatrices visibles. Este aspecto es muy importante ya que el ceremonial del encierro transforma físicamente a la niña en mujer, ceñida en todo al canon de belleza de su grupo, aspecto que también pesará, como los anteriores, en su vida adulta. Además, hay que tener en cuenta que en la Guajira un defecto físico influye poderosamente en el individuo y mencionarlo equivale a una ofensa, que es motivo de resentimiento para el adulto, y acarrea consecuencias funestas al ofensor.

No debe tampoco la iniciada escupir en el suelo, porque se verá calumniada en su honra, tanto en su vida de soltera como de casada, pues de ella dirán, juzgando por apariencias o malévolamente y sin razón, que andaba con un hombre. Dirán que es una "cabeza-loca", apodo que dan a la mujer fácil y que provoca reacción desfavorable entre hombres y mujeres y tiene resonancia sobre sus legítimas aspiraciones al matrimonio.

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Mientras la niña permanece en el chinchorro van llegando amigos y parientes en gran cantidad, anunciados por los familiares, sobre todo cuando se trata de gente pudiente, y empiezan entonces los preparativos de la fiesta: preparación de bebidas y sacrificio de animales. Todos los consanguíneos dan su cuota y concurren a participar en el llamado baile de *chichamaya*, durante el cual se reparte abundante ron a los hombres, chicha a las mujeres y carne a todos los participantes. Los concurrentes van ataviados con sus mejores galas: los hombres con su ancha faja para fiestas, su manta de lujo, su *kiára* (corona) con penacho de plumas, y a falta de ella, sombrero emplumado. Las mujeres con mantas de colores vistosos, joyas abundantes, pañueleta muy larga que cae por atrás casi hasta el suelo, *guairrías* de grandes borlas y colores fuertes y, sobre todo, pintura facial, preferentemente roja, muy cuidadosamente aplicada. En estas ocasiones se baila la noche, la mañana y la tarde y en esta última parte del día pueden efectuarse, también, carreras de caballos en las que se cruzan apuestas de cuantía.

Pasados los días reglamentarios, durante los cuales no ha satisfecho ninguna necesidad corporal porque no ha tomado alimentos, según dicen, sus parientes descuelgan el chinchorro en las primeras horas de la madrugada y la muchacha baja desmayada por el hambre. La primera alimentación que recibe es una bebida de bija disuelta en agua. Luego, y poco a poco, mazamorra clara de maíz sin leche y sin sal, y más tardíamente, agregan a su dieta un poco de leche y carne. Ella no puede comer, por ejemplo, ubre de res, porque envejecería prematuramente y el rostro se vería surcado de profundas y numerosas arrugas, a semejanza de dicho alimento.

La muchacha es bañada con cuatro botijas de agua que se han dejado previamente al sereno, porque este hecho tiene la propiedad de transmitirle la cualidad de blanquear, aspecto muy importante por el aprecio que tanto el hombre como la mujer tienen por la tez clara; por eso, durante el período de encierro, la muchacha es bañada todas las mañanas con esta agua, por la mujer que se encarga de cuidarla. Algunas informaciones hablan de un segundo baño al atardecer, pero no encontramos la comprobación.

Después del descenso es encerrada en un cuarto apartado de la vivienda, cuyas paredes sean lo suficientemente densas para impedir que sea observada desde fuera; o más generalmente, en una habitación pequeña, comunicada con la casa por una abertura tan baja y estrecha que sólo se puede entrar en cuclillas y que está cubierta con una puerta de madera o con una tela, para que la adolescente no sea vista. Esta habitación es hecha o improvisada por los familiares de la muchacha que desde este momento

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no pueden volver a verla mientras dure el encierro. Durante todo este período es cuidada por una de sus parientas maternas que conoce a cabalidad toda la reglamentación de este tipo de pues, que dispongo de tiempo necesario para dedicarse a estas maternas, que goce de amplia consideración familiar y que reúna las cualidades ideales de mujer adulta, para que haga de la novicia algo semejante a ella. Es necesario, además, que conozca lo mejor posible el corpus cultural guajiro para que instruya en él a la iniciada, especialmente en los aspectos de matrimonio y maternidad. Por último, requiere habilidad en los trabajos domésticos y especialmente en los tejidos. Sin embargo, en estas cuestiones técnicas puede ser reemplazada o recibir ayuda de otras parientas cercanas en el entrenamiento de la novicia.

Esta mujer tiene sobre sí la responsabilidad de la dieta alimenticia y médica de la muchacha: debe prepararle los alimentos prescritos y llevárselos; cuidar de su higiene, proporcionándole un objeto para la satisfacción de sus necesidades corporales (un cajón de madera con un poco de arena) y exigir a su educanda que permanezca con la cabeza cubierta con un pañuelo para que el cabello que está en crecimiento salga bien negro y brillante, lo que reviste particular importancia dentro del concepto ideal de belleza femenina y, además, porque este cabello, como todo el organismo de la futura adulta, deberá ser totalmente nuevo, distinto del que tuviera cuando niña y que dejó atrás al sufrir la primera menstruación, así como todas y cada una de las modalidades psíquicas o físicas infantiles.

Una de las principales preocupaciones de la persona encargada del cuidado es la medicación de la novicia. Esta medicación incluye especialmente la toma diaria y repetida de infusiones o zumos de ciertas yerbas que tienen como objeto alcanzar perfeccionamientos relacionados con su vida futura. Una de estas medicinas es la yerba denominada *hawuji* que se consigue entre las yerbateras de las sierras de Jarara y de Macuira, quienes la muelen cuidadosamente y la reducen a una pasta que se endurece con el tiempo. De esta pasta se ralla diariamente una pequeña porción que se disuelve en agua y se administra a la muchacha antes de la primera comida, después del baño diario, a medio día y al anochecer. Tiene por finalidad dar a la mujer un aspecto somático diferente al infantil, pues mediante ella pierde sus líneas alargadas y define su sexo con el desarrollo de los senos, de las caderas y de la totalidad de las formas femeninas adultas, ciñéndose al canon de belleza física femenina: cuerpo alto de caderas amplias, senos desarrollados, erectos, consistentes, y curvas pronunciadas, pero de carnes duras. Esta yerba, según la creencia, proporciona grasa en las partes adecuadas del cuerpo.

Otro de los cuidados médicos se dirige a evitar la aparición de la menstruación durante todo el período de encierro. Si ello está bien cuidado, dice la guajira, la regla no aparece; de lo contrario, se manifiesta. Para lograrlo recurre a los conocimientos empíricos y tradicionales que tiene de las plantas y le da una serie de zumos y pociones para evitar la menstruación. Dicen las mujeres que estas medicinas tienen consecuencias sobre la vida matrimonial, pues la mujer bien cuidada en el encierro, tendrá partos fáciles, embarazos normales, los hijos serán sanos y su crianza normal y, esencialmente, ella no se verá acosada por una maternidad demasiado frecuente, pues todos estos remedios, en el fondo, buscan evitarle a la mujer estos efectos, llegándose, en el caso de las muchachas muy pobres, a buscar la esterilización o por lo menos una fecundidad muy limitada, porque ellas y sus descendientes están prácticamente en manos de los fuertes que hacen presa fácil de sus hijos y sobrinos con la aplicación arbitraria y exagerada de las instituciones legales.

Aunque la niña se interne en la Misión Capuchina y por lo mismo carezca de esta iniciación en su hogar; aunque sus padres, influídos por los misioneros opten por suprimir esta costumbre o estén impedidos económicamente para hacerla, ella no olvida —y sus compañeras la secundan— tomar las medicinas prescritas aunque no se someta al régimen de encerramiento. Durante un largo período de tiempo —que es su propia valoración del noviciado—, toma todas las mañanas zumo de yerbas que conoce o que le son proporcionadas, para evitar la menstruación y lograr los objetivos arriba mencionados. (Para aclarar mejor el sentido de maternidad en la iniciación de las jóvenes, remitimos al lector al aparte *Muerte del Primogénito*, Cap. I, pp. 9 y ss.)

El aspecto económico que debe enseñársele y que ahora tiene papel importantísimo por el perfeccionamiento y adquisición de nuevas técnicas, es el de los tejidos. La mujer perfecciona en su encierro los conocimientos adquiridos en la edad preparatoria. Y tiene tanta importancia, que en los casos en que ella es raptada y sus parientes maternos proceden al cobro, el raptor puede negarse a comprarla alegando que no sabe tejer. Por otra parte, de los tejidos deriva la mujer ingresos para el sostenimiento del hogar, que corre por su cuenta. Además, ella debe suministrar a los suyos, incluyendo a su marido, los guayucos, pellones y demás tejidos necesarios.

También debe adquirir el dominio de la vida doméstica: la hechura de platos especiales y de uso corriente; las normas de hospitalidad con sus amigos, las de su marido y con él especialmente; lo que en su vida marital le está permitido; las consecuencias de su conducta en la vida matrimonial.

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las problemas de la poligamia y la forma de afrontarlos; su papel como administradora del hogar; la vida propiamente femenina: el acto sexual, conceptos de fecundación, embarazo, prohibiciones de este estado, normas legales que debe cumplir el marido, alumbramiento, dieta, etc.; su papel en la vida familiar como intermediaria reguladora de las relaciones entre los suyos por una parte y el marido y los familiares por otra, sus compromisos y los hijos de éstas si llevan una vida común, etc. Aprende, además, el pasado del grupo con todos sus personajes y sus hechos, su situación económica, su posición familiar, etc., que le permiten identificarse con ellos y adquirir la vinculación afectiva que el lazo consanguíneo impone.

Condición especial durante el encierro es el aislamiento de la muchacha de los miembros masculinos de la casa y de los que pudieran venir de visita. A ella le está prohibido verlos y ser visitada por ellos. Ningún hombre puede entrar a su habitación, de manera que sería redundante decir que le está prohibida cualquier relación sexual. Tanto es así, que ha ocurrido (en las zonas de menos contacto con el blanco, donde el indígena pobre está a merced de los abusos del rico), que las muchachas durante su encierro han sido violadas por un indio poderoso y sus padres han dado por terminado el encierro y hecho pagar, si para ello están respaldados, el abuso cometido y no el embarazo posible, porque no creen que éste aparezca si la muchacha ha sido cuidada debidamente. Si algún hombre entra en su aposento, ella debe ocultarse y no mirarlo.

Por último, debe observar la costumbre de hablar poco con la persona que la cuida y con las visitas y charlar poco y no reír estrepitosamente.

El tiempo de encierro se prolongaba hace algunos años, más que en la actualidad, y todavía pueden encontrarse casos en las familias ricas, en que este período alcanza cinco años; pero normalmente, entre las familias pobres, sólo perdura un mes y aún menos y en las de clase económica media, de seis meses a un año.

Una vez que la familia reunida o la madre y las tías dan por terminado el encierro, viene la fiesta final, en la que la muchacha aparece y actúa como adulta, se la presenta como tal y se le da oportunidad para ocupar el sitio y la actividad correspondientes a una muchacha casadera. Frecuentemente ocurre en esta fiesta que algún concurrente interesado la solicite en compra para esposa.

La noticia de la salida de la muchacha se propaga rápidamente por toda la Península. A la fiesta concurren todos los amigos de la familia, las personas importantes de la región, invitadas de antemano, y, muy especialmente, todos los hombres ricos casaderos; si la mujer es de categoría, sus-

tan las que quieren adquirir esposa por primera vez. Los preparativos familiares para tal fiesta son muy completos, de acuerdo con su status: hay abundancia de bebidas para todos, hombres y mujeres, música para el baile, carreras de caballos cuando se quiere dar más boato al acontecimiento, y sacrificio de animales. Los familiares maternos dan su aporte y concurren para ayudar a sus parientes en el cumplimiento de las acostumbradas normas de hospitalidad. Los visitantes más importantes son recibidos en la casa misma y atendidos preferentemente, demostrándoles una deferencia acorde con su categoría. A la muchacha la bañan por última vez al amanecer con las tradicionales botijas de agua y le cortan el cabello a la moda, es decir, dejándole una melena corta; esta operación la hace una mujer juiciosa y de prestancia para que le transmita esas cualidades personales. La festejada guarda su cabello cuidadosamente dentro de la mochila de sus objetos personales íntimos y posteriormente lo coloca debajo de un estiércol fresco de vaca con el objeto de que pueda ser comprada pronto y con cabezas de ganado vacuno. Esto significa que su valor será alto, como corresponde a mujer de categoría. Tiene además muchas precauciones para evitar que su cabello vaya a manos extrañas, porque se cree que puede ser utilizado por un hombre que quiera hacerle daño fabricando con él una *cómira* mágica que tiene la virtud de enamorarla de él, que a su turno le desprecia y abusa de ella, pues queda sometida a su voluntad.

Después del corte del cabello es vestida con todas las prendas tradicionales de la mujer adulta y engalanada con las joyas y los adornos acostumbrados, de acuerdo con su rango familiar. Estas joyas las recibe de manos de su madre, de sus tías maternas y de su abuela y se las coloca la persona encargada de cuidarla o una parienta rica, a fin de que nunca le falten. Luégo se le aplica la pintura facial, también por primera vez, que por estar en fiesta, debe ser hecha con bija roja. Entonces hace su aparición en la fiesta y puede bailar y ser pretendida. En este momento, crucial para su vida, debe dar muestras de su capacidad de adulta, evidenciando el valor de los años de noviciado, no sólo en el aspecto físico de su cutis claro y su cabello oscuro, en sus formas físicas maduras, en el traje y los adornos, sino también en el cumplimiento cabal de las pautas culturales. La fiesta se prolonga tanto como los familiares puedan o consideren acorde con su categoría. Después de ella, la mujer, apta ya para el matrimonio y la maternidad, empieza a cumplir con las pautas establecidas en su cultura para la mujer adulta.

Resumiendo, podemos decir que la iniciación de las jóvenes tiene las siguientes características:

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1º Tiene el significado de un nuevo nacimiento, precedido de un proceso de transformación psico-física que convierte a la niña en mujer adulta;

2º Es un sistema de preparación para la vida social adulta, en el sentido de la adquisición del conocimiento de los puntos culturales correspondientes;

3º Representa un período de aprendizaje, durante el cual va a adquirir el dominio de las técnicas generales de la cultura y de las particulares adscritas a su familia;

4º Por el conocimiento conseguido del pasado del grupo familiar consanguíneo, se identifica la iniciada con él, dando origen a la reafirmación de los nexos de vinculación, como miembro adulto participante de él;

5º Es un período de preparación para el cabal cumplimiento de la función físico-social de la maternidad;

6º Por último, constituye una verdadera iniciación de las funciones biológicas y sociales de la mujer para el buen desempeño de su papel como esposa.

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IV

PREMATRIMONIALES

Independencia del hombre.—En la organización familiar guajira, el hombre ocupa una situación de suyo privilegiada que se manifiesta desde su niñez. El padre, como ya lo hemos visto, dotez que su primogénito sea varón y la familia materna también lo acepta complacida porque son los descentes varoniles los que refuerzan y dan nombre a la familia, los que la defienden en luchas con los otros grupos y los que pueden sacar adelante al grupo como factor económico preponderante.

Por estas razones los niños guajiros se crían con más libertad y privilegios que las niñas. En la ausencia del padre, el hijo mayor, o en todo caso el hijo varón, lo reemplaza en los actos trascendentales de la casa, siendo consultado por la madre, quien respeta su opinión y ocupa su puesto y su situación de privilegio en las comidas.

Es hacia los quince años cuando se marca el comienzo de la edad varonil adulta y con ello el niño se va desligando de la tutela familiar, expresando su voluntad y tomando decisiones por su cuenta. Esta independencia está ligada, como también lo vimos ya, a la entrega definitiva de sus animales, pues ya domina el arte de la ganadería al cual se acostumbró desde los primeros años, y está ligada también al trabajo agrícola por su cuenta, pudiendo abrir nuevas tierras cuando las tradicionales escasean por superficiés escasiva o por acaparamiento.

Sin embargo, aunque su independencia ha aumentado y los familiares se consideran con derecho a pedirle cuenta de sus actos y obligarlo a asumir determinada actitud, porque debe estar siempre su conducta a los nombres familiares. A los diez y seis años, el mismo desarrollo físico afirma sus deseos de independencia y a los diez y siete y seis años, acentúa los rasgos varoniles para dar la sensación de que es hombre en todo el sentido de la palabra, y se convierte en una caricatura de tal: bebe estrepitosamente en las reuniones; alterna con los mayores expresando sus opiniones en alta voz y deja oír sus comentarios alardeantes y jactanciosos; exagera los hechos en que ha tomado parte; se sitúa en posiciones extremas frente a determinadas situaciones; se expone aparatosamente ante el peligro, tra-

[illegible] de convertirse a los preceptos de un candidato varonil adulto. Al principio se le educa a capacitarse en los conocimientos de hombre, pero esta educación se va transformando en una capacitación que llega a ser completa a medida que la personalidad se va diferenciando definitivamente y el muchacho se convierte en fuerza productiva real, hasta adquirir una posición clara y definitiva dentro del grupo familiar y social.

Esta posición de equilibrio no se alcanza hasta los veinte años y se mantiene como hasta los veinticinco, por condiciones generales. Y como todos estos artículos varoniles consisten que el muchacho adopte para fijar su status de hombre adulto dentro del grupo, es así que el cumplimiento al que le da definitivamente su status de ciudadano, si así podemos decir, pues él comprende en ello el hecho biológico de conquista de edad física con su consecuencia legal, sino que engloba un importante aspecto social ya que el genjiro que contraía matrimonio, si es cierto que dentro de edad con capacidad de libertad, debe, por su parte, devolver su compromiso y obligatoriedad a la sociedad algo de lo que por ella posee; es decir, que su personalidad se diferencia definitivamente, se le considera miembro con la plenitud de los derechos, pero con la obligación de cumplir la totalidad de los deberes que hasta entonces se le habían distribuido de acuerdo con su edad.

Y es que para contraer matrimonio el hombre debe tener una serie de requisitos varoniles o legales adquiridos anteriormente, que le fueron a contraer compromisos a largo plazo con todos sus parientes y con la sociedad en general, compromisos que contrae el libre ejercicio durante su la juventud y le van haciendo depender solo y solo de su familia y del grupo. Si los medios que utilizaba ayuda para pagar a su mujer, por ejemplo, adquiere por ello compromisos legales con todos los parientes y amigos que la apoyaron, obligaciones que no terminan en toda su vida. Al casarse, por otra parte, si hizo su cierto que se le considera como elemento hábil, capaz de sobrevivir económicamente por sí solo, la observación que el padre le hace al entregarle sus gananciales le indica que aunque también apoya en la familia, deberá recurrir a todas sus fuerzas para atender a su matrimonio y a sus deberes ciudadanos: "Ya eres casado y tienes obligación de hacer tu casa; ya tienes que ser otro desde ahora; no puedes holgazanear, sino que debes cuidar concienzudamente de tus animales y las de tu esposa y administrar todo lo que ella tiene. Debes poner la cosecha para la siembra, para ayudar a mantener a tu mujer y a tus hijos. Debes ser un hombre y no un holgazán, ya que te casaste".

El hombre casado se coloca de una nueva célula y esto implica compromisos familiares y sociales. A ella debe responder como jefe, so pelígro de que su prestigio se resienta y su posición se rebaje. Al variar las bases esta posición se hace más y más amplia, pues los deberes y derechos se van conjugando y acumulando, ya que se agregan a sus obligaciones de soltero las de padre. Y se complica más aún al contraer matrimonio con nueva mujeres, pues aumenta la llegada, según la mentalidad guajira, al máximo desenvolvimiento de su personalidad masculina.

Valoración de la virginidad y de la mujer.—El valor de la mujer guajira está fijado por el pago, es decir, que éste es la traducción económica de aquél. Las condiciones de tal valoración, tradicionales para las clases altas, ya que las bajas las han perdido por condiciones socio-económicas que sólo llegan a influir en las de clase campesina, pueden resumirse así:

Las condiciones físicas que hacen apreciable una mujer guajira, son las que se ajustan a la norma estética tradicional y son las que la mujer después del nacimiento (Cf. *Iniciación de las jóvenes*), se empeña en adquirir a todo costo: alta estatura, compensada por cuerpo bien dispuesto que le haga aparecer esbelta y de cuerpo liso para que, al caminar, sostenido con su amplio traje, ofrezca una apariencia elegante y majestuosa; cabeza redonda y voluminosa (quizás con una finalidad biológica inconsciente, con un fin sexual, o una conjugación de ambos); manos pequeñas y suaves, pues lo contrario se considerado casi repulsivo; y, sobre todo, cuerpo duro. Esta última es quizás la cualidad más apreciada, pues el hombre confiesa abiertamente que cuando su mujer le pisada con los ojos, la sopesaba por otra que le pesa. La forma de los pómulos no tiene importancia, talvez porque son el traje amplio y largo pueden desaparecidos. En general son delgados en relación con el cuerpo y con frecuencia cuarenta.

La mujer trata de conservar estas cualidades, pues no ignora que constituyen el centro de atracción del hombre y que la potencialidad ha va disminuyendo. Puede ser ésta una de las causas de la frecuencia creciente de la masculinidad, para la cual causas pueden que no las dejan concebir, abortivos de todo género, y que reducen el consiguiente de sus épocas de fecundidad, colocando el tanto [illegible] en el centro del tiempo.

La [illegible] del centro no tienen gran importancia, siempre que se conserven a las normas anteriormente dichas. Prefieren un centro de ojos grandes y oscuros y dientes nuevos y hermosos. También les tiene especialmente la blancura del cutis, indicio de congénito, porque se sienten de que la mujer pueda cuidarse mejor de los soles de la región. Durante el

encierro, la muchacha no se expone a la luz del sol, y su mayor orgullo es que su piel haya blanqueado. Todas las mañanas se baña con agua dejada previamente al sereno que, fuera de producir efectos mágicos, tiene la propiedad de blanquear el cutis, y siempre que va de visita, cubre su cara con pinturas faciales —normas de etiqueta—, que la favorecen de la acción de los rayos solares. Durante su encierro cumple también la muchacha otras prácticas con fines estéticos y mágicos, tales como privarse de comer ciertas carnes como la de venado o la ubre de res, ya que esta última, por ejemplo, la ajaría rápidamente y perdería parte de su atractivo físico.

La mujer no ignora que su futuro matrimonial está condicionado en gran parte por la conservación de un físico agradable y que si el hombre no se siente satisfecho, la relega a un segundo plano y adquiere una nueva mujer. Por eso su lucha permanente por aprovechar todos los recursos para reconquistar a su marido o para retenerlo y evitar que adquiera más mujeres y es ésta la razón por la cual la madre le coloca en el momento de subirla al chinchorro durante la iniciación, la cóntra amorosa que tiene la propiedad de atraer a los hombres y de la cual hablamos en el capítulo anterior.

La guajira sabe, además, que el hombre admira su traje y procura adaptarlo a este gusto: mantas de colores claros y vistosos, amplias, considerablemente adornadas (transculturación), y, para los días de fiesta o de visita, todo el conjunto de adornos en joyas: ajorcas, brazaletes, collares de varias vueltas o gruesas cadenas con su pendiente, numerosos anillos de grandes piedras, especialmente tumas, joyas que recibe al salir del encierro de manos de la parienta materna de más juicio y mayor alcurnia. Desde entonces empieza a llevarlas, en menor número cuando está en casa, y en su totalidad cuando hay fiesta o sale de visita. En Jarara es distintivo de alta categoría el uso de orejeras, porque en esta región las mujeres, que son poco cuidadosas de su indumentaria, conservan este adorno que es índice de su posición social y económica.

Así, pues, el conjunto del traje y del físico, marcan dos condiciones esenciales en la atracción de la mujer guajira, que determinan su éxito para ser comprada a buen precio o para que su marido no se aleje de ella a raíz de nuevos matrimonios. La conservación de sus atractivos físicos es lucha que ella cumple con estos dos sentidos; y el vestirse bien, fuera de la atracción, es signo de la categoría a que pertenece y la cual debe conservar a expensas de cualquier sacrificio, porque en ello va el prestigio de los suyos y el mantenimiento de su status.

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Fuera del incentivo sexual expresado en los párrafos anteriores, el guajiro busca en su matrimonio un valor económico, es decir, una mujer que posea capacidades que le aseguren cierta holgura. El pago que hace por la esposa le permite exigir de ella su sostenimiento y el de sus hijos, y por ello busca una capaz de cumplir por sí sola con esta costumbre.

Los trabajos que la mujer puede hacer para sobrellevar esta carga económica son de tipo doméstico: hechura de chinchorros, hamacas, mochilas, fajas, cerámica, arneses para bestias y, cuando vive en grupos civilizados, oficios domésticos en las casas de blancos y mestizos, acarreo de agua y parte de los trabajos agrícolas en las zonas que, como Nazaret, hacen posible la agricultura en las riberas de los arroyos, lo mismo que en las regiones de agricultura temporaria. En lugares como Carrizal y Bahiahonda, recolección de dividivi; y en las salinas, trabajos secundarios para recibir un pago o simplemente como ayuda a su marido.

Es tan decisivo este aspecto en el matrimonio guajiro, que cuando un hombre se rapta una mujer y quiere decidirse entre si la compra o paga el abuso, le consigue hilazas o algodón y le exige que haga un chinchorro o una faja, y si la mujer no es capaz, la rechaza, pues considera que no debe pagar por ella un precio tan alto como el que le exigen. Y es que el hecho de que la mujer sea una unidad económica independiente con sus hijos, permite al marido dedicarse por entero a sus ocupaciones pastoriles, concurrir a las reuniones masculinas, a las diversas fiestas, participar en el trabajo comunal cuando es solicitado, asistir a las expediciones de caza durante semanas enteras, sin preocuparse por el hogar, concurrir a reforzar su grupo durante las guerras, andar errante de un lugar a otro donde están sus otras mujeres, en las que encuentra apoyo económico; vivir su vida despreocupada, aunque en la actualidad, por condiciones de diversa índole, se ha visto obligado a cambiarla, tomando parte más activa en la vida económica, por la necesidad de migrar o de trabajar en los centros urbanos. Esto no quiere decir que se haya visto precisado a prestar su ayuda más directa al hogar: él sigue la forma tradicional en que su ayuda es esporádica y totalmente voluntaria, dejando al cuidado de la mujer el sostenimiento de la casa y de su persona; sólo que ahora, cuando recibe un jornal por su trabajo, bebe más y pasa más tiempo entregado al ocio, mientras gasta lo ganado.

El indio valora también a las familiares de su futura mujer, pues si ella tiene parientes ricos y la paga bien, éstos se verían obligados a suministrarle a ella y a sus hijos recursos para vivir, liberándolo a él de una carga que le costaría su libertad.

Casarse con una mujer de grupo económicamente fuerte, tiene la ventaja de que ella aportará al matrimonio una dote adecuada a su precio, dote que el futuro marido administrará; y también una serie de donativos que los familiares de su mujer hagan a sus hijos; y, lo que acrecentará su prestigio, el número de joyas, vestidos, etc., que ella lleve consigo y luzca debidamente. Por otra parte, aunque contraer matrimonio con una de estas mujeres, implica un fuerte desembolso inmediato, a largo plazo recibe la indemnización correspondiente con el pago de la primera hija que sea comprada, que corresponde en su totalidad al padre.

Tampoco descuida el hombre el valor social de la mujer, sobre todo en su primer matrimonio, que es el que lo representa. En esta compra, tanto él y sus familiares, como los parientes de la muchacha, tratan de conciliar una alianza que refuerce dos familias poderosas o estreche los vínculos entre ellas, lo que los lleva en muchos casos a no tomar en cuenta la voluntad de la novia (no tanto en la actualidad), disponiendo los mayores libremente, a fin de obtener la ventaja de un pago alto, la vinculación con un grupo temido, alejando así la preocupación y reforzando la amistad, y exponiéndose también a que la mujer se suicide. Este mismo hecho es el que permite el rapto de la mujer, que no lo es en el sentido lato de la palabra, sino más bien una aquiescencia de los familiares de la mujer que ven con buenos ojos estas relaciones y tienen confianza en el cumplimiento del pago por parte del hombre. Es un hecho en el que se pone de manifiesto la buena fé de los familiares de la rama femenina, a la cual debe corresponder el hombre con un pago inmediato y óptimo, si no quiere echar una grave mancha sobre su prestigio de hombre solvente y cumplidor de la legislación guajira. Así se prueban, sin querer, los sentimientos de los dos grupos que se vinculan: en la confianza del uno, y en la solvencia y buena fe del otro. Es una prueba de amistad, en la que ambos ponen de manifiesto el deseo de superación.

Dentro de la valoración social de la mujer figura, además, el conocimiento del idioma, pues ello significa en guajiro que ella tiene *palabra* (Cf. *Caciques*); es decir, que conoce el idioma ampliamente y sabe usarlo adecuadamente en situaciones delicadas en que es necesario poner en juego toda la destreza oratoria, y saber medir las palabras y las fórmulas acostumbradas para tener éxito o conducir la discusión a un terreno donde los hechos tomen la vía de lo legal. La mujer puede servir de mediadora en un conflicto cuando posee estas cualidades, y de sus resultados favorables para su representado, depende su engrandecimiento personal, con lo que adquiere prestigio y es llamada a mediar en asuntos más complicados, au-

mantenido con ello su posición personal y la de su grupo, convirtiendo a otros clanes en satélites sumisos a su voluntad, como pago a los beneficios recibidos y obteniendo así mayor poder, que trasciende indirectamente a su marido. Esta adquisición, es uno de los motivos de alarde personal y orgullo del hombre.

De la condición de *tener palabra* se desprenden una serie de secuencias que cimentan el aspecto social de un hogar. Una mujer que posee tal cualidad, conoce el protocolo social guajiro y puede cumplirlo acertadamente, evitando cualquier conflicto con los demás grupos; conoce, además, el conjunto legal de la península y con ello defiende a su grupo familiar, incluyendo al marido, pues ciñe su conducta a lo establecido, lo que hace al hombre más llevaderas su vida y sus relaciones con los familiares femeninos. Ella hace posible el encaje de estos dos elementos tan disociados, y constituye el vínculo de unión entre los dos; aumenta el prestigio masculino, porque en el cumplimiento de los deberes de dueña de casa y de representante del hogar, sabe, mediante atenciones acertadas, (conversación amena, preparación de comidas ceñidas a las normas tradicionales, hospitalidad adecuada a la categoría del huésped, etc.), ganarse el aprecio, la consideración y el respeto de los demás.

De otro lado, como la conservación del prestigio reside parcialmente en la mujer, el conocimiento de la vida psíquica y legal del medio donde se desenvuelve, le permite una acción acertada y sin tropiezos. Guardará la debida solemnidad en el cumplimiento de los actos trascendentales de la vida, como son: el encierro de las púberes, el matrimonio, la enfermedad, etc., afirmando así su status. Además, gobierna más acertadamente su familia y se constituirá en el guardián de la tradición, acatada por el guajiro y en la cual reside la fortaleza de su cultura.

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El precio que el hombre guajiro da por su mujer, incluye varias condiciones, dentro de las cuales está supuesta la virginidad, pues espera que su mujer sea virgen al llegar al matrimonio, toda vez que ello trasciende en su vida psíquica y se sentiría defraudado si ella no lo fuera, tanto más si el status de la novia es alto y más aún si va a ser la primera esposa.

El hombre considera varios aspectos en la virginidad: primero, encuentra atractivo especial en la mujer virgen, por la satisfacción del desfloramiento que, aparte del atractivo sexual, le proporciona en el futuro un motivo de jactancia y de prestigio, una muestra de hombre afortunado

que le llena de orgullo y lo hace sentirse superior; segundo, en el aspecto económico, porque ha pagado lo exigido, convencido de que su mujer es un bien que le pertenece íntegra y exclusivamente; tercero, porque cree que si una mujer se ha entregado a otro, a escondidas, es porque la ligó a él un gran afecto o porque ella es una "cabeza loca", según la expresión guajira, dos aspectos que él no puede aceptar: el primero porque considera que habiendo pagado su mujer, debe pertenecerle desde el pasado y la presencia de un elemento extraño es como un fraude a su pago; el segundo, porque teme que este hecho se repita en el futuro y la fidelidad conyugal se haga incierta cuando él desempeña sus funciones de pastor nómade. Esta duda llega a volverse obsesionante y siembra de dificultades las relaciones matrimoniales porque la inquietud del hombre estalla en el mejor de los momentos por cualquier motivo que encienda la pasión de los celos. Siempre está celoso de alguien y rodea la vida de preguntas permanentes, sospechas, precauciones y celadas, a fin de llegar a saber quién fue su antecesor, nombre que la mujer oculta con el mismo empeño que él demuestra en saberlo. Esta duda alcanza a sus hijos, pues el hombre no tiene la seguridad de la paternidad. Espía el menor detalle de su mujer en el comportamiento con los hombres que conoce, para saber si a uno de ellos corresponde la paternidad; observa minuciosamente los rasgos físicos de su hijo, sus gestos, las manifestaciones anímicas, para ver si encuentra parecido con alguno que conoce, consultando además la opinión de los demás para encontrar la tranquilidad que interiormente anhela.

Si el hombre comprueba que la mujer perteneció sucesivamente a varios hombres, pide la devolución del pago o la abandona, después de humillarla para resarcirse de su sufrimiento interior.

Generalmente, el hombre al comprobar la no doncellez de la mujer que ha comprado, presenta el cobro inmediato a sus familiares. Da cuenta inicialmente a su padre (entre los mestizos) o al tío materno más prestante. El cobro exige la devolución inmediata de la mitad de los bienes dados en pago de la mujer, valorando en esta cantidad el fraude que se le ha hecho en su espíritu y en su economía y dejando el resto como derecho por la convivencia posterior con ella. Con esta devolución el hombre se siente satisfecho, pues el precio incluía, tácitamente, la virginidad. Si los familiares de la mujer no manejan esta situación con prudencia, pueden sobrevenir represalias y guerras entre los dos grupos. También reclama el hombre en tales casos el collar que dio a la mujer en señal de compromiso, el día en que se concertó el matrimonio. Pero no lo hace con sentido económico, sino para hacer sufrir a la mujer una parte de la humillación que

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el hombre sintió al conocer el engaño. Por otra parte, como el collar es signo de compromiso, al pedir su restitución se aparenta un rompimiento aunque de hecho la mujer sigue atada al hombre con las obligaciones matrimoniales.

A veces el hombre sigue otra norma de conducta, sobre todo en la actualidad, cuando el hecho se presenta con mayor frecuencia y los cobros por este aspecto van perdiendo importancia: asume por sí mismo el castigo del engaño: inquiere rudamente a la mujer, diciéndole: "¿Por qué tú no eres señorita, si yo te compré creyendo que lo eras? ¿Por qué no cuentas quién te poseyó antes de mí?" Pasa de los insultos a los hechos y golpea a su mujer que, viendo su situación de inferioridad, no se atreve a protestar.

Es posible que el indígena no pase inicialmente más allá de insultar en privado a la mujer, pero bajo la influencia del alcohol esta situación anímica trasciende al exterior y es entonces cuando delante de sus amigos da cuenta de su problema y se lamenta. No contento con esto, hace canciones alusivas al tema, que contienen comentarios injuriosos y las canta a su mujer en unión de sus amigos, para rebajarla ante ellos y obtener una satisfacción de lo que él personalmente sufre. En este estado de beodez, no es raro que golpee a su mujer, escudándose en el hecho de que como no ha obtenido la devolución de una parte del pago, sus familiares difícilmente pueden protestar.

Muchas veces, con el tiempo este hecho se va olvidando y solamente surge o se manifiesta en determinados momentos en que se revive fuertemente todo el pasado con su contenido emotivo, por una desobediencia de la mujer, un gesto áspero o una mala respuesta. En ocasiones, la situación se arregla por abandono de la mujer.

Si la mujer da a conocer el nombre del varón que la poseyó inicialmente, o si se conoce de algún modo, el marido le presenta cobro por abuso, puesto que usufructuó, sin pagar, algo que le pertenecía a él de hecho y de derecho por la compra.

La valoración económica de la virginidad se puede comprobar en el hecho de que una viuda que se niegue a tener vida marital con los sobrinos maternos de su esposo, según lo establecido, debe pagar una cantidad igual a la que pagó por ella el marido, menos un descuento por no ser ya virgen. Además, cuando una mujer ha cometido adulterio, hay que resarcir al marido por la ofensa recibida y se paga entonces una cantidad menor a la de la compra de la mujer, pues se descuenta el valor de la virginidad que se supone existía en el momento del matrimonio.

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La mujer guajira que no es doncella y va a ser comprada, prefiere, generalmente, en consideración a las consecuencias, referir a su futuro marido la verdad de los hechos. Le dice: "Te advierto que no soy señorita, y si de verdad me quieres, me tienes que comprar así. Te lo digo de antemano para que lo pienses y no me lo encuentres después, ya que no te he engañado". La mujer hace esta confesión forzada por los hechos que posteriormente pueden ocurrir al conocerse su mentira. Sin embargo, pasa por un duro período de duda, pues ante ella se ofrece este dilema: o decirlo y exponerse a que el hombre que iba a comprarla se retire desilusionado o instigado por el deseo de saber cuál fue el que tal cosa hizo, si ella le será fiel en su vida matrimonial, exponiéndose, además, a que el hombre refiera su "secreto" en un día de borrachera, con lo cual cundiría su desprestigio entre todos y nadie querría comprarla como esposa, o no referirlo y afrontar las consecuencias. No obstante, ocurre que el hombre soporta la situación de manera diferente. Dice: "Lo pasado no me importa. ¿Acaso él te cortó el órgano?" De esta manera la mujer llega tranquila al matrimonio y el marido, enterado del hecho, no hace reclamos posteriores, pudiendo ocurrir sí que el precio de compra sea menor, aunque no es esto lo general, pues el hombre, como pago a la confesión de la mujer, muestra una actitud generosa.

En los casos en que la mujer que va a ser comprada, ha recibido pago por abuso, el hombre toma en cuenta la intervención familiar materna que ha hecho respetar con su actitud los elementos femeninos del clan, lo que prueba que es un grupo familiar que hace cumplir las leyes y, por tanto, dispone de suficientes prestigio y elementos varoniles que lo refuercen y un grupo que velará, mediante el pago que él dé, por la seguridad y estabilidad de su matrimonio. Además, el conocimiento de cada uno de los detalles ocurridos (violación o matrimonio frustrado por no cumplimiento del segundo pago), es un paliativo adecuado que excusa ante la mentalidad del indígena el hecho cumplido, que ya no constituye un engaño ni una estafa económica o moral.

Cuando a consecuencia de las relaciones prematrimoniales ha habido embarazo, el causante debe pagar, fuera del abuso, el parto, de acuerdo con la tradición guajira: un número de animales a la madre o a los familiares inmediatos, por las molestias del embarazo y por el hecho mismo del alumbramiento, que incluye el dolor sufrido y la sangre derramada. Si esta mujer llega a ser comprada, se descuenta del pago una cantidad que tácitamente significa el precio de la virginidad, ya pagada en la suma dada por el abuso. Puede, sin embargo, ocurrir, y en efecto ocurre, que el hombre

no valore esto pasado, cuando tiene especial cariño o siente gran atracción por la mujer, caso en el cual paga lo exigido, sin el descuento mencionado.

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La doncellez de la mujer soltera se va haciendo muy rara en la Guajira. Las relaciones prematrimoniales han ido alcanzando mayor frecuencia en los últimos años como consecuencia de la desintegración social de este grupo indígena, provocada por múltiples razones, entre las que se pueden destacar: la influencia de los llamados grupos blancos, entre los cuales la unión libre es moneda corriente; la emigración a regiones como Venezuela, donde se liberan las indias de las normas de sus antepasados y encuentran un medio que no se resiente por las aventuras sexuales de la mujer, sino que más bien las estimula; la escasez y el hambre en ciertas regiones, que empujan a los habitantes a los centros urbanos de la Península, donde la mujer se entrega a cambio de la satisfacción de sus necesidades vitales de alimento y vestido, actitud que sus familiares respetan y toleran porque indirectamente los alivia también a ellos. Estas relaciones prematrimoniales forzadas por las circunstancias o favorecidas por ellas, son las que han ido creando una categoría social de mujer que no existía ni cabe dentro de su organización social: la prostituta. Hay que hacer la anotación de que es la mestiza (mezcla de indio con blanco o con negro), la que más fácilmente toma este camino.

También hay que contar con las prematuras relaciones prematrimoniales que han existido siempre en la Guajira y que tienen lugar hacia los diez o más años entre las niñas y sus hermanos y aún sus padres, cuando ellas van a las sementeras o al campo en general y se encuentran con los muchachos que se dedican al pastoreo. (Cf. Cap. II).

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El tipo común de relaciones sexuales furtivas de la mujer adulta, la hace descender en la consideración social y aún en la del hombre particularmente, produciéndose indirectamente el fenómeno de que la virginidad, como base matrimonial, se supervalora. Antes fue un hecho que se esperó lógica y necesariamente como realidad, y su falta creó problemas sociales y psíquicos. Hoy tiene menos repercusión y los mismos fenómenos que acarrea en la sociedad y en el individuo, se han ido debilitando. Pero, por contraste, es objeto de mayor búsqueda y el hombre que obtiene el

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éxito de encontrar una esposa virgen, lo propone como motivo individual de prestigio. Por otra parte, el hombre se lamenta cada vez menos cuando su mujer no ha ido doncella al chinchorro nupcial, y la hace objeto sólo de canciones satíricas cuando está borracho. Es decir, toma el asunto más despreocupadamente, dándole el carácter de un hecho cumplido y casi esperado.

Violación y Estupro.—El pago por abuso es aquél que el guajiro debe hacer por las relaciones sexuales ilícitas con una mujer soltera, como resarcimiento material de lo usufructuado sin derecho y para devolver a la mujer su posición de soltera respetada con posibilidades a que otro hombre la codicie y compre para sí, sin que el antecedente del abuso pese como una deshonra sobre su pasado, ni tenga resonancia en el futuro. Es, además, el resarcimiento a los familiares maternos de la mujer por la ofensa material y moral de la violación de un derecho. Ellos reciben este pago porque, de no hacerlo, rebajarían a su parienta y con ella a toda la familia, a la categoría de "un perro o de un burro", sin nadie que haga valer sus derechos, y para impedir que otro tanto quieran hacer los demás con las otras mujeres de la familia, lo que acabaría con el prestigio del grupo. También, porque el hombre usufructó un derecho que ha debido comprar antes, para pagar a los familiares de la mujer la crianza y el respaldo social que le han dado. El pago reviste dos aspectos distintos, de valor diferente: el estupro y la violación.

En el primer caso, como se considera que la mujer ha tenido voluntad en el hecho, sólo se tiene en cuenta el abuso. En el segundo, como ha habido intervención de la fuerza, se cobra, además del abuso, la violación, especificando que el hombre empleó la fuerza y con ello humilló a la mujer, hizo más ostensible su deshonra y su debilidad, y ofendió a sus familiares maternos al rebajarlos al nivel de los grupos vencidos, cuyas mujeres son presa fácil de cualquier hombre, ya que no tienen quién reclame por ellas. Por eso se incluye un aumento en el pago, como indemnización. Hay que agregar, además, que si durante la violación, la mujer es herida, aumenta el pago porque se cobra también el derramamiento de sangre, lazo común de parentesco y principio vital del organismo.

Ocurre con frecuencia en ciertos lugares donde las diferencias económicas entre los distintos grupos son muy marcadas, que cuando una muchacha está en el período del encierro y sus familiares han tenido que dejarla sola en su habitación para dedicarse a actividades fuera de la casa, vienen indios ricos y aprovechan la ocasión para violarla. En tal caso, cuan-

do el grupo ofendido obtiene el refuerzo de otro tan poderoso como el ofensor, el pago por abuso es muy alto, pues a más del desprestigio familiar, se considera destruído a la fuerza el encierro de la muchacha, con su aislamiento de los hombres, colocándola a ella y a sus familiares en plano de inferioridad, por no cumplir a cabalidad con las formalidades tradicionales acostumbradas para llegar a ser una mujer completa en el sentido guajiro. Si el pago no se hace efectivo por la inferioridad y falta de respaldo del grupo ofendido, uno de los miembros del clan, guiado por la humillación de su parienta, busca la oportunidad para matar al culpable, arrastrando con ello a su grupo familiar a la destrucción y al exilio.

Puede ocurrir, y es muy frecuente en la actualidad, que una mujer haya recibido pago por abusos sucesivos. La muchacha, desmoralizada por varias razones, se entrega a escondidas de los suyos a un hombre, hecho que, al ser conocido, provoca el cobro. También se presenta el caso de que esta mujer llegue a ser comprada como esposa, después de lo ocurrido. Como la joven guajira considera un honor el ser comprada rápidamente y bien, mira envidiosamente la suerte de tales mujeres, pues considera que a ello deben su suerte, y trata de hacer lo mismo. Esto aumenta la frecuencia del hecho, que en los grupos pobres no origina ya cobro por ser fuente de ingresos económicos distintos, que resarcen un pago difícil de obtener y que obliga a invocar la fuerza del conjunto familiar, muy disperso a causa de la migración.

Hay que aclarar, por otra parte, que el pago exigido tiene carácter especial en cuanto a la cantidad, que no debe alcanzar o igualar al de un matrimonio en tiempos normales, porque en tal caso el hombre podría quedarse con la mujer como suya propia. Además, este pago debe provenir del capital personal del individuo culpable, ya que sus familiares y amigos no están dispuestos a aportar semovientes o prendas para probar una conducta no acorde con las normas legales de la península. Además, este pago no es muy crecido, y es en cierto modo una sanción al desbordamiento de la conducta y una defensa contra la disgregación de la familia, base de la estructura social.

Hay que incluir en este aparte un pago que reviste, en cierta forma, las mismas condiciones ya descritas. Sucede que una mujer es vendida en dos plazos por sus familiares. Al cubrir el primero, el hombre tiene libre acceso a ella. Pero si el segundo contado no es entregado al finalizar el plazo estipulado, los familiares maternos de la mujer se la llevan con los hijos habidos, perdiendo el hombre su derecho a reclamar lo anticipado.

pues esta cantidad se considera como un pago por abuso, aunque haya sido mayor que lo establecido por la costumbre.

Debemos anotar que el guajiro, al pagar lo exigido como resarcimiento a la transgresión de la ley matrimonial, considera liquidadas totalmente sus relaciones, debiendo volver a pagar si reincide, una cantidad igual o mayor, según lo consideren los familiares de la muchacha; si después del pago, quiere comprarla como esposa, puede reclamar lo pagado por el abuso, como un anticipo al pago matrimonial.

Prostitución.—La legislación guajira excluye de la sociedad, en forma absoluta, a la prostituta. Vimos cómo al llegar a la edad adulta la mujer es sometida a las ceremonias de iniciación, como preparación para su vida futura, para ingresar a la sociedad sin las limitaciones de niña, pero con todas las obligaciones de una mujer soltera. Durante este tiempo, está obligada a guardar la castidad, como hecho que se valora en el matrimonio, según pudimos verlo en el aparte *Valoración de la mujer y de la virginidad*, en este mismo capítulo. Vimos también que el pago por abuso no es más que la reparación económica del usufructo ilegal de una mujer considerada como propiedad personal de sus parientes, y como resarcimiento por la pérdida de prestigio de la mujer y de sus familiares maternos. No es pago por los servicios sino compensación a los familiares por la ofensa y abuso de propiedad.

Dijimos, por otra parte, que si un hombre obtiene una mujer por compra mediante el pago en dos plazos y no efectúa el segundo, la mujer es recuperada por sus familiares, convirtiéndose el adelanto hecho en un pago por abuso; y que, si la mujer se va con un hombre que no la ha comprado, la legislación obliga a éste a pagarla como esposa o a separarse de ella después de cubrir el pago exigido.

Una prueba más de que la prostituta no cabe dentro de la ley guajira está en el hecho de que el adulterio se considera sólo en la mujer y obliga a devolver al marido el precio de compra, los hijos habidos y un pago por ofensa, fuera de que el amante se ve obligado a pagar al marido lo exigido por él, o a comprar a la mujer en cuestión y tomarla como esposa.

Por fin, la mujer al enviudar, no queda libre sino que pasa a ser propiedad de los herederos de su esposo, de manera que ni aún así puede llegar a prostituirse libremente.

En suma, la mujer se considera como bien privado que puede ser adquirido por compra y nadie más que su dueño puede gozarlo y disponer de él. Siempre es propiedad privada de alguien: cuando soltera, de sus fa-

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miliares maternos; cuando casada, de su marido, y si éste muere, de sus herederos; en caso de adulterio, es su amante quien debe pagarla para tener derecho legalmente a ella.

* * *

La prostitución, cada vez mayor en la Guajira, tiene múltiples causas que se han agudizado en los últimos tiempos, poniendo en peligro toda la organización social. Las principales son:

La esclavitud.—La organización en la Guajira ha creado por sí misma esta clase de elementos sociales colocados al margen mismo de la vida. Su origen está en los grupos claniles que, debilitados por una quiebra de su economía y la escasez de elementos varones que lo respalden, se han ido marginando lentamente. La muerte, por ejemplo, de un individuo de grupo poderoso, por parte de otro de uno de estos grupos, completa su ruina. La legislación establece en tales casos un pago considerable a los parientes maternos del muerto, por parte del grupo clanil homicida, pago que debe tramitarse de acuerdo con fórmulas especiales que permiten el arreglo pacífico entre ambos, y un plazo prudencial, al terminar el cual ambos grupos reanudan sus relaciones pacíficas y se dan pruebas de nueva amistad, aunque la práctica desmienta estas apariencias. Sin embargo, cuando el agresor pertenece a un grupo inferiorizado, no se siguen estas tramitaciones, pues parece que al dolor de la muerte, se agrega además la ofensa de haber sido cometido el crimen por un grupo sin representación social destacada, sin prestigio y sin haberes suficientes para el resarcimiento. "Estos —dicen los ofendidos— que no tienen con qué pagarnos el dolor que nos han causado, no tienen tampoco el derecho a la tramitación legal". Y se avalanchan en número considerable sobre sus tierras y sus casas, arrasando sin compasión, quemando las viviendas con los que se encuentran dentro, destruyendo las sementeras, cegando y envenenando las fuentes, recogiendo los pocos semovientes que haya y los haberes personales. La suerte peor la sufren los niños y especialmente las mujeres, viejas, jóvenes y niñas que son llevadas como trofeo de guerra para que paguen con su servicio en condición de esclavas, el crimen cometido por su pariente.

Aunque estas mujeres no quedan en calidad de verdaderas prostitutas, sus hijas sufren esta condición ilegal, pues aunque pertenecen al dueño de su madre, son fuertemente asediadas por todos los hombres, en especial por los que aún no han podido comprar mujer y encuentran en ellas una satis-

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facción sin responsabilidades económicas o sociales. Ellas se van sometiendo poco a poco a esta situación, accediendo a quien las regala, convirtiéndose con el tiempo en meretrices. (Cf. *Esclavitud y Servidumbre*).

Por otra parte, muchas de estas niñas son vendidas por sus amos para ser llevadas fuéra de la Península (a Aruba, Maracaibo, Curazao, Riohacha, etc.), pero al crecer huyen, y cuando les es posible, regresan de nuevo a la Guajira, en donde la suerte que les espera no es halagüeña, porqué han quedado, como si dijéramos, fuera de la ley, toda vez que carecen de los dos vínculos fuertes de su sociedad: la tierra y la sangre. Y al carecer de ellos, están libres, que equivale a estar sin respaldo. Nadie les tomará cuenta de lo que hagan, pero nadie hablará por ellas para evitar que sean víctimas de la fuerza. No tienen apoyo económico ni fuentes personales de ingreso. Y, además, muchas de ellas han sido iniciadas en la vida sexual durante su servidumbre. En las circunstancias descritas, es raro que ellas puedan sobreponerse y llegar a encajar de nuevo en una sociedad que las expulsó y se ven obligadas a vivir al margen, lo mismo que sus descendientes. En esta forma, la esclavitud crea la mujer prostituta, de propiedad pública, concepto que no encaja dentro de las normas legales, como lo hemos venido viendo a través de este capítulo.

La servidumbre.—La servidumbre se diferencia de la esclavitud en que no es resultado del vencimiento bélico de un grupo por otro, sino la consecuencia de una dacadencia económica, pues cuando un grupo no puede sostener a sus miembros, los vende. Hace unos años se vendían en grandes cantidades para Venezuela, como mano de obra agrícola, para las islas del Caribe, etc., y, aunque la inversión no era muy segura, por la fuga de los indios, su venta era abundante y aun hoy es muy frecuente. Por otra parte, en la actualidad es muy común en la región de Jarara, escasa de recursos en el verano, tomar a los sobrinos de un individuo que ha robado, acosado por la necesidad, como siervos, para pagarse por propia mano lo robado.

Las mujeres colocadas en esta situación, separadas de su grupo que difícilmente puede respaldarlas, son codiciadas por los hombres. Las que son llevadas fuera, se encuentran al regreso en situación análoga a la de las esclavas que retornan. Se localizan en los centros y se prostituyen porque el blanco encuentra en ellas solución fácil a sus problemas y ellas derivan medios de subsistencia.

El mestizaje.—El mestizaje no ha afectado la cultura guajira en cuanto a tradición mágica, idioma, organización, etc., pero sí la moral social que

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es fácilmente abandonada por la mestiza de baja categoría, comúnmente denominada "cabeza loca" por la generalidad de los indios, debido a su libertad sexual y a que se prostituye fácilmente y se entrega y convive por temporadas con un hombre (mestizo o blanco, por regla general), y luego lo abandona para seguir una cadena interminable. La mujer guajira pura, aunque se prostituya, jamás abandona por ningún motivo determinadas normas de pudor, como el no dejarse ver desnuda, observar quietismo absoluto, etc., porque no hay mayor deshonra que el que un hombre asegure de ella tales hechos. En cambio, la mestiza no respeta estos conceptos. Por esta razón se la solicita y se la asedia cada vez más y ella responde, liberándose de la tradición, en forma abierta. Hemos dicho que la de las clases bajas, porque la mestiza de grupos altos es tanto o más pudorosa y conservadora que la indígena. La mestiza de baja categoría no tiene control de sus parientes maternos y por lo mismo no hay fuerza represiva capaz de someterla a lo legal.

Las condiciones geográficas.—Una causa natural es en el fondo la raíz de la presencia de la prostitución en la Guajira: el verano prolongado que sufre la Península desde hace unos cinco años, período en el cual los inviernos estacionales no se han presentado, con lo que no puede subsistir ni la agricultura ni la ganadería, que se ha ido reduciendo al mínimo, quebrando así la economía tradicional de este pueblo. El resultado es que el indígena, al verse sin recursos para vivir, migra o sucumbe de inanición, como pudimos verlo durante nuestra estadía en aquella región. En esta situación, el indígena va a Venezuela, donde encuentra trabajo pagado que alivia su situación y la de sus familiares de la Península. Otras veces, migran también las mujeres con sus familias.

Cuando emigran los hombres, los grupos familiares pierden con ello sus elementos de refuerzo en situaciones difíciles y las mujeres y los niños quedan reducidos en apoyo y control; es decir, dependen de sí mismos. Cuando la ayuda de los hombres es limitada, las familias deben subsistir de cualquier modo y sienten entonces la atracción de los centros, donde esperan poder hallar solución a su necesidad de vivir. Migran y su única oportunidad es la prostitución. Empieza entonces para ellas una vida fuera de su organización social, facilitada por la ausencia de parientes varones que pongan coto a tal género de vida, pues por estar ausentes no pueden presentar cobro y, además, ignoran, generalmente, esta situación. La mujer casada, cuyo marido se ausenta por largas temporadas, empujada por esta misma situación, y por su misma necesidad sexual, se prostituye, sin que

haya quien haga el reclamo correspondiente. Solteras y casadas vienen por temporadas de los campos a los centros urbanos, se fijan en las rancherías de los alrededores, viven libremente un tiempo para allegar recursos, y una vez que han podido comprarse mantas nuevas y alimentos, regresan hasta que estas provisiones se agotan, lo que marca el retorno a los centros y al mercado sexual.

Fuera de los veranos que imposibilitan toda la vida económica tradicional, agudiza su situación el hecho de que los víveres vienen del vecino departamento del Magdalena, pues de lo que se consume en la Guajira nada puede ser producido allí. Pero el contrabando agrícola de esta zona con Maracaibo que, por varias razones, paga a mejor precio los productos, precipita la salida de éstos del país, agudizando el problema del hambre en el guajiro, pues los precios de los víveres suben y el comerciante, por su parte, recarga el valor en lo que considera legítimo por su actuación de intermediario. De este modo, los artículos básicos para el guajiro —maíz, panela—, alcanzan precios insbordables, sobre todo en los lugares lejanos en donde sólo existe como fuente de abastecimiento un vendedor.

Por otra parte, la mujer encuentra en los centros pocas fuentes de ingreso. Sólo las de la Alta Guajira, educadas por la Misión Capuchina, hacen tejidos diversos que encuentran aceptación en los mercados de Maracaibo y del departamento del Magdalena. Casi ninguna quiere trabajar en labores domésticas, porque su natural independencia les impide acomodarse a las exigencias. Algunas recolectan dividivi en las épocas indicadas, otras ayudan a sus maridos en las salinas, pero el salario allí es tan bajo, que no alcanza a servir ni como estímulo. No teniendo qué hacer, ya que los trabajos del hogar se hallan reducidos al mínimo, pasan el tiempo increíblemente ociosas, hablando unas con otras, tendidas en el chinchorro y concurriendo al atardecer a los centros urbanos, si viven cerca, para atender las solicitudes de los naturales o de los civilizados que a esa hora dejan el trabajo.

Otro de los aspectos en que la emigración influye en la prostitución de las guajiras, es cuando ellas solas, o en unión de su marido y de sus familiares, van a Venezuela. Generalmente se localizan en Maracaibo y demás centros del estado del Zulia, en donde el elemento civilizado considera a la guajira como una solución codiciable a sus problemas sexuales. En ello influyen varias causas: No tienen respaldo efectivo; son sanas y fácilmente seducibles con regalos baratos que su necesidad supervalora; además, son miradas casi siempre con sentido de inferioridad, que las coloca en el más bajo nivel social. Es tan intensa la persecución sexual, que se cuenta de

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muchachas que han llegado a Maracaibo en la mañana, y en la tarde han encontrado propuestas halagüeñas, ante las cuales han sucumbido. Hasta allí llega la acción de los misioneros, pero es inútil, pues pueden más los halagos y promesas que los buenos consejos y la educación de la infancia y de la juventud. Cuando no son prostituidas abiertamente, son compradas, según la ley guajira, por hombres venezolanos casados y se incorporan así, a medias, a esa sociedad, en el papel de concubinas, hasta ser repudiadas según el capricho de sus amos.

A más de estas razones, la mujer ve en sus amigas y parientas la situación aparentemente ventajosa en que se hallan y considera que el renunciamiento que debe hacer no es tan exagerado, si se compara con los resultados. Las escaseces sufridas en su tierra y la promesa de remedio fácil, vence a la más convencida. Por otra parte, sus amigas son las primeras en aconsejarlas. La ley guajira tan lejana, parece no alcanzarla y las consecuencias desastrosas de esta vida no puede valorarlas sino en sí misma. Todos estos aspectos combinados, ponen a la guajira que migra en el camino de la prostitución, al cual llega irremediablemente tarde o temprano, para no regresar a la vida normal de su grupo.

El elemento civilizado.—Civilizado, según el concepto guajiro, es el que no pertenece a su comunidad o el mestizo que ha adoptado una cultura diferente. Abarca gentes de la costa atlántica, tanto colombiana como venezolana (negroides en su gran mayoría) y uno que otro elemento blanco o mestizo del interior de Colombia.

Este elemento civilizado coloca al natural en plano de inferioridad, no sólo en cuanto a su cultura material, que desprecia, sino también en el aspecto espiritual; mira compasivamente o con curiosidad cada una de sus manifestaciones y las tolera difícilmente; los cree unos salvajes y los respeta sólo porque ellos tienen la fuerza. Esto ha provocado en el indígena recelo y pudor de lo que le es caro, y lo ha vuelto un resentido, hasta el punto de que espera encontrar una situación similar en el blanco para reprocharla.

Las normas culturales que en el aspecto social y moral reciben del civilizado, son precisamente las que conducen a la destrucción sistemática de su organización. Allí van generalmente individuos que tienen que estar alejados de su familia por razones diversas y la solución a sus necesidades biológicas la encuentran en la mujer guajira. Su estadía temporal no les permite (como cuando se asientan definitivamente), comprar una muchacha para esposa, porque el precio es alto para sus posibilidades e implica

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problemas con su propia familia, de modo que soluciona su situación provocando en la aborigen una entrega sin trascendencia, mediante regalos o pago fijo en cada oportunidad.

La guajira que ha emigrado de su territorio, regresa tarde o temprano y encuentra en la península el medio propicio para la vida que inició fuera y la continúa, porque además de que encontrar una fuente legal de ingresos es difícil, las necesidades primordiales continúan exigiendo satisfacción inmediata.

Consecuencias.—Las consecuencias que la prostitución ha traído a la sociedad guajira son varias: La primera y decisiva es el derrumbe casi absoluto de la organización social, a causa de la destrucción del matrimonio, estructura de la vida social, con base en la compra de una mujer que con este hecho pasa a ser propiedad privada del hombre en el sentido matrimonial. Si delinque, vienen el cobro y toda la serie de consecuencias que ya vimos anteriormente, tendientes a conservar la fidelidad conyugal. Al prostituirse la mujer, las normas legales que establecen el pago matrimonial y la constitución misma de la familia quedan sin valor, pues se borra el carácter esencial de esta familia: la procreación; se acaba con el principio de establecimiento de nuevas células sociales y la fecundación queda como un aspecto secundario; se busca la satisfacción biológica y no la natalidad, fenómeno que constituye un grave problema social, pues aunque muchas aceptan anticonceptivos, otras, por desconocimiento o imprevisión del hombre, no los usan y las consecuencias naturales de un embarazo no se dejan esperar. Entonces echan mano de cuantos abortivos conocen empíricamente, utilizando las yerbas cuyos principios activos aplican las mujeres viejas de la Sierra de Macuira o las que tradicionalmente las han aprendido de sus antecesores; o solicitan los servicios de una mujer entendida en estos trabajos que, por un pago, realiza masajes traumáticos en el vientre de la mujer grávida para provocar el aborto, y guarda el secreto.

Además de los abortivos, la guajira emplea bebidas de yerbas que la esterilizan por tiempo aproximado de tres años, sin suspender la menstruación; y otras que interrumpen por largos períodos el ciclo menstrual, con el resultado de que las relaciones sexuales carecen de consecuencias; y apelan hasta a la magia para conseguir estos efectos, por ejemplo tomando en ayunas una bebida hecha con estiércol de mula puesta en remojo durante una noche y decantada luego. Creen que como el animal es infecundo, ocurrirá lo propio a la mujer que tome dicha bebida.

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Por otra parte, al extinguirse el matrimonio por pago, se destruye con él el respaldo familiar que implica en el sentido económico, tanto para la mujer, el hombre y los hijos, como para los familiares maternos, por el sistema de entregas, devoluciones y resarcimientos que lleva anexo; y, sobre todo, pierde la mujer el respaldo social y económico de su grupo, y el hombre la garantía de su fidelidad.

La mujer que ha migrado y ha adquirido fuera del territorio patrio estas normas de vida, o la que en su propio suelo las ha aceptado, generalmente no regresa a los campos y si lo hace es para vivir mientras gasta los ingresos adquiridos con su sistema, para regresar y seguir su comercio. Hoy la prostitución amenaza por toda la Guajira. Los indios jóvenes que no han podido conseguir mujer, o sencillamente cualquiera que necesite una satisfacción sexual, la encuentra en las mujeres guajiras mediante el pago ocasional; y con la prostitución ha venido un nuevo azote para el guajiro: las enfermedades venéreas, traídas y propagadas por los que las han adquirido en el trato con los civilizados. El desconocimiento por parte de la meretriz de preceptos higiénicos que la libren de estos males, ha hecho que la enfermedad siga una trayectoria peligrosamente ascendente; además, no existe en la Península ninguna entidad a donde pueda recurrir el indígena para su curación, pues sólo hay un médico y un hospital mal dotado en Uribia. Así, la prostitución ha ayudado y ayuda no sólo a la quiebra social con la anulación de la institución de la familia, sino a la degeneración física con la propagación incontenida de las enfermedades venereas entre sus elementos jóvenes.

Ajuar y dote de la mujer.—Cuando una mujer guajira es comprada, su familia le da la herencia que le corresponde en ganados. Estas donaciones van de acuerdo con la categoría social de la mujer y con el monto del pago, porque en ello va el prestigio de los familiares maternos. Ellos saben que un hombre que ha pagado cara a su mujer, espera que ella no haya costado tanto sólo por las satisfacciones matrimoniales que le pueda brindar, o por su categoría alta reconocida, sino también porque en su precio va incluido una herencia dada en vida y en este momento. El no podría explicarse que sólo por los dos aspectos mencionados tuviera tal precio; y si la mujer no fuera bien dotada en ganado y joyas, él haría correr la noticia entre sus amigos, con detrimento del prestigio de los familiares —de ella— que su mujer, costó mucho, pero que no tenía nada, lo que equivale en la sociedad guajira a un fraude, pues sabemos que la norma de conducta social tradicional es la superación mutua. Por eso los familiares maternos

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de la novia hacen un aporte común de ganados, para regalarle numerosas joyas y trajes, para que de este modo pueda presentarse ante su marido sin que su prestigio quede en nivel inferior al de las familiares del hombre. Estas donaciones las recibe de manos de sus tíos maternos, y las joyas, generalmente, le son regaladas por las tías y primas de la misma rama.

Al marido corresponde la administración de tales animales en el común de las casas. El los pastorea y cuida, con los suyos propios y los de sus hijos; pero puede ocurrir que los familiares de la mujer, si el marido es borracho, o gastador, se encarguen de cuidarlos personalmente para evitar su despilfarro.

Respecto al ajuar matrimonial, el único aporte que hace el marido es el chinchorro que compra a la madre de la mujer y significa, además, el derecho a cohabitar con su esposa después de la compra. El resto del menaje corre por cuenta de la mujer, que en un principio, como vive con sus familiares, se sirve del de ellos pero que, lentamente, va proveyéndose del suyo propio para cuando se establezca en casa propia o cuando las necesidades de la familia crecientes le vayan forzando a ello. Compra la cerámica, por trueque generalmente, a las ceramistas de Jarara, que en determinadas épocas recorren la península con su mercancía; hace telares y en ellos fabrica sus chinchorros, los de sus hijos, y los destinados a las visitas. Para el resto de los utensilios, bastante sencillos por demás, utiliza semillas de coco y totumas de árbol, con las que hace platos, bateas, cucharas, tabaqueras, etc. Ella y sus hijas hacen las mochilas con diversos procedimientos, proveyéndose de hilaza importada o hilando y tiñendo el algodón. Acarrean troncos que sirven de asientos; fabrican los aperos para los burros y caballos; es decir, trata en algunos sitios de lograr un autoabastecimiento y en otros, con la división del trabajo establecida, vende lo que hace y con el producido adquiere alimentos, ropa y utensilios que ha menester en su hogar; o, simplemente, se vale del trueque para lograrlos.

El problema es diferente cuando se trata de mestizos, siempre que el matrimonio no sea por ley guajira, o cuando se trata de los blancos que se han casado con guajiras de acuerdo con lo establecido por la comunidad. En ambos casos el hombre provee, además de casa, todo lo necesario en el hogar, como muebles y utensilios domésticos, según la costumbre de las civilizadas; y luego, a medida que el uso las va deteriorando, los sustituye por otros nuevos. Respecto al dote diremos que el hombre puede administrar los animales de su mujer, si ella lo acepta; pero no puede disponer a

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su arbitrio de ellos; el capital obtenido en común es herencia de los hijos, como lo hemos visto. No retorna como en el guajiro a su fuente originaria (familiares maternos de la mujer). No habiendo pago, es al hombre a quien corresponde hacer frente y proveer a todo lo necesario en el hogar.

V

MATRIMONIO

Ritual de Compra.—El matrimonio guajiro tradicional es el que se realiza mediante la compra de la mujer a sus familiares maternos y cuyo pago se efectúa en animales y en prendas y actualmente en bolívares por influencia del comercio venezolano.

Generalmente la familia de la muchacha está avisada de que los familiares del novio vendrán a comprarla. El hombre, por su parte, ha pedido a su tío materno más influyente o al que dentro de su grupo familiar se considera como "cacique" para que, en unión de su madre y de otros amigos, vaya a tratar la compra de su novia. Estos llegan atraviesan de la mejor manera y reciben de los familiares de la muchacha generosa hospitalidad. Entregan, como signo de compromiso, las llamadas "prendas", que son collares de oro con piedras de turma [1] y cuyos valor y número dependen del poder económico del pretendiente, llegando hasta diez en los personajes de más alta categoría, sobre todo cuando se trata de la adquisición de la primera esposa que, como lo vimos, es la principal.

Si los familiares de la novia ven que la unión es ventajosa, aceptan las prendas. Si no las reciben, ello indica una negativa rotunda que raramente ocurre y que puede dar margen, como indicadora del menosprecio, a serias diferencias entre los grupos interesados. Una vez entregadas, el apoderado del novio pide la muchacha en compra y el pariente materno más autorizado de la novia responde fijando el precio que, generalmente, es igual al que pagó el padre de la muchacha por su esposa; muchas veces se obtiene un pago mayor, lo que aumenta el prestigio. Se discute un rato hasta que se llega a un acuerdo entre ambos en el precio y las bases del pago y entonces parten los familiares del muchacho a comunicarle lo acordado, todo lo cual acata y acepta, sin objetar nada al respecto, y se prepara para llevar a efecto el pago convenido a fin de obtener su mujer.

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[1] Mineral amarillo utilizado como piedra preciosa.

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El pago en vacas.—La cantidad de cabezas de ganado que un hombre tiene, marca su solvencia económica y, por tanto, su status dentro del grupo familiar y del conjunto de la comunidad, pues la ganadería es la ocupación básica del guajiro, toda vez que el suelo sólo permite la agricultura en determinadas épocas del año. Y la valoración de una mujer se hace también en el mismo sentido. Ella aspira a ser comprada con vacas, lo que significa que se da justo precio a sus cualidades físicas, espirituales y sociales; que se conocen y se valoran acertadamente su rango tradicional y el poder de los suyos; que se ha cotizado bien la educación que ha recibido a la llegada de la pubertad; que su categoría como mujer casada se va a seguir manteniendo adecuadamente, y que su descendencia tendrá idéntica valoración, lo que equivale a decir que su status social se verá acrecentado.

Es tanta la preocupación de la guajira por ser comprada con vacas, que las mujeres de clase baja (no sabemos si las de alta categoría lo hagan también), apelan a un hecho mágico para conseguirlo y que consiste en enterrar el cabello que se cortan, debajo del estiércol de estos animales.

Formas de efectuar el pago.—El pago de la mujer equivale al derecho de tomarla como esposa y se puede hacer de las siguientes maneras: Cuando el individuo es rico, lo entrega en un solo contado, signo de prestigio personal, ya que indica su capacidad económica y la de su grupo, que no requieren plazos para un desembolso fuerte. Esto enorgullece a los familiares de la novia, porque han logrado una alianza con un grupo poderoso y de prestigio.

Pero la forma más usada es la que establece el sistema de dos contados: el primero, en el día convenido, antes del matrimonio, y el otro, un tiempo después. El primer contado, como ya lo vimos, da derecho al matrimonio. El día del pago llega el ganado, conducido por los sirvientes de la familia materna del novio y acompañado por los tíos que dieron la palabra en la compra de la mujer. Estos hacen entrega solemne de tal ganado para que conste su pago. Entonces a los familiares maternos de la muchacha les toca el cumplimiento de los deberes de hospitalidad, tanto más amplios cuanto más alto ha sido el pago y, sobre todo, cuanta mayor es la categoría de ellos. Si tales familiares llegan temprano con los ganados, el *ordgrab* (el más viejo de la familia), manda matar un torete y les brinda hospitalidad en su propia casa. El torete, el mejor de la partida, sirve para hacerles una comida especial y, además, para repartirlo entre los que han venido, a fin de que cada uno lleve consigo una buena porción, tanto me-

jor cuanto más alta sea su categoría. A la tarde regresan. Si llegan con el pago hacia el atardecer, entonces las atenciones son diversas. Hay que tenerles buena cantidad de chicha de maíz y yuca masticada, acompañada de pedazos de carne y bollos de maíz. Los acompañantes del novio duermen en la casa de la novia y se marchan a la madrugada, después del desayuno; para el cual se sacrifica un animal, cuya carne se reparte también a los visitantes.

En el primer caso, cuando concurren las mujeres, hay que regalar a cada una de ellas, una cabra o una oveja, para que lleven consigo a sus casas; el ron para los hombres no debe faltar en ninguno de los dos casos, en cantidad abundante.

Tampoco en esta oportunidad viene el novio, sino que, cuando ya quiere tomar a la muchacha como esposa, trae otras reses (diez vacas cuando la mujer es de categoría), que entrega a la madre en pago del chinchorro matrimonial, con lo cual queda satisfecho el último requisito para tener acceso a la mujer, que lo espera en una casa contigua, y allí cuelgan el chinchorro matrimonial que les servirá de lecho nupcial.

Sentido sociológico del pago.—Con el pago se afianza el sistema de filiación matrimonial y se extiende la organización legal a los descendientes de la nueva célula familiar. Así las leyes de herencia se estructuran a través de él: el hombre paga a su mujer mediante la cooperación de sus familiares y con ello los hijos, que pertenecen a la sangre de la madre, quedan descartados del derecho de heredar los bienes del padre a su muerte porque no son sus familiares consanguíneos y, además, la madre y sus familiares maternos recibieron el precio de compra. Los hijos llevan el apellido de la madre, una muestra más de su vinculación con el clan materno, en el cual encontrarán todo el respaldo económico y social que necesitan.

Por otra parte, el pago matrimonial incluye un resarcimiento por los cuidados que la mujer recibió durante su vida familiar, y de las obligaciones que su grupo contrae al tener que hacerse cargo de los hijos de esta unión. Y en relación con las tierras, permite al marido y a sus familiares el usufructo de las propiedades raíces de la mujer, donde desde entonces les será permitido pastorear sus ganados, cultivar la tierra y establecer su vivienda. De esta manera, el dominio de las tierras de un determinado grupo familiar, se hace extensivo a otros, y a su vez, los familiares de la mujer adquieren idénticos derechos con respecto a las tierras del marido y su grupo familiar materno; los hijos habidos en el matrimonio, tienen derechos sobre ambos.

El pago es también el regulador de las relaciones intermatrimoniales y, en cierto modo, la base sobre la cual el hombre finca la doncellez de la mujer a su llegada al matrimonio, por un aspecto (Cf. Cap. IV, aparte *Valoración de la mujer y de la virginidad*), y, por otro, la lealtad que la mujer debe guardarle según la legislación guajira.

En este aspecto de la fidelidad es en donde el pago tiene mayor trascendencia. Con el vivir errante del guajiro por su oficio de pastor nómade, en busca de pozos y pastos para sus ganados, y ahora migrante en Venezuela por largos periodos de tiempo, la certidumbre de la lealtad de su mujer descansa en este pago. Su esposa, durante sus largas ausencias, vive generalmente al lado de sus familiares, quienes se ven obligados a vigilarla indirectamente, a dar cuenta de su conducta al hombre y, aún más, a responderle de sus acciones, pues de otra manera, comprobada la infidelidad, el pago volvería a las manos del hombre que lo dio confiado en el valor espiritual de la mujer, contando para ello con el respaldo de sus parientes políticos, lo que impide el derecho de protesta de éstos y obliga a la devolución inmediata y efectiva, pues de otra manera el marido ofendido podría dar muerte al amante de la mujer y con ello los familiares de la adúltera se verían envueltos en el cobro por muerte, ya que ella es la causante. De esta suerte, los familiares maternos de la mujer adúltera quedan a merced de la exigencia que el marido ofendido les hace: devolución de los animales que dio como pago de su mujer y entrega de los hijos habidos en el matrimonio, más un pago adicional como compensación por la ofensa recibida. Como los hijos pertenecen a los familiares maternos, despojarlos de este derecho resulta ignominioso, por lo cual se acepta en cambio una indemnización en animales y la entrega de uno de ellos solamente.

También queda el pago que se hace por la mujer como fuerza controladora de la conducta general de la esposa, evitando que abandone su hogar y sus obligaciones en las ausencias del esposo.

Por otra parte, el pago regula las relaciones del hombre con la mujer, porque si éste le da malos tratos y ellos son causa de que tenga que abandonarlo, entonces el hombre queda desposeído del derecho que tenía sobre su mujer, porque no puede obligarla a vivir con él puesto que le ha dado mala vida, y, por otra parte, tampoco le asiste el derecho de presentar cobro por abandono del hogar y de las obligaciones que en otro caso, como acabamos de verlo, implicarían la devolución del monto entregado por la compra.

El pago que el hombre da a los familiares maternos de la mujer, le confiere sobre ella un derecho de propiedad tal como si se tratara de un

bien material, en cierto aspecto, porque si, por ejemplo, la mujer es codiciada por otro que quiere comprarla, los dos —marido y aspirante— se pueden poner de acuerdo, valiéndose de intermediarios (si no se trata de mujeres de clase alta o de la primera esposa), para negociarla, recibiendo el marido, a cambio de la mujer, un pago que casi siempre es inferior al dado por él inicialmente, considerándose la diferencia como valor del *usufructo por las relaciones sexuales y los hijos* habidos. Este segundo marido puede venderla a un tercero y así, sucesivamente. Esto ocurre generalmente cuando la mujer casada se va con un individuo y vive con él, ante lo cual el marido resuelve presentarle cobro al amante que, al aceptarlo, acepta también el traspaso del derecho de esposo legítimo. Este sistema permite, pues, el traspaso de la mujer de un hombre a otro como un semoviente cualquiera y, también, el fácil retorno de las relaciones extralegales a un orden legal, mediante el pago de la mujer.

Pero donde el pago juega un papel social más trascendente —si miramos las diferentes clases sociales en que se divide la Guajira—, es en la fijación del status personal de cada mujer y de su descendencia.

El status de un grupo clanil reside en el valor matrimonial de sus mujeres. Esta valoración viene de tiempos muy lejanos y se ha ido transmitiendo de madres a hijas. Por eso el guajiro, cuando se habla del precio de una mujer, dice: Una guajira libre vale tanto como costó su madre y ésta tuvo el precio de su abuela. Por eso es por lo que el pago de una mujer tiene tanta trascendencia en su vida, y por lo que a la salida de su encierro, toda su atención y su interés se concentran en una sola cosa: ser bien comprada, lo que equivale a encontrar quien la valore como es debido. Y es también por esta razón, por lo que la gente blanca no entiende el orgullo con que una mujer guajira refiere que ha sido comprada muy cara o que por ella dan tantas vacas más que por otra. En el número de estas cabezas de ganado está la valoración de su categoría y el reconocimiento de que pertenece a las clases ricas guajiras y de mayor status. De aquí que ella acuda a todos los recursos mágicos a su alcance para ser bien comprada, para encontrar un hombre que, pagando por ella lo que valió su madre, establece su status o que, dando más todavía, por ser muy rica, levante su categoría directamente por la supervaloración de sus cualidades personales que la hacen acreedora a tal acorrer; porque si una mujer no puede ser comprada (dentro de una situación normal de su grupo clanil) por menos del precio de la madre, sí puede, por el contrario, ascender en su categoría mediante un pago mayor. De este modo, la mujer habida en tal unión sería más cara, es decir, su status ha avanzado en relación con

la deuda; y el hombre, si bien es cierto que ha hecho una inversión mayor de la que está legalmente obligado, acrecienta también su prestigio por haber adquirido por sí mismo una mujer que vale tánto; además, su desembolso se compensa con el pago que recibirá por la primera hija que se case, idéntico al que dio él por la madre.

Otro interesante aspecto que está regulado por el pago matrimonial es la conducta moral y social de la mujer antes del matrimonio, puesto que la obliga, indirectamente, a aceptar y cumplir con determinadas normas éticas y sociales sin las cuales su valoración como futura esposa se rebajaría. Por ejemplo, cuando la mujer pertenece a una clase alta, no debe aceptar las proposiciones de huída de un hombre que la quiere y que carece de medios suficientes para comprarla. Este hecho, sin embargo, está permitido en las mujeres de baja clase social que no tienen categoría que perder, ni hay fuerza suficiente en las reclamaciones que sus familiares puedan hacer, ni su valor como esposas es constante, sino que es variable, dependiendo casi siempre de la capacidad monetaria del comprador y muchas veces de la situación económica del momento. En verano, por ejemplo, la situación se agudiza tanto en estas clases bajas, que una mujer puede ser entregada por un poco de maíz.

Estos hechos dan margen a una cierta estabilización de la diferencia de status existente, porque las mujeres de clase alta sólo pueden ser compradas por hombres de idéntica o superior posición, limitando de este modo las posibilidades de adquisición de una mujer rica y evitando que grupos familiares altos se vean mezclados con grupos pobres o de menor categoría social.

Una mujer que quiere conservar su categoría no puede huir con un hombre para luégo ser comprada. Ello implica que el hombre, pasado un tiempo, si no se siente satisfecho, puede repudiarla por este hecho simplemente, pagando tan sólo el abuso, lo que, si no tiene importancia para una mujer de baja categoría social, sí es definitivo para una de alta categoría. Luego, si el cobro no se lleva a cabo pacíficamente y si el pago no se hace efectivo, provoca la guerra entre su grupo y el de su marido y sobre ella pesarán todas las consecuencias. También puede ocurrir que el hombre ante los hechos consumados quiera aprovecharse de la situación que lo favorece y no pague por ella sino una cantidad muy inferior a la establecida por la tradición, que es lo que generalmente sucede, razón por la cual, los familiares de la mujer se muestran extraordinariamente contrariados, porque otro guajiro cualquiera puede abusar impunemente de otra de las mujeres del grupo, ya que considera que sus hombres son incapaces de obligarlo a

pagar lo que es debido. Con este hecho se desmoraliza el clan, sus mujeres no son respetadas y, en suma, el prestigio del grupo decae considerablemente.

Repartición del pago matrimonial de la mujer.—Dada la organización familiar clanil extensa en la Guajira, que veremos en detalle más adelante, el dinero (ganados, joyas, etc.), que se recibe por la venta en matrimonio de una muchacha, va a parar a diferentes manos. En primer lugar, lo que se recibe como pago matrimonial por la primera hija que se casa, corresponde íntegramente al padre, pues como la cantidad en que se valora es la misma que él entregó por su esposa, ella representa la retribución que a largo plazo concede la ley al hombre por la inversión que hizo al comprar a la madre de la muchacha. El recibe este pago que no ingresa íntegramente a sus haberes, pues como obtuvo ayuda de su grupo familiar, debe devolver esta ayuda, de acuerdo con la proporción en que la recibió, hasta satisfacer a todos y cada uno de los que cooperaron en su tiempo en la compra de la esposa. Si ellos han muerto, debe entregar esta parte a sus herederos legítimos.

El collar que se da en señal de compromiso a esta primera hija, corresponde a la abuela paterna, porque fue ella quien tuvo que entregarla como aceptación de la propuesta de compra.

El pago de la segunda hija va a manos de los familiares de la madre y entre ellos se reparte de acuerdo con el parentesco: primero a la madre y al tío materno más influyente, que lleva más de cerca la responsabilidad de la familia y que es considerado como padre; luego a las demás personas, sin olvidar al jefe del grupo familiar extenso, el llamado "cacique", de quien reciben ayuda para casar un hijo, para un velorio, etc., aunque el parentesco, en muchas ocasiones, es lejano. También envían parte a los vecinos muy amigos que tienen hijas casaderas, porque esperan que cuando éstas caen a una de ellas, les devolverán ampliamente el regalo. Es costumbre que cuando los amigos carecen de hijas, y se quiere repartir el pago de matrimonio, no se les envíe parte porque se dice: "Esos no tienen hijas y por tanto nunca van a poder devolver nuestro regalo".

Los bienes obtenidos por la venta de las demás hijas que se casan, ingresan al patrimonio materno, aunque de ellos, como vimos, participan los familiares del novio porque se obsequia una cabra o una oveja a cada una de las mujeres que intervienen en la entrega de los animales. Los collares que se dan en compromiso, son para la madre de la muchacha, que a su

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vez debe suministrar a cada uno de sus hijos varones el correspondiente, cuando contraiga compromiso de matrimonio.

Por otra parte hay un pago especial que se hace siempre a la madre de la mujer y es el chinchorro matrimonial, fabricado por ella. Generalmente su precio es de diez vacas en las familias ricas y cuando este último precio se entrega, lo que hace personalmente el novio a la suegra, significa que va a tomar como propia a la mujer que ha comprado y entonces ésta le es entregada indirectamente, señalándole el lugar (una habitación vecina), donde se hallan el chinchorro y la que va a ser futura esposa. Este valor da derecho al lecho conyugal y a cohabitar con la mujer que se compra, y debe ser pagado a la madre porque por una parte, ella tejió el chinchorro y, por otra, fue ella quien crió a su hija costeándole todos los gastos de crianza y educación. De esta cantidad no participa a nadie.

Cuando se trata del matrimonio de una sierva o de una esclava, el producto de la venta entra a engrosar el capital del amo, exclusivamente, sin que tenga tampoco que dar participación a nadie, en primer lugar, porque el precio es bajo, y segundo, porque la propiedad de un esclavo o de un siervo es individual.

Cuando para el pago de la mujer se estipulan plazos convencionales, y el segundo de éstos no se lleva a efecto en el tiempo estipulado, la familia de la mujer la toma nuevamente para sí, sin reclamos posibles del hombre. Pero si pasado algún tiempo el hombre quiere cubrir lo que resta, entra en conversaciones con sus parientes políticos que, una vez que han recibido lo adecuado, le devuelven su esposa.

La repartición del pago obtenido por las diversas formas de matrimonio, distintas del tradicional, se irán viendo a medida que ellas se estudien detenidamente.

Pago por parto y embarazo.—Fuera del precio de la mujer, el hombre debe pagar, ya se trate de relaciones legales o extralegales, las molestias causadas por el embarazo y el parto. Este pago lo entrega, en vacas u otros animales, a la familia de su mujer, la cual puede disponer de ellos ya sea para sacrificarlos, venderlos o incluirlos dentro del rebaño familiar. Pero la mujer no puede comer la carne de estos animales que se dan en pago de las molestias que sufre por el embarazo, de la sangre que vierte en el parto y de los dolores soportados en el mismo, porque representa el pago de sí misma y se identifican con ella. Comerlos sería casi como ingerir su propia carne, o algo semejante, y, por lo mismo, no puede participar de ellos directa ni indirectamente.

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Matrimonio de impúberes.—En la actualidad el hombre contrae matrimonio por primera vez cuando ha conseguido su emancipación económica, más o menos hacia los diez y nueve años. Sus matrimonios posteriores los realiza a la medida de su capricho y de las posibilidades que tenga para adquirir otras mujeres.

Las mujeres como norma general se casan después de pasadas la pubertad y el encierro. Sin embargo, existió una costumbre muy generalizada en las regiones inaccesibles por su situación geográfica al blanco y al mestizo y se conserva aún, con tendencias a la disminución: la compra de niñas impúberes de edad aproximada de diez años, que no se han desarrollado físicamente, ni han pasado por las ceremonias tradicionales de encierro, generalmente por indígenas ricos, ya viejos, que tienen un número considerable de mujeres. Estos viejos pagan una cantidad que satisface a los padres de la muchacha que, atraídos por las posibilidades económicas del futuro yerno, realizan el matrimonio sin consultar la voluntad de la impúber, aunque algunas veces la sugestionan, haciéndole ver la ventajosa situación que puede proporcionarse con tal matrimonio. La muchacha, en muchos casos, alcanza a tener un hijo antes de la aparición de la primera menstruación.

Se dice en la Guajira que esta costumbre la practican los viejos porque de las carnes jóvenes y de las formas femeninas aún nacientes, reciben mayor incentivo sexual que les prolonga su potencialidad masculina.

Matrimonio de guajiros con civilizados.—Con muy pocos casos de excepción este matrimonio de mestizaje se realiza entre indios y civilizados. Es de dos clases, temporario y permanente, de acuerdo con el tiempo de estadía del civilizado en la Península y casi siempre se ciñe a la ley guajira de matrimonio por compra de la mujer.

Los matrimonios temporarios obedecen a las uniones establecidas entre comerciantes o autoridades civiles y militares que debiendo demorar algún tiempo en la Península a donde han llegado solos, encuentran en la compra de una indígena solución a sus problemas personales. Conviven con la mujer comprada, adaptándose a las normas de vida de la Guajira, tienen hijos que según la tradición legal no les pertenecen. Como su obligación está limitada para con su familia y los parientes maternos han seguido dando respaldo a la mujer, en un momento dado pueden irse, como en efecto lo hacen, sin que se altere la vida del hogar que fundaron, porque la mujer no ha sido arrancada, como en el caso del matrimonio católico, de sus instituciones sociales ni de sus familiares, que una vez disuelta la unión

por ausencia definitiva del elemento blanco, la acogen nuevamente entre los suyos. La mujer sigue sosteniendo la familia y levantándola bajo la protección y consejo de sus parientes maternos, siendo muy frecuente que no se vuelva a saber jamás del padre. En ocasiones se casan nuevamente o llevan vida marital con otro hombre.

Los matrimonios permanentes se realizan con civilizados que, estando radicados en la Península en forma estable, resuelven casarse por lo católico algunas veces o comprar una mujer (generalmente de categoría) y fundar un hogar que en el primer caso da muestras de predominancia de la cultura del padre y en el segundo se acerca mucho a las costumbres y usos de la madre, de quien recibe influencia más directamente, en razón de la misma forma matrimonial. Los hijos habidos son reconocidos legalmente en el caso del vínculo católico, y es muy frecuente que sean enviados al interior del país a educarse; en el otro caso, pertenecen a la madre y a sus parientes consanguíneos, cuyo apellido llevan.

Los matrimonios temporarios pueden ser debidos al hecho de que las mujeres pertenezcan a grupos de bajo status y sean vendidas por sus padres ante la urgencia económica. Por eso no es raro también que el blanco posea varias mujeres, tantas como puede comprar y sostener. Sabemos que la mujer que ha sido comprada debe sostener el hogar, pero esta costumbre no es válida cuando se casa con un blanco, pues a pesar del pago, el hombre civilizado debe hacerse cargo del sostenimiento propio de su mujer e hijos, en albergue, alimentación y vestido.

Estas ventajas materiales hacen posible y frecuente el hecho de encontrar jóvenes guajiras casadas con ancianos decrépitos que les dan una vida relativamente holgada, de la cual participan los familiares, que encuentran así solución a sus problemas económicos con estas uniones.

El problema de estas uniones reside en que la mujer se entrega forzada por el hambre, y en que, cuando se le presenta la oportunidad de dar escape a sus inclinaciones afectivas o satisfacer su instinto, abandona fácilmente a su marido civilizado y huye con otro cualquiera lejos de la acción del primero, que no logra en la mayoría de los casos ser atendido por los consanguíneos de la mujer a quienes la ha pagado, porque lo esquivan y se hacen sordos a sus reclamos, conocedores de que el blanco carece del respaldo de grupo y de la ley colombiana para sus reclamaciones. Una vez que el civilizado se marcha de la Guajira, la pareja legitima su unión, contrayendo matrimonio mediante un pago que el hombre puede hacer nuevamente a los padres de la muchacha.

Los matrimonios permanentes, realizados generalmente entre mujeres de categoría, y blancos de reconocida influencia son más estables. La conducta de la mujer y de sus familiares, está de acuerdo con el rango del marido y éste por su parte guarda con su esposa cierta cortesía y buen trato, ya que pertenece a un status alto. En estos casos no es raro que la mujer haya sido comprada de acuerdo con la tradición legal guajira y que esta unión perdure; pero es frecuente que la católica se establezca mas tarde o que se hayan reunido las dos desde el primer momento.

Es posible, además, que el hombre blanco, siguiendo la costumbre guajira, y aunque su matrimonio sea católico, tenga otras esposas de inferior status a la primera, que conserva siempre el rango de mujer legítima en nuestro sentido, a la cual corresponde la representación social de los hijos, únicos herederos del padre y de su hogar, centro legal de la familia. Las demás mujeres, aunque compradas de acuerdo con la ley guajira, adquieren sin embargo, más o menos, el rango de las concubinas en nuestra cultura, y sus hijos la categoría de hijos naturales. La influencia misional católica y las relaciones con los blancos han hecho que el indígena vaya viendo su forma matrimonial un poco fuera de lo moral. Por eso en la actualidad dicen, refiriéndose a una mujer guajira casada de acuerdo con las instituciones de la cultura: "es la mujer de fulano" y la mujer que ha contraído por el rito católico dice: "soy la esposa de zutano". De esta manera cuando uno pregunta a una mujer guajira, por ejemplo, ¿dónde está su marido?, debe seleccionar adecuadamente la palabra marido y esposo, refiriendo la primera en el caso de seguir la costumbre peninsular o esposo para el proveniente de la norma católica, pues la palabra marido puede ofender cuando se emplea inadecuadamente. Como consecuencia de este hecho se ha formado el concepto de hijos legítimos y naturales que no cabe dentro de la primitiva legislación guajira. Un hijo, aunque haya sido habido en relaciones ilícitas, es un hijo sin adjetivos, sin menosprecios ni resquemores. Forzosamente la madre ha recibido en la persona de sus familiares el pago por el abuso y el alumbramiento en tales casos, de manera que ellos no se colocan jamás al margen de la legalidad. Esto puede ser debido a la línea uterina de parentesco en la que el padre no cuenta para el reconocimiento de los hijos.

Ocurre también en estos casos de matrimonios entre blancos y guajiras las uniones maritales de estos dos elementos. El civilizado se niega a comprar la mujer o a legitimar su unión por los procedimientos de su cultura. La negativa al primer requisito tradicional hace que el hombre no sea bien aceptado y se considere como un intruso. Los hijos, ilegítimos

ante la mentalidad paterna, encuentran tropiezo natural entre los familiares de la madre, que, sin embargo, y a la postre, tienen que acogerlos.

Matrimonio consanguíneo.—Aunque la comunidad guajira está en franco proceso de disgregación, hay una característica que se conserva fuertemente: la exogamia, que, considera en la actualidad, no la prohibición de contraer matrimonio dentro del mismo grupo clanil, sino dentro de un círculo limitado por el parentesco consanguíneo cercano: hermanos, tíos, primos y ascendientes por línea femenina. Es así como hoy en día encontramos en la Guajira matrimonios entre individuos del mismo clan, pues el nexo se ha ido debilitando en una forma tan grande que aunque pertenezcan al mismo grupo clanil, no se consideran parientes.

Si la unión se realiza dentro del círculo de familia pequeña, la opinión de la sociedad y de los parientes nunca es favorable. Ellos no pueden explicarse ni quieren aceptar que un individuo contraiga matrimonio con un pariente consanguíneo incluído dentro de los ya mencionados. Las creencias mágicas refuerzan su resistencia porque ellas establecen la prohibición a los hombres de contraer matrimonio con parientas, porque quedarán calvos.

La mentalidad guajira no puede aceptar como natural que una mujer se case con su tío materno. Este sería el peor de los incestos, porque el tío materno tiene entre ellos la categoría del padre entre nosotros. Ocurrió, y siempre se observa la misma actitud en casos similares, que una muchacha guajira sostuvo relaciones sexuales con su tío materno. Ante la evidencia de un embarazo, el padre misionero los casó por el ritual católico. Este hecho pareció a los naturales un crimen: que una guajira se casase legalmente con su tío materno, no era posible entenderlo. Alrededor de la pareja empezaron a crecer las murmuraciones y el vacío social, y aún las amenazas, hasta el punto de que viendo que la vida se les hacía imposible por la resistencia del medio, abandonaron lo que poseían y migraron lejos, a donde no hubiera guajiros que conocieran su historia, a fin de no seguir soportando la situación social que su conducta ilegal ante la cultura les había provocado.

El guajiro puro es el que conserva en forma más extremada el principio de la exogamia entre los diversos grupos familiares; ya los mestizos educados e influídos por los principios de parentesco seguidos por el elemento blanco, van reduciendo el círculo inicial extenso que prohibe el matrimonio entre individuos del mismo grupo clanil y contrae matrimonio

con primas hermanas, por línea materna, afrontando la repulsión natural del indígena que aún considera incestuosas estas uniones.

Debemos anotar nuevamente que no es raro que las niñas antes de la pubertad cohabiten con sus propios hermanos (en el sentido guajiro) y con su padre, naturalmente sin las consecuencias del embarazo, pero sí de la pérdida de la virginidad. La mitología guajira registra el tema de la muchacha que habiendo sido embarazada por su propio padre, ante su situación física y la repulsión social que tal hecho provocó, se ahorcó, estableciendo esta clase de suicidio como medio para eliminarse cuando son contrariadas, especialmente en sus aspiraciones matrimoniales al ser obligadas a casarse con un hombre que no desean o en circunstancias similares a la que hace referencia el cuento.

Estas relaciones sexuales incestuosas son frecuentes en casi toda la Guajira. Se realizan cuando las niñas van de un caserío a otro llevando una razón, o por los montes en busca de los animales de transporte o de frutas, mientras los muchachos andan por allí mismo pastoreando los ganados. Regularmente estas relaciones no ofrecen el carácter de una violación, pues las muchachas acceden voluntariamente, hecho que no pudimos constatar, luego que la pubertad y el encierro han tenido lugar. Parece, que el único caso citable es el referido anteriormente y consignado en la tradición de la cultura.

Matrimonio católico.—El matrimonio guajiro es la base de toda la organización legal de la Península, porque en él, traducido al pago, se concentran la vida económica y las leyes sociales. Por estas razones el matrimonio católico tiene tánta oposición de parte del natural y ocasiona en quien lo contrae una serie de problemas.

El primero de ellos es que está de hecho fuera de la organización social familiar y quedan quienes lo contraen a merced de sus propias fuerzas para responder ante el conjunto social de la Península. Veamos por qué: Si contraer matrimonio católico significa para la mujer que sus familiares no recibirán el pago acostumbrado como indemnización a su crianza pasada y como respaldo en el futuro para ella y para sus descendientes, el sistema de ayuda mutua entre los grupos consanguíneos que exige retribución a largo plazo creará a su padre una situación especial como miembro activo del clan, pues al no recibir dinero por la primera hija que se le casa, no puede atender al sistema de retribuciones y mutua ayuda, con lo cual sus familiares se resienten y su prestigio disminuye, porque con este pago espera saldar la deuda que la compra de su mujer ha dado origen

La mujer que se casa por el rito católico encuentra también otra serie de problemas con su grupo consanguíneo: su marido, aunque legal, es un intruso, y el causante directo de todos los problemas que sobrevengan. Difícilmente lo toleran porque, además de ser la persona que separó a la parienta de sus nexos consanguíneos, fue el que la obligó a romper con toda la tradición legal, colocando a todos en un papel secundario. Adquiere, pues, la categoría de un amante, porque ellos sienten esta unión tan ilegítima como el amancebamiento en nuestra cultura. El ha adquirido una mujer sin pagarla y es por tanto el usurpador de un derecho que legalmente pertenecía a sus consanguíneos. Rompe con la negativa de pago, la categoría de la mujer, ya que siendo éste quien la fija, no existe ese denominador de su alcurnia, y con ello se rebaja a sus parientes consanguíneos, ofensa de las más duras para el indígena, para quienes la conservación del prestigio, su afianzamiento y superación, es preocupación permanente y norma de vida, colocándolos en la situación de un grupo débil en el cual una hija ha sido raptada sin haber recibido el pago pertinente. Ellos esperan una situación similar para los descendientes de la pareja que, con el solo respaldo del padre y de la madre, deberán abocarse a las situaciones que se les presenten, sin contar con la ayuda económico-social de sus parientes.

Por otra parte, aunque el hombre se case por lo católico, esto no significa para la mujer que su marido va a ser monógamo, porque él vivirá a su acomodo, comprando por el sistema peninsular todas las demás mujeres que desee, sin tener en cuenta que el primer vínculo lo inhibe para tomar otras mujeres.

El matrimonio católico que se presenta como uno de los sistemas mejores para la transculturación del indígena, para su paso a la civilización y para su incorporación definitiva en la vida colombiana, ya que comienza a aceptarlo gradualmente, con lo cual va quebrando su antigua organización clanil matrilineal, trasciende sobre diversos hechos que transforman radicalmente las costumbres tradicionales. Veamos algunos:

a) El ajuar matrimonial, que en el rito tradicional guajiro corre por cuenta de la mujer, en el católico corresponde íntegramente al hombre, incluyendo en él la casa misma. Sabemos que el pago que el hombre da por su mujer es lo que hace que ella y su parentela materna carguen con estas obligaciones. No habiendo tal desembolso, como no lo hay muchas veces en el matrimonio católico, forzosamente el hombre debe construir, y en efecto lo hace desde antes, su casa y tenerla amueblada adecuadamente con todos los enseres necesarios para la vida doméstica.

b) También en el mantenimiento del hogar la responsabilidad se traslada al hombre, no sólo en lo relativo a su alimentación, a la de la mujer y a la de los hijos, sino también al vestido para todos.

c) Siendo el matrimonio guajiro la base de la organización social, rige de hecho las leyes de herencia. Si una pareja se casa por lo católico, rompe con la legislación y, por lo tanto, las leyes peninsulares ya no le alcanzan y son substituidas por las colombianas. Así, a la muerte del padre, sus bienes los heredarán, no los sobrinos hijos de hermana, sino que, de acuerdo con el derecho colombiano vigente, pasarán a manos de su mujer y de sus hijos, herederos forzosos. Puede seguirse la costumbre de donaciones en vida a los hijos por parte de los padres, pero éstas no constituyen nunca el total de la herencia.

ch) La organización tradicional guajira respecto a tierras hace de ellas un bien comunal repartido entre los diversos grupos familiares, en el cual está permitido el uso y el usufructo, pero con prohibición expresa de enajenarlas. Estos derechos de fijación, cultivo de tierras laborables, pastoreo, goce de los pozos de abastecimiento de agua, aprovechamiento de los productos de los bosques, etc., son negados a la pareja que ha contraído matrimonio de acuerdo con el rito católico.

d) También hay cambios apreciables en el sistema de localización de la nueva pareja, como podrá verse en el aparte correspondiente de este mismo capítulo.

e) El matrimonio católico, como es sabido, da entre nosotros primacía a la transmisión del apellido paterno, lo que no ocurre con los habidos en una unión consagrada por el ritual guajiro, pues en ella los hijos pertenecen a la madre, son su sangre y llevan su apellido exclusivamente. Este hecho muestra a las claras, que por la aceptación del vínculo católico, la mujer aisla a sus descendientes del grupo al cual perteneció, porque desde entonces dejan de llevar su apellido, expresión de su pertenencia, y, por lo mismo, los familiares maternos de la mujer ya no tienen por qué prestarles ayuda económica ni respaldo social cuando lo necesiten. Por su parte, los familiares maternos del padre aceptan difícilmente el que los hijos de uno de sus varones, sean sus hijos en vez de serlo sus sobrinos, y que lleven su apellido, siendo habidos en unión con una mujer de diferente grupo familiar. En cierto modo, los hijos, aunque nominalmente pertenecen al padre, encuentran en sus familiares paternos una situación anormal y un estado espiritual que los rechaza, y en los maternos, una actitud semejante, un poco lastimada, porque de ellos se han separado violentamente por el ma-

trimonio católico de la madre, que ha roto de hecho el vínculo consanguíneo tradicional, asignándoles un apellido diferente.

f) Si la costumbre guajira da a la mujer el derecho de poner el nombre a sus hijos, el matrimonio católico transmite este derecho al hombre. Ella le pone generalmente el de un antepasado, de un hermano o de un tío, y al serle concedido este derecho al hombre, él hace otro tanto. Si el matrimonio es católico, los hijos son bautizados también dentro de este ritual. No quiere decir esto que los niños habidos en el matrimonio guajiro típico, no lo sean también, pero ello es más raro.

g) Con el rompimiento de los lazos consanguíneos que ligan al hijo con los familiares maternos, su educación entonces está influída más directamente por el padre, puesto que se acata definitivamente su voluntad, y se la consulta, reemplazando el padre, de este modo, a los hermanos de la madre, quienes en el matrimonio tradicional asumen tales responsabilidades. Los hijos respetan y obedecen al padre y la dualidad de autoridad que se observa en el hogar guajiro aquí no se siente porque el hombre establece desde el primer momento el predominio de su voluntad en relación con su esposa y con sus descendientes. Así, los hijos forman causa común con el progenitor y lo defienden porque es padre verdadero y no un sér sin el nexo consanguíneo y sin intereses comunes con los hijos.

El hecho de que el padre asuma la responsabilidad de los actos de sus hijos, no quiere decir que, como en el caso del matrimonio guajiro, la madre obtenga entonces el derecho de cobrar a su esposo las consecuencias que sobre ellos hayan recaído por cualquier circunstancia, o viceversa, sino que ambos asumen la total responsabilidad, sin lugar a cobros por parte del uno o del otro cuando la culpa de determinado acto recaiga directamente sobre uno de los cónyuges. Cada uno tiene libertad de castigar a los hijos, sin la aprobación del otro; ninguno se siente inhibido para dar una orden, ni se hace necesaria la consulta a los familiares de ninguno de los dos para tomar una decisión. De esta manera, la autoridad se hace más presente en el hogar, más vinculada a los padres, menos factible de intervenciones de familiares consanguíneos, y menos limitada, haciendo, por consiguiente, más fácil la educación de los hijos y el predominio de una sola autoridad en el hogar.

Matrimonios por relaciones sexuales entre solteros.—Las relaciones sexuales, prematrimoniales, estrictamente prohibidas en la comunidad guajira, a no ser durante la celebración del baile de la cabeza (ceremonia de propiciación de las lluvias y de las cosechas), cuando están permitidas sin

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que traigan castigos sociales a los culpables, dan origen en los tiempos normales a la presentación de un cobro por abuso o usufructo, o a un acuerdo mutuo para la celebración del matrimonio, legalizando así el hecho extrasocial que se ha cometido. Las variedades que pueden presentarse en cuanto a la forma, son las siguientes:

Por rapto, que puede tener dos aspectos: el rapto simulado y el rapto real.

El rapto simulado goza de la aceptación de los familiares maternos de la mujer, quienes sabedores de la relación afectiva entre ella y un individuo de grupo familiar importante, con el que conviene establecer vinculación por medio de un matrimonio, sin que haya petición de mano ni estipulación de pago, dejan ir a la mujer con el pretendiente sin oponer resistencia alguna. Pasado un tiempo le presentan cobro y el hombre envía a sus padrinos familiares para que realicen el arreglo con los familiares maternos de la mujer. Entonces llegan a un acuerdo razonable y el hombre se apresura a cubrir el precio convenido. Este proceso se realiza pacíficamente, contando siempre con la buena voluntad y con la aquiescencia de las dos familias, aunque revista el carácter de un rapto.

El rapto real se lleva a efecto cuando un guajiro joven no puede aun comprar mujer con sus propios haberes, o no quiere hacer reunión de cuotas familiares para comprarla o porque, tratándose de una nueva mujer (poligamia), apela a este procedimiento, pensando muchas veces en la posibilidad de poder burlar el pago o conseguir precio y plazos más adecuados a los bienes que posee. Entonces rapta una mujer y se aleja lo más posible, llevando consigo sus ganados. Este rapto ofrece dos posibilidades al ser presentado el cobro a él y de hecho a sus familiares: primera, pagar el precio de la mujer mediante arreglo posterior, en cuyo caso la unión queda legalizada. El pago se realiza generalmente en dos cuotas. Segunda, cubrir el precio del abuso, es decir, el usufructo que ha hecho de la mujer sin pago previo, y, posteriormente, si está embarazada, las molestias por dicho embarazo y los dolores del parto. En este caso el pago es menor al correspondiente a un matrimonio pobre, y no da derecho al hombre sobre la mujer ni sobre el hijo.

Por embarazo ilícito.—Cuando una mujer soltera resulta embarazada, la familia materna se siente gravemente ofendida y no es raro que los hermanos golpeen brutalmente a la muchacha, diciéndole: "Tú no has sido comprada y estás como una burra": y tratan de hacerle confesar quién es

el autor del embarazo. La madre y las tías intervienen también para regañarla fuertemente. Las familias muy pobres, sabiendo que todo es inútil y que el cobro por abuso no se hará cumplir, se resignan a la situación casi sin protestar. A lo sumo le dicen a la muchacha cuando ya tiene el hijo, con sentido muy despreciativo: "Tú alumbraste como una perra". Es decir, "tú, a quien nadie pagó los sufrimientos de tu embarazo ni los dolores del parto; tú, cuya maternidad no reconoció un causante; tú, que no tienes un hombre conocido que te honre en la maternidad, te asemejas a una perra que alumbra sola y no conoce al autor de su embarazo". Cuando la mujer es de clase alta, casi siempre es abandonada por sus familiares.

Cuando la muchacha es "ligera de cascos", generalmente la mestiza de clase baja, realiza frecuentemente actos sexuales durante su soltería, ocultándolo cuidadosamente a sus familiares; recibe regalos de su amante para satisfacer sus necesidades o ambiciones de adornos y de trajes que honradamente no alcanza a conseguir. Pero evita el embarazo, que según sus propias ideas es posible no cohabitando durante los diez días siguientes al paso de la menstruación, u obligando al civilizado que con ella tiene relaciones, a usar anticonceptivos.

Ocurre también que algunas muchachas de clase media, seducidas por su novio que les promete matrimonio, consienten en convivir con él y callan sus relaciones ilícitas. El hombre les dice: "No lo cuentes, porque ahora no puedo comprarte como esposa. Si te callas, dentro de un año tendré suficiente dinero y entonces te compraré. Tú verás cómo te arreglas para que los tuyos no se den cuenta. Pero en ocasiones la mujer resulta embarazada, y sus familiares, al saberlo, la obligan a confesar quién es el autor de su gravidez, pues como ya lo dijimos, es duramente golpeada. Entonces le presentan cobro al muchacho. Sus familiares sienten que con este hecho se les ha inferido una ofensa grave, pues el abuso cometido en una de sus mujeres rebaja a todos los del grupo clanil, colocándolos en la categoría de esclavos, sin parientes que reclamen por los actos delictuosos en ellos cometidos, y sentando ante toda la comunidad un precedente que los sitúa en una posición en que todas sus mujeres pueden ser fácilmente poseídas por cualquiera que a bien tenga, porque ninguna fuerza varonil familiar las protege. Además, los hombres pierden el prestigio como personas influyentes en el grupo y como varones que no tienen miedo para afrontar valientemente y con éxito cualquier situación como la presente, para sacar avante la honra del clan. Por eso la mujer que habiendo tenido relaciones sexuales ilícitas, se da cuenta de su gravidez, hace lo imposible, como ya lo vimos, por abortar, y lo consigue en la mayoría de los casos.

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A raíz de estas situaciones conflictivas, cuando un guajiro ve a una amiga o parienta suya hablando con un hombre, no tiene ningún inconveniente en recriminarla, diciéndole: "Qué! ¿Ese hombre es tu padre, tu tío o tu hermano para que andes con él, charlando y riendo?" Ella debe en seguida evitar hablar con él y atender sumisa la amonestación, porque de lo contrario, el individuo en cuestión irá a la casa de sus padres —de la muchacha— y les dirá: "¿Quién es ése que anda con tu hija charlando y riendo? ¿Fue que, acaso, ya la compró?" Y los padres, muy enojados por la conducta de la muchacha, la interrogan en esta forma o alguna semejante: "¿Quién es ése que, me dicen, anda contigo charlando? ¿Qué es lo que se quiere?" Ella contesta que es su novio y quiere comprarla, a lo cual sus padres responden: "No es a ti a quien tiene que decírselo, sino a nosotros. No vuelvas a hablar con él".

Fuera de los casos voluntarios hay que anotar los ocurridos por violación que, como ya sabemos, provocan el cobro por el uso ilegal de la mujer, recargado por el abuso de someterla contra su voluntad y por las lesiones que haya sufrido al ser violentada. Si resultare embarazada como consecuencia de esta unión, entonces se presentará el cobro correspondiente a las molestias del embarazo y el alumbramiento. Pero el hecho sufrido por la mujer no será objeto de recriminaciones, ni las desvalorizará ante los ojos del conjunto guajiro, si el pago por lo ocurrido se cubre totalmente. Nada se puede objetar entonces ni a ella ni a sus familiares y el hijo habido pertenecerá a la madre sin que haya por él repulsión ni menosprecio.

Por último, es necesario tener en cuenta también las violaciones frecuentes que hacen los indios ricos en mujeres jóvenes que están todavía en el encierro, cuando ellas pertenecen a grupos pobres y sus familiares han tenido que dejarlas solas en el rancho por una necesidad cualquiera. Dicen que como la mujer está en tratamiento y durante este tiempo quiere la caída evita por medio de yerbas que venga la menstruación, no queda embarazada si tiene relaciones sexuales; pero si tal hecho ocurriera, la mujer será sacada de su encierro inmediatamente y se presentará el cobro correspondiente.

En estos casos que hemos descrito, como en el de rapto, los familiares de la muchacha obligan al seductor a casarse, pagando lo estipulado, o a cubrir una cantidad determinada por el abuso cometido; si ninguna de las dos cosas se cumple, la enemistad entre los dos grupos interesados sobreviene y, como consecuencia de ella, la guerra.

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Matrimonio por adulterio.—Cuando una mujer comete adulterio y conocido el caso se trata de arreglar por las vías legales, el amante es obligado por los familiares maternos a dar lo reclamado por el esposo legítimo, o a cubrirles el valor de un matrimonio corriente, caso en el cual la mujer en litigio pasa a ser su legítima esposa según la ley guajira.

En la actualidad esta costumbre, que inicialmente concluía con la muerte del amante, del marido, o de los dos, ya que el segundo trataba de solucionar el problema en esta forma, pese a las consecuencias futuras, se ha ido perdiendo debido a la emigración de los hombres y la prostitución creciente de las mujeres, dentro y fuera de la Península, por las múltiples razones ya vistas.

Matrimonio de siervas y esclavas.—Aunque este aspecto se tratará en toda su extensión en el capítulo correspondiente a *Esclavitud y servidumbre*, queremos presentarlo, siquiera sea someramente, en este capítulo, para no romper el orden de ideas que nos hemos trazado.

Las mujeres y los niños tomados prisioneros en las guerras que grupos clánicos poderosos declaran a clanes débiles cuando éstos han ocasionado la muerte de alguno de sus miembros, entran en calidad de esclavos. Esto significa que la voluntad todopoderosa del dueño se impone en cada uno de los actos de su vida, llegando inclusive hasta poder matarlos, sin lugar a reclamo, ya que sus miembros familiares que serían los reclamantes, han sido sacrificados o dispersados.

De esta manera, las mujeres esclavas adultas o niñas pueden ser vendidas y en efecto lo son, especialmente para ser llevadas a Curazao, Trinidad, etc.; regaladas a los parientes o utilizadas en los servicios domésticos. Por tanto, si el dueño de la esclava quiere poseerla, ella debe acceder a su deseo, y el hijo que pudiere resultar de estas relaciones, será de propiedad del padre, dueño de la esclava. Por otra parte, si algún hombre que gusta de la esclava, quiere comprarla, hace negocio con su dueño y paga por ella lo pedido, con lo cual la libera y le da la categoría de esposa y sus hijos serán libres y pertenecerán al grupo materno que sus opresores han querido extinguir. Si la mujer esclava ha mantenido relaciones con alguno y como consecuencia de ellas resulta embarazada, su dueño se apresura a obligarla a confesar quién es el causante del embarazo, para hacerle efectivo el cobro. Si se paga sólo el abono (que es lo que se hace cuando el amo es persona influyente), su dueño lo recibe, el hijo queda esclavo como su madre, pero en grado menor de opresión.

Sucede en ocasiones que el autor del embarazo de una esclava es un hijo del dueño de la esclava. En tal caso no hay cobro, sino que a lo sumo, la madre reprende al muchacho, se deja que la gravidez llegue a su término y queda el hijo en la misma condición de la madre, es decir, esclavo.

Como lo que pone límite a la libertad sexual del hombre es el cobro que los familiares de la mujer le presentan, cuando ella no los tiene o son poco poderosos, es objeto del atrevimiento y deseo de los hombres que encuentran en ella una fácil y poco peligrosa satisfacción. Así, las mujeres esclavas son ininterrumpidamente sondadas por todos, sin que tengan defensa alguna, ya que sus dueños en veces no reclaman, puesto que los hijos habidos les proporcionan una ganancia más, porque pasan a ser posesión suya.

Igual situación o peor es la que soportan las hijas de las esclavas que han sido compradas por alguien a su amo como esposas, porque ellas pertenecen al grupo familiar materno que ha sido destruido o dispersado y ellas son, realmente, las únicas componentes de su clan. En esta situación, no bien han llegado a la pubertad, son violentadas o sondadas y ellas, ante la imposibilidad de defenderse, se van entregando sucesivamente hasta terminar en prostitutas.

Volviendo a las esclavas diremos, por fin, que el amo puede darlas como mujer a un esclavo suyo, o venderlas a otro propietario para mujer de uno de sus esclavos. Si compra una esclava para proporcionar mujer a uno de sus esclavos, los hijos que de tal unión haya, serán suyos, como suyo será también el importe de la venta de la primera hija de esta unión, para pagarse a sí mismo el valor de la madre. (El aspecto de la descendencia será tratado ampliamente en el capítulo *Parentesco* y *Sexualidad*).

Localización.—La ley guajira sobre tierras abre al indio extenso campo para fijar su residencia, una vez que ha contraído matrimonio, pues fuera de que primordialmente la nueva célula familiar puede establecer su habitación, bien en la casa materna de la mujer, o en la misma del hombre, se le ofrecen también las siguientes posibilidades: a) Por parte de la mujer, en las tierras de las mujeres de cada uno de sus hermanos, ya que el pago familiar por la compra de ella incluye el derecho al establecimiento de viviendas, aperturas de rozas y pastoreo de ganado, derecho que se adquiere también en las tierras clánicas de las mujeres de los tíos maternos; b) Por parte del hombre, en las tierras de su padre y en las de las mujeres de sus hermanos y tíos maternos, por las mismas razones anotadas anteriormente.

Pero la costumbre guajira se inclina generalmente a la fijación de la vivienda al lado de la madre de la mujer, de manera que puede decirse que

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el matrimonio es monogámico. En unión de las familias maternas de la esposa, la nueva pareja construye un tiempo en la misma casa, pero cuando la familia aumenta y cuando el continuismo de su economía les va proporcionando cierta independencia, construyen una casa cercana a la de la madre.

Es posible que a la localización matrimonial contribuya el pago, pues como ya lo vimos, debe compromete a los consanguíneos de la muchacha a suministrar vivienda y alimentos al hombre.

Pasada una temporada más o menos larga en las tierras clánicas de la mujer, la familia, aumentada ya considerablemente, y estabilizada la economía por un mejor desempeño de la mujer y por la colaboración de los hijos, establecen su nueva vivienda en la ranchería de los padres del marido, en donde permanecen hasta que el hogar se disgrega por la muerte de uno de los cónyuges. Si es el hombre el que muere, la mujer y los hijos se trasladan nuevamente al lado de la abuela materna; si es la mujer, el hombre permanece en su ranchería, pero los hijos regresan a las tierras del clan materno, que es al que pertenecen, según el derecho de la descendencia uterina, caso que también ocurre cuando mueren ambos cónyuges.

Hasta aquí el sistema tradicional guajiro. Pero, en los últimos tiempos, debido a la influencia del mestizaje y de la transculturación, la situación ha cambiado. Entre los mestizos es muy común que el hombre lleve a vivir a la mujer a la casa de sus padres para que la madre la oriente y la encauce en sus tareas de hogar. Y es posible también que en esta localización influya el pago, pues cuando la mujer no ha sido adquirida, de acuerdo con la legislación guajira, el sostenimiento del hogar corre por cuenta exclusiva del hombre. De esta manera, el apoyo que puede recibir, será exclusivamente el de sus padres y esto es, justamente, lo que determina la patrilocalidad en estos casos.

Pasado un tiempo, si la situación económica del marido es buena, se construye una vivienda cerca a la de sus padres, cuyas iniciativa y construcción corren generalmente por cuenta del padre del muchacho. Es frecuente, sin embargo, que por circunstancias particulares de la familia, la convivencia se prolongue indefinidamente.

Esta localización se refiere al matrimonio con la primera mujer, en ambos casos, pues las siguientes mujeres siguen viviendo generalmente en casa de sus padres. A lo más que se llega en estos casos de poligamia, es a la convivencia de varias mujeres en una sola casa, sobre todo cuando son hermanas o cuando se entienden bien. Con la muerte de cada una de las esposas, la familia se va disgregando en la forma descrita anteriormente.

En el caso de matrimonio de una guajira con un civilizado, puede respetarse la tradición de la matrilocalidad, o establecerse en un punto cualquiera, de acuerdo con las conveniencias del marido que es, también en este caso, el que tiene que hacerse cargo de las necesidades económicas del hogar. Generalmente la localización se hace en un centro urbano.

Intervención de la familia en el matrimonio.—En el primer matrimonio del guajiro, la familia juega un papel trascendente, respecto no sólo de la mujer sino también del hombre. En relación con éste, el sentido de cooperación y mutua ayuda del grupo clanil se hace presente. Ya el hombre casadero es una unidad económica independiente pero necesita de la ayuda de los suyos. La cuota matrimonial es crecida y no puede cubrirla con su aporte individual. La ayuda de sus consanguíneos lo subordina a ellos. Deberá, entonces, hacer algo semejante cuando un pariente afronta la misma necesidad y tardíamente resarcirá a quienes lo ayudaron con el importe de venta de su primera hija.

Otro aspecto sobre el que trasciende es el de la herencia. El aporte económico dado por los suyos descarta a los hijos y a su mujer, que ya han recibido la herencia en la persona de sus familiares uterinos con el precio de compra.

Intervienen las dos familias activamente, en las ceremonias de negociación y compra de la mujer (Cf. *Ritual de compra*. Cap. V), y en las de devolución, cuando la mujer no fue doncella al matrimonio, en caso de adulterio, abandono del hogar, descuido de los hijos o muerte de ellos. (Cf. *Valoración de la mujer y de la virginidad*, *Adulterio y disolución del Matrimonio*. Cap. V, *Maternidad* Cap. VI).

Corresponde al grupo consanguíneo de la mujer proporcionar de acuerdo con su status, medios de subsistencia al marido, cuando aquélla no es capaz de hacerlo por sí misma. [illegible] esta función el grupo como obligación derivada del pago matrimonial.

Pero donde se marca la influencia familiar de los consanguíneos de la mujer, en una forma más acusada y decisiva, en la vida matrimonial de su pariente, es cuando ésta se deriva de una forma extralegal: rapto o seducción. La razón de ello estriba en el hecho de que se pone en juego el prestigio del grupo clanil.

Cuando se efectúa el matrimonio, de acuerdo con el ritual católico, no es raro que la familia materna interponga su influencia para que a éste acompañe el guajiro la tradicional compra, con el objeto de que la nueva célula familiar no quede fuera de la sociedad y de la cultura guajiras.

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Vida sexual.—El aspecto sexual es uno de los atractivos básicos en la vida matrimonial del guajiro. El hombre espera que su esposa lo satisfaga sexualmente, y por lo mismo, la mujer que se casa sabe de antemano que uno de sus deberes principales es llevar vida marital con su esposo y, más aún, satisfacer sus predilecciones en este sentido, haciendo a un lado sus propios deseos y su voluntad, prestándose gustosa cada vez que él la solicita y adoptando las actitudes que más placer le pueden proporcionar.

La mujer hace caso omiso de su voluntad y de sus caprichos en las relaciones maritales por dos razones: primera, porque ella considera y sabe —por la educación que durante el encierro recibió— que ese es su obligación y que en ello estriba, en gran parte, la felicidad de su vida conyugal. Segunda, porque al satisfacer hasta el menor de los voluntariosos caprichos sexuales de su marido, adquiere un gran dominio sobre él. De ahí que se imponga sobre las naturales repugnancias que en ella provocan estos hechos, porque además, hay que tener en cuenta que aunque un guajiro pueda estar muy satisfecho y orgulloso de su esposa como ama de casa, como administradora de los bienes de la familia, como mujer de trabajo, como conocedora de la suma de normas culturales, etc., si con el correr del tiempo y sobre todo con la frecuente maternidad pierde sus atractivos físicos, la cambia por otra más joven que sigue la regla general de prestarse dócilmente a ser instrumento de placer de su marido para obtener también dominio sobre él y lograr que paulatinamente vaya relegando a la anterior.

Todos estos fenómenos son los que impelen a la mujer a apelar al arma sexual en el matrimonio para tener ascendiente sobre su esposo y para evitar a toda costa que él compre otra mujer que le haría perder su importancia y su dominio inicial. Y es por esto también, por lo que procura en cuanto está a su alcance, buscar la fuente misma de su atracción y apelar al uso de yerbas medicinales o someterse a una serie de rituales mágicos que se dirigen a la conservación de su atractivo físico, y a evitar, hasta lo imposible la maternidad.

No obstante que el guajiro se apega pasionalmente a la mujer que más satisfacciones le proporciona, no deja de reconocer y de valorar altamente otras cualidades, especialmente cuando se trata de comprar su primera esposa. La razón de esto estriba en que es ella, y no las demás, la que lo representará socialmente en cada uno de los actos de la vida de comunidad.

Las funciones biológicas cuando se trata de matrimonios entre indígenas puros, se realizan libremente, sin cuidarse de la presencia de extraños, —bien sea en la casa o en el campo— y aún delante de los hijos pe-

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quiles, que desde su tierna infancia se acostumbran a ver tranquilamente estas manifestaciones biológicas.

Si la mujer se pliega a la voluntad del marido que exige satisfacción en cualquier momento y lugar, espera por su parte, retribución a sus deseos, a lo que el hombre accede en lo posible, por temor al adulterio de su mujer que lo desprestigia.

El guajiro acostumbra vivir cerca de la mujer o mujeres que más desea, o visitarlas asiduamente y pasar a su lado largas temporadas. Y es durante estas cuando las demás co-esposas manifiestan celos o encuentran oportunidad para ser infieles. Como esto resta en cierto modo prestigio al marido, el guajiro va de un lugar a otro, frecuentando sus mujeres, sin cuidarse del excesivo, porque cree que es clara manifestación de hombría, que le confiere mayor resistencia física y mejor desarrollo de sus funciones masculinas, aspecto este muy importante porque corresponde al ideal de hombre de la Guajira.

Cuando forzado por circunstancias especiales se ve obligado a estar ausente de sus mujeres por más de tres días, no es raro que subitamente abandone el trabajo, y así tenga que hacer largas caminatas o grandes sacrificios va en busca de la mujer predilecta. Esta, que sabe que el hombre la desea y que ha sido elegida entre todas las demás para satisfacerlo, procura complacerlo y asegurar con ello una vez más su posición superior sobre las demas co-esposas y eliminarlas con respecto del marido común, en una lucha permanente y oculta contra la poligamia.

El acto biológico en las parejas casadas no tiene limitación formal, pero cuando se trata de relaciones extralegales, la mujer no se permite ninguna desviación de lo normal, llegando inclusive, hasta no permitir al hombre la vista de su cuerpo, porque considera que con ello se convierte en un juguete, mero instrumento de placer, en un irracional que carece de poder y sentido de dignidad. Por eso observa un quietismo absoluto, pues no quiere que el hombre en una de sus frecuentes borracheras la designe. También porque la catalogaría dentro de las esclavas que no pueden en virtud de su estado oponer resistencia alguna a las imposiciones de sus amos.

Hay que observar, que si bien es cierto que la mujer casada se pliega a los caprichos de su marido por las razones anotadas, también lo es que guarda en su interior una sensación de disgusto y desencanto por el matrimonio y sus funciones que la convierte, según su opinión, primordialmente en un objeto de placer, lo que descarta y coloca en segundo plano las otras posibilidades y cualidades que la guajira pueda tener; y, como en el caso de las relaciones ilegales, mencionadas anteriormente, ella se ve dominada

en su categoría de mujer libre, de sér racional. Siente que se le ha desposeído de su voluntad y que no cuenta como persona. Por eso mira interiormente su vida matrimonial como un deber duro de cumplir, en pugna con su propia personalidad, y de ahí que el hombre busque la mentira, liberada de otros prejuicios y por lo mismo más capacitada para dar y derivar para sí en la vida matrimonial mayores satisfacciones que la indígena pura.

Como no es raro que un hombre tenga dos, tres y aún más co-esposas conviviendo en una casa, su conducta en sus relaciones conyugales es muy medida, si quiere conservar por lo menos en apariencia la cordialidad entre ellas, porque de lo contrario originaría celos y una lucha encomada de largas repercusiones. Como cada una trata de hacer un motivo que la justifique ante las demás como superior, él debe ser extremadamente cuidadoso. Por eso duermen afuera en la enramada, mientras sus mujeres con los hijos, lo hacen en el interior de la vivienda. Nunca insinúa a alguna de ellas la perspectiva de pasar la noche juntos, porque la así preferida denunciaría tal preferencia a las demás para colocarse en plano de superioridad. Por esta razón recibe a la que voluntariamente va a buscarlo a su hamaca.

El hombre suspende la vida marital durante el período avanzado del embarazo. Lo hace impulsado por el temor de un aborto que pueda incriminarle y por la creencia de que origina malos partos.

Después del nacimiento de un hijo la vida matrimonial no se reanuda hasta que la mujer la solicita voluntariamente.

Idea sobre la fecundación.—El guajiro sabe que la fecundación es el resultado de la acción conjunta de la mujer y el hombre mediante el acto sexual. Sabe que en este acto, el hombre aporta un elemento que unido con el femenino formará el nuevo sér. Dice que la mujer tiene en sus entrañas un órgano especial donde aquél irá a formarse, la matriz, llamada en lengua indígena *wó-ko-chon* (lugar de formación de los niños). Pero para poder llegar a ser fecundas, las mujeres, es necesario que sufran regularmente el fenómeno de la menstruación. De lo contrario serían estériles y ellas conocen en la Guajira casos de estas.

Explican la necesidad de la menstruación en la fecundación diciendo que, después de pasado este fenómeno, a pesar de que la mujer se baña el cuerpo y los órganos genitales externos cuidadosamente, queda en el interior de la matriz un poco de sangre de la menstruación, la última en el período, y que al realizarse el acto sexual, el aporte masculino mezclado con la sangre femenina formará el nuevo sér, que desde el primer momento ofrece todas las características de un adulto pero en miniatura, pero que

necesita de un período de permanencia en el claustro materno para alimentarse y desarrollarse debidamente. Llegado este momento tiene lugar el alumbramiento. No saben cuál es la razón que origina la diferencia de sexo. Creen por otra parte, que la sangre femenina, fuera de ser su aporte en la formación inicial del nuevo sér, es su alimento, porque han observado la desaparición de la regla durante el embarazo.

Por eso la pérdida que de ella sufre la madre durante el embarazo (alimentación del feto) y el alumbramiento, provoca que sus familiares la cubran al marido y exijan dos pagos por este concepto, de lo cual ya hablamos en un aparte especial de este capítulo.

Ahora podemos explicarnos porqué el pago hecho en tales circunstancias, no puede ser tocado por la mujer ni consumido por ella cuando se trata de animales, pues, como dijimos, significaría que se estaba comiendo a sí misma, pues representa la sangre perdida, parte de su propia vida.

La mujer en estado grávido adquiere determinadas propiedades mágicas y se ve obligada a observar una gran cantidad de tabúes que tienen por objeto llevar a feliz término la gestación que está cumpliendo. Por sí mismo: ella es un potencial mágico peligroso para los seres debilitados como los enfermos a los que no puede visitar porque les infunde cierta pesantez y malestar que les agrava el mal o les trae la muerte.

También sabe el guajiro que en determinada edad de la vida, la mujer deja de menstruar y afirma que desde entonces ya no tendrá más hijos, porque su órgano interno "se ha dañado", es decir "no sabe funcionar más" y por tanto es incapaz de suministrar la sangre, elemento femenino indispensable para la fecundación.

* * *

El guajiro tiene también su propia teoría respecto a la fecundación de los oviparos. Cree que en el acto sexual el macho deja en las entrañas de la hembra el elemento masculino necesario para la formación del nuevo animal. Este elemento masculino se une al aporte de la hembra y cuando ésta pone el huevo, ambos están reunidos y si se sigue el proceso de empollamiento se lleva a término el desarrollo del nuevo sér. Comparan este último proceso con el que se verifica en el claustro materno en los humanos con la diferencia de que el alimento lo encuentra en los mismos elementos femenino y masculino que constituyen el huevo. El calentamiento es la ayuda de los padres.

El elemento masculino en el huevo está representado por dos partes: el punto rojo, o germinativo sin el cual no puede realizarse el desarrollo del

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pulsado y por tanto lo consideran más importante que la clara, que por su semejanza con el esperma creen que también es aporte del macho. El llamado por ellos punto rojo es según su opinión la parte realmente vital puesto que ellos han observado que cuando éste falta el huevo no empolla a pesar de encontrarse el otro elemento masculino, la clara, de naturaleza secundaria.

El aporte femenino está representado por la yema. Ellos al abrir los aves hembras han encontrado en su interior la llamada "huevera" donde se encuentran las yemas u óvulos, y por esto creen que es ésta la única porción que la naturaleza asigna a la hembra.

Respecto a la fecundación de los demás vivíparos el guajiro tiene conocimientos empíricos fruto de su observación personal y de su contacto frecuente con los animales. Sabe que las hembras de dichos animales sufren el fenómeno de la menstruación, pero anotan que no en una forma periódica y constante sino esporádica. Durante este proceso biológico la hembra se hace fértil para la fecundación y busca el macho, porque durante este tiempo ella puede dar el aporte femenino o sea la sangre menstrual. En tal momento el macho se siente atraído por la hembra y entra en celo, lo que da por resultado que la persigue hasta fecundarla, haciendo que el semen entre en mezcla con la sangre dentro de la matriz y así se forme el nuevo animalito, que como el humano necesita un período de formación, antes del alumbramiento.

Ellos han observado también que una vez que el macho realiza la fecundación, como la menstruación no retorna hasta un período posterior al parto, el macho no vuelve a entrar en celo con esta hembra, a la que respeta. Observa esto para fijar una diferencia con el hombre que tiene acceso carnal con una hembra grávida y aún durante un período avanzado de su embarazo.

Comportamiento de la mujer con el marido.—El pago que el hombre da por la mujer, establece el principio de que ésta echa sobre sí una serie de obligaciones que incluyen las materiales de hospitalidad, alimento, vestido y satisfacción sexual; y las no materiales de sumisión, obediencia y fidelidad. Para llevar a cabo las primeras se ayudan con el dinero obtenido por la venta de los objetos de tejido que pueden elaborar, con sus propiedades personales en ganado y con las siembras y frutos silvestres.

Cuando el marido llega a la casa, la mujer se apresura a colgarle su chinchorro en la enramada, pues esta atención es básica en las normas generales de etiqueta y de hospitalidad con los visitantes, familiares o extra-

tas que lleguen al hogar, máxime tratándose del marido. Si regresa de una expedición de caza, debe tenerle, además, varias múcuras de agua para que el hombre se bañe antes de entrar a la casa y de tenderse en su chinchorro en la enramada; también, ropa limpia, es decir, una faja y un guayuco que es el vestido acostumbrado comúnmente. En seguida le traerá alguna bebida refrescante de frutas silvestres, de maíz o de yuca. Si después de una expedición de caza el hombre regresara a su casa y no encontrara todas estas cosas listas, se quejaría a su mujer y le echaría en cara su falta de atención. Pasados algunos momentos después de la llegada del hombre a la casa, la mujer deberá suministrarle alimentos, preparando una porción de la presa que él haya traído, tratando de hacer un plato que sea de su gusto. Luego se sentará a su lado, en el suelo, al pie del chinchorro donde él reposa y le dirigirá la palabra para comunicarle las cosas ocurridas durante su ausencia del hogar y la conducta que todos y cada uno de los miembros de la casa han observado en este lapso de tiempo. Si el hombre duerme, ella permanecerá a su lado silenciosa.

Otra de las obligaciones que la mujer tiene para con su marido se refiere a la satisfacción sexual, que ya vimos en uno de los apartes precedentes.

Los deberes respecto a la alimentación no se refieren solamente a la obligación de suministrarle alimentos, sino a la forma especial de hacerlo, sirviéndole la mejor porción en vasija especial y antes que a nadie en la casa, y elaborando los alimentos de acuerdo con el gusto especial del hombre.

También es parte de sus obligaciones la atención debida a los amigos de su esposo cuando van al hogar. Es común que el hombre lleve al hogar de su primera esposa a sus amigos íntimos para atenderlos y su mujer debe desempeñar entonces, adecuadamente, el papel de buena ama de casa dando cumplimiento a todas las normas tradicionales de etiqueta y de hospitalidad, tales como proporcionarles chinchorros en la enramada, suministrarles bebidas frescas y ante todo, un pocillo de café, a cualquier hora del día o de la noche que ellos lleguen, darles alimento de acuerdo con la tradición de su gente y con el rango particular de los visitantes, charlar con ellos, sentada cerca de su marido, al pie del chinchorro que éste ocupa. Si ocurre el caso de que el marido y sus amigos están de juerga y han ido a la casa para seguir bebiendo, ella sólo puede intervenir para llevarles la bebida, para contestar las preguntas que se le hacen, secamente, sin intervenir en la conversación que los hombres adelantan, porque si llegara a hacerlo el grupo se disolvería, empezando por el marido que la calificaría de entrometida. Su actitud, pues, debe ser muy prudente y debe estar lista para evitar que una

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discutida cualquiera dé margen a una querella que pueda traer malas consecuencias. En caso de que ésta se presente su obligación es calmar y separar a los contendientes para que no vayan a hacerse daño y, posteriormente, tratar de tranquilizar los ánimos enardecidos.

Si llega algún visitante a la casa cuando el marido está ausente, su mujer debe atenderlo debidamente, pues de lo contrario el huésped se quejaría al esposo de las desatenciones de su mujer. Pero en tales circunstancias ella debe observar ciertas normas encaminadas a defender su propio honor. Por ejemplo, el chinchorro debe ser colgado en la enramada para que el visitante descanse, pero nunca debe hacerlo seguir a la alcoba o al interior de la casa, pues si su marido llega a saberlo, le reprochará acremente tal actitud. Además, cualquier curioso que pasara por la casa y se diera cuenta de la presencia de un extraño en la alcoba, en ausencia del hombre del hogar, tendría margen suficiente para dar rienda suelta a sus murmuraciones, poniendo en peligro el prestigio de la mujer. Cuando el huésped descanse en el chinchorro, ella se sienta al pie para atenderlo, ocupándose en alguna labor manual que le permita prestar atención a la visita.

La mujer debe mostrar especial interés por la conservación y el progreso de las propiedades del marido. Le corresponde mantener limpias y en buen estado sus prendas de vestir, sus armas, sus objetos personales, etc., para poder dar buena cuenta de ellas cuando el marido las solicita. Lo mismo con el ganado cuando el hombre se ausenta del hogar por cualquier circunstancia, haciendo que los hijos o los sirvientes cuiden de ellos debidamente.

Si el esposo llega a enfermar, ella debe atenderlo con esmero y dar cuenta inmediata a sus familiares maternos —a los del marido—, para que si llega a morir no la inculpen de su muerte. Si es necesario recurrir a los servicios profesionales del piache, ella debe contar primordialmente con la aquiescencia de sus allegados que son los encargados de hacer tales diligencias, y llegado el caso de que el piache intervenga, ofrecer sus servicios, aunque generalmente éste —el piache— prefiere a una hermana o a la madre del paciente como ayudante en sus operaciones mágicas. Si es uno de los hijos el que enferma, en ausencia del marido, su deber inmediato es enviarle un emisario para comunicarle la noticia, a fin de evitar posteriores recriminaciones y cobros por parte del hombre en caso de que el hijo muera. Esto último se debe al hecho de que la mujer es responsable ante el marido de lo que pueda ocurrir a los hijos en su ausencia o a consecuencia de una orden suya. Pero esto es recíproco. Por ejemplo, si por un regaño cualquiera, uno de los hijos se suicida, la culpa de su muerte recae en el que tomó la deter-

misición del regalo, y debe pagar al otro cónyuge y a sus familiares maternos, una suma determinada.

Las atenciones debidas por la mujer al marido se concentran y se hacen más claras en los momentos en que el hombre está ebrio, pues en tales momentos ella no debe abandonarlo, o debe acudir en su búsqueda si estando solo le avisan que se encuentra borracho, con el fin de evitar que ofenda de palabra o de hecho a los extraños, dando con ello margen a un disgusto y a situaciones de hecho que podrían envolver a sus familiares en un conflicto, en el cual quedarían incluídos los familiares de la mujer si ella no estuviera alerta para evitarlo, pues entonces se la consideraría culpable. Por otra parte, el hombre en este estado puede no sólo causar ofensas a los demás, si su mujer no lo cuida, sino que aún puede atentar contra su propia vida. Si por cualquier circunstancia el hombre borracho, sin la presencia de su mujer, llegara a suicidarse, la culpa de este acto caería sobre la esposa, como causante indirecta, por descuido, de la muerte de su esposo. Su deber es, pues, alejarlo de los sitios en donde haya posibilidades de disgusto y si no lo logra, no abandonarlo ni un instante para alejar el peligro de la bebida; y, además, obedecerle puntualmente y darle gusto en todos sus caprichos. Los guajiros afirman que el indio borracho se convierte en un verdadero niño con duras voluntariosas, y que llega a peor, cuando está bondo, a su mujer que lo arrulle, que le haga mimos, que lo deje recostarse en su regazo o que se acuste con él en su chinchorro, a todo lo cual ella debe atender. Otros, por el contrario se tornan agresivos y en ocasiones cuando revisan las ofensas de que han sido víctimas en épocas pasadas, situación ante la cual las mujeres deben permanecer silenciosas, no dando margen a ninguna posible discusión que traería como consecuencia que el hombre, enfurecido, las golpeara. No debe tampoco la mujer hacerle reclamos de ninguna clase cuando él está borracho por las ofensas que pueda hacerle, sino esperar hasta que haya dormido y pasado la borrachera, después de lo cual él pregunta por lo que hizo durante su embriaguez, oportunidad que la mujer aprovecha para hacer las reclamaciones que él escucha cuidadosamente y luego se entera de la mujer manera posible o repara en alguna forma la injusticia cometida, bien regalándole una manta nueva si en su arrebato le rompió la otra, o haciéndole promesas de amor y disculpándose todo con el estado de hombre al cual no hay que hacerle caso. La mujer, después de estas explicaciones, no debe guardar rencor.

En el aspecto de la poligamia, la mujer debe mostrar una actitud resignada, sin poner trabas a una nueva compañera, y si es llamada a convivir con ella, evitar las fricciones y peleas, teniendola fraternalmente con su

larla ni celar al marido. La convivencia de las co-esposas debe ser tan generosa, como si se trataría de buenas compañeras. Así se espera que se hagan partícipes de las presas cobradas por el hombre en la caza, que se ayuden en sus necesidades, que no se hagan recriminaciones cuando el marido, por algún motivo y por cierto tiempo, pasa en compañía exclusiva de una de ellas, que no se ridiculicen mutuamente en su presencia, que compartan los alimentos que haya en la casa donde viven reunidas y que cuiden como madres la descendencia. A la muerte de alguna de ellas, las demás deben ir a su velorio y demostrar su pesar. En fin, deben adoptar una conducta de lealtad mutua. Estas son las respuestas idealizadas que la cultura espera de la mujer guajira frente al problema de la poligamia. Sin embargo, la realidad es muy distinta. La mujer prefiere tener por co-esposas a amigas suyas muy apreciadas, o, mejor aún, a hermanas, pues de esta manera la vida es más llevadera y pueden compartir el afecto del esposo con verdadero sentido de compañerismo.

La conducta de la mujer, cuando llegue su marido, pese a que su ausencia haya sido muy prolongada, debe ser de cariñosa solicitud como si no le importara; no inquirir la causa de la ausencia si el hombre la calla; aceptar la excusa que presente, aún a sabiendas de que es mentira; no satirizarlo, ni mencionar el nombre de las otras mujeres, ni decirle, por ejemplo: "¿Cómo te fue posible dejar la linda cara de fulanita?". La mujer debe conservar esta actitud, porque su marido puede venir prevenido por la otra contra ella, y con esta manera de portarse se siente desarmado. Es posible que la anterior co-esposa le haya dicho: "Tu otra mujer es muy malcriada. Tú eres muy bueno y no debes vivir con ella, por altanera y desobediente. No hace sino insultarte porque me quieres. Me tiene envidia y no te respeta. Yo no sé porqué te dejas decir tántas cosas molestas de ella". La actitud pasiva y desprovista de la mujer convence al marido de la mentira de lo que ha oído con anterioridad y entonces a su regreso replica a la acusadora: "No es cierto lo que tú me dijiste. Ella me ha recibido con cariño y atenciones. Nada ha dicho de ti". Algunas veces el marido, queriendo cerciorarse de las intrigas, comenta algo de la mujer preferida. La otra debe decirle que verdaderamente así es y hacer su elogio. En tal caso, el marido volverá con la noticia a su favorita: "Mi otra mujer es buena. Ha dicho muchas cosas bellas de ti. Te estima y no te envidia". Sin embargo, ésta puede responder que lo ha dicho porque le teme, y así prosigue una verdadera lucha de intrigas entre las mujeres, cada una tratando de acaparar para sí todo el afecto del marido. De aquí el empleo tan generalizado de cámaras amorosas de otros pueblos, y todo el conjunto

de prácticas mágicas para mantener el cariño del hombre. Porque, aunque culturalmente no se acepte, la actitud de unas y otras es de permanente agresión. Esto obliga al guajiro, cuando no se trata de hermanas, a mantener a sus distintas esposas separadas, en cuanto le es posible, pues cuando la casualidad las coloca frente a frente no es raro que se insulten y pasen de las palabras a los hechos, hasta hacerse daño. La hostilidad de unas y otras se aumenta con los comentarios y noticias que las amigas llevan y traen respecto de la conducta del marido y de lo que cada una dice de la otra, a fin de obtener una recompensa (el acostumbrado pago por información). La situación llega a hacerse tan tensa, que cuando el marido sale, la mujer lo sigue para enterarse a qué sitio se dirige; observa sus rastros y cuando no puede ir en su seguimiento, lo hace vigilar por un hijo que cuenta luégo lo ocurrido a su madre.

Cuando varias co-esposas viven en una misma casa y no se entienden, es común que la lucha entre ellas llegue hasta la destrucción mutua de los objetos de propiedad personal. Cuando el marido da algún regalo a una de ellas, su enemiga más declarada, aprovechando una de sus ausencias, lo busca por todas partes y cuando lo encuentra lo vuelve pedazos o lo quema. A veces la actitud beligerante se desata en presencia del esposo que tiene que apelar a toda su autoridad y aún a la fuerza para separar a las contendientes que de los insultos pasan a los hechos.

Cuando el hombre muere, los familiares suyos van a la casa donde ha ocurrido la muerte y se inicia el velorio, de acuerdo con su categoría. Sus esposas concurren y deben exteriorizar su pesar y ocupar el lugar que les corresponde como mujeres del difunto, y realizar las normas tradicionales de culto a los muertos.

La mujer no está obligada a hacer causa común con el marido. Sin embargo, en la actualidad se han visto casos en que la mujer del asesino haya sido quemada o sometida a torturas, incluyéndola con ello en la categoría de parienta consanguínea del marido. Pero la cultura establece el principio de la no participación de las mujeres en la lucha de los hombres.

Comportamiento del hombre.—Aunque la mujer guajira tiene siempre el respaldo de sus familiares maternos para contrarrestar las posibles agresiones de su marido, y aunque cualquier desmán de parte de éste es ilegal, generalmente no disfruta de buen tratamiento, lo que atribuyen muchas mujeres de diversas regiones al problema de la poligamia.

Cuando el hombre tiene una sola mujer, su vida se ciñe a las pautas culturales y tiene para con su esposa manifestaciones afectivas expresadas

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un apoyo para ella y para los hijos y ayuda voluntaria en la alimentación y el vestido. Pero cuando compra otra mujer, la nueva desplaza a la primera, que puede ser relegada a un último término, aunque ella mantiene su prestigio social de primera esposa por el respaldo familiar económico-social que es considerable y por esta razón difícilmente el marido puede hacerla objeto de malos tratos, de manera que su conducta extrema es el abandono.

El abandono de las demás mujeres es sucesivo y así lo saben ellas. Pero puede ocurrir que una atraiga la atención del hombre y que éste abandone a las demás o las haga víctimas de sus malos tratos constantemente.

De aquí la lucha de la mujer contra la poligamia. Ella sabe y se siente considerablemente de que su marido se case nuevamente. Piensa que es que ella ya no lo satisface y se muestra celosa; y estos celos y las recriminaciones a que dan origen, pueden ser la causa de las disoluciones conyugales tan frecuentes en los hogares guajiros.

Una segunda causa del mal trato de que hacen víctimas los guajiros a sus mujeres es el desequilibrio entre el status de los dos cónyuges. Al faltarle respaldo efectivo a la mujer, el hombre no le concede beligerancia a su conducta, ni limita sus reacciones de enojo. Ella por su parte oculta su posición ante familiares y extraños para no dar indicio de su desprestigio y su inferiorización, que podría ser aprovechada por terceros en su persona o en la de sus hijos.

Una tercera causa es el abuso que hace el hombre de bebidas embriagantes, pues aprovecha las fiestas o reuniones importantes suyas o extrañas para concurrir a ellas y para beber, o lo hace, sin motivo alguno aparente. En tales momentos se ponen de relieve los aspectos más agudos de su personalidad. Se torna agresivo, busca querella a quien puede, recuerda el pasado y si en él encuentra un motivo de ofensa, así sea el más insignificante, lo renueva hasta exaltarse y dar rienda suelta a su impulso agresivo, como por ejemplo que su mujer no llegó virgen al matrimonio o que no está seguro de su fidelidad. La más mínima desobediencia puede ser el estímulo suficiente para que se desate contra la mujer, cantándole canciones abusivas a su no doncellez prematrimonial o a sus defectos y luego pasa de las palabras a las amenazas y a los hechos, golpeándola y aún mutilándola, como ocurrió en Nazareth a dos mujeres pertenecientes a grupos pobres a quienes su marido hondo, en una ocasión, fue a visitarlas y le cercenó de un mordisco el labio superior a una de ellas y a la otra se lo hirió gravemente. Ellas ocultaron la ofensa por mucho tiempo,

pero se vieron obligados a pedir ayuda a la Misión Capuchina cuando la herida ya estaba muy infectada. A otra, su esposo le cercenó del mismo modo la nariz. Se refieren casos muy detallados de mujeres a quienes les han sido arrancadas las orejas en un momento de estas o que han sido golpeadas brutalmente con el pie o con garrotes, arrastradas por el cabello, etc. La única sanción, el reclamo familiar, no llega y entonces estos episodios culminan frecuentemente de dos maneras: Primera, con la muerte de la mujer, caso en el cual el marido da algún pago, presionado por la opinión popular de los extraños, por la de sus mismos familiares que se niegan a admitir en su seno a un criminal sin motivo justificado, o por las posibles vinculaciones y alianzas que los familiares de la mujer pueden conseguir en este caso extremo. Segunda, el suicidio de la mujer, pues ella se ahorca, cegada por el dolor, la ira y el sufrimiento espiritual, y para hacer recaer sobre él la culpa de su muerte. Esta solución trágica, muy común, trae como resultado que el marido, cuando ha dado muerte a su mujer, trate de hacer aparecer el hecho como suicidio. En Nazareth presenciamos uno de estos casos en que se hizo figurar un suicidio por ahorcamiento, cuando un puntapié en el estómago era la causa real de la muerte de la mujer. Y una de las fichas recogidas por nosotros, cita una simulación semejante en la Guajira Baja, descubierta cuando los familiares de la mujer lavaron su cadáver antes de ser amortajado como es costumbre en la Guajira.

Una cuarta causa de los malos tratos es la infidelidad sospechada o comprobada de la mujer; el resentimiento se manifiesta cuando el hombre se embriaga o cuando la mujer le desobedece o le da motivo de quejas. El dice en este caso: "No me obedeces porque lo que yo te ordeno no es mandado por fulano" (aquí el nombre del amante, si es conocido) o "por el que me quemaste" (si el nombre es desconocido o es una mera sospecha lo que el hombre tiene). Agrega frecuentemente insultos y golpes. En estos casos de sospecha o comprobación de infidelidad, la incomprensión conyugal se agudiza y los malos tratamientos se hacen extensivos a los hijos cuya paternidad pone en duda el hombre. En ocasiones, aunque la infidelidad haya sido claramente comprobada, el hombre no abandona a su mujer, ni hace aplicar la legislación referente, porque la quiere y prefiere perdonarla, pero la ofensa que ha recibido se manifiesta en forma de actos agresivos en determinados momentos, dando ocasión a los malos tratos, de los cuales se arrepiente posteriormente, como ya lo dijimos.

Cuando la sospecha no llega a volverse realidad, es seguramente más inquieta la vida marital. El guajiro quiere obtener pruebas a todo costo

y mantiene una vida de expectativa permanente, tratando de inducir a la mujer a una confusión o buscando la oportunidad de sorprenderla *infraganti* (Cf. para mayor explicación, el aparte *Adulterio* de este mismo capítulo).

Como quinta causa de los malos tratos maritales, puede anotarse el cumplimiento deficiente de las obligaciones que le están reservadas a la mujer, lo que obedece a dos razones: primera, a haberse pagado por ella un precio bajo cuando se hizo el trato matrimonial; segunda, a haber sido forzada por sus familiares a contraer matrimonio con un hombre a quien no quería, existiendo, además, un lazo afectivo anterior que la ligaba a otro hombre. Si el marido sabe esta situación, la aprovechará como base de sus insultos y como demostración palpable de la causa de sus atenciones y del manejo de sus obligaciones. Le dirá, por ejemplo: "No quiero atenderme porque no soy yo ese fulanito a quien tanto querías. Seguro que a él sí estarías dispuesta a servir y obedecer en todo. Pero tendrás que obedecerme y atenderme a mí, aunque no te guste, porque eres mi mujer y no la suya".

En ocasiones el no cumplimiento de las órdenes prohibitivas del marido son las que motivan la agresión en el hombre. El ordena por ejemplo a la mujer no salir de su casa y ella, pese a la orden, abandona el hogar y va de visita a cualquier parte. Entonces el guajiro, que se cree burlado en sus derechos, castiga y maltrata a la mujer para someterla a su entera voluntad, símbolo de hombría.

Relaciones entre las co-esposas.—La vida de relación entre las diferentes esposas de un hombre, oscila entre una verdadera fraternidad y un infierno de lucha.

Generalmente las causas de esta lucha son los celos y las consecuencias de todo orden que de ellos se derivan. Ellas dicen: "Cuando aún no había conseguido a esa otra, venía gustoso a la casa, me traía regalos, encontraba agradable estar en nuestra compañía y no hallaba en todo motivo de pelea. Ahora todo ha cambiado: No viene nunca y si lo hace, siempre busca un pretexto para maltratarnos o insultarnos. Viene borracho para tener ocasión de enojarse por cualquier motivo. Nunca trae cosa alguna, ni siquiera nos da los productos de su siembra, aunque sabemos que los tiene. Es la otra mujer que no le deja ser bueno con nosotros y le hace chismes para alejarlo de nuestro lado".

Partiendo de este principio y de que un nuevo matrimonio coloca a la esposa anterior en segundo plano ante la consideración del esposo, la mujer lucha desesperadamente por mantener su posición ante el marido,

porque una vez perdida ésta, sabe que no encuentra ningún respaldo legal para hacerle cumplir sus obligaciones.

Sigue entonces dos normas generales de conducta: una abierta y otra secreta que se manifiesta por injurias de palabra y de obra a su rival (Cf. *Comportamiento de la mujer* . . . en este mismo capítulo), por chismes y zaín por agresión personal cuando ocasionalmente se encuentran. Cuando viven bajo el mismo techo, la presencia del marido no es obstáculo para que la agresividad se manifieste. Algunas hacen espiar por sus familiares más allegados, un hijo por ejemplo, la conducta de la rival para tener base para atacarla, o se valen de sus amigas (a las que luego hay que pagar) para que averigüen lo que hace o deja de hacer, con idénticos propósitos. Cuando el marido deja la casa, la espía para cerciorarse de su visita a la enemiga y poder estar enterada de lo que ocurre.

La lucha en ocasiones no es abierta solamente contra la co-esposa rival, sino que trasciende y se dirige abiertamente contra el marido. Cumple con di difícilmente sus obligaciones como mujer y las normas de hospitalidad acostumbradas; le recibe displicentemente cuando llega, sin levantarse del lugar donde está, para tenderle el chinchorro; no le ofrece café ni bebidas refrescantes y cuando él hace una exigencia, le responde: "¿Por qué no se la pides a fulana que quiere tanto y es tan juiciosa? ¿Qué le ves a ésa que no tiene nada que verle, no sabe hacer tales o cuales cosas para que andes embobado con ella y ya no puedes ver nada por mí, y no crees sino las mentiras que ella dice? Esa es una mamagüevona que anda rondando con todos los hombres, que no sabe trabajar, y tú, sin embargo, la quieres. Yo voy a hacer lo mismo para que me quieras."

Por otra parte, responde de igual modo a sus preguntas, le contesta con monosílabos o finge ignorar lo que en realidad conoce. Esta conducta puede exasperar al marido que trata de recuperar su dominio en el hogar, apelando a las ofensas y a los golpes, especialmente si está bebido y la esposa se ha repetido varias veces. En otras ocasiones, hasta colaborando pacíficamente y niega de manera abierta su afecto por la rival en mayor, dejando la conducta de su mujer y le promete regalos y larga permanencia a su lado.

Esta agresividad no va encaminada solamente a las co-esposas legales, sino también a todas las mujeres que de manera ilegal tratan de ganar el afecto del marido. Contra ellas la reacción de la mujer es abiertamente agresiva, porque en la generalidad de los casos estas mujeres se encuentran en pie de inferioridad social, bien porque son indias o siervas o pertenecientes a grupos sin importancia. Se cuenta el caso de una guajira de

clase alta que, sabedora por sí misma de las relaciones maritales entre su marido y una de sus hermanas, la atacó armada de un cuchillo, obligándola a huir de noche y no permitió su establecimiento ni en las cercanías de su casa. Otras despiden a las esclavas después de golpearlas cruelmente y presentan cobro al marido cuando las esclavas son de propiedad personal suya (de la mujer). Igual conducta observan frente a las siervas que sirven de concubinas al marido. No obstante, esta forma legal no siempre se cumple y la mujer pasa por alto estos hechos.

Cuando una mujer se siente menospreciada o maltratada por su marido y colocada en una situación de inferioridad por una co-esposa, no es raro que desee darle muerte y ponga en práctica su propósito. El guajiro, que conoce este sentimiento, apela a él cuando tiene lugar una lucha entre dos grupos clánicos, pagándole a aquella mujer que sabe que lleva una vida marital desgraciada para que mate a su esposo. Ella, a instancias de lo pactado, le da veneno de algodoncillo en el café, cuentas de vidrio molido, veneno para tigres, o pone el zumo de una pequeña lagartija muy venenosa en el ron que el marido acostumbra tomar. Este problema tan conocido, hace que los hombres, durante el tiempo de guerra, se abstengan de ir a las casas de sus mujeres.

La otra norma de conducta seguida por la mujer en estos casos es la pasiva: Hace todos los esfuerzos posibles por condicionar su conducta de mujer casada a las pautas culturales idealizadas a fin de conseguir retener hasta el máximo el afecto del marido e impedir así que nuevas mujeres tomen su lugar. Si el marido, a pesar de estos halagos, no está completamente satisfecho, la mujer trata de complacerlo entonces por el aspecto sexual. Ellas creen que al alcanzar este objetivo, la seguridad matrimonial está consolidada. Por eso, fuera de dar de sí todo lo que pueden por lograr tal satisfacción, recurren a la magia, como lo hemos expuesto ya varias veces a través de este estudio.

Por último, la mujer puede adoptar ante su marido una posición de indiferencia, sin reclamos ni ansiedades, tomando su desafecto como la cosa más natural, procurando así el retorno, o eligiendo a su rival cuando el marido la menciona, para desvirtuar así cualquier acusación que ésta le haya hecho. (Cf. en este mismo capítulo, *Comportamiento de la mujer con el marido*).

Otra forma expresa de su lucha es la exageración de las normas de la hospitalidad. Ella procura halagarlo con los alimentos, con la atención solícita a su llegada, tendiendo su chinchorro, trayéndole café, tomándole agua para el baño, en fin, complaciéndolo en todo lo posible. Suprime,

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además, toda recriminación que pueda provocar enojo, toda alusión, velada o abierta y todo reproche a su conducta, pues cree que con eso el hombre rectifica, analiza y pesa su conducta y conceptúa que es mejor que las otras. Si con esto no consigue su afecto, por lo menos sabe que no se verá maltratada. De todas maneras ella está convencida de que a la larga tiene que resignarse a la presencia de otras mujeres, en otros términos, a la poligamia.

También apela la mujer en su lucha por el predominio del afecto de su marido a la limitación de la maternidad para conservar sus atractivos físicos, como pudimos verlo en el aspecto *Vida Sexual* de este capítulo, o al procedimiento de hacer que el marido compre como esposas a sus amigas y, especialmente, a sus hermanas menores, porque en ambos casos encuentra en las co-esposas compañeras y mutua ayuda. Y el guajiro, a quien no satisfacen las diferencias entre sus mujeres, procura hacerlo.

Debemos considerar las normas de la mujer frente a este problema. La cultura guajira espera que la mujer, tanto la primera como las demás, tome los nuevos matrimonios del marido resignadamente, sin oponerse a su voluntad y, sobre todo, sin tratar de ejercer futuras represalias contra éste y la nueva compañera. Contentarse con las protestas del marido que asegura a la primera que su posición predominante no la perderá nunca, y a las otras que ha debido comprarlas porque las anteriores no habían logrado satisfacer sus necesidades ni su cariño. Espera también de las nuevas mujeres que no traten de sembrar la discordia en el conjunto y que no ejerzan influencias perniciosas inspirando al esposo común repulsión por las demás. Además, que se someta a las condiciones del marido, que tiene la posibilidad de llevarla a vivir en compañía de otra. En tal caso, deberá avenirse a la situación, llevar con sus compañeras una vida armónica de verdadera fraternidad, sin manifestar su influencia, no influponer los ánimos de las unas contra las otras y especialmente del marido contra alguna o algunas determinadas. A su vez, las que ya están allí, deben brindarle benévola acogida a la nueva esposa, respetar su propiedad y participarle de los bienes y derechos comunes.

El hombre en particular y el conjunto social, esperan de la mujer que vive la institución de la poligamia, que no sienta celos o que al menos no los manifieste ostensiblemente. Cuando un hogar constituido por varias esposas vive en continua discordia, es espectáculo denigrante para el marido común, puesto que los demás hombres no dejan de considerarlo como un problema poco deseable y le achacan a que éste no ha sabido llevar adecuadamente el trato con sus mujeres, lo que lo desprestigia

porque si se casaban en chinamos que la sociedad consagra lícitamente para discurrir.

La sociedad cree que la mujer que se siente infravalorada por el marido o por una co-esposa, debe guardar una actitud resignada. Se le concede que haga uso de sinsentos pretextos, pero que no ayude a la hacha chinera contra la favorecida para recobrar el cariño del esposo.

La satisfacción sexual que la mujer debe al marido, ofrece dificultades para las co-esposas cuando viven bajo el mismo techo. La mujer puede tener acceso al marido en las épocas normales, cuando ha dado o cuando él lo exija, yendo a la cercanía donde duermen, si alguna de sus compañeras no se ha anticipado a su deseo. El marido no debe expresar en tales momentos preferencia por alguna, ni dejar insatisfecha a una por otra, porque esto es la causa más común de los celos. A partir de esta, la mujer favorita en ocasiones lleva sobre sí esta obligación exclusivamente, cuando las demás son muy poco frecuentadas por el esposo.

La cultura exige además de las varias mujeres de un hombre que mantengan relaciones de cordialidad y ayuda mutua (Cf. *Comportamiento de la mujer con el marido*) y que se hagan copartícipes de los bienes del marido y de lo que éste lleva a una de los hogares. Cuando convivan en la misma casa, los hijos de cualquiera de ellas deben ser cuidados por las demás en su ausencia y deben compartir la comida cuando le falta a alguna.

Generalmente cada una de las mujeres tiene parte de las alhajas de uso personal del marido —la manta, el guayuco, las fajas, las sandalias, las aretas, el chinchorro, etc.— y cuando él las solicita, cada una de ellas debe responder por su parte; los bienes que él aporta, pertenecen al total de las mujeres y con ellas se atiende a las necesidades personales y de los hijos y de los posibles huéspedes.

Las co-esposas deben participar en conjunto de las dificultades de una y otra. No sería bien visto que alguna se alegrara de las posibilidades de la otra, sino tratándose de la más adinerada rival. Ninguna puede exteriorizar su contento por ello. Y si la predilección marital se cumple, las demás mujeres no deben consentir con satisfacción esta voluntad del marido cumplida. La favorita —considera la cultura gonjira— debe tener suficiente bondad para tratar de equilibrar la conducta del marido e interceder por las menos favorecidas, pidiéndole benevolencia o ayuda en las diferentes casas. No obstante, en la realidad no ocurre esta hacha. Ella trata de dominar a las demás y viceversa, abierta o encubrientemente,

a un ser que se refiere a co-esposas ligadas por vínculos de consanguinidad o de amistad anterior.

Cuando alguna de las co-esposas muere, si sus compañeras son nobles y de buenos sentimientos, deben concurrir a las ceremonias que se llevan a efecto en tal oportunidad y expresar su pesar a los familiares. Si no se cumple con este acto elemental de cortesía, no sólo se resienten los parientes de la muerta, sino que da margen a acerbos comentarios de los demás, que les tachan de poseer malos sentimientos.

La primera mujer, aunque se vea abandonada definitivamente por el marido atraído por una de sus mujeres posteriores, no puede no prestarle social legal predominante. En sus tierras el tiene las mujeres gusten, se considera realmente como su esposa a la primera, que es la que le representa en rango y cuyos hijos pertenecen a un grupo más alto que todos los demás. Y a este hogar, y no a otro cualquiera de sus demás mujeres es a donde el guajiro lleva a sus amigos cuando quiere hacerles alguna atención, si le otra desgraciada de estas semejante al rango o superior.

Ella adopta una actitud de indiferencia simulada ante la sociedad por la actitud peligrosa del esposo. No comenta el tema ni se relaciona con las demás, aunque en las clases bajas es frecuente que se vea obligada a convivir con ellas, con el cual defiende celosamente sus privilegios.

También el hombre guajiro en la actualidad se casa por el rito civil, pero hay contra sentimientos anteriores por el sistema guajiro. En estos casos no es raro que la primera mujer ignore estos hechos que el marido oculta, pero puede también llegar a conocerlos por el procedimiento generalizado de que algunas mujeres se los transmiten a cambio de remuneración. En tal situación, ella conserva ante los extraños una actitud reservada y aunque realmente reconoce trascendencia a los hechos, aparentemente no significan nada en su vida y los valora como intervenciones de su marido y considera a esas mujeres, aunque hayan sido legalmente compradas, como concubinas y a sus hijos con el carácter de naturales que tendrían en nuestra sociedad.

Como cada nueva adquisición femenina del hombre, aparte a las otras mujeres anteriores, no se exige de ella la concurrencia a las ceremonias sentimentales que pueden tener efecto, a menos que sea de su agrado, por tratarse de una amiga muy íntima o de una hermana.

Adulterio.—Hemos visto a través de este capítulo que la mujer primera es el hombre que vive que se mueve en sociedad, es decir el

[illegible] y [illegible] todas las consecuencias que esta nueva pareja tenga, o en otro caso, exige una indemnización a los parientes maternos de la mujer por la ofensa recibida. No obstante, cuando el hombre quiere desentenderse a su mujer, puede perdonarla, después de una vida muy fuerte con ella. Puede consentir que ella se le vaya por algún tiempo con otro hombre, y luego convive con ella nuevamente sin reclamo alguno. Vuelven a llevar la vida tranquilamente sin que el hombre le haga reproches, si no está borracho.

Son muy diversas las causas que han ocasionado, junto con la prostitución, el problema del adulterio y han hecho hasta cierto punto inoperativa la vieja legislación ya expuesta. Porque en la actualidad la infidelidad en la mujer del guajiro no ocupa el plano trascendente de antes; las causas se multiplican y el escrúpulo anterior que la veía como hecho antisocial, va desapareciendo. Y es que causas como la emigración creciente hacia Venezuela de los hombres en busca de trabajo, que dejan a sus mujeres por largo tiempo abandonadas, el contacto de la mujer con otra cultura, con diversos conceptos sobre el particular, la minería económica asociada con los largos veraneos, la oportunidad de derivar de relaciones extraconyugales un ingreso que ayude al mantenimiento propio, la quiebra de las instituciones sociales del nativo, las vías fáciles que permiten a los culpables el alejamiento de las consecuencias que deben acarrear por el hecho cometido, son causas nuevas que, junto con las tradicionales que llevaban a la mujer guajira a quebrantar el principio social de la fidelidad matrimonial, —sobre todo las matrimoniales forzadas cuando existe el precedente de una relación amorosa anterior que debe compensarse, el gran número de mujeres que aspiran a tener un hombre, que le imposibilita físicamente para atenderlas convenientemente y consolidarlas con afecto— son todas causas que se suman para agravar el problema del adulterio, hay más que antes, cuando la legislación se hacía cumplir hasta el final, para a las convenciones sociales que no aplicación pudieran acarrear.

La actitud del hombre frente a la conducta de que su mujer pueda serle infiel, se manifiesta siempre con violencia, porque se siente deshonrado sentimentalmente; desde entonces se convierte en un tirano para su mujer y a todo momento aprovecha la oportunidad de herirla, injuriarla y deprimirla. La mujer en tales casos se limita a sufrir silenciosamente su falta y a adoptar una posición de ser acusada injustamente. Se requiere el testimonio de alguien que la haya sorprendido en pecado para que ella lo reconozca y asuma su culpabilidad. Su conducta cuando conoce adul-

tario es siempre asegurado. Así, cuando en ausencia prolongada de su marido, mantiene relaciones con otro hombre y terminado el embarazo al desaparecer el período menstrual, va en busca de su marido con el pretexto de llevarle algún presente y convive con él para tener una coartada. Al avanzar la gravidez, hace creer a su marido que ella tuvo su origen en aquella ocasión, defendiéndose así de las posibles consecuencias de su infidelidad. El marido, que no se fija en fechas, acepta el hecho como propio. Sin embargo se citan casos en que el hombre se ha dado cuenta posteriormente del engaño, basado en el parecido que se marca en el hijo con el verdadero padre. Entonces su actividad se concentra en hacer confesar su falta a la mujer o a comprobarla personalmente. Si ella confiesa, entonces él hace aplicar la ley de adulterio; en caso contrario nada podrá hacer legalmente, pero se complace en echarle en cara su sospecha; se embarracha con sus amigos y le canta canciones despreciativas o injuriosas; la trata con dureza golpeándola con cualquier pretexto, al hijo, cuya paternidad pone en duda, lo mira mal, escasamente tolera su presencia y espera a que sea grande para ver si entonces el parecido físico se hace más claro para aprovecharlo como prueba decisiva contra su mujer y exigir el pago pecuniario. Espía cada uno de los actos de su mujer. Se aleja de la casa asegurando una larga ausencia y regresa sorpresivamente, o se queda escondido observando los movimientos de su mujer en el hogar, cuando va en busca de agua, de leña, etc., y sigue su rastro hasta dar en ocasiones con el lugar de las citas, y si encuentra en él las pruebas de infidelidad buscadas y las huellas del amante, va a la casa apresuradamente y trae a su mujer al dicho lugar para mostrarle todo aquello y obligarla a una confesión a fuerza de golpes. En ocasiones alcanza a sorprender a la pareja y en la exaltación de su celos da muerte a su mujer y al amante. Algunas veces el amante logra huir y otras, después de una fuerte lucha, mueren ambos, con lo que se complica grandemente la situación porque entran a participar en ella tres grupos similares: el de la mujer, el del marido y el del amante. En tales casos la cuestión es que el pago recaiga sobre el clan más débil social y económicamente, aunque haya perdido a uno de sus miembros, haya sido el menos culpable o haya obrado en defensa propia. Si el amante es de baja categoría y muere, sus familiares deben pagar al marido y a los parientes de la mujer, la suma establecida.

Si en un caso cualquiera de adulterio el hombre posee pruebas suficientes para acusar a su esposa y exigir a sus familiares materiales la devolución del precio de compra más el resarcimiento que considere como

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y los hijos habidos; si, por otra parte, los parientes de la mujer pueden comprobar que antes del adulterio el hombre la hacía víctima de malos tratos, no se justifican entonces ni el pago ni el resarcimiento, pues hasta con la entrega al hombre de uno solo de los hijos habidos en el matrimonio, para saldar la cuestión. El hombre pierde, a su vez, el derecho sobre la mujer, siendo este el único caso de verdadera disolución del matrimonio.

Disolución del matrimonio.—El matrimonio guajiro puede considerarse en cierto modo indisoluble. La mujer comprada según la ley de la Guajira, se considera como propiedad personal del marido, propiedad asegurada por los familiares de la muchacha, quienes han recibido el precio por ella, lo que inhibe a la mujer de observar una conducta diferente a la tradicional.

El adulterio comprobado viene a ser el causal que deroga a la pareja, como lo acabamos de ver. Ante él, el marido ofendido exige la devolución de la suma entregada por la compra de su mujer, con lo cual se considera roto el vínculo y la mujer puede abandonar la casa y regresar al lado de los suyos, perdido ya el derecho sobre sus hijos que son su sangre y su familia pero que con este hecho pasan a posición del marido.

El amante, que no se ve libre de las responsabilidades del problema que ha creado, se convierte, voluntaria o involuntariamente, en razón del pago que le hacen efectivo los familiares de la mujer, en el marido de la mujer acusada de adulterio.

Como vemos, la disolución no rige para la mujer, que lo que viene a sufrir es un traspaso de su marido legítimo a su amante, mediante el pago de perjuicios solicitado por los familiares maternos.

Hay día el guajiro que sabe que otro hombre codicia una de sus mujeres, logra, como ya lo hemos dicho, valiéndose de intermediarios, un convenio amistoso, mediante el cual el interesado paga una suma que le confiere el derecho de tomar tal mujer como legítima. El precio de este traspaso es generalmente inferior al pagado por el primer marido, porque se considera que ella ha perdido valor con el cumplimiento de sus obligaciones sexuales matrimoniales con el primer esposo. Aún pueden citarse casos de una mujer que llega a cambiar hasta tres veces de marido, por este sistema, sin dejar jamás disuelta su unión ni recobrar su libertad inicial. Es una propiedad cuyo usufructo siempre está en vigencia.

La mujer casada tampoco recobra su libertad por la muerte del marido, pues como propiedad privada que es, está sujeta a las leyes gene-

rales de herencia, de manera que pasa a ser poseído de acuerdo con ellas, así: de los sobrinos de su esposa, hijos de hermanas; a falta de éstos, de los hermanos de su marido por línea materna; y en ausencia de ellos, de los primos del muerto, hijos de tía materna. Esta costumbre, rigurosamente observada hasta hace algún tiempo, ha sido perdiendo fuerza y hoy solamente se hace efectiva cuando las viudas son jóvenes y codiciadas por los herederos legítimos de su esposo. Las viudas viejas se imponen y no cumplen con la ley o simplemente no son forzadas por los herederos a cumplir con la obligación. Muchas de las viudas jóvenes en la actualidad huyen de sus legítimos herederos a lugares en donde no sean obligadas a observar las leyes de herencia que les incumbe y pueden rehacer la vida marital a su acomodo. El derecho, sin embargo, presenta una puerta de escape para ellas, pues les permite, en caso de no querer convivir con los herederos de su marido, pagarles una indemnización.

La mujer puede librarse de sus obligaciones matrimoniales cuando comete adulterio porque su marido le da malos tratos y le hace imposible la vida de hogar. Si llega a comprobarse esto, la ley exime a los familiares de la mujer de la devolución del pago y solo los obliga a entregar uno de los hijos habidos en el matrimonio. Es decir, que los malos tratos del hombre permiten a la mujer abandonar el hogar, y regresar a la casa materna. Pero en este caso, como en cualquiera otro en que tenga que intervenir el derecho consuetudinario, es necesario que la parte litigante posea suficiente fuerza para obligar a la otra al cumplimiento de lo legal. De lo contrario, el ofendido puede tener la razón, pero si no cuenta con la fuerza, no consigue nunca que se le haga justicia efectiva. Se cuentan infinidad de casos en que los vejámenes sufridos por mujeres de clan inferior al del marido eran tan graves que uno solo de ellos hubiera sido causal suficiente para disolver el matrimonio mediante el regreso de la mujer a su hogar. Pero la familia materna del marido sabía de tal manera a la de la mujer que muchas de ellas, impotentes para resistir, sufrieron la muerte a manos de su marido sin que la legislación, tan severa en los casos de derramamiento de sangre, hubiera conseguido obligar a los culpables a un pago decoroso.

La desmoralización que ha sufrido el guajiro de las clases bajas por las diferentes causas que hemos anotado en párrafos anteriores, ha ido relajando los vínculos matrimoniales hasta el punto de que la mujer considera rota su obligación cuando el marido emigra, huyendo por la necesidad vital de conseguir lo necesario para alimentarse y alimentar a su familia, o se ve abandonado por largos años, casos en los cuales, ella se

va con quien puede satisfacer sus necesidades económicas y biológicas, desatendiendo, si no de derecho, por lo menos de hecho un vínculo que no puede romper sino su sociedad, con lo cual va quebrantando, de manera lenta pero peligrosa, la tradición cultural de su comunidad.

VI

MATERNIDAD

Atención a la madre en el parto.—La responsabilidad sobre la vida o el bienestar de los hijos es compartida por el padre o la madre, pero recae directamente sobre la madre cuando aquél está ausente, durante el embarazo y en el momento del parto, ya que debe dar buena cuenta a su marido de sus hijos, pues de lo contrario él hará efectivo cualquier descuido, obligándola a pagarle la muerte del hijo. De aquí que la mujer durante el parto se someta a todas las prescripciones acostumbradas en tales casos y que busque la ayuda de sus familiares y su respaldo, porque la responsabilidad en últimos términos, recae sobre ellos, que son los que deben pagar el resarcimiento correspondiente.

El primer hijo nace en la casa materna. Si la mujer está ausente, el marido debe llevarla allí con anterioridad, con los cuidados requeridos, a fin de que no ocurra nada en el viaje. En el momento del parto es atendida preferencialmente por su madre y a falta de ella por su tía mayor o por la más prestante y hábil con preferencia a las demás, en el caso de faltar la primera. También la abuela puede atender el caso cuando es todavía capaz. Faltando las ya mencionadas, las hermanas son las llamadas a prestar su auxilio. Se prefieren las casadas a las solteras, pero ante una urgencia especial pueden solicitarse los servicios de una de éstas. Parece que esta preferencia es influencia blanca, porque en los lugares que están menos en contacto con dichas culturas no hay preocupación al respecto.

Desde hace algún tiempo se están solicitando los servicios de indias expertas en estos trabajos, quienes prestan su ayuda sin pago. La partera puede ser acompañada y secundada por la madre de la parturienta, en primer término, o secundariamente por las ya mencionadas, o nuevas parteras y compañeras en el parto.

En las chozas maternas, la madre gaupera se ve obligada, por circunstancias particulares, a recibir ayuda de personas diferentes. Cuando vive con los familiares del marido, obtiene de su suegra compañía, o de una tía de éste. Al estar sola y aislada en vivienda de vecindario, solicita anticipadamente la presencia de una partera y su asistencia para

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riar, o la de una vecina muy amiga. No obstante, hay veces en que el alumbramiento ocurre cuando no puede recibir más ayuda que la de sus cuñadas y comunmente son preferidas las casadas a las solteras.

Si la mujer se hallare sola con su marido, éste, conocedor del proceso fisiológico, la ayuda en el alumbramiento, bien porque está en capacidad de hacerlo o porque se ve obligado a ello por las circunstancias. Pero es frecuente que la mujer dé a luz sola, bien porque yendo de viaje el parto la sorprende en el camino, en la roza mientras recolecta frutos, en el monte a donde ha ido en busca de los animales o de leña, etc. También cuando su vivienda se localiza en lugares apartados y no consigue ayuda oportuna.

El lugar de nacimiento del hijo varía de acuerdo con el mayorazgo, así: el primero nace, como lo vimos, en casa de los padres de la mujer, o de su parienta anciana más autorizada. Lo hace allí por dos razones: para que sus familiares se encarguen del caso y presten mayor seguridad a la conservación de la vida de la madre y del niño, y porque el primer parto se considera más difícil y si la mujer no está entre los suyos, éstos no pueden asumir la responsabilidad de su vida ante el marido, quien, en caso de no llevarla allí, debe afrontar las consecuencias frente a los familiares de la mujer, que pueden presentarle cobro en caso de muerte de la madre, del niño o de los dos. También cabe dentro de esta razón, el significado de la muerte del primogénito, cuya interpretación mágica obliga a los consanguíneos maternos a someter a su parienta a un tratamiento especial, del cual hemos hablado en capítulos anteriores.

El segundo nace generalmente en la casa de los padres del marido, adonde la pareja va a vivir algunas veces. Estos asumen la responsabilidad de su vida y de la salud de la madre y del niño conjuntamente.

El tercero y los siguientes nacen en el sitio en que la pareja se establece definitivamente.

Cuando la mujer puede recibir ayuda, se espera a que se presenten los dolores del parto con alguna intensidad y frecuencia para poner en actividad a la partoriénta. No tuvimos conocimientos de la aplicación de algún sistema tendiente a anticipar el caso. La mujer que actúa como partera se provee con anticipación de una totuma grande, de un asiento bajo que utiliza para el alumbramiento. Lo coloca sobre algo blando (ropas) o sobre el suelo, en un punto central de la habitación, o en un montoncito de arena que se cubre con ropas para que sobre él caiga el niño en el momento del nacimiento y no se haga daño.

En los comienzos del parto, la madre se pasea por la alcoba o por la casa, y cuando el parto avanza, es sentada en el borde del asiento o totuma,

con las piernas abiertas, dispuesta a dar a luz. Durante los espasmos dolorosos apoya los codos sobre las rodillas y hace fuerza en el vientre, según indicaciones de su ayudante, y permanece lo más quieta posible, porque la cabeza del niño durante el período de coronación podría ser aplastada con el borde del asiento y causarle una lesión o la muerte, con lo que se haría ella culpable, o la partera, y se verían en la obligación de pagar el inocente al marido.

Otra forma de dar a luz es la de ponerse en cuclillas cuando el alumbramiento es ya inmediato, o de rodillas, plegándose hacia adelante para facilitar el descenso y la salida de la criatura. También en la actualidad acuestan a la parturienta en el suelo, sobre unas ropas, en posición decúbito dorsal, con las piernas recogidas y abiertas.

El niño es recibido en las manos de quien ayuda a la madre, o ésta se inclina hasta dejarlo caer sobre la arena y las ropas colocadas en el piso con tal fin. O cuando se encuentra fuera de la vivienda sobre unas hojas, si el alumbramiento le ha dado tiempo de recogerlas. Se espera luégo la salida de la placenta, después de lo cual la mujer se recuesta en su chinchorro con el niño envuelto en telas especiales o improvisadas. El cordón umbilical ya ha sido atado por la partera y en los casos de alumbramiento sin ayuda, la madre cumple esta tarea cortándolo hasta con una astilla de madera y atándolo como puede con una fibra vegetal.

La partera, o la madre, llevan la placenta fuera de la casa y la arrojan lejos, (costumbre de la Guajira Alta) para que desaparezca; creen que si la entierran, el recién nacido tendrá mala suerte, enfermará de un mal que lo va minando lentamente, hasta que muere casi por consunción. No obstante, hay regiones como en Urihía en donde existe la costumbre de enterrarla fuera de la casa; en otras, como en Jarara, lo usado es ponerla debajo de un fogón que luégo encienden para dar fortaleza al niño, y evitar las enfermedades en su infancia.

Cuando el parto presenta complicaciones o se retarda anormalmente, se solicita la ayuda de los hombres de la casa, consanguíneos, para que levanten a la mujer durante los espasmos dolorosos del alumbramiento, por debajo de los brazos, y con ello se acelere el proceso. El marido puede intervenir en estos momentos prestando su ayuda, pero hay en día niños, jóvenes y señoritas no deben presenciar el alumbramiento. No obstante hay casos, como en Jarara, donde la mujer da a luz en un corredor, en la ensenada, a la vista de todo el mundo, aun de sus hijos pequeños. No hay preocupación alguna sobre el particular; el parto es considerado como un fenómeno normal y puede además ser atendido por mujeres vulgares.

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Las mujeres ricas o pudientes van a Maracaibo a tener sus hijos, cuando los anteriores alumbramientos han sido difíciles, pues allí disponen de servicios médicos y clínicos.

Parteras.—La partera es una mujer, generalmente casada, que ha vivido sus propias experiencias profesionales y las ha experimentado además en sus consanguíneas. La práctica, la habilidad innata y el conocimiento empírico del fenómeno le dan cierta técnica, que la hacen famosa hasta el punto de que sus servicios son solicitados afanosamente. Algunas conocen, además, qué cuidados debe tener la mujer embarazada, en relación con la dieta alimenticia y las prácticas mágicas preventivas, a fin de tener una criatura sana y un parto fácil; poseen a menudo conocimientos sobre las propiedades de determinadas yerbas, de las que hacen frecuente uso en el ejercicio de su profesión, y de los requisitos mágicos necesarios para contrarrestar los efectos nocivos de la violación de un tabú durante el embarazo, transgresión que puede acarrear la prolongación anormal del alumbramiento.

Por eso sus servicios son muy eficientes y altamente valorados por la comunidad; de su pericia y de los casos afortunados que haya logrado en el ejercicio de la profesión dependen la consideración, la solicitud y el pago que recibe.

Su situación es honrosa. No es la suya una ocupación que pueda rebajarla, aunque no la practiquen las mujeres de clase alta, sino que da a quienes la ejercen acertadamente cierta elevación en su *status familiar* y general.

Con anterioridad al alumbramiento se hace un arreglo para los servicios de la partera. Se paga según la capacidad económica de la futura madre, agregando un poco más de lo convenido cuando el parto se presenta exageradamente prolongado y difícil, esto es, cuando exige esfuerzo y más efectiva misiencia que un caso normal. El pago corriente incluye un corte de tela para una manta (diez yardas) del color y de la calidad exigida por la partera; unas cuantas botellas de ron (cinco o más), algún adorno, etc. Su pedido no es siempre el mismo sino que varía de acuerdo con las propias necesidades de la partera. Además, debe ser alimentada con esmero todo el tiempo que su presencia se haga necesaria en casa de la parturienta.

Dieta post-natal.—Las madres guajiras guardan una dieta especial que está de acuerdo con su categoría social. Las de grupos clánicos fuertes que tienen a su disposición buen número de sirvientas y esclavas, pueden darse

el lujo, secundadas por sus parientas maternas o las que la sustituyen en sus cuidados, de permanecer tranquilas sin preocuparse de los trabajos domésticos. Dicen los guajiros que cuando se tiene el primer hijo se acostumbra que la madre permanezca acostada y sin recibir la luz del sol por un mes, tomando alimentos ligeros, como mazamorras claras con leche, cujeas, etc.; que sea bañada con agua caliente al amanecer, por sus parientas o la partera, quienes, además, se encargan del recién nacido y de las actividades domésticas. Como el primer parto tiene lugar en casa de sus parientas uterinas, estas actividades se reducen a un mínimo. Cuando llega el segundo hijo, si el parto ha sido fácil, la dieta se reduce, y en los alumbramientos siguientes el período de quietud se limita a lo que sus menesteres domésticos lo permiten, pues ella da a luz en su propia casa y en muchas ocasiones sola.

En las clases pobres, en las que la mujer lleva sobre sí el peso de todos los quehaceres domésticos, tales como atender al marido y desempeñar oficios económicamente lucrativos, fuera de los trabajos agrícolas y de recolección, etc., las madres se ven muy limitadas en su dieta. Su actividad realmente no se interrumpe sino mientras da a luz, pues su vida normal prosigue desde entonces. En las rancherías de los alrededores de Uribia, tuvimos oportunidad de visitar a dos mujeres que acababan de dar a luz. Su parto había tenido lugar en una enramada, y luego, con el recién nacido en los brazos, siguieron sus menesteres ordinarios en el hogar. No siquiera se cuidaban de los ardientes rayos del sol, pues una de ellas [illegible], entrado el mediodía, cocinando fuera de la enramada vasos de trapillo para comer y se ocupaba, además, de otros menesteres domésticos. A una observación nuestra al respecto, manifestó que no se encontraba indispuesta y que no acostumbraba a guardar dieta alguna. La misma respuesta obtuvimos de la otra madre guajira, quien dijo haber continuado su vida normal la misma tarde en que había tenido a su hijo. La una era de Jarara y la otra de la Alta Guajira.

VII

EL CACIQUE

La autoridad en la Guajira se halla dispersa, repartida en cada una de las grupos clánicos en que se divide la sociedad. Es casi una jerarquía, cuyo núcleo primario es la familia pequeña, a la que sigue la gran familia que cobija a tíos, sobrinos y primos por línea materna, y, por último, el clan que congrega a todos los individuos del mismo apellido y que posee el mismo animal totémico. Puede, pues, decirse, que en la Guajira no hay ninguna autoridad que imponga su voluntad sobre el conjunto. Hay individuos nuestros que por su posición económica y social han conseguido cierto dominio sobre sus parientes guajiros y sobre algunos de los grupos locales, autoridad que se ejerce aunque no se reconoce legalmente. Por su posición económica destacada, estos individuos van subordinando a su alrededor una serie de parientes: los sirvientes con sus familias, sus numerosas mujeres con los hijos y las familias de estos últimos que dependen directamente de él; con la subordinación económica viene el sometimiento de la voluntad. La autoridad la alcanzan estos nuestros, además, porque tienen influencia con los grupos civilizados, a raíz de negocios personales, y la facilidad para intervenir entre ellos, les da una posición superior dentro del conjunto. A esta clase de individuos se les da el nombre de caciques, tan entre los mismos indios, pero no le son en el sentido verdadero de la palabra.

Existe en la Guajira otra institución, a que se le ha dado también el nombre de cacicazgo, y en la que vamos a ver a continuación, de manera muy sucinta.

Las condiciones que se necesitan para ser cacique en este sentido del guajiro, y las atribuciones y responsabilidades del cargo, son las siguientes:

1º Que la familia materna del cacique disuelta en elementos nuestros que estén dispuestos a respaldar sus actitudes y a hacer cumplir su voluntad;

2º Ser guajiro y de categoría social alta;

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3º Que tenga el como sus familiares unos tíos, con posición de bienes representados, sobre todo, por animales, que es lo que da mayor prestigio a los ojos de los demás indígenas;

4º Que tenga palabra (Cf. *Valoración de la mujer*, Cap. *Prematrimonio*, y *Cobro por muerte*, Cap. *Legislación*), porque de aquí arranca una de sus principales atribuciones: la de servir como intermediario en las *pataráis* o guerras intercaudales y en todas las diferencias entre personas o grupos. *Tener palabra* es la cualidad primordial y básica para la adquisición de prestigio como cacique, pues de la facilidad oratoria, del conocimiento práctico de la psicología del indígena y de la legislación tradicional que lo orienta en sus actuaciones, depende el éxito de sus mediaciones.

Las opiniones del cacique, *mediador* o *palabrero* —que todos estos nombres tiene— se respetan; se solicitan sus consejos; se le pide ayuda en caso de necesidad; se consulta su parecer en las diferentes circunstancias de la vida de los suyos y de los que lo conocen. Sus aciertos y prudencia van *referando* su poder hasta llegar a ser el jefe de una región que ve en él al representante y al abogado de todos sus problemas y que espera de él, a cambio de la sumisión que le rinden, que sea capaz de salir adelante siempre y que domine fácilmente cada una de las situaciones anormales que puedan presentarse.

En cada grupo familiar se encuentra uno de estos caciques en acción y otro o varios en capacidad de sucederle; pero las circunstancias los van *eliminando hasta quedar* como *colaboradores*.

La autoridad de un jefe es reconocida primordialmente por su grupo familiar extenso, pero las cualidades destacadas de uno de estos jefes familiares hacen que su influencia se haga extensiva a otros grupos que, por considerarlo más poderoso o influyente que el jefe propio, solicitan su intervención en problemas particulares, especialmente cuando ellos hacen referencia a diferencias con grupos más fuertes. Esta actitud se toma con la aprobación del otro cacique que en vano sumó también sus fuerzas para ayudarlo, cuando quiere hacer valer sus puntos de vista frente a un grupo cliente muy fuerte.

Cuando un parente en el que él ha confiado o prestado su ayuda no se cumple, debe apelar a la fuerza, si hasta ello lo induce el incumplimiento del compromiso, para no perder su poder y su autoridad, y ha de dar muestras de gran valor personal, especialmente más que los suyos que van a respaldarlo, si no quiere perder ante la opinión de propios y extraños, y dar la sensación de verdadero jefe, dirigiendo convenientemente las acciones bélicas que sobrevengan. Debe hacerse notar como de coder en su em-

peño, y luchar hasta hacer cumplir al enemigo lo pactado y someterlo al reconocimiento de su autoridad y a la sumisión. En esta lucha lo acompañan todos sus familiares por línea materna. No sus propios hijos, porque sabemos que ellos no forman parte de su familia, y que si fueren heridos éstos, sus familiares maternos le presentarían cobro, con lo que aumentaría el número de enemigos. No obstante, en la actualidad, por influencia de los civilizados, el hijo sigue y respalda al padre en estas luchas, a pesar de la legislación guajira.

Otra de las funciones del cacique es la de aconsejar a los suyos o a los que reconociendo su autoridad solicitan su opinión, en cualquiera de sus problemas. En estos casos su voz ha de ser la de la prudencia. Les pide el cumplimiento de la ley: al ladrón lo obliga a devolver lo robado y lo reprende por su acción delictuosa; trata de que los que se hallan enemistados por derramamiento de sangre, lleguen a un arreglo justo para evitar posteriores represalias; a las mujeres les pide que sean fieles a sus maridos; media en las discusiones y diferencias conyugales, tratando de obtener de los hombres más consideración para con sus esposas.

Como es el jefe familiar reconocido, debe observar una conducta ajustada a las normas más estrictas de la legislación guajira, aunque ello no implica que no trate de obtener la máxima ventaja, aun contra lo estipulado, cuando media en asuntos de los suyos.

Su misma superioridad lo obliga a demostrar su fuerza económica. En cualquier colecta que se haga para el matrimonio de algún pariente suyo o para un pago de otra índole, debe encabezar las donaciones con una buena dádiva que no sea en ningún caso inferior a las de los demás contribuyentes. En los velorios debe hacer otro tanto, además de forzar con su autoridad a todos los suyos para que contribuyan adecuadamente, ya que en ello va el buen nombre del grupo familiar que encabeza y dirige.

Debe ser cariñoso, amable y cordial con todos; oír sus quejas con serenidad y paciencia; estar dispuesto a darles a todos su ayuda; su casa debe ser la casa abierta para todo el mundo, pues su hospitalidad debe ser la más amplia y acogedora.

La transmisión del cacicazgo presenta dos formas: la hereditaria, que recae sobre el sobrino hijo de hermana, y la adquirida en virtud de méritos personales y familiares: alta posición social y económica, facilidad en la oratoria, conocimiento de la psicología indígena, carácter enérgico pero suave, poder de convicción, voluntad y dotes diplomáticas.

VIII

ESCLAVITUD Y SERVIDUMBRE

Causas de Esclavitud.—La esclavitud se debe siempre a la violación del régimen de seguridad social de la comunidad; esto quiere decir que la ofensa infferida al miembro de un grupo consanguíneo (clanes totémicos) de los existentes en la Guajira, se castiga en el total del grupo del ofensor, castigo que puede llegar hasta la esclavitud. Para aclararlo, pongamos un ejemplo: Si un miembro del clan o grupo consanguíneo Uriyu mata por cualquier circunstancia a un miembro del grupo Juusyu, se presenta una situación conflictiva; el trámite para resolverla es el siguiente: el grupo ofendido envía su delegado o "*palabra*" al grupo ofensor para pedirle el resarcimiento por la ofensa recibida; a su vez, el ofensor, designa también su *palabra* o intermediario y estos dos se ponen de acuerdo para establecer las bases necesarias para solucionar el conflicto, bases que consisten en el pago especial que el grupo ofensor debe hacer a la familia del muerto, generalmente representado en ganado (vacuno, caballar, lanar, caprino, etc.), collares preciosos y joyas. Si se hace el pago convenido, al cual contribuyen con su aporte todos los miembros del grupo del ofensor, el problema queda resuelto. Pero, si por el contrario, el grupo al que pertenece el ofensor se niega a pagar la suma solicitada por el ofendido, es decir, si no se llega a ningún arreglo entre las dos compañías, se plantea un estado de guerra sin cuartel; cada uno de los grupos busca *aliados* en otros clanes y, por lo mismo, el acto cometido contra la seguridad social, puede convertir en guerra a casi todo la Guajira. Las alianzas entre grupo y grupo se establecen sobre bases de parentesco o de uniones matrimoniales.

Como resultado del vencimiento de uno de los grupos aparece la esclavitud. Todos los miembros del grupo vencido, que no fueron muertos en la guerra o que no pudieron escapar oportunamente, caen en manos de los vencedores y son considerados desde ese momento como esclavos, sin limitaciones de edad, de sexo o de status.

Es conveniente advertir que para llegar a esta situación que hemos planteado como ejemplo, se necesita que la persona ofendida pertenezca a un

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clan económicamente más fuerte que el ofensor, o que está unido por alianzas matrimoniales o de cualquiera otra índole con un clan también económicamente más fuerte que el del ofensor. Porque en caso de que la persona ofendida pertenezca a un clan económicamente más débil, sin alianzas, y numéricamente disminuido, siempre se llegará a un acuerdo, toda vez que ese grupo tendrá que aceptar las condiciones del otro, por la incapacidad en que se encuentra para defenderse. Además, cuando el clan ofensor es muy inferior al de la persona ofendida, entonces ni siquiera se plantean los bienes del arreglo, sino que se procede directamente contra él, se lo extermina y se esclaviza a sus miembros.

A esta situación conflictiva que hemos planteado en párrafos anteriores, se llega no solamente por homicidio o por delitos de sangre, sino también por rapto de mujeres, por adulterio comprobado, etc., siempre que no se pague el resarcimiento que exige el clan de la persona ofendida.

(Para mejor información, lease el capítulo sobre *Derecho*).

Es también muy importante hacer notar que en la Guajira no se hacen guerras intencionadas con el doble manifiesto de adquirir esclavos por resarcimiento de un grupo; *la esclavitud en la Guajira, como ha dejado dicho, es consecuencia de la violación del régimen de seguridad social, y no un fin en sí mismo.* Es, pues, castigo social, y no institución comercial o económica. Tan cierto es esto, que los esclavos se venden a bajo precio y *que los esclavos pueden resultar una carga económica para el señor*, quien la soporta antes que darles libertad.

Control y regulación.—Los esclavos y sus bienes se reparten de acuerdo con la categoría de los participantes en el grupo vencedor, de la siguiente manera: por el jefe, que es, generalmente, el clan matriarcal más pretencioso de la familia pequeña ofendida, o por la madre, o por el hijo mayor, por delegación de la madre, o en último caso por el jefe que actúa como director de la expedición bélica: primero, se entrega la parte que corresponde a la familia agraviada, como pago por la ofensa; dentro de esta la mayor parte es para la madre, luego otra parte para los clan maternos, después para los tíos y por último para los hermanos de la persona directamente ofendida; del sobrante, la mujer y el mayor número es para el jefe de la expedición, si no pertenece a la familia pequeña del ofendido; el resto se divide entre los que tomaron parte en la guerra. Si el jefe de la expedición es clan materno del ofendido, su parte se considera incluida en el bienio que recibe la familia pequeña del mismo. Además, el jefe de la expedición con la que se han hecho esclavos, acostumbra distribuir después

[illegible] su parientes cercanos parte del botín que le ha correspondido primero a su madre, luego a sus hermanos y tíos y después a los demás parientes, si hay cantidad suficiente; y lo mismo hacen los demás parientes, cuando el botín ha sido considerable; el botín hace referencia a esclavos y a sus bienes muebles, inmuebles y semovientes. Por regla general, los esclavos tomados por la derecha de un grupo son propiedad de los parientes consanguíneos de la persona afrentada y de otra, como resarcimiento de la falta que en ella se cometió.

Tratamiento.—El esclavo es considerado por el amo como cosa, como un objeto cualquiera de su propiedad; puede disponer libremente de él, bien sea vendiéndolo, regalándolo, o sustituyendo su trabajo; puede tomar a las esclavas como mujeres suyas y a sus esclavos iniciarlos y servirse de ellos en prácticas homosexuales, si es que manifiesta esa desviación. Y aun llegar a darles muerte, sin que ello implique la comisión de una falta social, lo que se explica por el hecho de que como el esclavo pertenece a un grupo consanguíneo extinguido, o por lo menos vencido, nadie puede hacerle reclamo por su muerte. Las esclavas pueden ser utilizadas como elementos de placer por los hijos o los adultos maestros del amo en el momento en que llegan a la pubertad, ejercer en que comienzan a desarrollar, o especiales de amor sin que sus padres se den cuenta, y a obligarlas a tener relaciones sexuales sin que ellas puedan protestar por estos hechos, ya que el muchacho, en cierta forma, es también un amo; parece ser que las esclavas, por costumbre, acceden gustosas a los deseos del muchacho.

Derechos y privilegios de las esclavas.—El esclavo debe ser alimentado por el amo, quien generalmente le da los sobras de su comida, aun cuando a veces le facilita maíz para que haga mazamorra y se alimente; también viste por cuenta del amo el vestido, y se considera como obligación del señor, considerar mujer a una esclava varona, para lo cual les da una esclava de su propiedad o las compra una mujer de clan pobre, por la que paga un precio insignificante, por ejemplo diez vacas [illegible]. Cuando una esclava resulta embarazada por uno de los muchachos hijos del señor, la madre debe dejar transcurrir normalmente el embarazo de la esclava y se limita a reprender al muchacho.

Derechos, privilegios y poderes de los amos.—Los amos son dueños absolutos de los bienes de sus esclavos. Como la esclavitud es siempre consecuencia de la guerra entre dos grupos dirigidos por la alianza del amo al amo,

[illegible] de todos los miembros del grupo vecinos pasan a poder de los del grupo vecindar, según el sistema de repartición siguiente. Es decir, que las tierras de labor, los pastos, los bosques, las aguas, los pozos, [illegible] domésticos, ropas, ornamentos, joyas, etc., de los difuntos, pasan a ser propiedad de los vecindarios. Y en cuanto a las mujeres mismas, tienen los siguientes hombres: a los varones, el saber los hace trabajar en todas las actividades, especialmente agrícolas y de pastoreo y las utiliza como elementos de placer en las prácticas homosexuales, cuando el saber manifiesta dicha desviación. (No conocemos datos del homosexualismo como etiqueta social, es decir, el préstamo de un esclavo para prácticas homosexuales a huéspedes ocasionales). Puede castigarlos severamente y aun llegar a matarlos.

Las mujeres son utilizadas, como las vimos anteriormente, en las labores domésticas, rústicas, etc.; tienen la obligación de servir como esclavas de los hijos del amo cuando su mujer se la pida. En este caso, el niño hijo de la esclava tiene que ser destetado y criado con anterioridad de modo; además deben desempeñar el papel de esclavas de los niños, y servir como elementos de placer sexual a sus amos, a los hijos de éste y a los huéspedes de la casa del señor, siguiendo una formula de etiqueta social parecida. No conocemos ningún dato que comprueba el homosexualismo practicado con las esclavas por los amos, ni el aspecto de hospitalidad correspondiente.

Antiguamente eran esclavizados: los ancianos [illegible], pobres y viudas, y los jóvenes, niños y adultos varones; pero en la actualidad no existe una manera conservar como esclavos de guerra únicamente a los ancianos. El amo, o sea la persona a quien le corresponde un botín humano después de la guerra, puede conservar los varones para esclavos o simplemente darles muerte, lo que generalmente hace hoy día por el temor de dar dinamismo y oportunidad a una persona adulta que espera el momento de la venganza; además da muerte a los niños varones por no correr el mismo riesgo de la venganza cuando los pequeños llegan a la edad madura, pues se los comprendido que cuando un esclavo fue puesto en el cumplimiento en su niñez, espera a que el jefe principal del asentamiento de su grupo no esperen para darle muerte, generalmente muchos años de cautiverio.

El señor puede vender a un esclavo para repartir de hombres libres; desde esa momento pierde el derecho sobre ellos, que se vendido el esclavo. Anteriormente también vendían los esclavos jóvenes de ambos sexos para las islas de Aruba y Curazao, para los hacendados de Venezuela y del departamento del Magdalena en Colombia, y para otras ciudades colombianas y

venezolanas. Esto lo hace en lugar de darles muerte, para obtener un usufructo económico. Por última, puede dar muerte a cualquier esclavo, hombre o mujer.

Los castigos en los esclavos llegan a veces a extremos salvajes. Se cuenta, por ejemplo, que una familia indígena tenía como esclava a una niña de pocos años y que en cierta ocasión, desobedeció alguna orden de su señora, quien como castigo, le metió las manos dentro del fuego, habiéndolas perdido como consecuencia de las quemaduras. La niña fue encontrada más tarde en el monte, —pues que su amo a más de quemarle las manos la echó de la casa—, tratando con los dientes las partes verdes de un cactus para alimentarse, ya que no podía tomarlas con las manos, cuya carne estaba corrompida y comida por los gusanos; la pequeña soportaba una situación agobiante de hambre y sed. Fue llevada a la misión capuchina, donde se le hicieron las curaciones del caso y en donde permanece actualmente. Los indios de Nazaret contaban horrorizados este acto de salvajismo.

Comercio de Esclavos.—El comercio de esclavos en la Guajira presenta tres aspectos principales: a) Comercio entre indígenas; b) Comercio entre indígenas y blancos; c) Comercio entre blancos.

En relación con el primer aspecto, tenemos los siguientes hechos: 1º El señor vende a sus mujeres esclavas para tres fines: a) Para esposas de indios libres a precios muy bajos; b) Para desempeñar los oficios domésticos a otras familias indígenas, que de esta manera adquieren la propiedad de la esclava; c) Por etiqueta social, ante la exigencia de un amigo.

En el primer caso puede decirse que la mujer queda liberada, mientras en los segundos permanece en su calidad de esclava, y no se cumple más que un cambio de señor.

2º Los hombres esclavos son vendidos a otro indio libre que necesita mano de obra para los trabajos agrícolas y de pastoreo; el esclavo conserva su status social.

3º Por otra parte, el guajiro vende también sus esclavos a los blancos (establecidos por todo los no guajiros), bien sea en el interior mismo de la península o en las islas y tierras circunvecinas. Los jóvenes son vendidos para llevarlos a las islas de Aruba y Curaçao, de donde acostumbran fugarse con mucha frecuencia, viajando como polizones en las barcas; al llegar a la Guajira recobran su libertad. También se venden los esclavos para las haciendas de Venezuela, especialmente para los que se dedican al cultivo de cacao y café o a la ganadería. En estos, la esclavitud llega a su

1: Gutierrez de Pineda SC13 Goajiro

mínima expresión, ya que el indio esclavo se establece con la muerte del dueño de la hacienda, pierde su apellido indígena y desde ese momento lleva el de su señor o el de la hacienda en que presta sus servicios. También acostumbran fugarse los esclavos de otras haciendas, aunque muy difícilmente, pues a su fuga sigue la persecución, que es una verdadera cruz humana.

Las jóvenes impúberes se venden frecuentemente para ser llevadas fuera de la Península por los blancos. Generalmente se fugan al llegar a la pubertad y regresan a la Guajira, en donde, por regla general, recobran su libertad. Esta venta de niños y jóvenes guajiros ha dado origen a un extenso comercio en el que toman parte individuos del departamento del Magdalena en Colombia, de Venezuela y de las islas vecinas. Llega a veces a extremos escandalosos y ha sido una fuente de enriquecimiento de los llamados *caciques* guajiros, que no son otra cosa que mestizos o mulatos que han aprovechado esta situación social del indio guajiro y las han explotado en su provecho con sentido económico, haciéndose verdaderos dueños de vidas y haciendas.

La misión capuchina, con sus establecimientos en Nazaret y Riohacha, compra niños esclavos para educarlos en el orfelinato a su cargo y devolverles su libertad. Hasta hace poco tiempo el Gobierno colombiano destinaba en los partidas presupuestales entregadas a la Misión para el desempeño de sus actividades, una suma para la compra de estos niños esclavos. De algunos años para acá la apropiación de esta partida desapareció.

El comercio de esclavos indios entre gentes blancas o civilizadas se manifiesta con especialidad en las regiones limítrofes de Venezuela y en el departamento del Magdalena, pero hasta el momento desconocemos los detalles íntimos del mismo.

Permanencia de status de esclavitud.—El individuo tomado como esclavo conserva ese status de por vida, si no se presenta un hecho especial que le proporcione la libertad. Sus hijos pueden o no quedar en la condición de esclavos, según las características del matrimonio, referentes a las uniones matrimoniales o extramatrimoniales, que podemos definir así: 1º Los hijos de hombre y mujer esclavos, son esclavos y pertenecen al dueño de sus padres; 2º Hijos de padre esclavo y madre libre, aunque sea ésta comprada por el señor para esposa de su esclavo, no lo son, pues siguiendo la costumbre de filiación guajira, pertenecen a la madre. Estos niños, sin embargo, tienen un status inferior de siervos, aunque no muy efectivo. La venta de la primera hija de este matrimonio, para esposa, es

para el señor, que se reserva así de lo que pagó por la madre. Los hijos de este matrimonio salvajo van a servir a la casa de los señores de sus padres. La general es que sus propios padres los vendan como siervos para Aruba, Curaçao, Riohacha, Maracaibo, Barranquilla y Santa Marta, cuando niños. Cuando adultos, vuelven regresar a la Guajira, pero como los pertenecientes al grupo vendido carecen de derechos en la sociedad, toda vez que son descriminados, sin parientes consanguíneos, por la extinción del clan, o por la pobreza del mismo, quedan de hecho marginados de la sociedad, en calidad de parias; por eso, las mujeres cuando regresan, se prostituyen con sus compañeros. 3º Los hijos de señores y padre libre conservan el carácter de la madre, a menos que ésta haya sido comprada por esposa.

Manumisión.—Las tres formas de manumisión de esclavos, conocidas por nosotros, son las siguientes:

1º Por fuga de la casa de los amos. El esclavo queda, sin embargo, en situación bastante difícil;

2º Por compra de esclavos como esposas de hombres libres.

3º Por compra de la misión capuchina, de niños y niñas esclavos, para educarlos en el cristianismo y darles libertad.

La esclavitud en la literatura oral.—La esclavitud se encuentra representada en las narraciones orales de los indígenas, tanto en las que hacen referencia a las leyendas, como en las que tienen el carácter de verdaderas historias. De otras podemos presentar dos: la una está relacionada con los indios Kaxiros, que eran muchos desiderosos sobre el ganado del señor de la Sierra de Jayero, llamado Kaxiro-pájto, quien al defenderse fue herido por los esclavos en un muslo, de tiro de fusil. Dice la narración que Kaxiro-pájto fue recogido por sus hermanos y llevado a su casa, y que una noche salió que debía cruzar una ciénaga (ciénaga, pueblo parecido), y dejó a su mujer, mandando su cambión, por tal, a una de sus esclavas. Efectivamente el indio hizo lo que el señor mandaba, tomó la ciénaga y llamó a una de sus esclavas y le dijo: Vete conmigo, voy a ser mi mujer. Con esto cuenta de su enfermedad.

En la narración del mismo guajiro, el pueblo Uscrolí se cuenta como fue cedido a la muerte de su tío —que le prohibía que viviera— como hermanos, entre sus hermanos y entre ellos sus esclavos. Desaparecido Uscrolí por la guerra de la muerte de su tío, se dedicó a vivir en una choza en las llanuras cercanas, donde cuidaba a su tío. Allí se encontraba con niñas y frutas que recogía del monte y allí también de vez en cuando la visita de su esclava, de quien se había separado también.

1: Gutierres de Pineda SC13 Goajiro

Esclavitud negra en el siglo XVIII.—Un aspecto interesantísimo de la esclavitud en la Guajira es el que se relaciona con la esclavitud negra entre esos indígenas, esclavitud que tuvo su apogeo durante la época de la Colonia, especialmente durante los siglos XVII y XVIII, y que se debió al comercio negrero y a la pesca de perlas. Desgraciadamente de este hecho sólo nos quedan algunas anotaciones del padre Juliáo, escritas en el siglo XVIII, que son las que nos han servido para este último aspecto de la esclavitud. A continuación transcribimos estas notas que comprueban el primer caso hasta ahora en la historia de los indígenas americanos relativo a la pervivencia de la esclavitud negra entre ellos. Dice el padre Juliáo: "Los pescadores de tales perlas son los Indios Guajiros, que dominan en todo aquella costa de mar, desde el río de la Hacha, hasta cerca de la famosa Laguna de Maracaybo. Estos son los pescadores y ceno de las perlas. Ellos son los que las venden, los que las llevan al río de la Hacha, los que con ellos comercian singularmente con los extranjeros, que con los bergantines aportan á sus playas, ó recalan en la Bahía Honda. Por perlas que dan recibían entre indios los arcos de fuego, las aguardientes, vinos y *más cosas*; de todo lo cual se van pigmeyando para hacerse más insolentes, y menos conquistables" [1].

Más adelante le repite en estos términos: "A con gíneros viene á reducirse todo el precio por ellas" —las perlas— "los dos las compradores. Los extranjeros por las perlas les dan arcos de fuego, clavos, y *más cosas*, á más de las licencias que les ordena de Europa . . ." [2].

Más explícito en relación con el problema es en el párrafo siguiente: "Los Guajiros son los pescadores de las perlas, los quales los venden á los negociantes, los que con las perlas que venden á ciertos bergantines y pequeños, se proveen de aguardientes, de esclavos negros, y de arcos de fuego" [3].

Y, por último, acaba por conocer hasta las alianzas que desempeñaban los esclavos negros y la amistad que se estaba estableciendo entre éstos y los indígenas, en el párrafo que transcribimos a continuación: ". . . dieron luego como pólvoras dos razones evidentes y palpables: razones, que obligado del odio del bien de la Nación Guajira, y de la Maracaybo, descubrió

[1] *Juliáo, Antonio: La Perla de la América, Provincia de Santa Marta, descubrimiento, descripción y riqueza en diversos tratados.* Madrid, por don Antonio de Sancha, 1787. Pp. 111, 11. — NOTA: Todas las subrayadas son nuestras.

[2] Id., Id., Pp. V, 18.

[3] Id., Id., Pp. XII, 107.

ahora. La primera es, la previsión y uso que tienen de las armas de fuego con el continuo comercio con los extranjeros; y la segunda es, que por medio de esos se han introducido ya los Negros y Negras, y mezclados con los mismos Indios é Indias que los compran y retienen esclavos, y de ahí provienen, que no solamente se aumenta el número de gente entre los Guajiros, sino también se multiplica la diversidad de razas temibles de Mestizos, de Mulatos, de Zambos, &c., las quales unidas con los Guajiros, harán siempre más formidable esta Nación y más difícil cada día su conquista. En efecto, quando entramos en las tierras de los Guajiros, vimos al Cacique al encuentro con dos Negros de Lacayos, vestidos con vistosa librea colorada, con sus vueltas y galones correspondientes, cosa que verdaderamente nos hizo novedad, é impresión grandísima" [1].

SERVIDUMBRE

Hay una diferencia fundamental entre los conceptos de esclavitud y servidumbre en la Guajira: Si bien es cierto que en ambos casos se coarta la libertad del individuo, también lo es que se hace en grados diferentes. Por lo mismo, podemos decir que mientras en la esclavitud el señor tiene derechos absolutos sobre la persona del esclavo, en la servidumbre sólo lo tiene sobre su fuerza de trabajo.

En la servidumbre se incluyen algunos grupos cuya situación económica, social y numérica se ha debilitado; son clanes que, hasta cierto punto, carecen de respaldo masculino eficiente y que, por tanto, se agregan, si no legalmente, por lo menos de hecho a una familia de categoría superior, perteneciente a un grupo fuerte, a cambio de la prestación de sus servicios.

Origen.—La servidumbre tiene tres causas: primera, la venta voluntaria de hombres y mujeres, sobre todo en la edad infantil por parte de sus deudos inmediatos, considerados como tales, la madre, el tío materno más emparentado, la abuela y los tíos maternos; segunda, cuando un grupo no puede cumplir satisfactoriamente sus compromisos económico-sociales, tales como el pago de una deuda, el resarcimiento de una ofensa, etc.; y, tercera, en los casos de inferioridad social manifiesta en que la aplicación de la ley queda al arbitrio del ofendido y se toman como siervos algunos de los miembros del grupo social más bajo, especialmente cuando la falta es cometida en el robo.

[1] R., R., Nº XIV, 108.

1: Gutierrez de Pineda SC13 Goajiro

Obligaciones del señor.—Es obligación del señor suministrar a sus siervos alojamiento, vestido y alimentación; y en este último aspecto, los siervos ocupan el último lugar junto con los esclavos, es decir, toman los sobras de la comida de sus señores y las viandas especiales que para ellos se hacen, consistentes sobre todo en mazamorra de maíz.

Deberes de los siervos.—Los siervos se dedican generalmente a los oficios domésticos: cocina, acarreo de agua y leña, busca de frutos en la hacienda, recolección de frutos silvestres, cuidado de los niños de los amos, cuidado de los enfermos de la casa, debiendo viajar en cumplimiento de estos deberes cuando los señores están en cuaría.

Los hombres, por su parte, se dedican a las actividades agrícolas en las épocas del año en que éstas pueden practicarse; y, cotidianamente, al pastoreo; fuera de estas labores tienen que cumplir otras en las casas de sus señores, relacionadas con los trabajos que requieren la cooperación masculina.

Su situación legal frente a la comunidad goajira podemos delinearla así: Como no es miembro de un grupo clanil extinguido en guerra, sino inferiorizado por su precaria economía, su posición y sus derechos están en íntima relación con la fuerza social que su grupo pueda tener. Esto quiere decir que si el grupo a que pertenece el siervo —por alianza, o por otras circunstancias cualquiera—, puede presentar cobro al grupo del señor, impide de esta manera que el siervo sea maltratado, que le hagan verter sangre o que lo maten, pues en cualquiera de estos casos el señor recibirá el reclamo y talvez el ataque de los parientes de su siervo y se verá obligado a pagar una suma de resarcimiento.

La violación o el abuso cometido en una sierva implica la exigencia del pago correspondiente, no ya por parte de su señor, como en el caso de la esclavitud, sino por sus propios parientes; lo mismo ocurre en el caso de embarazo.

Todo esto nos indica que el siervo es un individuo que, a pesar de no disponer libremente de su fuerza de trabajo, es miembro activo de la sociedad. Sus servicios no son voluntarios, pero él se rige corrientemente por las normas generales que orientan la comunidad: su vida se respeta, las mujeres no pueden ser empalladas arbitrariamente, ni tomadas como mujeres sin su propio consentimiento; y, sobre todo, sus hijos son siempre libres, y todo la propiedad familiar sigue siendo suya o de sus parientes.

Derechos del señor.—El señor tiene derecho de utilizar libremente, en las labores que considere necesarias, la fuerza de trabajo de sus siervos,

y de venderlas a otra persona; pero por más que el siervo cambie de dueño, la venta se refiere al empleo de su fuerza de trabajo y no a su persona.

Vida sexual de las siervas.—Las mujeres compradas como siervas no quedan sexualmente bajo el dominio de sus dueños o de los familiares de éstos. No obstante, cuando sus parientes consanguíneos viven tan lejos que no pueden ejercer influencia, las siervas son aprovechadas por los dueños, pero no como acuerdo de derecho, sino de hecho. Esta situación de relativa libertad sexual que soportan las siervas hace que sean molestadas por los hombres más que las mismas esclavas, pues las últimas están defendidas por su amo. Como consecuencia de tal estado de cosas, es frecuente que las siervas se prostituyan por no encontrar respaldo en sus amos ni en sus parientes.

Puede ocurrir que el señor se enamore de una de sus siervas y tenga relaciones sexuales con ella, caso en el cual se expone la molestia y se deshace de ella; entonces el señor opta a veces por comprarla a sus familiares, sigue conviviendo con ella (poligamia), y no es raro que abandone su primitivo hogar.

Si una siervas resulta embarazada, sus familiares perjudican el cobro al grupo del hombre causante del hecho.

Cuando un hombre ha convivido con una siervas y sus familiares le prometen cobro, se le ofrecen dos posibilidades: pagar el daño y las molestias que pueda causar el embarazo y el abandonamiento, perdiendo así todo derecho sobre la mujer; o comprarla como esposa. En este último caso ella se libera de la posición de siervas, pero del valor que se necesite por el matrimonio, se paga al señor la deuda que da origen a la servidumbre. También se puede negociar la siervas directamente con el amo, pagándole una suma que le permita liberarla, y entregando otra a sus familiares de la mujer.

Prostitución.—La siervas, como la esclava que se vende a los blancos, se ocupa de la casa en donde presta sus servicios y sugiere a la Prostituta; y si no están presentes el control y la autoridad familiares, se prostituye, sin dando entonces que ya haya sido iniciada en esta vida durante su época de servidumbre. Cuando tiene por delante a sus familiares también vende prostituirse ocultando a espaldas de los mismos, tratando de engañar a su amo en la consumación del comercio sexual, o recibiendo a los varones con parte de lo que ganaga. Esta situación se puede considerar como anormal en el sistema social guajiro, pues la prostitución está considerada al mar-

1: Gutierrez de Pineda SC13 Goajiro

gas de la ley. Pero cuando interviene el factor hombre, por presunción prolongada del varón, la situación se vuelve anormal en los casos antiguos menos favorecidos económicamente, y las familias tienen que soportar que sus mujeres adultas se prostituyan y ayuden con lo que reciben de su comercio, al mantenimiento de los demás miembros.

Situación de los hijos.—Los hijos de una sierva son siempre libres; es frecuente que presten sus servicios en la casa que los hace su madre, como compensación por los gastos que ocasiona por su manutención, pero legalmente son libres.

Comercio.—Durante los fuertes veranos que azotan la Península guajira, que se presentan siguiendo un posible ciclo de veinticinco a treinta años, la venta de seres humanos como siervos se hace más intensa. Es en esta época cuando las familias pobres se ven obligadas a deshacerse de los miembros familiares, especialmente de aquellos que no pueden contribuir a su mantenimiento, con el propósito de descargarse de esta obligación y obtener así un ingreso monetario para sostener el resto de la familia. Estos siervos se venden para Venezuela y las islas holandesas en el exterior y para las ciudades de Barranquilla, Riohacha, Santa Marta y gran parte del departamento del Magdalena en el interior, para las haciendas de explotación ganadera; es un comercio entre indios y blancos. También se venden los niños y otras familias indígenas, pero en escala mucho menor, toda vez que es extraño que un indio compre abiertamente a otro para utilizarlo como siervo, pues la servidumbre entre los guajiros se debe más a enajenación para pagarse de un robo o de una deuda, o para aprovecharse de la situación débil de los grupos pobres y hacerlos trabajar a su servicio.

Las personas que se venden en calidad de siervos, son generalmente niños y jóvenes que ya comienzan a valerse por sí mismos y pueden prestar algunos servicios. En Venezuela estos siervos son utilizados como mano de obra agrícola en las haciendas, que confrontan escasez de brazos debido a la competencia que les presentan las petroleras vecinas y los trabajos de puertos, que resultan más lucrativos para el obrero. Las mujeres, en cualquier parte donde estén como siervas, son utilizadas para los oficios domésticos.

La actitud del blanco frente al problema de la servidumbre en la Guajira, revela varias formas de conducta: una que es el aprovechamiento de la situación de miseria del indígena y en la que el blanco sirve de intermediario para comprar niños y jóvenes de ambos sexos que lleva a los con-

tos de compra para cumplir un encargo que se le ha hecho o, simplemente, para hacer una reventa y obtener ganancia. El siervo se convierte así en objeto de comercio, con buen margen de utilidad para el traficante. Actualmente se ve también el caso de capuchinos, deudos de haciendas o mayordomos provenientes de Venezuela que compran siervos para sus trabajos agrícolas.

Hay otra actitud pasiva que considera la servidumbre como hecho cumplido y la soporta sin intervención directa. Y, por último, la actitud abierta de la Misión Capuchina que, como en el caso de la esclavitud, compra siervos, los educa y les vuelve su libertad perdida.

Centros de servidumbre a la fuerza y centros de venta.—La Sierra de Jarara es la región en donde la servidumbre resumen como origen más común el cumplimiento obligado de la libertad parental cuando no se ha podido cumplir una obligación pendiente o cuando el indígena pobre en los veranos que por condiciones geológicas resultan más fuertes que en el resto de la Península, cabe entonces, obligado por la necesidad de alimento y el alcohol se paga quitando el habrón, que no tiene con qué responder por el deudo cuando, un niño o una niña, generalmente subrinos maternos del habrón.

Por otra parte, el mayor centro de venta y el verdadero distribuidor de este mercado de siervos, es Maicao, lo que se debe a que está en la Guajira Baja, que es una de las regiones guajiras que sufren más crudamente en los veranos largos, ni con mujeres dispuestas de los recursos económicos que tienen las de la Guajira Alta, como las que le convierten la industria de tejidos y viven sin trabajo, y, por lo mismo, sin posibilidades de manutención. Por otra razones, las madres tienen que aplicar el recurso de vender sus hijos subrinos como siervos y también los niños maternos. A esto contribuye el hecho de ser Maicao el paso obligado del comercio entre Venezuela y Colombia.

IX

ENFERMEDAD Y MUERTE

"... en el aspecto de la medicina guajira tradicional existen factores dinámicos que podemos definir en principio así:

1. La medicina ejercida directamente por el piache a través de su conocimiento con las especies biodinámicas;

2. La medicina por adivinación, dependiente o independiente del piache y que crea una categoría social no muy bien definida: la del adivino;

3. La medicina que podríamos llamar como independiente del piache y de los adivinos, que se apoya por el conocimiento propiedades del valor curativo de las plantas por la observación de determinados comportamientos relacionados con el tabú, y que, como la anterior, son de tipo permisivo; y,

4. La medicina ejercida por los extranjeros. Este último factor debió tener origen en la etnografía histórica y aun puede hacerse difícil de clasificar; se trata de la intervención médica de los curanderos de la Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, a los cuales recurren en ciertos casos los guajiros..."[1].

Por un cuando enfermo un niño en la Guajira o un familiar un pariente, acudirá por una mujer adivina que determina las causas de la enfermedad del niño y prescribe los remedios correspondientes. Cuando el enfermo es un adulto y su mal no revista caracteres graves, apelan a los parientes (mujeres que conocen las propiedades curativas de algunas plantas) o a los conocimientos personales, se diría, a la medicina que se ha llamado casera. Si se trata de una enfermedad crónica, muy endémica, la vía seguida es que se utilicen los servicios de un curandero colombiano (indio de la Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta), el cual vive con los familiares del enfermo, o éste mismo permanecerá a la se pueblo. Este curandero la medicina una serie de conocimientos religiosos y de plantas medicinales que ya han sido ampliamente descritos en el artículo

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[1] Pineda Giraldo, Roberto: Aspectos de la Dieta en la Guajira, IV-XI y XII en Bol. del Instituto Etnológico Nal. VI, VII. Bogotá 1957, p. Bogotá, 1971.

[p. 153]

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[illegible] Nada es raro también en la actualidad, que los servicios del médico blanco sean solicitados, bien en la capital de la Península, Uribia, en las cercanas ciudades de Venezuela, como Maracaibo, o en las del vecino departamento colombiano del Magdalena.

Pero la cultura posee una institución tradicional que puede responder a estas necesidades: el *pische*, cuyo ciclo vital ha sido tratado ampliamente en el artículo que citamos al iniciar el capítulo y al cual remitimos al lector. Esta institución, quizás la más poderosa de la cultura guajira, ha sido justificada por determinadas circunstancias ya estudiadas en el artículo que venimos citando, pero ocupa todavía un puesto destacado dentro del conjunto social y cultural, hasta el punto de que cuando un indio enferma gravemente, sus familiares piensan inmediatamente en el pische como medio conveniente para lograr el restablecimiento del enfermo ya que este funcionario (el pische) posee potencialidades religiosas considerables por la elección que han hecho en él los espíritus benéficos para que les sirva de intermediario en sus frecuentes comunicaciones con la comunidad. Por esta razón, obtener la ayuda del pische es tener a su favor la amistad y la cooperación de los espíritus bienhechores que pueden librar al paciente de la muerte, porque la enfermedad para el guajiro se debe a la acción de espíritus perniciosos que quieren causar mal o satisfacer una venganza.

La primera condición exigida para que el pische se haga cargo de la curación que se le solicita, es la presentación y entrega a éste de una prenda, una joya de oro, generalmente un collar, que debe estar de acuerdo con el status familiar del enfermo y con la categoría del hombre-medicina. Como segunda condición está el sometimiento tácito a las disposiciones y exigencias del pische.

El pische, una vez tomada la determinación de hacerse cargo de la curación del paciente, va a su casa y somete al enfermo al ritual acostumbrado. Las prácticas, que se prolongan por varios días y que aún pueden durar o durar menos estarían, son una mezcla de conjuros e invocaciones, acompañadas de cánticos y de fricciones de saliva mezclada con tabaco masticado y inyecciones bucales en las partes adoloridas del enfermo, aplicación de los conocimientos empíricos del uso medicinal de las plantas y ponderación de los espíritus de la enfermedad y de la muerte —[illegible]— por medio de regalos que suministran el enfermo o sus familiares, para conseguir el retorno victorioso del espíritu del paciente a su cuerpo y con ello la curación definitiva. Una vez que se ha conseguido este objetivo, el pische ordena la celebración de una fiesta.

Si al llegar el piache a prestar sus servicios reconoce que el enfermo no va a curar por alguna razón mágica que él expone, se retira; al paciente no le queda otro camino qué esperar la llegada de la muerte, la cual se presenta poco tiempo después, generalmente.

Corresponde también al piache la decisión sobre sacrificios tendientes a propiciar los espíritus adversos cuando éstos preparan un desgraciado incidente a un guajiro. Generalmente este insuceso lleva implícita la muerte para el individuo que, con el sacrificio y propiciaciones aconsejadas por el piache, contrarresta la acción amenazadora. De lo contrario el vaticinio se cumple. La tradición guajira narra entre muchos casos el siguiente: una vieja piache pronosticó a un individuo pushaina* la muerte a manos de un individuo de su mismo clan y una serie de hechos de sangre como consecuencia de su muerte. Debía, para evitar estos hechos, hacer unos sacrificios de animales y bañarse con la sangre de ellos. La insinuación no fue atendida y todo se cumplió como la piache había previsto.

También puede sustituir al piache en su predicción cualquier persona que sueña el acontecimiento futuro y las formas de evitarlo. Durante nuestra permanencia en Uribia tuvo lugar un baile de chicha-maya y una serie de sacrificios propiciatorios, que se cumplieron por tres noches. La madre de un guajiro soñó que su hijo iba a ser muerto por el marido de una mujer con quien mantenía relaciones ilícitas.

Puede ocurrir que el piache practique su sistema curativo y que sus esfuerzos no tengan el resultado apetecido. Llegada la muerte, el hombre-medicina se retira, después de devolver las regalías que su espíritu ha exigido, si su tratamiento fue inútil; en muchos casos los familiares buscan otra excusa que justifique su fracaso. Cuando los familiares se cercioran de la muerte del enfermo, lo cubren rápidamente y lo dejan quieto una media hora aproximadamente para que su espíritu tome de ese para el sitio donde ha de vivir desde entonces "después que pase", es decir, haga un recorrido por los lugares que le eran familiares y se despida de sus amigos y parientes. Durante esos momentos las personas vinculadas por el sistema se percatan que se manifiesta de algún modo y da a conocer por diversos sistemas: el olorío de su vista. Pasado este tiempo bañan todo su cuerpo con agua y jabón; en esta operación participan principalmente sus parientes más cercanos, hombres y mujeres, por líneas maternas y bajo los parientes paternos. El entierro, por-

* Pushaina: nombre de un clan guajiro.

nos y nuevos). Después de bañado se seca cuidadosamente y si es mujer se le cubre la cara con pinceles del color y la clase que más le agradaban en vida, porque como va de visita, según la creencia, debe cumplir con ese precepto de etiqueta, pues de no hacerlo podría sentirse infravalorada al encontrarse con sus familiares y amigos; además, para librarla de la acción de los rayos solares en el largo recorrido que debe hacer. Se la atavía con todas las joyas que poseía. Si tenía gran cantidad de sartillas, por ejemplo, todas deben ser colocadas en sus mujas, suspendidas en cadenas, que se inician con las pretrillas; todas las collares, brazaletes, ajorcas y anillos colocados en la parte correspondiente del cuerpo. Si el muerto es un hombre, se le ponen también las joyas, pues se supone las necesita en la otra vida para conservar su status alcanzado. Si el muerto pertenece a clase rica, se amortaja de la siguiente manera: con una tela especial, usada por las mujeres; inicialmente se cubre la cabeza con un pañuelo cuya base se coloca sobre el centro y las esquinas se fijan por detrás de la cabeza. Encima se pone una segunda tela que baja hasta la cintura y fija los brazos lateralmente a lo largo del cuerpo. Una tercera cubre los miembros inferiores y pueden añadir una cuarta que envuelve todo el cuerpo; el empleo de esta les iría desaparecendo gradualmente. Amortajado así es puesto en la enramada dentro del cajón —ataúdes modernos— o envuelto en una piel de res, fresca aún, y colocado en un chinchorro. Es entonces cuando se da comienzo al llanto.

Existe la costumbre de avisar a todos los consanguíneos distantes, a los amigos más íntimos y en general a todos los conocidos, la muerte, o cuando entra en agonía, para la enfermedad se conocía desde el primer momento, muy especialmente a los primeros. Si son gentes importantes se avisan puntos desde el instante en que el enfermo se agrava, de manera que al morir, la casa ya está llena de gente. Como los que llegan a dar el pésame son muchos y se dan cuenta de la imposibilidad en que los dueños de casa están para ofrecerles debida hospitalidad, los visitantes llegan provistos de chinchorros, agua en grandes cantidades, alimentos, etc., que traen en sus bueyes.

El punto avisado a dar la noticia, sobre todo cuando la llevan a un consanguíneo del extranjero, sabe que no puede pronunciar el nombre del muerto porque ofendería gravemente a sus parientes. Por eso dice generalmente: "un pariente tuyo que vivía en tal parte, que hizo tal cosa importante, se murió". Es más: ninguno de los consanguíneos pronuncia el nombre del difunto durante de nadie, por temor a ofender a sus pa-

[illegible] que, aunque no están presentes, pueden ser informados por alguien que hacer la recompensa de la deducción.

A medida que llegan las personas notificadas dan el pésame. La forma de hacerlo es la siguiente: los deudos se encuentran sentados en el suelo, o la hacen, para el momento, más cómodamente en el interior de la vivienda (las nuevas concubinas exigen a los parientes que permanecen en el interior de la vivienda, sentados en el suelo y cubiertos el rostro con un gran pañuelo negro como la noche que viene). Llega el forastero y se sienta a su lado. Empieza entonces el llanto del deudo quien le ofrenda con la cabeza agachada, cubierta como el rostro. Llora un tiempo más o menos prolongado intercalando frases encontradas que se refieren a su pesar y a su desgracia. Cesa el fin el forastero para iniciarlo el visitante y una vez terminado se da el saludo tradicional guajiro, iniciado por el que está de duelo. Vuelven a llorar un rato y suspenden para conocer el proceso de la muerte en todos sus detalles.

Al cuidado del cadáver cuelgan una serie de hamacas ordenadas, que ocupan los parientes más cercanos para tomarse en el llanto o para colocarse una nueva que ha venido de visita, quien, luego de dar el pésame a sus deudos, debe llorar cerca del cadáver, reclinándose sobre el cajón del muerto o colocándole encima una mano, precepto mágico que la favorece de salir con el difunto. En esta posición la visitante, extraña o consanguínea, llora con su mano y forma características en la cadera, que más que llanto es como una queja de sensaciones lugubres. Los hombres guajiros llaman en forma diferente, dando gritos, desconsoladamente, con desesperación, a intervalos. La hora de pan, inclinándose sobre el frente y con el rostro cubierto por un pañuelo, el sombrero o la mano. Interrogados los participantes extraños de un velorio sobre cómo lograban producir un llanto tan real y tan intenso, explicaron que no era propiamente por la muerte del individuo que se velaba, pues muchos veces los era desconocido, sino por la evocación sobre el cadáver, del conjunto de penas de su grupo y de sus personales penas.

En tanto que los visitantes y parte de los familiares cercanos y parientes más inmediatos se colocan al cuidado del muerto, para mantener por varias la homosexualidad permanente, los demás allegados del muerto se disponen a cumplir con los servicios de hospitalidad y cortesía acostumbrados en tales ocasiones, como son: recibir el pésame de los que van llegando, dar bebida a los hombres y mantener constante el espíritu fúnebre. Las familiares mayores deben atender a la repartición de los se-

mentosos del sistema, como participación que se acostumbra dar a los vecinos que vienen a manifestar su condolencia.

Un velorio se puede y debe prolongar cuanto como lo permitan las existencias de mantenimiento del difunto, y en caso de que tiene fuerza para mantener el prestigio del nivel de los conseguidos del muerto, se apela a los cuentos que tiene dos. Porque frente a la cultura el verdadero nivel económico-social del fallecido se demuestra por el sacrificio y repartición de animales que en tal momento pueda hacerse, además de que ello vinculado a la vida ultraterrena, pues los momentos sacrificados y el apoyo financiado son la base del nivel del muerto en la otra vida.

La Guajira recuerda la muerte de algunos de sus más destacados jefes civiles. Cuentan por ejemplo, que el Cacique José Dolores dará un velorio dos meses y medio mientras se daba fin al sacrificio y reparto de los animales que pueda, entre quienes fueron a dar el pésame. Toda la Península se movilizó para acompañar a sus deudos. Dicen que se gastaron todos menos que tenían allí bolívares (monedas venezolanas) en aguardiente para evitar la putrefacción y los malos olores del cadáver durante tiempo en una clima tan ardiente.

El reparto de animales y de las bebidas se hace teniendo en cuenta la categoría del visitante. A los de clase alta debe dárseles ganado vacuno, mular o caballar, ya desarrollado, y ron o brandy en abundancia; a los pobres ganado caprino o ovino y bebida en menor cantidad y calidad. En algunos momentos se requiere un palero de varas entre ellos para que mientras durante la reunión fúnebre.

Se acostumbra también hacer una reserva de animales para el segundo entierro que es, en cierto modo, una repartición del primero.

Cuando la propiedad personal del difunto no es suficiente para mantener adecuadamente el nivel del grupo del grupo clasificado, son conseguidos, coordinados y dirigidos por el jefe familiar también una cuota que tiene el carácter de obligatoria, para reunir mantenimiento y bebidas que permitan mantener el prestigio de todo el conjunto y del muerto en particular. Esta cuota se repite para el segundo entierro.

Una vez que se ha hecho la repartición de todos los mantenimientos disponibles del difunto, la familia entierra el entierro. Si la muerte tuvo lugar fuera de las tierras de sus consanguíneos donde está localizado el cementerio clasificado, se lo conducen hasta allí, siendo sobre sus hombros. Todos los miembros del velorio acompañan al cadáver, a caballo o a pie, bebiendo inmoderadamente durante todo el trayecto. La tumba los cada diferente generalmente por un pariente muy cercano y especialmente del difunto, generalmente

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

se efectúa una de estas visitas; luego al completar seis horas de recién el duelo. Estas visitas se suceden con mayor frecuencia cuando los familiares creen haber sentido el espíritu del muerto, lo que es indicio de que no se cumplió a cabalidad con el ritual funerario o faltó alguna cosa en el ajuar post-mortem o de que el muerto pudiera no abastecerse necesidades necesidades. Por eso se le lleva comida y bebida. Otra práctica consiste en que cualquier guajiro —hombre o mujer— que pase por el cementerio lo de entrar, sobre todo si sabe que ha habido un entierro reciente, a llevar un ruto sobre las tumbas, recordando sus propios penas y las de su clan. En el tiempo inmediato al entierro los familiares del muerto encienden fogatas en su honor durante la noche para alumbrarle el camino que debe seguir hasta llegar a su futuro mundo y para que su espíritu no quede vagando, como el del asesino o el del suicida, y no se tome nocivo. En Santander del Sur una concepción existió en un pasado lejano, pero hoy los campesinos se limitan a poner al muerto, dentro de la manga de la mortaja, una vela para que se alumbre en su camino.

Por largo tiempo la familia del guajiro recuerda a su pariente recién muerto todas las madrugadas al despertar y le llora (Cf. Culto a los muertos, Cap. II) junto con los demás muertos del conjunto clanil.

Pasado algún tiempo de enterrado el pariente (cuatro o cinco meses) vuelven a su tumba, casi secretamente, dos mujeres: la madre y la tía más afecta a él, o la primera mujer. Abren de nuevo la sepultura hasta hallar el cadáver, lo levantan hasta la mitad de la fosa poniendo tierra en el interior y lo cubren nuevamente. Dicen que el objeto de esta remoción es evitar que el esqueleto se disperse a cierta profundidad cuando se verifique el desenterro. Estas dos parientas, luego que han ejecutado este trabajo se someten a una purificación especial. Llegado el tiempo del desenterro, dos años más o menos después de la muerte, todos los familiares se reúnen. Mandan pasar a enterrar el desenterro. Todos concurren a esta ceremonia en la que se vuelven a repetir el sacrificio y la repartición de animales y bebidas, y tiene lugar bien en la casa del muerto o en el mismo cementerio, donde se construye una enramada, si la casa es demasiado distante. Para el efecto se introducen los restos en una gran vasija de barro que se coloca sobre una hamaca, a cuyo alrededor se congregan, también en hamacas, sus parientes y amigos para llorar al muerto por segunda vez. Se encaja otra tumba en el cementerio clanil para depositar en ella los restos. En la actualidad es muy acostumbrado que cada familia pequeña y de posibilidades económicas posea una urna

[illegible] en la que se ven acumulados los restos duros de los alimentos consumidos inmediatos.

La colocación de los restos se toma que se encontraba a familiares muy cercanos al difunto y muy ahorro a él. Con esto se les consuela en hacer familiar que nunca se olvidarán, como el de cover la tumba. Estos individuos en número de dos, abren la tumba, el uno, colocado verdaderamente el cuerpo con una manta y con los restos mortales en un pabellón se excavando entre la tierra para encontrar los restos duros. Como la región es tan seca se conservan maravillosamente bien los cadáveres. Son primero el cráneo con mucha rapidez, entre el silencio de los concurrentes. La hagia cuidadosamente manifestando su ahorro en cada uno de esos detalles y la pasa a su compañero, junto con los demás huesos. Este ayudante está cubierto, especialmente el rostro, y su tarea consiste en ir colocándolos dentro de la urna funeraria destinada de antemano para tal fin. Estos dos personas, una vez que han dado fin a su tarea, se pasan cuidadosamente y durante algún tiempo se conservan a una dieta alimenticia especial.

En este desenterrar los consanguíneos del difunto se conservan a la misma prescripción alimenticia de no comer carne de los animales cacheados, y reciben el pésame de sus parientes y amigos que con esta noticia se reunen de nuevo.

Existe una costumbre funeraria que se ha ido debilitando en algunos sectores que están más en contacto con el blanco y con la influencia misionera en el abandono de la casa donde muere el enfermo, [illegible] después de enterrado el cadáver a más tardamente, si en este momento es imposible. Algunas veces, si la persona muere trágicamente la casa se quemada. La razón alegada para esta costumbre es la de que la enfermedad ha sido producida por el espíritu malo que de hecho se fue en aquel lugar, tomando posesión de la vivienda y puede continuar molestando a los demás moradores. En la actualidad esta costumbre se limita generalmente al abandono de la habitación que ocupa el muerto. Cuando en las [illegible] se vienen allí humanos y el espíritu de la persona muerta vuelve [illegible] a este lugar a manifestar su inquietud cuando sus familiares la han olvidado en el culto especial de [illegible] Los cementerios trágicos se acostumbran cuando el enfermo muere en cualquier lugar menos visitado, como en el caso, la casa se abandona definitivamente por la superstición de la muerte especialmente durante la noche lo que hace imposible la vivienda. Cuando la muerte es causada por un

[illegible] y no se domesque la cosa, si esos miembros familiar [illegible] en ella de dolencia similar, se fuerza mayor que se la domestica, por indicio muy claro de que en ella habitan también los espíritus de la enfermedad, los cuales acharán a la larga con todos los miembros.

X

LA FAMILIA PEQUEÑA

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Así, tenemos que:

1º Antecedentes legítimos, funcionales, como su madre, su abuela y su bisabuela maternas, etc.

2º También son sus parientes los tíos maternos en los distintos grados.

3º En línea colateral, las hermanas de la madre y sus descendientes.

4º Son sus parientes de otra manera más alejada, las hermanas de la madre y las de la abuela, la bisabuela, etc., por línea materna.

5º Los hijos de las hermanas de la madre, abuela, bisabuela, etc.

De manera, que el parentesco para el varón matrilineal se extiende hasta cuarto grado, hasta el infinito por línea femenina, prolongándose también hasta sobrinos en la misma forma.

Respecto al parentesco con individuos de otra matrilinea, tiene en primer lugar a los tíos colaterales y a los hijos de los parientes. Es decir, que el varón matrilineal no conoce a sus antepasados varones, es catalogado entre los tíos y los hijos de sus parientes de otra matrilinea. Por otra parte, si el varón matrilineal es hombre, no conocerá en la futura como parientes a sus descendientes directos.

Sería muy difícil realizar un estudio exhaustivo sobre el ejercicio de la maternidad en la familia pequeña o en la familia extensa, porque ellas dos se encuentran con fenómenos completamente distintos: la convivencia de sus miembros, que evidentemente por separado constituyen fuerzas adversas, porque por encima de la consanguinidad, el ejercicio de la maternidad, basado en la unidad consanguínea social de la madre legal (madre social), presenta formas diferentes a las que siguen según los puntos de vista legislativos.

Tanto dos sistemas —sistema tradicional y sistema reflejado por el Menores— ofrecen una gamma infinita de variedades difíciles de clasificar y que por lo mismo, son tantas que son verdaderas como casos particulares (J.D. Hernández).

Hay necesidad de considerar que en el lugar de que "tradicional" se ciñe a sentir la influencia de la familia extensa, esta tiende en forma muy lenta por lo que corresponde al cual de sus miembros, pero muy rápida y eficaz en lo que se refiere a la persona del sus miembros, en el cual acaba con funciones de compañero, tiende en influencia para a la persona del padre, quien desde sus nacimiento adquiere y ejerce tiende la autoridad delegada según la cultura guajira, en el sus miembros. Otra fuerza

mente que se presenta con este matrimonio es la aparición de los familiares paternos que van adquiriendo posiciones en el parentesco, hasta llegar a una consideración casi semejante a la que tienen en nuestra cultura. De hecho, los hijos de un matrimonio así constituido empiezan a conocer el padre dentro del término de sus parientes, inicialmente no figurado, y muy posteriormente, van adquiriendo esta conciencia semejante en el hecho de tomar partido a su lado, de ser representados por él en sus necesidades consuetudinarias como el matrimonio y a recibir su apoyo y su defensa y, posteriormente, a ser sus herederos legítimos.

En el hogar guajiro clásico, la autoridad descansa en la del tío materno, subordinando la del padre viejo en orden de importancia, pueda existir una excepción que hace referencia al caso de que este de tales personas haya adquirido personalmente una posición que así ello se destaca sobre sus demás hermanos tiene que extender su radio de acción a todo el grupo civil y aún adelante a otros clanes. Mientras personalidades individuales o excepcionalmente pueden ser la causa de esta elevación de su status que le es completamente reconocido dentro de la familia hasta el punto de que puede llegar a suplantar al que por orden cronológico debían ocupar. Según el viejo orden, la edad era el índice del ejercicio de la autoridad, orden que debía marcar a la sucesión en caso de muerte.

También puede suceder que en una cualquiera de las diferentes ligas formadas por cada una de las hermanas de una familia, se [illegible] y se sienta preferencialmente a una de las hermanas, sin tener en cuenta el reconocimiento de jerarquía que edades, status, etc.

Esta preferencia obedece quizás a la afinidad que la madre muestra por una de sus hermanas, preferencia que tiene una conducta muy grave extensiva a los hijos de la hermana de quienes se a [illegible] mayor sentimiento. Además de sentimiento la influencia es muy decisiva y la ayuda efectiva de esta hermana se destaca sobre las de las demás. Esta celebra especialmente con detalles el nacimiento de los hijos de la hermana, y sobre todo se encarga de educarlos a su lado en las actividades pastoriles y varonilas en general. Después del tío, corresponde a la madre las funciones de autoridad. Ellos —tío y madre—, toman, en sentimiento, decisiones conjuntas después de previa consulta y de acuerdo a este orden, pero si ocurre una divergencia, domina la autoridad del tío. Luego viene la autoridad de los hijos, que también sigue el orden cronológico y [illegible] esta. Así, prima la autoridad del varón mayor, porque en el caso de que haya varios hijos como de un hijo, la autoridad será ejercida por este, no importando su posición dentro de la familia, en orden de llegada al mundo.

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También tienen gran sensibilidad y se ayuda y atienden sus opiniones, los propietarios por Sean femeninos y los hermanos de la madre, que después del día nacimiento son los más atendidos y ejercen sobre los sobrinos considerable influencia, manifiesta especialmente en el período de la infancia y en el compromiso de compra como esposa. Los días de la madre y sus primos, llamados en general días, pueden ser días, especialmente cuando alguno de ellos ocupa un lugar preferente dentro de la familia o en la cultura.

En el hogar, la sensibilidad para el desenvolvimiento de la vida administrativa recaía en la mujer. Ella debía decretar su voluntad y responsabilizarse de las decisiones que tomo. Ejerce el control sobre sus hijos, sobrinos, sirvientes, esclavos y criados, dependiendo su trabajo y respondiendo de su conducta. Esta sensibilidad se torna más amplia cuando mayor es la categoría económica y social de la mujer, pues los de clase alta tienen a su alrededor una servidumbre muy numerosa y un sinnúmero de parientes fuera de sus hijos y sobrinos, y sobre todos ellos debían hacer valer su sensibilidad. Además, cuando se trata de la primera mujer que es la principal administradora de los bienes del marido y forma su verdadero hogar, esta sensibilidad cruza valores más. Sin embargo, la sensibilidad de la mujer madre no puede hacerse extensiva a la casa de sus hijos casados o demás parientes. Ella puede dejar sin su opinión en sus hechos pero la decisión que tomo corresponderá a la mujer jefe del hogar. Cada mujer casada ejerce independiente su sensibilidad en el hogar, sin la intervención de los parientes de su grupo, a no ser cuando pide respaldo, como un recurso del marido. De otro lado está la sensibilidad del hombre, que se refiere al derecho sobre la servidumbre, sobre sus sobrinos y demás parientes. El debe responsabilizarse de la ejecución de los trabajos masculinos tanto por el cumplimiento personal, como por el de las fuerzas de trabajo de que disponga, para tales fines. En su ausencia tomo las riendas de la sensibilidad su sobrino mayor mayor.

En el caso de que el padre viva en el hogar, se decía en caso de su primera mujer, en el quien dispone, ordena o ejercita el cumplimiento del desenvolvimiento de la vida administrativa, las fuerzas generales dentro, las particulares agrícolas y las especiales que atienden a su atención. En su ausencia puede ser cumplimentado por el hijo varón en orden cronológico. Como en la actualidad la categoría económica es tan heterogénea y en general el padre se mantiene particularmente por sus actividades generales o sus vínculos a las demás mujeres (poligamia), la mujer que no tiene un hijo varón responsable, puede por sí sola disponer los trabajos más las que deben

[illegible]

[illegible]

XI

EL CLAN

Al estudiar la organización clanil queremos presentarla tal como parece debió funcionar en un pasado y conocer las transformaciones que ha sufrido hasta llegar a las manifestaciones actuales. Por eso nos servimos de la Mitología para sobre hechos en un primitivo remoto.

Refiere una narración de la Alta Guajira: "No lejos de Nazareth, existe un cerro colocado dentro del Itojure. Allí nació Maríuse debajo de un olivo. Allí le encontraron chiquito y fue creciendo y creciendo, tan rápido como un indio. Comía frutas y llevaba manta de guajiro. La mamá era una viejita. Allí vivía su casa. El padre era un tal Sawar que dizque también era dios. Como Maríuse nació debajo de un olivo este árbol no pierde las hojas verdes en ningún tiempo. Y cuando hay tempestades los indios se guarecen debajo de un cerro porque allí no puede llegar el rayo.

"Maríuse tiene que existiera otro indio que llamaban Boronka, que fue la madre de todos los indios guajiros. Maríuse le dio un compañero del cual quedó embarazada para llegado el momento del alumbramiento ella no podía dar a luz. Yo llevaba tres días de dolores sin que el nacimiento tuviera lugar. Y era que su órgano genital venía dentro. Maríuse se los quitó y luego le entregó el montón dos cuchillos de cada lado, los indígenas, para partirlos a Boronka, a fin de que pudiera dar a luz sin dificultad, aunque sin dolores.

"Como siempre que hay un alumbramiento hay pérdida de sangre, Maríuse llamó a todos los pájaros: el Boronka Sangre de Toro o pájaro-el la mandó levantar donde había caído bajo el parto. También a los vaqueros, el ave de alas negras y barriguita y cuerpo negro, y a los guaraguaos. El carpintero llegó tarde al hecho. Maríuse le dijo: Llegaste tarde para no voy a sacar el cuerpo, y se la pintó. Por eso es un pájaro chupa manchas negro.

"Boronka tuvo varios hijos y así siguieron multiplicándose los guajiros. Cuando hubo muchos, volvió Maríuse y les repartió semillas de pañilla, maíz y ayuda, todo lo que los guajiros comen hoy día. Hasta una

mamento el guajiro no sembraba: cogía para comer las frutas del monte. *Maviiwa* recogió todas las zancudas y las trepidas. A una bandada de aves las mandó a que fueran lejos, muy lejos, y allí comieron iguanas y ranas. Llamó también una bandada de palomas del monte que trajeron la fruta de corazón de Hupochi. Luego *Maviiwa* dispuso por toda la Guajira estos pajaritos, que con sus excrementos fueron regando las semillas que germinaron en la tierra cubriéndola de plantas que fructificaron y sirvieron de alimento a los indios.

"A cada indio varón le dio *Maviiwa* una pareja de animales: chivos, burros, vacas, caballos y cerdos. Luégo los reunió a todos con sus animales en un lugar llamado Arachi cerca de Siapana (al S. W. de Nazareth) y en una piedra marcó el hierro que le iba dando a cada grupo de indios hijos de *Boruuka*. Y aún hoy día se ven las marcas en aquella piedra.

"Allí hizo los *Epieyú*, *Ipuana*, *Uriana*, *Sapuana*, *Jayariyú*, *Apshana*, *Sijuana*, *Uraniyú*, *Epieyú*, *Jitná*, *Sariyú*, *Pasayú*, *Uriyú*, *Wariyú*, *Uramaka*, *Matpikana*, *Uyaraiyú*, *Waririyú*, *Jusayú*, *Warahorayú*, etc. *Maviiwa* les dio esas marcas para que no se confundieran los semovientes de los unos con los de los otros.

"Cada grupo tiene un animal que lo distingue de las demás agrupaciones, porque debido a que dichos animales (los totémicos actuales), según el mito de la Creación iban a ser indios, pero se comieron los granos que *Maviiwa* había repartido a cada grupo, y éste, entonces, para castigarlos, los dejó en su estado primitivo, como símbolo del grupo al cual habían ofendido. Así, el rey de los gallinazos, por ejemplo, se comió una sal de los *Epieyú* y por eso se quedó como símbolo de ese grupo. El *Ceicawi* se comió un animal *Ipuana* y se quedó con ellos. El *Uriana* con el Tigre, porque éste hizo lo mismo. El *Sapuana* con el alcaraván. El *Jayariyú* con el perro; el *Apshana* con el Gallinazo, el *Sijuana*, la Avispa; el *Uraniyú* con la Culebra cascabel; *Jitná*, el Zorro; el *Sariyú* con la Catamaja; *Pasayú*, la Abeja; *Uyaraiyú*, el Venado Conquero, etc.".

Otra narración cuenta: ... "como no había nada sobre la Tierra *Maviiwa* dijo: ¿Cómo haré yo para que haya algo y poder así regresar al Cielo?

"Dijo entonces a los pájaros que eran indios: hagan sus casas y sus ensamadas que yo voy al Cielo y vuelvo. Se fue entonces y pocos días después regresó del Cielo. Este era como la Tierra de hoy con árboles y frutas iguales. Los pájaros, que eran indios, no cumplieron la orden de *Maviiwa*, pues no construyeron ni las casas ni las ensamadas. Cuando llegó *Maviiwa* encontró que ellos lo que habían hecho eran nidos en los ár-

bidas. Maviriwa, disgustado, les dijo: vuelvanse pájaros y no sean mas indios ya que no obedecieron, y de alli salieron las diversas clases de aves.

"Después de maldecir los pájaros, Maviriwa sugió una cantidad de barro y empezó a hacer muñecos como los que ahora hacen en Jarara, y de diversa clase. Mandó llamar al cucarachero para que cantara a los muñecos mientras él los hacía. El pájaro lo hizo y en su canción refería el color y la clase de barro de que estaban hechos. Mandó llamar luego al pájaro carpintero y le dijo: anda a buscar a mis abuelos, y cuando vinos le ordenó: nombrale el clan a cada uno de los muñecos. El dijo: este es *Apshana*, este *Epieyú*, este *Uriana*, etc., etc., etc. Maviriwa en pago de haber nombrado bien los clanes, le dio un collar blanco que aun conserva. Por último dijo el pájaro: los *Ipuana* y *Sepuanos* serán dados en matrimonio de *Jatrdi* (guerra); los *Epieyú* con los *Apshana*. Muy bien dijo Maviriwa.

"Nombrados los grupos todos, los muñecos de barro se convirtieron en hombres y mujeres de verdad. Maviriwa repartió entonces los [illegible] y los sitios para que no pelearan luego. Así les dijo: Ud. va a vivir con su mujer allí; Ud. aquí, etc. Hoy los hombres hablan y tienen mas mujeres, pero en aquel tiempo Maviriwa les dio solamente una. Eso son las costumbres de ahora. Pero los *Ipuana* en *Jarara*, los *Epieyú* en la Guajira Baja, los *Uriariyú*, en la región de Nazareth; los *Epieyú* en la región de Puerto Estrella, y así a todos los demás se repartieron en la Guajira. Maviriwa habló con ellos por última vez, para despedirse. Así les hablo: Vuestra lo que quería, que vivieran aquí. Yo me voy ya, desde el Cielo los sigo mirando".

* * *

Para comprender mejor la Mitología es preciso conocer la organización de la Guajira. Veamos un resumen de ella:

Todo el conjunto peninsular se halla repartido entre diversos grupos con características especiales, que han recibido en el lenguaje popular el nombre de "castas". Esas "castas" son más bien agrupaciones de clanes cuyos rasgos más destacados son los siguientes:

1. Cada una, como lo podemos observar en las [illegible] precedentes, tiene un animal totémico que sirve para agrupar [illegible] individuos pertenecientes al mismo clan. Respecto del animal totémico encontramos los siguientes:

Clan:	Animal representativo:
Epieyú	Rey de los Gallinazos

Ipuana	Caimán.
Uriana	Tigre.

Alfred Jhan[1], agrega para el mismo grupo clasif. las siguientes animales tanémicos:

Uriana	Tigre (Zona de Tarra y Bahía Honda).
"	Conejo (Cruce costa de Maracaibo).
"	Pantalón (por todas partes).
"	Jakárlá —cuquaque— (en todas las Rancerías).

El profesor G. Hernández de Alba señala para el mismo grupo clasif. diversos animales representativos[2]:

Uriana	Tigre (Casahapur).
"	Leño (Gumach).
"	Gato (Monja).

A pesar de la diversidad de animales representativos adscritos a un mismo grupo clasif., todos coinciden en señalar primeramente el tigre, para la zona de su predominio, y por otra parte es el más reconocido en toda la Península.

Sapuana	Alcaraván. Sobre el mismo grupo anota Jhan, libro y página citados, la gallina.
Jayariyá	Perro.
Ajaluna	Gallinazo.
Sijuana	Ardilla.
Urariyá	Culebra Cascabel.
Jitná	Zorra.
Sariyá	Cotonejo.
Pantariyá	Abeja.
Utariyá	Venado Coquero.
Fjinariyá	Burro.

[1] Alfred Jhan, *Los aborígenes del Occidente de Venezuela*, pág. 161.
[2] G. Hernández de Alba, *Etnología Guajira*, pág. 68.

Jusuyú	*Mapuro.*
Uriyú	*Pardo.*
Sapoana	*(Mochero).* ?
Pushaina	*Rápido.*

Para algunos grupos muy reducidos, tales como el Uvamada, *Wuwlaweyú*, *Mojichona*, no encontramos animal representativo. No es que no lo posean, sino que en algunos registros no existen representantes vivos y los demás individuos no los conocen.

En la actualidad la adscripción de un grupo clanil a un determinado tótem no incluye para sus miembros la ejecución de sacrificios ni la guarda de tabúes. No existe actualmente la creencia de que descienden de él, ni la prohibición especial de hacerle daño o de matarlo. La idea de que en el animal representativo se encuentra la génesis no parece hallarse sino en un pasado remoto. Los relatos que encontramos en las narraciones no incluyen esta idea. Hay días, cien cuando uno pregunta por el animal de su "casta"; muchos confunden orgullosos que pertenecen al tigre, a la dorja, a la culebra cascabel... Ellos dicen que son valientes como ese animal y que siempre hacen daño a quien les molesta. Algunas veces dan ejemplos de cómo el tigre devora a los otros animales y creen que es el más valiente de todos. Adquiere entonces el sentido de un símbolo que les impulsa a la agresión. Sin embargo, hay otros que se niegan rotunda al tener que confesar su animal totémico, como es el caso del grupo clanil representado por el burro. Los niños se niegan a ello y si lo hacen, dicen que su animal es muy feo, que no les gusta, etc.

Donde encontramos una manifestación fuerte de supervivencia de la identificación del individuo o el grupo con su animal totémico es en la interpretación de los sueños. En algunos casos, si una persona sueña con una de estos animales simbólicos significa que va a tener un disgusto con individuos del clan correspondiente, va a ser vencido por ellos, se aparecen alguna movimientos, algún familiar de quien sueña va a romper el régimen de seguridad social lesionado el clan simbolizado en su animal, o a la inversa, etc., según la variedad y los detalles particulares del sueño.

* * *

2. Consagrado también en las narraciones precedentes, encontramos el origen de las marcas clánicas. Cada grupo de individuos nominados de la misma manera y localizados en ciertos lugares, tenían el problema de

distinguir sus propios animales de los ajenos o bienhechores. Mantiene su aparte que por sus mejores problemas. Dio con cada grupo de animales, nombre correspondiente y animal representativo, la marca de propiedad que grabó en sus pieles. Hoy día se conoce sólo una marca genérica para cada "casta" que sirve para signar los animales y los utensilios de la misma. No obstante, se encuentra una variedad de esta idea primitiva. Las marcas clánicas están degenerando en marcas familiares, y en así pensar más avanzado encontramos las marcas individuales, consideradas algunas veces por su signo especial o por las iniciales del dueño colocadas con un hierro candente sobre una parte visible del cuerpo del animal, o en otra particular en las orejas de ovinos y caprinos. El trazado de las marcas clánicas en los individuos está limitadas cada vez más raro. Y más común en las clases bajas que en las altas; y en las mujeres acostumbradas que las que están en contacto con los blancos. Ofrecen variantes regionales dentro del mismo clan, y variedades familiares. Posee la marca clánica en algunos individuos, pero con un sentido de adorno, de "hajé" como ellos dicen al ser interrogados. Con este sentido la explican por la figura representativa de un animal, y no los nombran por la inicial del nombre. Las marcas compuestas de localización son generalmente la parte alta del cuerpo en los hombres, y la cara anterior del antebrazo en las mujeres.

Algunas veces pueden subirse las marcas clánicas a objetos de uso doméstico (ceramica, cerámica, muebles). Pero no son en es muy generalizado. En la actualidad marcan los objetos de propiedad individual con hierro, especialmente trasladan de trazo de hierro y mujeres, y parte de las aparas de los chinchorros y los chinchorros o hamacas.

* * *

3. *Nomenclatura.*—Cada clan lleva un nombre particular dado por Maestros descriptores o por inspiración muy según la etnología. Cabeza a todos los individuos pertenecientes a un mismo clan y es índice de identidad de origen. Actualmente la diferenciación clanil ha hecho necesario agregar a este nombre genérico la localización y el jefe familiar ("wuiqui") inmediato más detenido.

En la actualidad un individuo guajiro dicen que a pesar de estar ligado a otro por idénticos nombres, no se ve pudiente y distingue dentro del mismo clan agrupaciones diversas con mayor o menor prestigio. Sin embargo, en el momento de ser agraviado por otro grupo pueden hacer

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como consecuencia de su comportamiento no respetado. Por otra parte, la necesidad del matrimonio conlleva la doble subordinación a la matrimonial, cuando el dominio paterno respaldo del maternos, aunque en una etapa de transición el segundo conserva mayor fuerza.

* * *

6. Consanguinidad.—En la consanguinidad juega papel muy importante el concepto guajiro sobre parentesco, que abarca a los individuos unidos en cadena por igualdad de mandamientos femeninos. Es decir, el parentesco uterino. De este concepto se descarta la rama paterna que puede considerarse un equivoco y contrario porque para la mentalidad guajira, aunque existe, no existe el vínculo biológico padre-hijo en la fijación del parentesco. Por eso el nexo común que enlaza a todos los individuos de un clan, es la unión de la madre en el acto biológico y en el proceso de la gestación. De ahí la importancia del derramamiento de ésta por propios y extraños, porque significaría la destrucción del vínculo de parentesco y del elemento vital. Esta valoración trasciende en el régimen de seguridad social de la cultura.

La consanguinidad regula, por otra parte, algunos aspectos fundamentales de la organización clánil, como son la herencia —de riquezas y nombres— el sentido de grupo, la localización de la vivienda, el cementerio y el matrimonio.

Dentro del concepto de parentesco consanguíneo se destaca la influencia del tío materno, porque falta el padre. Aquél concentra en sí mismo los derechos y obligaciones que otras culturas como la nuestra, asignan al padre. Otro concepto que incluye la consanguinidad es el de considerar como hijos o hijas a todos los miembros de la generación inmediatamente posterior al sobrino, y como hermanos a los de su propia generación, dentro del grupo clánil.

El nexo de consanguinidad dentro del clan se mantiene vigente en sus obligaciones y derechos por el respaldo económico-social a todos sus miembros. Entre los muertos y los vivos, por ejemplo, el vínculo se conserva a través del culto especial que se tributa a los últimos (Cf. *Culto a los muertos*, cap. III) para mantener el lazo afectivo entre las generaciones muertas y las presentes.

La relación con los demás grupos clánicos se rige por el cumplimiento del régimen de seguridad y con formas punitivas que controlan la agresión. Llegado éste, infractor y lesionado pueden reforzar su poder con

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diversos con otros grupos similares que consigue un equipamiento o un poder de consulta para el cumplimiento favorable de los propósitos legales.

En la actualidad todos estos usos se van alejando con el cambio de dirección de parentesco. El concepto grupal total de antes, ha derivado a consecuencia de diversas influencias, en otro que se creí totalmente opuesto. En primer lugar los clanes maternos subdivididos que eleven la unidad primitiva, y que se han formado por la localización en diversas regiones de la Península, de elementos de un mismo clan que, después de un período largo de crecimiento y ayudados por el surgimiento de "caciques" propios y por la falta de vinculación con la célula primitiva, se convierten en verdaderos grupos independientes en el sentido de unidad, aunque conservan el mismo tótem, la nominación y las marcas comunes.

En segundo término observamos una restricción en el ejercicio de las funciones del clan. El concepto de parentesco consanguíneo entre todos sus miembros se ha ido relajando hasta el punto de que ya el vínculo de consanguinidad sólo se considera entre los miembros más allegados. El parentesco de un individuo se ha restringido a la madre y a sus descendientes femeninos, a los hermanos y hermanas de ésta, con sus descendientes. Algunos hacen extensivo este parentesco por vía colateral hasta el cuarto grado. Luego a los hermanos, a las hermanas y su descendencia. Al limitar el concepto de parentesco, se pierden de hecho las obligaciones morales con respecto a los que ya no se consideran consanguíneos. Por tanto la unidad clánil se desintegra.

Otro cambio en el concepto de parentesco es el que ha introducido el matrimonio católico. Implícito la abolición de la filiación materna, base de la organización clánil. Introducir por tanto la voz paterna dentro del parentesco y la coloca en un plano de superioridad al ser el apellido del padre y no el de la madre, como tradicionalmente lo era, el que corresponde inicialmente a la descendencia. Destruyó, por otra parte, la autoridad y predominancia del tío materno, porque la del padre la equipara y la sobrepasa.

5. *Exogamia.*—El clan guajiro era medianamente exógamo. La transculturación ha hecho posible y lícito el matrimonio entre miembros del mismo clan. Es decir la exogamia clánil ha desaparecido y sólo rige la exogamia familiar.

6. *Localización.*—Respecto de la localización clánil, las narraciones ya citadas resuelven el problema asignando regiones determinadas a cada uno de los grupos que creó *Maréiwa*. Estas tierras pertenecían comunalmente a cada uno de los clanes que en esta forma las usufructuaban. Lo

mujeres que se introducen, cercanas, pues, consanguíneas, son unidades con el apoyo de todos los miembros del clan que las defienden. En la actualidad, la solución individual del problema del agua, ha permitido la disgregación de la propiedad de las tierras comunales de pastoreo. Por otra parte, hay una acentuada individualización de las tierras agrícolas.

7. *Trabajo.*—El trabajo es obligatorio y esencial para la operación de cierta maquinaria al beneficiar general del grupo. En las labores que hacen referencia a la propiedad de un solo individuo, el trabajo es prestado voluntariamente por todos los demás, incluyendo a individuos que no pertenecen al mismo clan. Su retribución consiste en la devolución de idéntico servicio cuando sea solicitado.

8. *Localización de la vivienda.*—Ya hemos hablado sobre la localización de la vivienda de nuevas células familiares (Cf. *Localización*, capítulo *Matrimonio*).

9. *Cementerio Clanil.*—Cada grupo clanil posee en una tierra un cementerio, obra del trabajo conjunto de sus miembros. En él deben ser enterrados todos los elementos constitutivos del clan al menos si no es posible en el primer entierro, es obligatorio que los restos sean llevados a aquel lugar. Con la individualización de la propiedad, las familias pequeñas han construido bóvedas particulares, ubicadas en sitios cercanos a la casa familiar, y destinadas al uso limitado de sus componentes más allegados.

10. *Sentido de grupo.*—El vínculo consanguíneo, existente a todos los miembros de un mismo grupo clanil, crea en ellos el natural sentido del grupo como unidad. Este sentido incluía una serie de deberes mutuos para cumplir entre sí y un conjunto de derechos para disfrutar. El principal y más destacado de los primeros era el de prestar un frente solidario ante el quebrantamiento del régimen de seguridad social cuando se sentían lesionados por algunos ofensa o cuando uno de sus miembros rompía con los patrón establecido, hecho que trascendía en el clan como conjunto responsable. Alcanzar satisfacción y dar a como conjunto social, era su deber esencial, lo mismo que mantener vigente el parentesco y el status, con el cumplimiento adecuado de cada uno de los funciones en que se ponía a prueba el clan.

La disgregación de la unidad clanil en células familiares más o menos grandes, quebró el sentido de grupo, transferiéndolo a la familia, como unidad independiente.

XII

DERECHO

Delitos de agresión.—El régimen de seguridad social se rompe, según la tradición del indio guajiro, cuando se cometen actos agresivos que atentan de una u otra manera contra la seguridad individual.

Veamos algunos de estos infracciones que se consideran en hechos punibles y que acarrean al culpable una sanción, expresa en cada uno de los casos, en un mandamiento económico de intensidad variable, al ofendido.

El guajiro considera que en la venganza reside la existencia, por ser el elemento vital de mayor importancia. (Cf. *Idea sobre la jurisdicción*, Cap. V.). Variado de alguna manera implica restar a su dueño una parte de la vida; y como, además, la venganza no es propiedad individual sino de todos los familiares consanguíneos, puesto que en el vínculo de solidaridad por lazos sanguíneos, hay por tanto que recurrir a otras del parentesco cuando un uno de sus miembros. Traducido al aspecto legal, quiere decir, que el quebrantamiento del régimen de seguridad alcanza como ofensa y como delito no solo al individuo sino a todos sus parientes consanguíneos. Pero no se consideran como hechos punibles solamente los casos que incluyen derramamiento de sangre, sino que se catalogan también como delitos cometidos contra el régimen de seguridad social, todos aquellos que de alguna manera comprenden en sí una agresión directa a la personalidad del individuo y que por ende trasciende a sus parientes.

Heridas.—Varias causas determinan este acto agresivo. La mayoría de ellas provienen de una vieja rencilla entre dos grupos familiares que no han podido solucionarse efectivamente por medio de un pago que satisfaga cabalmente; de manera que los miembros de los dos consanguíneos están siempre en diferente antagonismo, y este sentimiento subsistirá por diversas razones, se pone de manifiesto en un momento dado. Es decir, que la causa es, en suma, una venganza familiar que estalla en cualquier instante. Otra de las causas puede ser la enemistad surgida a raíz de un hecho ilegal cometido por un grupo contra otro, como podría ser el robo de animales.

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El contagio.—El contagio de una enfermedad, cuando éste no origina la muerte, puede ser considerado como un acto agresivo que da lugar a resarcimiento, de acuerdo con las consecuencias del contagio.

Cualquier accidente, aunque sea producido directamente por un consejo familiar o personal, que ocurra a una persona movida por otra en cumplimiento de una misión, hace recaer la responsabilidad y la culpa tanto a la consejera directa como a la persona bajo cuya responsabilidad estaba el ofendido, porque los familiares alegan que si no hubiera sido por la orden que colocó a la víctima en determinado lugar, el hecho no habría ocurrido.

La responsabilidad involuntaria implícita pago en' casos como el que sigue: una niña iba con un burro a la *rancheria* cercana, por agua. Al pasar por la casa de una amiga la invitó para que la acompañara. Ambos se montaron en el burro cargado con las vasijas. El animal se encabritó y la vecina cayó sobre un cactus, cuyas espinas le hicieron varias sangras. La madre de la niña herida presentó cobro a la otra, y fue así como la pequeñuela de la consejera hubo de ir de casa en casa de sus parientes y amigos recolectando animales y objetos para pagar la culpa de su hija. Si no la hubiera invitado y no la hubiera montado en una bestia de su propiedad, el hecho no habría ocurrido, fue la razón que presentó la madre de la lesionada para hacer efectivo el pago.

También se considera culpable a la persona que, mediante un consejo, determina una acción durante cuya ejecución se recede algún acontecimiento que pueda traer consecuencias perjudiciales a la persona aconsejada o a su familia. Recogimos por ejemplo el caso de un indio que por haber aconsejado a un amigo no utilizar la vía de costumbre para ir a un sitio sino otra que él juzgó más corta; y por haber sufrido este amigo que siguió el consejo una caída de su caballo, se vio obligado a pagarle un resarcimiento, puesto que de su consejo se había desprendido un acto agresivo para el otro, que, aunque involuntario, acarreaba resarcimiento.

No se considera como atenuante de la culpa el hecho de que la herida haya sido producida en caso de ofensa o de defensa. Un indígena de la Alta Guajira molestaba muy frecuentemente a un mestizo porque no se embriagaba con él, escalándole que su negativa se debía a que lo consideraba de un grupo inferior y con eso quería humillarlo. El mestizo se mostraba reacio a complacerlo, hasta que un día tuvieron oportunidad de emborracharse juntos en casa del mestizo. El indio revivió su resquemor y pronunció frases ofensivas contra la familia materna del mestizo. Este debía, por una parte, hacerse respetar ante los circunstantes, pero por otra el derecho

en la pensión, a pesar de la oferta, para golpear al que en su propio caso y como representante designado a los reyes. Además, las leyes de hospitalidad se lo impedían. Pero llegó un momento en que no pudo soportar más la provocación y golpeó a su enemigo hasiéndole sangrar profusamente la nariz. El cobro fue inmediato. Debió pagar lo siguiente: 01 chivos, diez burros, dos gallinas de oro, dos collares de oro, veintiocho madejas de hilaza de algodón, diez gallinas, cuatro marranos, pavitos grandes y cobrarse para el médico blanco por los servicios de curación. Todo esto lo pagó en menos del tiempo convenido, con el propósito de humillar a su enemigo y demostrar al público el prestigio de poseer ricos de los consanguíneos.

En caso de que el acto agresivo tenga por causa legítima defensa, tampoco excusa al hechor de culpabilidad. El cobro, sobre todo si el herido no está rico, se presenta con prontitud y la cuantía asciende considerablemente.

Tenemos que contar también el caso siguiente: Los heridos que dejaron se infieren en la casa de algún guajiro, excendes la culpabilidad sobre el jefe familiar del hogar, que de esta manera se ve envuelto en el pago, pues se dice que si no hubiera estado allí, el hecho no hubiera tenido lugar. Más aún: esta culpabilidad encuentra nuevos argumentos, cuando se establece que el dueño de la casa había invitado al herido.

En el caso general de las heridas debemos considerar las que se causan mutuamente los niños de diversos grupos familiares, durante sus actividades infantiles o las que pueden incluirse dentro de los casos ya vistos. Hay que exceptuar, sin embargo, y únicamente, el caso en que los dos contendientes resulten con heridas sin importancia, y en la misma proporción cuando estaban jugando. Pero a pesar de esto, si uno de los madres presenta cobro a la otra, éste debe hacerlo efectivo. De ahí que las madres traten, por cuantos medios están a su alcance, de evitar la compañía de sus hijos con niños de otro grupo familiar.

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Lleva la responsabilidad del hecho delictuoso en la Guajira no sólo el que da una orden sino también el que la ejecuta. Ambos, en igual intensidad, se ven envueltos en el acto agresivo. Por otra parte, el sentido de culpabilidad abarca a todos los acompañantes de un individuo en el momento en que éste transgredió el sistema legal de seguridad, lesionando a un

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grupo familiar. Se conoce el caso de un consejo *parcial*[1] entre jóvenes y muchachas, en el cual todos los acompañantes del agresor deberían contribuir para el pago porque se vieron involucrados, con el hecho de estar presentes, en una culpabilidad común.

Se considera inductor y por lo tanto culpable el individuo que indirectamente ayuda al agresor en la realización de un hecho delictuoso. No se considera encubridor al que lo ayuda sin conocimiento previo del hecho que va a ocurrir. Ya hemos visto el caso en que la culpabilidad se extiende a los dueños del arma, por ejemplo, a los acompañantes. Deben clasificar dentro de este conjunto a las personas que colaboran al trasladar en un vehículo o en un animal al delincuente hasta el sitio del crimen, aunque les falte el conocimiento del motivo de dicho traslado. Basta con el conocimiento para que se las incluya como culpables.

Cuando un genjiro levanta una calumnia, si se logra verificar la falsedad de su consejo, se le obliga a pagar la ofensa y los perjuicios que infirió al calumniado. Este caso es común en los hombres con respecto a la honestidad de las mujeres y lo utilizan como una venganza contra la que no ha aceptado sus pretensiones amorosas o sus deseos matrimoniales. El pago exigido como resarcimiento incluye los perjuicios morales producidos, los materiales derivados y el dolor que ocasionó en la persona lesionada y en la de sus consanguíneos.

El indígena agrega mucho de su fantasía a la verdad de los hechos. Y por eso, en ocasiones, su testimonio es falso. En otros, lo hace deliberadamente, para obtener provecho personal exigiendo un pago, o el de alguien que lo ha remunerado. Si la conducta se comprueba, lo mismo que si se conoce el instigador inobservado, la responsabilidad del hecho punible recaerá en los dos, los cuales se hacen acreedores al castigo.

Vimos ya el caso en que un consejo desinteresado y honesto puede acarrear culpabilidad al que lo da, como participante indirecto de un hecho agresivo en la persona que recibió el consejo. Se considera también como acto de transgresión un consejo mal intencionado, que si llega a cumplirse, con resultados adversos para el ejecutor, y a comprobarse la malevolencia de la intención, el consejero se hace culpable porque ha provocado la ruptura del régimen de seguridad social. Por otra parte, si se comprueba anticipadamente la intención nociva del consejo, la culpabilidad es más clara y provocará un resarcimiento económico.

Se consideran también como actos agresivos los siguientes:

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[1] Nuevo entre dos grupos diferentes.

a) Pronunciar el nombre secreto del individuo. Este nombre, según la concepción guajira, sólo puede ser pronunciado inadvertidamente por los familiares cercanos más inmediatos. Pronunciarlo o hacerlo saber a los demás, es infligir una ofensa al individuo y da origen a una venganza. Esta se debe probablemente a la identificación del individuo con su nombre propio. Entregar el nombre es entregar el individuo.

b) La mayor ofensa que un guajiro puede recibir de un extraño es la de que éste, conscientemente o inconscientemente, pronuncie ante él o ante sus familiares y amigos —de los cuales recibe información— el nombre de un pariente cercano ya fallecido. Esta ofensa es tanto mayor cuanto más allegado era el pariente. Este hecho aparece ahora en vida al pronunciar el nombre del pariente muerto refiriéndose a él tiene en el sentido de Rosar sus huesitos. De aquí la costumbre establecida de cambiar de nombre todos los huesitos de una persona cuando esta fallece.

La razón que justifica el cobro ante la mentalidad guajira, reside en que al nombrar la palabra con que se denominaba un deudo muerto, vuelve inmediatamente la representación de ese pariente, con el recuerdo de su muerte, que revive la angustia y el dolor de ese momento. Se renueva la pena de su ausencia y la falta que origina dentro del grupo que pierde la hay validez social y económicamente al faltarle un respaldo efectivo representado anteriormente por el difunto. Todo este recuerdo y la consiguiente valoración afectiva del muerto, proporcionan gran pena a un deudo, que es lo que se debe resarcir.

La ofensa adquiere mayor gravedad, cuando el individuo, por cualquier motivo, nombra la persona muerta en forma despectiva. Esto puede dar origen a que el deudo afectado de muerte al dueño, como reacción natural ante el acto agresivo, no olvidemos que la ofensa no es sinónimo de una humillación.

Se considera un acto agresivo infractor del régimen de seguridad social el hecho de que la tumba de un guajiro sea profanada por alguien. Si alguien presencia este hecho lo hace saber a sus parientes, quienes inmediatamente piden resarcimiento de proporciones considerables a los familiares del infractor. Este pago debe hacerse efectivo muy pronto, porque como es un atentado al culto de los muertos, puede dar origen a otro hecho clasificado.

Otro acto agresivo que origina cobro es la alusión despectiva a una persona de un defecto físico que la caracteriza o la mención del apodo, si se refiere a su deformación corporal, como es el caso de tuertos, bizcos,

[illegible] o de los que tienen circulos muy amplios en el mundo o en un [illegible] visible del mundo.

En medio similar o la amante [illegible] el amplitud [illegible] o desprovisionamiento o con cualquier propósito o los [illegible] de alguien, especialmente a los [illegible] por Dios [illegible], o a los [illegible] [illegible] y sus hechos.

Se [illegible] [illegible] que [illegible] legal el [illegible]. [illegible] el caso de dos [illegible] que no se [illegible]. Un día se [illegible] de [illegible] en un [illegible]. La una [illegible] o la otra [illegible] palabra (por [illegible]) y [illegible] el [illegible] pasó por su lado. Esta [illegible] la obligó a pagar como [illegible] de un [illegible], un [illegible] por la [illegible] moral [illegible].

Cuando las [illegible] palabras se refieren a la [illegible] de una [illegible], tienen un grado especial, más [illegible] en la valoración de la [illegible], sobre todo cuando se hace referencia a las [illegible] de la [illegible] o al [illegible] moral.

Superior [illegible] de otra persona, es [illegible] otra [illegible] que se [illegible]. Se [illegible] que en el Orfelinato de Nazareth tuvo lugar un [illegible] de [illegible] que se había dejado [illegible] durante la [illegible] en los [illegible] del [illegible]. Descubierto el [illegible], el Padre Superior [illegible] por los [illegible] [illegible] las [illegible] y [illegible] información. [illegible] quería saber quién era el autor del robo y en cada una [illegible] [illegible]. En uno de ellos, los [illegible] [illegible] y [illegible] los [illegible], por lo cual él no [illegible] el [illegible], [illegible] o [illegible] [illegible] con un poco de [illegible]. El hecho fue, sin embargo, [illegible] por el [illegible], que lo [illegible] a los [illegible], un [illegible] del Orfelinato. Pasado un [illegible] el Padre necesitó su [illegible] para un viaje y al [illegible] el [illegible], se negó [illegible] [illegible] a [illegible]. Interrogado por el motivo, dijo que [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], pues le había causado un profundo dolor su [illegible] [illegible] con su [illegible]. Que de no pagarle el dolor experimentado por este motivo, él no podía [illegible]. El Padre tuvo que [illegible] [illegible].

Otro de los [illegible] considerados como [illegible] por la [illegible] [illegible] es poner en ridículo a alguien. El aborigen tiene un [illegible] hablar, pero de hacer blanco de un hecho en una forma muy [illegible] a alguien, puede [illegible] la [illegible] de un [illegible] en el cual el [illegible] pide un [illegible]. No es [illegible] que ellos [illegible], sobre todo bajo los efectos del [illegible], pero [illegible] lo es que su sensibilidad se [illegible] muy [illegible] y una [illegible] sencilla del origen a una [illegible], sin [illegible] de origen muy [illegible]. Para [illegible] el efecto de la [illegible], de la pena,

cumplido o el deber, como dice el guajiro, motivado por la situación indicada en que fue puesto, el individuo exige un pago que le compense de la deshonra.

Se considera también ofensivo y por tanto sancionado contra el régimen de seguridad personal el que una persona golpee a otra sin causarle herida. Dos son las razones que hay que considerar en este hecho como agravantes: el material, o sea el golpe en sí; y el psicológico, porque cree el guajiro que al ser golpeado de esta manera se le ha igualado al status de un esclavo o de un siervo, y por tanto se honra no sólo rebajar su categoría de hombre libre sino colocarlo en un plano de dependencia respecto de la persona que lo golpeó. El resarcimiento debe satisfacer las dos ofensas.

Romper la manta tiene también doble sentido como acto agresivo: el daño material causado, que hay que reparar con la compra de una nueva (también de las mujeres heridas) y el daño psicológico, porque es como una herida a la misma persona, pues se trata de identificar el daño con las vestidas que la cubren.

Cualquier daño a la propiedad de una persona es acto agresivo punible, cuyo resarcimiento debe ser superior a la pérdida, pues el excedente valora los perjuicios sufridos.

* * *

La transgresión de las normas legales expresa en los anteriores actos agresivos contra el régimen de seguridad de la Guajira, debe ser cumplida por un miembro de la sociedad, así como por un extraño. Pero existen dos hechos que sólo pueden pertenecer a un individuo nativo, miembro activo de la comunidad guajira: estos dos hechos son los siguientes:

a) *El idioma.*—El indio aprecia considerablemente su idioma nativo y procura conservarlo a toda costa. Sus mujeres no quieren aprender el español y fingen no saberlo al ser interrogadas. Constituye por lo mismo una ofensa grave, el que un aborigen se dirija a otro no en su idioma nativo sino utilizando el español. Se relata el hecho de que un guajiro hablaba a un paisano cuyo en español durante una charla familiar. Su interlocutor, ofendido en grado sumo por lo que la cultura guajira considera una ofensa, lo ataró sin piedad, después de haberle colgado de las manos a un árbol. Luego quiso matarlo, acto que impidieron los circunstantes. Como era su pariente inmediato no pudo prescindir cabo pero se resarció de la ofensa con el castigo. Este fue tan duro que el muchacho quedó con perturbaciones mentales, sin que hasta el momento de nuestra visita hubiera recuperado plenamente sus facultades.

Se cree que el motivo que se usa en grupos blancos como medio de vestidos con los dosijos aborígenes, lo hace por sentirse avergonzado de los suyos, de los cuales consiga diferenciarse al sustituir una lengua por otra. Además, al emplear otra manera de expresión indica una superioridad de esta sobre la suya y la del elemento extraño sobre la del nativo.

b) *La desvinculación del individuo del grupo familiar consanguíneo al cual pertenece y, en general, de la comunidad guajira.*—Este hecho se hace expreso con la siguiente actitud: hace algún tiempo, el muchacho guajiro que era educado en las Misiones, o el que emigraba a otras ciudades, se veía obligado a usar el traje del civilizado. Si regresaba a su medio debía usar nuevamente el guayuco y suprimir el pantalón. Hoy, el varón y el aborigen vive, han adoptado el uso de la camisa o camiseta, pero sin abandonar el guayuco, que se ha convertido en prenda distintiva de su carácter de guajiro. Cuando un paisano quiere demostrar que ha roto con la cultura guajira, que desea el vínculo afectivo, consanguíneo y legal, y que se coloca fuera de su sociedad, se niega a usar esa prenda, que cuelga en alguna parte ostensiblemente, queriendo simbolizar el simplísimo con su pasado. Igual actitud se observa respecto de las mujeres. La india guajira niega su carácter de tal cuando se opone a usar la manta, pero actualmente se ha debilitado esta significación, que encuentra todo su sentido en el abandono abierto de esa prenda lacónica, que corresponde al guayuco masculino en su significado y utilidad. Es una especie de pantalón que se sostiene por el llamado cirapo, cinturón de cuerdas y cuentas cuya herencia tiene un carácter especial. La guajira que quiere renunciar a su sociedad y a su cultura, cuelga tales prendas y abandona el hogar.

Estos dos hechos se cumplen cuando se ponen en contraposición los intereses individuales con los colectivos, cuando una pauta social debe ser acatada bajo el riesgo de no sobrevivir. Así tenemos el caso de ciertas guajiras educadas dentro de las normas cristianas. Cuando llega el momento de contraer matrimonio, deben someterse a las pautas culturales propias que permiten la poligamia y ser compradas como sus antecesoras, lo que choca con la educación de la guajira educada bajo otras normas. Otra es chanza la imposición familiar del candidato para esposo y el hecho de que no se les deje seguir sus impulsos afectivos, etc. A la muchacha se le ofrecen diferentes soluciones para no acatar las normas sociales de sus consanguíneos: suicidarse, si es obligada, pero esta idea, que en ocasión extrema realiza, choca con los conceptos morales en que ha sido educada. Huir, pero este recurso es de difícil ejecución para una mujer de categoría y de

porantela numerosa. Entonces se abre ante ella como solucion ultima la perspectiva de romper con su cultura, que no encaja ya dentro de su mentalidad de mujer civilizada. Busca refugio en una institucion de este tipo y lo encuentra en la Mision Capuchina. Asi han llegado varias jovenes guajiras en busca de protección después de haber colgado el guayuco y el sirapo, como simbolo de su ruptura con todo lo suyo.

Esta es una ofensa de carácter muy grave, no sólo para los familiares abandonados sino para todo el conjunto social. Se estima que quien lo hace expresa claramente su menosprecio por el acervo cultural del grupo al cual pertenecía, colocándolo de hecho en un plano de inferioridad. Esto lesiona y agudiza el complejo de inferioridad del aborigen frente al blanco y pone de manifiesto resentimientos que algunas veces permanecen ocultos. La quiebra de las instituciones culturales contra las cuales se dirige la agresión se acelera, y estas formas, a pesar de las consecuencias desagradables para el individuo que las cumple, se van haciendo numerosas. Ultimamente ya no es necesario apelar a actitudes tan extremas como las enunciadas, sino que basta la rebeldía tenaz de la mujer para no querer practicar una pauta cultural, conducta que en estos momentos no la coloca fuera de las instituciones a que pertenece por nacimiento, y que le permite —sin sancion— acogerse a las normas culturales blancas al respecto o violar las suyas como en el caso de la prostitución y el adulterio.

* * *

Otro tipo de agresión dirigido contra el régimen de seguridad colectiva es el determinado por actos punitivos en lo que hace referencia al sexo.

El abuso de una joven guajira, sin que medie la compra legal, es un acto agresivo que motiva resarcimiento.

En este aspecto del abuso hay que considerar la violacion y las relaciones sexuales subrepticias.

El primero reviste mayor gravedad y exige del infractor un crecido resarcimiento, no sólo por usufructuar ilegalmente un bien a que no tiene derecho, sino por la forma de su realización, humillante sucesivamente para la mujer y sus consanguineos por el empleo de la fuerza y por las lesiones recibidas, cotizadas en el aspecto comun de heridas.

En el segundo caso, en el que se subentiende la expresa voluntad de la mujer, no se exige sino el pago por el usufructo sexual y por la burla al grupo familiar femenino.

El hombre que paga un abuso en cualesquiera de los dos casos, no adquiere derechos futuros sobre la mujer. Ha pagado lo que disfrutó en el

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pasado y nada más. Si así lo desea, puede comprar, después de lo ocurrido, a la mujer como esposa, pero esto ya es voluntario, mientras que el pago anterior es obligatorio y tiene la misma fuerza en su cumplimiento que el derramamiento de sangre. En este pago por abuso, el infractor no es ayudado por sus consanguíneos y amigos, que de esta manera manifiestan la desaprobación de su conducta, pero sí intervienen para obligarlo a resarcir adecuadamente.

Adulterio: cuando el hombre no sólo tiene certidumbre sino pruebas de la infidelidad de su mujer, exige a los familiares maternos de ésta un pago por la ofensa que se le ha inferido con el hecho (Cf. *Adulterio*, en el capítulo V.)

Por embarazo: En cierto modo el embarazo de una mujer se considera un acto agresivo de parte del hombre, porque origina en su organismo una serie de molestias, que el marido o causante ha de pagar, y en efecto lo hace. en ganado que entrega a los familiares maternos de la mujer grávida, de los cuales no puede participar ésta por estar sujetos a un tabú mágico. Este pago se hace aunque el embarazo sea ilegal y se haya pagado el precio del abuso.

También el pago por dar a luz (sufrimiento y sangre derramada) se exige en los casos de nacimiento ilegítimo y legítimo. Este resarcimiento se entrega a los familiares uterinos de la mujer.

El aborto es un acto agresivo y los lesionados en este acto pueden ser el marido, o los consanguíneos de la mujer, según quien lo haya provocado. Si es el hombre por malos tratos o exigencias sexuales, los familiares de su mujer le presentan cobro. Por eso el hombre jamás aconseja a su mujer o a su amante la práctica del aborto, y por la misma razón ella no se lo confiesa cuando apela a él, aun cuando haya tenido lugar en sus tiempos de soltería para librarse de los problemas ajenos a un embarazo ilegítimo.

Cuando el aborto es provocado por la mujer que se halla en un período avanzado de gestación, quien presenta cobro es el marido y este hecho se considera como un homicidio.

Una ofensa de carácter grave para un individuo y sus familiares, es la tentativa de abuso en él de un homosexual. Generalmente este acto agresivo se dirige contra muchachos jóvenes, indefensos, que pueden ser sometidos físicamente. Sus familiares entablan el cobro para resarcirse no sólo de las molestias físicas producidas en el pariente, sino del significado psicológico y social de la ofensa, que recae sobre ellos en forma completa.

El exhibicionismo de tipo sexual es considerado como acto punitivo porque entraña una ofensa contra el pudor de quienes lo presencian, y si

el espectador es una persona de categoría alta, implica, además, una grave ofensa a su status elevado que exige de los demás respeto, caso en el cual el pago es mayor y puede originar represalias fuertes contra los familiares del ofensor. Estas ofensas pueden referirse a prácticas homosexuales, sugerencias o representaciones reales o imaginarias de la cópula, exhibicionismo de los órganos genitales. Ambos sexos pueden desnudarse en público sin que los espectadores se sientan ofendidos, como ocurre en los baños públicos, donde la mujer se baña sin preocupaciones, teniendo el cuidado de cruzar las piernas. El hombre sostiene el pene de la cintura para que el sistema piloso lo cubra y con ello no lesione el pudor de los circunstantes.

Otros aspectos que hay que tener en consideración son las ofensas que durante la vida marital puede inferir la mujer al marido. Recordemos que la mujer guajira aún hoy en día es comprada sin tener en cuenta su voluntad, y que las que no pueden eludir esta unión, valiéndose del suicidio, de la fuga, o del rompimiento con su comunidad, se niega a cohabitar con el marido impuesto, o a satisfacer sus gustos sexuales. El hombre, entonces, la abandona o le presenta un cobro por el dolor que con su actitud le ha causado y se niega a reasumir sus funciones de marido hasta que éste sea cubierto. Es muy común que el hombre ya no establezca la demanda económica por la lesión sufrida, sino que con su actitud futura trate de vengarse. Dicen las guajiras que la mujer, una vez iniciada en la vida sexual, adquiere la necesidad de la repetición del acto. Entonces el hombre se niega a satisfacerla, no frecuenta su casa ni le hace la más mínima exteriorización de sus sentimientos. La mujer de hecho queda abandonada y en la situación de casada sin marido, con las obligaciones inherentes a su estado pero sin ningún derecho.

Otro aspecto que es considerado como un acto agresivo es el engaño que la mujer puede hacer al hombre cuando no llega doncella al matrimonio (Cf. *Valoración de la Virginidad*. Cap. Prematrimoniales.)

Como la homosexualidad es un hecho mal visto dentro de la cultura, casi degeneración forzosa de los esclavos jóvenes, quien la practica se hace acreedor al menosprecio de la sociedad y a sus insultos y a la equiparación de su status con estos extrasociales, existe la costumbre de lanzar una ofensa cuando dos grupos se hallan enemistados y que tiene por resultado la decisión por las armas del motivo del litigio. Esta ofensa consiste en hacer saber al enemigo que sus hombres no servirían ni para mujeres del contrario. Tiene el fin oculto de evitar la tramitación legal y de lanzarse a la guerra sin cuartel, en la cual se espera obtener mejores provechos que en la tramitación pacífica y ordenada.

El acto agresivo de mayor trascendencia es el homicidio. En él no se consideran atenuantes de ningún género, ni siquiera el que la muerte haya sido involuntaria o en defensa propia, pues el guajiro considera escuetamente el hecho en sí: un individuo quitó la vida a otro y merece ser castigado.

Consideremos algunos aspectos de la agresión:

1. *El homicidio voluntario*, es decir, cuando una persona da muerte a otra consciente y deliberadamente.

2º *El homicidio involuntario*, es decir aquel en que una persona da muerte a otra sin que haya querido ejecutar este acto agresivo, como cuando yendo de cacería un disparo hace blanco en una persona, o cuando ocasionalmente se escapa un tiro en el momento en que el dueño o alguno limpia una arma y ocasiona así la muerte de alguien, etc. Dentro de estos casos debemos anotar el que ocurre muy frecuentemente de préstamo de una arma. Si sobreviene un accidente que tiene como resultado la muerte de un tercero, es decir, un homicidio, el dueño del arma ayuda con el causante a pagar la muerte. Si ocurriere un suicidio con ella, nuevamente es su dueño quien debe pagarlo. Por esta misma razón se castigan los objetos materiales que utiliza la persona que se da muerte; como la costumbre general es ahorcarse, el palo y las cuerdas utilizadas en tal momento se queman, y si el hecho se realiza en el interior de una habitación, se quema también, aunque esta actitud tiene aún otro sentido, vinculado ya con la magia. Resumiendo, pues, podemos decir, que el homicidio se considera como hecho en sí sin atenuantes para quien lo ejecuta directa o indirectamente.

* * *

El suicidio se castiga en la persona que lo ha provocado directa o indirectamente. Es muy frecuente que los jóvenes se suiciden cuando el padre, la madre o los demás familiares los reprenden o no les satisfacen algún capricho. Y lo mismo hacen las muchachas cuando son vendidas como esposas por sus familiares uterinos, sin tener en cuenta su voluntad.

En este caso se hacen responsables del hecho los que dieron motivo al suicida para tomar esta determinación. Si fue la madre o algún familiar suyo, el padre del suicida les presentará cobro; o a la inversa, si fue éste, la madre con sus familiares harán lo mismo.

Si se presenta el caso de que un hombre se suicide por una decepción amorosa, cuando, por ejemplo, solicita en compra a una muchacha y los familiares suyos no se la dan para esposa, o ella rechaza sus manifestaciones amorosas, y, en consecuencia, él se suicida, en este caso la muerte es cobrada a los familiares maternos de la causante o a quienes se la negaron por esposa.

Como la función más importante de la mujer es velar por el marido, particularmente en su salud, ya que debe responder de ella ante los familiares maternos de ésta, si por algún hecho cualquiera da margen a que se suicide, corre con la culpa de su muerte, así como también por no haber estado a su lado y no haberla evitado. Tenemos informaciones de suicidios de individuos en estado de embriaguez, cuando sus mujeres estaban ausentes por alguna razón muy justificada; los parientes maternos del esposo las hicieron responsables de su muerte, porque dijeron que estaba en su deber primordial evitar tales tragedias vigilando a todo instante al marido durante su borrachera.

Si los malos tratos del marido u otro hecho del cual él es responsable, provocan el suicidio de la mujer, los familiares de ésta le presentan cobro como culpable de su muerte.

Cualquier persona que por un desaire, una burla o una ofensa induce a otra al suicidio, se hace responsable de su muerte y por tanto ha de pagar el hecho delictuoso.

El intento de suicidio también es castigado: los familiares maternos exigen al que lo intenta el resarcimiento adecuado por haber transgredido una ley, porque no tiene derecho a verter sangre propia, vínculo común con los demás miembros, ni a disponer de su vida, que pertenece al conjunto consanguíneo, ni a causarle el dolor de su muerte.

Considera el derecho guajiro como responsable de la vida del hijo por llegar a los familiares uterinos de la madre, que en caso de que la criatura falleciera, se hacen responsables y deben pagar al marido, si la culpa de la muerte fue un mal movimiento de la madre durante el alumbramiento, o la no aceptación de las indicaciones de la partera, etc. Pero si tratándose del primer hijo que debe nacer en casa de los familiares maternos de la madre, el padre no la ha llevado allí y la mujer no recibe la atención adecuada y el niño muere, la culpa se vuelve contra el marido, que debe pagar la muerte de su hijo a los familiares maternos de su esposa.

Cuando en ausencia del marido muere uno de los hijos, sin haber cumplido la madre con la obligación inmediata de dar noticia de la enfermedad al padre, éste le puede presentar cobro como si aquélla hubiera tenido la culpa de la muerte.

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La mujer que muere al dar a luz, es cobrada al marido por los familiares maternos de ésta.

Cuando la muerte de un individuo es motivada por la infidelidad de una de sus mujeres, es decir, cuando el marido da muerte al amante por encontrarlo en la comisión del delito de adulterio, o simplemente por sospecha, la familia del muerto presenta cobro a la del homicida, a pesar de que éste está respaldado por la opinión popular, que considera manifestación de hombría dar muerte al amante. Fuera de este cobro, el hecho puede dar margen a un segundo resarcimiento, por parte de los familiares de la mujer adúltera, a la que consideran causante de la desgracia.

Cuando marido y rival perecen en la lucha, lo que algunas veces ocurre, presenta el cobro la familia más rica y de más status, aunque ella sea la del amante, a pesar de que la muerte de éste se encuentra justificada ante la conciencia legal guajira; alegan sus familiares que deben pagar los parientes maternos del marido, porque ellos no los igualan en categoría económico-social. Se cumple el principio justiciero que inspira toda la legislación guajira: la ley favorece al grupo familiar litigante de mayor status. El pago que debe hacer la mujer es doble: a los familiares maternos del amante y a los del marido, pues la responsabilidad se acumula sobre ella.

Cuando en la lucha originada por el adulterio muere el amante a manos del marido, se hace pagar su muerte, especialmente si sus consanguíneos pertenecían a un grupo de status superior. La familia del muerto legitima su cobro diciendo: "¿Con qué derecho ése que no tiene con qué responder ante nosotros ha puesto la mano sobre nuestro pariente y derramado su sangre, quitando su vida y separando su espíritu? ¿Qué importa que lo hubiera hecho en defensa de su derecho sobre la mujer que había comprado para sí, si no tiene con qué respondernos?" En este caso, el grupo familiar del muerto, sin tramitación alguna, se hace justicia por su propia mano, arrasando y destruyendo y tomando para sí lo que puede, a menos que alianzas familiares refuercen la posición desvalida del grupo del homicida y obliguen a los otros a una tramitación legal.

Si un guajiro, hombre o mujer, muere repentinamente en la casa de alguno donde ha buscado hospitalidad transitoria, corresponde a los familiares de la mujer jefe de aquel hogar, pagar su muerte a los familiares maternos del difunto, quienes considerándola culpable le presentan cobro. Se conoce el caso en la Alta Guajira de un individuo que habiendo concurrido a un trabajo comunal de siembra ingirió gran cantidad de chicha de yuca brava dada por los dueños del trabajo. Se regresó al atardecer a su casa, en avanzado estado de embriaguez. Como ya era tarde, pidió hospi-

talidad en la primera casa que encontró en su camino. Para cumplir con las leyes de hospitalidad, lo acogieron en ella, le colgaron un chinchorro en la enramada para que se acostara y pasara la noche. Nada le dieron a tomar. Al otro día lo encontraron muerto. Es muy probable que la chicha de yuca brava no hubiera sido debidamente cocinada y por tanto no hubiera perdido sus condiciones naturales de toxicidad y lo hubiera envenenado. No obstante, por haber muerto en la casa donde halló hospitalidad, sus dueños se hicieron acreedores por la muerte ante los familiares maternos del huésped.

Esta aplicación de la ley hace que el guajiro se esmere en la hospitalidad que da a quienes se la solicitan, y además lo obliga a hacer lo imposible cuando su huésped enferma, para atenderlo y dar noticia temprana a sus familiares a fin de que vengan a verlo y lo libren así de las responsabilidades de su muerte.

Considera el derecho guajiro como autor y responsable de la muerte de otro, al jefe de la casa, cuando da a los participantes de un trabajo comunal chicha de yuca brava sin cocción suficiente, con lo cual pueden intoxicarse y morir algunos de ellos. Esto se hace extensivo a cualquier alimento que se crea motivó la muerte de alguien.

Aquí debemos agrupar también el delito de provocar la muerte a otro por contagio de una enfermedad. Tenemos el caso de una indígena de la Alta Guajira que llegó enferma de sarampión a Uribia y pidió hospitalidad en casa de una amiga suya de clase pudiente. Esta amiga, dueña de la casa, no pudo negar el pedido y el resultado fue que adquirió el contagio y murió. La familia de la extinta presentó a la portadora de la enfermedad un cobro muy alto.

Hay que anotar también el homicidio causado según la mentalidad guajira por la infracción de un tabú. La mujer guajira, durante sus épocas de embarazo y menstruación, el asesino y los participantes en ritos funerarios, en todo momento son portadores de un poder mágico maligno que se contagia y daña o da muerte a los niños y a los enfermos graves. Si uno de estos tabuizados se presenta en casa de uno de los expuestos a su influencia y éste muere en un plazo que hace presumible la acción maleífica del tabú transgredido, sus familiares maternos lo declaran culpable de la muerte, o de la enfermedad del niño cuando eso ocurre, o de la gravedad del enfermo en cuestión.

Cuando la muerte de un guajiro fue motivada por un blanco, es decir, por un individuo no perteneciente a su comunidad, el sentido de culpa se rige por las normas ya expuestas. En la actualidad, generalmente se su-

mentan a la ley guajira como forma punitiva, pero lo acostumbrado en la Península es que una muerte de dotas se pague con tres muertes de individuos civilizados, pues creen aún muchos indígenas que el civilizado forma parte de un grupo familiar consanguíneo homogéneo. Otros no ignoran que esto es un error, pero sin embargo, la muerte de un indio por un blanco da origen a fuertes represalias y aún a la muerte del blanco. Si el homicida permanece en el territorio peninsular o en sus cercanías, es casi seguro que será muerto trágicamente por algún familiar del extinto, que aguarda, aunque haya habido pago provechoso, la ocasión propicia para hacerlo.

Otra clase de actos agresivos son los referentes al robo de alimentos, de ganados y de objetos personales.

Los dos primeros son los que alcanzan mayor grado en la Península, hasta el punto de que algunos autores y viajeros consideran como una característica peculiar del guajiro el que robe. Roban desde que son niños, pues la escasez de comida en la Guajira hace que el niño hurte alimentos a su hermano menor, a sus familiares y a los extraños y los consuma inmediatamente, o los lleve y los oculte en el monte para utilizarlos cuando le es posible y oportuno a su necesidad.

De ahí que sean castigados cuando roban alimentos del hogar y estimulados cuando lo hacen a extraños. Ya hombres roban frecuentemente en las sementeras durante la noche y casi no hay ganadero que no tenga que ejercer una escrupulosa vigilancia diurna y nocturna sobre sus ganados para evitar ser víctima de los ladrones. De noche los ganados deben ser puestos a recaudo, encerrándolos en corrales muy bien cercados, anexos a las viviendas, a pesar de lo cual los hurtos son frecuentes. Durante el día jamás se dejan pastar los rebaños sin que una persona los esté guardando. El guajiro conoce y distingue entre muchas las huellas de sus animales, lo que le permite seguirles el rastro a través de largas distancias, ayudado por el suelo arenoso, hasta dar con el paradero. El rastreador persigue al ladrón hasta hallarlo y si lo encuentra con el animal robado no es raro que le dé muerte. Si sabe quién es, se dirige a sus allegados exigiéndoles resarcimiento, que seguramente hacen, porque de otra manera el lesionado aprovecha cualquier oportunidad para recuperar lo perdido y los perjuicios por su propia mano.

Se apela frecuentemente para conocer al ladrón de animales al adivino, que toma un cigarro, un bejuco o un tizón, según su especialidad, y lo enciende. En las volutas de humo y en la manera como la llama va consumiendo el combustible, cree encontrar, después de una prolongada observación, al ladrón y el lugar donde se encuentra lo perdido.

1: Gutierrez de Pineda SC13 Goajiro

Cuando se recupera un objeto de importancia, la familia que lo había perdido hace una pequeña fiesta en la que se sacrifica un animal para repartir entre los amigos concurrentes; se toma chicha y ron y se toca el tambor con el ritmo monótono y prolongado con que se baila *la chicha maya* durante algunas noches.

Los castigos que el guajiro establece para sancionar el delito contra la propiedad son variados y su aplicación es muy elástica, pues depende de la categoría y fuerza de unos y otros.

Ya vimos cómo la primera reacción cuando se encuentra al ladrón es darle muerte, a pesar de las consecuencias que ello acarrea. Si no le dan muerte en este momento, siguen un proceso mágico curioso que tiende al mismo fin: lograr que el individuo muera. "Por eso cuando recuperan o reaparece una res o bestia que les había sido robada, la tuzan y entierran hasta el cuello, la rodean los interesados llorando como si se tratara de un duelo; insultan y maldicen al ladrón, reforzando su acción con explosiones de pólvora, que mezclan con ceniza y cerdas del animal robado. Así creen conseguir la muerte del ladrón" [1].

El derecho guajiro estipula como resarcimiento por el robo de un objeto o animal, el doble y en ocasiones el triple del valor de lo robado. Generalmente es el doble, para pagar lo hurtado y la indemnización por perjuicios. Pero la aplicación de la ley excede en ocasiones, particularmente cuando se hace efectiva a grupos desvalidos, casos en que alcanza hasta diez veces el valor de lo robado y aún la eliminación de la familia del ladrón, dejándola en la miseria porque le arrebatan todos sus rebaños, como ocurre en Jarara. En esta región, que es más seca que el resto de la Península y, por tanto, escasa de recursos agrícolas, la vida económica se centra al rededor de la ganadería que proporciona alimentos y antiguamente contribuyó al vestido. Si al ladrón se le castiga quitándole el ganado, queda de hecho marginado del conjunto social, pues se ve obligado a emigrar ya que carece de otro medio de vida. Con su emigración viene el abandono de las tierras, que son tomadas por su enemigo. Estos grupos desvalidos por la aplicación de la ley sobre robo vienen a sumarse a otros, empobrecidos por los veranos, por ejemplo, y constituyen la parte social que es fácilmente sometida a la servidumbre por los más fuertes. (Cf. Cap. *Esclavitud* y *Servidumbre*).

Informador.—El informador adquiere en la Guajira el carácter de una institución que ayuda a mantener el régimen de seguridad social en

[1] Jahn, Alfred. *Los Aborígenes del Occidente de Venezuela*, página 181.

la Panimula. Este individuo —hombre o mujer— se preocupa por hacer llegar a los miembros de cualquier grupo familiar la noticia de la infracción de cualquier precepto legal que les atañe, y que no se hizo en su presencia. Por ejemplo: si fue pronunciado el nombre de un muerto, si se hizo burla de él, si se pisoteó su tumba, etc.; transmite a los interesados la noticia, para que cuando el resarcimiento que motiva este hecho agresivo se obtenga, le participen de él, como informante. Cuando dos grupos familiares se hallan enemistados por violación de una de las partes del régimen de seguridad social, se cuidan mucho de comentar el caso delante de extraños, porque la noticia tergiversada puede ser llevada al contrario, obstaculizando en ocasiones la labor legalista del componedor, lanzando los contendores a la lucha abierta. El informador quiere tener derecho a una parte cuando se haga el reparto del resarcimiento.

Cuando más presente se hace la acción del informante es en el caso de un lucha permanente entre las diferentes co-esposas. El aprovecha esta situación de mutuo rencor, trayendo y llevando noticias de la una a la otra, de los movimientos del marido común, etc., para obtener una remuneración a sus servicios.

El informador defiende su actitud, participando directamente y sintiéndose lesionado con la infracción legal del grupo familiar, al que da cuenta. Justifica luégo su derecho a recibir resarcimiento, porque él también, dice, ha sufrido un dolor; ha derramado lágrimas, por ejemplo, cuando la ofensa se dirigió a un muerto que él fue a *velorear*, durante la ceremonia que sigue a su fallecimiento.

Con este sentido se hace el reparto de animales en tal ocasión y con el mismo el pago por el dolor recibido en cualquier ofensa. Con motivo del reparto de un pago cualquiera, concurren en este día todos los amigos, recordando y poniendo de presente su aprecio, los informes que dieron y el dolor que la ofensa les ha producido. En este momento se valoran los servicios prestados al grupo en un pasado y se tienen en cuenta las posibilidades futuras del que recibe. Todo este conjunto de actitudes observadas en este momento es conocido en la guajira con el nombre de *jusijunrer*, que tiene el sentido de estar presente en un reparto para obtener por cualquier motivo una participación.

Dentro de la legislación guajira existe un aspecto que debemos considerar: cuando el grupo clanil no acepta la responsabilidad conjunta ante el quebrantamiento del régimen de seguridad social por uno de sus miembros.

Uno de los casos en que la acción coercitiva del conjunto clanil se

manifiesta, es cuando un individuo comete un acto delictuoso de naturaleza tal, que provoca entre sus mismos consanguíneos la reacción de considerársele fuera del conjunto, lo que significa, de hecho, que es puesto fuera también de la sociedad guajira. Este fue el caso de los *Kusina*, marginados extralegales, que paulatinamente fueron extinguidos por todos los demás grupos claniles que hicieron causa común contra ellos. Pertenecían a individuos colocados fuera de la organización clanil por sus mismos consanguíneos a raíz del quebrantamiento del régimen de seguridad social de la cultura.

Es necesario anotar respecto del rompimiento del régimen de seguridad social por homicidio, la expiación individual que el infractor se ve obligado a cumplir. El delincuente se somete voluntariamente a un régimen especial[1] cuyo objeto es reparar en cierto modo la falta ante su conciencia y ante la opinión de los suyos; trata el homicida guajiro por medio de esta expiación, de no volver a reincidir en un hecho cuyas consecuencias han purgado los suyos en forma tan dura; liberarse de alguna manera de la coacción social que su acción ha provocado y muy particularmente aplacar el espíritu del muerto que desde el momento de su deceso lo sigue irritado a todas partes pidiendo satisfacción y ayudando al castigo del delincuente. Hasta tal punto se cree el homicida guajiro perseguido por el espíritu del asesinado, que en los casos en que se desconoce el autor del crimen, éste, obsesionado por tal creencia, especialmente cuando enferma, confiesa su falta públicamente y se somete a las prescripciones legales que lo envuelven tanto a él como a los suyos.

Posteriormente a este régimen de expiación, el homicida guajiro soporta sobre su persona la coacción social que se forma a su derredor, expresada especialmente por el aislamiento que se hace de su persona. Aspectos mágicos se vinculan con el asesino, que lo obligan a marginarse, ya que no puede, por ejemplo, visitar . los enfermos porque agrava su dolencia, ni los hogares donde hay niños, porque enfermarían con su presencia: siempre lleva consigo el espíritu enfurecido del muerto, que produce estos efectos.

Su status social desciende como consecuencia inmediata, y su economía se quebranta considerablemente porque el delito de sangre le prohibe el ejercicio libre y eficaz de las actividades productivas a que venía dedicado, además de que lo condena a vivir en exilio por largos años.

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[1] Pineda Giraldo, Roberto. *Aspectos de la Magia en la Guajira*. Revista del Instituto Etnológico Nacional. Vol. III. Entrega 1ª. 1947. Bogotá. 1950. pags. 82 y siguientes.

XIII

PRESENTACION DE UN COBRO

El cobro se presenta a un grupo familiar cuando ha violado en algún punto el régimen de seguridad personal o colectivo lesionando con ello el derecho civil o penal de otro grupo. Es condición esencial que los dos grupos se hallen más o menos equiparados social y económicamente, porque cuando hay desigualdad, el más fuerte no espera esta tramitación de la justicia sino que la realiza por propia mano, de acuerdo con su voluntad.

La persona que lleva la palabra, es decir, la encargada de presentar el cobro a un grupo familiar es, por regla general, el cacique de una región (Cf. Cap. VII) u otra persona de cierta prestancia, que recibe de parte del grupo clanil ofendido el encargo de llevar su demanda y de demostrar su inconformidad ante el otro. Veamos cómo se efectua el cobro por muerte.

El cobro por muerte se presenta cuando se considera a la familia del homicida capaz de pagar el homicidio; es decir, de categoría social y económica equivalente a la del difunto.

Quien lleva la voz del clan ofendido debe, además, de no pertenecer a ninguno de los dos bandos, *tener palabra*. Por tener palabra entiende el guajiro a aquella persona, hombre o mujer, que, dominando el idioma nativo, conoce muy bien los giros adecuados para cada situación; que es capaz de expresar su pensamiento en forma fluída y clara, sin timideces, con la debida energía ante todos los hombres congregados para oirle; que, poseyendo el dón de la exposición clara y serena, tiene a la vez réplica fácil y oportuna; que pueda dominar a su auditorio porque sus frases tienen gran poder de convicción, sobre todo para establecer la superioridad del grupo que representa ante su adversario; que sabe describir la situación del grupo ofendido sin rebajarlo ni provocar ante el enemigo la reacción negativa; que es capaz de hacerle sentir su culpabilidad a éste sin herirlo; que le conduce por medio de consideraciones de conveniencia personal a la aceptación de un compromiso que beneficie a su defendido, sin ser demasiado

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1: Gutierrez de Pineda SC13 Goajiro

enemigo para el otro; que no provoque la resistencia ni la animadversión del grupo ante el cual va en representación del otro; que no aparezca como un fiscal, sino como mediador de buena voluntad en el problema de los interesados; que sepa escuchar serenamente las insultos que los dos grupos se dirigen y no los transmita literalmente, sino en forma que pueda conducir al arreglo; que sepa sacar del adversario el mejor partido, no sólo de su inferioridad como culpable, sino de sus debilidades personales como hombre; por último, que conduzca hábilmente la discusión, ya humillándose, ya mostrándose altanero de acuerdo con los cambios de la opinión de sus oyentes; recordando el pasado o poniendo de presente al enemigo los peligros de un futuro de zozobra si no se llega al arreglo; exponiendo lo duro del exilio y lo penoso de una vida sin tranquilidad y las ventajas mutuas de un arreglo que beneficie por igual a ambos, hasta vencer al contendor y obligarlo por su propia voluntad y sin disgusto o resquemor, a hacer la paz después de una solemne promesa de arreglo o un compromiso de pago justo al ofendido.

La tramitación es como sigue: Recibido el encargo o representación de un grupo para presentar el cobro al otro, quien lleva la palabra va a la casa de los familiares más inmediatos del homicida.

Llega de madrugada, a las dos de la mañana generalmente, antes de que el conglomerado familiar se disperse por razón de sus ocupaciones diarias.

Hace que los dueños de la casa perciban su presencia y le den el consabido saludo: "Ansh pía ("¿Llegaste?"), que le permite introducirse. Todos se levantan y hablan con él; entonces explica el motivo de su visita: viene a presentar cobro por tal hecho delictuoso, de parte de tal grupo, y expone en seguida las condiciones, si el hecho no es considerado muy grave, es decir, si no es por muerte. Si ha asumido especial gravedad, pide una reunión de todos los varones de la familia en un determinado sitio, cerca al cual se encontrarán también los varones del grupo ofendido. El servirá de intermediario entre los dos, para llegar al acuerdo.

Al tal sitio, en el día convenido, concurren ambos grupos armados y considerablemente exaltados los ánimos, lo que hace necesario que medie cierta distancia entre los dos para evitar choques y peores consecuencias.

Empieza entonces la parte más interesante de la actuación del mediador: tratar de poner de acuerdo los intereses de los dos bandos, transigiendo con las posibilidades del ofensor, sin defraudar al ofendido. El éxito depende en gran parte de su actitud: Oye a los unos sus exigencias y cargos, que lleva luégo a los otros previamente meditados, y después de exponerlos

y de escuchar sus voces, las transmite de nuevo al otro grupo. Su actitud casi debe ser neutral: si el adversario se enoja, él tiene que permanecer impasible, pues no debe perder la serenidad para poder responder acertadamente. Sus palabras han de ser medidas, aunque a veces tenga que dejarse llevar por la fuerza de los sentimientos de una y otra parte para convencer. Sus primeros momentos de contacto entre los dos bandos se dedican a dirigir frases suaves y tranquilizadoras a los ofendidos, haciéndoles promesas de un posible acuerdo, porque la voluntad del otro así lo quiere, aplacando los ánimos y reprimiendo un poco las ambiciones desmesuradas. En el otro, reprimiendo los brotes de rebeldía, que acompañan solucionar el problema con las armas y dando a su mediación el aspecto de un consejo desinteresado que espera ser atendido.

Así lleva a sus representados la voz de sus enemigos: "Es mejor que no hagamos la guerra, hermano. Yo vengo con los míos por alcanzar la paz que un convenio contigo puede darme. Quiero satisfacer tu enojo justo. Y es que yo no tengo como tú suficientes enramadas para reunir a mis gentes atacadas por los tuyos. (Puede ser más rico que el adversario y el que lleva la palabra hace creer a los suyos con esto, que hay muy buena voluntad entre los otros para el arreglo, con lo cual éstos van cediendo en su enojo y en sus pretensiones y es posible el arreglo. No transmite por ningún motivo los insultos ni las amenazas, porque sería exaltar los ánimos y hacer fracasar la mediación). Carezco de chinchorros abundantes para brindarles mi hospitalidad. Me hacen falta calderos y provisiones para satisfacer sus necesidades y reses para sacrificar cada mañana. Nosotros queremos trabajar. Regresar de nuevo tranquilamente a los quehaceres de cada día. Yo quiero ser libre. Poder dormir tranquilo en las madrugadas sin el sobresalto ni la preocupación de oír el ladrido de los perros que me anuncian la llegada de tus gentes en sin de guerra. Quiero que mi madre y mis hermanas, mis tías y sobrinas puedan vagar tranquilamente por los montes en busca de iguarayas; que lleguen cada día a la casimba por agua sin temor de ser asechadas y sin necesidad de escoltas, que anden por todos los caminos sin el temor de encontrar el ataque de los tuyos; que puedan ir a visita sin preocupación y que no esperen con angustia cada día el retorno de sus hijos. No quiero pensar que las mujeres de mi familia o mis sobrinas puedan ser convertidas por tu violencia en esclavas después de haber nacido libres. No quiero que cieguen mis fuentes, ni violes mis mujeres. Quiero vivir tranquilo con los míos, que me respetan; quiero morir tranquilamente en mis tierras y ser enterrado en ellas. No quiero de un momento a otro hallar en manos de los tuyos una muerte, que llorarían todas las gr-

[illegible] de los descendientes y agranderían nuestra amistad. Por eso, hermano, no quiero la guerra y vengo por la paz".

Estas palabras, aunque no son dichas por el adversario, deben decirlas el buen compañero a los suyos, que de esta manera crean ver en su enemigo buena voluntad para reparar el mal que les han ocasionado y con ello van predisponiendo el ánimo a un arreglo y al establecimiento de un pago que devuelva la paz. La gente al sitio se siente conmovida y aplaude la oratoria fácil del que lleva la palabra, le ovacionan y empiezan a caber tercios en sus peticiones demandando enormes pago el clan del homicida; dejan a un lado el tono alzado del comienzo y se van perfilando las bases de un arreglo que el compañero va transmitiendo luego al otro bando.

Sin embargo, ocurre que el clan que ha sufrido la muerte de su paisano, enardecido por la pena y para evitar que el otro crea que le teme, hace alarde de su fuerza y se manifiesta reacio al arreglo. Así hace decir al otro: "Yo soy un indio rico. Mi gente es valiente y está dispuesta a la pelea. Queremos que midamos nuestras fuerzas. No podemos olvidar que uno de los tuyos derramó cobardemente sangre nuestra y le arrancó su vida, que era parte nuestra también. Su espíritu no tiene reposo y vaga sin par los lugares donde lo sacrificaste. Queremos hacer sentir en los de tu sangre lo que has hecho con nosotros, para que no te rías de nuestra pena ni nos creas cobardes. No nos importa morir si por cada uno de los nuestros hacemos que mueran más de los tuyos y nuestros sobrinos se multiplicarán para vengar nuestra muerte. No te tememos y queremos la lucha. Estamos seguros de probarte que somos capaces de hacer respetar la pena nuestra y vengar nuestra sangre derramada. No somos cobardes; a los nuestros nadie es capaz de dominarlos aún y tienen coraje para hacerse respetar. Los tuyos no sirven ni de mujeres a los nuestros. Queremos la guerra".

El indio guajiro tiene por sobre todas las cosas que se le crea cobarde, porque los demás grupos no respetarían sus derechos. Sus mujeres serían atropelladas fácilmente, sin obligación de pago, se les encontraría a cada momento su cobardía y su miedo, de modo que la vida social se les haría imposible. En cambio, mientras más valientes y más crueles, tienen la seguridad de implantar el temor y con él la autoridad y el poder. Grupo que se teme es grupo poderoso y que mantiene su status.

En algunas ocasiones contesta de nuevo el grupo ofensor que quiere la paz: "Sí, yo sé que tú eres rico y quieres la guerra. Sé que estás muy bien armado y tus gentes se ocupan noche y día en ejercitarse para la lucha. Pero yo no quiero esta. (Vuelve al tono humilde como táctica para obtener una obligación de pago inferior). Yo no soy rico: tú no ignoras

que carezco de enramadas para dar asilo a mis gentes acosadas por las tuyas. Que no tengo chinchorros para brindarles mi hospitalidad, animales para sacrificar ni calderos para preparar sus alimentos. Ya te he dicho que ellos desean regresar a sus trabajos nuevamente; cuidar de sus ganados y aguardar las primeras lluvias para la siembra. Prefieren hacer un sacrificio y pagarte la ofensa que te hemos inferido, para poder ir de cacería por los montes y de viaje por los caminos transitados, sin tener que recurrir a los atajos, temiendo encontrarse con los tuyos. Yo quiero vivir muchos años para ver los hijos de mis sobrinos. Volver a llevar el ganado de remonta, y en los inviernos verlo pastar tranquilamente en mis tierras, que no quiero verme obligado a abandonar. Quiero morir y ser enterrado en las tierras de los míos. La guerra no es un juego ni tampoco una cosa pasajera; vuelvo por eso a decirte que quiero la paz".

Fuera de estas palabras dichas por el jefe del grupo del homicida el componedor recalca al bando que representa la voluntad que tienen sus enemigos de llegar a un acuerdo, lo dolidos que están por el mal que les han hecho y en el que participaron sin querer; achaca la culpa a un accidente. Les recuerda que tienen sobrinos y hermanas que en una guerra se verían cruelmente atacados. Les pide que se duelan de tantos inocentes como van a sufrir las consecuencias de un arrebato; les habla del porvenir del grupo, antes tranquilo y feliz, inquieto y turbado constantemente por una guerra sin cuartel que acabaría poco a poco con todos los miembros importantes de su familia; les dice que es mejor encontrar un arreglo amistoso que ofrece la seguridad y el resarcimiento del mal causado que hacerse justicia por sus propias manos arriesgando la vida propia y la de sus familiares sin provecho alguno. Por otra parte, les recuerda el pasado del grupo, los favores que de los actuales enemigos recibieron en algún tiempo, los buenos ratos pasados en su compañía, etc., recalcando siempre que lo ocurrido fue obra de un accidente, una desgracia que sus causantes involuntarios quieren reparar del mejor modo posible y halagándolos con el provecho económico que pueden alcanzar mediante un arreglo pacífico que traiga las ventajas de la paz.

El cobrador retorna de nuevo al otro grupo llevando y trayendo sus impresiones y las bases que se van esbozando, hasta que consigue un acuerdo definitivo.

Sin embargo, en esta primera reunión, algunas veces el cobrador no logra llegar a nada efectivo y para ver si puede obtener resultados pide otra segunda sesión, a fin de probar suerte.

1: Gutierrez de Pineda SC13 Goajiro

Y es que una vez que ambos bandos se disponen a que el asunto sea arreglado por medio de un pago, se presenta la dificultad de poner de acuerdo las dos voluntades: los unos piden en demasía, sobrepasando las posibilidades del otro, y éstos, a su vez, no quieren pagar lo justo en tales casos. En ocasiones el grupo *ofendido* exige cosas que pueden herir los sentimientos del contrario: el collar que la madre del homicida recibió como prenda matrimonial, por ejemplo, con el objeto de rebajarlos; o un precio muy alto, ante lo cual éste hace oír su voz diciendo: "No exijas tanto. Es cierto que merecen que te demos una mayor cantidad, pero recuerda que no somos ricos. El largo verano agotó los pastos y nuestros animales, enflaquecidos por el hambre, murieron al pie de las casimbas secas. Nuestra siembra se fue secando de sed sin dar cosecha y nuestras familias padecieron entonces escaseces y necesidades. Las epidemias del fin del invierno se llevaron nuestros parientes queridos y los demás han tenido que emigrar a tierras extrañas buscando trabajo y comida. No obstante nuestras penas, queremos la paz que nos brinda un arreglo amistoso con los tuyos. Queremos la paz. No queremos mirarte con odio ni evitarnos mutuamente en nuestros caminos comunes. Pide con justicia recordando cuanto te hemos dicho y entonces, para complacerte, reuniremos todas nuestras fuerzas. Pediremos entre todos los nuéstros hasta conseguir lo que exiges, pero que no sea tanto".

Al fin se estipula definitivamente el precio del pago: tantas reses, tales prendas, etc. Los ofensores fijan una fecha en la que esperan tener ya reunido todo en la casa del principal entre ellos. Allí va entonces el que ha presentado la palabra y a él, por medio de su *compoecdor* o *cacique*, le van entregando cada una de las cosas que se han comprometido, en forma solemne, para que conste por siempre. Recoge entonces el representante todo lo que le han dado y lo cuenta minuciosamente ante la vista de todos. Recibe las prendas otorgadas y las guarda.

Pide quién le ayude a llevar a las tierras de los otros los animales dados en pago y los demás objetos. Miembros de este grupo reciben tal encargo, por orden del principal, y arrean los animales hasta el límite de propiedad con los litigantes, y se devuelven. De allí en adelante los semovientes son llevados por miembros del clan ofendido a casa de la madre del muerto o de sus tíos maternos. El jefe del grupo familiar recibe de manos del cobrador el pago estipulado y lo reparte en la forma que veremos más adelante, en el aparte correspondiente.

Cuando los ánimos están más exaltados de parte y parte y cuando después de posponer y realizar varias reuniones diferentes no se consigue

el acuerdo entre los dos grupos, por la codicia exagerada de los unos y la mala voluntad de los otros, llega un momento en que el entendimiento no puede más y al quedarse el problema sin solución pacífica, es decir, sin acuerdo de pago, se fija la guerra como única fórmula aceptable entre los dos bandos enemistados, guerra defensiva para los del clan del homicida y ofensiva para los otros. Antes de saberse la posibilidad de un acuerdo pacífico, los hombres de cada bando empiezan a armarse precipitadamente: sacan uno a los cantos para trocarlos por fusiles y pertrechos, y elaboran rápidamente arcos y flechas, en especial las de punta de raya destinadas a la guerra; preparan venenos a base de animales venenosos que dejan podrir para untar dichas flechas y, además, buscan, si es posible, flechas mágicas, para conseguir una derrota fácil de sus enemigos.

A las reuniones de comercio van considerablemente armados para prevenirse del ataque posible del otro bando; esta situación, que también es esperada por el bando contrario, imposibilita en algunos casos el arreglo pacífico, porque el guajiro se escuda en sus armas y siente que puede violar la ley sin peligro y que es mejor el arreglo a mano armada, con lo cual se crea un clima de exaltación que en veces estalla y se producen entonces choques armados que terminan en verdaderos combates, lo que abonda el problema y hace de todo punto de vista imposible la solución legal, porque de hecho surgen nuevas situaciones conflictivas, que no pueden resolverse sino a base de mutuas represalias que se prolongan a través de varias generaciones.

Cuando la guerra se declara, donde quiera que se encuentren dos hombres de los grupos en pugna se atacan instantáneamente, porque la lucha es a muerte y, si en un momento pudo decirse que el grupo ofendido tomara la ofensiva, desde este momento la contienda es permanente estado de defensa y ofensa para ambos. Entonces nunca salen los hombres solos sino en grupos bien armados, y tratan de no pasar por los sitios frecuentados por los otros, aunque en veces lo hacen para provocarlos. Las mujeres de cada parte dejan de ir solas a la caimba, van siempre escoltadas, no salen de visita ni en busca de frutas o de los burros al monte porque pueden ser atropelladas por los otros, que las están esperando para tomarlas como esclavas o para matarlas. Hay un permanente estado de zozobra y de incertidumbre; a cada momento se aguarda el ataque del contrario, y en todas partes se espera el encuentro de un enemigo o la muerte. No se puede dormir tranquilamente, porque generalmente los enemigos llegan de madrugada a atacar para tomar de improviso a los contrarios y prender fuego a las habitaciones, impidiendo a la vez la salida de mujeres, ancianos y niños

Los ataques son frecuentes y en ellos mueren siempre algunos de cada bando, con lo cual la enemistad se alonda cada vez más y se propaga a través de las diversas generaciones, que quedan sobre sí la carga de las leyes y que, naturalmente, van creciendo en odio sobre y con la idea de venganza, que realizan con presteza cuando la oportunidad les se propicia.

Repartición del pago.—El monto de un pago depende de la valoración cultural de la ofensa. Cuando se trata del compromiso a un homicidio de un guajiro, hombre o mujer, generalmente se acostumbra verificarlo en tres cuotas o plazos, que se distribuyen así: el primero inmediatamente después del asesinato, en la exhumación de los restos el segundo, y el tercero para tiempo después, como armisticio final, que pone término a las luchas familiares y cierra la ofensa y la etapa de la agresión, que continúa hasta que se purgue efectivamente la infracción legal, es decir, hasta que se efectúe el último pago.

Los pagos los recibe el compromisario de manos del jefe principal del grupo ofensor y son llevados a casa del jefe principal del grupo ofendido. Allí concurren todos los familiares que se han sentido lesionados con la agresión, los amigos e informantes que han hecho causa común, y los que con su respaldo económico y social han colaborado la posición del lesionado para llegar a alcanzar el pago.

El compromisario entrega al jefe familiar más destacado la ofrenda del bando contrario, haciendo constar su presencia de todo lo que se les dicha, para evitar problemas posteriores. Comienza el reparto, que lo hace generalmente el jefe del grupo familiar, es decir, el cacique, o la interesada, o el jefe del grupo más lejano a los allegados; es decir, el tío materno del muerto, de más categoría y mayor edad. Si ninguno de los dos está presente, la madre puede realizar estas funciones, pero generalmente las delega en la persona de su hijo mayor, o del hijo varón. Primero da su parte a los allegados más inmediatos, y luego a los demás parientes, para compensarlos de la pena y para que como el halago de la cantidad dispongan su ánimo, más exaltado, contra el agresor. Esta parte es mayor que la de todos los demás. En este orden son sus allegados: la madre, a quien dan el collar matrimonial de la madre del asesino, las hermanas y tías, cuando el certificado es varón, porque si es mujer, cuentan como que las tías, las hijas. Después se entrega su parte al compromisario, precio convenido de antemano, generalmente en vacunos de buena calidad y tamaño. Luego, por orden de importancia, a los demás participantes en la negociación del pago, es decir, aquellos que colaboraron al grupo con su asistencia o las consultaron, que lo-

[illegible] a sus familiares se prestan con mayor intensidad. Durante el [illegible] y consideración se pasa por lo sucesivo, y principalmente a los familiares de mayor categoría que representan una gran fuerza de respaldo, porque no se pueden perder esas conexiones que implican ayuda en un momento dado. A ellos se les da por el deber y los lógicos propósitos [illegible] a su categoría, para no herirlos sentimentalmente, lo que implicaría una ofensa y, por tanto, una enemistad.

También a aquellos que los vecinos presentan en un reparto [illegible] a tono con su propensión, o su mayor, el mismo igual a lo que de ellos se obtuvo. Y por último, no se deja de sin algunos participantes a los que en tales ocasiones concurren a "participar", es decir, a ver que llegan.

Cuando no se llega a un acuerdo, o no se aprueba [illegible] el [illegible] se hace una por expediciones guerreras a las tierras de los familiares del difunto; los miembros de esta expedición, mayor hombres y [illegible], después de incendiar y arrasar lo que no pueden tomar y de dar muerte a los hombres que no pueden cautivar. Con el botín recogido regresan a la casa del pariente más allegado para realizar la repartición. Generalmente el jefe de esta expedición pertenece al pariente más allegado, o al familiar cualquier dentro del grupo familiar. Entonces tiene el reparto en una forma similar a la descrita, entregando en una casa, a más de los bienes mencionados —semovientes y objetos—, los cadáveres capturados, que se reparten en la misma proporción que el resto del botín: a los familiares más allegados y lejanos y a los participantes en la acción bélica, de acuerdo con su [illegible].

Los demás pagos, el segundo y el tercero, se reparten en proporción de todos, beneficiando con mayor porción a los más cercanos parientes por vínculo y a los de mayor categoría.

Posteriormente a estos pagos, algunos grupos familiares, grupos [illegible] aquellos, después de pasar cierto tiempo, tratan más o menos, volver a recordar el pasado familiar y con él a los muertos. Esta conmemoración de otros tiempos tiene como consecuencia que alguno de sus descendientes, sin haber conocido a sus lejanos parientes, vuelva a iniciar [illegible] de pago entre los descendientes, también lejanos, del grupo [illegible]; en [illegible] algunos casos que éstos, considerados, vuelvan a pagar a donde que sus antecesores ya habían cobrado con creces.

XIV

TIERRAS

Las tierras en la península Guajira se hallan divididas, según la propiedad, en tres clases: a) Tierras que pertenecen a las autoridades civiles y eclesiásticas, y a algunos blancos y mestizos, cuya propiedad se rige por el código colombiano; b) Terrenos indígenas de propiedad clanil; y c) Tierras baldías. Estudiaremos las dos últimas, que son las que se relacionan con nuestro tema.

Las tierras clanilas comprenden los territorios que ocupan los diversos grupos familiares y su propiedad está determinada por la tradición oral que indica los lugares en donde estuvieron asentados los antepasados, de acuerdo con las leyendas relacionadas con *Maverua* (Cf. *El Clan*). Pero el territorio de cada clan no se halla circunscrito a una región determinada, sino que son propiedades más o menos extensas dispersas en varios sitios de la Península. Un solo grupo clanil puede tener posesiones en la Guajira Alta y en la Baja y a la vez en diferentes sitios de cada una de ellas, lo que ha facilitado en gran parte el desmembramiento del clan. Cada porción de éstas se halla subdividida en terrenos aptos para siembra, sabanas de pastoreo, bosques y zonas baldías.

Las condiciones geofísicas de la región limitan la posibilidad de las tierras agrícolas, que quedan reducidas a pequeñas fajas en las riberas de los arroyos, o aún en sus lechos, secos durante los veranos, y en los alrededores de las caimbas. Esta limitación ha traído como consecuencia el que dichas porciones laborables estén tradicionalmente en manos de un número de familias pequeñas del grupo clanil, que las ocupan totalmente, y que el derecho al usufructo se haya ido efectuando de tío a sobrino, siguiendo la línea materna, de manera que dentro de la propiedad comunal que rige las tierras clanilas, las parcelas son, sin embargo, una especie de propiedad particular familiar. Y es por esto por lo que un hombre poseedor de uno de estos terrenos, lo da en parcelas a sus sobrinos-hijos de hermana cuando éstos llegan a la edad en que su capacidad de trabajo hace posible las faenas agrícolas. Es cierto, que por este sis-

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tema de herencia, la propiedad de las tierras agrícolas se mantiene circunscrita al clan, pero también a una familia determinada de las que lo constituyen.

Puede presentarse una segunda forma de acceso a las tierras laborables agrícolas, cuando el padre cede a sus hijos una parte de su propiedad para el usufructo y para que ayuden al sostenimiento del hogar. Pero el disfrute de esta parcela se puede efectuar sólo en vida del padre, pues cuando éste muere, sus sobrinos hijos de hermana, legítimos herederos, toman la posesión definitiva de la misma. Sólo en el proceso de trasculturación se rompe este sistema, pues con el matrimonio católico son los hijos del padre, y no los sobrinos, los herederos forzosos de esta propiedad.

También se obtiene la posesión de parcelas agrícolas por la apertura de nuevas tierras, lo que ocurre cuando las parcelas familiares tradicionales pierden su fertilidad o se reducen en tamaño debido a las herencias sucesivas. Pero desde hace algunos años este fenómeno es poco frecuente, debido a dos razones: a lo prolongado de los veranos, que hacen imposibles las faenas agrícolas, y a la emigración de que ya hemos hablado extensamente en este estudio.

La parcela agrícola, que es casi una propiedad individual, puede ser demarcada por su dueño. Decimos que casi individual, porque el derecho a ellas puede ser vendido. Hay un principio fundamental en lo referente a la propiedad inmueble: es inalienable. Es decir, no puede venderse ni regalarse a otro grupo, ni a un blanco, porque la venta o la donación carecen de valor legal. Lo único que es comerciable en la propiedad raíz es el derecho al usufructo. De manera que en lo que hace referencia a la tierra, la propiedad se va escalonando así: 1º Los productos agrícolas constituyen la única propiedad individual, con cualidades de uso y abuso. El individuo puede venderlos, regalarlos, destruirlos, etc.; 2º Las tierras agrícolas tradicionales son también casi una propiedad individual porque cada uno puede disponer de ellas dentro del círculo inmediato de sus consanguíneos, por herencia. Lo heredable, sin embargo, no es la tierra en sí sino el derecho a cultivarla. Y este derecho se halla reducido a un escaso número de familias dentro del clan.

Otro aspecto que debemos considerar en la distribución de las tierras clánicas es el de las zonas de pastoreo. La ganadería nómade es la ocupación de mayor importancia dentro de la vida económica de la Guajira, pero se halla subordinada a las condiciones geográficas de la Península, y determinada especialmente por la presencia o ausencia de las aguas, pues este elemento es indispensable para el aprovechamiento de los terri-

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terios disponibles para pastos, y, además, el concepto de baldío está regido también por la carencia de agua. El agua, por otra parte, ha determinado, con la aparición de la ganadería, que se inició durante la época de la Colonia, la evolución del concepto de propiedad en las tierras comunales. Veamos por qué:

Sabemos que antes de que a la Guajira se introdujera la ganadería, las tierras se hallaban repartidas entre las distintas agrupaciones clanilas y entre ellas existía el aprovechamiento comunal para las actividades de caza y recolección, actividades que aún subsisten. Parece ser que en aquella época, las zonas de mayor valor estaban bajo el dominio de ciertas familias que las usufructuaban regularmente. La vivienda, dadas las condiciones particulares de las actividades económicas, era muy móvil e improvisada. Al incluir como actividad principal de su economía la ganadería, el guajiro, forzado por las condiciones físicas y climáticas de su tierra, continuó con sus rebaños la vida errante que llevaba, conduciendo su ganado, por épocas, a las regiones de mejores pastos cuando estos escaseaban y orientándose en su búsqueda por las disponibilidades de agua. La vivienda seguía siendo, por estas razones, móvil y transitoria, pero no tan improvisada como anteriormente, pues se construían unas en algunas regiones que servían como cuartel general mientras se desembolsaba con el ganado.

Para permitir el aprovechamiento de los pastos en ciertas regiones en donde el agua escaseaba en los veranos, se construyeron comunalmente casimbas y aún pequeñas represas para aguas lluvias, que pudieron ser utilizadas por todos los que cooperaban en su construcción o por los que legalmente tenían acceso a éstas. De hecho, las tierras que el nuevo pozo o la nueva represa beneficiaban, se aprovechaban por aquellos que tenían sus derechos adquiridos para abrevar sus ganados, forma legal practicada en la actualidad.

Hoy en día encontramos en cada tierra clanil un número variable de pozos de agua, cuya construcción hecha generalmente por trabajo comunal, permite el acceso a ellas de todos los miembros de los grupos familiares. Basados en este aprovechamiento indispensable de agua, los indios han ido construyendo sus habitaciones, más estables, seguras y confortables, al rededor de los lugares de aprovisionamiento de agua, en coordinación con los terrenos más aptos para la ganadería, sin detrimento de las tierras agrícolas y evitando las posibilidades de perjuicio a las tierras de los colindantes. En esta forma, cada miembro clanil en una región dispone personalmente de amplios terrenos para pastoreo, situados al re-

dedor de su vivienda, en los cuales, en los períodos normales de la Península, puede apacentar sus ganados sin necesidad de trashumar, ni interferir la vida económica de sus vecinos próximos.

No obstante, como la Guajira sufre la presencia de períodos de sequía determinados por largos veranos que agotan totalmente los pastos y desaparecen las fuentes de agua, el guajiro se ve forzado a migrar de un lado a otro, buscando alimentos y bebida para sus ganados. En estos movimientos apela a los territorios claniles tradicionales, situados en diversos lugares de la Península, a los que, por derechos matrimoniales, tiene acceso legal o, en último caso, *va de remonta*, es decir, visita con sus ganados las tierras pastoriles de los grupos de la Sierra, que tiene un invierno más temprano que las demás regiones y, por lo mismo, repone sus reservas de pastos más pronto, y pueden por ello estos grupos prestar su ayuda a los más necesitados de la llanura. En pago de tales servicios —pastaje y utilización de fuentes de agua— se da una res o una cabra a la entrada. También se acostumbra dar voluntariamente otro animal a la salida, o un obsequio personal al jefe de la región visitada.

Ultimamente se ha presentado un nuevo aspecto: las familias pequeñas pudientes construyen en las cercanías de su vivienda o en la zona aledaña de pastos, un pozo, sin ayuda comunal. Los demás guajiros admiten que en este pozo tiene primacía la familia que lo construyó, pero dicen que están en la obligación de permitir que sea utilizado por los demás cuando lo necesiten. Sin embargo, se está generalizando el caso de que las familias pudientes niegan su utilización aún a individuos necesitados de su mismo clan, con quienes no quieren ya tener nexos familiares que los obliguen.

Estos fenómenos han hecho evolucionar el concepto de la propiedad comunal de tierras de pastoreo. Al privar a los demás de las fuentes de abastecimiento de agua, la familia poderosa usurpa para sí los terrenos comunales a los cuales servían estas fuentes. De esta manera se establecen zonas de propiedad privada que permiten una ganadería más sedentaria y una vivienda con mayor estabilidad y más confortable. Estos nuevos dueños empiezan a demarcar, con cercas de su propiedad, verdaderas haciendas, lo que no se había observado en las etapas anteriores de la evolución social.

Otro hecho que está dando origen a la propiedad privada de las tierras es la redención de baldíos por la construcción de un pozo, pues quien lo haga se convierte en propietario particular de estas tierras que siguen para su transmisión las normas hereditarias ya estudiadas.

Fuera de los casos anotados, hay otro sistema de obtener tierras y es la usurpación de las propiedades de los vencidos en la guerra, provocada por el quebrantamiento del régimen de seguridad personal o colectivo del grupo clanil. Estas tierras, repartidas como los demás haberes de los vencidos, van a enriquecer la propiedad familiar del vencedor.

Dentro del engranaje legal de las tierras de pastoreo tenemos que considerar el aspecto de los derechos que cada individuo adquiere para visitar tierras distintas a las de su clan, a raíz de nuevos matrimonios, y los que legalmente se le conceden, según el derecho consuetudinario guajiro.

Refiriéndonos al último, hemos visto que los pastores de la llanura, en los finales de los veranos, tienen derecho a visitar las regiones herbosas de la Sierra, repuestas por un invierno más temprano. Este hecho se halla consignado en la literatura oral y es tema de representación teatral en la celebración de la fiesta de la cabrita, en la cual se festeja la aparición de las lluvias y la maduración de las cosechas.

Los derechos que las alianzas matrimoniales conceden, se refieren no sólo al pastoreo, sino en general a todas las formas de aprovechamiento de la tierra, inclusive la explotación forestal, la recolección y la caza. Así, el hombre que ha contraído matrimonio conforme al rito tradicional de la Guajira, tiene derecho a establecer su vivienda y sus labranzas, a construir su pozo de abastecimiento de agua, etc., en las tierras familiares de su esposa, porque a ello lo autoriza el pago que ha hecho por su mujer en el momento del matrimonio. Y este derecho se extiende a los familiares maternos del hombre porque, como lo vimos ampliamente, todos ellos contribuyen con su cuota para el matrimonio. Recíprocamente tiene derechos territoriales sobre las propiedades raíces de cada una de las mujeres de sus familiares maternos. Al crecer los hijos del nuevo matrimonio, se fijan, por costumbre, en las tierras de la madre, aunque poder hacerlo también en las del padre. Una vez que contraen matrimonio, se establecen, como su padre, en las tierras de su esposa.

Otro aspecto que hay que tener en cuenta, por su relación con la distribución de tierras, es la aplicación de las sanciones a la infracción del régimen de seguridad social. Las guerras claniles a que dan lugar estas infracciones, hacen que el guajiro, temeroso de ser despojado (Cf. *Delitos de Agresión*), reparta por toda la península sus rebaños en las tierras por él disponibles legalmente, a fin de defenderlos de un ataque sorpresivo. Algunos grupos claniles poseen tierras muy dispersas, lo que da origen a un fraccionamiento de éstos que con el tiempo han ido perdiendo

cohesión hasta el punto de que miembros de la misma nominación, situados tradicionalmente en lugares distantes, acaban por no identificarse en la práctica, en los derechos y atribuciones adscritos legalmente.

El derecho al usufructo de los bosques y terrenos estériles pertenece de hecho y de derecho a todos los miembros del clan y a los que se han ligado por uniones matrimoniales. Puede presentarse el caso de que cuando se trata de recolección de frutos silvestres o de dividivi, los miembros del clan se opongan a que los segundos usufructúen su derecho, pero este caso es muy limitado, pues en general la abundancia no da origen a disputas de esta índole.

Por otra parte, todo guajiro tiene derecho de tránsito por los territorios claniles y a su utilización para la vinculación de unos territorios con otros cuando se interpone uno ajeno. Cuando se trata, por ejemplo, de la apertura de un camino, se reúnen los jefes regionales de cada uno de los clanes propietarios, a fin de ponerse de acuerdo en un plan que satisfaga las necesidades de ambos. Entre todos los hombres de los dos clanes interesados construyen una trocha inicial como trazo y luégo de los dos extremos opuestos se inicia el trabajo definitivo, fijándose de antemano el lugar donde deben encontrarse, es decir, hasta donde cubre el trabajo de cada uno. Cada grupo debe costear la fuerza de trabajo y el alimento, hasta dar fin a la obra. Estos caminos pueden ser utilizados por todos los guajiros.

Vinculados con las tierras y su distribución están, como lo hemos venido viendo, las fuentes de agua que pueden ser de dos clases: naturales y artificiales. A las primeras tienen acceso todos los miembros del clan propietario de las tierras donde ellas se encuentren y los ligados al clan por alianzas matrimoniales. A las segundas pueden tener acceso también los mismos, o solamente los miembros de una familia determinada, según el caso; es decir, que si el pozo ha sido construído con el aporte de todos los miembros del clan, es de usufructo común, pero si ha sido hecho por una sola familia, es de utilización exclusiva de ella.

También está muy vinculado con los derechos sobre tierras el cementerio, pues cada individuo aspira a morir en su tierra, es decir, en el lugar en donde habitan sus mayores y habitaron sus antepasados: en el territorio clanil; y aspira también a ser enterrado en el cementerio comunal. Estos deseo y voluntad de cada guajiro, son los que provocan las largas jornadas con los cadáveres de parientes muertos en tierras extrañas, hasta darles sepultura en el cementerio de sus antepasados. Por eso cada clan pone en ciertos lugares de su territorio un cementerio donde

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se guardan los cuerpos de sus miembros difuntos, o los restos de los mismos después de celebradas las ceremonias del entierro secundario. Pero en la actualidad, las familias que tienen categoría social y económica destacada en el conjunto social, han construido en las inmediaciones de las tierras familiares un cementerio o mausoleo particular para su uso exclusivo.

XV

LEYES DE HERENCIA

En el estado actual de la cultura guajira resulta bastante complejo el hacer un estudio a fondo de las leyes de herencia, pues dentro del proceso de transculturación que sufre la comunidad, se ha introducido una serie de prácticas nuevas que, mezcladas con las primitivas y tradicionales, hacen del sistema un conjunto difícil de delimitar y de ser sometido a normas fijas. Nosotros nos limitamos a dar algunas cuantas líneas directrices de lo que constituye lo que podríamos llamar el código de herencia, pero haciendo la salvedad de que en ellas no está todo contenido, y es aún posible que algunas de las afirmaciones que hacemos, tengan que ser rectificadas posteriormente. En conjunto, podemos afirmar que ellas rigen, por lo menos, para parte de la comunidad guajira, con la cual estuvimos en contacto. Hecha esta salvedad, pasemos adelante en nuestro estudio:

Las leyes de la herencia en la Guajira están determinadas por el matrimonio. De tal suerte que si se cumple la unión tradicional guajira, en la herencia se seguirán también las leyes consuetudinarias. Veamos cómo opera el sistema en sus diversos aspectos:

En primer término, la herencia está determinada por la ley de filiación uterina. De esta manera, el hijo no hereda al padre, sino a la madre. Los bienes que pertenecen al padre, pasan, a su muerte, a poder de sus ascendientes maternos si existen, de sus hermanos y hermanas y de sus sobrinos hijos de hermana. Si es la madre la que fallece, sus bienes pasan a manos de sus hijos, de sus ascendientes maternos, de sus hermanos y hermanas y de los descendiente de éstas. Si un individuo —hombre o mujer— muere antes de casarse, sus bienes pasarán a poder de su madre si ella existe, a sus hermanos, a los descendiente por línea femenina, a los tíos maternos, a los hijos de las hermanas de la madre, etc. Vamos a dar a continuación, un número de bienes herenciables, y su sistema:

a) *El apellido* se hereda de la madre, como lo hemos explicado ampliamente en capítulos anteriores.

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b) A la muerte de un individuo, sus *deudas y compromisos* son heredados por sus familiares, que se responsabilizan obligatoriamente de ellos y tratan de satisfacerlos lo más rápidamente posible por tres razones: para conservar limpia la memoria del pariente muerto; para no dar margen a posibles ofensas de palabra, por parte de los acreedores o de otros miembros cualesquiera de la comunidad; y, para evitar la pérdida del prestigio del individuo en particular y del grupo clanil en general.

c) *Las esposas* del muerto pasan como posesión a sus herederos. La herencia de mujeres corresponde generalmente a todos los hermanos maternos del difunto, aunque pertenecen preferencialmente al menor de ellos, sobre todo si aún permanece soltero. A éste se le dan entonces las más jóvenes. Esta parte de la herencia puede provocar conflictos entre los hermanos y sobrinos del muerto, que también tienen derecho a ellas. A propósito narramos el siguiente hecho: Un guajiro influyente de la Alta Guajira había contraído matrimonio con dos mujeres de cada una de las agrupaciones claniles de la Guajira. Estando muy enfermo y viendo ya muy cercana la hora de su muerte, se dolía de que su enfermedad no le permitiera comprar una muchacha impúber que deseaba, a fin de que a su muerte, sus sobrinos tuvieran motivo de disputas, y se lamentaba de no poder presenciar estas peleas.

La posesión de mujeres por herencia se ha ido debilitando gradualmente, sobre todo en los casos en que ellas tienen como futuros dueños a hombres jóvenes, siendo ellas ya maduras. Sin embargo, se conserva el precepto cultural de que si desean contraer matrimonio, el hombre que las quiere para sí, necesita dar a su nuevo propietario una suma convenida.

d) *Las siervas y esclavas y sus descendientes* pasan a poder de los parientes consanguíneos del muerto, de acuerdo con las reglas particulares de la herencia. Estos bienes humanos pasan a la nueva posesión en las mismas condiciones especiales de status bajo las cuales han vivido.

e) En el aspecto de *las tierras*, podemos decir que se hereda el usufructo de las propiedades comunales y el derecho al usufructo también de la parcela agrícola familiar, siguiendo en este caso la sucesión tío-sobrino materno.

f En lo relativo a *la vivienda*, tenemos lo siguiente: Cada familia importante se localiza generalmente en lugares de fácil acceso, con aguas abundantes o al menos posibles, y en el centro de las regiones de pastoreo. Los miembros consanguíneos de estas familias, por lo común, forman

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sus nuevas células familiares al rededor de este primer núcleo. La casa originaria, a la muerte de los dueños, pasa a ser propiedad de los descendientes por línea materna.

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Una forma particular que debemos considerar en este estudio sobre la herencia, son las donaciones en vida que se refieren a los regalos que hacen en ganados, joyas y objetos personales, la madre y los parientes uterinos por una parte, y, por la otra, el padre y sus ascendientes.

En cuanto a las joyas y a los objetos personales, son dos las razones que mueven al indígena a hacer los donativos: 1°, porque estos elementos de la cultura material, deben ser enterrados con su dueño, y esta costumbre impide la repartición de los mismos en forma de herencia, de manera que su adquisición sólo se puede lograr por donaciones en vida. 2° Porque el padre y sus ascendientes no se consideran como parientes consanguíneos del hijo, y por lo mismo, éste no tiene derecho a heredar de ellos. El pago que el hombre hace por su esposa a los familiares uterinos de ésta, resarce a sus descendientes de la exclusión herencial. Pero, no obstante, la cultura admite y exige que joyas y objetos personales por parte de los familiares maternos, y semovientes por parte de los paternos, sean obsequiados a los hijos, y establece oportunidades especiales para ello, como son las siguientes: a la salida del encierro de las jóvenes, durante la ceremonia de iniciación; en el momento del matrimonio, para dotar a la mujer debidamente, de acuerdo con su status y el de su marido; también cuando un hombre va a contraer matrimonio, tal como lo explicamos en el aparte correspondiente y, por último, cuando alguno de los miembros del grupo ha violado el régimen de seguridad social y es necesario resarcir al ofendido. Esto, en el caso de donaciones provenientes de los familiares por línea materna.

La donación de semovientes por parte del padre y de sus familiares, tiene lugar en sucesivas oportunidades: Al nacer el primogénito, le hace un regalo el abuelo paterno que "tiene la obligación de darle caballo, burro, vaca, cabra, oveja y gallina" (parejas de estos animales para cría). Otro tanto debe hacer el padre con cada hijo que nazca. Y, en ocasiones sucesivas, regala a cada uno de ellos algún animal para premiarlo o estimularlo. Cuando el muchacho adquiere la mayor edad, es decir, cuando va a casarse, es deber del padre entregarle todos los ganados de su propiedad personal. Es entonces cuando tiene lugar el mayor donativo de ellos.

Si esto no ocurre el muchacho siempre espera que su padre lo hará en otra oportunidad; pero si el padre muere sin haberlo hecho, los familiares paternos no se lo conceden, aunque ello sea causa de luchas entre las dos agrupaciones clánicas.

Los pagos en ganados, que la mujer recibe del marido por molestias durante el embarazo y por cada parto, pueden considerarse también como participación indirecta en sus bienes.

Sabemos que las costumbres funerarias establecen que los ganados de propiedad de un individuo, cuando éste muere, deben ser repartidos y sacrificados entre los concurrentes que van a "velariarlo" a su muerte y que asisten al entierro secundario. Para cumplir con esta norma, el guajiro ha establecido los donativos de ganados por parte de los familiares maternos, como lo hace el padre con sus hijos. Cuando nace un nuevo miembro familiar, los tíos maternos, en especial el más apreciado por la madre, le hace al niño un regalo consistente en cabezas de ganado. que constituyen, con los obsequios de sus parientes paternos, su patrimonio inicial. Estos bienes se van acrecentando con las crías sucesivas y con los regalos que recibe de parte de su madre y de su abuela materna y de los demás parientes cuando ya está en capacidad de cuidarlos por sí mismo. Finalmente, al casarse por primera vez (recordemos que existe la poligamia), se le entrega el total de las reses que se le tenían destinadas.

Las hijas reciben la mayor porción de ganados al casarse, sobre todo cuando ellas pertenecen a grupos de status alto y han sido compradas por precio crecido, a fin de corresponder al pago y de mantener el rango económico social de su familia.

Hay que destacar, finalmente, que en la actualidad las leyes de herencia, como lo dijimos al principio, ya no son uniformes, debido al proceso de transculturación de la comunidad guajira. Este fenómeno ha traído como consecuencia una serie de luchas entre los grupos familiares emparentados por razón de matrimonio, pues los hijos ya aspiran a heredar de su padre y se consideran con más derecho a ello que los sobrinos maternos y que los demás herederos farauos tradicionales. La situación conflictiva ha llegado a tales extremos de encono y de realidad, que muchas veces los parientes maternos del muerto ceden, sin trabajo, sus derechos a los descendientes del hombre muerto.

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TRABAJO

Existen dos formas de trabajo comunal, según la finalidad del mismo.

a) Trabajos comunales cuyo objeto es la ejecución de una obra de utilidad general o clanil.

b) Trabajos particulares, que benefician a un individuo y a su familia inmediata.

Dentro de la primera clase tenemos como ejemplo la construccion de caminos, represas, pozos, cementerios, etc. En la Guajira, el tránsito es libre por todas sus vías. Por tanto, la construcción beneficia al conjunto social y, más particularmente, a los grupos que quieren vincularse a través de ellas. Para su apertura se reúnen los beneficiarios más directos a fin de acordar los planos, el trazo inicial y la distribución del tramo que a cada uno atañe. Los interesados redistribuyen a su vez el costo y la ejecución. Así tenemos que cada día una familia suministra la alimentacion y bebida de todos los trabajadores, al día siguiente otra, y así sucesivamente, hasta dar término a la obra.

En el trabajo intervienen los miembros varones del conjunto clanil, con sus herramientas particulares, y todos contribuyen al suministro de los materiales indispensables. Todos prestan su cooperación, para tener derecho a beneficiarse de la obra, secundariamente, porque en este tiempo recibe alimentación esmerada, aspecto que también los atrae.

En la hechura de casimbas o de represas se tienen en cuenta la utilidad que va a prestar y el vecindario beneficiado, para que éste preste su cooperación, bien como fuerza de trabajo, con ayuda economica, con el sostenimiento de sus trabajadores, o ayuda empírica, en el hallazgo de agua potable.

El sistema que se sigue en esta clase de labores, es muy semejante al anterior. Las familias interesadas se rotan para el sostenimiento; todos los hombres beneficiados contribuyen con su fuerza de trabajo, sus herramientas y los materiales necesarios.

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Respecto de los cementerios clanilos, como sólo interesan al grupo restringido, de igual nominación, son exclusivamente sus miembros los que participan en la construcción, activamente, o costeando el sostenimiento de peones asalariados.

El segundo tipo de trabajos comunales se refiere generalmente a la ejecución de aquellas obras que benefician tan sólo a una familia pequeña, pero para los cuales se solicita la cooperación de los demás, por la imposibilidad en que ésta se encuentra de realizar por sí sola el trabajo que le incumbe. Todos prestan su cooperación de buen gusto y como una obligación que autoriza la reciprocidad cuando el servicio es solicitado. Durante el desarrollo de la obra el guajiro que ha solicitado la ayuda comunal, procura alimentar a los participantes en la mejor forma posible y suministrarles abundante bebida, con lo que espera pagar una parte del servicio prestado. En esta forma se hacen las rozas para la siembra, las cercas de las sementeras, el cultivo de la parcela, la recolección de las cosechas y la construcción de las viviendas. El indio que necesita la ayuda de los demás para la ejecución de un trabajo personal, avisa con anticipación a sus amigos y parientes la fecha de su iniciación y solicita su cooperación. Mientras tanto, en la casa se preparan abundantes alimentos para este tiempo y bebida en cantidad considerable: chicha mascada de yuca brava o de maíz, y cada guajiro que decide prestar su colaboración trae las herramientas adecuadas para el trabajo y llega desde el amanecer. Por la noche regresa a su vivienda, después de trabajar todo el día, y generalmente borracho debido a las grandes cantidades de chicha o de ron que ha ingerido. Este ciclo se sucede diariamente, por todo el tiempo que se haga necesario, para dar remate al trabajo. El dueño de casa o uno de los concurrentes de mayor experiencia, asume la dirección de todas las actividades y da órdenes que se cumplen rápidamente. Tomemos como ejemplo el caso de la construcción de la vivienda. Para ello se localizan de antemano en los bosques de propiedad clanil o en los baldíos, los materiales vegetales necesarios, y se solicitan previamente los servicios de un individuo que conozca la manera de construír las casas. Bajo su dirección se realiza el trabajo. Entonces, según la habilidad de cada uno, se reparten las tareas: unos preparan el *yotojoro*[1] que servirá de techo; otros lo hacen, mientras algunos más recubren las paredes con la corteza del trupillo, con tallos de gramínea o con bahareque, según la región y el gusto. De esta manera,

[1] Parte leñosa del cactus llamado cardón.

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en poco tiempo se da remate a la obra. Forma semejante adquiere la excavación de un pozo o la construcción de una represa para aguas lluvias.

Cuando se trata de la preparación de los terrenos para la siembra o de cualquier otro trabajo agrícola, la actividad se desenvuelve en forma idéntica. Algunos van y prestan su servicio a un amigo, para que una vez terminada la ocupación en las tierras agrícolas de éste, se realice con su retribución inmediata el laboreo en la parcela del primero. El guajiro tiene muy en cuenta a las personas que se niegan a prestar su cooperación en un momento de estos, para luégo, cuando éste solicite su ayuda, negársela también.

Hay un tipo de actividad comunal por parte de las mujeres y es el que hace referencia al trabajo de masticación que ellas pueden prestar en la preparación de la chicha de yuca brava o de maíz para cualquier fiesta, o en vísperas de un trabajo comunal masculino. En tales ocasiones se solicitan los servicios de las mujeres, quienes concurren halagadas por el trabajo que van a realizar, en virtud de que, una vez terminado, reciben como retribución ron o chicha, y de que pueden comer a hurtadillas buenas cantidades de yuca o de bollos de maíz mientras desempeñan el oficio. Los dos tipos de trabajo comunales ofrecen diferencias substanciales entre sí: El primero beneficia a toda la comunidad o por lo menos a un conjunto clanil, en tanto que el segundo sólo puede hacer referencia a un individuo y a sus familiares inmediatos. La participación del individuo y de la familia en los trabajos comunales verdaderos, adquiere en algunos casos el carácter de obligación inherente a la posición de miembro de una agrupación clanil. En otros, su cooperación depende del beneficio que de ella pueda derivar: participación en cementerios, pozos de abastecimiento de agua, etc.

En el segundo tipo, por el contrario, el individuo participante no deriva provecho de la obra en sí, sino de la reciprocidad de cooperación que el beneficiado debe dar a cada uno de los que lo ayudan. La negativa a participar no incluye infracción a una norma que lo puede marginar de la sociedad. La obra resultante del trabajo cooperativo de varios grupos adquiere por esta razón el carácter de comunal en su utilización. En el segundo caso, es propiedad privada individual o familiar.

Para el primero el guajiro da su aporte en fuerza de trabajo, préstamo de herramientas, sostenimiento de trabajadores, entrega de materiales de construcción, etc. Para el segundo fuerza de trabajo y herramientas, nada más, porque el mantenimiento corre por cuenta del beneficiado.

Trabajo doméstico.—La división de las actividades por sexos es una de las primeras clasificaciones que pueden hacerse en la Guajira en relación con el trabajo doméstico. Hemos de tener en cuenta que esta separación tradicional se halla sometida a un cumplimiento estricto, por cuanto que el ejercicio de la actividad contraria a la acostumbrada para cada sexo, resta valor a la personalidad de quien la ejecuta. Y para no verse objeto de las burlas de los demás el hombre y la mujer guajiros, procuran no desempeñar ninguna función anexa al sexo contrario, ni siquiera como diversión, como es el caso de los niños, que no pueden realizar juegos de entretenimiento que no sean los adscritos a su sexo.

Son tradicionalmente trabajos masculinos todos los que se refieren al cuidado y pastoreo nómade de las diversas clases de ganado. Cada guajiro poseedor de ganados o que los tiene "en cuido" (giro que indica que ha recibido de otro indio un rebaño para que lo pastoree, en cambio de lo cual recibe un pago), se levanta de madrugada con sus sobrinos o hijos y lleva los ganados en busca de pastos. Durante el día los cuida de cerca para evitar que sean robados por el hombre o por los animales carniceros. Cuando llega la tarde les da de beber en las casimbas o jagüeyes y los recoge en los corrales de la casa, después de verificar la presencia de todos. Anexas a estas actividades están por ejemplo la curación de los animales enfermos, la postura del hierro o de la marca, la consecución de un piache que trate mágicamente los animales atacados por las pestes, la domación de potros para convertirlos en animales de silla o de carga; la fabricación de los aperos necesarios, desde las monturas con arneses, hasta la cordelería con sus variantes diversas; y, por último, el sacrificio de los animales, con excepción de las aves de corral.

Otra actividad tradicional masculina es la caza. Desde niños, los guajiros se ejercitan en piezas menores, lo que constituye, por otra parte, un entrenamiento bélico, puesto que exige el dominio de las armas. En las expediciones de caza no pueden intervenir ni las mujeres, ni los niños.

Vinculadas a esta actividad están: la fabricación de armas, que comprende la hechura del arco, de las flechas, de las guardas para la mano y de las diversas cóntras, a fin de hacer fácil y abundante la caza; construcción y colocación de las trampas, empleadas como defensa de las sementeras contra los animales dañinos o como sistema para cobrar piezas de caza comestibles.

La pesca, actividad relativamente pequeña en la vida económica guajira, corresponde también al hombre. Su ejercicio se limita a la obtención de algunas especies comestibles o a la extracción de ostras para el comercio de las perlas, y, como en la caza, es el hombre el que fabrica los aparejos e implementos indispensables.

Las labores agrícolas se hallan repartidas entre los dos sexos. Al hombre corresponden la preparación de los terrenos de siembra: roza, desbroce y quema, y los trabajos de desyerbo y aporque. A pesar de que la colocación de la semilla en el hoyo es tarea femenina, son los hombres los que siembran determinados vegetales, porque según la creencia mágica, estas plantas sembradas por la mujer no dan buena cosecha en calidad ni cantidad; tales son, por ejemplo, los frutales y las plantas rastreras como la patilla, el melón, la calabaza, la ahuyama, etc., y es función también masculina, la cerca de las parcelas agrícolas.

La migración de muchos elementos masculinos a Venezuela y a otras regiones circunvecinas de la Península, por las condiciones climaticas ya expresadas, ha hecho permisible la intervención de la mujer en las faenas agrícolas privativas del hombre.

El hombre guajiro es el que construye la vivienda. En forma comunal obtiene la mano de obra que a cada uno hace falta y de esta manera acarrea los materiales y edifica la casa sin que intervenga para nada la mujer.

En los ratos de ocio, o durante las horas más calurosas del día, mientras descansa en sus chinchorros, el guajiro joven se dedica a tallar anillos, cuentas de collar o de brazalete, amuletos o figuritas para suspender del cuello o las manos y que constituyen una entrada económica, utilizando para ello mangos de cepillos, peinillas de material plástico, cuernos de ovinos y caprinos, corteza de coco y coral. Durante este tiempo, o en cualquier oportunidad, hace capelladas para sus sandalias, valiéndose de un pequeño telar. Esta ocupación tiene fines lucrativos, en las poblaciones donde tal artículo es de fácil salida.

El muchacho guajiro tiene a su cargo la talla de las totumas empleadas como utensilios domésticos, y son también los hombres los que hacen los sombreros y las coronas o *kidra* que aún usan los indios puros en sus fiestas, como adorno.

Como la guerra es una actividad esencialmente masculina, corresponde a los hombres la fabricación de las armas utilizadas en ella, flechas y venenos, son los de valor mágico.

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Los jefes de cada familia, y en su ausencia los hijos, en orden cronológico, o los sobrinos hijos de hermana, son los que tienen a su cargo la ordenación y dirección de los trabajos diarios, especialmente cuando se dispone de mano de obra no libre, comunal, o se utiliza fuerza de trabajo esclavizada.

También podemos considerar como ocupaciones masculinas en la Guajira la participación en los trabajos comunales y de ayuda mutua como hechura de pozos, represas, cementerios, caminos, etc.

La mujer, por su parte, tiene a su cuidado múltiples actividades, entre las cuales podemos destacar como principales las siguientes:

El Tejido.—Esta actividad comprende el hilado, el teñido y la fabricación de la tela propiamente. En la actualidad esta ocupación está en franca decadencia, sobre todo en lo que se refiere al hilado, porque la facilidad de adquirir hilazas importadas hace casi innecesario y gravoso el trabajo. En lo tocante al tejido propiamente dicho, las telas de procedencia foráneas y el comercio de telas colombianas, proporcionan al natural, especialmente a la mujer, vestidos de pintas variadas y calidades diversas, lo que ha provocado la limitación de esta actividad femenina en cuanto se relaciona al empleo de sus productos para el vestido. Pero, de otro lado, la adquisición de nuevas técnicas y la perfección de las autóctonas en la Escuela de la Misión Capuchina, han permitido mayor desarrollo del tejido de hamacas, chinchorros y mochilas que, fuera de las necesidades domésticas, alcanzan buena cotización en los mercados de fuera de la Península y aun dentro de ella, proporcionando de este modo a la mujer una fuente apreciable de ingreso. Por otra parte, ciertas prendas como la faja del guajiro, tradicionalmente usadas por los hombres y confeccionadas en el hogar, no han podido ser substituidas y tienen que ser elaboradas por los parientes maternos o por la esposa.

Dentro de estas supervivencias debemos agregar, además, las blusas usadas por las niñas en la edad prepuberal.

La aplicación de los tejidos femeninos se extiende a la fabricación de algunas partes de los aperos de caballerías: cinchas, sobrecinchas y pellones, grupas, etc., en las que utilizan diversas técnicas y sistemas autóctonos y de transculturación.

Mientras la fabricación de monturas es privativa del hombre, corresponde a la mujer la confección de los adornos de las mismas y de las jáquimas y tapojos, con el complicado sistema de nudos y borlas que dan indicio de la categoría y riqueza del jinete.

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Por último, es tarea estrictamente femenina la hechura de todo el utillaje empleado en el trabajo de los tejidos, desde el tipo más elemental de telar constituido por dos estacas verticales, para la confección del clásico chinchorro indio, hasta los más complicados, como son los destinados al tejido de hamacas de doble faz; y desde el huso de madera, hasta los tintes vegetales y los mordientes utilizados en el teñido del tejido o del hilo.

Ocupación también femenina es la que se relaciona con los trabajos domésticos, que incluye la adquisición y el proceso de preparación de los alimentos y bebidas, y la repartición, almacenamiento y conservación, lo mismo que el sacrificio de los mamíferos pequeños y de las aves domésticas y la limpieza y condimentación de los intestinos y demás vísceras de vacunos, ovinos y caprinos.

Dentro de la vivienda guajira, la mujer mantiene la limpieza y el arreglo, y se encarga, además, de la confección, de la reparación y lavado de las prendas de vestir que usan ellas, su marido y sus hijos.

El cuidado de los niños menores ocupa mucho tiempo a la mujer guajira (Cf. Cap. II) lo mismo que su educación y son funciones exclusivas de las mujeres, la atención y enseñanza de las muchachas durante el tradicional encierro de pubertad. También a ellas corresponde la enseñanza de labores femeninas a las jóvenes parientas consanguíneas.

La mujer se hace cargo generalmente del cuidado de los enfermos del hogar, bien cuando están sometidos a tratamiento por el piache, o en los casos comunes. Permanecen a su lado y les prodigan todas las atenciones necesarias.

Dos funciones generales debe cumplir en el hogar la mujer guajira, funciones que adquieren mayor o menor interés e importancia según la categoría a que pertenezca. Una de ellas hace referencia al cumplimiento adecuado de las actividades del hogar en su conjunto, que debera realizar personalmente o ayudada por sus hijas y por otras parientas consanguíneas con quienes conviva, o secundada por criadas, siervas o esclavas. En el primer caso, se reparten de común acuerdo todas las actividades, y en el segundo, debe hacerse cargo de la ordenación, vigilancia y dirección de todas ellas y del personal que la secunda.

La segunda de estas funciones es la de satisfacer a cabalidad las normas tradicionales de cortesía y hospitalidad: atenciones que se deben prodigar en alojamiento, alimentos, etc., a todo visitante que llega a la vivienda guajira, por la categoría del huésped, por los lazos de amistad o de sangre que lo vinculan con los moradores, y por la retribución que se dé por atenciones similares recibidas anteriormente y a las cuales el pre-

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tigio exige corresponder en igual o mayor intensidad. En todo esto tanto la mujer encuentra el apoyo de sus parientes consanguíneos y de la servidumbre femenina que tiene a su disposición. Por otra parte, cada esposa cumple personalmente con su marido o familiares masculinos determinadas atenciones de hospitalidad y vigilancia (cuando es jefe) que la cultura exige a cada una de ellas y que, a más de no poderlas delegar, tienen el carácter de obligatorias dentro de la vida conyugal.

Regularmente el hombre jefe de un hogar, dirige las actividades familiares que se deben realizar cada día en las diversas órdenes de trabajo. Lo hace personalmente o secundado por sus parientes y servidumbre. Cuando están ausentes el hombre jefe del hogar y sus hijos varones, corresponde a su esposa dirigir todas las actividades que están en manos de su marido, o ejecutarlas, lo mismo que pudieran hacerlo los varones.

Encontramos que algunas de las actividades femeninas se desarrollan conjuntamente con el hombre, como sucede en la agricultura, en la cual la participación femenina está en la colocación de la semilla en el hoyo que con tal fin hace el hombre con el palo del sembrador (se exceptúan las plantas rastreras y las frutales), la recolección total de frutas cuando la maduración es completa, o paulatinamente, a medida que el fruto va sazonando. Fuera de estas actividades regulares, la mujer recolecta los frutos silvestres comestibles que durante el verano constituyen, en algunas regiones, casi la única fuente de abastecimiento. Por otra parte, recogen los productos forestales que el blanco les compra, como el dividivi, y que constituyen un ingreso monetario.

El transporte es una actividad que tradicionalmente ha cumplido la mujer guajira. Antes de la cría de animales de carga, lo hacía personalmente. Hoy puede decirse que es raro el hogar que no dispone de un animal, generalmente un asno, sobre el cual transportan de un lugar a otro los hijos pequeños, las provisiones y utensilios, etc., que necesitan. Sin embargo, actualmente se ven todavía familias que carecen de estos medios de transporte y tienen que utilizar la fuerza de trabajo femenino.

La cerámica también es una actividad que se asigna a la mujer. En las regiones donde las materias primas son abundantes y de calidad, las mujeres de algunas familias se dedican a este oficio en el que llegan a adquirir un conveniente perfeccionamiento; la técnica es trasmitida de generación en generación, de suerte que se convierte en ocupación tradicional familiar.

Cuando las familias de ceramistas se ven forzadas a emigrar a los centros urbanos, llevan hasta allí, desde las fuentes originales, la materia

prima necesaria para su trabajo. Provees de semillas domésticas a su familia y les sirve de objeto de trueque con los demás.

Los conocimientos empíricos de las propiedades curativas y mágicas de las plantas son poseídos, fuera del piache, por algunas mujeres que viven generalmente en los lugares en que el contacto con el blanco es menos sensible. Ellas transmiten a los descendientes dichos conocimientos, solo comúnmente a la hija mayor.

La atención de la mujer en el momento del parto ha sido asignada culturalmente también a las mujeres (Cf. matrimonial). No obstante, en contados casos el marido puede intervenir en el alumbramiento con prestación de servicios secundarios, pero por solicitud de la parturienta o de la partera.

Cuando los niños de poco tiempo adquieren enfermedades de tipo gastro-intestinal, es costumbre en la Guajira que se soliciten los servicios de una mujer, que trata de adivinar, en diversas características de los excrementos, la causa mágica de la enfermedad.

El tatuaje, usado generalmente para llevar la marca de los diversos clanes y, otra clase de dibujos, en algunas ocasiones iniciales o nombres, es actividad que realizan las mujeres guajiras.

Trabajo remunerado.—Esta forma de trabajo, consecuencia del proceso de transculturación, se desarrolla especialmente en las zonas urbanas y en sus alrededores y no quebranta la distribución tradicional de las actividades por sexos sino que se subordina a ella, de manera que el hombre trabaja como asalariado en las labores propias de su sexo y lo mismo hacen las mujeres.

Dentro de las ocupaciones remunerativas a que se dedica el guajiro, podemos señalar las siguientes:

a) *La pesca de perlas*, en las zonas en donde las ostras son muy abundantes, como en los puertos de Cardón, Ahuyama y Carrizal. El indígena pesca por su cuenta y vende las perlas en el comercio libre o trabaja como asalariado a las órdenes de un blanco o de un mestizo que contrata sus servicios de buzo. Participa, por otra parte, en la pesca de [illegible] y otras especies en la zona costera del norte, aunque en forma esporádica, a fin de vender por propia cuenta el producto de su trabajo, o como ayudante remunerado de los blancos que se dedican a este oficio con fines lucrativos.

b) *Como braceros.*—En algunos puertos donde el movimiento de cargue y descargue de los barcos tienen cierta importancia, como sucede en Puerto Estrella y en Riohacha, es el indígena el que, provisto de un bote de su propiedad o perteneciente a un comerciante de mercancías, se compromete a llevar la carga a tierra desde el barco o viceversa. Colabora especialmente en el movimiento comercial de contrabando, que es la base de la vida económica de estos puertos.

c) *Mecánica.*—El guajiro tiene especial capacidad para el aprendizaje de trabajos manuales y mecánicos. Esto hace que se habilite rápidamente como ayudante de carros y sea como chofer en las vías que cruzan la Península, la vecina república de Venezuela y la zona de las plantaciones bananeras. Esta actividad goza de particular predilección por el indígena.

d) *Como peón agrícola.*—Otra parte de la mano de obra guajira encuentra ocupación en las actividades agropecuarias, aunque las faenas propiamente agrícolas no tengan especial atracción para el aborígen. Sin embargo, las realiza en las dehesas de Riohacha, hacia la zona de la Ramada "Provincia" (Departamento del Magdalena) y en Venezuela, con más intensidad.

Dentro de la Península el guajiro realiza estas actividades en forma de ayuda mutua, y sólo en contados casos como actividad remunerativa o asalariada en las haciendas de las familias de mestizos o de naturales ricos. En la ganadería existe una forma remunerativa especial para el guajiro pobre que cuida los rebaños de otro de mayores posibilidades económicas. Esta forma consiste en que los animales son entregados inventariados por su dueño para que sean pastoreados, a cambio del usufructo de los productos de la ganadería: la leche, los cueros y carne de los que mueren —algunas cría— y, esporádicamente, un poco de maíz, tela para una manta, etc. Como vemos, ofrece una forma especial de remuneración.

e) *Como obrero asalariado.*—El indígena trabaja en las salinas del Banco de la República establecidas en la costa norte de la Guajira. Siguiendo la tradicional repartición del trabajo por sexos, el hombre pica y saca fuera de la salina los terrones de sal y encomienda a la mujer el resto de la ocupación. Recibe no un jornal diario sino un pago acorde con la tarea realizada en el día. Trabaja también como jornalero, bien como particular, o del Gobierno en sus diversas dependencias, desempeñando oficios

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cios como los de alfabil, vendedor, ayudante en la fábrica de ladrillos, quema de cal y de carbón, acarreo de materiales, excavación de pozos en la sección de Provisión de Agua, o mandadero y sirviente en las casas de los "civilizados" en los centros urbanos.

f) *Por oficio.*—Hace en su casa, durante las horas de sol o de ocio, objetos que puede vender a sus coterráneos o a los blancos, como aperos y arcos, figuritas de cortezas de coco y de materiales plásticos, collares, machetes, sandalias, arcos, sombreros, etc.

Fuera de la profesión de pische, en la que ambos sexos tienen participación, y de la de adivino, encontramos el oficio de compositor, que exige cualidades personales, ya enumeradas en el capítulo correspondiente y que da al individuo que lo ejercita no sólo un prestigio entre sus parientes y conocidos, sino derecho a una remuneración.

También ha llegado a constituir un oficio remunerativo la hechura de guépagas y sillas de montar; aunque algunas mujeres participan acertadamente en su elaboración, la cultura las considera como intrusas, porque ésta es una actividad concedida tradicionalmente al sexo masculino.

Fruto de la aculturación con el blanco y propiciado por la civilización y la vecindad a Venezuela y la decadencia de las actividades económicas tradicionales, es el desarrollo de la actividad comercial en el guajiro. A ella se dedica, no tanto el aborigen puro, cuanto el mestizo de posibilidades económicas; hay que anotar el hecho de que la mujer, en las mismas condiciones, participa activamente en la explotación de esta fuente económica. Van a Curaçao y a Aruba, consiguen mercancía barata a crédito, que entran de contrabando y la venden en Colombia, siguiendo la vía de Riohacha o de Valledupar, o continúa su ruta a Venezuela. Algunas no intervienen directamente como proveedores de la mercancía sino como transportadoras a través de la Península, hasta llevarla al puerto requerido.

Las mujeres consiguen trabajos remunerativos, especialmente en actividades de tipo doméstico, como cuidado de niños, confección de alimentos, acarreo de agua y de leña, aseo, etc. Trabajan en calidad de criadas, con la obligación de permanecer en la casa donde prestan sus servicios. La guajira no se dedica de buen grado a estas ocupaciones, pues prefiere la vida libre de su hogar —aunque la alimentación escasee— a esta clase de trabajos que, aunque satisfacen sus necesidades básicas, le imponen una disciplina a que ella no está acostumbrada. Por eso buscan la manera de combinar los dos sistemas y venden leña y agua en los centros urbanos, hacen mandados, lavan ropas, hacen basuras, venden carbón, le-

che y algunas comestibles, o cocinan en alguna casa, pero regresan por la tarde al hogar, una enramada en los alrededores de la población.

Hacia la costa norte de la Península, en los terrenos boscosos de esta zona, se produce el dividivi en suficientes cantidades para que la mujer guajira lo recolecte y lo venda a los blancos, que lo envían al exterior.

Interviene también la mujer en el trabajo de las salinas, como lo vimos, para ayudar al marido en el transporte de la carga.

Las mujeres de Jarara han sido las principales elaboradoras de la cerámica, porque tienen a su disposición materias primas abundantes que faltan en otras regiones. Por esta razón, hoy día tratan de abastecer toda la Península, haciendo un stock considerable con el cual recorren el territorio y obtienen por su trueque o por su venta una remuneración adecuada.

Los tejidos, como ya lo dijimos, suministran a la mujer una fuente de ingresos. Algunas indias y mestizas pudientes han organizado una división del trabajo, estimuladas por el pedido de chinchorros, hamacas y mochilas, en los mercados de Maracaibo y de algunas poblaciones del departamento del Magdalena.

Estas mujeres, conocedoras de las condiciones del mercado, arman en su casa el chinchorro con los colores de moda y las medidas reglamentarias. Con un diseño de su creación, o copiado de una revista, lo entregan a una guajira pobre que lo lleva a su casa y lo arma en su propio telar para trabajar en él durante el tiempo libre. Una vez elaborada la parte central, la dueña lo pasa a una obrera experta en tejidos de remate, y una tercera hace de curricán, pita o piola, las agarraderas. Mientras se elaboran estas partes, sucesivamente, se ha ordenado la fabricación del flaco, de acuerdo con el color de los motivos decorativos del centro, a una o dos mujeres, las cuales, algunas veces, complementan el trabajo haciendo las borlas que lo adornan. Cada una de estas obreras está dirigida por la dueña y de ella recibe la materia prima. Hacen el trabajo en las casas respectivas. Se paga la obra terminada, de acuerdo con el trabajo y la calidad y no con el tiempo utilizado. El producto acabado es de la dueña de la materia prima, que puede venderlo a su acomodo. Los utensilios empleados pertenecen a la obrera. Otra forma corriente es la fabricación del tejido por cuenta propia, lo que hacen algunas mujeres pobres, y luego lo venden a otra mujer rica que tiene facilidades para hacer llegar el producto a los mercados. Siempre la pieza es vendida a un precio menor, para dar al intermediario un margen de ganancia.

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Una tercera forma es la que consiste en recibir pedidos y tejer personalmente, o con obreras asalariadas que llevan a sus casas, hamacas, chinchorros, mochilas o arcones, por pedido previo de los comerciantes.

Una ocupación que permite a la mujer guajira obtener algunos ingresos, es la de modista. Las guajiras aprenden a coser las mantas de uso masculino y femenino y demás prendas de vestir y atienden no sólo a las necesidades del hogar y de sus familiares, sino también a los pedidos de particulares.

En las Sierras de Jarara y de Macuira y en otros lugares apartados de los centros urbanos, algunas mujeres viejas conocen las virtudes curativas y mágicas de algunas plantas. Tales conocimientos transmitidos familiarmente en la persona de la hija mayor, son muy solicitados y remunerados de acuerdo con la importancia del pedido, su eficacia y el prestigio de quien lo otorga o lo pide.

Otro oficio es el de la partera que recibe una remuneración acorde con su habilidad y con las posibilidades de quien solicita el servicio.

Trabajo no libre.—Es el realizado por la mano de obra servil o esclavista. Ver capítulo *Esclavitud y servidumbre*

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CONCLUSIONES

I

La cultura y la sociedad guajira no pueden mirarse ya como cuerpos homogéneos. Una y otra han estado sometidas a las influencias de contacto con otras civilizaciones de manifestaciones y de contenido humano distintos a los suyos, que han dejado marcada la huella de su paso en las transformaciones de las instituciones y de los individuos. Este proceso que, podemos suponer, se inició desde antes de la Conquista por las relaciones con otros grupos indígenas circunvecinos del vecino departamento del Magdalena y de la república colindante de Venezuela, se aceleró a partir de la Colonia y ha ido creciendo su ritmo, en progresión que podríamos llamar geométrica, con el avance y el desarrollo de la República colombiana, sobre todo en los últimos períodos de su historia cuando las corrientes migratorias se dejan sentir con mayor intensidad a todo lo largo y lo ancho de su territorio por causas que no mencionaremos puesto que no pertenecen a la índole de este trabajo.

De todos modos, el mestizaje racial y cultural es uno de los factores más importantes en el estudio de la Guajira. Sus instituciones y patrones culturales primarios —entendidos por tal los tradicionales—, como se habrá podido notar en el contenido de este trabajo, están condicionados en parte por las formas culturales nuevas recibidas a través de los choques de los diferentes grupos que se han incrustado pacífica o violentamente en su seno. Primero, los conquistadores españoles, luego, los comerciantes europeos que aprovecharon el comercio de perlas de los indígenas guajiros; más tarde, los colonos también españoles que establecieron sus haciendas en las regiones de contacto con la Península, y, por último, los grupos mestizos —negroides en su generalidad— de las costas colombiana y venezolana, que son los que han influido más directamente en los cambios sociales y culturales del guajiro, en razón de disponer en la actualidad de una buena red de comunicaciones aéreas, terrestres y marítimas que surcan todo el territorio habitado por estos indios, tanto a partir de las poblaciones del departamento del Magdalena, como del otro centro

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urbano dominante de la región, Maracaibo, en la vecina república de Venezuela.

Hay que agregar a estos factores, que podríamos llamar inconscientes o involuntarios, otros que no lo son, tales como la influencia Misional y la de las escuelas para indígenas que, aunque muy pocas todavía para el número de habitantes de la Península, han marcado definitivamente normas de cultura de una civilización distinta a la autóctona, sobre todo en lo que hace referencia a la religión. Pues, como lo anotaba mi esposo en su trabajo sobre *Aspectos de la Magia en la Guajira*, publicado en el número anterior de esta revista, ésta —la magia—, aunque condiciona y determina muchos de los patrones culturales del indígena, sus modos de reacción y de pensamiento, han ido perdiendo terreno cada día a medida que se inculcan en el individuo las nuevas nociones de la Religión Católica; y, su representante más genuino, el piache u hombre medicina, ha perdido en gran parte su valor como dirigente espiritual de la comunidad y queda reducido hoy a un simple curandero que se ve combatido desigualmente por los médicos que llegan a la Península, hasta el punto de que "si el servicio médico e higiénico de la Guajira se intensificara por parte del gobierno colombiano, el piache, en cuestión de pocos años, terminaría como institución en la Península, y la mayor parte de las creencias mágicas de estos indígenas, relativas sobre todo a la enfermedad y la muerte, desaparecerían del conjunto y permanecerían sólo como manifestaciones folklóricas que recordarían su presencia en tiempos anteriores".

Por otra parte, estos dos factores han determinado cambios apreciables en otra de las más fuertes instituciones aborígenes: el matrimonio. Como lo habrá podido notar el lector, el capítulo que dedicamos a este aspecto social es tal vez el más extenso del estudio que acabamos de presentar, lo que se debe, no a mayor acopio de datos en este sentido, sino a su relevante importancia dentro del conjunto de instituciones culturales. De él se derivan, en forma directa, los conceptos de familia, de status, educación, etc., y con él se relacionan también fenómenos tan destacados como el clan. De otro lado, muchas de las normas del derecho consuetudinario se dirigen a la vida marital. La quiebra del matrimonio tradicional, ha traído como consecuencia, tal como lo afirmamos en las partes correspondientes, la quiebra de las instituciones que se ligan directa o indirectamente a él. Los más grandes cambios sufridos en la cultura guajira, se deben a las transformaciones sufridas en las formas matrimoniales, por la transculturación de los últimos tiempos.

II

Pero la acción de la transculturación no ha sido unilateral, es decir, no es sólo el guajiro el que ha sentido la influencia de los grupos mestizos, sino que, a su turno, les ha impuesto también algunas de sus pautas culturales que, como es lógico, se ligan con los tres aspectos más característicos de su cultura: el matrimonio, la magia y el idioma. Porque es cierto que los extraños —entendiendo por tales a los no guajiros— que penetran a su territorio, se ven en la obligación apremiante de aprender el idioma guajiro para sus transacciones comerciales y aun amistosas con el indígena, so pena de fracasar en sus intentos, porque, aunque el indígena, por regla general conoce el idioma castellano y lo domina relativamente, se niega, sin embargo, a hacer uso frecuente de él. Puede observarse en el comercio de Uribia, la capital de la Comisaría, que los establecimientos de comercio más visitados por el indio son aquellos cuyo dueño utiliza el guajiro para sus conversaciones y negocios. Y, los llamados "caciques", que en términos generales no son otra cosa que mestizos guajiros o extraños que han adquirido buena posición económica en la Guajira, no alcanzan su grado de prestigio sino cuando dominan completamente el idioma, con sus giros convencionales para las ocasiones solemnes y con el empleo de las palabras más convincentes, como lo dijimos en el capítulo correspondiente.

Vimos también en el aparte correspondiente del Matrimonio, cómo el individuo que llega a la Guajira y se ve en la necesidad de tomar mujer, tiene dos caminos para hacerlo: seguir la norma tradicional de la Guajira, es decir, comprar la mujer de acuerdo con el pago convencional de acuerdo con los padres de la misma, y sometido a toda la reglamentación vigente al respecto, o casarse por la Iglesia Católica, haciendo en este caso que la mujer rompa con todas las normas de su cultura y con su sociedad, hasta el punto de no ser considerada como miembro de la misma y, por lo tanto, verse excluida de todas las garantías que esa misma sociedad puede darle en casos de apremio o de conflicto con su marido o con otros grupos distintos a la agrupación clanil suya. El caso es que, aunque muchos optan por la segunda fórmula, la mayoría se casan por el ritual guajiro aun cuando introduzcan ciertas reformas y muchas veces no cumplan con todas las leyes y obligaciones que se derivan de la institución prima del matrimonio tradicional guajiro.

Siendo el elemento humano de las costas colombiana y venezolana negroide en su mayoría, como lo acabamos de decir, y por tanto con un

pasado de tradiciones supersticiosas y mágicas bastante considerable, lógico es que se deje influir fácilmente por las creencias de la misma índole que dominan la mentalidad guajira. Es por ello por lo que estos elementos son tan acuciosos en la compra de cierta clase de *cántras* mágicas y tan severos en la observancia de ciertas normas de conducta relacionadas con el conjunto de prácticas mágicas guajiras.

III

La cultura, pues, ha sufrido cambios apreciables que desfiguran considerablemente la conformación tradicional. Pero este cambio no ha sido aislado. Ha marchado al unísono con una transformación, también notoria, de la sociedad. El mestizaje racial, como el cultural, se inició por la época de la Colonia, según lo afirman los cronistas de este tiempo, no sólo con los blancos que interferían el territorio en expediciones de conquista o de comercio, sino con los negros que tomaron los indígenas como esclavos, a cambio de sus perlas, cada vez que los barcos negreros arribaban a sus costas. Esta mezcla se siguió sucediendo de manera esporádica, dadas las características de ferocidad indomeñable de la Guajira a través de toda la Colonia, y se aceleró, como el intercambio cultural, en los últimos tiempos, por las causas ya anotadas.

Esto no quiere decir, naturalmente, que la composición racial de la Península Guajira sea exclusivamente mestiza —mezcla de indios con blancos, mestizos, negros y mulatos—, pues todavía el más alto porcentaje en esta relación corresponde al indígena puro, muy especialmente en los lugares que menos contacto han tenido con la civilización, como sucede en la Sierra de Jarara, para cuyos habitantes existe un término muy generalizado en todo el territorio: *cerreros;* es decir, indios puros en la más amplia acepción de la palabra: indios que conservan tanto sus características físicas, como psíquicas y culturales, inalterables.

El cruzamiento, como sucede en todos los casos que hemos podido observar de sociedades dominadas por otras culturas, se ha efectuado tomando como aporte del dominado el elemento femenino y como aporte del dominador el elemento masculino. Muy contados son los casos en que sucede lo contrario. Por lo demás, esto parece ser una ley general, por lo menos para las comunidades americanas, sometidas al influjo de la invasión europea, manifestada en distintas formas según la época a que ella se haga referencia.

Tan fuertes eran las instituciones guajiras tradicionales, que los cambios en la composición social no afectaron en principio sus pautas culturales. Los nuevos elementos se adaptaban perfectamente a las normas de vida del indígena, y hacían vida común con ellos, no diferenciándose más que en su tipo físico, resultado del mestizaje, y en alguna que otra manifestación cultural impuesta por el padre, si éste permanecía en la Península. Aún hoy, muchos de los elementos mestizos de la Guajira siguen los caminos de vida del indio, con la aceptación voluntaria de sus normas, con la sujeción a sus leyes y con la aprobación y participación en todos los momentos trascendentales de su vida. Muchas veces se puede observar en ellos una apariencia de "civilizado" —es decir de extraño a la cultura guajira— por su presentación externa y por algunas formas de su conducta; pero, en cuanto se penetra un poco en ellos, o se los observa en uno de sus momentos de borrachera, todo el ancestro indígena se renueva y el mestizo que parecía un "blanco", se convierte en un indio, el más puro.

IV

Pero el proceso de la transculturación marcó, como en los casos de la cultura y de la sociedad, formas nuevas, definitivas en el individuo, que van conformando sus maneras de sentir y de pensar, que van condicionando sus respuestas a nuevas pautas, fruto de la mezcla entre lo tradicional y lo extraño. Y no podía ser de otra manera, dada la interacción existente entre estos tres elementos componentes del grupo: cultura, sociedad e individuo. Por lo mismo, la personalidad del guajiro es hoy un problema bastante serio de aclarar, dado que en la Península, como lo hemos venido viendo a través de esta conclusión, conviven individuos y aun grupos enteros que conservan intacto el acervo cultural primario, con individuos y grupos que han adaptado sus sistemas de vida a un método nuevo, producto de la mezcla de varias culturas. Pero el proceso está en acción y se puede presumir, sin ningún riesgo, la confusión de todos los individuos en torno a los nuevos patrones.

Las formas de reacción del individuo, como lo hemos hecho notar en los primeros capítulos de este estudio, que corresponden a lo que es el *ciclo vital* del individuo en la Guajira, se han ido transformando. Sus respuestas, para las distintas situaciones, han ido cambiando y, por lo mismo, los sistemas de coacción que se relacionan con esas situaciones también han sufrido variaciones en la práctica, como es natural. La mu

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ma moral del indígena se ha resentido en su forma primitiva, porque los conceptos sobre matrimonio, familia, organización social en general, han sido transformados parcialmente por las intrusiones externas. Es claro que a ello han contribuido también, en forma apreciable, los cambios climáticos de los últimos tiempos con sus desastrosas consecuencias, dentro de las cuales caben destacarse la emigración y la prostitución. Pero, la causa fundamental de los cambios en la estructura cultural guajira, están condicionados por los fenómenos de la transculturación.

Es poco menos que imposible para una comunidad primitiva, puesta en contacto con focos de civilización moderna que la circundan y la estrechan cada día más, permanecer inquebrantable en sus sistemas de vida. Es apenas lógico que ella tenga que aceptar técnicas nuevas, sistemas económicos más modernos, ideas más acordes con los nuevos tiempos, y que por tanto se vea forzada a cambiar sus instituciones legendarias, si no de manera consciente, sí en forma inconsciente, y lenta en algunas veces, o violenta en otras. Y este es el caso de la Guajira. Los sistemas de coacción violenta no pudieron quebrantar el espíritu guajiro. Los indígenas supieron conservar su independencia frente a las continuas arremetidas de los españoles y frente a las inclusiones pacíficas de los colonos, pero para ello tuvieron que adoptar sistemas nuevos copiados de sus enemigos: se vieron forzados a utilizar armas de fuego y caballos para la guerra, dos elementos vitales en su independencia; a cambiar las tácticas guerreras, y a quebrar el tradicional aislamiento y la proverbial independencia de las diferentes clanes que componen su sociedad, para unirse en la lucha contra los invasores blancos que anhelaban sus perlas y soñaban con añadir un pueblo más a la cadena que sometían a la Corona Española. Desde entonces, la cultura guajira sintió las influencias extrañas que terminarían por aniquilarla definitivamente, incorporándola a la nacionalidad colombiana.

V

Parece ser que cuando la aculturación era menor, el status adscrito del individuo estaba vinculado a la pertenencia a un clan. Si éste era económicamente fuerte y numeroso en miembros varones, el individuo ocupaba dentro de la sociedad total un puesto determinado. Es decir, había una estratificación clanil que confería a sus miembros, de hecho, la posición correspondiente. Dentro de cada una de estas unidades consanguíneas, había una segunda estratificación, según la cual sus miembros se colocaban de acuerdo, generalmente, con su riqueza personal y con las

condiciones o cualidades particulares físicas, psíquicas y culturales —piache, cacique, etc.—. Un tercer escalonamiento tenía lugar dentro de la familia propiamente dicha, debido a la posición peculiar de cada uno de sus componentes en el seno de la misma. La cabeza de cada una de estas unidades sociales ocupaba el puesto predominante —el tío materno más preponderante— y la graduación iba descendiendo hasta llegar al *shorí* o hijo menor.

Pero en la actualidad, la dispersión clanil operada a instancias de la transculturación cada día mayor, ha ido restando importancia a la estratificación inicial, toda vez que, dentro del territorio peninsular, el mismo clan ocupa ya posiciones o status diversos de acuerdo con cada región en donde se mueva y con los miembros que compongan estas agrupaciones parceladas de la unidad consanguínea primitiva, a lo que contribuye, por otra parte, el hecho de que la propiedad territorial, que antes era absolutamente comunal, se ha ido individualizando paulatinamente para convertirse en privilegio de unas cuantas familias restringidas de las que componen el conjunto clanil. La consecuencia de estos fenómenos de transculturación, es que no es ya el clan el que determina en primera instancia el *status* adscrito del individuo, sino que él está dado, ante todo, por las condiciones personales físico-psíquicas y culturales, y por la unidad familiar restringida a que se pertenece.

Es decir, que en tiempos anteriores el status obraba en función del clan y para el clan, mientras que en la actualidad el status tiene un valor más universal, pues se relaciona con todo el conglomerado social ya que, como dijimos, los clanes se han ido fragmentando y perdiendo su primitiva cohesión, debido a los fenómenos de la transculturación. Sin embargo, también en aquella época había ciertos status individuales que subrepasaban los límites estrechos del clan e invadían la comunidad como conjunto. Tales por ejemplo los casos del *piache* u hombre-medicina que ocupaba dentro de la estratificación general una posición superior en relación con todos los demás, pues su función como intermediario entre dos mundos, el real y el de los espíritus bien y mal intencionados, le confería la posición de verdadero dirigente espiritual, no para un grupo reducido dentro del cual se movían sus parientes consanguíneos totémicos, sino para toda la comunidad, para cada individuo que requiriera sus servicios, para cada familia que precisara su ayuda; todo, claro está, con las consabidas limitaciones que imponían las relaciones interclaníles, sobre todo cuando se rompía el régimen de seguridad y los grupos claníles avocaban la situación de guerra. En un nivel inmediatamente inferior, se encontraba el compone-

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dar o palabra, mal llamado "cacique" en algunas ocasiones, que, también por razón de su oficio como intermediario entre los diferentes grupos que tenían fricciones por violación del régimen de seguridad, traspasaba los límites de su propio clan y su prestigio podía extenderse más allá de las fronteras consanguíneas, pues los grupos económica o numéricamente débiles, recurrían a los servicios de un componedor de grupo alto para que los representara en sus conflictos.

Estos dos status estaban determinados, y aún hoy lo están, por causas distintas. El primero, o sea el de hombre-medicina, era, como lo demostró mi esposo en el estudio antes citado, involuntario por decirlo así, pues eran los espíritus de piaches desaparecidos los que en el momento de éxtasis o ataque de iluminación, le conferían tal potestad que luégo era ratificada por una junta de piaches y de adivinos. El segundo, en cambio, depende ante todo de cualidades personales muy marcadas, tales como el dominio del idioma, posición de riquezas, etc.

Dentro del proceso evolutivo que se cumple en las instituciones guajiras, los términos comienzan a invertirse en el sentido de que hoy es tal vez más importante el cargo de jefe político o componedor que el de piache. El "cacique" es hoy un tipo más universal, más solicitado y más acatado. El piache ha entrado en franca decadencia y va cediendo sus posiciones a los extraños.

Siguiendo la escala descendente de categorías, nos encontramos con el pastor, función que está determinada por un nuevo concepto de riqueza: la ganadería. Exhaustivamente hemos repetido a lo largo de este trabajo el valor esencial de la ganadería nómade en la vida económica de la Península, que ha creado un nuevo concepto en la Guajira, toda vez que riqueza se confunde con el mayor número de ganados que pueda tener un individuo. Por eso, dentro de esta actividad se destaca el que la ejecuta ventajosamente, el que posee más cabezas de ganado mayor y el que dispone de terrenos de propiedad individual o comunal, aptos para la ganadería, es decir, con buenos pastos y con lluvias tempranas y pozos de abastecimiento de agua permanente.

También dentro del concepto económico y como efecto de la transculturación, encontramos las funciones de comerciante y de empleado público. El comerciante, generalmente un mestizo, está vinculado al movimiento de contrabando mercantil que recorre la Península con rumbo a Venezuela con productos agrícolas del departamento del Magdalena, o con artículos elaborados de origen extranjero, introducidos por las islas de Aruba y Curaçao. Su vinculación se debe al conocimiento perfecto que

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tiene del terreno, por una parte, y, por otra, a que en muchas ocasiones es chofer o propietario de vehículos que pone al servicio de los contrabandistas, como socio, o como asalariado. Otras veces lo hace por su propia cuenta, comprando la mercancía de contrabando que moviliza a Venezuela o expende en la Guajira o la traslada al interior de Colombia, siguiendo la ruta del departamento del Magdalena.

También confiere prestigio y constituye por otra parte una entrada económica segura dentro de la movilidad de la vida económico-ganadera de la Guajira, el desempeño de un empleo público gubernamental. Estos cargos administrativos se confieren particularmente a individuos ya prestigiosos dentro de la zona jurisdiccional, con el objetivo de hacer más fácil la tarea administrativa y en ocasiones jurídica, del gobierno comisarial.

El status de cazador fue sin duda de los más importantes, cuando esta actividad representaba una de las fuentes de la vida económica de la Península. Hoy día, rebajado a un segundo plano, persiste sin embargo en la persona del jefe de las expediciones de caza que es el más conocedor de la topografía y de los lugares propicios a esta actividad, que sabe las particularidades alimenticias del animal, las sendas por donde transita y que, por el menor de los detalles, adivina qué pieza de caza es la que está cerca, su tamaño, etc., pues una de las cualidades esenciales es la de ser rastreador hábil. Por otra parte, posee armas adecuadas para cada animal, que deben ser confeccionadas por él mismo, y cóntras mágicas para cada especie, que le proporcionan seguridad y éxito en la operación. Es necesario, además, que conozca en forma perfecta la táctica de caza para distribuir los distintos participantes en la expedición, y que posponga su interés personal al colectivo, para que sus acompañantes reconozcan su generosidad en el reparto de las piezas cobradas.

* * *

Considerado el individuo dentro de la unidad familiar, encontramos también un escalonamiento de status, en orden a la importancia y a la posición de cada uno de ellos dentro del hogar. A la cabeza de todos ellos se encuentra el tío materno mayor, cuyas obligaciones de respaldo económico social a la familia, sobre todo relativas a los sobrinos hijos de hermana, son muy importantes, tal como lo pudimos hacer notar a través de este estudio. El es el jefe familiar y sus decisiones son aceptadas porque asume la responsabilidad absoluta de la familia. De ahí la obligación forzosa en que están todos sus parientes consanguíneos dependientes de él, de acatar

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su voluntad y de supeditarse a sus decisiones. Dada la organización familiar guajira, en la cual se sigue la descendencia matrilineal, el padre es solamente un elemento biológico sin nexos sociales ni familiares con sus hijos. Esto es lo que corresponde a la organización tradicional familiar; pero en la actualidad, el status de tío materno y de padre se hallan en conflicto, y el último tiende a reemplazar al primero en el grupo de familia, debido al cambio del concepto de parentesco que trastorna los cánones legendarios de descendencia matrilineal. De esta manera el status del padre va ascendiendo paulatinamente, con consecuencias sobre las relaciones entre sobrinos e hijos, pues si antes los sobrinos hijos de hermana eran los que atraían la atención de los hombres, ahora son los hijos los que van ocupando este lugar, hasta el extremo de que, como lo mencionamos en el capítulo sobre la *Herencia*, se presentan verdaderos choques entre unos y otros por la participación en los bienes del difunto. Los hijos, dado el nuevo concepto de parentesco entre padre e hijo, surgido sobre todo por la nueva forma matrimonial impuesta por la transculturación, se creen con derechos inalienables sobre las posesiones de su padre a la muerte de éste, con exclusión de los sobrinos maternos que deben someterse también a la misma regla y esperar la herencia, no ya de sus tíos, sino de su propio padre. Por otra parte, el hijo y el padre que, de acuerdo con el sistema de la descendencia uterina podían llegar a convertirse, y se convertían de hecho en enemigos cuando los clanes paterno y materno entraban en conflicto, ahora el hijo toma partido al lado de su padre en la mayoría de los casos y es a su vez representado por él en sus ritos de paso.

Nuevamente, la cuestión matrimonial se hace presente como una de las más importantes, si no la más, de la organización social guajira. Cualquier trastorno sufrido en ella, repercute sobre las demás instituciones tradicionales que no resisten la presión ejercida sobre la primera. Transformado el matrimonio, se transforman automáticamente: la descendencia, la herencia, las relaciones interclaniles, el valor de la mujer, la educación de los hijos, el sentido de parentesco, el derecho de tierras, etc. Tan ligadas están las unas a la otra!

VI

También ha influido la transculturación, como es natural, en el status de la mujer, considerada ella como miembro de la agrupación consanguínea. Tomando la organización tradicional, podemos decir que en ella el status preponderante para la mujer dentro de la familia es el de madre, que es, como si dijéramos, la segunda cabeza del hogar, después del

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tío materno mayor, que es quien orienta y dirige las actividades de la célula. Pero esta valoración unilateral se está transformando en una doble: la de esposa-madre. Aclaremos un poco. Vimos en los capítulos correspondientes, cómo la esposa estaba valorada exclusivamente por la posición suya determinada por el clan materno, valoración que se representaba materialmente en el pago más alto o más bajo que por ella hacía el hombre al tomarla como mujer, de acuerdo con su categoría clanil. Dentro del clan del hombre las relaciones con la mujer se limitaban a la ayuda mutua para el pago de la misma, y a la intervención en las ceremonias preparativas del matrimonio. Pero ningún nexo lo ataba a ella ni a sus hijos, por efectos de la descendencia uterina. Pero en estos momentos la presencia de la mujer de uno de los miembros varones del clan se toma en cuenta, ya que se cumplen con ella ciertas funciones que permiten su incorporación relativa al clan, o, por lo menos, a la familia pequeña del marido. Por su parte, el hombre ha variado su posición frente a ella al no considerarla únicamente como un sér biológico, sino como una compañera. Por esta misma razón el status de *tía materna*, en relacion con los hijos de su hermana, se rebaja, dada la intervención de las tías paternas, antes inoperante, en relación con sus sobrinos por línea masculina.

La mujer, considerada simplemente como componente social, ha alcanzado una posición superior a raíz de los cambios culturales sufridos por la comunidad en su contacto con otras civilizaciones. El avance más importante, tal vez, es la liberación relativa de los cánones claniles, en lo que se relaciona con el matrimonio, pues ya no se somete tan voluntariamente al marido que sus familiares maternos le escojan, sino que tiene el suficiente valor, respaldada por los hechos que se van sucediendo con mayor frecuencia cada vez, de escogerlo a su gusto aun cuando para ello tenga que romper con todos los nexos que la atan a su organización clanil y familiar. Por otra parte adquiere con la institución matrimonial blanca, armas legales para combatir la poligamia.

VII

Anotadas ya de manera esquemática las distintas influencias de la transculturación en el individuo, en la sociedad y en la cultura guajiras, y vistos a través de este estudio los esquemas del ciclo vital del individuo y algunas de las instituciones sociales más características de la comunidad, podemos referirnos ahora, de manera general, a la conformacion del status del indígena en sus diversos aspectos.

Los puntos de referencia del status individual en la Guajira para un peninsular, se pueden enumerar en los siguientes apartes:

1. Pertenencia por sangre a un clan poderoso, y dentro de él ser hijo de una mujer de alta categoría, que sea primera esposa (recuérdese la presencia de la poligamia y sus conflictos). Esto implica:

A. Disposición de riquezas suficientes representadas en:

a) Numerosas cabezas de ganado, con preferencia vacuno y equino;

b) Joyas familiares que lleven la *tuma* o piedra tradicional; posesión de ídolos antiguos de oro o plata macizos;

c) Disposición de tierras agrícolas y de pastoreo de primera categoría;

d) Acceso a pozos de abastecimiento de agua permanente para abrevar el ganado y atender a las necesidades humanas;

e) Posesión de numerosos siervos y esclavos que liberen a las mujeres del clan de los trabajos domésticos y proporcionen a los hombres elementos de placer y fuentes de explotación económica;

f) Actividades comerciales;

g) Desempeño de puestos gubernamentales en la burocracia oficial nacional.

La solvencia económica del clan permite el mantenimiento adecuado del prestigio, tanto en el individuo como en la familia, frente a la sociedad.

En el individuo, porque le da la posibilidad de tener:

Trajes lujosos para cada ocasión, acordes con las nuevas pautas nacidas de la transculturación;

Armas modernas, también elemento nuevo dentro de su cultura (escopetas, rifles, carabinas, etc.) y flechas envenenadas y mágicas de gran valor por el potencial sobrenatural que tienen y por implicar el sacrificio de niños (Cf. Pineda Giraldo Roberto, *Aspectos de la Magia en la Guajira*. Revista del Instituto Etnológico Nacional, volumen III, Entrega 1ª, 1947, Bogotá, 1950).

Cántaras mágicas, sobre todo las que se refieren a la adquisición de riquezas y de amor, de prestigio y cariño, y bélicas.

Numerosas esposas sumisas y que la primera, que es quien lo representa socialmente, sea de alta categoría;

Utensilios y objetos personales, de acuerdo con su rango y la aculturación;

Cabalgadura de raza y arneses lujosamente adornados.

En la familia, porque permite a esta, como conjunto, atender los compromisos que tiene contraídos con cada uno de sus miembros en particular y con la *sociedad* en general, como por ejemplo:

Dar aportes económicos a sus miembros o a sus amigos, en los momentos trascendentales de su vida, como ocurre en el primer matrimonio;

Invitar a las fiestas sociales obligatorias con el correspondiente boato;

Atender a los huéspedes que visiten la casa, de acuerdo con el rango propio, con el del visitante y con el sentido de reciprocidad superada;

Poder atender rápida y satisfactoriamente los pagos convenidos con otro grupo por el quebrantamiento del régimen de seguridad personal o colectivo, por parte de uno de sus miembros;

Cumplir adecuadamente los sacrificios mágicos de propiciacion y de prevención, cuando a ello hubiere lugar, bien por violacion de un tabu, o para prevenir los efectos de los sueños, etc.

B. Capacidad numérica del clan en elementos varones de solvencia económica y de prestigio social.

Los aspectos incluídos en los apartes A y B, trascienden para el individuo en el grupo familiar y en la sociedad.

En el grupo familiar, porque con ellos goza entre los suyos de respeto y de posición singularizada que lo transforma automáticamente en el cabeza de familia.

En la sociedad, porque recibe el resarcimiento rápido y eficazmente cuando la trasgresión al régimen de seguridad individual o colectivo lo lesiona directa o indirectamente, y, porque hace posible el sometimiento a su voluntad de grupos familiares o claniles distintos al suyo, que lo reconocen como cacique y cuya influencia buscan en los momentos de apremio o de conflicto.

El segundo gran grupo de puntos de referencia del status individual está constituído por las *cualidades personales*, que podemos subdividir de la manera siguiente:

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a) *Cualidades físicas.*—Tener un tipo físico normal, es decir, que se acomode al ideal estético del grupo; y carencia de defectos o deformaciones involuntarias, como falta de un miembro o de un ojo, presencia de cicatrices ostensivas, especialmente en el rostro, etc., buena fuerza muscular.

b) *Cualidades psíquicas y culturales,* entre las cuales cabe destacar las siguientes: 1. Capacidad para soportar la fatiga.—2. Resistencia ante el hambre durante las épocas de escasez; capacidad para soportar prolongadamente la sed.—3. Cruel en sus represalias. Inflexible en sus decisiones. 4. Vengativo.—5. Rencoroso.—6. Orgulloso.—7. Temerario.—8. Introvertido hasta el máximo.—9. Hospitalario y pródigo.—10. Insaciable sexualmente.—11. Bebedor resistente.—12. Hábil tirador.—13. Poseer un récord de vida con numerosas hazañas bélicas y amorosas.—14. Ser buen jinete.—15. No haber roto el régimen de seguridad social por asesinato o por robo.—16. Tener perfecto conocimiento del idioma nativo, y ser bilingüe, con cualidades oratorias que amplíen su capacidad de convicción en los casos en que se haga necesario.—17. Fácil versificación.

c) Dentro de la *división del trabajo,* desempeñar alguno de los siguiente oficios dentro de la comunidad: 1. Piache.—2. Componedor o cacique.—3. Pastor rico y hábil.—4. Diestro cazador y pescador.—5. Buen talabartero.—6. Comerciante.—7. Empleado público.

En lo que se refiere al status femenino, podemos decir que él tiene los mismos puntos esenciales de referencia, con algunas variantes debidas al sexo, que enumeraremos someramente:

1. Pertenencia consanguínea a un clan poderoso, con iguales características que para el hombre, lo que implica:

A. Disposición de riquezas suficientes para mantener el prestigio personal, representadas en:

a) Adornos abundantes y costosos;
b) Trajes ricos y utensilios de uso personal;
c) Posesión de cónyuges, especialmente amorosas;
d) Numerosa servidumbre, libre o no;
e) Disposición de nodrizas pagas para la alimentación de sus hijos;
f) Buena cabalgadura, con los correspondientes aperos vistosos;

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g) Vivienda para sí sola, aparte de las demás esposas de su marido;
h) Ajuar y dote matrimoniales costosos.

En relación con la familia y con la sociedad:

Niñez libre; es decir, sin obligaciones materiales para cumplir hasta la época prepuberal.

Ritos de paso conformados a las más exigentes normas.

Ser comprada para primera mujer por vacas y en un solo contado, superando o igualando en el precio a sus antecesoras.

Posibilidad de suministrar a sus hijos y sobrinos prendas costosas cuando van a casarse o cuando deben resarcir a alguien por una ofensa inferida.

Facilidades para enviar a sus hijos a estudiar a centros civilizados.

Lo demás que hemos visto para el hombre.

B. Como para el hombre, presencia en su clan de numerosos varones de prestigio económico-social.

Los aspectos A y B trascienden para ella en el grupo familiar y en la sociedad, de la siguiente manera:

En el grupo familiar, gozando de respeto y adquiriendo la posición destacada que la convierte también en la primera mujer de la familia.

En la sociedad, disfrutando igualmente del respeto colectivo y de la no infracción de su régimen de seguridad personal en lo que se refiere a actos de agresión sexual contra ella, ni contra sus parientas, o sus esclavas y siervas. Además, ocupando la posición de primera mujer en el matrimonio y pudiendo intervenir como componedora en luchas interclaniles y responder como jefe de hogar, en los casos de *putchu*.

2. *Cualidades personales:*

a) *Físicas:* También como en el caso del hombre, tener un físico acorde con las pautas culturales, y ausencia de defectos físicos notorios.

Ser atractiva sexualmente.

Ir doncella al matrimonio.

b) *Psíquicas y culturales:* 1. Reservada.—2. Fiel a las pautas culturales.—3. Prudente.—4. Recatada.—5. Hospitalaria y pródiga.—6. Esposa

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fiel.—7. Fraternal con sus co-esposas.—8. Buena administradora del hogar.—9. Madre cariñosa.—10. Capaz de bastarse económicamente.—11. Dominio del idioma.

c) Dentro de la *división* del *trabajo*: ser piache o adivina, tener conocimientos mágicos, sobre todo en la fabricación de cóntras; hábil tejedora, buena partera, modista, ceramista, yerbatera o criada competente.

VIII

El quebrantamiento en forma activa o pasiva del régimen de seguridad, implica, para quienes no están en posibilidades de resarcir satisfactoriamente la infracción, la colocación en un status especial de extrasociales, con características muy claras. Ellos ocupan la sima dentro de la gradación social. Son los siervos y los esclavos, cuyas características generales, como ya lo vimos en el capítulo que a ellos se refiere, son:

Carencia de nexos familiares, porque las unidades consanguíneas han sido rotas por vencimiento en la guerra, como castigo por el rompimiento de las pautas culturales que se vinculan con la seguridad.

Por lo mismo, carencia de respaldo económico social.

Carencia del vínculo territorial: las tierras de la unidad consanguínea son usurpadas por los vencedores.

Pérdida de la categoría de seres libres para pasar a la calidad de bienes sobre los que ejerce su dueño el derecho al usufructo y abuso.

A más de los siervos y esclavos que después de todo forman parte del conglomerado social guajiro en su status especial, existen los *extrasociales* llevados también a esa situación como consecuencia del rompimiento del régimen de seguridad, pero que además de no pagar el resarcimiento requerido por el hecho delictuoso, son puestos fuera de la comunidad porque su unidad clanil anuncia su no solidaridad con su falta, con lo cual quedan fuera de la comunidad, debiendo fugarse de ella y marginarse. Este parece ser el caso de los indios *Kusina*, que ya desaparecieron definitivamente por las expediciones de exterminio que contra ellos realizaron indios de todas las comunidades consanguíneas guajiras, y blancos. Eran un grupo de individuos marginados de la sociedad por delitos cometidos, que no tuvieron el respaldo de la unidad familiar, que se congregaron para vivir al amparo de asaltos, robos y muertes a los demás indígenas y a los blancos que vivían cerca de sus refugios en la Sierra de los Kusina.

IX

También las prostitutas pueden catalogarse dentro del más bajo status femenino, pues como su conducta no está acorde con las pautas culturales femeninas de la comunidad, ésta las margina prácticamente. Aunque puedan gozar de prestigio individualmente por las satisfacciones que proporcionan, atraen sobre sí el desprecio de la sociedad, ya que violan constantemente las pautas de cultura. Pesa sobre ellas una doble valoración, pero con primacía de la que las cataloga como seres despreciables, infractores de las pautas culturales.

Sin embargo, en las épocas de verano, que son las de escasez y miseria, su conducta encuentra, si no aprobación, por lo menos excusa entre sus familiares, que ven en su sistema de vida una fuente de ingresos económicos que ayuda en parte a suplir las necesidades más elementales de la vida. Por otra parte, con el cambio de ideas respecto a cuestiones sociales tan fundamentales como el matrimonio, va cambiando también el criterio acerca de la prostitución y del concubinato, dos formas en que la mujer escapa de las casillas legales, casi siempre obligada por la necesidad o por las circunstancias especiales en que se mueve el grupo.

X

Debemos anotar aquí el hecho importante de que las funciones adscritas a la mujer común guajira, caducan cuando la mujer ha pasado por su cambio de edad en la época adulta, es decir, ha pasado a la menopausia. Desde este momento parece que goza de una absoluta libertad dentro de la comunidad, para hacer todas aquellas cosas que a una mujer le están prohibidas antes de llegar a este estado, tales como embriagarse, fumar, permitirse libertades sexuales; ciertos tabús ya no hacen referencia a ellas, ni las pautas culturales deben ser tan rígidamente cumplidas: no se las obliga a ser mujeres de los herederos a la muerte del marido, etc. Su status vuelve a ser efectivo con todas las funciones anexas, después de la muerte, como veremos más adelante.

XI

La presencia actuante del individuo, en la sociedad guajira, no se pierde con la muerte. Dada la concepción que estos indígenas tienen sobre la muerte, claramente expuesta en el estudio de mi esposo, al que ya he-

1: Gutierrez de Pineda SC13 Goajiro

mos hecho referencia varias veces, cada miembro de la comunidad sigue perteneciendo a ella e influyendo sobre sus semejantes después de muerto. Su status en la otra vida, está determinado por los mismos puntos de referencia que él tiene en la vida terrena: a mayor acopio de riqueza y de prestigio, corresponde más alto status en el mundo de los espíritus. Incluso sus funciones se siguen desempeñando a través de intermediarios, como sucede en el caso del piache, ya que el shamán u hombre-medicina no es otra cosa que un intermediario entre la sociedad y el mundo de los espíritus, cuya iluminación está determinada por la acción de los piaches fantasmas muertos que reencarnan, por así decirlo, en el vivo, y determinan muchos de los actos de la comunidad, sobre todo en lo que se refiere a la Enfermedad y la Muerte. Es decir, que el piache, en vida, no se guía por su propia personalidad, sino por la de los piaches, que se han dignado descender hasta él para indicarle las funciones que debe cumplir, las reglas que debe observar, y, en fin, todos los actos indispensables en su profesión. La dirección espiritual del grupo, pues, está en manos de los muertos, que siguen velando por su grupo de manera más efectiva que cuando estaban en vida.

Esta gradación de status que hemos visto para la sociedad guajira en párrafos anteriores, se sigue también en el mundo de los muertos, en el cual los asesinos, por ejemplo, ocupan su misma condición de extra-sociales, lo mismo que los suicidas, ya que no vagan libremente como los demás espíritus, sino que están condenados a deambular boca-abajo y a ras de tierra. Y, si en vida fueron peligrosos para el régimen de seguridad personal o colectivo, también lo son después de muertos; de allí la serie de prácticas preventivas relativas a estos espíritus.

XII

El status es susceptible de modificaciones tanto en el sentido de ascenso, como en el de descenso. Las causas del ascenso están implícitas en los puntos de referencia que, a medida que se van alcanzando, confieren al individuo un aumento de su prestigio o el mantenimiento del mismo. Entre las causas de descenso, se pueden enumerar las siguientes, como principales: a) La escasez, por cualquier causa, de miembros varones dentro de la unidad clanil o del grupo familiar pequeño, que implica, de hecho, falta de respaldo social; b) Reveses económicos que imposibilitan el sostenimiento del rango clanil, o familiar y, por tanto, individual; c) El quebrantamiento del régimen de seguridad personal o colectivo, que lleva

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implícito el descenso del status, pues cuando un grupo ha sufrido pérdidas considerables en su número y economía, comete un acto punitivo contra un individuo de un clan superior, se hace acreedor no a los trámites legales del resarcimiento, sino a su exterminio como unidad libre, porque el grupo ofendido, superior, no lo toma en cuenta legalmente. Por otra parte, si la infracción afecta al grupo debilitado en su economía y en el número de sus miembros varones, el resarcimiento no se cifra a lo legal sino que prima el criterio individual del ofensor poderoso, frente al cual el ofendido no puede oponer fuerza coercitiva suficiente para un resarcimiento adecuado.

Este fenómeno se debe a un hecho claro y preciso dentro del engranaje social que forman los clanes en la Guajira: las cuestiones de derecho sólo tienen vigencia cuando los dos grupos clánicos enfrentados están equiparados en fuerza económica y en hombres de guerra. Es entonces cuando se puede desenvolver la acción legal de los componedores. El derecho se regula así, por la igualdad de fuerzas. Pero una vez roto este equilibrio, el derecho no existe como institución ajena a la voluntad del lesionado, que impone el resarcimiento por su propia mano y según su ambición personal, sacrificando socialmente y en su economía al infractor, o dejando impunes los hechos cuando las consecuencias pesan sobre el débil.

NOMBRES DE PLANTAS Y ANIMALES

Por cortesía del Instituto de Ciencias Naturales de la Universidad Nacional de Colombia, y en especial de los señores doctores Armando Dugand y Daniel Mesa Bernal, presentamos a continuación una lista clasificada de los principales animales y plantas que se mencionan en este trabajo y en el publicado en la entrega anterior de esta misma Revista:

PLANTAS:

Abrojo	Tribulus cistoides.
Achiote	Bixa orellana.
Ahuyama	Cucúrbita máxima.
Añil	Indigofera suffruticosa.
Cardenas "Yotojoro"	Lemaireocereus griseus.
"Yotojoro"	Cephalocereus lanuginosus.
"Yotojoro"	Cereus Russelianus.
"Yotojoro"	Cereus Margaritensis.
"Yotojoro"	Cereus Margaritensis var. microcephalus.
Cedro caobo	Probabl. Cedrela fissilis.
Dividivi	Libidibia coriaria.
Guamacho	Pereskia Guamacho.
Frailejón	Espeletia glossophylla.
Mamón	Melicocca bijuguta.
Mangle colorado	Rizophora Mangle.
Mangle blanco o amarillo	Laguncularia racemosa.
Mangle botoncillo	Conocarpus erecta.
Mangle negro	Avicennia nitida.
Olivo	Capparis odoratissima.
Ortiga o piñagamona	Jatropa urens.
Patilla	Citrullus vulgaris.
Verdolaga	Portulaca oleracea.
Yuca	Manihot dulcis.
Ojo de venado	Macana matinicensis y otras sp.
Trupi o trupillo	Neltuma juliflora.

ANIMALES:

Abejo	Posiblemente la llamada "manto", una Meliponidido.
Abuemoto	Burhinus bistriatus vardfer.

[p. 257]
[p. 256 is blank]

Aviapa	Varias especies.
Buho	Buho virginianus elatus.
Carpintero bayo	Mazama simplicicornis.
Carpintero colorado	Mazama americana.
Colibrí	Los dos más representativos en la Guajira son Lonchippus fallax y Chlorostilbon caniveti altens; hay unas cinco o seis especies más.
Conejo	Sylvilagus cunanicus.
Culebra cascabel	Crotalus terrificus.
Culebra cazadora	Clelia clelia y otras especies.
Gallinazo	Coragyps atratus.
Garrapata	Boophilus sp.
Gavilán	Hay varias especies, entre otras el Buteo magnirostris insidiatrix, el Buteo albicaudatus colonus.
Iguana	Iguana iguana.
Murciélago	Hay unas diez especies distintas.
Lechuza	Tyto alba guatemalae.
Pájaro carpintero	Hay tres o cuatro especies, principalmente Melanerpes rubricapillus, Dryocopus lineatus superus.
Perdiz	Colinus cristatus cristatus.
Raya de mar	Dasyatis sp.
Raya de río	Trygon histrix (probablemente).
Tigre	Felis onca.
Turpial	Icterus icterus ridgwayi.
Zaino común	Tayassu tajacu.
Zaino manú	Tayassu pecari.
Zorra	Dusicyon thous.
Curí	Cavia sp.
Gato montés	Hay tres especies (Felis tigrina, F. pardinoides y Herpailurus eyra).
Venado sabanero	Odocoileus gymnotis.
Tortuga carey	Eretmochelys imbricata.
Tortuga de carey	Chelonia mydas.
Paloma cardenera	Columba corensis.

Con esta clasificación, quedan rectificados algunos errores aparecidos en la lista de plantas y animales publicada en el artículo anterior, *Aspectos de la Magia en la Guajira*.

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Aspects of Magic in La Guajira
[Aspectos de la Magía en la Guajira]

by Roberto Pineda Giraldo

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[1] Introduction

131 La Guajira Peninsula is situated between 12°-28'-30" and 10°-56' north latitude and 1°-11' and 3° east longitude, taking as a base the meridian of Bogotá. It occupies the northeastern part of Colombia and the most northernmost part of the South American continent. Its boundaries can be defined as follows: on the north and west the Caribbean Sea, on the east Lake Maracaibo, and on the south the department of Magdalena and the neighboring republic of Venezuela. In other words, the Caribbean Sea, Lake Maracaibo, the Río Hacha, and the arroyo Paraguaichón serve as natural boundaries. Part of this peninsula belongs to the republic of Colombia and part, the smaller area, to Venezuela.

133 Its general geological formation appears to be due to the elevation of marine strata, since fossils of sea fauna are found in the subsoil. Its soil is composed of clay, sand, and calcareous strata on the plains, the higher parts belonging to a more ancient formation composed of volcanic rocks, crystalline slate, granite, 135 marble, and jasper, covered by layers of limestone. The predominating minerals are: gypsum, carbonate of lime, argonite, mica, iron ores, and some outcroppings of lignite which have not been exploited up to the present time.

133 La Guajira proper, as a natural geographical region, starts in the west with the last spurs of the Montes de Oca, a continuation of the Cordillera Oriental in Colombia which crosses the Sierra de Perijá and Serrania de los Motilones, mountains whose beneficial influence is felt in the zones of Carraipía and Paraguaichón. But the characteristic relief starts in the southwestern neck and is composed of isolated ridges of mountains whose general orientation is northwest-southeast, running from west to east and known by the names of Cojoro, Jarara, and Macuira. The last has the [2] highest altitude in La Guajira, 857 meters above sea level, according to Ernst (1), and runs out between Jiguaipolu and Parajimarú on the

[113]

1. Cited by Pichón in Geografía de la Península Guajira [Geography of La Guajira Peninsula].

eastern coast of the peninsula.

[2 cont.]

133 The greater part of the coast of La Guajira, which measures in all some 350 kilometers, belongs to Colombia. It starts from the Río Hacha in the west and extends to Lake Maracaibo in the east. It may be divided into two general parts, one low and liable to flooding, the other highland rising sheer from the coast. The low part starts from Pajaina Channel, which flows into Lake Maracaibo in front of San Carlos Island and continues approximately to the port of Cojoro. From there onward the land rises from the sea in the form of cliffs roughly to the level of Castilletes, a point where the coast level descends slightly to rise again near Punta Espada due to the eastern spurs from the Sierra de Macuira, which, as we have noted in previous paragraphs, then lose themselves in the sea. From this point, going always toward the west, the coast is rocky and inaccessible because of its continental structure.

In the far western part of the La Guajira coast we find the [135 317] most important saltworks that are being exploited in the country, such as those of Pájaro, Manaure, and Bahía Honda which supply salt to the major part of the coastal departments and even to those in the interior of the republic. The coast of this part has numerous beautiful and deep bays among which Bahía Honda is outstanding. Along the coast rich fishing grounds are found, such as [136] Bahía Honda, Cabo de la Vela, Cardón, and Carrizal, centers of fishing and pearl exploitation. Unfortunately, it has not been found practicable to make use of all the commercial navigation [312] and fishing possibilities of this coast due to the absence of potable water in the vicinity. This we were well able to appreciate when we found that the water required for drinking in Carrizal and San José de Bahía Honda, during our stay in these regions, was transported distances greater than ten kilometers.

361 The most important ports of the coast of La Guajira, from 504 west to east, are Ahuyama; Manaure, center of the salt industry; Cardón and Carrizal, pearl fishing centers; San José de Bahía Honda, on the bay of the same name, also engaged in the salt industry, and Puerto Estrella, center of the maritime traffic of motorized sailing boats plying between the islands of Aruba and Curaçao, and Puerto López.

132 [3] La Guajira is a semidesert region, a condition to which
133 four essential factors contribute, in our opinion: 1) the presence of sandy soil which absorbs the water of the small arroyos which flow from the mountain ridges; 2) the constant trade winds which blow strongly from the northeast over the peninsula and tend to temper the climate somewhat; 3) the lack of any real relief with elevations of importance which could act as a barrier to the clouds laden with moisture which are blown by the force of the winds toward the interior regions of the continent; 4) the high atmospheric temperatures which reach 42°C. in the shade at noon and are only slightly tempered by the trade winds and sea breezes.

These factors largely determine the hydrography of the peninsula in which, it may be said, there are only two permanent rivers, the Río Hacha, which forms the boundary with the neighboring department of Magdalena, and the arroyo Paraguichón, which marks the boundary with the republic of Venezuela. Beyond this the region is subject to the seasonal cycle of rainfall, which divides itself into a completely dry summer season with only rare light showers in what might be called spring (approximately in April) and a winter season with violent rains. This last season covers approximately the months of September to December/January, while the first, with the exception of the occasional rains in spring already mentioned, covers the remaining months of the year.

All these facts convert the peninsula during the summer
133 season into a true desert without vegetation, with the earth
134 covered with loose sand, particles of which are blown into the
[164] air by the prevailing winds, causing considerable trouble to travelers and even giving rise to eye infections among the natives. But in winter, when the abundant and copious rains have fallen, the soil, which in parts is below sea level, becomes so flooded that at times all land communications are totally obstructed even on improved [herradura] roads; the dry beds of currents of water are converted into true arroyos, water holes into ponds, and everything is an immense sea of fresh water.

One must also take into account the presence of some few
133 lakes, such as Guaraguarao, near Marañamana; Soledad, 20
312 kilometers south of Pájaro; Carazúa, approximately 30 kilometers west of Ríohacha; Sararapa, near Puerto López; and Cuisa,

[3 cont.]
133 adjacent to the hamlet of Roble; also one must consider the
312 water holes, shallow depressions in the ground which store rain water for some time and are utilized as watering places for livestock. Besides these sources of water, [4] the Guajiro digs wells [casimbas] in the dry beds of arroyos, generally, having to excavate to depths of 30 vara at times to reach the underground water. Windmills, which the Water Department of the Ministry of Na-
[653] tional Economy has been constructing for some years past, have helped to solve the water problem as have at a few dams, such as those in Ipanarú and Garrapatamana.

137 The factors which we have been describing determine vegetation in La Guajira, which is mainly comprised of thorny creepers, small thickets, cactus, thorn trees, and some wooded areas, especially in the mountain ridges and their spurs, where one finds an abundance of divi-divi, the totumo, indigo, the caraño, [a resinous gum tree], guayacan, the cedar, oak, cherry, and olive, the last two being fruit trees. On the banks of the coves and bays the mangrove grows abundantly.

During the rainy season in the peninsula, the sandy soil is covered with grass and brambles and briars and the woods [montes] become green again, giving a splendid background of color to the whole countryside, but in the summer season all the trees lose their foliage and look like burned logs; the smaller plants disappear, leaving the surface bare to the mercies of the burning sand and showing as characteristic patches the tall cacti with arms raised like great candelabra. The only different shades of color are provided by the olive trees, which never dry out and always show their fresh green foliage and darker fruit, and by some small oases of vegetation on the shores of ponds and water holes.

221 For this same reason the economy of La Guajira and the people's life in general swings like a great pendulum between two extremes — summer and winter. Their principal activity, stock grazing, requires rainfall to maintain pasture and to provide water in the water holes and wells. Agriculture, their other occupation, requires sufficient humidity for the germination of the seed and for maintaining the life of the plants. Winter in La Guajira means good living, abundance, satisfaction. Summer,

[4 cont.]
221 on the other hand, is a synonym of hunger, misery, and of death.

221 The conditions of their geographical situation and the occupation of stock grazing, to which the Indians have devoted
361 themselves since the Conquest, have accentuated their nomadic
233 character because of the need to bring their herds to places where the indispensable pasture and water are available. Furthermore, this need has held back the formation of towns in the true sense of the word, as what is called a rancherías ["hamlet"] in La Guajira is nothing more than two or three huts of wood and thatch, inhabited by people related to each other and which may be several kilometers away from other rancherías. The presence of water at minimum distances greatly influences the location [5] of these habitations, so that the occupants are not obliged to walk long distances.

177 Only in those localities where the influences of civilizados
361 [generally, nonnatives] are greatly felt do we find what we may call urban centers, but in these the foreign element is more in evidence than the aboriginal. Such for example is the case of Uribia, capital of the Comisaría; Nazaret, a mission center; Maicao, Puerto Estrella, and Carraipía, points of trade with Venezuela, Aruba, Curaçao, and the interior of the country; and Manaure and Bahía Honda, centers of the salt industry.

* * *

175 The Guajiro Indian was never completely conquered.
648 Throughout the Conquest and the colonization, he kept up a series of wars with the Spanish authorities, whom he learned always to resist, thus maintaining his independence. But he kept up his trade relations with the whites, not only Spaniards but Europeans in general, who reached his shores where they established stations for fishing and the pearl trade, as well as with the group of Spaniards resident in Ríohacha, the western limit of the peninsula.

175 These contacts with European civilization were slowly
177 changing their ways of life in the major part of its aspects, whenever the Guajiro incorporated a series of relatively new elements

[5 cont.]

175 177 into his culture, especially into the economy, some of their social institutions, and even in the aspect of their racial composition. Acculturation has been greatly accelerated in recent years due to the ever increasing presence of foreign elements in [648] La Guajira Peninsula, facilitated by the intervention of the government in this administrative section, by the development of communication, and by the commercial possibilities that dealing with the natives presents.

105 175 177 The fundamental change in the Guajiro's life occurred in their economy. Until the arrival of the conquistadors, according to the data available, the Guajiro were a hunting and fishing people who lived in a constant state of nomadism to the point of having no true habitations, as has been stated by different chroniclers of Conquest times. They also practiced a rudimentary agriculture, mainly the cultivation of corn and yucca, the bases of their vegetable food and of their principal drinks.

With the establishment of stock raising centers by the [648] Spaniards in the regions bordering on La Guajira, the natives found a new source of subsistence. They started a series [6] of thefts from the haciendas which enabled them to obtain animals suited for raising, which adapted wonderfully to the normal conditions of their territory, where during the winter season pasture grows spontaneously, pasture which previously had served only to feed the deer and other herbivorous animals which form part of the fauna of La Guajira.

With the introduction of this new economic element the native began, step by step, to change his economy of fishing, hunting, and rudimentary agriculture into a new system based principally on stock grazing. His state as a nomadic hunter was transformed to that of herdsman, also nomadic because of the geographic conditions we have just described in previous paragraphs. They also changed their mode of transport by learning to use horses and asses, and even their tactics of war were appreciably changed once they could make use of horses in their battles, placing them thereby on an equal footing with the Spanish conquistador; as in addition to this decisive element, [439] they could also count on firearms obtained in the pearl trade with foreign ships which came up their coast.

[6 cont.]

105 177 However, at the beginning the fundamental change in their economy did not affect their most characteristic social institutions. They preserved, almost to the present, their family organization based on the uterine line of kinship and all the other institutions which derive from, or are directly or indirectly related, to it. Only now with the presence of an ever increasing number of foreign elements who are attracted to La Guajira territory by different circumstances is the Indian gradually losing these fundamental ideas of his organization and beginning to change them, forced to do so by events, to the point that today it is becoming difficult to decide up to what point a social phenomenon is autochthonous and to what point it is impregnated with new ideas brought in by evangelists, government and military officials, and traders.

144 175 In the racial aspect the phenomenon shows up less strongly, although, as in other aspects, it has been gradually accelerating as means of communication develop and the contraband between the islands of Aruba and Curaçao, the department of Magdalena, and the port of Maracaibo increase. Racial mixing [mestizaje] began in the colony not only between Spaniards and Indians, as happened in the greater part of Latin America, but also with the Negroes who were acquired as slaves from the Dutch and British slave traders in exchange for pearls. Naturally, this mixture was of insignificant proportions, but [7] at the present time it is developing more rapidly, stemming from the element, also Negroid, of the coastal areas of Colombia and Lake Maracaibo. In spite of all this, at the present time one can still find a large percentage of the pure element in La Guajira, especially in the regions distant from the traffic with Maracaibo or with the interior of Colombia, or relatively isolated from civilizado centers of La Guajira such as Uribia, Puerto Estrella, Puerto López, etc.

• • •

132 031 In the past five to six years La Guajira has suffered extremely severe summers which have almost completely crushed its economic bases, stock grazing and agriculture, for scarcely enough rainfall has fallen to save their pastures or their harvests.

[7 cont.]

132 Consequently at this time, the Indian faces a situation of misery
731 that has brought him to seek monetary income either as a worker in the maritime saltworks or as a herdsman in the neighboring haciendas of Venezuela and Colombia; or if he is obstinate in his attachment to his native soil, he has to put up with conditions of hunger, bond service, and even slavery in his own territory.

166 The lack of water has been the main factor leading to the
464 mass emigration of entire native families to the nearest centers of trade and work; there they enroll themselves as paid farm workers; or simply beg for charity, which is frequently seen in the streets and plazas of Maracaibo; or apply themselves to some other trade such as the making of charcoal to be sold in Ríohacha; or work in the loading and unloading of ships in neighboring ports.

• • •

121 All these facts that we have been describing and the little
114 that was known of this interesting Colombian aboriginal community led the Institute of Ethnology and Archaeology of the Ministry of National Education of Colombia to organize an expedition to study for a reasonable period of time the greater part of the characteristic social phenomena of this group of people, the actual social situation of the natives confronted by the new conditions of life, the anthropological aspect, the language, etc. This decision was put into effect with the ethnographic expedition of 1947, which, during the months of July, August, and September, traveled over a great part of the territory making the corresponding studies. [8] This expedition was composed of: the investigators, Licentiate Milcíades Chaves, Licentiate Virginia Gutiérrez de Pineda Giraldo, Señora María Rosa de Recasens, and the author.

The result of these investigations is the work we now present, the first of a series of publications which will cover the major part of the aspects of the material and spiritual life of the Guajiro.

The work to which these few lines serve as an introduction is based on facts carefully gathered by us in the field, especially by my wife Licentiate Virginia Gutiérrez de Pineda Giraldo, who kindly handed over data to be studied and added to ours, and we

[8 cont.]

114 now present it embodied under this title Aspectos de la Magia en
121 la Guajira, a title which not only covers what has been known as magic to the Indian but also many of his mental and sentimental attitudes, the classification of which would be difficult in any other way. [9] [Maps of La Guajira Comisaría on p. 9. Page 10 is blank.]

[11] II

Life Cycle of the Guajiro Shaman

*756 Symptomatology. A woman shaman [piache], referring to
787 the bodily symptoms which presented themselves as an indication of her calling, mentioned the following: She began to see before her eyes a kind of little star which fell upon her in the manner of a golden rain, the first sign, according to her, of her person being possessed by a spirit. Her sight became clouded, and she fell to the ground in a faint; she remained stretched out there for some time. Then she very slowly regained consciousness. After this first attack of possession, she felt quite well for two or three days, after which she woke up one morning with a sensation of intense cold such as one feels at the beginning of an attack of malaria; she also broke out in a sticky sweat all over her body; then she was overcome, vomited blood, and remained unconscious until afternoon, lying like one dead in her hammock. She began to recover again, and the spirit came down to her, for she
[2% 439] seemed to hear a voice that ordered her, "Eat manilla (2), for if

2. A tobacco paste imported by the natives from Ríohacha (Colombia) or from Maracaibo (Venezuela).

*756 you do not, you will die." On receiving this order, she immediately told her relatives to bring her manilla, and one of them went with a gold necklace of hers to look for an old woman shaman that she might come to see if our informant had a spirit and, if it were true,

[11 cont.]

*756 might dedicate herself to her teaching. The woman shaman called for the purpose recognized at once that our informant had the spirit appropriate to her calling and began the tutelage of the new curer [curandera].

Another woman shaman narrated the first symptoms of her vocation in this way. When she had reached the age of reason, [881] that is, about ten or eleven years of age (the time of the initiation for the change from girl to young woman: the beginning of puberty), she felt one day a need to perform a bodily function. She went into the woods to do this, but no matter how much she tried she was unable to do it. This situation repeated itself several times. At night she dreamed that a spirit descended and, [787] taking her by the hand, led her to a stream where there was a big field of plantain and ahuyama. At sunrise the next day [12] she woke up depressed and trembling. She heard a voice in her ear saying, "Eat manilla and macuira (3)." She frequently lost [226]

3. A plant with a leaf similar to that of tobacco.

consciousness and when she came to again was weak and trembling. When she ate what was ordered, the shivering and feeling of illness disappeared as if by enchantment, and she remained in perfect health. She was going to be a shaman. Her mother, who was already one, announced this fact and prepared to begin her training according to the rules.

*756 From the personal statements of these two shamans which 787 we have just reported and from other relative data that we have been able to obtain by word of mouth from other informants, we 171 can deduce the following: 1) The graduations to the rank of shaman (the illumination, we might better call it) are revelations of the wanurú ("spirit of death") which enters the body of certain persons chosen by it, that they may exercise the office of curer magicians. As a proof of the presence of the spirit in new shamans through manifestations of revelation, we may see among the Bororó tribe of Brazil, for example, how the spirit appears in the shape of a monkey or water hog (4), and among the

4. Métraux, Alfred. Le Chamanisme chez les indiens de l'Amérique du Sud Tropicale

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[12 cont.]

[Shamanism Among the Indians of Tropical South America], I, p. 203.

Apinagé [Apinaye] shamans are designated "by the soul of some close relative who puts them in communication with the world of the spirits, from whom they obtain their medical science." (5)

5. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 203.

Hubert and Mauss, referring to this same matter, state the following: "Magic virtue is acquired by revelation in the majority of Australian tribes. Normally, this revelation is produced in the course of a dream or in an ecstatic or semiecstatic state. This revelation is generally the work of spirits, spirits of the dead, pure spirits, and probably very frequently the work of spirits less clearly classified, whose qualities are not defined and whose mythical figure floats between the shades of mankind, the animal, and the divinity of nature (6)." And with respect to revelation

6. Origen de los poderes mágicos en las sociedades australianas [Origin of Magic Powers in Australian Societies] by Hubert and Mauss, [illegible] 235.

they tell us again: "It is possible and even probable that the theme of the revelation by the spirits of the dead is at least confounded in one and the same complex myth with the theme of the revelation by pure spirits." (7)

7. Ibid. [13]

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2) This spirit reveals its presence by means of a sudden illness, as we have just seen in previously mentioned incidents, or by other variable symptoms, but they are usually actual hysterical attacks, in which the spirit manifests itself by strong convulsions and by loss of consciousness to signify it has entered into possession of the person destined to become a shaman.

[13 cont.]

*756 764 With respect to the hysterical attacks so characteristic of shamans, there exists considerable confirmation of this in a fact which is connected with the death of these curers. Custom demands that when one of them dies, it is essential that their wake be kept for three consecutive days and nights, because as these attacks occur frequently and at times last for a considerable time, there is a fear that the shaman may not be really dead and that consequently he may be buried alive if the mourners do not wait for a reasonable time to see if he recovers.

*756 276 3) A magic plant, tobacco, is involved in the making of a new shaman in two ways: (a) The aspiring shaman must chew it for several consecutive days in order to enter into a state of ecstasy and so provoke the absorption of the spirit by his person. One must remember that at the moment the initiate has an attack, a piece of tobacco or manilla is put into his mouth. When [827] he recovers consciousness, he belches loudly because of the action of the tobacco, and these belches are considered to be canticles of praise and gratitude to the spirit which desires to reside in him. The establishment of relations between the spirit and the medicine-man aspirant by means of a magic plant, such as the tobacco we [171] have referred to, is found also among the Conibo: "The apprentice shaman of the Conibo of the Ucayali receives his medical science from a spirit. To enter into communication with the latter, the shaman drinks a decoction of tobacco and smokes as much as he can in a hermetically sealed hut." (8) [Cited in French.]

8. Métraux. Op. cit., 204.

*756 787 (b) The diviner must see in the different changes in the embers of the tobacco whether the individual whose future he foretells after an attack of illumination will become a true shaman or not. His verdict is final.

4) Dreams, or at least hallucinations, are decisive factors in the determination of the quality of shaman.

*756 5) The vocation of shaman cannot be renounced. Better said, it does not depend upon the individual himself; once the symptoms have appeared and the diviner has given a favorable

*756 [13 cont.]
verdict, the decision must be accepted; otherwise he will die for having disobeyed the orders of the spirit. [14]

*756 Métraux, referring to the abnormal physical and psychic characteristics of the medicine man says: "Im Thurn" (Among the Indians of Guiana. London, 1883, p. 334) "declares that among the Indians of British Guiana shamans are recruited from among epileptics, but this affirmation, which no other authority confirms, could well have been inspired by the behavior of the piai in the course of his trances." (9) [Cited in French.]

9. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 201.

On our part, we can say that we also were tempted to classify as epileptic the attacks which the shaman suffers at the beginning of what we have called his vocation, since the symptoms described make one easily believe that they are such. But when we learned of the curious and interesting aspect of sexual taboo, possibly more severe for the woman than the man, which we shall describe fully in future chapters, we were then inclined to think of them as a form of hysteria, and for this reason we have called them hysterical attacks.

It might be thought that the effect of the tobacco or some other narcotic is what brings about this state of trance or ecstasy, but one must bear in mind that one of the clear signs of the illumination is the attack which occurs before taking the narcotic or stupefying drug. This makes us disagree with Professor Métraux when he states: "No anomaly or physical or physiological particularity seems to have been chosen as the symptom of a special predisposition for the practice of shamanism." (10) [Cited in French.]

10. Ibid., I, 202.

Furthermore, the visions and loss of consciousness are confirmed by Kurt Nimuendajú, cited by Professor Métraux when referring to the Bororó:"... a spirit appears before him in the form of a monkey or water hog and demands of him his submission. His head whirls, a thousand colors dance before his eyes: he has

*756 [14 cont.]
114 become a bari." (11) [Cited in French.]
P1

11. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 203.

We find another proof of the sick personality of the shaman, which would appear to be an almost indispensable requisite of the profession, among the Yaruro of the plains of Venezuela. "Every community has its own priest or musician. This is a shaman or piache. He is a more or less retarded being from the psycho-physiological point of view and one whose soul – he says – journeys to the land of the gods during religious ceremonies." (12) [15]

12. Le Besnerais, Henry. Algunos aspectos del río Capanaporo y de sus indios Yaruros [Some aspects of the Capanaporo River and of its Yaruro Indians], p. 18.

*756 Period of training. Continuing with the story of the woman shaman with which we began this chapter about magic in La Guajira, we shall now see how the older shaman called in for the purpose carried out the training of the aspirant. She transmitted all her knowledge in a long period of training. She took hold of the apprentice, sat her on her knees, made her take up the ceremonial maraca, and with her own hand showed and directed her in all the required movements. She proceeded to invoke the spirits and to make her pupil repeat all the motions, positions, prayers, and canticles. This operation was carried out several times during the day and at times during the night. Furthermore, the old shaman was always on the alert for the various orders and indications which the spirit imparted to the pupil. After some time had elapsed in this training, the spirit said to the instructress: "Withdraw. Now the young woman can be a shaman." Afterward it gave instructions regarding the fiesta of culmination about which we shall learn in the corresponding section.

During the period of training the teacher shaman demanded from the initiate some proofs of her knowledge [ciencia]. On one occasion she said, "Take a firebrand and make an attempt at divination." The girl obeyed and proceeded to divine as she had

[15 cont.]

*756 been instructed. In another test her teacher called on her to take blood from a sacrificed ram so that she could perform the suitable rites. The initiate took in her hands the gourd vessel holding the blood, and the spirit then immediately descended into her. The apprentice began to tremble convulsively, and the spirit ordered her to throw the blood over the hut, which was done automatically by the girl who thus emerged triumphant in this test.

The training of the initiate in the second case does not differ from that of the first except in one detail. The mother of the future shaman — who also was one herself — took the girl between her legs and massaged her head and her body all over with her hands.

The period of training is decisive for the initiate shaman to learn how to make contact with the spirits, and through them with the world of the supernatural. In spite of the revelation and of the initiate being already possessed by the spirit in a certain way, it is essential that she learn what we might call the external cult, that is, the system of movements, invocations, canticles, handling of the maraca, chewing of tobacco, etc., in order to be able to propitiate the indispensable presence of the protector spirit or spirits. Métraux, referring to this aspect, says the following: "The second type of initiation does not differ from the [16] first except for the intervention of a master who not only instructs the pupil in the technique of the profession, but, above all, prepares him to enter into direct contact with the supernatural. Whether the initiation is effected by the intermediary of a spirit or of an instructor, no candidate for the title of shaman can practice it unless he is assured after a vision of the protection of one or numerous spirits." (13) [Cited in French.]

13. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 206.

*756 Initiation fiesta. Let us go back to our first story: When the
756 spirit ordered the instructor to suspend the lessons because the initiate was sufficiently trained to be a shaman, it also told her to instruct the girl's family to organize a chicha-maya dance, which would last all that night and the following day and night

[16 cont.]
*756 until dawn. For the dance they must kill sufficient goats for all
776 the dancers to eat, accompanying this food with roasted corn. The men and women who would be taking part in the dance ceremony should come painted with annatto [bija], the women could be single or married. Once the dance had finished, at dawn of the second night, the meat of the sacrificed animals was to be piled on a heap of leaves, and the old shaman would come to "shamanize" [piachar] (14) it, spitting her saliva impregnated

14. We have found it necessary to use the verb "shamanize" [piachar] to refer to the ceremonies which the shaman [piache] performs during his cures and other functions. Purists of the language will please forgive us.

with the manilla she was chewing on the meat; she would also "shamanize" the novice. Until this had been done the meat could not be eaten by the guests. Those present could then take the meat so prepared, but they must go in a direction when they walked away to eat it opposite to the direction taken by the shaman when she came to perform her ritual ceremonies over it.
[782] The consumption of this meat by the others would be done in honor of the spirits whom the shaman wanted to propitiate at this time.

Similarly, there is little difference between the external cult of the rite of passage of the second case and the previous one. Once the spirit announced that the initiate knew how to invoke it, a fiesta was organized at its request which lasted for three days. For this celebration they sacrificed 20 sheep and a steer, and they
[273] danced the chicha-maya. In addition, they made the already mentioned distribution of chicha and rum to the guests. During these three days of fiesta, the mother — the shaman in this case — continued to instruct the initiate in all matters relating to her future duties. At dawn on the third day the novice graduated.

*756 Final period of preparation: Let us continue with the first case. After the dance with all the accompanying ceremonial was

[16 cont.]

*756 over, the young shaman [17] was secluded for two months in her home. She dedicated this period to practicing chewing tobacco, and the act of invoking the spirits, the way of curing the sick, bringing rainfall, "shamanizing," animals, keeping pestilence away, etc. The maraca and the crown (kiara, in Guajiro) were made by her during this seclusion, although they could have been bought or ordered to be made by others. At the end of this two *756 months' seclusion, it was essential, in order to terminate the 787 young shaman's cycle of initiation into shamanism, to prepare 796 ten containers of corn chicha and to invite many Indians from different sections to be present at the true graduation of the initiate. That night, while the others danced and drank, the young shaman remained practicing her arts. It is common on these occasions for the spirit to approach the aspiring shaman and say, for example: "Go look for an animal of such-and-such characteristics (it describes the desired animal minutely in all its details) and kill it. If you disobey me you will faint, have an attack, and you will never become a shaman." The young initiate then passes on the order to her relatives, who must hasten to look for the animal described by the spirit and sacrifice it. When the celebration has ended, the spirit returns to tell the [301 young girl: "Hang up ten necklaces in your room so that I may 426] come down and help you." (These necklaces must be made of gold beads). The aspiring shaman acquires these necklaces with the help of her relatives and friends, even on loan, and hangs [782] them in her room so that she can "shamanize." The spirit, grateful for her ready obedience and for the offering, approaches her once again and says: "Now you will make a truly good [834] shaman." And it warns her: "Now you may not sleep (cohabit) with your husband."

*756 Exercising the profession. When all these rites and cere- 787 monies preparatory to entering the way of life of the shaman have been complied with, the person chosen, as his protector spirit affirms, may then dedicate himself to that calling. The spirit itself has conferred such power. Better still, it has descended into the novice; it has entered his body to accompany him in every professional act, to communicate the arts indispensable or

[17 cont.]

*756 787 carrying out his function as community curer, and witch so that he will be able to act with certainty in curing illnesses, in the propitiation of the rainfall indispensable for good harvests, as well as in his tasks of keeping away pestilences and epidemics which could decimate the people under his care.

As has been seen in the section treating the period of training, this is limited first of all to transmitting to the new shaman the most successful way of insuring that the spirit can reach him. His science in no manner implies that he possess knowledge relating to the medicinal value of plants, of animals, etc., but it does imply that the process of apprenticeship, or better said his science, [18] is based on the successful invocation of the spirit, which has the true wisdom, which is the only curer in reality, the all-powerful able to propitiate rain and cast out pestilences and epidemics and whose science is manifested through the medium of the medicine man whenever the spirit wishes to carry out its designs. The shaman by himself and for himself is worthless. He is an ordinary man, subject as are others to the evil influences of the spirits of sickness and death. His fundamental value rests in the absorption into himself of a powerful spirit which places him on a footing of equality with the spirits of the other world, and in many cases even on a superior one, when it enables him frequently to emerge triumphant in the cure of sickness.

*756 755 One has to emphasize in the personality of the Guajiro shaman the fact that he has almost exclusively the function of making contact with the supernatural world, and it is by this means that he endeavors to effect the cure of his patients. He is partially or totally ignorant of medicine based on herbs, animals, parts of animals, or any other type of cure other than that exercised directly by the protector spirits that use him as their intermediary.

As will be seen in the corresponding chapters, the majority of child cures are effected by female diviners with the indicated methods, which are based on what is called participative or contaminant magic. Also, the herbs actually very few — which [278 847] are used to cause abortion, to restrict the growth of the fetus,

[18 cont.]

*756 to bring on lactation, to gain weight, etc., are partly public
755 knowledge and partly privately known by a few families who tra-
[208 ditionally preserve the secret of their use for their personal benefit.
847] By what has been previously stated we see how the cere-
mony of healing is a perpetual invocation of the spirit, a con-
tinual fear that it might withdraw its aid for whatever motive,
and a perennial anxiety to satisfy its slightest wish in order to
obtain the success sought. To give evidence for this we shall
see how the Guajiro shaman effects a cure when he has been
called in to handle one.

First of all, before he initiates such activities, he demands
[431] a gift. For this reason whenever a native needs the services of
the shaman for magico-medical attention for some relative, he
goes to present himself to the shaman with a gold necklace or
some other valuable present.

171 Each time the shaman goes to cure a sick person he takes
*756 with him two maracas. This custom is rather widespread in
South America, where the magic power of the maraca appears
755 to be extraordinary and is commonly accepted, although with
some variations from tribe to tribe whether in the [19] quality
of its different parts, in the artifacts adornment, in the manner
of using it, etc. To corroborate this it is sufficient to quote
Professor Métraux again, who says, in reference to the apprentice
shaman: "During his initiation the novice learns to make use of
the accessories indispensable to the magic art. The most im-
portant of all, that which in some manner symbolizes the profes-
sion is the maraca or rattle made from a calabash containing some
seeds or pebbles and provided with a handle." (15) [Cited in
French.]

15. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 217.

[352] The medicine man accommodates himself in a seat especially
reserved for such occasions and carved in wood in the form of an
animal, but if such an artifact is lacking, he will use any con-
venient seat. The custom of using a seat of this type is also found
in the Guianas. "The wooden seat is an equally indispensable
accessory for the shaman of the Guianas. It is often carved in the
form of a jaguar, an animal that plays an important part in the

171 [19 cont.]
*756 invocations of the spirits and in the metamorphosis of the shaman."
755 (16) [Cited in French.] The shaman moves his torso in gyra-

16. Ibid., I, 218.

tion. When he is in trance and effecting a cure which requires the invocation of the spirit, no noise must be made as this will cause the spirit to become frightened and to flee; and being left without his protector spirit, the shaman will suffer violent fits and fall to the ground in severe convulsions. The shaman [276] always carries a piece of manilla in these cases; he chews it and becomes intoxicated with the juice, which induces him to sing with greater verve. The juice of the manilla also serves to spray [824] the body of the patient as well as the walls and all around the house to frighten away the malignant spirit. This custom of the magic use of tobacco is also very common in America; not to overexpand the subject we limit ourselves to giving a simple example cited by Pauly with reference to the Araona Indians of Bolivia: "They use tobacco dust mixed with coca to cure their sick and ward off the evil spirits, chewing it and spitting the juice on the body of the sick person. They also spit it at the heavens to calm the storms and at the river when it is in flood." (17)

[113]

17. Pauly, Antonio. Ensayo de Etnografía Americana. Viajes y Exploraciones [Essay on American Ethnology. Voyages and Explorations], VI, 128.

755 The treatment really begins with a chant of invocation to the spirits. While the ceremony is performed the shaman continually chews tobacco and he rubs the juice formed by the saliva and the juice of the plant over the body of the patient; and immediately after this, he energetically sucks several consecutive times at the affected parts of the body of the sick man to draw [753] out [20] the malignancy. (The sickness that the native has, no matter what may be its special characteristics or from whence it may have arisen, is derived from the malevolent action of the

[20 cont.]

755 wanurú spirits of the dead, who have arrows similar to those used
[753] by the Indians for hunting, which are shot at individuals to cause
them sickness and pain.) The chant of the shaman is suspended
only while he is sucking the affected parts of the sick person's
body; then he immediately continues it again and returns to the
spitting, the rubbing, and the sucking of the painful areas. The
755 sick person should be confined to his home, and furthermore his
758 bed should be enclosed by curtains in the manner of a second
room within the main one. None may enter this place without
the express consent of the shaman. However, the witch some-
times permits the presence of a relative of the sick person, gen-
erally the sister or the wife, who can act as nurse, especially
during the moments when the shaman is resting. When he renews
his curative acts, they must withdraw again.

755 The songs which the shaman intones tell how his spirit is
753 searching for the soul of the sick man which the spirit of sick-
[533] ness and death has carried away to unknown regions which are
known only to it and to the spirit of the shaman. Often the
sick person's spirit does not let itself be caught by the shaman,
or it can happen that his soul is imprisoned, held by act and
wish of the wanurú, which can cause the shaman a great deal of
work. When through the intervention of his protector spirit he
succeeds in recovering the spirit of the patient, he must pay the
755 wanurú that held it prisoner a ransom for its liberation. This
782 spirit will then ask through the mouth of the shaman for whatever
gifts it may fancy. The shaman on his part transmits the op-
pressing spirit's demands to the sick man's relatives. These de-
mands take the form of requests for animals — cattle, goats,
sheep, etc., — of a certain color and special markings; orna-
ments of certain sizes and shapes; cloth, food and, at times,
things very difficult to find. The sick man's relatives hurry
to look everywhere for the requested items, and once found they
present them to the shaman and place them, if they are animals,
near him where he is "shamanizing." Other objects, such as
necklaces, cloth, etc., are placed in his hands. If the orders
*756 are not immediately complied with and in accordance with the
755 slightest detail, the shaman suffers very severe fits and attacks
and has to withdraw from assisting the patient. This is because,

[20 cont.]

*1756 as he is only the spirit's intermediary in the matter of the
755 negotiation between it and the patient and his relatives to free the sick man from its influence, the shaman must respond to all the demands that the spirit has made. If the sick man is cured, the shaman keeps all the gifts that were requested through him by the spirit that caused the sickness and those that his protector [21] spirit claimed for its part in the cure. If the treatment is not successful, it is usual for all gifts to be returned to the patient's relatives, although sometimes this is not done and the shaman takes possession of them, stating that they are sacred, that they belong to the spirits that intervened in the attempt at curing the sick man although this has not been successful.

Shamans state that when they are practicing their curing ceremonies, while they are endeavoring to wrest the patient's soul from its prison, they are carefully observing the sick man to determine whether his cure is possible or not. If it is obvious that it is not, they declare him past hope, after being well assured that the individual cannot be saved and after making sure that everything has been done to effect his cure. They also state that it is quite common when they are engaged in the exercise
*756 of their functions for their spirits to chat freely with them, at
775 which times they refer to events which are about to happen and
787 to their own destiny in the other life, in other words, what the shaman will be doing as a spirit once he ultimately dies. It is common to hear a spirit say, while conversing with the shaman in trance, "When you die you will know a country where there are many towns you know not of, crossed by wide, blue rivers."

Before proceeding further we consider it of interest to call attention to these latter words which the shaman claims he hears from his protector spirit, as they represent, in a certain way, the idea of a special heaven for these curers, a notion of life beyond the tomb which we shall see in greater detail later and, above all, the image of that new life; towns...crossed by wide, blue rivers, an ideal as logical as any when one takes into account the geographical situation of La Guajira, a land in which rivers and ravines, or even minor arroyos, are practically unknown due to the winds that dominate the peninsula.

[21cont.]

755 When the patient shows signs of improving, a fiesta is or-
796 ganized consisting of chicha-maya dances and feasting. For this
event they prepare in advance all that will be offered to the
participants; chicha made from chewed corn, plain or sweetened
with panela according to the economic situation of the sick man's
[534] family. The dance lasts one or more days and nights, as ordered
by the shaman, the only musical instrument used being the drum.
In order to end the fiesta, two or three steers and several goats
and sheep are killed if the hosts are rich. At four or five o'clock
in the morning, according to the shaman's wishes, the sick per-
[515] son is taken from his bed, and the curer himself bathes him with
soap and water, after which he is again carried indoors and is
permitted to stay up, but not to leave his dwelling. Slowly he
resumes normal living and the everyday diet. If the patient
should have a relapse, [22] the treatment is repeated. The
process of these cures may last up to two months, according to
the patient's condition.

No one is actually invited to the fiesta which is organized
[574] by order of the shaman when he has succeeded in curing a
patient. When people find out that such a fiesta is about to be
given from the characteristic beating of the drum, they ap-
proach without being invited and take part, joining in dancing
[273] the chich-amaya. The women are offered a bowl of chicha made
from chewed corn to take to their homes to drink there with their
families. Men are given rum or chicha. The women wear with
291 great pride their long ample robes, which cover them to the
755 ankles, their waireñas, or leather sandals with toe pieces made
796 of knitted wool and adorned with large tassels of the same ma-
556 terial, and a pañuelo around their heads, the corners of which
hang down their backs. If they are wealthy enough, they com-
plete their personal adornment with anklets and bracelets of
coral and necklaces of gold or tuma. The men also wear their
finest robes, which, hanging from one of their shoulders, cover
the upper part of their bodies. This is complemented by a
wide sash used to support the loincloth [guayuco], wider than
the one commonly used, that is, than that used in their daily
755 work. If animals are sacrificed — which depends on the wealth
796

755 [22 cont.]
796 of the patient or of his family — then those attending are presented with a good portion of meat.

*756 Shamanistic treatment of animals. When pestilence
281 breaks out among a Guajiro Indian's animals, he has no other known recourse to repel it than to seek the services of a shaman.
755 As he already knows in a way the accustomed ceremonial in such cases, he prepares days beforehand a sufficient quantity of corn chicha, which is used in the chicha-maya dances, and he invites a large group of women to come to the dance. He then calls in the shaman, who, once arrived on the scene, has all the animals collected and enclosed in a large corral. While this operation is being carried out, the shaman begins to prepare himself for the ceremony, inviting his protector spirit to cast out the pestilence, and dressing himself (or better said, undressing himself) in a neighboring hut as is customary for the ceremony of the cure of human beings, keeping on his loincloth if he is a man and her dress if a woman. He then places a crown of wool on his head and readies the maraca, which he keeps in his hand during the entire event. Following this, he enters the place where the animals are, goes in among them, and turns himself around in circles about them, continually shaking the maraca and spitting on their bodies the juice from the manilla he is continually chewing. During all this time, he intones his ritual invocatory chants, [23] which are different from those used for the cure of humans, and he never stops shaking the maraca. This operation generally lasts for several days and is only suspended for those moments when the shaman rests. When he considers that the evil spirits which have caused the pestilence have been successfully driven off, he suspends his activities and orders for the fiesta to begin, which is started by the sacrifice of an animal, the distribution of chicha to those present, and the dance. The animals are driven to the fields while numerous gunshots are
[77] fired (in older times arrows were shot off). These are intended
[78] to complete the work of the shaman in driving off the evil spirits of the disease.

*756 Shamans' dreams. When a shaman dreams of a long trip
787 through unknown territory, it is an evident sign that he is due to
[761] die. When the dream is over, he attempts through "shamanizing"

[23 cont.]

*756 to divine his future by means of a firebrand, and sees that it
787 does not burn or blaze. His spirit has abandoned him and no longer comes at his call. Finally, the spirit descends to him and says, "This has happened to you because you did not obey me on such-and-such an occasion."

Up to now there are two clear examples of the relation between unknown lands and death in the case of the shaman. Let us recall the talks held between the shaman and his protector spirit during the ceremony for curing a sick person, in which the protector spirit describes to him a marvelous country crossed by wide, blue rivers as a dwelling place to enter after death. Now this same representation reappears in his dream, which implies a vision of the world beyond the tomb to which he will shortly go.

[755] If during a curing ceremony he should dream that at some time during the dance which he has demanded for the total rehabilitation of the sick man he sees a group of rich Indian women arrive mounted on horses, bringing with them in a pitcher a small quantity of water or rum with which they bathe the sick person and then blow on him at midnight, this means that the sick man in question will recover completely and will not have a relapse.

751 At other times the shaman may dream that someone is
*756 going to be killed. To avert the danger he goes to the relatives
787 of the person dreamed of to order them to perform a sacrifice or ceremony such as the following. They must bring a heifer of a certain color, slaughter it at dawn, and bathe in its blood the Indian on whom the tragedy is to fall according to the dream. To end the ceremony they must hold a chicha-maya dance. The Indian referred to must follow strictly the orders of the shaman [24] otherwise, there is no doubt that a tragedy will befall him, so the natives affirm. (Cf. "Magic and Sacrifice.")

There is a story, for example, of a female shaman who dreamed that she should "shamanize" an Indian woman with rum and hold a chicha-maya dance, or otherwise death would rapidly overtake her. The woman of the dream did not obey the orders of the shaman, and a few days later she had a quarrel with her
[762] husband, who struck her, and, broken-hearted over her husband's action, she hung herself from a tree at midnight.

[24 cont.]

*7156 787 Shamans' dreams are interpreted by themselves in accordance with the elements that occur in them. We shall see how they do so.

If they dream that they see a burro tied to a post, turning continuously about it until it falls to the ground, it signifies that someone — the shaman will determine who — is going to die.

If in a dream they see a very swollen current of water, it implies that an interclan war will break out in the near future. If they dream of someone's death, this means that they are going to kill an animal, or it is simply the announcement of the death of the shaman himself. If, on the other hand, the dream refers to the death of an animal, it is a sign that some known person will be attacked by a serious sickness.

When the shaman dreams that a person has been bitten by a snake, that individual will be wounded by a poisoned arrow (imára), but, if during the dream some other person should kill the snake, it is a sign that both men involved in the action will have trouble and both will be wounded by poisoned arrows. If [614] in the dream two jaguars (representative animals of the Uriana clan) leap on someone, this person should be forewarned to be cautious in his relations with the Uriana, as the men of the Uriana clan are going to kill him.

Dreaming of fire is evidence of the presence of sickness accompanied by fevers; to dream of rain water in great abundance is a sure indication that in La Guajira, without stating exactly where, an important wake will be held in the near future, that is, that a wealthy Indian or Indian woman of good economic position is going to die. To see a male goat killed during a dream is to know that a boy is to be killed; to see a steer being sacrificed is to learn that an adult is to be killed. When the dream is about a small burro that is tied to a hitching post and circles around it and later falls down, this implies the death of a poor Indian. When the animal is a horse that makes the same circle, it implies the death of a wealthy Indian. To dream of blood always means a coming death in the group. [25]

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[25]

787 It is not only the shamans' dreams which have the power of
*756 prediction among these Indians. Dreams of the Indians in general, whatever their social or economic position, are revelations of the future to which the others religiously pay attention. The Indians believe in these dreams with the same fervor with which they fear the dead and comply with every ceremony related to them. One may say without fear of error that the Guajiro believes that the individual, when he dreams, is in a superior position to when he is living his everyday waking life. His spirit has become detached from his body; it is free to roam, and for this reason it can get into communication with those other spirits which are able to transmit future events.

The great value of the shaman's dreams stems from the fact that they are commensurate not only with his personal spirit but also with his protector spirit which uses him as a medium to foretell the future and communicate the events that will develop in a future time, showing the shaman at the same time what means to employ to overcome those possible evil developments already revealed to him in his dreams.

776 Protector spirits of the shamans. Every shaman has a set
*756 number of spirits that assist him in his magic practices and whose
787 role is to counsel him while he is carrying out the functions of his office. For example, they tell him: "Suck there; give him such a herb; and as payment for my advice make me a gift of such-and-such value without loss of time." This matter of a gift, as we have already seen, is important because if it is not strictly complied with, the spirit leaves the shaman and will not come to his aid again. It is very difficult for him to regain its favor so that it will return and collaborate with him. If, however, the gift is made in full compliance with the spirit's wishes, it gives immediate and, in many cases, efficacious assistance with great pleasure. Besides all this, when the shaman has enemies he also receives advice from his spirits who tell him: " 'Shamanize' a great deal and every day because you have enemies and are in danger. Do it frequently so that the evil may disappear just as the rains do in summer."

Some shamans have as many as seven such spirits, and each one is called by a special canticle. Mareiwa (18), for example,

18. This spirit, considered as the

*756 776 787

[25 cont.]

> universal god of the Guajiro Indians is none other than the protector divinity of rainfall and the propitiator of the harvests.

is invoked by a singular chant known by the name of fumayule, and wanurú, the spirit of sickness and of death by that of jirairay. The latter is the spirit that demands [26] offerings, the one that interposes himself in cases of sickness, impeding their cure, for it never wants to lose its hold on the sick person's soul it has imprisoned, so causing the illness. It is also the one which discusses with the shaman's protector spirits and the shaman himself the handing back of the patient's soul so that he can recover his lost health. We deem it necessary to make it clear that all the [775] spirits of the dead are named wanurú; for this reason their number is immense. The only difference that we have been able to establish between the wanurú and the shaman's protector spirits lies, in our opinion, in the fact that the latter are the spirits of 171 shamans who have died but who wish to keep on carrying out *756 their functions through others after death. Our statement is con- 775 firmed by Professor Métraux, who, quoting Tessman, affirms: 776 "The Campa and Amahuaca medicine men claim to receive their knowledge from some shaman, living or dead. Either the soul makes the advances and visits its pupil in a dream, or the novice, intoxicated with ayahuasca, sends his other self among the spirits to receive teaching." (19) [Cited in French.]

19. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 203.

And further along he states: "The auxiliary spirits can be of different kinds. Among the Taulipáng and the Roucouyenne [Rucuyen]" — according to Koch Grünberg — "they are the souls of former shamans, or spirits of plants or animals." And later: "The distinction between the two types of Bororo shamans is mainly based on the different origin of the spirits from which they derive their power. The shamans called bari are possessed by bope, ... which are either spirits of nature or souls of dead

[26 cont.]

colleagues. On the other hand, the aroettawaraare are mediums chosen by the souls of ancestors and their main function is to serve as intermediaries between the world of the living and that of the dead," according to Colbacchini. (20) [Cited in French.]

20. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 211.

Hubert and Mauss, speaking of magic revelations by the dead among Australian tribes, state as follows: "The simplest manner in which the authors describe this revelation consists in stating that the parents' spirits are those that give magic power to their children. The precision is even greater when the author expressly states, as does Howitt, with respect to the Kulin on the Wimmera River that only young men who have seen their mother's spirit seated on her grave are capable of becoming wizards." (21) And specifically in one of the stories narrated

21. Hubert and Mauss. Op. cit.

to our colleague Chaves in La Guajira with relation to the shaman Umaralí, [27] we find the following statement: "Every afternoon Umaralí set out to walk to the cemetery to visit the grave of his aunt and to light fires to her memory – she having been a very wise shaman – but on one occasion he had a clear vision of his aunt for whom he was grieving, and she said to him: "Go, my son, to the region of Jarara, take my cloak and my maraca, visit the sick and "shamanize" them, and only thus will you find the true path." (22)

22. Chaves, Micíades. Mitos, legendas, etc. [Myths, Legends, etc.], p. 322.

With respect to the number of each shaman's protector spirits, we can state that Josefina, one of our personal informants, had eight, three male and the rest female. The names by which these spirits were known were the following: benawa,

[27 cont.]
*756 turpirawa, muchirawai, males; and anapaura, uríwatana, waré-
775 ké-narú, waiwána, and parárijuna, females.
776 The common spirit of sickness and death, wanurú, in its malignant sense, can be possessed by a shaman, but its possession
[755] implies dangers as because of it the shaman can become insane, foolish, or paralytic. It is such an aggressive, haughty, and hateful spirit that, when it turns against a shaman, does so so vindictively that he is compelled to ask all the other spirits to aid him against the jiraíray or wanarú.

But shamans do not know the origin of the spirits in the majority of cases. They do not know from where they come, only that they come from an unknown place, dressed like aríjuna (civilizados). They are wanurú that assist them in the struggle against sickness, which is also called wanurú. The personal spirit of the shaman, as we have said, does not intervene directly in the healing. It is those other spirits, the ones that have taken possession of him ever since he was initiated into the magic arts, which do so. His personal spirit does not have a special name, nor does the personal spirit of any of the Indians. Only on the shaman's death does his spirit take the common name wanurú and a special one if he has been a very outstanding curer.

In general terms, two other classes of spirits exist: that of the shaman himself, of which we have already spoken, and that of the diviner. These two spirits, however, can be absorbed by one person, but this absorption requires two special preparations, one for each activity. The more common procedure is for the shaman to be a diviner also, as this will help him considerably in carrying out his functions, for, on being [28] called to accomplish a cure, he can by means of his prophetic art consult with the firebrand or the tobacco (Cf. "Magic and Medicine") and find out if the sick person in question will recover. In accordance with the results of his findings, he will or will not try to cure him.

114 Referring to prophecy, Uricoechea in his introduction to
767 Celedón's Guajiro Grammar refutes — we do not know on what authority — the statement of Ensign de la Rosa when the latter states that the Indians divine by means of tobacco, and says:

[28 cont.]

114 "Shamans still augur by the direction of smoke, not by smoking
787 tobacco as de la Rosa tells us, but by lighting a small faggot of firewood, tinder, or cotton." (23) But neither the one nor the

[113]

23. Celedón, Rafael. Gramática, Catecismo i Vocabulario de la lengua guajira. Introduccion. [Grammar, Catechism, and Vocabulary of the Guajiro Language. Introduction], p. 25.

other is totally mistaken since, as we have already seen and will note again later, the two systems, divination by means of the firebrand or by tobacco, are actually employed in La Guajira.

*756 With respect to the relations between the shaman and his
775 protector spirits in general, Métraux affirms: "The relations
776 between the shaman and his familiar spirit have been fully analyzed by Barrere: 'Every piaye claims to have a genie, or rather a familiar demon, with which he has a close relationship, and by its intervention he carries out his wishes. This supposed genie is not always so submissive that it does not sometimes get away when it thinks it opportune, escaping to accomplish all the evil it can against the Indians, after which it will return to its abode. The main use of this genie is to assist the piayes either to chase out demons or to carry out some revenge, according to their will, and to kill whatever Indians they see fit, as their power extends equally to heal illnesses or to bring them on those on whom they wish to take revenge.'" (24) [Cited in French.]

24. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 212.

*756 Taboos of the shamans. Shamans are obliged to observe most strictly a series of taboos, related chiefly to sex, to nutrition in general, and to objects they receive in payment for curing sick persons or animals. We shall describe each one of these separately.

[28 cont.]

K756 834 833 Referring to the sexual aspect, we have the following facts: 1) a woman of licentious habits can never get to exercise the office of shaman; the spirit would never take up residence within her; 2) the unmarried woman who is initiated into the profession may have sexual relations only when she marries in accordance with established rites, but with certain limitations. [29] She may cohabit with her husband, and exclusively with him, in spite of the phrases used by the spirit at the time of initiation, "You may not sleep (cohabit) with your husband," but she must carry out the sexual act quickly and get up from the matrimonial hammock as soon as it is finished; for if not, they will see in the doorway of their habitation a shadow, in appearance like a civilizado, who will speak into her ear saying: "I do not like your sleeping with your husband because you do not belong to him. You are mine, you are my loved one." The woman therefore must perform coitus as hurriedly as if she were committing a crime.

K756 842 When a woman shaman marries, her spirit advises her as follows: "So that you may not have children, since you are always with your husband in spite of my prohibition, put skeins of wool on your wrists and on your ankles and around your waist like a sirapo [loincloth], and tie a piece of onion to the wool." The Indian woman who related this said that she had obeyed the spirit's instructions in every detail, and she had never had any more children. The spirit demanded a gold necklace from her as recompense for its counsel.

K756 834 776 787 Another female shaman with whom we had the opportunity to converse recounted the following to us: When she married, the spirit told her that it cared for her no longer. When she inquired the cause of this, the spirit replied that it was due to the fact that after having been with her husband, she had a smell of male goat, an odor which it did not like. The shaman explained to the spirit that she had married because her parents had sold her. The spirit was quite angered with her and had no wish to return to inspire her; it did not want her to marry because she belonged to it and not to anyone else. Finally it agreed to the formula that she might cohabit with her husband but must not linger over the sexual act.

[29 cont.]

*756 When the woman becomes pregnant, the spirit puts up with
533 the situation without getting angry, but it does not show any such
834 patience if she delays a length of time in the sexual act with her husband, or if she sleeps by his side throughout the night.

The female shaman's obligation, in the sexual aspect, goes to the length of forcing her to be but a passive entity during coitus, not permitting her body the slightest motion and also not permitting any endearments from her husband before the sexual act. When these dispositions are disobeyed, the shaman finds
[787] herself suffering during the night from especially terrifying and horrible dreams which fill her with fears and anxieties.

*756 The man who marries a shaman gets to understand his
693 wife's situation, and for this reason he is prudent in his actions: He does not demand anything but the strictly indispensable, and he is in accord with her in all matters related to her special state. [30]

*756 But in spite of all these prohibitions, the female shaman
776 who becomes pregnant receives aid from the spirit at the time
844 of giving birth. This assistance consists of an easy delivery of her baby and of counsel her spirit gives her on the simplest form of giving birth, the remedies she should take, etc.

*756 The shaman must not perform ceremonial acts of curing
84 when she is in her menstrual period because the patient will be-
843 come worse instead of improving. However, pregnancy does not present any obstacle to her activities, and she may accomplish cures during the entire period of gestation.

*756 In the case of a male shaman, the spirit permits him to be
834 with his wife, but for a very short time; he is also allowed, as
[595] are the rest of the Guajiro, to have several wives.

In summary, women shamans must cohabit exclusively with their husbands, avoiding all endearments, movements, the prolongation of coitus, and pregnancy. They may not exercise their functions during their menstrual periods. The male shaman also must be moderate in the sexual aspect and limit himself to his wife, or wives, as the case may be.

*756 The food taboo is limited to prohibiting the shaman from
262 eating the flesh of such animals as he has received in payment

[30 cont.]

*756 for his services as a curer; the flesh of animals sacrificed during
262 anyone's wake or during the ceremony of the second burial, especially if it is the remains of a shaman which are to be exhumed; ordinary food during the days on which he is carrying out his profession when he should limit himself to a small portion of corn mazamorro [cooked crushed corn] and water. Hence, the cattle
[422] he receives at his spirit's request in exchange for his cures are used in an indirect manner, being kept for breeding purposes.

171 We also find that the food taboo among shamans is characteristic among the Cashinawa Indians, according to the text
260 published by Capistrano de Abreu and cited by Métraux. Accord-
*756 ing to them the souls (spirits) say to the initiate: "I have innoculated you with the magic substance. Do not, therefore, eat carelessly any sort of nourishment or you will lose your magic power (feitico). Eat sparingly. Drink soup, eat cooked bananas and fish. Eat nothing but that!"

They say: "When you do not eat [sic]. Do not eat the tapir, do not eat the deer, do not eat the peccary, do not eat jaguar, do not eat nambú, do not eat the jacau, do not eat the cujubin, do not eat the coati, do not eat the guariba, do not eat the monkey. These are the foods that you may not eat. If you do eat them [31] we will kill you, say the spirits. Among vegetables do not eat sweet potatoes, sweet manioc, or the innames." (25) [Cited in French.]

25. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 204.

*756 So far as the other objects that the shaman receives as pay-
422 ment for his work, neither may he use these directly. He simply keeps them, or he gives them to his children [hijos] as he does
[422] with the cattle. These objects, if they are not handed over while he is alive, will be divided up after his death among his heirs in accordance with Guajiro customary law....

*756 Death of a shaman. When a shaman becomes ill he has to
765 call in a colleague to practice on him all the ceremonies and rites indispensable for fending off the illness, since curers have the power to cure others but are not able to cure themselves.

[31 cont.]

753 If the shaman's illness and the announcement of his death
755 are provoked by the displeasure of his protector spirit, there
*756 generally is no possibility of calling in another shaman to carry
776 out the ceremonies of curing. The illness of the shaman more than being his alone is an illness of the protector spirit; it is thus different from all other illnesses known to the natives. The shaman himself cannot help; he does not know how to apply the remedies he may have used in similar cases. He only, and this on few occasions, applies hot water to his chest. At other times the spirit may have pity on him and may come and recommend some special remedy to him, indicating at the same time where he can obtain it. The sick shaman then takes the remedy, and his sickness is immediately alleviated.

*756 On the death of a shaman it is obligatory to hold a wake
766 for at least three consecutive days, because the attacks which shamans have ("states of ecstasy") are so frequent and on occasion prolonged for a considerable time, that there is the possibility that he may not be really dead. The natives, then, do not wish to give a shaman burial until they are convinced of his death. There is also the belief that when such persons die they do not follow the same cycle as other mortals, since their bodies do not become hard and stiff but remain soft and lax, as if they were only sleeping. At the conclusion of these three obligatory days of the wake, they carry him away for burial. They wash the body and fasten his shroud as they do for others. But his crown, his maraca, and all his clothes are first broken and torn and later buried in a special place in the woods, or are thrown away in a lonely place. They must not place these objects with him in his grave [32] because the spirit of the dead shaman would return, very angry with the persons who had done such a thing, and would punish their disrespect in some form or another.

*756 The dead shaman's spirit wanders everywhere like all other
775 spirits, it goes to the place where his body lived, to places well
787 known to it, but it is always accompanied by its protector spirit, from which it will never become separated. Both the protector spirit and its protege may descend on a new shaman in order to assist him. This is probably the explanation of the possession of

[32 cont.]

*756 various spirits by one person. They are several spirits associated
775 by this post-mortem relationship which act inseparably in their
787 function as counselors.

It is also very probable that the protector spirits invoked by the shamans may not be anything other than the spirits of famous deceased shamans of times past to whom they turn for aid. In this case they would only have to make a change of name due to the taboo relating to the use of the name of dead persons, which we shall explain in the corresponding chapter.

• • •

114 Before continuing with our subject, we wish to make cer-
171 tain clarifying statements with respect to the presence of women
562 in the science of magic in La Guajira and in general among
*756 primitive Americans. We have already seen that among the Guajiro Indians the only basic condition required to become a shaman is what we have called the "revelation," accompanied by the symptoms described earlier. The sex, age, or economic and social position of the person is not taken into account in any way. It is, as we have stated, only necessary to be of a hysterical nature. However, Métraux in his work which we have repeatedly quoted states:

"In tropical South America the profession of shaman appears to be as a general rule reserved for the masculine sex. One does find, however, among many writers reference to women shamans." (26) [Cited in French.] According to these authors

26. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 198.

quoted by Métraux, (Rochefort, Roth, Koch, Grünberg, and Ives d'Evreux), women shamans are to be found in the Antilles and among the Tupinamba, Taulipang, Arekuna [Arekena], and Macushi [Macusi].

With reference especially to women shamans in La Guajira, Métraux maintains the following, based on Petrullo's The Yaruros of the Capanaparo River: "Among the Arawak tribe of the Guajiro

[32 cont.]

114 the number of women shamans is greater than that of the men
171 piai. At the suggestion of these latter, women will enter the
562 profession following a call from the spirit world and [33] are
*756 initiated into the secrets of their art by an experienced shaman who at night teaches them to handle the rattle and sing their magic songs." (27) [Cited in French.] He likewise quotes cases

27. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 199.

of women shamans among the ancient Mojo Indians of eastern Bolivia and the Itonama, neighbors of those previously mentioned (28), as well as among the Apapocuva (Guaraní), the

28. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 199.

Cobeuo, the Palikur, and the Carajá (29).

29. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 200.

Further on, speaking of the role of women in witchcraft, he says: "With the exception of the passage in Ives d'Evreux..." (relative to the Tupinamba) "there does not exist any description of a shamanistic seance of the current type being directed by a *female piai. This hiatus is perhaps due to the poverty of our* sources, but it is also revelatory of the real position of women in shamanism. The profession is open to them, but the role they play in it is modest. It appears they limit themselves to simple and easy cures, to various remedies, and to the recital of charms. Women do not usually take part in the invocation of spectacular spirits before the extraction of pathogenic substances. It is certainly not through the effect of simple coincidence that women shamans appear especially in the cultures that have come strongly under European influence (Guajiro, Yaruro, Palikur, Warrau, Itonama, and Guaraní, etc." (30) [Cited in French.]

30. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 200.

[33 cont.]

114 We do not wish to question Professor Métraux's statement
197 about the influence of White contact in relation to medicine-
562 women in the other groups cited by him, as we are not objec-
*756 tively acquainted with them. But with regard to the Guajiro, we have to make the clarification that in the descriptions collected by us in the field, it is precisely the woman who really initiates magic, or better said shamanism, among the Indians, when she obliges her nephew to follow her own career. This aspect can be better understood when the reader comes to the section of this chapter entitled "The shaman in oral literature." [174] The fact that women appear as shamans in oral literature demonstrates the antiquity of the institution, as this literature faithfully preserves the most remote traditions of the group.

*756 The shaman, man of two worlds. All that we have seen in connection with the life cycle of the Guajiro shaman makes us think that he is what we have called him in the subtitle that heads these paragraphs: a man of two worlds — the world of the living and the world of the spirits of the dead. [34]

*756 The communication which he establishes after all the
554 preparatory ceremonies with one or several protector spirits who lavish on him every kind of counsel and instruction and even protect him against evil in all its manifestations: illness, enemies, public calamities, etc., make of him a man distinct from all the rest. His status is superior to that of other mortals because in his hands he has power over both good and evil. It is this duality that binds with his science a man who is both sacred and human, a being respected by all but feared at the same time, a good man, able to cure illnesses, but also a malignant being, liable to let loose the fury of the spirits beyond the grave. He is respected, loved, feared, and even, we might dare to say, profoundly hated.

[783] What predominates in him above all is the characteristic of impurity due to contamination from death. Sacred and impure become confounded in him: he is sacred because he is untouchable, and he is untouchable because of his participation with death through his protector spirits.

*756 His dual position as inhabitant of two worlds, involuntary it is true, depends on two fundamentally simple facts: first, his

[34 cont.]

*756 being a mortal, a man who came into the world like any other; second, his having been designated by the spirits of the dead, and especially by those of other dead shamans, as we have seen in one of the previous sections. We have said that his position is involuntary, because neither of his two natures as a human being or as a shaman has been chosen by him nor can he renounce them. The first requires no explanation, it would be paradoxical. The second we have already seen: the spirit, once having chosen the person in whom he is going to lodge, causes him to overcome — according to Guajiro belief — the first attacks (apparent death), an evident sign of his future function in society. The words of this protector from the other world to the future shaman tell us with complete clarity how impossible it is to renounce this vocation and, for the same reason, how involuntary his position is. "Eat manilla, because if you do not, you will die." It is an imperative, not a suggestion nor a call to the vocation. It is, from that moment, the neat expression of the absolute domination the individual must submit himself to in order to exercise the function of curer magician of his group, a domination that does not cease for a moment and which only disappears at his death, when his spirit, allied to that of the protector, decides to take possession of another person in order to subject that person to its will. [35]

Now we can understand better the role of manilla in acts of magic. "If you do not eat manilla you will be a dead man." The manilla is, in a way, a symbol of the shaman; it is what puts him in contact with the spirits. Without it he will not become a true curer. And without eating it, neither will he himself return to life. The apparent death which the attack which we call a hysterical fit represents will be converted into real death if he does not obey the spirit's order to eat manilla; that is, the individual will not be resuscitated. This also supports the thesis we have been expounding that the shaman is a man of two worlds, since he has really been in the world of spirits during his attack, or revelation.

*756 775 The shaman acts neither by himself nor for himself. All his activities and the performance of his functions are determined by and through the spirits which have deigned to dispense

[35 cont.]

*756 their protection to him. When he is performing the ceremonial
775 indispensable for freeing the body and soul of a patient from the clutches of the wanurú, he represents nothing but the role of intermediary between two worlds and especially between two classes of spirits — that of his protector who wishes to save the sick person and that of others now dead who desire above all
[153] that the evil they have caused the person of the sick man should continue until it ends with his death, so that in this way they can avenge an offense received, or simply satisfy some capricious wish of their own, as beings capable — because of their position as inhabitants of another world, a position superior to everything we can imagine in this mortal universe — of doing any harm they wish.

755 This position of intermediary is clearly shown in the cere-
*756 mony of curing. The communication must be made through definite material objects which take on in their turn the character of untouchables: the maraca, the crown, the tassels which contain a representation of goat dung, and the tobacco or manilla, objects which cannot be used by others but only by shamans during their moments of trance or invocation; the solitude to which the curer submits himself during his invocations, with only his patient present, for fear that the protector spirit might disappear and refuse to give aid in the cure which the shaman is trying to effect; his protector spirit's demands for certain objects to satisfy the voracity of harmful spirits or its own, demands which must be complied with to the letter; the ritual chants which relate the different moments of agreement between the harmful spirits and that of the shaman; the sacrifice of an animal determined by the spirit — male goat, sheep, etc. — as recompense for the spirit's favors; and lastly, the expressed prohibition that rests on the shaman not to eat or use the [36] animals or objects that he receives in payment for his cures. All these are facts which clearly indicate that the shaman is no more than an intermediary or an earthly representative of the spirits of good, or even of evil, and above all of the dead shamans who wish to continue exerting their beneficial influence on the group to which they belonged in life.

171 This function of communication with the spirits, annexed
*782 to, and inseparable from, the personality of the medicine man,
787

[36 cont.]

171 is universal. It is, so to speak, the ultimate end of his mission
*756 in the community. Professor Pinto reaffirms it when, speaking
787 of the Tupinambá pagé, he writes as follows. "Another of the functions or callings of the pagé was to communicate with the spirits or with the devil.... Frequently, as Nóbrega gives us to understand, by means of the maraca ...." And further on: "Naturally, the power to communicate with the spirits raised the pagé to the category of xamá. The xamá in Herbert König's exact definition is characterized by his faculty of speaking with the spirits, especially, in his moments of trance or ecstasy. Or, as Robert H. Lowie explains, the xamá is a kind of "medium" who possesses the gift of relating himself with the supernatural and serving as its interpreter." (31) [Cited in French.]

[113]

31. Pinto Recife, Esteban. La extraña figura del Pagé Tupinambá [The Strange Figure of the Tupinambá Pagé], pp. 323-324.

171 Our contention regarding the involuntary nature of the pro-
*756 fession of shaman, and by the same token its irrenouncibility, is sustained by this report which Métraux has taken from Nimuendajú with reference to the Bororó: "The Bororó who is called upon to become a bari (medicine man) receives a mysterious order to deliver himself up in the bush, where the spirit will manifest itself to him in the form of a monkey or a water hog and will demand his submission. As a sign of acquiescence, he will give up his bow and arrows. His head will whirl; a thousand colors will dance before his eyes; he has become a bari." (32) [Cited in French.]

32. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 203.
Italics are ours.

*756 Apart from this domination to which the spirits subject the
828 shaman, converting him into a creature at the service of their wishes, there is another factor, perhaps more important in its external form than the previous ones and one that makes us think more of the double life of the shaman: This is his frequent attacks,

[36 cont.]

*756 attacks which are considered as an apparent death, a separation
828 of the soul from the body of the shaman in order that he may obtain a better communication with the spirit. These attacks take place frequently in the ordinary life of the shaman and appear especially when he is interrupted in his state of ecstasy or of illumination, in his moments of spiritual conversation, and suggest, in a certain way, an elation, a way of escaping from the [37] earthly life to inhabit for a few moments the world of the dead, which is his real world to which he belongs through the express decision of his protector spirits.

773 The shaman in oral literature: Our colleague Licentiate
539 Chaves collected in La Guajira a series of stories which were published in the Boletín de Arqueología, one of which refers to the shaman Umaralá. This story tells us that in "former times there were bad shamans who collected much and did not cure." (33) The one who changed this situation was Umaralá, making

33. Chaves. Op. cit., 321.

use of certain secrets for cures, accompanied by chants and shaking of the maraca. He was initiated into the magic arts by his aunt, who was a good shaman. His initiation coincided precisely with a relapse from an illness which he had contracted during a period of pestilence in La Guajira. The symptoms described in the story are the following: "He lost his power of speech, suffered continuous attacks, lost consciousness." His aunt dedicated herself to his care, and he "heard the arguments that his aunt sustained in her chants with the spirit of the dead, who was none other than Jirairai, who however criticized all the old shaman's chants. He clearly heard the spirit say: "Either you die or your son dies." (34) The shaman invoked the help

34. Chaves. Op. cit., 321-322.

of a new spirit, but in the end she died in order to save her nephew.

The latter, together with his bond servant, buried his aunt and complied with all the ceremonies pertaining to the dead,

[37 cont.]

703 until one night when he was weeping for his dead aunt, she ap-
539 peared to him and said: "Go, my son, to the region of Jarara, take my cape and my maraca, visit the sick, and "shamanize" them, and only thus will you find the true path. But first you must change your name ... to that of Umaralá." (We see here another sign of apparent death, the change of name.) "The vision disappeared, and Umaralá felt obliged to obey what he had heard. He visited the sick, "shamanized" them, and drove away their sicknesses, and his fame as a great doctor ran throughout all La Guajira." (35)

35. Chaves. Op. cit., 322.

The story goes on to tell the amazing cures accomplished by Umaralá and in general the story of his life as a shaman until the moment of his death.

*756 What interests us in this story is simply the proof in the
538 oral legendary literature of La Guajira of what we have been expounding throughout this chapter, that is, the symptomatology of the vocation of shaman represented by special sicknesses — usually of a hysterical [38] type — in which are involved the *loss of speech and consciousness; delirium, possibly feverish*, accompanied by visions and attacks; the initiation by an old shaman familiar with the tasks of curing; the presence of a protector spirit who has complete mastery over the pupil and dominates his will completely; the presence likewise of the magic objects of the shaman; the maraca and certain items of dress, etc.; the total lack of free will on the part of the individual about becoming a shaman, a profession which makes him strictly subject to the wishes of the spirits whom he must obey blindly. We have only to remember the words of his aunt to Umaralá and especially the words of the story, "Umaralá felt obliged to obey what he had heard ...": the fact that the protector spirit is generally that of a dead shaman who continues to exercise his functions, his true functions of curing, through an intermediary: the living shaman. In other words, the shaman is really converted into a benefactor, or better still into a true

[38 cont.]

538 medicine man, after his death, and it is only then that he can
*756 himself exercise his profession by himself, having at his service a terrestial intermediary, to whom he communicates by various means his methods of curing, events of the future, etc. This equally confirms our thesis, fully expounded previously, that the shaman is a man of two worlds: the world of the living and the world inhabited by the spirits of the dead. Lastly, it reaffirms what we have said in reply to Métraux's statement, that the feminine institution of shamanism in La Guajira is not due to the influence of European culture (which is only now beginning to be strongly felt) but is as ancient as their oral literature.

174 Present position of the shaman. If we consider socio-
565 economic conditions in La Guajira in the Pre-conquest epoch, which placed the natives in a position of a people engaged essentially in hunting and in fishing on the coasts (36), we have to

36. Restrepo Tirado says: "The Guajiro and Cocina [Kusina] Indians occupy La Guajira Peninsula. They were nomads and lived by hunting and fishing in improvised encampments, which they moved from one site to another." (Historia de la Provincia de Santa Marta [History of the Province of Santa Marta], 1st, I, 15.)

accept as a fact a virtual equality between the different clans which composed the community. The superiority of one or various clans over the rest was possibly due to their greater aptitudes for war or the greater number of fighting men they had at their command. Riches would be represented by valuable adornments, necklaces of gold or of tuma, pearls, etc. [39]

174 In such a state of affairs under the primitiveness which we
554 can presume existed in the Guajiro community of that time, the
*756 shaman must have occupied the first place in the social hierarchy. His undiminished supernatural powers, his position as intermediary between the community and the world of the dead, the fears which his powers provoked were all sufficient reasons for him to be respected and feared above all and by all.

[39 cont.]

105 175 177 But the Conquest came. The Guajiro Indian kept his independence by means of wars and raids and maintained his personality intact as far as possible. His internal organization endured and continued manifesting itself without changes for a time; family organization, bond service, slavery, interclan wars, the laws of inheritance and compensation payment, all the social structure, including marriage, continued in the traditional forms. However, the theft of livestock from the neighboring Spanish ranches began, and the Guajiro Indians learned to master the art of stock grazing until they became converted into a group of herders with occasional agriculture, hunting, and fishing.

The situation was thus undergoing a change apparently gentle in the form it took, but violent in the results it produced on marriage, inheritance, the status of the clan as a collectivity and of the individual in particular, which we attribute to the cause just noted and also to the acculturation provoked by the ever increasing number of civilizado elements in the peninsula: missionaries, military men, employees, traders, and adventurers, who have managed to introduce, as we have said in the introduction, a number of customs from their places of origin, still small [in number] but which slowly are beginning to undermine the social organization of the natives.

177 +1756 [1947] All this has clashed with the strongest institution of primitive La Guajira, the shaman, who has had to withstand the challenge of the missionaries, who inculcate in the Indians' minds Catholic beliefs or Christian beliefs in general, absolutely opposed to the primary animism and the magic laws which determined, and still determine, in part the acts, lives, and deaths in general of all and each one of the members of the Guajiro community.

The new concept of wealth based on stock grazing, the presence of civilizado elements, the network of communications that now crosses the peninsula, the decisive action of the missionaries and schools have all combined to reduce the shaman to his minimum proportions. Of course, there still remain elements in the native which allow one to classify him as framed by a magic mentality, but external influences are carrying him

[39 cont.]

177 in the direction of civilization, which [40] powerfully attracts
*756 him. We can almost affirm that if the medical and hygienic services of La Guajira were intensified by the Colombian government, in the course of a few years the shaman would disappear as an institution in the peninsula, and the greater part of the aborigines' magic beliefs, especially with respect to sickness and death, would disappear from the collectivity and would remain only as folkloristic manifestations which recall his presence in times past.

*756 The decadence of this institution can be noted very easily if we look at what Uricoechea says in the introduction to the
558 work already cited: "They always had their shamans, or curers,
177 and diviners to consult and respect. The shamans had their schools in the woods, and they were legislators in addition to being doctors; furthermore, they were the priests and interpreters of observances and beliefs which they, in common with all the inhabitants of America, had." (37) Compare what is

37. Celedón, Rafael. Op. cit., Introduction, p. 20.

said in these paragraphs with all that we have stated, and you will note the enormous decrease in prestige that the shaman has suffered in La Guajira in the space of a few lustrums.

[41] III

Magic and Sacrifice

782 In Guajiro culture we can distinguish four types of sacrifices:

1. Those of a funeral ritual character.
2. Those of a harmful warlike character.
3. Those made to forestall the effects of dreams.
4. Those made to propitiate the protector spirit of the shamans.

[41 cont.]

764 1. The first of these types refers to the custom established
782 among them of sacrificing, during the wake of any member of the community, a number of animals belonging to the dead man (cows, bulls, goats, sheep), the meat of which is divided among those attending the wake along with the corresponding drink, which in these days is rum but in times past was chicha.

The reason given for the sacrificing of animals during a
[767] wake in answer to the question is that this is done in deference to the guests and especially to those whom we could call "professional mourners," who spend all day and all night moaning over the corpse. But on observing certain practices and particularly certain taboos regarding the meat of these sacrificed animals, one has to think rather of the ritual character of the sacrifice.

It is a fact that the relatives — sons, daughters, nephews
262 [and nieces, sabrinos], brothers [and sisters, hermanos] etc. —
764 of the deceased cannot eat the meat of animals sacrificed during
783 the wake or during the later ceremony of secondary burial, as this,
782 according to their belief, would be equivalent to eating their dead kinsman's flesh. This taboo, imposed on the deceased's relatives, serves to prove to us — so far as it is possible to deduce — the ritual aspect of the sacrifice of the dead man's livestock, stock which on being slaughtered takes on the same untouchable or magical quality, which the individual takes on when he disappears from the world of the living and enters the universe of the dead. [42] To put this more plainly, the animals sacrificed are contaminated by their dead owner.

The untouchable quality of the animal sacrificed at the
[765] wake or in the ceremony that accompanies the second burial is supported by the following fact. The belief exists in La
[843 Guajira that if during pregnancy the mother or the father of the
753] future child is present at the exhuming of a corpse, the child is born sickly, suffers from permanent diarrhea and night sweats,
755 and gets more and more pale and progressively thinner. Its
765 illness continues to get worse, and none of the familiar remedies have the desired effect. The parents then resort to the following system of curing (a system which with some variations is also common among the people of the town of Santander). They wait until there is an exhumation ceremony, and then

[42 cont.]

755 765 they put the child inside one of the animals sacrificed for the occasion, taking care that the body of the animal is still warm, with the object that the child enter in the warmth.

If they cannot take the sick child to the place where the ritual ceremony is to be performed, the parents take a bone of the sacrificed animal, let it dry, and later cook it in a large quantity of water, with which they subsequently bathe the body of the child. The successful effect should be attained at the first bath or after several successive ones.

755 There is another system of curing this sickness, which the Guajiro call "the chill of the tomb." The presence of the parents at the wake has infected the unborn child with the coldness of the tomb which the dead man is about to occupy. For this reason, the important thing is to drive out the cold, for which they resort to the substitute (when there is no possibility of an exhumation ceremony in the near future) of digging a hole in the earth, approximately the size of the child, placing him in it and then covering him up to the neck with the displaced earth.

755 764 978 In any case, as can be seen, the second method is no *more than a substitute for the required and definitive remedy.* In the first case there are two magic associations: the participation, passive and involuntary, of the dead man in the transmission of the sickness; and the other, more active, of the cure through the sacrificed animal, which, as we noted, participates in the taboo by virtue of the sacrifice. If it were simply a matter of the cold-hot association, that is, if the idea were to drive the cold out of the sick child's body, the most practical and rapid way would be the third, that is, to put the child's body in an excavated hole and cover it with the displaced earth, so that heating by the sun may bring about the desired effect, particularly if one takes into account the high temperatures that are reached during [43] the day in the semidesert of La Guajira. But there is something more; there is the magic character of the ceremony of the sacrifice — which is undoubtedly diminishing through the effects of acculturation — but of which there remains at least the idea of utilizing the magic power of the sacrificed animal, or part

[43 cont.]

755 of the same — the bone which is left to dry and then cooked —
764 which also participates in its power, because in the primitive
778 mentality the part is accepted as the whole, or at least shares in the power of the whole, even at a distance.

556 Another meaning that the sacrifice of animals has is that related to the status of the individual in his other life. One of
436 the points of reference of status in La Guajira is wealth, which
437 is nearly always equivalent to the possession of a larger or lesser number of heads of livestock. Livestock represents, in certain aspects, Guajiro currency, since interchanges, blood payments, etc., are always based on a definite number of heads of livestock, besides of course necklaces of tuma, gold, etc.

556 Naturally, if an individual occupies a certain social posi-
764 tion in life, it is logical that when he goes to the other life, to
775 the world of the dead, he occupies an identical position or tries to better the one he had in life. This, then, is one of the reasons why certain of his possessions are placed near or in his tomb, and to complete his "equipment" for the next world, a number of animals are sacrificed, the higher his position in society the greater the number, so that these may give him the desired *social position in the world of the spirits.*

764 The association, then, is easy to establish: If the individ-
775 ual in dying passes to a new life similar to the one he led on
825 earth, then the animal, a living being with a soul like the man, on dying must also pass on to occupy a place in the other world. This, of course, is only our own supposition. But we find no other explanation of the Guajiro statement that the animals should be sacrificed so that they can accompany their owner to the other world and give him an advantageous position among the other spirits.

764 The sacrifice implies above all an act of magic. The fact
784 that the dead man's close relatives must not eat the meat of the
778 sacrificed animals, because it would be like eating the flesh of their relative himself, establishes the relation between the owner and his property in the sense that the latter shares his personality. And as the dead man is sacred, or at least taboo, that is, sacred in the sense of being untouchable, so also are the things that he owned; the animals — which are [44] to accompany

[44 cont.]
him on his journey and which remain his only possessions, since the rest will be distributed among his heirs -- take on the quality of untouchables.

2. The poisoned arrow. The second sacrifice about which we gathered information has a greater importance than the previous one for two reasons: first, because it is the sacrifice of a human being, and second, because it is linked to a series of ceremonies set in motion to obtain a certain end, the deadly power of the imára, or poisoned arrow, or better said, the magic arrow.

This sacrifice, so far as we could observe, is no longer practiced in La Guajira. According to the information gathered, it was practiced exclusively by the Kusina Indians, inhabitants of the sierra of that name. They were bellicose Indians, warriors, robbers, and animal stealers, who kept the other communities of the peninsula in an incessant state of tension by their attacks and evil-doings. We think it interesting to point out here that these Indians, commonly known as Cocina, according to all the information obtained did not constitute in *absolutely a separate cultural group*. Their language was the same as that of the other Guajiro; their customs were relatively the same, and their physical type identical. Everything seems to indicate that they were no more than social outcasts, all those who, for crimes committed and not paid for in accordance with established laws, had found it necessary to unite themselves into societies outside the law. The question is not entirely clear, and it will be difficult to make it so because Kusina Indians are no longer found in La Guajira.

Bows and arrows stood out among the arms used by the Guajiro, (We say "stood" out because now they chiefly use rifles of foreign make). One of these arrows, which they call poisoned, bears the name of imára. The shaft of this arrow is made of a thin piece of wood taken from the tree called parára and measures approximately 80 centimeters in length. At the upper end of this sharpened shaft is placed poison of a ray or the bone of a poisonous serpent. This imára is what the Kusina Indians used as a last resort in their battles with Whites or with

[44 cont.]

411 some of the Guajiro communities during their pillaging expedi-
648 tions.
724 The value of the arrow, considered to be infallible,
stemmed from the extremely important fact that its tip was
411 anointed with the blood of a sacrificed child. The arrow took
798 into itself, by magic contamination, the sacred and impure
782 quality of the sacrificial ceremony performed on the child,
[45] a quality of extreme value when one realizes that the
child's own father performed the sacrifice.

782 The process is as follows: The Kusina, according to the
story of our informant, an Indian woman from the Sierra de Jarara
who had heard from her parents a great deal about the customs
of these Indians, with whom the people of the Sierra had had
dealings, were accustomed to take a male child from their own
family. They carried him off to some distant hills situated in
the interior of the Cocina sierra. They took him up a particular
mountain, and on its summit under a pó (a special tree) they
killed him. He was killed in this way: They blocked up his
nostrils and squeezed his throat with their hands, that is, they
strangled him, and with a pointed stone they struck his forehead
several times continuously until blood flowed from it. This
blood, which was exactly what they wished to obtain in the
sacrifice, was not allowed to spill, but was gathered very care-
fully in a very clean utensil. In recent times the blood was col-
lected in an empty tin such as those used for sardines or salmon,
but it is to be supposed that in olden times a special ceramic
container was used. Once the blood had been collected, they
put it to boil in the same utensil in which it had been collected.
Next they put it in another that in modern times was a glass con-
tainer, although in former times it must have been of some other
material, in order to preserve it. This utensil which contained
the boiled blood of the boy was kept in the woods among stones
[593] which they collected for this purpose. The executioner, who was
none other than the boy's father, had prepared beforehand a
[278] quantity of arrows tipped with the poison of a ray, which he later
[158] anointed with the blood and distributed among the rest of the
Kusina natives or the Guajiro in general, in exchange for live-
stock. The price that had to be paid for one of these arrows was

[45 cont.]

782 quite high, which also gives us an idea of their value in the opinion of the Indians since they considered that the fact of their points being impregnated with the blood of the sacrificed child made them both more poisonous and more accurate.

766 The body of the boy, who had to be between four and six years old, was brought by the father to the hamlet after these magic operations were finished and was buried in the clan cemetery. The burial and the death of the child were secrets. Nobody must know about it. We could not discover if the secret nature of the ceremony was due to the fact that the community [682 might punish the murderer, the mother or maternal aunt, or 787] some member of the child's family on the maternal side, collecting the corresponding sum for his death in accord [46] with customary Guajiro law, or if the reason was that secrecy strengthened the malevolent qualities of the poison on the arrows. It is to be presumed that the latter hypothesis is the more acceptable, since the disappearance of the child and the sale of magic arrows by the father would point him out as the author of the sacrifice.

682 In any case we cannot overlook the aspects of blood in 683 the child sacrifice just mentioned. Spilling blood is one of the 826 crimes most severely punished. Blood, according to everything one can deduce, has great value for the natives, as it is considered an integral part of their human personality, even to confounding it, so to speak, with personality itself, as they do in the case of names. Hence, for the same reason, he who voluntarily or involuntarily sheds the blood of another person is stigmatized and becomes an outcast from society. He becomes unclean, and in consequence has to make the corresponding reparation which at the present time is complied with by paying to the offended party or to his family a determined [411] quantity of valuable objects or animals. For this same reason, arrows contaminated with the blood of the child sacrificed by his father have, or ought to have, according to the Guajiro mentality, an incalculable value due to their participation in 411 the sacrifice and spilling of blood, thanks to its presence on 435 their points. Moreover, if we take into account what the 775 dead man means to the Guajiro as a spirit capable of doing harm

[46 cont.]

411 when the respect due to his status is not shown (Cf. "Magic
495 and Funerals"), and particularly the spirit of those dead through
775 violence, we can better understand the high value they place on the imfra, or magic arrow.

593 It will be well to explain again the position of the father
611 in relation to his son in La Guajira. The family in this society follows matrilineal descent, and therefore the father is not really considered as father to his sons but is to his nephews, his sister's sons. The family ties between father and son are so weak that they do not exist except in certain secondary aspects of the family economic organization.

411 The use of the poisoned arrow among the Kusina Indians
539 is shown by the following fragment of a story told by the same
989 woman informant who supplied us with the data on which this present study is based and which refers to the struggle between a Guajiro Indian named Kurfa-pfta and some Kusina Indians who arrived at his hamlet one night to steal his stock. The section dealing with the magic arrow, translated literally from the Guajiro text, is as follows: [47] "The Kusina shot (with a rifle) at Kurfa-pfta, who came upon them from behind. They wounded him in the thigh. 'Now, it isn't possible to do anything,' said K.P. 'Let's kill him to end this once and for all,' said the Kusina. K.P. lifted himself on to his sound knee. He shot at them (with his rifle), killing one. Then the Kusina said, 'Let's kill him with the imfra (poisoned arrow).'"

411 The fragment of this story corroborates the existence of
989 the magic arrow among the Kusina, and also, as previously stated, the fact that the poisoned arrow,—magic arrow to us — was the last recourse utilized by these Indians when their other weapons did not produce the desired result.

The area of distribution of this cultural element, as we have seen, was in the Sierra de Cocinas, and it was frequently used in Jarara, where it was obtained by purchase or by barter from the makers. This class of weapon used to be employed in this latter region — Jarara — in times of war. Now it is no longer used in either of the two areas mentioned for two reasons. First, the evangelizing action of the Capuchin fathers in the
[997 Sierra de Jarara, who have, in the main, mitigated the warlike
775]

[47 cont.]
character of the inhabitants of Jarara; and second, the complete disappearance (according to all sources) of the Kusina Indians in the last 20 to 25 years for various reasons. In other words, the arrows which may still exist but of which we could not obtain a sample are those preserved by the aged Indians of Jarara, purchased from the makers in times past.

Sacrifice to forestall the effects of dreams. In the Guajiro mentality dreams are considered to be revelations of the future, coming from a benign spirit who seeks in this way to show his protection to a certain person. When the shaman himself has the revealing dreams then these acquire greater importance, as we have already seen. For the same reason, when one of these shamans has a special dream, he informs the interested party and adds to it the necessary instructions or special ceremonies that he should arrange in order to counteract the prognostication. If such ceremonies are not carried out or are not totally complied with, the dream will become converted to reality. The Guajiro has immense faith in dreams, particularly in those of shamans, and very few persons will leave themselves open to suffer the consequences of the nonfulfillment of the rituals indicated, as experience, according to them, has [48] shown that noncompliance with the indications of the shamans has resulted in many deaths and disasters when the events foretold have taken place.

As the aspect of dreams is treated in a special section, we will here only refer to the theme which interests us and which is related to sacrifices. In this respect we quote the narrative of one of our informants.

This occurred in Jarara. A woman shaman dreamed that a member of the Pushaina family clan was threatened with a fatal tragedy: he would die by the hand of one of his own family group. The shaman immediately informed him of it and ordered him, in order to avert the danger, to organize a fiesta of horse racing and, above all, to sacrifice a black male goat and to bathe himself in its blood. The Indian did not want to carry out the shaman's instructions, and within a short time he was killed by a member of his own group of inferior economic standing. The reprisals taken against the

[48 cont.]

682 murderer's family after the crime were extremely cruel, as was to be expected given the Guajiro social organization. Their homes were burned down, their sources of water supply demol-
[569] ished, three men and four women were killed, and their children enslaved.

782 The interesting part of the subject we are now dealing with
761 lies in the sacrifice of animals. These apparently serve as
761 substitutes for the individuals whose sentence has been revealed in a dream. They take their place and are sacrificed in their stead. As a death has taken place, the evil spirit which had enslaved the future criminal in order to carry out its determination to harm him is now mollified by this act of propitiation. Moreover, as the animal (the black male goat in this case) shares the qualities of its owner by reason of such ownership, a part of the personality of the person sentenced to be punished in the dream is also sacrificed. The individual thus suffers two processes, death in part through the sacrifice of the animal and participation in the sacrifice by bathing in its blood.

171 Possible vestiges of this native belief still persist in
761 Colombian folklore in some parts of the departments of Antioquia,
825 Boyacá, Nariño, and Santander. There the people hold the be-
538 lief that when a domestic animal dies, especially if it is an animal that has been much loved by the people of the house, it is a sign that some member of the household had been about to die. The sentence of death which lay on that person, according to the explanation given in all cases, was transferred to the animal by a special concession from God, [49] thus avoiding a greater calamity to the family. In Nariño this belief, according to information from the Licentiate Chaves, appears in popular oral literature. There is in reality a story which tells of a recently married couple who felt or knew (we cannot say how) that they would die very shortly. To avoid this, the wife dedicated herself to breeding cuyes (curíes) [conejillo de Indias, a mammal of the order of rodents], which one by one died off; then she hastened to breed chickens, which also successively died; she then devoted herself to dogs, which also died. With the successive deaths of the animals, they were able to elude their own fate and lived happily together for a long time, free

171 [49 cont.]
538 from the menace of death that had weighed on them, and later
761 they were able to raise their domestic animals with greater
825 success than up to then.

000 Propitiation of the shaman's protector spirit. The sacrifice of animals as propitiation or thanksgiving offering to the spirit or spirits that have taken over the protection of the shaman is fully explained in the previous chapter, for which reason we abstain from making further reference to it.

782 Conclusions. We have the following facts regarding the
174 place of such sacrifices within Guajiro social organization: (a) Sacrifice of animals, of two kinds: one of a ritual funeral character and the other as a prevention of the fulfillment of dreams. (b) Human sacrifice, which may now be considered to have disappeared due to various circumstances which have already been described. (c) The first two exist at times in their original form, and at other times as mere survivals disguised in social rather than ritualistic forms, as happens for example in the sacrifice of animals during the secondary burial or the wake in the ceremony of the first burial. (d) But in any case the three show a distinct magic nature. (e) With respect to the sacrifice of animals we may suppose that in ancient times the animal sacrificed must have been a wild one from the forest obtained by hunting, as the Guajiro Indians, the same as all Colombian Indians and American Indians in general, were completely without, or almost without, any domestic animals, which were acquired only after the Conquest when the colonizing Spaniards imported them from the [Iberian] Peninsula to set up their ranches; (f) Based on this same socio-economic fact, we may presuppose quite an appreciable change in the content and form of certain types of ceremony, because the passing from one economy to another, particularly when it is so radical as [50] that of the
782 Guajiro, who changed his character of nomad hunter to that of herdsman and stock grazer, implies a very appreciable transformation in the general social organization. (g) In the sacrifice of children, and in that of animals in order to ward off the evils foreseen in dreams, we have to admit the contaminating effect of spilled blood — a very important taboo in La Guajira — which increases the malevolent effect of the magic

[50 cont.]

782 arrow in the first case and saves a person sentenced to death in a dream through the blood of a sacrificed animal in the second. (h) Furthermore, in the second case we find an apparent substitution of the personality of the individual, or better still, a partial sacrifice of the same on his handing over for sacrifice an animal owned by him. (i) In the sacrifice of animals of a ritual funerary character, we can distinguish the following effects obtained: First the propitiation of the dead man's spirit which, as may be seen in the chapter corresponding to "Magic and Funerals," [769] can be beneficial, neutral, or malicious. This depends on whether all the considerations due to his status are maintained or not, or if all or part of the taboos established in this respect in the course of the social life of the community are violated or not. Second, the confirmation of the belief of a life beyond the tomb as a reflection of the earthly life. The sacrifice, in the sense that the dead animal accompanies its owner into the next life and places him on the same social plane that he occupied in this one among his fellow spirits there, confirms such a belief in the almost material life beyond the grave. [51]

IV

Sickness and Medicine

771 If we take into account the essential characteristics of
813 primitive mentality, we should remember that their world is
81 what we might call metaphysical, since the objects that surround them do not have a real existence as they do not look at them with a truly objective discernment but allow their imagination to be deceived by the strange things around them so that these become supernatural beings, all animated, not in the physical sense of movement but in their capacity to do good or evil, or to intervene in any manner whatever in the lives of men, of other beings, and of the cosmos in general. All that relates to the surroundings of primitive people: rocks, plants, animals, natural phenomena ... , are active beings in the best sense of the word, capable of intervention and worthy of the Indian's respect,

[51 cont.]

711 fear, or admiration. The primitive has not at this stage reached
813 the discernment necessary to establish the logical relation be-
181 tween phenomena and their real causes, but establishes a magic relationship that in the majority of cases does not correspond to any concrete or objective reality.

753 This manner of thinking and of feeling is especially reflected in the facts related to the individual himself and his organic reactions and, essentially, in the variations to which his organism is susceptible in the biological or pathological sense. To the primitive sicknesses are not ills caused by pathogenic germs (we say this in the general sense as there are some exceptions) or by internal or external disorders but are the result of the harmful actions of some being — animal, human, mineral, or vegetable — who is the sick man's potential enemy or one whom he has injured in some way or another, especially in violating the social ritual arrangements which at first were related almost exclusively to the totem and which then gradually evolved toward diverse forms of magic which lead him to a real investigatory curiosity.

This curiosity is not limited, as might be expected, to the simple act of knowing what phenomenon or what individual spirit might have caused the sickness, but sets out to understand the whole matter in order to put into [52] practice a method of cure — it does not matter of what kind — which will bring one back to the state of health, to normality, and remove him from contact with the dangerous world of the spirits.

753 For this reason, in the following pages we shall find our-
755 selves confronted with this phenomenon: if the causes of the sick-
*756 ness are magic or, in more general terms, supernatural, the methods of curing applied must be of the same type. The world of the spirits is considered to be superior to the normal world of the living, because it is unknown or partially so. The struggle then, face to face, of individual against spirit will be unequal because the latter — the spirit — is aided by supernatural forces with which the living are unacquainted. For this reason it is indispensable that shamans should be called in — the intermediaries between man and spirit, or that he employ, when

[52 cont.]

753 lacking this support, certain practices of a magic character
755 which place him — always respecting due proportions — on a
*756 plane of equality with the spirit or at least give him the possibility of warding off its harmful effects from him or his fellows. In the methods of healing, as will be seen as we progress in this chapter, the individual makes use, either directly or indirectly through an intermediary — the medicine man in this case, of the benevolent powers of the instrument causing the sickness, or else those of another spirit — under whatsoever materialization — as strong or stronger than the original cause of the sickness, in order to banish the illness.

755 The value of the Guajiro shaman, or medicine man, as
*756 a curer, as we were able to observe in Chapter II, lies in the superiority conceded to him through his constant communication with the world of the spirits, which places him, so to speak, on a plane of equality with them. Nevertheless, in the aspect of Guajiro medicine four different factors intervene, which we can define in general as follows:

1) Medicine practiced directly by the shaman through his communication with benevolent spirits.

2) Medicine by divination, dependent or independent of the shaman, which creates another social group, not so clearly defined: that of the diviner.

757 3) Medicine which might be called household, independent of the shaman and of the diviner, which is applied through pragmatic knowledge of the curative value of certain plants, or through the observation of particular customs related to taboo, which as we shall see later, are of a preventative type.

174 4) Medicine practiced by foreigners. This last factor must
648 have its origin in ethnographic history, and it appears to us
*756 quite difficult to clarify. It deals with the medical intervention of curers from the [53] Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, whom the Guajiro consult in certain cases. These inhabitants of the Sierra belong to native groups included by Professor Rivet in the large Chibcha linguistic family (38). Our supposition of contacts between

38. Rivet, Paul. Conferencias dictadas en el Instituto Etnológico Nacional

[53 cont.]

174 648 *756

[Lectures given at the National Ethnological Institute]. Bogotá, 1942.

the two groups at some period of their history, — we cannot say if before or after the Conquest, is based on the presence of certain material cultural techniques of the Arwako [Arhuaco] Indians in the Guajiro group.

Let us now analyze carefully and separately each one of these factors:

*756 Medicine practiced by the shaman. In chapter II of this study, we referred to the shaman's curative methods which are effected through their magic communication with the spirits. These spirits supply the instructions required for the ceremonies and processes that are to be practiced to effect the cures of illnesses caused by the wanurú which have a sick person in their power. We again refer the reader then to chapter II.

781 Medicine by divination. Before entering fully into this subject, we feel obliged to clarify somewhat the diviner's position in La Guajira and to learn something more, if only superficially, of the processes of divination.

There are certain men and women capable of seeing secret events that have occurred or foreseeing those that will occur. For this they employ different objects; some use a machete (an item of acculturation), and by closely studying its edge they divine, for example, what has happened at the site of a robbery and where the stolen objects will be found. Others make use of burning tobacco and others, finally, of a burning firebrand.

787 [786] In this aspect of divination the world of the spirits plays as great a role as it does in general in all the themes of magic, since the chain of events in the case of the divination of a robbery, for example, is that the spirit of the diviner disengages itself from his body and goes in search of the lost articles, following the track of the thief until it finds the hiding place and consequently the stolen goods, returning then to the body of the diviner to communicate the result to him so that he can, on his part, transmit the information to the party who has come to consult him. [54]

[54]

*756 787 The shaman also has this power of divination at times, and he, as well as the others, can foretell deaths and other events that will happen. The shaman by reason of his known inherent powers inspires more faith in his prophesies, especially as these practically never fail to be fulfilled.

*756 791 One of the functions of a diviner who divines by means of tobacco, for example, is to decide at a gathering of shamans to which he is expressly summoned whether a certain individual shows definite symptoms that he will become the host of a spirit of the same class as their own. This diviner generally is not a graduate shaman but is a man or woman of great experience in this type of "science." The diviner places the tobacco or manilla, in his mouth and a burning firebrand in his right hand, which he moves up and down while he discourses; he watches it fixedly and gives his verdict in accordance with the variations he notes in the burning stick. This verdict is considered final.

755 *756 787 Shamans in some cases learn the art of divination by the use of a glowing brand to find out, in the event of their being called to cure a sick man, whether they should take the case or not. For the test they take a firebrand; they call on the spirit to come to their aid. They remain with the brand in hand, without blowing on it, and carefully observe the different changes which occur in it through the action of the flame, and from these changes they deduce what will happen. If the firebrand goes out while they are watching it, it means that the sick man is going to die, and hence his presence will not be required.

787 The ceremony of divination by means of fire must be carried out at night never by day. There are diviners who make use of a burning reed or cane for this ceremony. They hold it in the hand and do not take their eyes off it, paying close attention to the changes in the flame, if any, in the blazing up or dying down of the ember, and any other variations they may see. According to all these details, they decide on what divinatory acts are called for and what should be used to locate lost objects or stolen animals. The diviner endeavors to trace the process of the actual robbery in the flame and after that the route the lost object took until he discovers its whereabouts, so that he can state where it is and who was the thief.

[54 cont.]

787 But what is most interesting is that each person in La Guajira can learn the signs that determine divination according to the different methods that make this art of prophecy possible, and make use of them in order to help anyone who may ask his aid or to satisfy his own curiosity about many things he desires to know. The women are especially greatly addicted to divinatory arts [55] to find out from a distance what their absent husbands are doing or what may happen to them when they are far from home. The process is as follows: First the tobacco is lit, then a special prayer is recited asking that what is occurring, or is going to happen, be revealed. Then the woman starts to suck on the tobacco and to observe most carefully every change in the tobacco once it begins to burn. For example, if it emits sparks this means that the person about whom the divinatory enquiry is being made is going to receive money; if it opens in the middle it means that the husband is ill; and he is gravely ill if the ash goes black. Other characteristic signs show when the husband has taken another woman and when he is with her.

This circumstance, that any ordinary person can learn the known methods of foretelling the future, is one which interests us at the moment because it appertains to the aspect of medicine we are investigating. These diviners, usually women, are the ones who, in these cases, decide what kind of illness [755 is attacking the patient — a child — and how it was contracted, 753] (generally by direct contamination through the mother during her pregnancy from an animal that had touched food eaten by her). By the same token, they decide what curing methods must be followed to free the patient from the illness from which he suffers.

To clarify this point we quote several pertinent examples taken from our field notes.

753 It is said in Nazaret, and it is a belief extensively ac-
825 cepted all over the peninsula, that a bird called soche, which is accustomed to withdraw to the Sierra de Macuira during its hours of sleep, is harmful to the native inhabitants when it flies over their homes, as it is a carrier of bronchitis, which it spills on to the roofs of their houses, from whence the children of the home pick up the contagion and die.

G [55 cont.]
755 When the child at birth, or a few days afterward, is afflicted with stomach-ache and other characteristic symptoms determined by divination, the cause is that the mother during her pregnancy had imprudently eaten a watermelon which previously had been tasted by a fox. This fact having been proved by the art and talent of the diviner, she proceeds to carry out the cure of the infant, which consists of searching out a fox, killing and quartering it, separating the bones from the flesh and burning them and reducing them to powder. The powder resulting from this calcination is used to anoint around the child's anal sphincter after an evacuation. A part of the meat of the dead animal is roasted and is given [56] to the sick child. If both remedies are applied at the opportune moment, the child will rapidly recover – at least this is the Guajiro belief.

G It might be thought that in this case it would be logical
753 for the affected person to be the mother herself, as it was she
854 who ate the contaminated fruit, but one must bear in mind that to the primitive, the infant, as with us, is a relatively defenseless being. For this reason he requires greater protection, because evil things, due to his weak defenses, will readily make a prey of his small body. The evil things in this case are represented by the wicked spirits whose object is to spread sickness. To uphold our statement it is sufficient to quote the case of the
W Witoto Indians, inhabitants of the Amazonian selva, with their
846 social institution called the covada [couvade] and their general custom of covering their children's bodies with curly vegetable fibers to disguise them and give them the appearance of small monkeys. Let us see what couvade is: "The one most concerned with this affair" – the birth of the new child – "is the husband because it is he who has to bear the rigors of the strict diet involved. In practice, once natus est homo and the essential obstetrical duties are carried out, the Indian mother hands over the fruit of her womb to the husband. He takes charge of the infant and, acting as if he were the mother, takes it with him to his hammock where he stays for eight days, keeping to a diet which might well be adopted by the most fastidious lady. But before he does this he first of all puts on mourning, that is, he paints himself

[56 cont.]

84L black so that he looks like an African .... . During the eight days the Indian woman attends to all the husband's work in the sown fields, loads yucca, collects firewood, etc. Later the Indian, once he has finished his period of diet, rises from his hammock, goes to the river, and with a thorough bathing washes off the black ointment until he becomes clean again and his natural self, as they say, in Adam's clothing." (39)

39. Anonymous: Relaciones Interesantes y datos históricos sobre las Misiones del Caquetá y Putumayo [Interesting stories and historical data about the Caquetá and Putumayo missions], 2d., I, 36-37.

In this socio-magic incident of relevant importance, in which the missionary saw nothing more than a curious aspect of Indian life, what is shown is really a change of personality when confronted with an evil spirit: The man is transformed into a woman (at least he behaves like one, taking charge of the newborn child and carrying out the roles that a woman should perform during the eight days of regulation diet), and the mother behaves as if she were the father (also substituting for him in the work which is his responsibility), and all this is done with the
84L object of warding off evil spirits from the newborn child. In
85Y addition to the father completes his disguise by covering his body with what [57] the missionaries called "mourning" [luto], that is, with black paint with which he anoints his whole body. Deceived by all these tricks carried out by both the parents, the evil spirits should not know where to find the baby — who ought to be beside his mother — and so he — the child — is safe from their evil influence.

85Y But this system to protect the child does not stop there.
29I It continues, according to the missionaries, as "they take the child and until it is about two years old dress it in a garment so peculiar that at first sight one doubts whether it is a human being or not. They cover all its body except its face with the juice of a tree ... very sticky, and over this juice is spread

[57 cont.]

W 854 291 a wooly substance from another tree which is very similar to the balso. So dressed, the infant Indian, lifted onto the bare shoulders of its mother or clinging to her knees, appears in reality very like a small monkey. With only this savage dress, these Indians are quite happy." ... (40)

40. Anon. Op. cit., 2d, I, 37.

W 854 The missionary is right when he compares these children to small monkeys. The idea of dressing the child in so peculiar a costume is not just to protect him from the vagaries of the climate, or to dress him with greater or lesser aesthetic taste, but to safeguard him from evil spirits by means of this disguise, which constitutes a veritable transformation of his physical personality. The child on being dressed up in this extraordinary covering is really changed into another being, so that the evils he might attract to himself lose their effectiveness since the spirits are deceived by the substitution that has been made.

G 755 A method of curing very similar to that we have just described is the one used when a newborn child shows signs of intestinal trouble and diarrhea, evacuating something like spittle. The woman who is acting as diviner discovers by her art that the sickness attacking the infant is due to its mother G [753] having allowed a duck to eat part of her food. For this reason the child passes its fecal matter in a way similar to that of a duck. How does one proceed, then, to restore the infant to health? The feathers around the anus of the duck are plucked out, burned, and the ashes are reduced to powder. As soon as the infant's bowels have moved, his mother must clean him carefully and then apply the powder of the ashes of the feathers around his anal sphincter. If the diviner's diagnosis has been correct, the child should recover quickly on the application of the prescribed remedy. [58]

G [753] 755 755 If during her pregnancy the mother should eat fruit which has been previously pecked at by any kind of bird, the child on being born will have stomach trouble and his excrement will be similar to that of the bird. The Indian women who are

[58 cont.]

755 expert in these sicknesses and who devote themselves to applying the remedies and divining the causes of such illnesses indicate by what bird the fruit which the mother ate was contaminated. Once the origin of the sickness has been determined, they proceed to carry out the method of cure which entails hunting and capturing the bird responsible, which, once killed, is roasted, and the meat fed to the child. A sancocho [stew] is also prepared, using portions of the bird, a good part of which is fed to the child. With this medicine the infant should be quickly cured. If this does not effect a cure, the divination has been incorrectly made, and it was not that kind of bird that pecked at the fruit eaten by the mother during her pregnancy. The whole process must therefore be done over again to discover with absolute certainty what animal caused the child's sickness.

843 If a pregnant woman should eat the meat of a hen that has
753 been killed by a sparrow hawk, the child will be born sickly, his excretions will be green, and his crying will be like the cry of a hawk. When they do not know the origin of the sickness, they
755 apply home remedies or those of any local curer [curandero]. If
[757] these do not bring about the desired effect, then they must turn to divination. The diviner will decide that the mother ate the flesh of a chicken that had been killed by a sparrow hawk. The curing method will follow a similar process to that previously noted: a hawk is found and killed; a leg of the creature is taken, and the bone is well cleaned and allowed to dry. When it is sufficiently dry it is boiled, and the child's body bathed with the resulting infusion.

262 The meat of such a hen -- contaminated by the hawk
125 which had eaten some of it -- is also harmful to children in
842 general, boys and girls, and also adults. Every time it is eaten
[illegible] it causes sterility. For this reason the magic taboo on this meat is lifted only for the old and the very aged who have already lost their procreative powers and in consequence have nothing to fear in this respect.

766 Household medicine. This system of medicine, which, as we have said, is independent of shamans and diviners, is based above all on the practice of certain magic practices directly

[58 cont.]

755 associated with some prohibitions of a taboo nature or with established social customs, the origin and in part even significance of which is unknown. But what attracts our attention in this aspect of Guajiro medical [59] practice is preventative rather than curative nature. To demonstrate this, we quote some examples:

753 During the period of pregnancy, neither the father nor the
755 mother should be present at the exhumation of the dead, a cere-
843 mony which the Indians hold to comply with the rites of the secondary burial. If this injunction is disobeyed, the infant about to be born will, at birth or a few days later, have a sickly appearance and will be afflicted with constant diarrhea and night sweats, and will be characterized by a very pronounced paleness and extreme thinness.

755 If this occurs, if through carelessness the parents witness the exhumation of a corpse during the mother's pregnancy and her child is born sickly, they will not try to blame the child's illness on any other cause than that just stated. In accordance with this decision, they will proceed to apply the curing method appropriate for such an emergency, which, as we noted in the previous chapter, "Magic and Sacrifice," is as follows: (a) They wait until there is a fiesta of a ceremonial nature for the exhumation of human remains and then place the infant inside the recently opened body of the animal that has been sacrificed for the ceremony. (b) If the infant cannot be taken to the place where the ceremony is being held, a bone of the sacrificed animal is taken, left to dry, and cooked, and the infant is bathed in this water. (c) If there is no possibility of a ceremony of the type described being held in the near future, a hole is made in the sand, and the child is buried therein up to its neck and is then covered with the loose earth.

843 Neither should the husband of a pregnant woman under any
845 circumstances dig a grave or assist in the construction of a vault
764 (an element of acculturation) destined for the primary or secon-
[171] dary burial of any person. If he does his wife will suffer the consequences of this disrespect in her delivery, which will not be normal: prolonged for several days, very painful, and with serious consequences for the mother and for the coming child.

[59 cont.]

843 845 A pregnant woman should never be present at or watch a burial, for if she does so, she will have a difficult childbirth: the infant's arrival will be delayed in a manner both painful and difficult for the mother.

755 758 764 Anyone who may have touched the corpse of a person whose death has not been natural – who has been murdered, for example – is prohibited from approaching the side of one who is sick, because this individual will die because of his presence. This prohibition is also extended to those who have directly assisted in the exhumation of human remains. Furthermore, both of these persons are strictly forbidden to come near [753] children [60] or places where they may be, because their presence, contaminated by the nature of the dead, will cause the children to fall ill.

843 825 Serpents also have magic influence on pregnant women. In this case it is not an influence destined to injure the unborn child but is directed against the mother herself, who feels in various ways in her own flesh the malignant action of the reptile. For instance, if a woman during her term of pregnancy sees a hunting snake [culebra cazadora] and remains looking at it for some time, her child will be born stupid. The explanation that the Indians give for this very generally accepted belief is that as this snake gives the impression of being stupid, because it does not attack people as other snakes do and does them no harm but confines itself to hunting young birds for food, it transmits this quality to the infant. A mother who encounters such a reptile should pretend not to have seen it and automatically look elsewhere.

825 843 845 If during this same period the mother-to-be should see any kind of snake (other than a hunting snake) she will suffer a miscarriage or some kind of painful mishap related to the delivery. To avoid these possible ills, the woman should try to step over the snake. If in spite of this difficulties in childbirth occur, then they resort to a curing method which consists in finding a similar snake, killing it, opening it up carefully, and localizing in the interior of its intestines the water that it has drunk, collecting this and taking it to the sick woman, so that after she has drunk it, her labor will be hastened and will then occur without any serious complications.

[60 cont.]

825 If in this same condition the woman sees a serpent under
843 a stone or in a hole, her delivery will be delayed, and it will be
845 difficult and long. As in the case immediately preceding this, prevention depends on the indifference shown by the woman toward the snake: She should immediately look away from the creature. But the coincidence of seeing a snake and its being in a hole or under a stone brings about a new complication, since two elements are involved: first, the snake as such as we have seen in the previous accounts; and second, its apparently difficult position, which is transmitted to the woman in the moment of childbirth in the form of delay in the birth and the physical difficulty of its accomplishment.

Also, the childbirth will be delayed several days and will be extremely painful if during her pregnancy the woman's husband commits the imprudence of killing a snake of any kind.

[61] The snake then, as we noted at the beginning and
843 as we have been able to confirm by means of the examples sub-
825 mitted, exercises a special magic influence on pregnant women.
[559] The position of the snake when seen, either directly by the woman or by the husband, makes this influence greater. We also heard from a story told to us that another belief exists related to the snake and women's pregnancy. We cannot say whether it really exists or if it is the product of imagination and legend because the two elements seem to be mixed up. It concerns a certain serpent that attacks people by jumping at them from a tree and forcing its tail into their ears, and the fact that it only attacks women at a certain period of their pregnancy or a pregnant woman's husband at the same period.

According to the story related to us, during the first three months of pregnancy the woman may be attacked by a very exceptional male serpent with three colors: green, black, and white, placed dorsally in the form of an X. (The female of the species, according to the story, has only one color: green.) The male serpent attacks the wife during the early months of pregnancy, as well as her husband. The creature is usually found hidden in the branches of trees which shade paths and can spring like an arrow from its place of ambush, attacking people with great accuracy. With a spring it settles on its victim's head,

[61 cont.]

825 twining itself around it, and with its tail, which is very thin, it
843 pierces his ear. The pressure is so great that generally the tip of its tail comes out of the other ear, which causes the death of the person attacked. The method of defense does not involve magic as in other cases but is limited to the simple precaution
[751] taken by the woman of going about with a pañuelo [kerchief] on her head which covers her ears. Hence the serpent winds itself around the head but is unable to introduce its tail into the ear of the victim. The woman, on reaching home or on meeting someone, will be able to take revenge on the snake and kill it. But the snake also takes its own precautions, according to the story, as, if the husband and wife walk together, it will not attack for fear that the man will kill it.

Up to this point the story is no more than an interesting legend, the fruit of the primitive's imagination, but for the study we are interested in the latter part of the story, which runs as follows, has great value. If the same serpent on the other hand sees a woman when her pregnancy is advanced (after the fourth month), the woman seems to have an evil influence on the snake, which appears to suffer from paralysis and becomes helpless, lying on the [62] ground unable to spring into the trees. There in that condition it can be easily killed. If it is not dispatched at this moment, the snake recovers its strength and agility as soon as the woman goes away.

Once again we see the magic interaction of serpent and pregnant woman. But there is this difference between the magic action of the other animals which makes its influence felt through the mother upon the child to be born, and that of the serpent which discharges all its magic power directly on the mother, provoking in her pains and delays at birth, abortions, etc. We would ask why?

We have up to this point collected a series of facts which quite clearly show the magic-participatory action of animals in the lives of the Guajiro natives and above all in what refers to the explanation for the presence of sickness. Furthermore, the action of the snake is related to one of the most interesting phenomena in the life cycle, childbirth, which includes the

[40 cont.]

whole period of pregnancy. The duality of childbirth-serpent is brought to our notice with an insistence and disconcerting realism which we will endeavor to explain.

If we look into the Guajiro family organization we can see how that community taken as a homogeneous whole is divided into series of extended family groups which follow the line of maternal filiation. Belonging to a family group are the mother, the sons and daughters of the mother, the sons and daughters of the mother's daughters, and so on successively. The administration of the family is not in the hands of the father, who is not considered as such, but in those of the maternal uncles, the eldest of these being predominant. Inheritance also is determined by this system, and sons inherit nothing from their natural father, but from their mother or their maternal uncles. The property of the father is split up among his nephews, sons of his sister, whom he considers as sons. Patrilocality and matrilocality exist, the former predominating. The family group, wrongly named by some authors *casta* is very much extended, and to it belong all those bearing the same surname. Each large family group has its own property mark or brand and a representative animal. Thus, for example: [41]

Family group	Representative animals
Uriána (41)	jaguar

[10]

41. For the convenience of our readers we have adapted the phonetics of all these Guajiro names to Spanish orthography, using the most apparent sounds.

Uráiyú	rattlesnake
Uriyú	snake
Wuláiyú	partridge
Uyáwyú	*cuapano* (a species of deer)
Ipwana	*cari-cari*
Mápwana	bitumen

[63 cont.]

Family groups	Representative animals
Jayáriyú	dog (42)

42. It should be made clear that this animal symbol is, or must be, relatively modern, as the dog was unknown before the Conquest. The substitution of this for some other animal, we do not know which, must have occurred in the Post-conquest era for reasons unknown up to now.

Ápahana	buzzard
Sí́juana	wasp
Soryú	cataneja
Páusayú	bee

The social or mythical meaning of these animals representing the extended family groups has been lost. At least we could not obtain any verbal declaration from our informants in which we could perceive the actuating presence of the totem, which is what possibly in olden times these animal figures represented. But we have in some cases been able to establish linguistic correspondence between the name of the family group and its characteristic animal. To verify this we can show some examples (43).

[114]

43. We expound this short linguistic study with some reservations since our stay in La Guajira was relatively short, two months approximately, in which length of time the study of the language scarcely reached the rudimentary stage.

1. uri or wín = snake
   wayú = Indian, people

[63 cont.]

192	uriyĕ	= Indians (people of the snake)
614 2.	urĕichiner	= people of the snake
825	Wuradiru	= fish-serpent, (Arawak of Guiana) (44)

44. Taken from: Anonymous: Arawakisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch [Arawak-German Dictionary]. Copy in manuscript form in possession of the Moravian Unity of Brethren at Zittau (translated from the German by Eginhard Menghius).

[64]

	wayĕ	= Indian, people
	urĕriyĕ	= people of the rattlesnake
3.	uri	= snake
	ana	= (We do not know the exact meaning of this particle)
	urĕma	= must be "descendant of the snake,"

or something similar. Here the linguistic correspondence between the family group and the name of its representative animal is lost to us, as the word or words to designate "jaguar" are karĕira and kĕnahaput. But in any case the relation with serpent is interesting.

Another case similar to the former is shown by the Wouriyĕ family group, which has the partridge for its representative animal. The word for this bird is pĕr; on the other hand, our breakdown of the word wouriyĕ – bearing in mind the reservation already referred to is as follows:

w (from wa or wayĕ, "we")	=	our [masc., fem.]
oĕ	=	eye
uri	=	snake
yĕ (from wayĕ, Indian, people)	=	people

From which we can deduce that wouriyĕ can be translated as "people of the eye of our snake."

[64 cont.]

192 In the case of the Uyérayú group, we find another perfect
64 correspondence between the name of the animal and that of the
125 family group:

uyére	= cauquero (a species of deer)
yú	= from wayú Indian, people
uyérayú	= people of the cauquero

64 The foregoing demonstrates the existence within the Guajiro community of the remains of an ancient clan organization, matrilineal and totemic. We say remains because the significance of the totem, as we have noted, has almost completely disappeared, since there does not exist a fixed prohibition against killing certain animals (in this case the animal corresponding to the group) nor any ceremonial ritual related to it. We do not wish to enlarge on this subject of the existence of totems in La Guajira as this will be treated in a later thesis. We only wish to emphasize the value of the serpent in Guajiro
64 magic for which no [65] clearer explanation can be found than
125 the connection it maintains with the ancient beliefs related to
143 the totem. It shows us that the greater percentage of Guajiro totemic clans are connected in their name to this creature; also that the serpent's evil effects fall directly on pregnant women, causing harm not to the children, as occurs with other animals (the fox, sparrow hawk, duck...), but directly to the mother.

• • •

125 The mother-to-be should also avoid seeing a sparrow hawk
143 because if she disobeys this ruling her child will be born bleary eyed, since they say this bird is.

143 A pregnant woman's husband must not go hunting with a
145 modern weapon — the rifle — since he can do this with the traditional weapons, the bow and arrow, for if he does not obey this rule, his wife's labor will be prolonged for a long time, and no remedies nor any other attempts to help her will hasten the birth in any way. When a husband has failed to obey this magico-preventative medicinal norm, it is necessary to obtain a rifle — preferably the one the husband used in his hunting —

[65 cont.]

and very carefully wash it [in water]. Giving the woman this water to drink will permit her to deliver the child immediately.

If a Guajiro father has to set off on a long journey on horseback, leaving behind his newborn son, he must comply with another custom of a magic nature, which requires him to wrap the cinch of his horse about the child for a few minutes. If he fails to do this, the child will be very ill and complain pitifully during the time his father is absent. An equivalent form under the same circumstances is the father's customarily placing his foot on the newborn baby's chest for a brief moment. If this obligation is not complied with, either through forgetfulness or ill will on the part of the father, the mother, or some close relative of the child, must find the father's old sandals and place them on the child's chest for a few moments in order to obtain the effect desired, which the ritual action if performed by the father would have accomplished.

We venture to attempt an explanation of the last two phenomena as follows: The object that is sought in the fulfillment of these two traditional customs is to drive away from the child the presence of the wanurú or the evil spirit of sickness. The pressure exercised by the father's foot or, lacking this, [66] by the father's old sandals, symbolizes his presence in the child precisely in the place where the spirits in order to attain their evil designs often lodge in the child's body, i.e., its chest, as we shall have occasion to see in the following chapter. This symbolic presence of the father prevents the spirits from approaching near the child to work it harm. Lastly, the custom of wrapping the cinch of [the harness of] the horse on which the father will be traveling around the body of the child is intimately linked with the belief of these natives that the horse has the power to frighten away the wanurú, or spirit of sickness, with its snorting; more simply this same protection is achieved by placing a horse's skull in a place near the houses. (Cf. "Amulets, Fetishes, Talismans." Also, in this case there is a substitution of the magic formula (using the cinch instead of the horse), a substitution that has exactly similar effects and the action of which could be based on one of the laws of magic established by Sir J.G. Frazer

[66 cont.]
751 according to which "things which have once been in contact with
[illegible] each other continue to act on each other at a distance after the physical contact has been severed." (45) [Cited in Spanish.]

45. Frazer. La Rama Dorada, [The Golden Bough], III, 27.

751 There is another medical preventative, also of a magic
853 nature, taken to avoid infant mortality in Guajiro marriages after the death of the first-born child. This preventative obliges
[766] them to bury the body in a certain manner. It also imposes upon the mother a further seclusion, such as she underwent on reaching puberty (ceremony of initiation), and entails her taking certain medicines extracted from vegetable roots. If all these prescriptions are not fully complied with, her future children will die successively as soon as they are born.

844 Once the child is born, the placenta must be thrown a long way away from the house and completely lost to sight. If
[777] it is buried it will bring bad luck to the child, who in consequence of such an imprudence will live a weakling and suffer greatly until his death.

853 When only two or three days after the mother has given
827 birth, her breasts badly swell with severe pains and a lack of
755 milk, her husband must place his foot on her naked breast, pressing lightly on it, with which treatment the woman will recover. When a mother loses her milk after a long period of breast feeding and is no longer able to nourish her child, she must be struck on her shoulder and her breasts a number of times with the branches of a plant which is found mainly in the neighborhood of [67] Puerto Estrella and which on being cut emits a white liquid.

826 The Guajiro takes great care of any of his hair which has
754 been cut off, as he is afraid that it can be used to do him harm. This fear is based on the belief that if anyone can obtain possession of a lock of hair, whatever harm he may do to this will react directly on its owner; if that hair, for example, is thrown on the fire, its original owner will suffer a similar fate:

[67 cont.]

826 he will die consumed by flames. Likewise, if a lock of human
754 hair is buried with a small quantity of dog excrement, the person who carries out this act of witchcraft can cause any harm he wishes to the owner of the hair.

648 Medicine practiced by foreigners. To ensure that his child
757 will be sound and fit and show greater resistance to sickness, the Guajiro father makes use of the medicine of the Arhuaco, who like the other natives we know connect this art directly with magic. It is well to take note, before pursuing this description, that the Arhuaco are held to be excellent doctors by all their neighbors, not only by the Indians but also by mestizos and mulattos, and even by Whites. The fame of these curers is such that sick people from the neighboring cities of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta and even from Maracaibo have themselves carried to them to be cured of their illnesses, or, as a last resort, send them some of their personal articles of underclothing by which the Arhuaco curer determines the sickness from which the individual is suffering and sends the necessary medicines.

The Guajiro have not escaped this influence. Their geographical nearness facilitates communication with the Arhuaco, but we do not know whether this interchange of relations was already established before the Conquest or if it is due to the external influence of the colonists who have settled on the slopes of the Sierra or in regions close to them, who in their turn have transmitted the legend of the fame of the Arhuaco as doctors to the Indians of La Guajira.

757 The fact is that generally, shortly before the birth of a
751 child or when some opportunity presents itself, the father goes
278 to the Arhuaco, and from one of them who knows the preventa-
843 tive or curative value of plants he obtains several of these in order to doctor his child or prevent its sicknesses. Among these herbs are the vira-vira, quina dulce ["sweet quina], the frailejón, and a number of others. These herbs are shredded and put into a bottle containing rum and to this mixture is added two kinds of drops, also of plant juices, which have been carefully [68] "whispered" or "muttered" over by the Arhuaco doctor. These drops, in addition to the plants to which we have previously

[68 cont.]

757 referred, are what contain the curative properties because of their
751 magic force. These medicines are applied in the following
278 manner: The infusion of herbs with rum and the drops "whis-
643 pered over" are added to previously boiled water, and the child is bathed at birth with this mixture. When the mother feels the pains of approaching childbirth, she also takes a glass of this mixture and repeats this a few moments after the child is born, which helps her to get rid of the placenta.

• • •

75 Thus far the notes that we have concerning the magico-preventative or curative medical methods of the Indians of La Guajira [sic]. These show first, how medicine, like birth, sickness, and death, is subject to a series of cultural patterns, the result of the individual's relations, magic or spiritualistic (so far as the spirit of the dead is concerned), with his environ-
774 ment. The latter are to be understood in their widest meaning, since as Doctor W. Born says:

> "Primitive man's intellectual world is not really limited to sorcery since there are too many enigmas facing young humanity such as birth and death, dreams and sickness. To explain these, primitive man appeals to various supernatural forces. From experiences in the world of dreams, he derived the belief in a soul as a clear explanation of the consciousness of "ego," which is opposed to the destiny of death. The power of the soul to free itself from its body (as dreams seemed to indicate) accepted, it was natural that he should accept the possibility of the existence of independent and active souls in nature. This state renders feasible not only a polydemonism but also the notion of a material soul. Polydemonism admits that a demon, a sort of soul, lives in everything in nature, while the substance of the soul is an invisible energy which emanates from objects. As the substance

[68 cont.]

774 of the soul is uniform, so also the effects of all things are magically related to one another." (46)

46. Born: Fetiche, Amuleto, Talisman [Fetish, Amulet, Talisman], p. 3.

This polydemonism of which Dr. Born writes, or spiritism as we have called it, can be seen more clearly in the life of the Guajiro communities in the chapter which deals with the [764] aspect of funerals. All the ceremonial relating to the dead is filled with this belief [69] in the universal soul and in the survival of a personal soul after death.

755 In the chapter we are dealing with we see it also clearly established, especially in the curative methods followed by the shaman, or medicine man, who seeks the assistance of his protector spirit or spirits to find out the kind of illness the sick man is suffering from and the manner of eradicating it from his body, as well as in certain aspects of household remedies con-
764 sisting of preventative methods. In no way different are the
783 taboo prohibitions related to the dead, the burials and exhuma-
784 tions in general, animals sacrificed in funeral ceremonial, and persons who have been in contact, directly or indirectly, with the dead by assisting in the burial or exhumation of human remains, in digging graves, in imprudently gazing on the placing of a burial in the grave, etc., all of which contaminate with the essence of the dead, who by his very nature, by the act of having passed to a higher life situated on a plane of superior potentialities to that which he has left, is converted into something dangerous, sacred or impure, as the case may be, and for this reason contaminating.

751 This contaminating action of the dead also appears in the
775 aspect of medicine since they endeavor to avoid possible harm to children before birth and therefore to pregnant women or those in actual childbirth, because, as we have already seen these are the most likely victims of the malevolent action of spirits. Children especially receive such influences through their parents when they are in the mother's womb and have such poor means of self-defense.

[69 cont.]

of self-defense. If we take into account the high infant mortality among the Guajiro population, which reaches a very high rate (32.97%) according to the data collected by the investigators Virginia de Pineda Giraldo and María Rosa de Recasens, whose findings were published in the Boletín de Anqueología (47), we

> 47. Pineda Giraldo Roberto. "Informe preliminar sobre aspectos sociales y económicos de la Guajira [Preliminary Report on Social and Economic Aspects of La Guajira]."

can even better explain the series of prohibitions, of patterns established to protect the future mothers and unborn children from the malevolent influence of the spirits, whether of humans, animals, etc.

On the other hand, we can deduce from this study the following points: 1) Medicine practiced by shamans, intermediaries between the two worlds, is carried out almost exclusively on adults, for whom they prescribe the curative methods they deem essential in accord with the patient's illness. 2) On the other hand, curing by [70] divination, which we have called household curing, using a common term, has in field of action among newborn babies and mothers-to-be. 3) In this last type we encounter an extremely interesting fact, the ambivalence of certain animals, represented by their double capacity to cause illness and at the same time to cure it. 4) In the application of household preventative medicine, magic called sympathetic is frequently practiced. 5) In one of the accounts we find the occurrence of the magic action of a plant. This deals with the plant used to make the mammary glands secrete their milk after a mother had lost it and the child still requires to be breast fed. As the plant is able to produce milk, the mother by contact with it will inevitably be able to do the same, according to native belief. This aspect has been fully treated by Castiglione in one of the chapters of his work Encantamiento y Magia [Enchantment and Magic]. We wish to quote only a few paragraphs which will better clarify

[70 cont.]

278 the magico-curative value of the plant under discussion: "Some-
787 times," says Castiglione, "as has been said, this popularity" (that of medicinal plants) "is derived from real therapeutic qualities as, for example, the use of quina roots, which is prescribed by scientific medicine; its power to cure intermittent fevers was well known among the peoples of pre-Columbian America. In
278 many other cases the virtues of these plants depend on their ap-
785 pearance, on the similarity of their roots, their flowers, or their fruit to certain characteristics of sicknesses or to some organ of the body." (48) Somewhat earlier, in referring to this second

48. Castiglioni, Op. cit., VI, 82.

category of plants, he tells us: "The second category embraces innumerable substances which by themselves, speaking objectively, cannot in any way have any effect, either favorable or unfavorable, but whose value stems exclusively and directly from the ideas they provoke in the minds of the people concerned." (49).

49. Castiglioni, Op. cit., VI, 81.

The influence of magic in medicine is borne out, finally, by the custom of visiting the Arhuaco doctors, in whom they see powerful magicians who possess the secret of praying to a powerful spirit to impregnate their remedies with its essence. It is this aspect which attracts the Guajiro, not the plants in themselves but the spirit, the demon if we may call it so, that is present in the drops which have been prayed over by the Arhuaco curer.

[71] V

Magic and Funerals

811 With the Guajiro Indians, as with the majority of primitive peoples, the complex ceremonial relating to death accounts for a great part of their activities, their manner of acting, thinking, and

[71 cont.]

84 feeling. Not being able to understand the logical processes of life with its principal phenomena of birth, development, growth, old age, and death, the Indian looks for an explanation that agrees, at least in appearance, with his beliefs, with his limited capacity for knowledge, and he steadfastly adheres to the traditions received in cultural inheritance, traditions which all have a subjective flavor and in which the supernatural, the purely metaphysical – even within the physical phenomenon itself – dominates the intellectual and sensible panorama. If at first he
81 attributed the phenomenon of birth to the supernatural action,
84 far off in space, of an animal, a plant, or other object which in course of time became his totem in his mythical ancestor made divine, later his mental explorations try to find a new explanation; his totem for different causes having now lost its value and only remaining with him as a vague memory, he tries to find, let us say, a new explanation which agrees better with the reality surrounding him. Hence we find him affirming, like the Guajiro, that birth is due to the union of the masculine semen with the menstrual blood, which produces the fetus. The association, even if not exact, is not extraordinarily far from the truth in as much as the association of both these factors brings about an apparent conjunction of the same in order to accomplish the complicated processes of fertility and birth.

But, in the explanation of the phenomenon of death, it is
76 the realms of the unknown which continue to exert a major influ-
177 ence on the minds of primitives and, in the present case, on the minds of the Guajiro in particular. It is true that the constant influence of missionaries, colonists, traders and stock breeders, teachers and soldiers has stared to change the state of things, inculcating in the Indian another class of beliefs which are not always coincident with reality, for the simple reason that three different races live together in our country, [72] and all are equally fanatical in their beliefs: the Negro with his fetishism and fantastic mythology; the Indian also with his mythology and his subjection to the spirits of the dead; and the Spaniard, as fanatic as the rest or as renegade. But it is also true that in the Indian's personality there still remain strongly impressed his primitive beliefs, his traditions accumulated over thousands of years, which

[72 cont.]

761 have been transformed step by step through the evolutionary
177 process of thought as it fulfills its stupendous labor towards perfection.

761 Death is not a real death to the Guajiro. Accustomed as
775 he is to interpret sleep as a separation, a liberation of the spirit, the universal soul, from the framework of the body (Cf. "Sickness and Medicine"), death to him is nothing more than a greater and definite liberation of the spirit to go from this world to another — to that of the spirits — unknown and phantomlike but as real to his imagination as his own existence. For this same reason and because of the fear infused in the primitive by these disembodied spirits — which have left their material body and are capable of taking on new and unknown forms, capable of transporting themselves to a distance, capable in fact of deeds unachievable by mortal man — the Indians believe it to be indispensable for their tranquillity to practice a series of ceremonies, rites, to maintain a fixed and constant attitude toward the dead, because these spirits by the physical fact of the separation of the soul from the body possess special potentialities which confer on them the power to harm the living whenever their person has been offended by the violation of any of the norms established in the ceremonial for the dead.

We also have to take into account the fact that for the primitive a dead person is not only absolutely a sacred being — and as such untouchable — but he is also considered a potential enemy. Freud recognizes this when he states: "We know already that the dead are powerful sovereigns; possibly it would surprise us to find out now that they are also considered enemies." (50)

50. Freud. Totem y Tabú [Totem & Taboo], II, 75.

This duality, which we have shown in the previous paragraph, corroborated by the quotation from Professor Freud, will be seen more fully as we progress in this study and consider the different categories of danger that are attributed to the spirits of the dead in accord with the circumstances of their death or the disrespect with which they were treated. [73]

[73] In the Guajiro mentality sickness, as we were able to see in the corresponding sections ("Medicine and Sickness" and "Life Cycle of the Shaman"), is not something provoked by natural causes but is the consequence of the malevolent action of some special being, above all, of a spirit. So a series of beliefs, magic preventatives, have been established in order to avoid or ward off the hostile action of these spirits on the individual, as we were able to note in the chapter "Sickness and Medicine." We also saw in the matter relating to magic and sickness how certain animals, plants, and objects could be agents by contamination or participation in the cause and development of sickness. But it is particularly the spirit of the dead, offended and malevolent, that causes major disasters among the Guajiro, as is shown by their beliefs and their own preventative systems.

We can get aid from linguistics to clarify this concept. The word that the Guajiro uses for illness in general is wanurü, and the same word is the one that is used for the spirit of the dead — the devil, according to all writers and even to the natives themselves, due to the effects of religious acculturation provoked by the Capuchin fathers. Still further, if we break down the word we find that it is formed of three special particles, wa, num ru, which separately correspond to three different concepts: Wa is derived from the first person plural of the personal pronoun wayü, which means "we"; nu, or simply n, is nothing more than the general contraction of the third person singular of the personal pronoun niü, "he," and rü is a relative particle derived from surü or hurü (s or h according to which dialectal zone the word is taken from), which signifies "inside," "inside of," or "within." In view of the idiomatic composition of the Guajiro dialect, we can with all safety translate the word wanurü as follows: "he, inside of us." The linguistic construction therefore corresponds to a social reality: sickness, wanurü, is nothing more than that: the spirit of the dead that has entered an individual in order to cause him a particular illness for some disrespect or other that he has shown toward the spirit, or simply just because it is a malignant and vindictive spirit.

The relation sickness — death — spirit, which will later be the object of a special study on our part, can be proved through linguistics in many of the aboriginal Colombian and even American

[73 cont.]

171 groups, as far as we have been able to discover personally or by
753 bibliographical inquiry. To give no more than a small sample of
775 this, let us see [74] two quotations which corroborate our previ-
*756 ous statement, but for clarity before doing this we have to recall
a little about the place of the magician, sorcerer, medicine man,
or shaman in aboriginal communities as an intermediary between
two worlds, or as the sole means of communication with the
spirits through which he successfully obtains his magic effects.
This clarification is necessary because on many occasions the
word used for sickness or death might be confused with the word
used for shaman, or medicine man, for this very condition.

171 For example, Mother Laura, referring to the Katío [Catio]
*756 Indians (51) says: "Among the many peculiarities which study

> 51. The Katío Indians belong linguistically and culturally to the Choké group of the Karib [Carib] linguistic family (Rivet, op. cit.). They lived and still live in a great part of the northeast of Antioquia department in the republic of Colombia.

of the customs, usages, and beliefs of the Catío tribe reveals, the most noticeable is jaibanism.

"The etymology of the word jaibaní is as follows: jai = sickness, pana = gathering (derived from capaní, flock or herd). Consequently, this word may be translated: a collection or gathering of sicknesses. The general acceptance is "doctor." (52)

> 52. Montoya, Laura (Rev. Mother). Nociones sobre usos y costumbres de los Catíos en el departamento de Antioquia [Notes on Usages and Customs of the Catío Indians in the Department of Antioquia], p. 148.

This word jaibaní to which Mother Laura refers corresponds to what ethnographically we might denominate medicine man as

[74 cont.]

171 776 he is the witch and curer of the tribe, as we learn from the Mother Superior's writings, a wizard whose supernatural powers place him at the peak of the social pyramid. This jaibanf is none other than an individual who has by himself and for himself absorbed the power of the spirits -- of the dead -- and who by this is able to carry out the same functions as they are capable of, that is, he can do evil or good as the fancy takes him. For this reason "when some illness suddenly attacks the Indians they say they are bewitched, and they point to the person from whom they have received the injury. They dream persistently of a certain jaibanf and that he observes them with a grim, severe look or that he lies in ambush for them armed with spears or guns, and from this they assume that the doctor of whom they dream is he who has bewitched them." (53) In this case it is

53. Ibid., p. 151.

therefore the jaibanf, ("collection of sicknesses," according to the etymology) who, taking advantage of his power both to absorb and dominate the spirits, goes about among the Indians causing them harm and also [75] curing them when sick people go to him in search of help. Again we meet with this duality which we have already pointed out regarding the spirits of the dead (friends -- enemies) and which we showed in the previous chapter, "Sickness and Medicine," in regard to spirits in general, as well as animals.

171 776 797 775 Among the Chibcha Colombian Indians of the savannas of Cundinamarca, we also find a linguistic and conceptual correspondence between devil and death. In our opinion, among primitives there does not exist, or did not exist among the American aborigines before the Conquest, the concept of devil as such, but only of a spirit of evil which, although it may possess some similarity to the devil of our Catholic religion differs in many aspects from it. From all that we have been able to observe, the idea of the devil among the American primitives, introduced no doubt after the Conquest by Catholic missionaries, corresponds more to an entity, spiritual it is true and capable of

[75 cont.]

[71] doing good or evil, but always a physical evil, not a spiritual
[76] one as done by the devil as conceived in the Catholic religion.
[77] Also, according to our observations, this same spirit of the primi-
[75] tives is none other than the spirit of the dead, of their ancestors, inhabitants of the "other world," an unreal world that is not directly tangible, or at least not completely so, to the senses but real in the conception, in the faith and beliefs of the primitives. This last characteristic of the American aborigines' demonic spirits, confused with the dead, separates them formally and conceptually from the idea of the devil as understood in Catholicism.

[91] Returning to the Chibcha tribe of the savannas, we find
[75] that one of the words that their dialect uses to describe a dead
[76] person is guajaia (we retain the author's spelling), and the word for "devil" is guaiaque. We can attempt to split up the second word in the following way: guaia, que. This last particle that we have split off has the sense of "strong," "vigorous." Thus, by splitting up guaiaque -- translated as "devil" by the different writers on the Chibcha language of Cundinamarca -- would really have the meaning of "powerful dead one." (54) We could

54. The linguistic notes have been taken from two works: El idioma Chibcha o aborigen de Cundinamarca [The Chibcha or Aboriginal Language of Cundinamarca] by J. Acosta Ortegón and Gramática, Vocabulario, Catecismo i Confesionario de la lengua Chibcha [Grammar, Vocabulary, Catechism, and Confessional of the Chibcha Language] by Ezequiel Uricoechea.

include many other quotations to corroborate our statement, but, as we have mentioned, we reserve [76] these for a separate work. We only wish to expound our general theory for the better understanding of this study. It is sufficient then for us once again to affirm that death, sickness, spirit (devil), and even medicine man are all concepts that belong to one and the same ideological circle, totally imbued with the spiritualistic content of magic related to the soul of the dead.

[76 cont.]

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775 We can say that in La Guajira among the spirits of the dead there are categories determined by capacity to work evil. Spirits in general are indifferent as long as the established norms regarding their treatment are not violated, such as the fulfillment of the post-mortem ceremonial, avoidance of the use of [762] their names, etc. But when the spirit is that of a suicide, then his standing as an author of evil grows, as the fact of his having violated the established social order places him automatically at the margin of the community; he is a social outcast even in the world of the dead, and his spirit does not wander around as the others do but face downward and at ground level; for this reason he is considered an enemy of the community.

773 A Guajiro legend regarding Katétamána Hill relates that 823 in remote times there was a majayura ("a young woman") who 762 had sexual relations with her father and became pregnant. According to the legend, on finding herself in this condition, she was so ashamed that she wanted to wipe out her social sin by hanging herself, which she did. Mareiwa, the god of the Guajiro, told her that as punishment for her offense he would change her into a hill. For this reason, say the Indians, Katétamána Hill has the shape of a hanged woman. Ever since, concludes the story, Indians frequently hang themselves when any adverse event disturbs their lives.

762 As the legend transcribed above will indicate, an Indian 775 commits suicide when he cannot carry out some act which is at variance with the established patterns of his family circle or of society in general. Since he cannot be punished for the violation when alive, he must pay the penalty after his death. It is his spirit which receives and feels the consequences of the social sin he has committed. For this reason the general belief to which we have already alluded exists that the spirit of the suicide always wanders face downward and at ground level in the regions of the dead. [77]

762 But if the punishment of the suicide cannot be inflicted on 768 the individual himself while alive, it can, on the other hand, be 672

[77 cont.]

762 inflicted on the objects which were the principal active agents
768 in carrying out his fatal determination. As the form of suicide
672 that is practiced in La Guajira is almost exclusively that of hanging, they proceed to burn the branch on which the individual hanged himself and the rope which he used, because, they say, these were the direct causes of his death.

With respect to the punishment carried out on the objects
682 (inanimate to us) which served for the carrying out of suicide,
672 several suggestions may be made. In one case, the "compensation payment for blood" may be recalled, the established customary law of this community by means of which whatever spilling of blood that may be caused in any person, voluntary or involuntary, directly or indirectly, has to be paid for in accord-
[692] ance with a valuation decreed by the so-called "arbitrators," or "palabras," who are nothing more than intermediaries named by the family groups affected to settle the affair peacefully. This payment is considerable when the blood spilling ends in the victim's death. Should the murderer refuse to pay the sum ar-
682 ranged for (whether in livestock, necklaces, precious stones,
628 etc.), then the members of the victim's family group take vengeance on him personally and kill him. All this naturally ends in war to the death, or putchi, between the two extended family groups, an occurrence which is extremely frequent in La
682 Guajira. Hence as "compensation payment for blood" cannot
762 be claimed, from these objects (the tree and the rope), they are
672 punished in default by destruction by fire. This hypothesis is reinforced, if we remember that to the Guajiro Indian, as well as
[784] to most primitives, objects — which to us are not alive — are
[788] able to exercise both good and bad influences on the individual (Cf. "Sickness and Medicine" and "Amulets, Fetishes, Talismans"), because they possess a spirit — a kind of mana, or immaterial force, which surrounds and animates everything.

Another suggestion that could be made with respect to the
762 destruction of the objects used by a suicide is the following: As
783 these articles were in direct contact with the dead man, and particularly with a corpse as dangerous as a suicide is, it is necessary that they be destroyed so that the contamination

[77 cont.]
762 783 should not be transmitted to the persons who for any circumstance may approach or touch them.

The wickedness of the spirit of the suicide, in any event, 762 is seen to be reaffirmed by another Guajiro belief, which is that 769 of not daring to pass at [78] night by the place where an Indian 775 may have hanged himself because his spirit wanders continually around the place, and being malignant it will certainly pursue and chase after one in the form of a great flame or some other shape.

775 As we proceed to set down the present data relating to the participation of the dead in the lives of the Guajiro community, we shall refer to those related to the spirits of suicides with the idea of obtaining greater objectivity in our statements.

Presence and life of the dead. The spirit of the dead, known usually by the name wanurú and at other times as yoruja, on being separated from its body wanders about the world. Although it no longer has any tangible relationship with terrestial things, it is still dangerous. Usually it takes refuge in lonely and isolated places such as in some cemeteries, in the crevices formed by sea erosion in Cabo de la Vela, or in the solitudes of the Emejuy forest. But it appears that in addition to these places frequented by the spirits of the dead, there is one undetermined special place far away from La Guajira. It is customary when a 764 woman has died to cover her face with paipai (a paint for the 775 face) before wrapping her in her shroud and placing her in her coffin ready for burial. The explanation for this is that she is going on a long journey, a very long journey, and the sun to which she will be exposed will be very strong and harmful to her face. For this reason, according to Guajiro custom, they must try to protect the skin of her face from the sun's action by the use of this face paint. Also she is going to pay a visit, and it is indispensable that a woman should have her face painted when visiting friends or relatives (55).

751 55. The Guajiro woman, every time she is exposed to the sun's rays, protects her face with paipai powder (color of burnt sienna)

[78 cont.]

751 or another powder, achiote, mixed with tallow or other animal grease of some kind, which prevents the severe sunburn which the strong desert sun can cause.

764 The following facts give clearer and more convincing
765 proof of the reality of the dead as beings who pass to another life, to a certain point a material one. When a person dies the relatives usually place by his side at the moment of burial a small portion of chicha in a gourd; they also put in some meat and rum, as indispensable nourishment which he will require during the long journey he has to make. After the burial they place on his grave one of the objects of his personal ownership which had been used by him to satisfy his primary necessities. These objects [78] can be: a night glass (influence of acculturation through civilizado elements) if he is a rich Indian; the jug he used to drink from, or the plate he used for meals. In the case of a woman, in addition to these objects they place a special one, something which she greatly liked and worked with during her life -- for example, her spindle. Furthermore, after having buried the dead person, they light small fires for several nights so that the spirit can find the way it has to travel in its passage to the other world and will not be inconvenienced by losing its way, an inconvenience which might lead to trouble for its relatives.

On the other hand, when the Guajiro Indian has emigrated from his country for various reasons, especially in times of extreme summers when poverty becomes felt in an alarming way, and falls ill on foreign soil, his great concern is the need to return to his native land as soon as possible in order to die there and be buried in the cemetery where the remains of the ancestors of his family group lie. This concern, which could be interpreted romantically as a sentimental one, a simple manifestation of homesickness, has another explanation, more sociological and conscious, related to life beyond the tomb. This is that the Guajiro, whatever his social or family condition may be, is convinced that after his death he will have to travel a long way

[79 cont.]

764 before arriving at the abode of the spirits, a route that would be
775 most difficult, practically impossible, to follow if he had to set off from some place that was not the special cemetery of his group; and above all he fears that all the indispensable ceremonies required for the success of his post-mortem travels may not be complied with.

776 These facts show us their belief in the active influence, the continuity of life of the individual after his physical death in a spiritual form. It is precisely this belief in life beyond the grave which shapes, directs, and controls the activities in the life of the Guajiro in innumerable circumstances, as we have previously noted. To corroborate this, we single out some of this behavior which is directly connected with the spirit of the dead.

Return of the dead. One of the stories we obtained during the expedition to La Guajira was recounted by the same informant who supplied the data about the sacrifice of children in the making of magic arrows; she stated that when she was a little girl she went one morning with her sister, also small like herself, to look for some [80] burros that had been lost. They searched all through the day without finding them and at last decided to take the road back home. It was already late when the children turned their steps toward their home, from which they had traveled a considerable distance. The sun was already setting when in a small stream bordering on the forest they saw their grandmother, who had died some time previously. According to the story, the old lady was bathing and was accompanied by a boy. The girls, in order to find out if it really was their dead grandmother, asked her several questions to which she did not reply, an evident sign that it was her spirit that had recovered
775 its bodily form. (One can infer from this part of the story a
777 characteristic of the spirits of the dead, which is their inability to communicate directly with living people by speech; these communications only occur in the Indian's dreams when his spirit, also freed from his body, can take advantage of this condition.) The girls returned home and asked why they had seen their grandmother if she was dead. The reply they got was

[80 cont.]

775 the following: "Because there are going to be more deaths in
787 the house."

In this story we can appreciate three very clear facts in relation to the dead: 1) that these can return to the bodily form they had when living ; 2) that their presence is an omen of coming misfortune as it announces the death of some member of the family, especially of the closest relatives; 3) that, as we have already noted, the spirit is incapable of communicating with the living by word of mouth.

158 The blind belief that the Guajiro have in the apparition
775 of the dead in bodily form is due, according to the investiga-
787 tions that we were able to make in part, to a psychological phenomenon: It is clearly seen in La Guajira, and the natives so recognize it, that people do not want to look at a dead person's face. This is owing to the fact that this face will be engraved very deeply on their memory, to the point that when the individual who has looked at it is traveling by road at night, or when it is getting dark, or when he is alone at night in his dwelling and worried, on opening his eyes he will clearly see the dead man in the form he had when alive. We therefore believe that what happens in this case is that the individual is obsessed with and has firmly strongly impressed on his mind the decomposing face of the dead person that, as we have said, stays strongly impressed on his memory through this same act. This observation of ours does not apply exclusively to Guajiro
[171] Indians or to other primitives. It is also very common among the town people of practically all the regions of Colombia which we have visited. The psychic phenomenon of obsession and then the almost perfect reconstruction of the image engraved on the memory is a common occurrence among them. But if [81] we add to this the Guajiro's collection of beliefs related to the dead and the fear of the apparition of spirits, which are always harbingers of misfortune (death, sickness, misfortune in general), we can understand how a person so obsessed reconstructs in his nervous state the previously impressed image and, in his imagination, gives it a body. The effects of fear are then translated into a seemingly real image of the dead person, and the

[81 cont.]

158 individual is not capable of distinguishing between the merely
775 fictitious, the imaginary and the real. To him, the image so
787 faithfully rebuilt in his imagination is as real as the living image of the deceased. The explanation of the phenomenon, then, according to his mentality, is that the dead man has appeared before him for some reason or other.

775 This fact is complicated in addition by the belief that every dead person "retraces his steps," that is, he treads again all the paths he traveled during his life; he returns to places where he had been at different times; this is why he is "felt" very often. Many times the individual feels the presence of the dead, even if he does not see it. This Guajiro belief is
[171 also found to be very prevalent in all Colombian folklore. The
538] phenomenon that the Colombian people call "retracing his steps" corresponds exactly to the Guajiro version which we have just transcribed. Of course, according to popular legends, the dead "retrace their steps" when they are dying or a few moments or even days before their death. To hear strange noises
[787] without apparent logical explanation, to see shadows, etc., are for the people evident signs that one of their relatives or friends, or even some person who in the past has lived in these parts, is dying or will die from one moment to the next. For the same reason they avoid walking alone along certain places when they know that someone who has lived there is close to death's door.

Degrees of danger in spirits. The Guajiro murderer suffers
682 a double punishment; first, the claim for compensation payment
775 for blood presented by the dead man's relatives, which involves his own death if he does not pay the sum agreed on; and second, the constant presence of the dead man's spirit, which never leaves him. For this reason, the murderer cannot enter a home where there are small children because the spirit of the dead man follows him, will climb over them, squeeze them, and make them
[753] cry. If the children are sick, the murderer's presence is even more dangerous because the spirit will rapidly cause their death. If they are well they usually become ill. [82]

The death of a fellow being becomes a tremendous obsession with the Guajiro; the murderer is convinced that the
[753] dead man's spirit follows him everywhere. When he is ill he has

[82 cont.]

682 nightmares and dreams, possibly in the delirium of fever, so
775 that the spirit creeps around him and painfully crushes his chest.
753 It pursues him insistently, which provokes a grave crisis in illness. The spirit then takes advantage of his weak state to aggravate his sickness. Self-confession is one of the most important social consequences of this state of mind as, due to the obsession
682 with the presence of the spirit, every time a murderer has been
626 able to conceal the secret of the murder and in consequence has so far escaped the compensation payment for blood, he loses his equanimity during sickness and will then talk freely about his crime. In the delirium of fever, haunted by the anguish caused by the supposed weight of the spirit of the murdered man on his chest, he raves about all the details of his crime. This confession, according to his belief, does bring him some relief as in a certain manner it admits the dead man's vengeance and in consequence it gives some peace to the criminal as well as rest to the offended spirit.

775 The spirits of those who have died violent deaths fall, so to speak, within a class of more highly dangerous spirits than those that die from natural causes. They represent, we should say, the middle point between these latter spirits and those of
[768] suicides. This is certain to such a point that the house in which a native has been killed is immediately vacated, because his spirit will live in that house and it will only leave it on occasions when it goes to torment the murderer. A Guajiro Indian will never pass by the place between sunset and dawn because he is convinced that every detail of the scene of the tragedy is continually being repeated in that place ; the insults are heard again, the shots or whir of arrows, the sighs and groans of agony, just as were heard on the day of the tragedy. In addition the spirit appears in the shape of a flame that pursues whoever may be near the house; or it may also appear in the form of any animal whatsoever, a bird, for example.

But the highest degree of danger occurs when the spirit of the murdered Indian is face to face with his murderer. This is a wounded spirit and full of desire for vengeance to such a point that the family of the murderer, after having fulfilled the

[82 cont.]

775 formalities agreed upon with the victim's family, find that it imposes on them a sort of punishment, a rhythm of life totally different from that to which they were normally accustomed and which can be interpreted in two ways: (a) as a purification rite; (b) as a change of personality, in order to avoid the mortifying presence of the spirit face to face with the murderer. [83] To us the second interpretation appears clearer and more acceptable as we do not know of any other rites of purification in La Guajira which can show reason for the first assumption.

682 783 A repentant murderer, according to the statement collected by our colleague and expedition companion, Licentiate Milcíades Chaves Ch., is punished by his own will as well as by the decision of his family through norms imposed by his uncles and aunts. He voluntarily submits to them so as not to commit a second time the same delict which constituted his own ruin and that of his family, who like himself are liable to become victims of the retaliation of the murdered man's relatives in revenge for the murder. This punishment is executed in the following way:

1) The murderer must spend five or six days hiding in the selva or some distant mountain.

[262] 2) He must take no solid food. He is only allowed to take hot drinks or very thin mazamorro (corn chicha), and water.

3) He must not speak to anyone and must be on the alert all the time, with his rifle ready to defend himself from his enemies.

4) He must disguise himself: cut his hair, wear special belts and fringes, and wear a robe, black in color. (This robe is so small and short that it barely covers the top part of his body.)

[513] 5) In the forest he must sleep on the ground at night. Above all, he should not sleep face upward because the soul of [775] his victim may climb into his mouth and press on his chest, even to the extent of killing him by asphyxia. He may only return to his home for a short time to rest in a hammock, but this must be so small that he cannot lie comfortably on it, and due to this inconvenience he is unable to sleep for long.

6) He must eat and sleep very little and be continually [231] alert, having for his only companion a dog, whose senses will warn him of the approach of danger

682 783 [83 cont.]
warn him of the approach of danger.

7) He must abstain from all business and renounce friendships for some years, avoid social gatherings, especially those of a festive or drinking type.

8) In the case that the two family groups — that of the murderer and that of his victim — do not come to an agreement he, the murderer, must leave the country of his own free will and go to some distant place.

If the murderer should not comply with the requisites indicated, he can be certain that the spirit of his victim will deliver him defenseless into [84] the hands of his enemies, who will immediately kill him to satisfy their vengeance.

We can clearly see two essential things that stand out from these facts: (a) that the murderer, by the social crime he has committed, places himself automatically in the condition of an outcast, one impure, or more correctly, a contaminated, dangerous being. For this reason he becomes an individual who [614] must be set apart from the community. (b) The murderer's family, at the same time that it provides him with the means for going away, carrying out one of its main functions, mutual assistance among its members, takes care that the outcast does not fall an easy prey to his victim's spirit. His retirement from his habitual haunts, from his acquaintances, and particularly 682 785 from his own relatives; his disguise by cutting his hair and wearing certain articles of clothing; his not sleeping in a hammock; his avoiding his face being seen (sleeping face down); his not mixing with friends in business and in social gatherings; and finally, his going away a long distance from his clan, all demonstrate clearly to us that what the murderer is endeavoring to do — consciously or unconsciously — is to effect a total change of personality, we should almost say that he tries to convert himself into another hypothetical person, unrecognizable especially to the spirit of the person he has killed, to avoid its discovering him and taking its revenge on his body.

The clearest demonstration that the change of personality is made to mislead the murdered man is the fact that only when it is found impossible to reach an agreement between the two

[84 cont.]

682 family groups — that of the murderer and that of the victim —
775 is it considered necessary for the murderer to flee to distant parts to avoid the vengeance of his enemies falling on him. We have here, then, a repetition, different in form but essentially the same, of a disguise to avoid the presence of the spirits,
[171] which the Witoto practice either in the father, the mother, or the child, with the object of protecting the child from the malevolent action of the spirits (Cf. "Sickness and Medicine").

787 Presence of the dead in dreams. The dead person can also
769 reappear through the medium of dreams. He is then as real, as alive, to the Indian as in his apparition during the day or night in a corporeal or other form, such as we have shown throughout this chapter. For this reason, when an Indian dreams of one of his dead relatives on any occasion, he believes that this relative is in need of something in his other world and requires [85] special help from his relatives. He therefore assembles the dead man's closest relatives, and they all go as soon as possible to the grave of the person who appeared in the dream and take a little food with them. After some time passed in lamentation over the tomb, they unwrap the meat expressly taken there for the occasion and seat themselves on the grave, prepared to eat, saying as they begin eating, "Come then, let us all eat together." To avoid the appearance of spirits through dreams, it is a general custom to visit the graves of the dead at times of full moon [luna clara], at night, and on the anniversary of the person's death.

The explanation of the spirit's appearance in a dream can be found very clearly expressed in the words we quote from Dr. Born and according to which "... from experiences in the world of dreams he derived the belief in the soul as a clear explanation of the consciousness of "ego," which is opposed to the destiny of death." According to this, in the dream communication is established between two spirits, between two souls, as Dr. Born says: that of the dead, already definitively free of its human wrapping; and that of the living, momentarily free of its body by the effects of the dream.

766 Burial and children. When the first-born of a Guajiro marriage dies before other children are born, they place it in an urn

[85 cont.]

766 head downward, and then they cover it with a piece of another clay olla, new, usually with a base. The urn is buried in the [824] woods at the foot of a special tree called in Guajiro huruwá ("within us," etymologically), with the idea that the other children that are born will not continue dying. No special ceremony accompanies the burial of the child, which must be carried out by the maternal uncle, since neither the father nor the mother may be present because it is believed that if they should be all their other children would also die as they were born.

When the first-born dies, and the work of its burial has 765 been complied with, the mother is put through the following 766 procedure: She is hung in a hammock for three days in a closed room (it is really a small house made especially for the purpose). After three days have passed, she is unslung from the hammock, but she has to continue in seclusion for a further five [834] months (five lunar months), and the husband is prohibited from visiting her, with the idea of avoiding sexual contact. After this seclusion the husband may return, and they resume normal married life. During the time she is in the hammock, the [262] woman is not allowed to receive any food except a medicine called hawapi, which serves for fattening. This medicine is a [278] mixture of scraped roots dissolved in cold water [86] and is drunk after being strained. The wife receives this medicine from her mother, who acts as her nurse.

In other words, the mother, by reason of the death of her [881] first-born, has to repeat the complete cycle of seclusion as at the initiation of young women when they reach puberty. The ceremonial is the same, seclusion, taking of fattening medicine, sexual exclusion of the man, and in general all contact or relations with him, etc.

764 If in spite of these precautions the next child should also die, the previous cycle is not followed, but the baby is buried with all due ceremony. A fiesta is arranged for the burial, a wake is held with the usual distribution of liquor, and animals which the maternal and paternal grandparents supply are sacrificed. The mother undergoes a new special treatment but without those of seclusion.

[86 cont.]

766 751 In these magic practices we can observe the following facts: 1) The burial of the first-born infant face downward in a funeral urn prevents succeeding children dying in the same way. If he is buried face upward, the future children will all unfailingly die. The spirit of the child is, then, like that of all other [775] dead adults, a spirit capable of doing harm, but its influence can be easily counteracted by varying the normal position of the head at the time of burial. 2) There is here the intervention of a special tree, the huruwá, the reason for which is at present unknown to us but which presupposes its possessing certain magic properties, as it is below this tree and no other that the body of the first-born must be buried. 3) The presence of the father or of the mother at the moment of burial would cause the death of their future children, which corroborates the above statement [775 842] that the spirit of the dead, even that of the newborn child, by its death makes its influence felt in the matter of conception, as we have seen in other cases. (Cf. "Magic and Sacrifice" and "Sickness and Medicine"). 4) The mother has to undergo or relive the ceremonial of the initiation rite as this, which is also directly connected with magic, prepares a woman for her life as such. If we make an analysis we can presume or reproduce the mental processes of the Indian in this case. If the initiation rite has as its special function the preparation of the woman for her place in society and in the family and if, in spite of it, the first-born — which implicates one of her principal functions: conception — dies, it must mean that the said rite was not carried out in all solemnity, all and each of its [87] fundamental parts were not complied with, and it is necessary to repeat them. The mother of a dead first-born is placed then in the condition of an adolescent.

* * *

858 We said in one of the sections in the chapter "Sickness and Medicine" that the child is regarded by primitives as a being defenseless up to a certain point, and that for this reason he needs

[87 cont.]

858 greater protection than the adult as, owing to his limited defensive capacity, illnesses can readily take possession of his body. We made reference in that section to the malevolent action of certain animals as well as the influence of the dead, the contamination exercised by their spirits on conception and on small children. And now we return to refer especially to this last aspect. We also saw how the harmful effects of animals centered especially on unborn infants due to carelessness on the part of pregnant mothers or of the husbands, and this is repeated equally with regard to funerals.

[764] When the grave destined for a dead person is opened, small children who go to the funeral, relatives of the deceased, must pass in file over it with the object that death will be delayed and will not overcome them while very young.

When speaking of sacrifice (cf. Chapter III) as well as 843 when speaking of medicine among the Guajiro Indians in its 853 magic aspect, we quoted the general belief in La Guajira, which [171] is known also as an aspect of folklore in various parts of Colombia, among them Santander and Nariño, that if during pregnancy, the father or the mother of the child to be born has been present at the exhumation of any human remains, the child will be born sickly, will suffer from diarrhea, night sweating, paleness, and loss of weight. The characteristic of something touched by death which the corpse has makes it contagious and, so to speak, contaminates the mother of the infant, who because of his weakness is incapable of resisting its influence. If in this case one considers the folklore aspect, the explanation which is given is that the cold of death has affected the child through the person of its mother or its father in the presence of the corpse. The explanation in the case of Guajiro appears to 755 us to be somewhat more complicated, as we had occasion to show above, although the curing processes tend in reality to extract the cold of death from the body of the child after it is born. The method of curing considered infallible by them is to bury the child in the still warm carcass of an animal sacrificed [88] during a wake, and only when there is no such possibility do they make use of the substitute, the bone, or of burying

[88 cont.]

755 the child in the warm sand, covering it to the base of its head. There is a decided magic intervention, the effect of which we 882 do not know on the part of the sacrificed animal which, as we 825 have said, shares the contaminating quality of its dead owner.

Other beliefs which confirm what has been stated are the 843 following: The husband of a pregnant woman should never, for 845 any motive whatsoever, dig a grave or assist in the construction of a vault for either a primary or secondary burial ceremony, because in such a case his wife's delivery will not be normal; it will be prolonged with danger both to the mother and the child.

Neither should the mother-to-be watch a burial being placed in a vault because the previously mentioned phenomenon will be repeated: She will have a difficult delivery, through delay in the birth and pain.

783 Anyone who has touched a man whose death was not due 753 to natural causes must not come near a sick person because if 764 he does the sick man will quickly die. This also applies to those who have helped in an exhumation or taken part in any of the ceremonies called for by the secondary burial. Neither should such a person go near small children because these will, according to Guajiro belief, automatically begin to cry and twist about, the victims of some sickness.

In general terms, the individual who approaches a corpse, who touches it, or who participates directly in the different ceremonies relating to it becomes contaminated. But he does not suffer the consequences of this contamination in his own person, unless it be a pregnant woman; he takes on the role of transmitting agent. He becomes an intermediary, if we can so call him, between the spirit and children, sick people, or pregnant women, which are the three classes of people preferred by the spirits of the dead on whom to practice their malevolent contaminations. In all three cases the weakness of the contaminated person is evident: the sick person, the child in the womb unable to defend itself, and the newborn also incapable of defending itself against the spirit as it shows in contrast to the other members of the community, that is, the adults on whom it depends for its

[88 cont.]

753 subsistence and in general for every aspect of its life.

764 The relation spirit-sickness-death, which we have re-
783 ferred to in previous sections, is corroborated by this class of beings exposed to the harmful influence of the spirits almost in the same sense as that in which science regards sickness, i.e., the greater the weakness the greater the possibility of contamination from pathogenic germs. In short, [89] death occurs more frequently among old people and children than among adults. It is only that pathogenic germs, or the various causes of sickness among the Guajiro, are reduced, due to their mentality and in the majority of cases, to one cause only, wanurú, the spirit of sickness and death.

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VI

Magic Charms
(Fetishes, Amulets, and Talismans)

789 As these three terms, fetish, amulet, and talisman generally lend themselves to confusion, we wish to clarify the meaning of each one before we proceed further with the subject.

Amulet "indicates an object that possesses the magic, passive quality of defending the wearer from malignant influences..." (56)

56. Castiglioni. Op. cit., VI, 87.

Fetish derives from the Portuguese feitiço, corresponding to the Latin word facticius ("made by hand"), and at first was used to describe Christian amulets, but was used by navigators in the fifteenth century to describe the primitively carved wood and stone which were worshiped as bearers of magic forces by the Negroes of West Africa. The fetish "is an efficacious charm whose supposed action is guided by the wish of its owner." (57)

57. Born. Op. cit., 2-3.

[91 cont.]

But in our opinion this definition would be incomplete if we did not add that fetishism implies a special cult, a veneration on the part of the owner. The fetish becomes almost the material representation of a personal and protecting divinity.

The talisman, in turn, "exercises an active magic influence, given that it can give fortune or success to whoever carries it." (58)

58. Castiglioni. Op. cit., VI, 87.

The difference between the last two, which apparently could be confused with each other, is the following: The fetish is a magic article which is at the disposal of its owner, who can use it to obtain his personal good or to do harm to others. On the other hand, a talisman is independent of the will of its owner. Its function simply consists in providing him with "fortune or success."

[92] This clarification having been made, we proceed with our study of magic in the life of the Guajiro Indians.

The general term contras ["charms"] in La Guajira and in the greater part of Colombia covers those magic objects which can be included in the three categories we have just noted. These are not peculiar to any determined racial group but belong to the people, this being understood in its widest meaning. These charms are equally appreciated by an Indian, a Negro, a mestizo, or a White, and for this reason they are found in almost all the social and spatial spheres of Colombia.

But what is the most interesting as a social phenomenon is the symbiosis that has occurred. What is Negro, what is Spanish, and what is Indian are so closely linked, so perfectly amalgamated, that it is now little short of impossible to determine the origin of the different influences in many of the aspects of magic and of popular sorcery, to elucidate what has an African, an Amerindian, or a peninsular origin. All these ethnographic elements which at a historic moment formed an integral and essential part of the cultural basis of the different communities have been converted, thanks to the racial and cultural intermixing, into the elements of folklore of these new peoples that have arisen as a result of such crossing.

[92 cont.]

177 789 The previous statement is borne out to such a point that even in native communities that are quite homogeneous, anthropologically speaking, as is La Guajira, it is difficult to learn which beliefs, which practices of magic or of sorcery, are autochthonous and which are acculturations due to contacts with the neighboring mestizos who, given the circumstances we have noted of being in the greater part mulattos, have a considerable collection of this type of beliefs and practices inherited largely from their Negro ancestors.

As it is totally impossible for us to make a list of the origin of all and each one of the autochthonous Guajiro beliefs, we shall have to confine ourselves to showing the similarities which they have in the whole of Colombian folklore. It is clear that this similarity will not always indicate acculturation, but only similarity due to the influence of other native groups that have disappeared but who once lived in Colombian territory, or exact beliefs which reached there from other continents and which can only be explained by the general evolutionary process of human mentality.

789 [426] Characteristics of charms. 1. Some charms can be lent by their owner to another person, if both the owner and [93] the borrower are of the same sex and if the charm is to be used by the borrower so that he may benefit by its virtues.

[262] 2. To make use of them, the individual during the period of action must submit himself to a special, very strict diet. The breaking of any one of the norms will cancel the effect and bring about serious prejudice to health, if not results contrary to what he had looked for and expected. The way to carry out this diet will be found described in the following section, "Application and Effects."

3. It is sufficient for a stranger to look at the magic object belonging to someone else for all its magic power to be transferred to him. For this reason it is an indispensable requisite to keep it safely from other people's sight and always to be wary of this type of violation.

438 789 673 4. It is very difficult to obtain a true charm because while those who sell these are old women very practiced in this art, many unscrupulous women often devote themselves to the trade

[93 cont.]
458 in charms, which usually have no magic value and are a com-
789 plete fraud. These women are accustomed to putting in a small
673 wool bag something that has the appearance of a charm and selling it as the legitimate article.

832 5. A love charm is worth about 300 Colombian pesos, and
435 just the loan of it for a few days to a friend for him to get the
426 desired results is paid for. Such a temporary loan is worth 100 Colombian pesos.

832 6. Besides the love charms which are strictly Guajiro,
[79] there are others that the so-called "Gocha" women sell. There are many of these women in Maracaibo and Zulia. Unfortunately, we could not obtain any special data about these makers of magic charms, of whom there are many on the eastern borders of La Guajira.

7. The charms serve equally for either sex; what varies is in general terms the effects of the charm.

8. Some personal objects, such as hair, sandals, etc., may form the basis of a love charm of great magic potential. This potential is above all due to the possession of a part of the personality of the person whom one wishes to harm.

9. Different love charms can be mixed together.

10. Charms may be acquired among civilizados. This kind of magic material is carefully kept in glass containers made especially for this purpose. [94]

Love charms. The Guajiro Indian, man or woman, knows and uses different charms to attract or repel love. They have them of different classes as regards form, preparation, and raw material. Some of them are the following:

a) One has the shape and general appearance of the excrement of the machorro, (a species of lizard). It has been stated that one of the magic objects used by the shaman is a small wool bag containing a paste prepared by a herbalist that is in the shape of goat excrement and is used to attract the spirits.

b) Another, which is kept inside a small glass receptacle, looks like a stone and is accompanied by some small pieces of coral.

c) Another is made in the following way: The root of a herb, very abundant on Itojoro Hill, is ground and [the paste]

[94 cont.]

832 made into a ball. This paste is dissolved in the water that the person wishing to profit by its powers uses in his bath, or some other way which we shall see later.

d) Also considered a love charm is the string of necklaces made of small pieces of coconut shell and worn as ornaments by the Indian girls.

[426] e) A thing that is very commonly used as a love charm, especially by girls, is their own hair.

f) With the hair which has been taken from a girl when her first menstrual period occurs and mixed with hummingbird's blood, dog's tail, and achiote [bija], they make a love charm which has a most powerful effect on the girl to whom the hair belongs. The man who acquires it can consider himself virtually her owner.

g) Lastly, an element that enters decisively in the effective value of love charms is achiote powder, which should be rubbed on certain parts of the body of the owner of the charm when he or she wishes to attain a certain end.

Application and effects. When a woman makes use of a love [262] charm which will give her the power always to be attractive to her husband and to regain his lost love or to win it, she should not eat any roasted food while she is trying to apply the qualities of her charm. She must also take the charm and rub it all over her body when she has recently given birth to a child or during her menstrual period. It is then that she should deny herself all [262] roasted food (meat, roasted corn, etc.) on which there has been direct action from fire. She should also abstain from all [95] kinds of milk, should not go out in the sun, and should not let her face be seen by another woman. This last point is very important as if this should happen the effects she seeks will be obtained not by the person following the indicated regimen but will [834] automatically be transferred to the woman who has seen her face. The woman who is owner of the charm must also abstain from cohabiting with her husband. When she bathes, she must do so not in the brook but inside her own home. The bathing must be done by another woman, starting at the crown of her head, then her shoulders, then her breast, and thus on to the whole body.

[95 cont.]

832 Once she has finished her bath, she must hang up her dress over her hammock to dry, also inside the house. It is also necessary for her to apply achiote powder to certain parts of her body, such as under her arms, on her breasts, on her genital organs, etc., with the object of aiding the magic action of the charm on those parts, and avoiding the loss or lessening of the magic power. This special regimen must be carried through for four consecutive days, at the end of which the effect has already been obtained — or at least there is no longer the fear that it may pass to some other person.

In general, every man or woman who possesses a charm keeps his body (armpits, breasts, genital organs, etc.) permanently dusted with achiote powder.

The men also make use of the same charms as the women. The magic power of these charms enables them to obtain the wholehearted love of women without their own affections becoming involved.

881 832 When a young woman reaches the age of puberty, and her first menstrual period arrives, a love charm is hung about her neck during all the time that she is kept indoors and hanging up in her hammock (ritual of initiation of young girls). This charm will give her the quality of being admired and loved by men. The plan in wearing this token is that when she leaves her seclusion she will find the man who will buy her for a wife at a good price. The charm is hung about the adolescent girl's [604] neck by her mother or by a maternal aunt.

832 When a girl's mother or aunt finds out that she has not been happy in her love life, they obtain charms which will make her more lovable and desirable.

[826] 832 673 Women should be very careful of their hair when it has been cut after the appearance of their first menstruation because if a man gets hold of it he practically becomes the owner of the woman, for by mixing it with hummingbird blood, dog's tail, and achiote he can make a charm which will act directly against the owner of the hair. The man, with the firm intention of causing her harm, may show her the charm or better still may produce it when she has her back to him. [96] The woman because of this simple charm becomes madly enamored with the man

[96 cont.]

832 and is made foolish and boastful of the difficult position she is
673 placed in.

This charm, capable of such mischief according to the belief of the natives, is used especially when a man wishes to cause some woman harm or to mock either her or her relatives.

754 Fortunately for women in general they have a way to scoff
832 at, or revenge themselves on, the men who have been false
578 and whose love they no longer want – only revenge. For such cases they buy a charm from the old Indian women who know of these things, a charm which they place among the clothing of the man on whom they wish to effect a malevolent action. Then they obtain an old sandal belonging to their victim and burn it. It is most important that the sandal should be old so
826 that the sweat of the man in question, as part of his personality,
828 should have soaked into it.

With these two simple things, the Indian women affirm, the man loses his senses, he goes about as if stupefied, neglects his person, is a failure and a brutish person thereafter. So sure are they of this that they say that a mad Indian living in Nazaret is in that condition because of a charm like that we have just described after he had been one of the most elegant and well dressed of Indians.

832 Another love charm is used not to regain a man's love that has been lost but to retain affection that is desired; and as it is the woman's property – for evil against the man – this aims at making the man unable to take another woman. This charm, like others, is obtained from the old Indian women of the Sierra de Jarara, and it is made of carefully ground herbs to which they add achiote, an excellent substance for charms. The mixture is wrapped in a rag, or it is kept in a little wool bag.

The effect of love charms can be diverted to other purposes. For example, when a woman wants her husband to make her a special present she goes to her charm, picks it up, shakes it well, and looks firmly at it, at the same time asking for the desired object. The charm works, and the woman obtains what she wished for.

Necklaces of small perforated discs of coconut shell are transformed into love charms when the women experts in this

[96 cont.]

832 witchcraft have "whispered" over them, that is, when they repeat over them a series of magic incantations which have the object of giving them the power to make a man, or men, love the owner [97] as she may desire, and especially her husband when it is the case of a married woman.

We have seen in previous paragraphs how the hair of a pubescent girl serves as a base for men to make magic charms which can be used against the girl. But the hair of such girls in different circumstances serves to attract men in general and causes a woman to be looked on with such deference by a man that he buys her to take as a wife at a good price. For this [826 reason the young Guajiro woman, especially those of the Sierra 302] de Jarara, keep their hair when it is cut. At times to make the action more effective and to obtain better and quicker results, they place it under a patch of cow dung. The association of [237] their hair with cow dung is founded on a socio-economic phenomenon which we might briefly clarify.

556 We have seen repeatedly that wealth in La Guajira is 583 calculated by the number of heads of livestock that an individual owns; and it can be observed how a wife in their social or- 832 ganization is obtained by purchase. When the buyer is a rich man he pays in heads of cattle or horses; when poor, in goats and sheep. Hence it is clear every woman aspires to be paid for in cows and in a greater number than those paid for other women, as this establishes an advance in her social status. This is the reason why she buries her hair under cow dung and not that of any other animal. She has made a very primitive association but [237] one that speaks for itself. It would appear that the magic attraction is brought about by the dung, and the results desired are increased if this is from the cow, the animal of most value in La Guajira.

826 In any case, young women are most careful about leaving their cut hair about where it could be picked up by another person, and for this reason they guard it all their lives, giving it in this way a sacred quality. This characteristic which we have called sacred stems from the magic connection established by the primitive between a person and the different parts of his body, to

[97 cont.]
826 which we have referred on various occasions in this work.

Hunting charms. We could only acquire data about the
224 type of talismans connected with the hunting of deer and rabbits. The object of such a talisman is a double one; on one hand, it inculcates ability and quickness on the part of the hunter who possesses it; and on the other, it exercises a restraining action on the animal he wishes to kill, as [98] according to the native belief, it stops its flight and converts it into an easy prey for the hunter.

[824] The charm for facilitating the hunting of rabbits is made with bejuco leaves, a plant known in La Guajira by the name of átpana-pi (átpana = "rabbit"). The leaves of this plant, which are used for making the charm, are long and shaped like a cartridge, which gives them a great likeness to rabbit ears. Besides this, it serves as food for rabbits, which they like a great deal.

To make the charm, the hunter carefully collects the leaves, grinds them up, and with the resulting powder makes small pellets resembling rabbit excrement. One of these small balls is carefully tied with a thread and is placed in the middle of the tassel which adorns the hand guard they use when drawing the bow. The effect of the charm is directed against the rabbit, limiting its chance of flight and thus making it easier for the hunter to secure his prey.

The charm used in hunting deer is also made from a plant
[824] well known to the hunters. This plant, in form like the bejuco, has wide leaves which shine like a mirror. It abounds in the
[192] forest and requires no special cultivation. In La Guajira it is called supána-unú; (su = neuter; pana = "leaf," "liver"; unú = "tree," "pole"; wumí = "remedy"). It is prepared in a similar way to that for hunting the rabbit and, as in that case, it is carried on the person of the hunter in the shape of small pellets
[192] which are tied to the hand guard of his bow. Once finished it takes the name of sipi-iráma, (iráma = "deer"), and its object is to make the hunting of the deer easier by attracting it toward the hunter, who thus cannot fail in his shot. It also prevents the animal's flight, thus making it, as in the case of the rabbit, an easy prey.

[98 cont.]

234 237 It is very interesting at this point to emphasize the fact that these hunting charms, in both cases, take the shape of the excrement of the animal that is to be hunted. We cannot allow to pass unnoticed this constantly recurring presence of excrement in the matter of magic. Let us recall the fact which we have frequently mentioned that for certain umbilical illnesses in children they apply excrement; that to call up their protector spirits the shaman use talismans that are shaped like goat excrement; and young Guajiro women bury their hair underneath patches of cow dung in order that they may be bought for wives at a good price.

These phenomena make us think of a very important function of excrement in the Indians' belief in magic, a function that [99] we know about only in its external aspects, but its application does not surprise us even though its explanation still appears obscure.

773 One has to remember that the guano of birds, according to Guajiro myths, was what favored the spread of seeds and populated the country with nourishing and useful plants for man and beast. One of our informants recounted this part of the Creation in the following manner: "Then Mareiwa brought together all the zancalargas (wading birds), troupials, and doves in a flock. He pointed out the far distance and told them to go in search, and there they ate of the iwaráya (fruit of the cardon) and prickly pear. He ordered them to bring the fruit of the cherry trees, and Mareiwa made it rain throughout all La Guajira. Each dove went about spreading his droppings, and where these fell there sprang up all the plants which both the wayú (Indian) and their animals could eat. So were propogated the cardon and cherry trees, and the earth was sown. . . ."

751 726 579 Charms for war. This charm has the virtue of giving its owner complete bodily immunity in the fights which frequently arise between the various family groups. For this reason, before getting ready for combat, when on the way and in fear of a surprise attack, or when he goes to present a claim for compensation payment in the case of the violent death of one of the members of his clan, the Indian will rub himself all over with

[99 cont.]

751 the charm. He has two aims in view, to render himself immune
726 from harm from his enemies' weapons, and to acquire courage
579 and coolness in the coming fight. This type of charm is called
ranfa in Guajiro.

The evil eye. This is one of the beliefs which seems to us to
754 have been acquired by the Guajiro Indians through acculturation,
[79] as we have not found it in any purely native group but, on the
contrary, have found it very widely spread in all parts of Colom-
bia, especially among the mestizos. We have personally en-
[71] countered it in the departments of Cauca, Valle del Cauca,
Tolima, Antioquia, Santander, and Magdalena. Without being
exclusive to Negro or Negroid groups, it is among them that this
belief is found with the greatest intensity and frequency.

175 The presence of Negroes in La Guajira is not due only to
563 racial mixing with the groups of mulattos of the coast but was
initiated in the centuries of the Colony as can be seen from these
notes taken from Father Julián: "Two evident and palpable
reasons came to me: practical reasons which because of my zeal
for the welfare of the Guajiro Nation and for the Monarchy I now
express. The first is their provision and use of [100] firearms
through their continual trade with foreigners; secondly, these
same foreigners have brought in Negroes and Negresses, and these
[563] have mixed with the Indian men and women who have bought and
kept them as slaves. The result is that not only is the number of
people in La Guajira increased but so also is the number of terri-
ble races of Mestizos, Mulattos, Zambos, etc., who united with
the Guajiro will make this nation even more formidable and every-
day more difficult to conquer." (59)

59. Julián, Antonio. La Perla de la América
[The Pearl of America], 2nd, XIV, 195.

754 Referring to this popular Santander belief, Juan de Dios
Arias affirms: "In our territory, for example, there is a very gen-
eral belief that certain persons have the evil eye, and if they
should look fixedly and with evil intention at a child, in the
course of a few days the latter will be covered with pimples and
sore places which are difficult to cure. This evil influence is

[100 cont.]

754 also effective on birds, which die in a short time when they have the evil eye put on them. To protect the children they are 751 made to wear rings or bracelets made of jet beads, buzzard [chulo] bones, guache [a certain serpent] teeth, or male and female coral stones. They also avert the evil eye by singing three hymns over the sufferer.

"We also find this superstition in Spain. The physician 171 Rodríguez López, referring to Galician superstitions, writes: 754 'Here, where the belief in the evil eye is so strongly held, it 751 is exceptional for a mother not to hang round her child's neck certain relics, herbs, horns, or other objects of all shapes and sizes, or at other times to sew them on to their children's clothes, or tie them to their wrists to protect them from the contagious effects of the evil eye.'" (60)

60. Arias, Juan de Dios. Supersticiones Populares [Popular Superstitions], pp. 265-266.

Besides this, in the study made by the Licentiate Panesso Robledo on Antiochian folklore we find the following:

"Not only country people but also city dwellers wear opals, nearly all imitation, to protect themselves from evil actions, and on their children's wrists they tie black beads, called jet but rarely genuine, to keep them safe from the evil eye, a universal superstition whose effects if they really occur are to be imputed to the phenomena of auto-suggestion or hypnotism." (61)

61. Panesso R., Antonio. Del Folklore Antioqueño [Antioquian Folklore], p. 25.

751 Leaving Colombian folklore and limiting ourselves to that 754 of La Guajira, we find there that jet is the best charm to protect 823 one from the evil eye, [101] which especially affects children. 855 This evil effect is not obtained if the person on whom it is practiced carries jet on his person, since it has the property of counteracting the evil. According to the belief, when the evil eye has been cast upon a person carrying a piece of jet, this

751 [101 cont.]
823 breaks, thus counteracting the evil. In other words, the magic
855 action of the eyes is deviated toward the jet, which directly re-
754 ceives the effect, so liberating its owner from it.

For the same purpose they also use a mineral called salta piedra ["jumping stone"], which is hung by a string from children's wrists. It is yellow and shining.

Pieces of coral, which the women use in their necklaces, [777] bracelets, and anklets as ornaments and bringers of happiness, health, and good fortune, are suspended from children's wrists to forestall the evil eye and some other sicknesses. The mestizos who live in La Guajira wear it attached to their waists by means of a cord.

751 It is also very common to find, as a preventative of this
754 evil, "oxeye" seeds hung by a small cotton string from some
824 part of the body.

Also coconut shell in the shape of a little hand is frequently seen, a shape which is probably more effective made in jet.

754 The evil eye, according to native belief, is exercised by certain people who have a special power in their eyes which causes sickness in those they look at if these are weak, such as children and sick persons, but this harmful action is involuntary in the majority of cases, though some do knowingly use their power and put it into practice with the manifest intention of causing evil. The effects of these "eyes" also extends to plants and animals.

The sickness shows itself in the form of stomach troubles, diarrhea, vomiting, fever, and by general eruptions on the skin. Animals also sicken and die, and plants cease to develop naturally and in the end dry up.

751 Method of warding off the wanurú. Near native habita-
825 tions the owners place horses' skulls, which they say serve to drive off sickness both in children and adults, as they have the effect of frightening away the wanurú. We believe that this attitude is closely allied to another native belief which convinces them that the neighing of horses frightens the spirits that [484] wander on the roads at night. For this reason, when the Indians travel at night, as we saw personally, the horsemen always [102]

751 [102]
825 head the party, and these insist that the rest of the caravan who
[484] are riding on burros or are on foot follow them closely.

If the wanurú fears the neighing of horses, it is also afraid in the presence of its skull. The important element in this belief is that its appearance must date from the Post-conquest period, since the natives did not have horses before that event. It is thus a belief acquired through acculturation. Our hypothesis is
171 that it was introduced by the Negroes, as similar beliefs are
175 found in the mining regions of Antioquia, as we can show by
751 quoting Tomas Carrasquilla in his work La Marquesa de Yolombó
825 [The Marchioness of Yolombó], the plot of which is unfolded in colonial times in these regions. He speaks of the popular belief in demonic monsters, especially by the Negro slaves who worked the mines, and refers particularly to a special being whom the simple people named the pate-tarro [pata de tarro, "can foot"], "a giant who had only one foot of flesh and bone. If it were not that this great scoundrel was scared to death by skulls of cows, there would not have remained alive a single pawpaw tree in these mountainous cultivated lands."

The similarity is obvious: A cow's skull keeps away evil spirits and averts their wickedness. The difference lies in something of minor importance — one is the skull of a cow, the other that of a horse. The beings against whom they direct their evil are different by reason of mere accommodation to the cultural atmosphere in which the belief is implanted.

777 Charms for becoming rich. This charm is acquired, as are all others, by purchase from a Guajiro woman experienced in the matter. Almost always the owner of such a charm is a man who by means of its power has acquired considerable wealth, because his charm will not allow him to do any bad business; it counsels him on what operations he must accomplish, it points out to him the profits that he could obtain from certain financial operations, and, above all, it guarantees him success in whatever business he undertakes.

The charm is kept inside a small wool bag, and with it he keeps a gold bead and at times a gold necklace. The part of the charm that we might call nonmaterial is produced by the various

[102 cont.]

777 prayers and special acts of magic with which the charm is endowed by its maker to give it its magic powers.

789 Charms to obtain respect, prestige, and affection. These charms, which are for male use exclusively, are much sought after by the local caciques and by the arbitrators in claims between two enemy groups. The popular native belief [103] assigns the possession of this type of charm to such men as have great influence over them, that is, their natural headmen or direct superiors, and they are convinced that the greater the personal influence or power of such a headman, so much greater is the magic power of the charm he possesses. Hence the efforts of every influential Indian to obtain a charm superior in such qualities to any that may be in the possession of his rivals.

The possession of one of these charms inspires respect in others who would never dare to conspire against its holder's life or character because the charm would protect him and would cause grave danger to the offender. It must be remembered that [435 556] the possession of this amulet implies a condition of considerable wealth as it is only obtainable at a very high price, a fact which definitively influences [the degree of] fear and respect due its owner, owing to the established social custom of relating the social status of an individual with his degree of wealth.

When the native owner of this magic charm has to leave home in connection with some difficult mission such as, for example, taking part in the negotiation of compensation payment or settling a payment between two groups who have become enemies for some reason or other, or when he has to mix with a considerable number of natives among whom he wishes to assure his personal prestige, or when he hopes to overcome some difficult situation, he locks himself in his room hidden from all outside onlookers, gets his charm, uncovers it, and, looking fixedly at it for a moment, he then lifts it momentarily in his hand and vehemently wishes that all the magic power of the charm will inspire and defend him in the adventure he is about to undertake. [262] He then replaces the charm and starts on the diet indicated for the charm to have its effect. He should not eat roast meat or roasted corn for a period of three days, or bathe, for should he do so he will become mad.

[103 cont.]

789 This charm is personal and nontransferable. If a person who is not the legitimate owner should touch it, he has to submit to the diet just described or his punishment will be madness; [262 828] his character will be changed, he will have fits of anger without apparent or justified cause, he will suffer from permanent nervousness, and his mind will be come deranged. However, he may look at the charm with the owner's permission without suffering any change in personality. It is useless to steal the charm as it will give no aid to the thief but will remain faithful to its original owner and will most likely cause harm to him who may have appropriated it illegally.

As do nearly all charms, it has its special covering and is kept together with achiote in three successive bags which have been knitted from wool by [104] the same Indian woman who inspired the charm with its magic power. As a matter of fact it is not known of what the charm is made because it cannot be completely uncovered.

787 What is the quality it possesses that makes it so valuable?
789 The native belief insists that when the owner sleeps it makes him dream what is going to happen to him down to the most insignificant detail. During his sleep it tells him who his hidden enemies are, what people wish to do him harm, where they will spy on him when he is traveling on the road, what difficulties he will encounter in the negotiation of an agreement, what words he should use, etc. The owner of the charm wakes up with a start, gets up immediately, quickly finds the charm, and taps it lightly, which averts all evil.

According to the Indians, the charm is like another person that is in every place where its owner is not; it knows the intentions of other people, deduces what is going to happen, and warns its master.

226 Charm for the sea. In Ríohacha one of the Indians who
751 assisted in fishing and the cartage of cargo to and from the ship at the wharf wore, hanging from his neck, a piece of bark of a tree the species of which we could not determine. When we asked him the reason for the charm, he explained that he wore it to safeguard himself from the waves of the sea, that is, to avoid being drowned if some day he should fall into the sea.

[104 cont.]

226 751 Never again during our visit did we come across this type of magic object, which leads us to believe that it does not belong to the Guajiro cultural whole, but that it is due rather to [177 184] the influence of the mulattoes of the coast who, as is well known, are extremely superstitious.

*756 Charms used to call spirits. The use of these charms, to which we have referred on other occasions, is limited to shamans. 778 They use them to facilitate the arrival of their protector spirits when they are in a curing trance or are carrying out any of the functions related to their status. Up to the present we have not arrived at a satisfactory explanation of their influence on the spirits, but we might now bring together the few data we do have. One of the female shamans who served us as informant and who [776] came from the Sierra [de] Jarara possessed charms to attract her spirits. She explained to us that as those spirits are assistants, some to young shamans, some to old ones, the charms to facilitate the arrival of their spirits are also of two classes: for young shamans and the other for old ones.

The charm is made from the leaf of a plant called in Guajiro [824] morõno, which is found in abundance on Itojoro Hill. A woman expert in such articles makes them there [105] by grinding the leaves of the plant to a paste and shaping this into a rounded form which she keeps in a small bag of red thread. The larger ones are reserved for the older shamans, and the others, combined with some of the former, are for the younger.

778 The guará or guale. The guará or guale, difficult to find at 789 present, is a kind of idol made from solid gold or silver and of [325] which only a few examples exist as they are no longer made. This [532] small idol is an anthropomorphic representation in fetal position, and it does not seem to be an autochthonous product of the Guajiro as they themselves assert that these idols come from their [173] distant ancestors, by which they mean the Arhuaco of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta.

This fetish is known sometimes by the name Mareiwa, a divinity or spirit similar to the idea of God but which appears to be nothing else than the spirit of Rain, as we shall see further ahead (cf. "Mareiwa and Wanurú").

[105 cont.]

778 [422] The owners of this idol — that no one is allowed to look at — keep it jealously guarded in a coffer, from which no one can withdraw it. With it they carry out on certain occasions some curious rituals such as carefully washing it and then exposing it to the sun's rays. When the summers are harsh and long, they bathe the idol, which they say makes it happy, and they then can ask it to send rain.

175 174 The small number of these little idols and the ignorance of the natives regarding their origin makes us believe that they are a foreign element, at least with regard to formal representation, which we consider to be the product of acculturation. The possibility that these objects have come from the ancient Arhuaco is also very remote, as we have found no trace in the literature dealing with this group of anything similar to such small idols.

175 325 [428] Moreover, objects of gold are so few that at present they are restricted to necklaces, which are highly esteemed and inherited through the maternal line. But it appears that previously there were other golden ornaments other than the necklaces, as Ensign José Nicolás de la Rosa affirms that on a certain occasion "all the population of Río de la Hacha went to war against them, and the struggle was so fierce and bloody that the Guajiro asked for a truce, offering never again to act so treacherously toward the subjects of the King of Spain, and as a sign of this intention and as compensation for the death of Tomás (Quintero), they delivered to his Majesty [106] a two-headed golden eagle, the jewel being deposited as a hostage to assure the keeping of the peace in the Royal Treasury." (62)

62. De la Rosa, José Nicolás. Floresta de la Santa Iglesia Catedral de Santa Marta [Treasures of the St. Marta Cathedral], 2d., IV, 213.

174 778 Up to now we have not been able to discover the historic value of the small idol called guará or guale, and we continue to incline toward our first opinion that it is a product of acculturation.

[106 cont.]

782 424 789 Magic prayers. As a matter of interest we transcribe below without any comment the following statement we recorded: there are a few special prayers only known to certain natives, the verbal formula of which they sell at times to whoever may need it, on the understanding that these prayers will be used in all good faith and belief in their magic power, prayers that serve to cure whatever plagues may occur, and frequently do occur, in the cotton fields.

538 789 755 Magic charms in the oral literature. From the stories we were able to collect among the Guajiro natives relating to their daily life, there is one that has a clear connection with magic charms. It is the one which refers to the struggle of the Indian Kurĩta-Páta, of Jarara, with some Kusina Indians who had come to rob him of his livestock. In this struggle the Jarara Indian was wounded in the thigh, and his cure was effected through a dream in which it was communicated to him that he should swallow a charm (a tuma, "a precious stone") and leave his wife to exchange her for a slave. Kurĩta-Páta obeyed these injunctions and was cured.

We have then a new magic charm which has a medicinal function and which must be added to those we have already noted throughout this chapter. Its magic action is combined with a social act of great importance within the Guajiro community: that of a man leaving his own wife and replacing her with a slave, descending thereby in the social scale, as there is [567] a great difference in status between a free woman and a common slave or bond servant. A new magic object, the tuma, appears as the possessor of supernatural powers capable of warding off those evils that can overpower an individual.

789 Summary and classification. 1) What we have called magic charms [contras mágicas] in this chapter include three classes of known magic objects: fetishes, amulets, and talismans. [107]

2) All these possess in greater or lesser degree a magic power capable of working either good or evil.

3) Their action in the majority of cases can be controlled and directed by their owners, especially in the case of doing ill

[107 cont.]
789 to others, to those they wish to hurt.

4) But as a general rule these charms are designed to protect their owners from evil actions on the part of others; they are independent of their owners' will, and they demand a certain care and a special diet for their effect to be positive.

5) Objects that have become converted into magic charms can be used in two ways: to cause harm to a particular person or to bring happiness in some aspect of the normal spiritual life of the owner. It all depends on the special treatment given to the charm.

6) The Indians are convinced of the effectiveness of every kind of charm. Their existence and their value are so assured among them that it is difficult to find even one Indian who does not possess at least one charm, no matter of what type it may be.

7) The classification that can be made of these magic charms in accordance with the three essential types which we have specified at the beginning of this chapter is the following:

Amulets. 1) Those given to girls unhappy in their love affairs by their mothers or their aunts; 2) charms for war; 3) jet; 4) the salta piedra ["jumping stone"]; 5) coral; 6) oxeye seeds; 7) coconut shell in the shape of a small hand; 8) horse skull; 9) charm to acquire riches; 10) charm to acquire respect, prestige, and affection; 11) piece of wood hung round the neck to save one from the sea.

Fetishes. 1) Love charms to attract a husband permanently, reconquer his love if it has been lost, or to win it; 2) love charm to win women's love without falling in love; 3) those made by men with the hair cut from girls at the time of their first menstruation, hummingbird's blood, dog's tail, and achiote; 4) that used by women and accompanied by the burning of a sandal to revenge themselves on men; 5) that also used by women to retain a man's love or to prevent him taking another woman. [108]

Talismans. 1) The charm used by women at the time of their initiation — first menstruation; 2) those also used by women to induce their husbands to give them a certain present; 3) necklaces made of small disks of coconut shell; 4) women's hair interred in cow dung; 5) charms to aid in hunting deer and rabbits; 6) the guará or guale.

[109] VII

Other Aspects of Magic

551 The name in magic. "The prohibition against uttering a
689 dead person's name generally is quite rigidly obeyed. Certain South American tribes consider that to pronounce the name of a dead person in the presence of his living relatives is to inflict on them a serious offense, and they apply to the offender a penalty no less rigorous than that assigned to a murder . . . ," says Freud (63), and the Guajiro is typical in this respect. Let us see

63. Freud. Totem y Tabú.

one by one the rituals followed with respect to the dead person's name when a death occurs in their community.

[553] It is imperative that every other person who bears the same name as the deceased should change it. This is done to avoid pronouncing that name in the presence of any of the dead man's relatives, because if this should happen the relatives are entitled to present a claim for compensation payment for the offense. The family considers that by mentioning the name of their deceased relative, the offender has renewed all the painful sorrow which they suffered at his death.

551 This change of names among those who are namesakes of a dead man is made for life and extends geographically over all the zone inhabited by the dead man's relatives and causes the same person at times to have different names. It is, at least, one of the reasons.

At the present time it is common among the natives for
[177 797] every person to have three names: one Spanish, taken from the list of saints and given him by the priest at his baptism; a family nickname, by which he is generally known and which almost always refers to a distinctive physical or spiritual quality; and a third, intimate name, a secret for the majority of people and only known by its owner and some members of his family.

The personal name of the individual should never be
[689] pronounced by anyone but his close relatives. Whoever should

[109 cont.]

551 say his name and not be a close relative must pay a sum de-
[689] cided upon [110] as reparation for this violation of the social norm. Usually they demand in payment the delivery of several head of livestock, necklaces, and other adornments. If the sum
[628] agreed upon by the arbitrators is not paid in due time, war may be provoked.

551 When a girl is born, the father gives her a name which
553 may be the same as her mother's, that of her maternal grandmother, or, secondarily, that of a favorite aunt or cousin, or that of a much appreciated friend. But besides this name which is derived from family sentiment or a friendship of the father's, the girl will also have various capricious nicknames which do not necessarily correspond to natural qualities or defects in her psycho-physical personality or some special circumstance at her birth but can be any arbitrary name which may occur to her father, her mother, or her brothers [and sisters? hermanos] on the spur of the moment. So the girl may grow up with several nicknames, of which in the long run one will win out and be generally adopted.

But when the girl becomes a young woman, when her first menstruation appears and her complicated initiation ceremony is carried out, the changes she experiences in her biological functioning and her social standing also extend to the aspect of her name, and she will no longer wish to respond to the nickname by which she has been called ever since her infancy, but only to her new name, by which she will be known until her death.

551 From the above we note that in La Guajira a person's name is not used among the natives except in a very restricted sense, but on the other hand, the nickname which a person acquires when a child through the intervention of his parents or brothers [siblings? hermanos], is the true, the universal name, which may be used by all his countrymen up to the time of his death.

787 Omens. When a mountain cat [cougar] cries repeatedly
825 throughout the night near the house and remains a long time prowling about, it implies the approaching death of an inmate of that house. The behavior of this animal can become maddening, as at times it will repeat its patrolling and mewing for several

[110 cont.]

nights and even can persist in this habit for years.

If on successive occasions a person should meet a bat when on the road, it is a sign that he will receive bad news on the way or on arriving at his destination, or that there will be a mishap at the place toward which he is traveling. Furthermore, if during the night he frequently hears a bat, death is approaching some person he knows.

In the chapter "Sickness and Medicine" we have already seen the relationship existing between snakes and pregnant women and a series of facts which place [111] ophidians in an exceptional position in Guajiro mentality, by virtue of the fear that this reptile inspires in the individual through the number of properties, usually malevolent, which are attributed to it. To this we must add the quality of animal omen, because if at dusk or during the night they see the trail of a snake without being able to capture it, the first person who sees the snake itself the following day will suffer the loss of a member of his family or some other misfortune. This happened, they say, to one of the girls in the Nazaret orphanage. One evening they found signs on the patio of the passing of a large snake. The girls looked diligently for it everywhere without being able to locate it, as they were convinced that if they did not find it that night, the first person to see it the following day would have trouble. As a matter of fact, the girls affirmed, the girl who encountered it suffered the loss of her grandmother within a short time.

But in this matter of what we have called omens, it is the birds that have the greatest influence. We could therefore speak of birds of good or bad omen in La Guajira. These birds announce future events according to the position they take up in certain circumstances, which the Guajiro interprets in his own way in accord with certain traditions and fixed rules, which their actions give us to understand. These do not constitute, so to speak, a rigid code, a pre-established and fixed law, but are rather to a certain extent products of chance and the native's imagination, who seeks in all the accompanying circumstances, logical or no, the explanation of any phenomenon. Whatever happens to him in his life is never without reason or cause.

[111 cont.]

787 825 Someone must know about these happenings and will communicate them at the proper time. From this they derive their belief in the announcement of coming events, which they interpret by associations related to certain animals in certain circumstances.

For example, the bird which we call the woodpecker announces to the wayfarer by its song that in the place that he is going to a misfortune will occur, there will be a drunken brawl, or simply that evil spirits live there.

We have already seen the malevolent action of the nocturnal bird which appears frequently in Nazaret and sleeps in the [753] Sierra de Jarara. The Indians say that it flies over the houses during the night and in its droppings spreads the germs of bronchitis which are absorbed by children who contract the illness and die.

There is also a bird known in the peninsula named cucarachero ["cockroach bird"] — different from the one in the interior of the same name — which wanders over the roofs of houses searching for beetles, scorpions, and small lizards, etc. It makes its nest in trees near houses and frequently sings [112] when it is brooding or raising its young. It is known in La Guajira by the name of waimpirai. This bird and the one called uteté announce by their song when visitors will be coming to the house. The belief exists that these two birds hurry those who are on a journey and counsel them to be speedy so that no misfortune may befall them en route.

Another bird, the one popularly known by the name of alcaraván [bittern] and in Guajiro by that of karré, likes to walk about near the native houses and to go inside them. If at nightfall it should be going about in the vicinity of the houses, the Indians believe it announces the death of someone in the family. The natives' fear of this bird becomes acute when it is not content to move around the house or go inside, but goes into the cooking area and approaches the hearth, because in this case death will very soon carry off one of the members of that home. The creature suffers the consequences of the natives' fear since they drive it from the house with stones and blows.

[112 cont.]

787 Another bird of bad augury is the red owl. If a person
825 who is traveling by night along the road sees one and hears its hoot, this is a signal that a misfortune is about to happen at the spot the walker met the bird or that something will happen to upset him on the road.

If at nightfall the long-drawn out song of the waimpirai is heard, it is an indication that there will be a war between two important clans, or extended families. They say in La Guajira that on a certain occasion, after this omen had occurred, a struggle between two families broke out and 20
[797 members of the Uriyú clan had to take refuge in the convent
628] of Nazaret, defeated by their adversaries who were hunting them down wishing to kill them.

When a hen cackles at daybreak there will surely be a death in the house, particularly when the cackling is repeated on three consecutive days.

312 Natural phenomena in magic. The most important natural
132 phenomenon for the Guajiro is rain, the essential fount for his
133 agriculture and stock grazing and the basis of his present-day economic organization. It is not strange that this is so because if for every community and for living beings in general water is an indispensable element and if many of the divinities and spirits of the primitive Americans center around it, for the Guajiro it is infinitely more essential if we take into consideration the geographical milieu in which he lives and to which we have referred, perhaps insistently, in this work as we consider it of vital importance (cf. "Introduction"). In the whole area there is no river or stream of importance. The soil has a maximum permeability and has to withstand high temperatures; [113] and as the Guajiro have no practical knowledge of the conservation and distribution of rain water, they always live dependent on the winter season for sowing their crops. For
789 this reason many acts of magic have this end in view, but as this aspect will be better understood in the chapter on "Mareiwa and Wanurú," or notions of good and evil, we will confine ourselves in this section to noting some magic acts related to rainfall and to other natural phenomena.

789 The intervention of the shaman, which we have lost
*756 sight of since the second chapter when we described at length his personality and attributes, returns again to participate in

[113 cont.]

789 the propitiation of the rain, which is the culmination of the
*756 rituals of the Guajiro Indians.

When summer continues overlong and endangers the crops, animals, and the community in general, the shaman gets ready to call for and to attract rain. To effect this he dresses in the way we have seen him do when he cures sickness or casts out epidemics and begins to invoke up his protector spirits that they may aid him in his trance. He chews tobacco and rhythmically sways his torso and head while shaking his maraca. All these acts he carries out while seated on a wooden zoomorphic chair. He then commences to sing loudly to attract his spirits, and when he attains this he asks them to send rain. He tells them that men need it, that they are without food and without water in their wells, and they are near death through hunger and thirst, their animals are dying, and misery and desolation is overrunning their country. At certain moments the shaman goes out from the house where he is carrying out his ceremony and walks around it so as to attract the rain and scare away the evil spirits that are keeping it back. As a result of these ceremonies rain should fall.

789 But this is not the only method that the natives have at
178 their disposal to attract rain. The propitiation can be effected in a different way without the intervention of the shaman. This is happening now in all the acts of magic in this society, which we may describe as being in a state of disintegration in which the prestige of the shaman has lost importance, and ordinary people have taken over his science. We shall see below a series of methods the natives employ to attract rain without the shaman's intervention.

789 For example, a kind of adoration is very common which
821 the Indians pay to a certain iguana that is found in the crevices
825 of rocks, especially in the cliffs of the seacoast, an adoration that is shown in a series of fiestas and dances, the purpose of which is to obtain the favor of these reptiles, so that they may place no [114] obstacle in the way of the hoped-for rainfall but let it occur freely. We shall study this association iguana-rainfall more fully in the last chapter.

789 Other methods used by the Indians to attract rain during
821 summer are: beating their drums for many hours on consecutive

[114 cont.]

789 nights and repeating this at sunrise; or shooting their arrows —
821 or a more modern procedure, their shotguns — toward the clouds to make them discharge their moisture. In the first case, it seems as if the drums endeavor to reproduce the sound of thunder during the storms that are usually associated with rain. The native believes that by creating one of the concomitant factors he will bring about the whole desired condition, that is, the production of the whole phenomenon; for him, thunder and rain are two equal and inseparable things, so by obtaining one he will automatically attain the other.

* * *

241 Men and women participate equally in sowing crops with
462 a division of labor which corresponds to the combined magico-biological whole. The men have charge of preparing the soil and making the holes for the seed; the women do the planting and the covering up of the seed. They say that if the grain is planted by the woman, it will have a better chance of growing and developing, and the harvest will be more abundant. The woman is considered as a symbol of fecundity through accomplishing the gestation of the child, and that force she transmits to the seed at the moment she plants it.

* * *

789 During eclipses of the sun or moon the natives cry dis-
consolately because they fear that these heavenly bodies will
821 not continue fulfilling their functions; in crying they implore them not to abandon them nor leave the world plunged in darkness. To oblige them to return to normal, the Indians shoot their rifles at them, and in the more remote areas of La Guajira they organize a great noisy shouting, crying and shooting their arrows at the sky, so that the new day will triumph.

* * *

When there is a great deal of lightning during the stormy season, the old Guajiro who still retain a great fear of this natural

[114 cont.]

789 phenomenon – organize, as in the case of the eclipses, noisy
821 groups who shout aloud, [115] begging the lightning to withdraw, to go to the sea and make the storms that frequently lash the coasts of Cabo de la Vela and Chichibacoa.

• • •

When the Guajiro is on the sea and, as frequently happens, his vessel becomes becalmed, he calls on the breeze to return by means of a long-drawn-out whistle, trying every pitch until he gets it to return.

• • •

821 Finally, if at dusk a considerably large, vividly red cloud
787 appears, the native believes that it announces that there will shortly be a war between two clan organizations.

787 Magic and dreams. The Guajiro Indian looks upon his dreams as revelations of the future. His mentality does not con-
813 ceive them as products of the past or as being associated with certain psycho-physiological phenomena, but as previews of his life, as a way of seeing future happenings, as revelations made by the spirits of strange things that will happen to the person dreaming or to those that appear in the dream. These dreams are not, therefore, private personal phenomena but social events, as what they contain affects the entire community or parts of it and determines many of their individual or collective acts, since the Guajiro is always strongly linked to this phenomenon as he is to all other magic; and in this respect he is a determinist. His life, his social and economic activities, his relations with his geographic surroundings, his illnesses, birth and death are determined by this play of magic interactions. It does not
813 matter that the phenomena are not always repeated in the same way or that on many occasions the events expected to occur as the consequence of a certain concatenation of magic causes do not take place or do so in a different or even contrary manner to that expected; the native does not waver in his belief in that invisible but active force. He continues to be attached to it, as

[115 cont.]

813 to a faith or a creed. And only the presence of distinct elements in his civilization and contact with other human groups more advanced and rational (in our sense) is undermining the power of this force which, in great part, constitutes, regulates, and governs his way of life.

121 787 In this study which we present we are not interested in dreams as events tied to the psychic life of the individual, nor are we going to try to interpret them. [116] This is part of another work which will be presented later by other investigators. The phenomenon as such interests us, especially the interpretation the native gives his dreams as revelations of future events, of forthcoming happenings related to his own life, to that of his fellow beings in particular, or to the community in general. In other words, the magic act that denotes, as Thorndike states, "a mental state," a way of feeling and thinking, a method of explaining effects whose causes are unknown. We will, therefore, simply describe a series of dreams and their meaning to the native, without comments except in cases where we consider it strictly necessary in order to clarify certain situations or special institutions to which they refer.

787 But before dealing with this matter, we shall first make a subdivision of dreams into two categories, in accordance with their content, which we may describe as the real and the symbolic. The first would appear to be the work of special spirits who reveal themselves through the medium of dreams to give their assistance and protection to an individual in an almost direct manner: These dreams are so clear, so explicit, that they require no interpretation. They are like a conversation between the individual and the spirit in which the latter tells the former all the things he must do; for example, the herbs that he must take to cure a certain illness from which he is suffering. On the other hand, the other dreams do not have this direct relation but are detached from active reality. Their interpretation — usually made by the shaman — demonstrates phenomena of a socially determined character which should be prevented or hastened. These dreams are those that give rise to the series of ceremonies or rites leading to a conjuration, as we saw in the corresponding chapter.

[116 cont.]

787 If someone dreams that a certain person is dead, and he sees him in that state, it is because he will be seeing a steer killed in the near future; and vice versa if in the dream he is present during the sacrifice of a steer it means that a certain person, who is then identified by the interpreter of the dream, is going to be killed by violence.

If in a dream one sees a person who lives at a distance, it fortells that within a short time he will be seen; and vice versa if the person in the dream lives in the vicinity of the dreamer, it indicates that that person will not be seen for a long time, or never; in other words, he is soon going to die.

If someone dreams that he cares greatly for a certain person, and he sees himself making demonstrations of affection toward him, that person will no longer care for him, he will forget the dreamer [117] and completely ignore him. On the other hand, if the dreamer appears to be very disdainful of an individual and shows his feelings of dislike for him, it means that the person is going to care for him passionately.

When in a dream a person is going to be murdered, this means that someone of his group will die, not the person dreamed of but some other.

If in a dream he has the sensation (nightmare) that he is falling from the hammock in which he is sleeping, that is a sure sign that when he is dead those who are carrying his body to the cemetery will let it fall and crash to the bottom of the grave, when the social norm stipulates that the body of a dead person should be lowered carefully and slowly to its final resting place. Such an occurrence signifies that the bearers of the body held the dead man in little esteem.

[764] [554]

A woman who dreams that she has, or that she will have, a daughter is convinced that this means that her honor is going to be defamed, that she will be involved in vile gossip and slander; people will say that men have abused her, and when they see her with a man they will say that he is one of the many with whom she has had illicit relations. But when she dreams that the child she will bear will be male, this is a sure sign of a putchi and that her family will be involved in an interclan war and will suffer

[117 cont.]

787 reprisals from their opponents. One of our informants, a married woman without children, told us that on one occasion she dreamed she was going to have a male child. A short time afterward, her group, the Uriyú, became involved in a fight with the Epieyú, who were much stronger; several members of her group were killed, others sought asylum in the Capuchin convent, and the majority emigrated to Venezuela in order to avoid greater disasters.

When the action of a dream represents the sacrifice of a steer, and the dreamer is accompanied by a person of a different clan, the interpretation given is that the dreamer will perish at the hands of one of the family group that appeared in the dream with him. During our stay in Nazaret we attended the funeral ceremony of a woman who was found dead one morning, seemingly hanged from a forked pole in the interior of her home. It was soon established that she had been murdered by her husband, who had brutally beaten her and who, to avoid punishment for his crime, had fixed her body to appear as if she had hung herself. One of the relatives of the dead woman stated after the occurrence that some days before the woman had had a dream similar to what we have just described.

Furthermore, to dream of convalescing from any kind of sickness indicates that the dreamer will suffer [118] from the [755] sickness dreamed of. To avoid this, he must arrange an exorcism, which consists of the celebration of the fiesta that would be given when a sick man has recovered from such an illness and has become convalescent, that is, a chicha-maya dance at which, at the expense of the man who would have suffered the sickness, chicha and meat are partaken of by all who attned.

With respect to the foretelling of interclan wars, which appears to be an obsession among the Guajiro Indians, in addition to what we have noted above, we have an indicator dream, when the dreamer sees a great flood of water washing away everything in its path, devastating everything that comes within its reach, and carrying the dreamer away with it. He, however, is able to save himself from drowning in the flood by grasping some plants growing on the bank or a log floating in the stream.

[118 cont.]

787 The meaning of this is that shortly there will be a terrible family war into which his own family will be drawn, but as he saved himself in the dream by catching hold of something, he has the conviction that he will likewise come through the war safe and sound.

The Guajiro is usually guided by his own experience when [312] making an excavation to find drinkable underground water for his own use or for his animals. But all too often when the spring of water appears after days of hard work, it has to be abandoned because the salinity is too high to permit the water to be used. It is traditional, however, that the Guajiro finds the best places for water through his dreams. The sleeper recognizes the place where he should excavate to find water, and with unshakable faith he puts into practice what he has dreamed. Naturally, by coincidence the dream at times comes true, but in the majority of cases this does not happen, yet this does not prevent the Guajiro from continuing to believe in his dreams.

If an Indian dreams that on walking abroad he meets a serpent which coils itself about some part of his body, it is a sign that he is, or is going to be, a very intelligent person with a facility for learning a language other than his own. If, on the other hand, in the dream he shows fear of the snake and runs away, that means he has no qualifications for learning and is mentally slow.

If he dreams of food in abundance, numerous troubles are approaching him.

If an individual dreams that after climbing a high hill, he finds himself on the summit, it is a symbol that he will live for many years and will die at an old age. [119]

If he dreams that he is tossed by a bull, it is a sign that in a short time he will have whooping cough.

Lastly, if a man is sound asleep, and he dreams that someone comes to the spot where he is lying and grips him firmly and thus wakes him up, the cause is none other than the presence of the wanurú, or the spirit of a dead person, that comes to visit him.

These examples of dreams, which do not cover the inifinite variety that occur among the Guajiro nor their diverse

[119 cont.]

787 interpretations, will suffice to show that the life of these Indians is built around natural and supernatural phenomena impregnated with a magic factor, and that it is difficult to separate them.

789 826 Other magical acts. The belief exists among these natives that to eat another person's leavings of food implies the acquiring of his qualities. Thus, if one eats the leavings of someone having white hair, one's own hair will become white. Women are therefore very addicted to eating food left by white women when they visit them because they want to obtain a paler complexion. It is also quite common among the men to eat food left by those who are distinguished for their bravery because by this they may acquire some of their courage. This belief extends to everything that may have contact with the person's mouth or breath. Cigar and cigarette butts have this same virtue. They also believe that if an Indian smokes a cigarette butt that has been thrown away by a foreigner, he will acquire one of the qualities of that foreigner — his beard.

778 789 This gives us a clue to the existence of what some authors have called mana. It is nothing more than a memory which shows itself in the magic phenomena we have been describing. The idea is not clear but it may be presumed to have existed in former times. Mana is a force that transmits qualities; it is both energy and vitality, which in spite of being intangible impregnates everything it touches. It can be absorbed or acquired in different ways, and from this we derive the explanation which has been given for cannibalism in some primitive tribes. Its concomitant effect is that it has led the Guajiro to keep one of the aspects of this idea: that food, and in general all objects that have been in intimate contact with a person who has certain characteristics, superior in the eyes of the native since he wants them and would feel more complete with them, bring him that force, that singular essence, through magnetization — permit us the term for its graphicness — which it has acquired by touching the possessor of such qualities. [120]

The object, or the food, has robbed, so to speak, a little mana from the individual who was in intimate contact with it.

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[120 cont.]

843 There is another series of magic acts related to those recently enumerated, which also share the qualities of another individual but which differ from them in two aspects: first because they are indirect, that is, because the child receives them through his mother during the period of gestation; second because they are not so directly related with the notion of mana but could be included in what we might call phenomena of autosuggestion because they only consist of one sudden impression or a strong unsatisfied desire which causes anguish. Some of these are the following.

When a woman is pregnant and she gets a strong shock through the sudden apparition of someone, the child when born will have the same skin color as the person who has startled her.

On the other hand, if during her pregnancy, especially [845] during the early months, the mother should be greatly frightened, twins will be born to her. In this aspect regarding twins, there is also the belief that these are born when the woman has been [853] asked and has refused to give the breast to a twin child whose own mother was unable to feed it.

Finally, when during the time of her pregnancy a woman has a very strong desire to possess something, as for instance a dress, a necklace, any special or particular kind of ornament, and she searches anxiously for it but does not find it and so does not satisfy her wish, her child will be born under the influence of her unfulfilled desire and will carry on its face the dissatisfied look of its mother: He will have his mouth half open, an anxious look, and will be continually crying and upset. [121]

VIII

Magic as the Origin of the Theater in La Guajira (The Dance of the Kid)

128 It may perhaps be overbold to use the title which heads this chapter, and this may even apply to the contents and the statements which we make in it, because here some concepts will be confused which could be treated separately, such as the

[121 cont.]

128 differentiation between magic and religion, and between play as such and drama. But these four things are so interlaced that it is not possible to take each one of these aspects separately for analysis or even for presentation. If the whole appears clear we shall be satisfied. Our intention in this study has been to present facts in the most objective manner possible without neglecting, obviously, to interpret at times when it has seemed necessary or when we have felt capable of doing so.

536 As we have said, whether what is presented in the Dance of the Kid is magic or religion, it is a matter that might lend itself to Byzantine discussions by which nothing of the subject would be cleared up. On the contrary, they would further confuse it and take away opportunities to make known one of the most interesting aspects of the spiritual life of the Guajiro, in which are broken many of their social traditions, or rather their everyday cultural patterns, and in which they have an opportunity to show their dexterity more than their capacity as actors, since it must not be thought that what we have described as theater is such in the true sense of the word but rather corresponds to the beginnings of that art, the beginning of representations, without finality in themselves but as propitiation of rain and good harvests, as integral parts of a complete ritual which includes dances, songs, and representations of natural scenes or incidents taken from mythology.

536 What has given us occasion to call this theater or, if one
946 prefers, drama is the concurrence in the representation of scenes of a small number of the participants at the Fiesta, or Dance, of the Kid and the presence of a great number of the other participants who fill the role of spectators. [122]

It also frequently occurs that each group that takes part in the play is headed by a minstrel, or singer, who narrates each event as it occurs; the language he employs is dramatic, and he uses the most attractive turns of speech. The verbal music is added to the drama though not in the form of massed choirs but is expressed by each of the leaders who guide the actions of the par-
[535] ticipants in the scene that is being represented. Unfortunately, these songs have not been traditionally preserved but are rather improvised for the occasion. Only the music has endured

[122 cont.]

536 unchanged, composed by some Indian, namely by an inhabitant
796 from the Jarara district — which is the cradle of their poetry and their music, according to the statements of these same natives. They adapt the verbal part of the play to this music as the representation progresses.

The Dance of the Kid is celebrated when the rains arrive, when the ahuyamas, the watermelons, and the kidney beans are growing. It is practically a ceremonial rite by which they celebrate the beginning of the rains and the appearance of fruit. At this dance, which is celebrated at night and during consecutive weeks and even months, whoever wishes to do so joins in, since the invitation consists of the beat of the drum, a characteristic of these occasions.

535 There are two special dances which are performed in the
796 following way: In the first, each Indian moves united with a female partner, in line one behind the other, and holding each other by the waist, they walk in the direction taken by the leading couple. The song which may go like this begins: "Lend me your partner so I may travel with her." They then make a turn. On doing this, the first Indian takes the partner of the second, and so on successively down the line. The dance continues with these turns and progresses forward until the first pair are reunited.

In the other dance each man takes a partner, an unmarried woman as a general rule. They take hold of hands, doing the same with the other couples that join in the dance. Once hands are grasped, they all walk in line but neither forward nor backward but to right and left. Then, hands still grasped, they run in circles, having the first in the line as the axis, until they fall to the ground impelled by the speed their racing around has given them; then they rise and start the dance over again.

796 The dance begins at about six in the afternoon and lasts until midnight. At this hour all the participants return to their homes but come back again on the following and every succeeding night until the cycle of the beginning of the rains, the collecting of the crops, or the ripening of the fruit has been fulfilled. [123]

The ceremony we have been describing has three special

[123 cont.]

796 aspects: 1) it shows ability in theatrical representations; 2) dancing, such as we have described in previous paragraphs, accompanied by songs; 3) a very interesting sexual aspect, in which the cultural patterns which govern Guajiro society are [786] broken, permitting the possibility of a certain sexual freedom without the consequences attached to such in normal times. We will begin with this last aspect, leaving for later a discussion of what their songs, plays, or drama really are.

Sexual aspect. a) The man, when the moment for dancing 796 arrives, takes a partner who usually accompanies him on every 786 evening of the dance. When they end by liking each other, as a result of dancing together, the couples leave the dancing group and withdraw to the forest to satisfy their sexual desires.

In normal times in the community this act would lead to 684 outbreaks of fighting in which the clans of the two participants 628 would clash. The man would be summoned and would be under an obligation to pay a large sum for the harm done and a further sum for the dangers and pains of childbirth in case of pregnancy; or he would find himself obliged to buy the woman for wife in reparation for the fault he had committed. In case he failed to comply with one of these requirements, vengeance and war would follow. But none of this happens during this time of fiesta. 796 If a man who has been with a woman during these nights of 786 dancing (which can go on for three or four months) cares to take her as his wife, he must pay for her the price arranged with her relatives, but if he does not want to do this, his total obligation [431] is limited to a present of a robe. She on her part will give him a similar gift or simply a belt for his loincloth. Afterward they do not meet each other except on casual occasions.

Furthermore, if, owing to intimacies during the dance between unmarried couples, a child should be born, the father has [848] no responsibility toward it or to the girl's relatives. The child is accepted by the girl's family; it is not looked down on, and it participates under conditions of equality with the legitimate heirs in all the duties and rights of the other members of the family group.

[123 cont.]

796 533 539 b) Of the songs which are sung in this ceremony of propitiation of rain, there are some of a simple, humorous character making fun of neighboring native groups, pointing out their defects, such as we transcribe below: [124]

I do not love the men of Ríohacha
Because they like to smoke tobacco;
I do not like the men of Nazaret,
Because they have a very sweet tooth.

But there are others of a typical erotic flavor, sung by the [831] men, which are nothing more than an invitation to love, the story of their manliness, of their value as males. We translate literally a fragment which we heard in Uribía:

Come to me, my sister.
Come to me, my woman.
I am a male.

Do not look at him
At that youngster —
Walk straight and correctly.
Walk straight and correctly.
Walk straight and correctly.

I am here.
I am the male.
I bring with me my rifle
And my revolver.
I am a male.
You were very charming, my love.

Oh, that I may take an Indian girl!
I will pay for her
Because I am rich.

Many songs such as this are sung at the Dance of the Kid, but we were unable to take down the words because, as we have said, songs do not exist as such. They are not stereotyped and established with definite words and unchangeable form but are improvised, making use of every recourse, especially stories of past incidents, to which they adapt a well-known tune.

[124 cont.]

585 c) There is another very important fact in this sexual aspect of the fiesta that we are describing, which is what we might call proof of virginity. [125]

Virginity in woman is highly valued by the natives in spite of the fact that at the present time, due to economic ac- [836 178] culturative factors, it is increasingly difficult to find virgins among marriageable women, a state of affairs that the Indian male is well aware of. But it is always a matter of pride and something to be boasted of for a Guajiro man to find on his marriage night that his bride is a virgin. It is the custom, [583] furthermore, that if the man marries not knowing that his wife has lost her virginity and has the consequent disillusion on his wedding night, the bride's relatives have to return a part of the livestock which the man paid for her, especially the family neck- lace. The Indian's concern about this matter, which remains hidden when he is in a normal state, comes to the surface dur- [578 273] ing his drunken bouts, when he will sing about his wife, extolling her and boasting of having had a virgin in his marriage hammock, or insulting and degrading her in coarse improvisations when he considers that he has been defrauded.

524 796 831 This attitude toward sex on the part of the native, or better said this value he places on the virginity of his future wives, is expressed in a sort of game which is played at the Dance of the Kid. To play it, the girls gather in a group about a singer who [539] sings such a song as this: "Let us see, my pretty miss, if you are a virgin, if truly you have not run around too freely, if no young male has put his hands on your body." He then passes his hands over each girl's body, tickling her. He starts at her big toe and goes upward, touching her instep, calves, knees, thighs, genitals, hips, stomach, torso, breasts, armpits, and continues up her neck until he reaches the top of her head. The girl who remains quiet, indifferent, without laughing and without even a smile wins the test and is declared a virgin. The singer then sings again: "You are indeed a virgin, my lovely majayura....," and chants a veritable song of flattery and finishes by escorting her to a set place. He then continues with the rest of the girls gathered there, repeating the same routine. When a girl moves or laughs,

[125 cont.]

524 the singer says to her: "You are not a virgin, I would never
796 have believed this of you, but it is true. A pity, my pretty
831 majayura, that you have not your virginity and that men have had their bodies over yours." He than places her in a place separate from the virgins. When he finishes doing this with all the girls in the group, he distributes prizes to the virgins, to
[431] those who have triumphed in the trial, and he eulogizes them again. The girls later return the presents which are only simulated gifts.

114 The French writer Roger Callois has interpreted these fiestas carried out from ancient to present times in a chapter called [126] "La transgresión sagrada. Teoría de la Fiesta" [The Sacred Sin. Theory of the Fiesta], and he says in this respect; "To their normal way of life, occupied with their daily work, peaceful, surrounded by a system of prudent prohibitions where the maxim quieta non movere maintains law and order in their world, there is opposed the effervescence of the fiesta. This, if only its external aspects are considered, shows identical reactions at every civilized level. It implies a great number of excited, noisy people. These conglomerations of masses greatly influence the starting of and the contagion of an exultation which spends itself in shouts and gestures and encourages the uncontrolled abandonment of all to the most irresponsible impulses. Even today when without doubt the now impoverished fiestas have very little effect on the greyish background of the monotonous everyday life of the people and appear to be sporadic, spread out, almost stagnated, there may still be distinguished in their celebrations some miserable vestiges of the collective abandonment which characterized these ancient riotous celebrations." And later he states: "In the so-called primitive civilizations the contrast is very much more clearly marked. The fiesta lasts several weeks, even several months, interrupted by intervals of rest of from four to five days. At times it required several years to gather together the quantity of comestibles and delicacies which would be not only consumed or despatched ostentatiously but also destroyed and wasted purely and simply because waste and destruction are forms of excess

[126 cont.]

114 and they enter into the feast as part and parcel of the traditional ceremony.

"This usually ends in a frenzied, orgiastic manner in a libertine night of uproar and movement which the most ordinary instruments, playing to time, transform into rhythmic motion and dancing. According to the description of a witness, the human mass, crowded together, swaying and pounding the ground with their stamping, turn and shake around a central pole. The agitation is translated into every kind of manifestation which increases it. It grows and is intensified by everything that it expresses: the clash of spears against shields, guttural songs, loudly marking time, roughness and promiscuities during the dance. Violence erupts spontaneously. Every now and again men come to blows. The combatants are separated, lifted on high by strong arms, and are rocked to the rhythm of the music until they calm down. But none of this interrupts the dance. In the same way, the couples will suddenly leave, come together in the adjacent forest, and then return to take their places once again in the whirling crowd which continues until morning.

"One can understand that the fiesta which expresses such a paroxysm of life and stands out so drastically from the smallness of their accustomed daily tasks would appear to any individual joining in the excited throng as another world, where he feels sustained and transformed by forces that carry him along. His daily activity, harvesting, [127] hunting, fishing, or stock grazing just fill his time and provide for his immediate necessities. No doubt he puts into these activities all his attention, his patience, and his ability, but he lives with greater feeling in the memory of one fiesta and the anticipation of another, because the fiesta represents to him, to his memory and his desires, a time of intense emotion and the transformation of his being." (64)

64. Caillois, Roger, (El hombre y lo sagrado) [Man and the Sacred].

Caillois continues to explain the fiesta as the ceremony of transformation of chaos into cosmos; or in other words, a

[127 cont.]

714 representation of the re-creation of the universe, the resurgence of nature that changes and disappears, to reappear later.

796 In large part, this could explain the whole of the fiesta. In reality what in La Guajira is being celebrated under the name 821 of the Dance of the Kid is nothing but a true re-creation of the world of the natives of those barren plains. With the arrival of the rains the sea of sand is converted into a green world, the dry beds of the streams become powerful streams of water, the dry brushwood is transformed into green forest, anxiety over thirst disappears, fatigue from sun and desert is changed to rest, hunger to abundance, and worry to hope in the ripening of fruits and the disappearance of the specter of poverty which prowls the sierras and the plains. It is Mareiwa, their divinity, their good spirit, who has made his apparition over the lakes of the Sierra de Nevada, unleashing storms and hurricanes and bringing the promised rains to his creatures.

786 But, on the other hand, the sexual acts we have just shown to be present at this traditional fiesta of La Guajira should be 796 treated apart as they represent a transgression of the established rigid and severe cultural patterns that refer to carnal relations between men and women. As the general interpretation of the whole of the Guajiro community has not yet been finished, which could give us sufficient data to carry out necessary clarifications, we shall have to limit ourselves to noting certain outstanding facts.

836 Unmarried men and women in La Guajira, when looked at in its normal state, are subject to rigorous restrictions in their sex life. Sexual intercourse before marriage is not allowed to their women as the men want their spouses to be virgin. The [684] bachelor is limited in the satisfaction of his sexual impulses by the law of compensation payment, which forces him in the case of his having relations with an unmarried girl to pay a heavy indemnity by which is covered the harm done to the woman, the offense [128] to her relatives, and the possible pains and dangers of childbirth when pregnancy occurs. And if these impositions [628] are not complied with or if the Indian does not marry the girl, paying the price her relatives demand, revenge and declaration

836 [128 cont.]
[621] of war to the death will result between the clans affected.

One has to take into account the fact that a woman who
[583] has been bought for wife is relatively valuable, and the native is not always in a position to accumulate the number of animals sufficient to pay for her, although it is considered an obligation on the part of his relatives to assist him when the time for his
[548] marriage arrives. As prostitution is so limited because of the condition of inferiority in which it places the woman who traffics in sex, the situation of the unmarried male in this respect is difficult. We repeat again that we make this statement on the
[178] basis of the facts of La Guajira social customs in normal times, and not on the basis of the present period when they are suffering from ever increasing problems of hunger, poverty, and acculturation, phenomena which are overthrowing all their traditional institutions.

Presenting the question in these terms, one can appreciate the trying position of the bachelor Guajiro native who is without slaves and without economic resources to enable him to buy a wife. He lives within a regimen of limitations and restrictions
[834] which reach even to sexual taboos which can be divided into two classes: special cases, especially applicable to the sex life of shamans, as we have seen; and general cases, applicable to the whole community and which go to the extreme of provoking
[195] curious euphemisms in the language when the word for the genital organ is phonetically similar to some other word, as in the case with the word for dog.

796 These restrictions must be considered in the totality of
786 the social norms, but this is not the moment to expound on them as they will be fully covered in this review as an interpretation of the whole of Guajiro society. However, we wish to point out their presence in the Dance of the Kid, or better said their absence, since, as we have said, these restrictions disappear, and there is complete sexual freedom which permits the minstrel to caress the young maids on the pretext of deciding their virginity or loss of it, a thing that in normal times would not be permitted, and to go to the extreme of countenancing carnal union without economic or social consequences, the only

[128 cont.]

796 requirement being the girl's consent; and she, in spite of the
786 loss of her virginity, in spite of her illegal maternity, does not descend in status nor bring into her community a new being inferior in standing in any way to the others. [129]

This in large part explains the large attendance of youths of both sexes at the ceremony of the Dance of the Kid, which pleases the patron who sponsors the rite because it gives a greater solemnity to the rite and in that way aids in the propitiation of the rains, and, in consequence, the harvests will be of good quality and more abundant.

d) A proof that these ceremonies break away from the
535 sexual order established in the community is the frequent rep-
524 resentation of the sexual act of animals combined with other
796 dramatizations which we shall study later. Here are some exam-
831 ples.

The hawksbill turtle. Participants arrange themselves in a long line, or chain, firmly clasping each others' waists. They symbolize in this manner the sexual act of the hawksbill turtle. This line belongs to one singer who says in his song that his turtles are performing their sexual act as they are in heat. Another band is also headed by its singer. Their role consists in trying to separate the turtles, by tugging, each one separately, at the chain made by the turtles. The turtle that is separated from its team is taken over as a trophy by the other team, but if this group is unable to pull them away it loses the match. The activity lasts until all the turtles of the chain have been separated from their team or until the opposite band that is attempting to do this declares itself beaten.

The kid. This game is played on a cleared field. A group
526 of Indians holding each others' hands form a circle, making be-
535 lieve it is a corral in which female goats are kept at night. Out-
831 side the corral are the male goats represented by other Indians
796 who, in full view of the animals enclosed, march round the corral and make successive attempts to enter. The Indians who represent the fence fend them off but finally one or two males are able to force their way in. Once inside, they imitate and copy all the attitudes of the male when aroused; they chase the females, pursue and smell them, and end by simulating the sexual act. At

[129 cont.]

526 this moment the owner of the goats arrives to look over his flock,
535 and he states in his song that none of his animals are missing,
796 they are fat because pasture is fresh and abundant, and he an-
831 nounces that he is about to mark them. He starts by taking out
each female goat one by one and pretends to cut its ear, which
[429] is the way to mark such animals. He keeps up his song, referring
to what he is doing. "I have many goats and now I shall lack
neither meat nor milk; I am rich...."

e) We would add to the above the fact that Indian girls of
[556] the wealthy class do not take part in these gatherings, or they
796 do so on very rare occasions, as their prestige [130] would
786 diminish seriously in consequence of the opinion held of the fiesta
that only those girls go to it who want to get a husband readily
or to satisfy their sexual urges. Besides, it is the obligation of
each man to flirt with or treat with familiarity the girl who be-
comes his partner in the dance, and her obligation is to supply
him during the dance with roasted corn, bread, meat, chicha, etc.

Summarizing up to this point, we can state that the Dance of the Kid is a festival in which the Guajiro Indians seek to propitiate the rains at the same time that it celebrates their arrival and fecundity: fecundity in fruits; fecundity in animals, as dramatized in the ceremonies just described; and fecundity among men, in human beings, who are free from the restrictions which are imposed on them by the community in ordinary daily life to maintain social order.

• • •

536 Theatrical representations. "Drama is particularly difficult to classify because so often it gets mixed up with religion.... On the other hand, dramatic scenes can be executed for collective entertainment or as farces with no special pretentions, as for example in a Tahitian pantomime which represents the theft of a basket of food from a sleeping servant; although it can occur, on occasion, that these simple and uncertain experiments develop into real dramas." (65)

65. Lowie. Antropología Cultural [Cultural Anthropology], XI, 194-195.

[130 cont.]

536 Lowie's words, which we have just quoted, serve us well
for what we have wished to call theatrical representations in La
796 Guajira, as these also are but simple farces in which they seek to represent some act in the life of the community, in their mythology, or from scenes from the natural life surrounding them, in the midst of the ceremonies that are organized to celebrate the arrival of the rains, the propitiation of these, and the ripening of the fruits [of the soil]. Naturally, as we stated at the beginning, this ceremony is an inseparable whole up to a certain point, a totality in which the most trivial diversions, such as these unimportant representations and some games, are mixed with outstandingly important actions such as the transgression of social patterns in the satisfaction of sexual impulses, which we have just described and analyzed and in which the organization norms are utterly discarded, tradition is broken, and they give free rein to wantonness and [131] pleasure. It is above all a rite. But as Lowie himself affirms: "It is frequent that these important rituals present dramatic elements, because of which it was sometimes believed that a ceremony was nothing more than a dramatized myth. Now we know that when myth and ritual are found associated, most frequently the former has been added later, whether or not it be more ancient.... In short, the ceremonial of primitives at times is something more than pomp, and it can raise itself to the height of a true theatrical representation." (66)

66. Lowie. Op. cit., XVII, 310.

796 It is curious, nevertheless, that in the celebration of this
801 fiesta dedicated to the propitiation of the rains, nothing related to the myths about them is to be found. Representations of fecundity abound in many of its aspects, as we have just seen in the description of the sexual aspect. But there is no representation related to the rains, at any rate none known to us, unless it be one where the devil and a cloud intervene, or the devil and smoke, as the word to designate the two concepts — cloud and smoke — is the same in Guajiro, sirûma. In this dramatization, which we shall describe later, the cloud triumphs over the devil. It could be interpreted as the triumph of the rains over the long

[131 cont.]

796 summer and over sicknesses, pestilences, and deaths which occur
821 as a consequence of it. But we have no work to sustain this affirmation. Also one must take into account the fact that the
[609] natives are not willing that strangers be present at their Fiesta of the Kid; and when they are, the play is much repressed in its natural expression and becomes a pale copy, artificial, almost we might say a special product for exportation. Missionaries
[797] have contributed greatly to this since they are opposed to the fiesta, considering it amoral or immoral because of the sexual freedom which is shown during its performance and the representation of natural scenes of the procreative life of animals. All the
[114 data that we have are not the product of our own personal observation
124] of the fiesta but are reports collected from different sources in diverse parts of La Guajira. They have, at the very least, the value of data verified several times over.

All this leads us to think that even though the Dance of the Kid is directly related to the rains since it always starts when the rains begin even though it is specially dedicated to Mareiwa, the divinity of the rains, as we shall prove in the coming chapter, even though its name [132] appears to be derived from the stellar constellation of the Seven Kids, iwa, whose association with rain we shall also note in the following chapter, it is primarily a ceremony dedicated to fecundity, fecundity of the soil shown by the sprouting of plant life brought about by the rains. Fecundity and rain are seen, then, as two inseparable factors, two terms in the same equation: life.

526 We spoke of the aspect of demonstration of ability in
796 theatrical representations when we delimited the areas of study of the ceremonial of the Kid. In effect, according to narrations we have at our disposal about the representative games, which we shall describe in detail in the latter part of this chapter, at the end of each one, out of the two sides which have taken part in the development, one side is seen to triumph over the other due to its greater skill or ability in movement or to the physical strength of those taking part when it is a matter of representations of struggles, as we saw in the game of the hawksbill turtle, and as we shall see in the representation of scenes introducing animals,

526 [132 cont.]
796 men and animals, or men alone, as in the description of a
putchi, or interclan war. This demonstration of skill and ability
535 in their plays is shown very clearly in the chicha-maya dance,
796 which will be fully detailed in the descriptive aspect of Guajiro
culture shortly to be published. This dance, in general terms,
is restricted to a veritable struggle between the man and the
woman who are partners, a struggle in which the woman endeavors to overthrow the man.

536 However, in the plays of a mythical nature the scene is
more limited and always ends in the same way. It is static in
796 the sense that its conclusion cannot be changed by the ability
of the players but is determined by a prearranged plot, rigidly
imposed for each occasion it is played. This we believe is
what gives it its true mythical nature. It is part of the oral tradition of the group, and for this reason it cannot be subject to variations determined by the moment.

Having made these general statements about their theatrical plays, or dramas, we will now describe them one by one, showing first those that refer to social life, then those relative to the mythical aspect, and finally those in which animals only, or animals with men, appear.

1. Visit between Upper and Lower La Guajira. Two groups take part in this play, each composed of men and women. The first represents Upper La Guajira, the other, Lower La Guajira. The groups line up in two parallel rows [133] spaced a cuadra apart. The components of each group hold each other round the waist, face to face, with a small space between them. The
536 singer who heads the team of Indians that represents Upper La
539 Guajira begins by addressing the visitors from Lower Guajira,
796 "Ansh piá (Have you arrived?)." "Aaa (Yes)," replies the other. "Kasáchicki (What's new?)," asks the first singer. "Nohots (Nothing new)," replies his opposite number from the south country. Again he of the north asks, "How goes the winter? Have the expected rains finally arrived?" The other answers, "we are well content. The rains have come so our crops are in good condition. We have collected food in plenty, and there is still a quantity left to collect. The pastures, like the trees, are green again; our herds have water to satisfy their thirst in the wells and water

[133 cont.]

536 539 796

holes. They are fat and have increased. We are neither short of meat nor milk nor fruit...." He from the north then speaks, saying, "I, my friend, am full of woe. I suffer from anxiety, fearing hunger this coming winter. My herds died of thirst beside the dry wells. I have no other food than the fruit of the cardon and the prickly pear. I have to travel long and painful distances so that my hungry herds can find pasture and water. The summer is cruel. The sun burnt the seedlings and the grass." He of the south again intervenes, this time to invite his friend in these or similar words, "Seeing things are thus with you, my brother, why not come with us to our country, to Lower La Guajira. There you will find green pastures and overflowing water holes for your herds. Come with your wife and nephews [and nieces, sobrinos] because there will be food for you all. There the winter is good; we shall expect you."

Finally the one from Upper La Guajira says "Yes, I will go with you. I will leave here with my starving herds and with my people who are in dire need and poverty...." After this the two groups unite, embrace each other at the waist, and walk off together in the direction of Lower La Guajira. So ends the play.

2. Interclan war. As in the previous case, two teams are formed headed by their singing leaders, but this time women do not take part directly. The play starts when a player of one of the teams walks up to the other and pretends to kill one of its members. The latter acts as if he were wounded, twists and squirms on the ground, then dies. The assailant leaves him lying there and flees to his own group and hides himself. The singer then starts up his song, stating that the cause of the killing was jealousy because the victim was attempting to make love to the killer's wife, or he was the lucky rival in winning a girl they were both courting. The other team sees the death of their member and hastens [134] to pick him up. They make grand gestures of fury and demand vengeance, and the singer of this group expresses the rage of his clan; he threatens the opposite group whom he accuses in insulting language and ends by declaring his bitter enmity. Shortly afterward comes the scene of the compensation payment negotiations in which the arbitrator of the murdered man's clan visits the aggressor group to demand payment for the

[134 cont.]

536 539 796

offense received, asking for a very large sum, stating how passionately angry his clan is and warning them that if the sum demanded is not met war will be the inevitable consequence. The singer continues: "Pay for my nephew because you have spilled his blood and by that you have caused us great sorrow. I ask in a kindly manner that you do so unless you want to bring upon yourselves our hatred, if you do not want us to kill your nephews and despoil your people of their herds, to fill up your wells and burn down the homes of your relatives. If our just claim is not met we will carry off your women, your children and nephews and nieces as slaves. Pay!"

The aggressor band collects a number of children — who are to represent cattle — necklaces, etc., and hand these over to the contendors. But their singer states that it is too little, that his clan demands more. He orders the other clan to take back their offering and states that as they have not complied with the stipulations of their agreement that they must prepare to pay their debt with their own blood. War is declared. Each band concentrates on arming itself; they collect young cardons which they split in strips to serve as weapons.

The singer of the murdered man's clan again sings: "Get ready, my sons and nephews. We are about to attack our enemies, to collect for the blood of our brother as they have not paid us what they owe. But do not thoughtlessly expose yourselves. Be careful. Attack, but keep well protected behind trees and cardons. Take careful aim. Do not let yourselves be beaten, or we in future will be called cowards and will not be respected. No one then will pay us for our women, and we shall be despised by all. In all La Guajira they will know the story of our defeat, which will be converted into mockery and contempt."

The leader of the group to which the killer belongs sings: "My nephews, be prepared. Very soon these people will arrive to attack us, so be ready for war. Do not be neglectful even for one minute because they will arrive suddenly with the intention of burning our homes, of stealing our herds, destroying our sources of water, and taking our women and children for slaves. Fight and aim well. We shall destroy them."

[134 cont.]

536 539 796 After the leaders of each group have sung these harangues, which are characteristic of those delivered by the chiefs in war, the attack comes. Those who engage in the combat pretend to leave at dawn (all this the leader refers to in his song) in order to fall suddenly on their enemies. With the piles of cardons they shoot at each other. The defenders run away, leaving the field covered [135] with the dead. In the combat they will incite each other. On throwing the cardon they imitate the noise of the explosion and the whistle of the bullets when fired. Each one seeks shelter where he can find it and dodges blows. Those that are touched by thrown missiles fall, screaming that they are wounded, and pretend to die. The chiefs harangue their men: "Shoot well my nephews or else they will think we are cowards."

536 796 When all the projectiles are used up, each band gathers its bodies. The one with the most casualities has lost the battle. At this moment the women come on the scene to mourn the dead of their clan. They cover their faces with pañuelos and, kneeling over a corpse, they cry pitifully. Then they go to bury their dead, and so ends the representation of the putchi.

3. The devil and the Indians. In this dramatization a male Indian covers himself with a black robe, imitating the devil, or yorujá. The devil appears walking in the fields, and an Indian steps out to meet him. The devil with great expertness grips him by the nostrils with his thumb and first finger and throws him to the ground. The Indian is killed. This scene in which the devil always participates but each time with different Indians is repeated three times with the same result, until in the end all the Indians who act in the play unite against the devil and kill him. The devil disappears, but after a short interval he returns to the scene. A new struggle starts up, but this time the devil wins because he kills all the Indians, men and women, who take part in the fight. Later he withdraws and takes off the robe, thus ending the play.

4. The devil and the cloud. The Indians take off their robes and make a kind of tent with them into which they all go. This tent is meant to represent smoke or a cloud. Inside, the Indians

[135 cont.]

536 pretend to be eating and playing tranquilly. The devil, another
796 Indian, taking advantage of the carelessness of the men who are occupied with their fun, and covered as always with his black robe, enters the cloud to do them evil. Immediately a fight starts up between the Indians and the devil. In the end the cloud traps the devil and emerges triumphant in the play.

5. The horse race. Horse racing is the sport or trial of
541 prowess most practiced in the ordinary life of the Guajiro. In
536 this sport they try to bring to the fore the name of the horse and
796 the skill of the jockey. In all the large fiestas a number of horse races are always staged, and such is their enthusiasm for them
[538] that they are frequently mentioned in some stories told by the natives. [136]

During the Fiesta of the Kid two groups are formed which,
536 as in the previous cases, are under the direction of their respec-
539 tive leaders. Each group has assigned to it an equal number of
796 men, representing so many race horses. The race course having been previously marked out with its starting point and finishing post, one of the singers begins by referring to the goodness of his horse, praising its speediness. The other replies in an identical tone, using eulogistic concepts regarding his animal. They soon arrange a match which they put into practice. One of them says: "There goes my roan horse; he is swifter than the clouds and the wind and braver than any other in La Guajira." The other sings: "This is my chestnut horse. I am sure that he will win because he is swifter than the deer." They start off their horses and run the race. Following them, race another pair, then another, until all the competitors have taken part.

The bees and the fruit thieves. There is a kind of small
825 bee in the peninsula which the Indians call wáya. These bees
241 make their nests in trees or in hollow tree trunks. If a blow is
536 struck near the hive, the bees swarm out, attacking and getting
796 into the hair of anybody standing nearby. They get inside the intruders' clothes and swarm all over them, crawling over their bodies, buzzing angrily, bothering their enemies until they are in a state of desperation. The Indians have a habit of collecting
536 hives of these bees and placing them at the entrance to their
796 fields, making use of the bees to defend their harvest from thieves.

[136 cont.]

536 In the scene two groups appear: one representing the bees in the
796 hive; the other, the thieves who want to steal the crops of the field. The bee group is placed at the entrance to the field, arranged in compact form to look like the hives. The robbers begin to arrive and try to enter the field to steal the ripe fruit, but in the attempt they brush against the hives. The bees swarm out, buzzing and attacking the thieves, who decamp pursued by the bees. These punish the men to the best of their ability and thus prevent the harvest being stolen.

7. Hunting the jirijir. The natives know a small bird
223 called jirijir that appears in La Guajira during harvest time and devours the products of the fields. The Indians hunt them assidu-
ously in order to defend their crops as well as to use them for
[262] food, since they are fat and pleasant tasting. The method they use to catch them is as follows. This small bird generally always flies in a straight line, entering invariably at some determined point and leaving by another in a precise manner. The Indian takes advantage of this [137] observation; hence when he goes to his crops at the times these birds are settling, he provides himself with hammocks or large nets. He places his hammocks at the point where the birds will fly out and then waits their arrival. He frightens them and immediately with great rapidity covers their point of exit, and the birds are trapped in the net, falling into it by the hundreds.

536 This scene is represented in the ceremony that we are
796 describing. At the beginning, various Indians who will act as the hammocks, that is, as those who will attempt to trap the birds in their nets are found in a group apart. Some children are grouped in the middle of the space to represent the field, and a third band formed of adults will act as birds.

When everything is ready, the last group begins to move, and they approach making motions as if flying and making a peculiar noise, imitating the call of the jirijir. They fall on the group of children, that is, on the field. A new group, this time composed of women, intervene in the scene to frighten the birds with yells and noisy clapping of hands. The birds try to escape as a flock, following the straight line of flight they are accustomed

[137 cont.]

536 to, always making their peculiar call. In this way they pass over
796 the place where the hammock men are in position; they are arranged two by two in a semicircle, hands held right in left, forming quadrilaterals. The birds reach this point running at the greatest speed possible, when the hammock men stop them by surrounding them to prevent their escape. They struggle, but in the end the semicircle begins to close until it becomes a circle, and the birds are imprisoned inside. An Indian then comes to kill the birds. He does so by taking them one by one by the arm as if this were the wing and by pretending to wring their necks. Once all the birds are taken out from the net the scene ends.

8. Jaguars and dogs. This theatrical game is intended to
[825] show the fortitude and courage of the jaguar and its superiority over dogs. For this reason it requires much care in the selection of the Indians who will take part in it because they must struggle fiercely with each other, and it is essential that the team that
[793] plays the part of jaguars be the conquerors. This has caused us to believe in the mythical value of the jaguar, which actually appears in their legends related to Mareiwa as well as in clan nomenclature. The game consists in engaging in a severe struggle in which the jaguar always manages to overcome the dogs and dominate them through being stronger. The complete description can be summed up thus: The group of jaguars pretends to be settled in a tree; sometimes they actually are. The group representing the dogs arrives, following the scent and the trail until they come to the foot of the tree [138] in which the jaguars are all lurking. On finding them, the dogs bark furiously beneath the tree and provoke the jaguars until they jump down, and it is then that the terrible struggle takes place. When in the end a dog falls to the ground, the jaguar pretends to bite it to pieces, clawing its breast open and attacking its throat, where he starts to devour it. The dog whimpers painfully, goes into convulsions, and stays motionless, as if dead. The jaguar gets up satisfied as he has triumphed, and so ends the play.

9. Dogs and peccaries. Two groups are formed, each one
[533] composed of ten men arranged in line and captained, as is custom-
[526] ary, by a singer, who is the chief of the group. One group represents the peccaries, the other the dogs which are going to hunt them.

[138 cont.]

536 The play starts when the peccaries gather in a group, pretending
796 by their position and their movements that they are inside the
526 cave which is their refuge. The chief of the dog group begins to sing while these gather round him, and he harangues them to go in and kill the peccaries and not let themselves be beaten by them. The group of peccaries answer threateningly and hasten to defend themselves. The dogs approach their prey cautiously and single out one from among the group. A struggle starts between a dog and one of the peccaries, both fighting desperately for mastery, each player striving to grab his adversary by his loincloth to lift him in the air and throw him to the ground. The struggle is fierce and stubborn, because they usually select the most hardened fighters and well-muscled men to represent both the peccaries and the dogs. It continues until one of the combatants is floored by the other, in which case he admits defeat. The winner's group marks up one point. When the first pair have finished their match, a new one is started between two other Indians, and so on successively until all the representatives of the two groups have participated. In the development of the personal struggles between dog and peccary, each singer incites his man, exhorts him to greater efforts, etc. Finally, they add up the score of points obtained by each group, and the winner receives a prize, consisting generally of food.

10. The fox and the rabbit. Three personages take part in this act: one who acts as a fox, one as a rabbit, and a child who has the role of a watermelon [patilla]. The game consists in seeing which of the two animals, the fox or the rabbit, will get the watermelon they are fighting for. Both of them want to steal it. So each one of them seizes the child (who is twelve or thirteen years old) by an arm, and he who can pull him away from the other is considered the winner. [139]

To better understand this play, it is well to state that while in La Guajira we collected a story about the fox and the rabbit which is published in Revista de Folklore (67) in which there is also

67. Pineda Giraldo, Roberto. "La Chama, un mito guajiro" [The Chama, a Guajiro Myth],

526 [139 cont.]
536 shown a test of cunning between these two animals. In this tale,
796 the rabbit is the winner.

11. The man and the wild boar. One man takes the part of a wild boar, the other that of the man who stalks it. The hunter follows the boar, which runs swiftly away, dodging the hunter's arrows in its flight. In this trial of dexterity, the hunter will be the winner if in the end he wounds the boar with one of the arrows he shoots; or it will be the boar that triumphs if it is able to tire out its persecutor and dodge all the arrows shot at it.

12. The hunter, the dog, and the rabbit. This play is another trial of dexterity, as the end in view is to try the ability of each actor in the role assigned to him. It represents, in short, a hunting party, in which the man and the dog try to capture and kill the rabbit. The dog tries to catch it and tear it to pieces, while the man follows at a greater distance, throwing stones at it. If he manages to hit it, the rabbit acts as if killed, giving the victory to the huntsman. The result is the same if the dog is successful in catching his prey with his claws, but if the rabbit should evade both of them, showing greater ability and speed than the other two, he becomes the winner of the test.

536 13. The song of the serpent. We have left this section to
796 terminate our study of the theater in La Guajira because it presents characteristics different from all the other representations which we have described. It does not involve a demonstration of skill or force, nor does it require the intervention of contending groups in any way. In consequence there is no dialogue, but
[533] there is a monologue sung by the leader of the group followed by all the actors, in which the deeds of the serpent are recounted

As a clarifying note we refer our reader to the chapter "Sickness and Medicine," in which this reptile's magic power is clearly evident, especially in relation to pregnant women and all that surrounds them. We also would recall that, as in the case of
[614] the jaguar, the serpent [140] figures in the naming of the clans, at times in close association with the jaguar.

The act develops as follows: A line is formed of alternate men and women who take each other's hands. They run with short steps, undulating to copy the motion of a serpent when

536 [140 cont.]
196 moving along the ground. Headed by their leader they all continue to sing the song of the serpent, saying more or less the following: "I am the snake. I drag myself along the ground.
[539] I do harm to no one. But he who dares to step on me because I am on the ground gets his punishment. I bite him and wound him. At times I kill him. He has to stay in bed and suffer for a long time as a punishment for having trodden on me and for thinking that I am helpless because I drag myself along the ground...." This song is repeated several times. [141]

IX

Mareiwa and Wanurú

or

Notions of Good and Evil

171 Through all the preceding chapters we have tried to explain clearly what constitutes the magic life of the Guajiro, which is almost the same as saying his spiritual life, and in passing we have mentioned the presence and activities of beings with higher powers than ordinary mortals, able to do good or evil according to which being intervenes in each particular case. We have thus touched on two fundamental ideas: good and evil.

176 Our interest is now concentrated in trying to elucidate the
177 quality of these spirits, or supernatural beings. These can be very seriously confused owing particularly to the influence of acculturation and more specifically to the pressure exerted by missionaries in their prosletyzing function. So great is the misapplication of terms and concepts in this world of ideas that we might call the religious, that even the Guajiro mythology has been transformed by the use of terms which have a pejorative and
173 degrading effect on the Guajiro people (68).

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68. This statement is based on the legend which we obtained orally from

[141 cont.]

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an Indian of the Nazaret locality relating to Mareiwa and the origin of humanity, in which are presented the beginnings of the different groups of mankind: natives and foreigners. The legend states that Mareiwa created mankind and gathered them together, inviting them to a banquet. Those who complied with the forms of social etiquette (shaking hands respectfully, sitting in the right place, behaving with composure, eating according to civilized rules, using knives and forks, washing hands, etc., were turned into arijuna ("white," civilizado); those who misbehaved, who did not comply with these rituals of social etiquette, that is, those who showed they were Indians, were from that time classed as wayú ("Indians"). As can be seen, the Indian believes himself superior [sic] to the White because of these details of social etiquette, of which he is partially or totally ignorant. [142]

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The problem arises from the fact that those two notions of good and evil, represented by two classes of spirits, benign and malignant, have been changed for the Catholic or general Christian concepts of God and devil, concepts which the native, coming more and more in contact with the Christian type of civilization has gradually come to accept in the process of his conversion to new ideas.

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This affirmation is corroborated by various citations, taken from the writings of Catholic or Protestant missionaries as well as from those of travelers or of ethnologists who have been involved in the same confusion. To demonstrate the point we transcribe several such cases.

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Father de Carcagente referring to the church at Manaure says: "The Indians say to God 'Have pity upon us.' They know

[142 cont.]

797 what God can do for them," phrases which the Guajiro translates
[539] in this way: "Nuchúntaca guayú numuín Maléigua 'Pumúliaja guayú.' Je natújain au tu náinjecta nau Maléigua." (69)

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69. Carcagente. Guía Goajiro [Guajiro Guide], pp. 18-19. The italics are ours.

The Protestant missionaries, on their part, published in Guajiro and in Spanish a version of the Gospel of Saint Mark throughout which the word "God" is represented in Guajiro by the word "Mareiwa" (70).

70. Máruko: Cf. Bibliography.

Father José Agustín de Barranquilla, a Capuchin missionary who traveled widely through the greater part of Guajiro territory on an evangelistic mission and collected his impressions in a book, when speaking of the qualities and moral defects of the Guajiro, uses the following terms: "He is monotheist, that is, he believes in only one Supreme Being called Mareigua (God) ... he has something similar to the devil which he calls Yarujá or Yolujá..." (71)

71. Barranquilla. Así es la Guajira [This is La Guajira], II, 57.

And further along he adds: "The Guajiro is not like other Indians, idolatrous, because vestiges have never been found among all the Guajiro antiquities either of idols that they worshiped in times past or traditions that show at any time their connection with idolatry, except for certain insignificant talismans of a domestic and family nature which they considered could render them service. They never practiced any cult rendering homage to the sun, moon, or any other visible thing. The Guajiro attributes
776 everything good that occurs in this world to Merigua (God). Mareigua is always good, never evil. He it was that created the world and all visible things. He alone. He is invisible

[142 cont.]

776 although he sees everything.... Mareigua combines three main spirits and many subaltern ones inferior to Him. [143] Some of these spirits are masculine, some feminine.... An Indian sees that his crop is drying up for lack of water, and far from imploring Heaven for rain, he beats his drum every night and at dawn as if he expected the sound to break up the clouds, or he fires his gun with a similar hope.... Should one of his relatives become ill, *he calls in the* shaman so that he can with his remedies, his maraca, his tobacco or manilla spittle, and the instructions of his spirits, cure the sick man; instead of appealing to God and asking him to bring his relative back to health." (72)

72. Ibid., II, 65-67.

Jorge Isaacs, the famous Colombian novelist, in the second half of the past century, made an excursion under government authority to study La Guajira and other regions of the country, and he wrote in the report he presented: "Mareigua is the name by which the Guajiro designate God, or better said, the unbegotten one, immaterial force, master of creation." (73)

73. Isaacs. Estudio del Lenguaje Guajiro [Study of the Guajiro Language], 303.

Finally, the ethnologist Professor Hernández de Alba, as a result of his expedition to the peninsula says: "Mareigua. All that is good for the Guajiro: rain, abundance, life, protection, the world in which he lives, all come from Mareigua, the one and only God, always good, never evil...." (74)

74. Hernández de Alba. Etnología Guajira [Guajiro Ethnology], 49-50.

(77) 776 The quotations which we have cited lead us to the belief by the Guajiro in an all-powerful god, unique and universal. This

[143 cont.]

seems to be true, in a certain way, for those who are imbued with Christian religious practices, because when they refer to our God, to Jesus Christ, they call him Mareiwa. But at the bottom of their minds, in our opinion, there is some distinction which is precisely what we shall try to explain.

When we spoke of the shaman, we referred extensively to his protector spirits, the real healers of sickness, of whom the shaman is no more than an intermediary. Naturally, we also spoke, in that chapter and in the one relating to sickness, of the evil spirits, the malignant ones, the cause of the trouble, known by the generic name of wanurú, and we explained how the first are, in general, the spirits of dead shamans who have disappeared but continue to exercise their functions for the benefit of the community, while the wanurú are also spirits of dead people who satisfy their personal vengeances, revenge themselves for disrespect shown them in their status after death, or are simply dangerous because of the circumstances of their death, as in the case of suicides. [144]

In addition to the spirits of sickness and death, there is another named yo-ru-já, difficult to describe and whose functions are difficult to delineate. We only know that he is magnificently malevolent and that it is he, the complete opposite of Mareiwa (God) that has been named "demon" or "devil" by missionaries, writers, etc.

Regarding the previous statement, we have several quotations that confirm it: "Yoluhá is the demon in the simple Guajiro theogony. As with god, it is scarcely a concept, a word that represents the forces of destruction and, at the same time, of power, since it is even used by the shaman when he is foretelling the future. "What does the devil say (Jamúseneik Yolujá)?" is the question the diviner asks. The Guajiro demon is not, therefore, like the Christian devil, the opposite of God, because in addition to wickedness and destruction it also embraces the concept of power and divination." (75)

75. Hernández de Alba. Op. cit., 50.

[144 cont.]

776 "It seems that for the Guajiro there may exist two devils, one called Yarujá or Yolugá and the other the Guanurú. The Yarujá, or devil properly speaking, is the most evil that exists and the most frightful. He is always evil and exercises his actions on man, on humanity, but he acts mainly not through himself but through another and minor devil, which is Guanurú.

"The Guanurú is more involved in worldly affairs; he is [753] the enemy of the body as well as the soul. He is charged with producing sicknesses in people, in animals, even in plants. The Guanurú is also a spirit." (76)

76. Barranquilla. Op. cit., II, 67.

[114] As we see the confusion is great, and it is not all due to the writings of the authors above quoted but also to the natives themselves, as we shall see below.

What may be deduced at present is the establishment of two categories of spirits, one for those of good, the other for those of evil, categories based on their greater or lesser capacity to exercise benign or malignant influences respectively. But if we examine a little more carefully the series of facts observed by us in our journey in 1947, we are able to note some further differences which will enable us to explain somewhat better the problem that appertains to the ideas of good and evil in the native's mind. These differences arise from the presence of beings which have characters, which are disposed to exercise good or evil on the individual or on the community in general, that is, benign or evil spirits that personify [145] good and evil and that preside over actions socially acceptable or reprehensible.

• • •

Mareiwa. In our opinion, Mareiwa is above all the propitiatory spirit of the rains. This statement is based on the following facts:

1. The Dance of the Kid, as we saw in the previous chapter, is dedicated to him and takes place when the summer rains appear.

[145 cont.]

776 2. According to data collected in the field among the peo-
773 ple, the son of God (Mareiwa) exists. He was born from the union of the waves and the clouds in a place called Pulówi, in certain "sacred" lakes where human beings may not go, situated in the Sierra Nevada, where there are a number of both fresh- and salt-water lakes surrounded by medicinal plants. Mareiwa
[821] on occasion descends to these places, and it is at these times that heavy rainfall occurs in La Guajira, that is, during the seasons which in the peninsula are called autumn, spring, and winter. Then all the vegetation sprouts, and all the trees, pasture, and plants are green.

3. Another legend states that Mareiwa was born of a woman who became pregnant when, being in her monthly period, she was greatly frightened by the spectacle of a tremendous storm. Without having sexual relations with any mortal, she afterward gave birth in the same way as other women.

4. Guajiro legends relating to Mareiwa also assert that he was born under an olive tree (77) in some place in La Guajira.

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77. The olive tree we refer to in these paragraphs is not the same as that of temperate zones but is an autochthonous tree, whose similarity to the former justifies its name.

The importance of this legend stems from the peculiar character of the tree, which is the only one belonging to the Guajiro flora that escapes the effects of long summers and is always fresh and green, keeping its leaves and bearing fruit throughout the year.

788 5. In his propitiation of the rains when summer lasts too
776 long, the shaman invokes his protector spirits, spirits of good,
821 and especially Fumayule, the name by which curers [curanderos] know Mareiwa.

776 6. In the work and paragraphs already quoted from the
821 work of Professor Hernández de Alba, we find a new relation between Mareiwa and rain; he says: "Mareigua. Everything that is good for the Guajiro: rain, abundance... and He saved

776 [146] the people during the deluge on the high hill of Pororo,
821 which he made to grow higher as the waters rose." (78)

78. Hernández de Alba. Op. cit., 49-50.

825 7. When we spoke of natural phenomena in magic, we
821 stated that a kind of veneration was very commonly paid by the natives to an iguana that lives in the crevices of rocks, especially in the cliffs of the coast; veneration that is manifested outwardly by fiestas and dances and is intended to influence the iguana not to put obstacles in the way of the rains, which are under his dominion. Up to this point the fact appears to have no connection with the subject which we are treating, but supported by linguistics, we shall clarify our point of view:

192 The Guajiro word for iguana is iwána, and it can be split
821 up thus: iwa, "rain" (this is what the Indians call the rain that
825 falls in summer, April); na, particle which seems to denote an abundance of something, as may be seen in these other examples: ipa-na-rú, a La Guajiro place name which means "among many rocks" and corresponds in context to: a conical depression that holds rain water situated among many rocks; garrapatamana, another place name descriptive of its meaning, "a place where there are many animal ticks [garrabatas]. According to the above, iwána means an "abundance of rain."

192 Now, the word by which the constellation of the Seven
776 Kids is called when in a certain position it coincides with the
821 summer rains, is íwa, the same as "rain." Furthermore, from the name "Mareiwa" we can separate the constant particle, íwa, "rain." Unfortunately, we could discover nothing that might correspond to the first particle, máre, in the vocabulary we collected, nor in others that have been published and which we had the opportunity to consult. But, on reviewing a dictionary of the Arawak language of the Guianas, with which the Guajiro dialect is closely linked, we find that mali is the name of a "certain star"; malidalte is "beginning of drought." "The name is derived from the star mali." (79)

79. Anonymous. Op. cit., 71.

[146 cont.]

174 If we accept the idea that the Guajiro are descended from
192 the Arawak of the Guianas, with whom they are intimately con-
776 nected both by their language and culture, there is nothing
821 strange to be found in the formation of the name Mareiwa from
mali, male (the l and the r do not exist in the Guajiro language),
and iwa, words that are used to name stars and in consequence
must be related to the general Arawak cosmogony. In any case,
776 the linguistic association of star-rain-god-divinity confirms the
821 statement which we have made that Mareiwa [147] is none other
than the propitiatory spirit of the rains, and by the same token,
that of good harvests, of abundance, and of well-being.

The harsh geographical conditions of La Guajira and the
132 technical incapacity of the native to dominate and put them
182 in his service without incurring the great inconveniences which
776 are above all occasioned by the climate, have caused this
being (Mareiwa) to be raised to first position in the category of
[233 protector spirits of the community. Also, the changes brought
198] about in their economy during past centuries have contributed to
this advance in status, because since the introduction of stock
grazing, winter has become more and more indispensable for
the maintenance of pasture, without which the stock would
suffer serious losses. We have no data relating to the myths or
178 religion of these Indians at the time of the Conquest but what
776 we have unearthed and the fact that there is a veritable confu-
sion with respect to the origin and functions of Mareiwa point
to the fact that, in a certain way, the Guajiro are living in a
state of transition with regard to their divinities, we might al-
most say a moment of true creation of their gods which has not
yet been definitively achieved, and for which contact with
western civilization has created difficulties which by now are
practically insurmountable.

775 Wanurú. As we referred extensively to the wanurú when
we were speaking of sickness and the shaman, we shall add only
a few details here and systematize the knowledge we have ac-
quired about this matter up to now.

1. The wanurú can harm the Guajiro bodily and spiritu-
ally, bodily by means of such sicknesses as attack men, animals,

[147 cont.]

775 and plants either individually, or collectively with the appearance of epidemics; spiritually by inspiring reprehensible actions such as murder, which brings social misfortunes in its wake. In general, all the transgressions of the Guajiro social law — rage, suicide, infidelity, etc. — are inspired by this spirit.

2. They have permanent sites of habitation, especially in unoccupied houses.

3. They are grouped into special categories dependent on the circumstances of their death, which influences their manner of life in the next world.

4. They make their appearance by adopting special [776] bodies, that is, they make themselves visible. In this they differ fundamentally from the spirits of good, like Maraiwa, who manifests himself in no bodily form. In this connection [148] we have the following native belief: If during the night 775 or in the late hours of the afternoon, a sizeable, nocturnal white 825 moth is found in the bedroom, it must not be mistreated or killed. It must be treated with consideration because it is nothing but the spirit of some ancestor — wanurú — who has come on a visit. If it becomes very troublesome and keeps one awake by its fluttering, it must be got out of the room very carefully. [782] If it should be killed, the spirit of the dead incarnated in it would appear in dreams and exclaim: "Why did you kill me? I like you and for that reason I came to visit your home. You have done me harm." And most certainly the spirit would take vengeance in some bad way or another on the person who had violated the rules of hospitality due the spirits of the dead.

775 Yorujá. The concept of Yorujá is more difficult to clarify. He seems to be the same as the wanurú for the following reasons:

1. The natives when they refer to him give one to understand that he is the spirit of the dead.

2. As with the wanurú, he has his sites of fixed habitation, especially in cemeteries, in the crevices of Cabo de la Vela, or hidden in the boughs of trees in the lonely woods of Emejuy in Lower La Guajira.

3. Also, as with the wanurú, he is the cause of both physi- [753] cal and spiritual harm to the natives and to the community in general.

[148 cont.]

775 4. Also like the wanurú, he takes on special forms of dress, such as that of a "king," an aríjuna (civilizado), and an [77] Indian. At times flames leap from his eyes and mouth (possibly acculturation from Catholic legends about the devil).

5. There are other beliefs that refer to him, such as the [825] one that states that when during the night a woman should find a praying mantis [mantis religiosa] she should hurriedly throw some cotton seeds and salt on the fire in order that with the flame produced when these catch fire, the malignant spirit, or yorujá, who brings the mantis with him will be frightened away. There is a similarity in this belief to the one that prescribes placing horses' skulls around to frighten the wanurú away from the vicinity of habitations.

* * *

776 775 In summary we would say that the spirits of good are represented by Mareiwa and by a series of other protector spirits, especially those of shamans, which are no other than those of [554] dead curers. Their standing or status depends on that which they had in life, the greater their prestige as curers in this world, [149] the more important will be their position in the next as benevolent spirits. The spirits of evil are represented by dead persons and are of different degrees of danger according to the characteristics of their death. It is presumable that those called yorujá, resembling the devil, the greatest incarnation of evil as an abstract idea, are spirits of the dead of a greater degree of wickedness, while the wanurú, connected almost exclusively with sickness, are spirits of dead persons of a lesser degree of evil.

Finally, the differences between the two categories of spirits — benevolent and malevolent — are of two classes: 1) of a quantitive character, according to their power to do good or evil respectively; 2) of a formal character, referring to the apparition of evil spirits in various bodily forms, and the absence of such forms for good spirits. [151] [Page 150 is blank.]

[151] Conclusions

177 Magic shows itself to be one of the strongest institutions
771 of Guajiro culture despite the fact that, as we have shown
789 throughout this study, it is gradually losing its importance in proportion to the lowering of the shaman's prestige as the spiritual leader of the group. This is due to the already mentioned factors of prosletyzing and acculturation on a rising scale, brought about by the influence of a continually increasing number of civilizado elements in the peninsula, as well as by the consequences of the acculturation experienced by the members of the society. However, it is magic that still dominates many of the aspects of the native's daily life, not to say the greater part, and it is this that we are trying to synthesize and briefly explain in this chapter.

132 1. Economy. The Guajiro's life, as we saw in the Intro-
182 duction is strictly dependent on the tyrannically dominating cli-
771 mate, given the conditions of the peninsula where this commun-
789 ity lives, relying as they do on the seasonal fluctuations of rains to which they have adapted their system of agriculture and stock grazing, essential sources of their economy. As the people's livelihood directly depends on these, the Guajiro, lacking the higher techniques of irrigation and water conservation, puts his hope of survival in methods of magic, whether they be personal, collective, or directly exercised by the curer-magician of the community. These are no other than the exorcisms carried out by the latter to attract the rains in the long summers by invoking his protector spirits and especially Mareiwa, the personification of good and of rain; or the adoration and ceremonies in honor of the iguana carried out by private individuals with the same end in view; or, in short, all the methods of magic we have enumerated in connection with the natural phenomenon of rain.

[241 Also in respect to the economy we must remember the
463] presence of women when the sowing of crops is done, which establishes a division of work by sex based on the magic association of the transmission of feminine fecundity to the seeds.

177 [152] Moreover, faced with the new phenomenon of stock
771 grazing, the native has adapted his magic methods to this, im-
789 posing the same or similar treatments used for the members of the

[152 cont.]

177 community, especially in cases of illness and pestilences, as can be seen in the section "Shamanistic treatment of animals" in
233 Chapter II. If, on one hand, stock grazing partly changed some
789 of the social system related to magic, on the other hand, at the same time it has also felt the influence of this institution to the point of acquiring its own characteristics which differentiate it from other systems of stock grazing, which follow, in general, the lines laid down by the Spanish colonists. Magic is sui generis and plays its part today, as the oldest institution can, in Guajiro culture.

789 Moreover, not only in the collective sense but in the individual, the action of magic on the economy shows itself very clearly in the charm [contra] to make oneself rich, which we have described in detail in Chapter VI and which, as is logical within the Guajiro social dynamic, is connected to such important social matters as status, as we shall see later.

In the chapter which we have called "Magic as the Origin of the Theater in La Guajira," we may also see the effectiveness
[776] of magic in the private economy, since the owner of a piece of cultivated land is the one who organizes at his own expense the dance and fiesta given to attract the blessing of the good spirits, of Mareiwa on the crops, which require sufficient rain and certain climatic conditions to ripen. So great is their confidence that they believe that the more solemn the ceremony of the Dance of the Kid, the more benefit will be received from the spirits they invoke and fete, and the greater the probability of success for the harvest.

2. Society. Guajiro society, as we have said, has trans-
182 ferred a great part of the responsibility for its survival and
619 stability to magic and has a tranquil confidence in it, convinced
789 of its effectiveness and holding firmly to an institutional determinism which only now is beginning to break down fundamentally. The cultural institution of magic represents to the individual Guajiro a system of life, thought, and belief which unites him to his group as much as does the consanguineous tie and the established clan system. Magic is the general and generalized institution, essentially independent of the characteristic social divisions

[152 cont.]

182 brought about by the family and clan organization; it embraces
789 all the community without distinction and influences and de-
[619] termines it in many of its aspects. [153]

For this reason magic is bound up closely with their regimen for personal security and collective stability in three ways: 1) because it establishes a series of preventative norms aimed at defending the individual and the community from possible evils provoked by the concurrence of natural or supernatural, physical or psychic phenomena; 2) because it possesses adequate methods of treating the evils, which the individuals of the community, by transgressing the cultural patterns, bring upon themselves, thus affecting them in their persons or interests; 3) because it instills the belief in the community that any infraction of the established norms can provoke abnormal happenings which work against their stability.

182 We would say, then, that in the first place the shaman
+756 with his methods of magic is an institution created to maintain, defend, and even restore the regimen of stability to the community and its members as will be seen by the short enumeration of the following facts.

a) Medication for illness to restore the health of the patients.

b) Propitiation of the rains, indispensable for agriculture, the growth and conservation of pastures (the essential factor for stock grazing), and the maintenance of fresh water in the wells and water holes, as much for the use of the members of the community as for the sustenance of the stock.

c) Warding off pestilences and epidemics, both in humans and in animals; directed first to the saving of life among the individuals of the community and second to the defense of their interests represented by the stock — the support of their economy and of their existence.

d) Prevention of the effects of dreams, which within Guajiro mental mechanics correspond to actual realities as revelations of the future, anticipatory announcements of things that are going to happen within the community and which will affect one or
[782] more persons in their social group. This is one of the origins, as we have seen, for the animal sacrifices which have so much importance in the daily lives of these Indians.

[153 cont.]

182 *756 e) Defense of the community and the individual from the harmful influence of evil spirits, an influence which largely expresses itself in personal and communal illnesses.

554 *756 In exchange for all these services given by the shaman, the community offers him as payment, on one hand, their backing, respect, admiration, and even fear, and on the other hand, material goods which consolidate his status of privilege, such as necklaces, cloth, jewels in general, animals, and money.

* * *

182 791 [154] In accordance with the previously established division between magic and the foretelling of the future in Chapter IV, we should now state that the diviner, like the shaman, serves to maintain, defend, and restore the regimen for individual security and collective stability, an affirmation which we have based on the following functions which he performs:

a) Discovery through divination of the causes of illnesses, thus permitting the prescribing of adequate medication, with great probability of success for the patient, who is generally a child.

b) Also through divination the restoration of lost objects [685] and the discovery of the thief — factor in the breaking of the regimen for personal security — so that the thief may suffer the penalties with which society punishes those who violate the cultural norms concerning personal property.

[787] c) Divination by which, when husbands are absent from home, their state of health can be ascertained and their wives can provide them with rapid and effective help.

d) Determination, in the last instance, of a novice's "vocation" or lack of "vocation" in the science of shamanism, a decision which is of great importance for the community in general, since on it depends whether the community has in its future magician a defender of its regimen for stability, a counselor and spiritual director, or, on the contrary, a charlatan on whom the protector spirits have not descended to illuminate him and who

182 [154 cont.]
791 is for this reason most probably a moral and material fraud.

We have to remember that there are two fundamental facts
*956 with respect to divination: 1) that the shaman can be both
787 things, magician and diviner, which increases his position and prestige; and 2) that any individual can learn for his personal use and the good of others the methods of divination, which do not require, as they do in the case of the shaman, the illumination and constant presence of the protector spirits who exercise their domination over the individual in whom they dwell and whom they submit entirely to their will.

* * *

182 Ordinary magic, that is, that which does not depend on the shaman or the diviner, but is rooted in popular belief and
626 is like a code of preventative norms tending to avoid the break-
789 ing of institutionalized cultural patterns, is also a true regimen for [155] stability. It clearly indicates that if this or that norm is violated, the individual will suffer the punishment in himself, in his offspring, or in his family group, such as, for example: a) nonattendance at burials, not assisting in the digging of graves, not looking on the lowering of bodies into the grave, etc., on the part of both parents when the woman is pregnant.

b) The prohibition against approaching children or sick people after having touched a corpse.

c) The precautions that a pregnant woman should take on meeting a snake.

d) The ceremony that should be practiced with the corpse of a first-born child.

e) The restriction imposed on a pregnant woman's husband regarding hunting with modern firearms.

f) Finally, the observation of all those norms whose violation may adversely affect the actual birth or the health of the newborn baby by causing the mother to be upset and ill before or during childbirth.

g) We may also see this action of magic in the use of different kinds of charms (fetishes, amulets, talismans), in the express prohibition of not pronouncing the personal name of an

[155 cont.]

182 individual or of the dead, in the aspect which we have called
626 "Omens and Augural Birds," in the behavior followed by individ-
789 uals who wish to call up a breeze during a windless calm at sea or to send away eclipses and lightning which, according to their belief, are malevolent.

* * *

789 A very interesting aspect of magic is its use for and against
595 some of the cultural institutions and their institutionalized patterns; for example, the use of love charms and the compliance with certain norms after the period of seclusion accompanying the ceremonies at the time of a young woman's initiation. Her aim is to fight against polygamy, with a view either to obtaining predominance over other wives or, better, to prevent the man who has acquired her for his wife from acquiring more women with whom she would have to share his life. Possibly due to the influence of acculturation, there is a tendency toward monogamy on the part of the women. The men, however, tend toward polygamy for prestige, since for it they must have a good economical position, as the price of women is high, increasingly so the greater their social position.

[177] [654]

[156] Another institution that we see directly affected by
751 magic is this same initiation of young women. We saw how
771 the death of a first-born child required a series of ceremonies
881 to prevent future children dying at birth, one after the other, and we stated that one of the principal ceremonies consisted in the observance of certain norms which bring to mind very clearly the initiation of the young mother. Their idea would seem to be that one of the causes of the death of the first-born was the deficient carrying out of the magic-biological-social ceremonial to which the girl must submit to prepare for her life as an adult.

[761]

Also the norms relating to the dead and the belief in a
764 life beyond the grave rest almost exclusively on magic, and
775 through it their prestige and their functioning are kept up. Magic
771 is also the cause of the fear and respect which relatives and friends
626 show to their dead, and it is magic which also promotes all the ceremonial rites that are celebrated in this connection.

[156 cont.]

554 556 789 3. The individual. Another interesting social aspect related to magic is in connection with the status derived from wealth, expressed by the greater or lesser number of heads of stock owned by an individual. But apart from this strictly material aspect, magic has powers which when put into action assist the individual to acquire a coveted position or to improve one he already has, as is done, for example, in the cultural aspect of language, the mastery of which with the use of fine turns of speech can give to the speaker the highly esteemed and prestigeful position of arbitrator, or intermediary, in their interclan struggles, a position that is often confused with that of chief.

Within this field of magic activity we can cite as examples the following:

a) The sacrifice of animals, which not only gives prestige to the living but also establishes the status of the deceased in his life beyond the tomb.

b) The use of diverse charms such as those for love, for making one rich, for obtaining respect, prestige, and affection, etc.

c) The custom of an individual eating the leavings of food of individuals of special physical characteristics, especially those having qualities superior to his own, as for example, a white skin, a beard, etc., with the end of becoming more outstanding and improving his status.

d) As an indirect form of elevating status, we have the case of the Indian Kurira-Pata, who swallowed a charm and took a slave girl for wife in order to heal the wounds he received from the Kusina Indians. [157] The slave, because of a dream, passed to the category of wife, thus ascending the social scale.

* * *

181 971 789 A great part of the Guajiro's personality is molded by this institution of his culture, and many of his reactions would be inexplicable without previous knowledge of the process of magic, the fields of its functioning, the ways of life it has created, the

[157 cont.]

181 mental outlook it originates — imbued, as we have affirmed,
771 with an animistic determinism — and the beliefs it implies in
the different angles of Guajiro human activity, as it will have
789 been possible to observe throughout the length of the work we are presenting. So much is this so that the very basic impulses of the individual are seen in many circumstances to be influenced by magic.

a) To prove this in the sexual aspect it suffices for us to
834 cite again some facts already described and explained in previous chapters, such as the taboos imposed on the shamans, especially when they are women and according to which they should cohabit exclusively with their husbands, avoid caresses, motions, prolonged coitus, and pregnancy, and never exercise their functions during their menstrual periods. Besides this, it can be seen in the lifting of sexual taboos, or better said, the permitted violation of the norms which rule the community in this respect during the celebration of the Fiesta of the Kid, which reaches the point of allowing the consummation of the carnal act among the unmarried, an act absolutely prohibited in their society in normal times and which would provoke — as fully explained in the corresponding section — compensation payment and even interclan war with its tremendous consequences of persecution, annihilation, and slavery. It can also be observed in what we called the "proof of virginity," which permits a male to caress the bodies of young women who take part in the fiesta, an action prohibited, as in the previous case, in normal times.
[832] Among the charms we also found some that act in this way, and also significant is the act of rubbing bixa ointment on the genital organs and breasts to make them more effective in love-making.

b) In the matter of food we saw proofs of the influence
262 of magic, especially related to the life of the shaman, particularly when he is in one of his "illumination" trances or in a curing ceremony. This influence also shows itself in the shaman's initiation, in the initiation of [158] young women, in the magic contamination of food by some animals which can cause sickness in newborn children, and in the prohibition against eating the flesh of the hawk which produces sterility in young and old of both sexes. Also, it is found in relatives being forbidden to eat the

[158 cont.]

262 meat of animals sacrificed during the wake of a deceased member of the family. The murderer's self-denial of all solid food in his daily diet is another proof of the intervention of magic in the aspect of the Guajiro's nourishment. The ceremonies of propitiation for rain and the ripening of the harvests are other palpable demonstrations of the intervention of magic in this way.

[789]

c) And, finally, in relation to aggression, we see the very marked influence of magic, particularly in the charms which are used to cause injury to certain people: for example, those made of a young woman's hair, the blood of a hummingbird, the tail of a dog, and achiote to make a girl fall in love with a man who later intends to betray her; or the one used by women who, having bought a talisman from a woman expert in those matters, place it in the clothes of a man whom they wish to harm after acquiring an old sandal of his and burning it, so as to cause him bodily and mental injury. Furthermore, magic forewarns and allows an individual to foresee the acts of aggression of which he or a clan or a family group is going to be the victim by the interpretation of the shaman's dream or that of a private person, as was seen in the section "Magic and dreams" in Chapter VIII. The effect of magic on the regimen for individual security and collective stability tends to be that of saving the person or the group, as the case may be, from acts of aggression on the part of potential enemies, such acts being foreseen through magic means properly interpreted.

754 789 182 787 789

Names of Plants and Animals

Plants:

104 achiote (Bixa orellana)
192 ahuyama [squash] (Cucurbita máxima)
824 artemisia (f. Synantherae or Compositae)
indigo (f. Leguminosae)
cardon (Pilocereus atroviridis)
mahogany cedar (fam. Cedrilaceae, Sp. Mahogoni of Linnaeus)
lupine (Abrus precatorius) [Indian licorice]

[158 cont.]

104 divi-divi (Libidibia coriaria. Jacq.) [159]
192 frailejon (Espeletia spp.)
824 guamacho (Pereskia colombiana. Webb).
guayacan (f. Zigophyllaceae) [In Venezuela, Tabebuia guayacan (family Bignoniaceae)]
plantain (f. Plantaginaceae, sp. Ureus)
oxtongue (Polygonaceae, g. Rumex)
mamoncillo (f. Sapindaceae, sp. Bijuga)
mangrove tree (f. Rhizophoraceae)
oxeye (f. Papilionaceae)
nettle (f. Urticaceae)
watermelon (Cucurbita vulgaris)
quina dulce [sweet quina] (Cinchona spp.)
sage (fam. Labiataceae) [Labiatae?]
elder or alder tree (f. Caprifoliaceae)
purslane (f. Portulacaceae, g. Portulaca)
vira-vira (f. Compositae, g. Gnaphalium)
yucca, cassava (Manihot utilissima)

Animals:
104 bee (order Hymenoptera)
192 bittern (belonopterus cayennensis)
825 wasp (order Hymenopt)
owl (Bubo virginianus elatus)
cauquero (sp. of deer)
colibri (fam. Trochuilidae)
rabbit (sylvilagus apollinaris)
rattlesnake (Crotalus terrificus)
hunting snake [culabra cazadera] (Clelia clelia)
buzzard (Coragyps atratus foetens)
cattle tick (g. Boophilus)
sparrow hawk (harpagus bidentatus)
iguana (order of the saurians)
owl (Tyto alba sabandeana)
machorro, sp. of lizard (order of the saurians)
bat (Carollia perspiciliata)

[159 cont.]
104 woodpecker (Ceophloeus lineatus)
192 domestic duck (Anas platyrhynchos)
825 partridge (Perdix rubra)
ray (Rajas batis) [160]
jaguar (félis onça)
troupial (f. Icteridae)
peccary (Pecari)
fox (Canis azaroe)
curf (Cavia anolaimae)
mountain cat (margay tigrina)
deer (Cervus elaphus)

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[For information about shamans see category 116, pp. 9-23, 24-47, 54, 58-62, 77-78, 81, 84-85, 119, 127-128, 172]

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LUIS DUQUE GOMEZ

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[TITLE PAGE]

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ASPECTOS DE LA MAGIA EN LA GUAJIRA

ROBERTO PINEDA GIRALDO

del Instituto Etnológico Nacional.

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[p. iii]

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Magic implies a mental state and so may be viewed from the standpoint of the history of thought.

THORNDIKE

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ASPECTOS DE LA MAGIA EN LA GUAJIRA

Por Roberto Pineda Giraldo

INTRODUCCION

La península guajira, situada entre los 12°-28'-30" y 10°-56', de latitud Norte, 1°-11' y 3° de longitud oriental, tomando como base el meridiano de Bogotá, ocupa la parte nororiental de Colombia y la más septentrional del continente suramericano. Sus límites pueden sintetizarse de la siguiente manera: al Norte y al Oeste, con el mar de las Antillas; al Este con el Lago de Maracaibo; al Sur con el departamento de Magdalena y la vecina república de Venezuela; es decir, que le sirven de límites naturales el mar de las Antillas, el Lago de Maracaibo, el Río Hacha y el arroyo Paraguaichón. Parte de esta península pertenece a la República de Colombia y parte, en extensión menor, a la de Venezuela.

Su formación geológica general parece debida al levantamiento de las capas marinas, pues en el subsuelo se encuentran restos de la fauna del mar; su suelo está compuesto por capas arcillosas, areniscas y calcáreas, en las partes planas; los pequeños relieves son de formación antigua y están constituídos por rocas eruptivas, pizarras cristalinas, granitos, mármoles y jaspes cubiertos por capas de calizas. Los minerales predominantes son: el yeso, el carbonato del cal, la argonita, la mica, minerales de hierro, y también se encuentran algunos yacimientos de lignito que no han sido explotados hasta ahora.

La Guajira propiamente dicha, como región geográfica natural, se inicia al W con las últimas estribaciones de los montes de Oca, continuación de la Cordillera Oriental colombiana a través de las sierras de Perijá y Motilones, montes que dejan sentir su influencia benéfica en las zonas de Carrizalia y Paraguaichón. Pero el relieve característico comienza en la garganta noroccidental y se compone de serranías aisladas cuya orientación general es de NW - SE, alineadas de occidente a oriente y que se conocen con los nombres de Cojoro, Jarara y Macuira. La última, que presenta la

máxima altura del relieve guajiro, 857 mts. sobre el nivel del mar, según Ernst [1], va a morir entre Jiguaipolu y Parajimarú, en la costa oriental de la península.

La mayor parte del litoral guajiro, que mide en total 350 kms., pertenece a Colombia. Avanza desde el Río Hacha en el occidente, hasta penetrar íntegramente en el Lago de Maracaibo al oriente. Puede dividirse en dos porciones generales: una baja, inundable y otra alta, acantilada. La parte baja arranca desde el caño de Pajaina, que desemboca en el Lago de Maracaibo frente a la isla de San Carlos, y avanza aproximadamente hasta antes del puerto de Cojoro. De allí en adelante se eleva en forma de cortes verticales sobre el mar, hasta más o menos el nivel de Castilletes, punto en donde la costa desciende ligeramente para elevarse de nuevo cerca de Punta Espada, debido a las estribaciones orientales de la Sierra de Macuira que, como lo hicimos notar en párrafos anteriores, va a morir en el mar. De allí en adelante, siguiendo siempre al W, puede decirse que la costa es rocosa y acantilada por su estructura continental.

En el tramo más occidental del litoral guajiro se encuentran localizadas las explotaciones salineras de mayor importancia en el país, como son las de Pájaro, Manaure y Bahiahonda que suministran sal para gran parte de los departamentos costeros y aun para los del interior de la República. La costa presenta en esta parte bahías hermosas y profundas entre las que se destaca la última mencionada. A lo largo del litoral se pueden hallar puntos ricos en pesquería, como la bahía últimamente nombrada, el Cabo de la Vela, y Cardón y Carrizal, centros de la pesca y explotación de perlas. Desgraciadamente esta costa no se ha podido utilizar en todas las posibilidades comerciales de navegación y de pesca que presenta, por la ausencia de aguas potables en sus cercanías. Nos tocó presenciar el hecho de que el agua que se tomaba en Carrizal y San José de Bahiahonda, durante nuestra permanencia en estas regiones, era traída de distancias mayores de diez kilómetros.

Los puertos más importantes de la costa guajira, de occidente a oriente, son: Ahuyama; Manaure, centro de explotación salinera; Cardón y Carrizal, centros pesqueros de perlas; San José de Bahiahonda, en la bahía de su nombre, también explotación salinera; Puerto Estrella, centro del comercio marítimo por motoveleros con las islas de Aruba y Curazao, y Puerto López.

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[1] Citado por *Pichón* en *Geografía de la Península Guajira.*

La Guajira es región semidesértica, a lo que contribuyen, según nuestro parecer, cuatro factores esenciales: 1° La presencia de suelos arenosos que absorben las aguas de los pequeños arroyos que bajan de las serranías; 2° La presencia constante de los vientos alisios del nordeste que soplan fuertemente sobre la Península, atemperando un tanto su clima; 3° La falta de verdaderos relieves con elevaciones importantes que pudieran servir de barrera a las nubes cargadas de humedad, que son arrastradas por la fuerza de los vientos a las regiones interiores del continente; 4° Las altas temperaturas atmosféricas que llegan hasta los 42° C. a la sombra y a las doce del día, y que sólo son menguados en parte por la presencia de los vientos alisios y las brisas marinas.

Estos factores determinan en gran parte la hidrografía de la Península, en la cual puede decirse que no hay sino dos ríos de caudal constante: el Río Hacha que forma límites con el vecino departamento del Magdalena, y el arroyo Paraguaichón, que sirve de demarcación con la república de Venezuela. De resto, la región está sometida al régimen estacional de lluvias que marca una época de verano, completamente seca y apenas con ligeras lluvias excepcionales en lo que se denomina primavera (aproximadamente en abril), y una época de invierno con fuertes lluvias; esta última cubre aproximadamente los meses de septiembre a diciembre-enero, mientras la primera, con excepción de las lluvias de primavera que ya hemos mencionado, abarca los meses restantes.

Todos estos hechos hacen que la península, durante las épocas de verano, se convierta en verdadero desierto con el suelo cubierto de arenales sueltos, desprovistos de vegetación, cuyas partículas se levantan al impulso de la fuerza eólica y ocasionan molestias a los viajeros y aun enfermedades de los ojos en el indígena. Pero en invierno, cuando las abundantes y copiosas lluvias se descargan sobre la tierra, el suelo que en partes es más bajo que el mar, se inunda de tal manera, que en ocasiones llega a obstruir totalmente las comunicaciones terrestres, aun los caminos de herradura; los lechos secos de las corrientes de agua se convierten en verdaderos arroyos, los jagüeyes en lagunas, y todo es un inmenso mar de agua dulce.

Hay que contar también con la presencia de algunas pocas lagunas, como la de Guaraguaraso, cerca de Marañamana, la de Soledad, a veinte kilómetros al sur de Pájaro, la de Carazúa, treinta kilómetros aproximadamente al oriente de Ríohacha, la de Sararapa, cerca de Puerto López y la de Cuisa, vecina a la ranchería de Roble; además, con los jagüeyes, pequeñas depresiones en el terreno que conservan las aguas lluvias por espacio de algún tiempo y sirven de abrevadero a los ganados. Fuera de estas fuentes de agua,

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el guajiro construye las casimbas en los lechos secos de los arroyos, generalmente, teniendo que excavar a veces hasta treinta varas de profundidad para localizar las corrientes subterráneas. Ayudan a solucionar el problema del agua los molinos de viento que se vienen construyendo desde varios años atrás por parte de la Provisión de Aguas del Ministerio de la Economía Nacional, y unas pocas represas, como las de Ipanarú y Garrapatamana.

Los factores que hemos venido describiendo, determinan lá vegetación guajira que se caracteriza ante todo por plantas rastreras espinosas, pequeños matorrales, cactus, espinos y algunos bosques, especialmente en las serranías y en sus escribaciones, en los que abundan el dividivi, el totumo, el añil, el caraño, el guayacán, el cedro, el roble, el cereno y el acituno, frutales los dos últimos; en las orillas de ensenadas y bahías crece abundantemente el mangle.

Durante las épocas de lluvia en la Península, el suelo arenoso se cubre de gramíneas y de matorrales, y los montes reverdecen dando un fuerte colorido al paisaje; pero en el verano todos los árboles pierden sus hojas y presentan la apariencia de chamizos secos; las plantas pequeñas desaparecen, dejando el paso libre al dominio de las quemantes arenas, y mostrando como manchas características los altos cactus que elevan sus brazos a la manera de grandes candelabros. Sólo dan matices diferentes los olivos que jamás se secan y siempre muestran su fresco follaje y sus morados frutos, y los pequeños oasis de vegetación al borde de lagunas y jagüeyes.

Por lo mismo, la economía del guajiro y en general su vida, oscilan como péndulo entre dos extremos: verano e invierno. Su actividad principal, la ganadería, necesita de la lluvia para la permanencia de los pastos y de agua en los jagüeyes y casimbas; su otra ocupación, la agricultura, demanda la humedad suficiente que requieren la germinación de las semillas y la vida misma de las plantas. Invierno en la Guajira quiere decir bonanza, abundancia, satisfacción. Verano, en cambio, es sinónimo de desolación, de hambre, de miseria y de muerte.

Las condiciones de medio ambiente geográfico y la ocupación a que se han dedicado los indígenas después de la Conquista, la ganadería, han acentuado su carácter de nómades, por la necesidad en que se encuentran de llevar sus ganados a los lugares a donde abundan los pastos y el agua indispensables para su sostenimiento. Esto ha impedido, por otra parte, la formación de poblados en el verdadero sentido del vocablo, pues lo que se denomina *ranchería* en la Guajira, no es otra cosa que la instalación de dos o tres ranchos de madera y paja, pertenecientes a personas emparentadas entre sí, y que distan de las otras rancherías varios kilómetros. En la loca-

lización de estas habitaciones influye poderosamente la presencia de agua a distancias mínimas que no obliguen a los habitantes a recorrer largos trayectos.

Sólo en aquellos lugares en que la influencia civilizadora se deja sentir ampliamente bajo cualquier forma, se encuentran las poblaciones que podríamos llamar urbanas; pero en ellas abundan más los elementos extraños que el autóctono. Tal por ejemplo el caso de Uribia, capital de la Comisaría; de Nazaret, centro misional; de Maicao, Puerto Estrella y Carraipía, puntos de comercio con Venezuela, Aruba, Curazao y el interior del país; y de Manaure y Bahiahonda, asientos de explotaciones salineras.

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El indio guajiro no llegó a ser conquistado totalmente. A través de la Conquista y la Colonia mantuvo una serie de guerras con las autoridades españolas, a las que supo resistir siempre, conservando su independencia. Pero sostuvo el trato comercial con los *blancos*, no solamente españoles, sino europeos en general, que llegaban hasta sus costas en donde establecieron factorías para la pesca y el comercio de las perlas, y con la colonia española asentada en Riohacha, límite occidental de la Península.

Estas fricciones con la civilización europea fueron cambiando lentamente sus sistemas de vida en la mayor parte de los aspectos, toda vez que el guajiro incorporó a su cultura una serie de elementos nuevos relativos sobre todo a la economía, a algunas de sus instituciones sociales, y aun al aspecto de la composición racial. La transculturación se ha acelerado grandemente en los últimos tiempos, debido a la presencia cada vez mayor de los elementos extraños en la península guajira, facilitada por la intervención del gobierno en esa sección administrativa, por el desarrollo de las comunicaciones y por las posibilidades comerciales que presenta el trato con los indígenas.

El cambio fundamental del guajiro se realizó en su economía. Hasta la llegada de los conquistadores, según los datos que se conocen, era el guajiro un pueblo de cazadores y pescadores que vivían en constante nomadismo, hasta el punto de carecer de verdaderas habitaciones, como lo afirman algunos cronistas de la Colonia; además, practicaban una agricultura rudimentaria que se cuidaba especialmente de los cultivos de maíz y de yuca, base de la alimentación vegetal y de sus bebidas principales.

Con el establecimiento de hatos ganaderos en las regiones circunvecinas de la Guajira, el indio encontró nuevas fuentes de abastecimiento e

inició una serie de robos en las haciendas que le dieron la posibilidad de disponer de animales aptos para la cría, que se adaptaban maravillosamente a las condiciones normales de su territorio en el que, durante las épocas de invierno, crecen espontáneamente los pastos que antes sirvieran para alimentación de los venados y otros herbívoros que formaban parte de la fauna guajira.

Con la implantación de este nuevo elemento cultural, el indígena fue transformando paso a paso su economía de pesca y caza y agricultura rudimentaria, en una nueva que tenía como fuente principal la ganadería. Su condición de cazador nómade se transformó en la de pastor, también nómade por las condiciones geográficas que hemos dejado expuestas en párrafos anteriores. Variaron también sus sistemas de transporte con la utilización de caballos y asnos, y aún las mismas tácticas guerreras sufrieron cambios apreciables ya que pudo utilizar entonces el caballo en los combates, situándose así en verdadero pie de igualdad con el conquistador español, pues a más de este elemento decisivo, contaba también con las armas de fuego que obtenía en el comercio de las perlas con los barcos extranjeros que arribaban a sus costas.

Sin embargo, el cambio fundamental de su economía no afectó en principio sus instituciones sociales más características. Conservó, casi hasta la actualidad, su organización familiar basada en la línea uterina de parentesco y todas las demás instituciones que de ella se derivan o se le relacionan directa o indirectamente. Sólo ahora con la presencia cada vez mayor de elementos extranjeros, atraídos al territorio guajiro por distintas circunstancias, el indio va perdiendo esas nociones fundamentales de su organización y comienza a transformarlas, obligado por la fuerza de los acontecimientos, hasta el punto de que hoy ya va siendo difícil decidir hasta dónde un fenómeno social es autóctono, y hasta dónde está impregnado de las ideas nuevas introducidas por evangelizadores, gobernantes, militares y comerciantes.

En el aspecto racial, el fenómeno se presenta con caracteres más débiles, aunque como en los demás casos se ha ido acelerando paulatinamente, a medida que las vías de comunicación se desarrollan y el tráfico de contrabando entre las islas de Aruba y Curazao, el departamento de Magdalena y el puerto de Maracaibo se acentúa. El mestizaje racial se inició en la Colonia, no sólo entre españoles e indios, como sucedió en la mayor parte de la América Latina, sino con los negros que adquirían como esclavos, por intercambio de perlas con los comerciantes negreros holandeses o ingleses. Naturalmente, esta mezcla resultaba de proporciones insignificantes; pero

en la actulidad se viene cumpliendo más efectivamente, tomando como base el elemento también negroide de las costas colombianas y del Lago de Maracaibo. A pesar de todo, en la Guajira se puede encontrar gran porcientaje de elemento puro en estos momentos, sobre todo en las regiones que están alejadas del tráfico con Maracaibo o con el interior de Colombia, o que permanecen relativamente aisladas de los centros civilizados guajiros como Uribia, Puerto Estrella, Puerto López, etc.

* * *

La Guajira ha soportado en los últimos cinco o seis años un violento verano que ha arrasado casi completamente sus bases económicas, la ganadería y la agricultura, pues no cae siquiera el agua suficiente para la conservación de los pastos y de las cosechas. El indio, por tanto, afronta en estos momentos una situación conflictiva de miseria que lo ha llevado a la busca de ingresos monetarios, bien sea como trabajador de las salinas marítimas o como pastor en las haciendas vecinas de Venezuela y de Colombia o, llevado por su tosudez terrígena, a soportar condiciones de hambre, de servidumbre y aún de esclavitud en su propio territorio.

La falta de agua ha determinado como factor principal la emigración en masa de las familias indígenas a los puntos cercanos de comercio y de trabajo, para enrolarse como trabajadores asalariados del campo, simplemente para mendigar la caridad pública como se ve frecuentemente en las calles y plazas de Maracaibo; para dedicarse a otras actividades como la explotación de carbón de leña que vende en Riohacha, o para servir como obrero en el cargue y descargue de los barcos en los puertos circunvecinos.

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Todos estos hechos que venimos describiendo, y el conocimiento deficiente que se tenía de esta interesante comunidad aborigen colombiana, determinaron en el Instituto Etnológico y de Arqueología del Ministerio de Educación Nacional de Colombia, la decisión de emprender una expedición de estudios que abarcara en un término prudencial, la observación de la mayor parte de los fenómenos sociales característicos, la situación social real del indígena frente a las nuevas condiciones de vida, el aspecto antropológico, el idioma, etc., decisión que se hizo realidad con la expedición etnográfica del año 1947 que, durante los meses de julio, agosto y septiembre, estuvo recorriendo gran parte del territorio y haciendo los estu-

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dios correspondientes. Esta misión estuvo integrada por los investigadores, licenciado Milciades Chaves, licenciada Virginia Gutiérrez de Pineda Giraldo, señora María Rosa de Recasens y el suscrito.

Fruto de estas investigaciones es el estudio que ahora presentamos, con el que se inicia una serie de publicaciones que abarcarán la mayor parte de los aspectos de la vida material y espiritual del guajiro.

El trabajo a que sirven de introducción estas líneas, se basa en fichas recogidas cuidadosamente en el terreno por nosotros, especialmente por mi esposa, señora licenciada Virginia Gutiérrez de Pineda Giraldo quien, galantemente, las cedió para ser estudiadas y complementadas con las nuéstras, y que ahora presentamos englobadas bajo el título *Aspectos de la Magia en la Guajira*, título que no sólo quiere hacer referencia a lo que se ha conocido como magia en el indígena, sino también a muchas de sus actitudes mentales y sentimentales, cuya clasificación en otro sentido resultaría difícil.

COMISARIA
DE LA
GUAJIRA
VENEZUELA

II

CICLO VITAL DEL PIACHE GUAJIRO

Sintomatología.—Cuenta una de las piaches, haciendo referencia a los síntomas que presentó su organismo para hacerse tal, lo siguiente: empezaron a descender a sus ojos especies de estrellitas que le caían encima, a manera de lluvia dorada, primera señal, según ella, de la posesión del espíritu en su persona. La vista se le nubló y cayó en el suelo desmayada; allí permaneció tirada por espacio de un rato. Luégo se fue reponiendo, muy lentamente, hasta volver en sí. Después de este primer ataque de *posesión* se sintió bastante bien por unos dos o tres días, al cabo de los cuales despertó una mañana con la sensación de un frío intenso, tal como el que se siente al principio de la fiebre palúdica; tenía, además, un sudor pegajoso por todo el cuerpo; le sobrevino a continuación un vómito de sangre y quedó desmayada hasta la tarde, tendida como muerta en su chinchorro. Empezó a recobrarse de nuevo, y el espíritu bajó a ella, pues le pareció oír una voz que le ordenaba: Cómete manilla [1] porque si no lo haces sería persona muerta. Ante tal orden, ella dio aviso inmediato a sus familiares que le trajeron manilla y uno de los cuales se fue, con un collar de oro en su poder, a buscar una piache vieja para que viniera a reconocer si su pariente tenía el espíritu, y que si esto llegaba a ser cierto, se dedicara a su enseñanza. La piache llamada al efecto, reconoció en seguida que tenía el espíritu propio de su clase, e inició el pupilaje de la nueva curandera.

Otra de las piaches narraba así los síntomas de su vocación: cuando tenía uso de razón, es decir, a los diez u once años de edad, más o menos (época de la iniciación para el tránsito de niña a señorita: entrada a la pubertad), sintió un día la necesidad de satisfacer un deseo corporal. Se fue al monte a realizarlo, pero por más esfuerzos que hizo no logró conseguirlo. Esta situación se repitió varias veces. Por la noche soñó que había bajado el espíritu y que, llevándola de la mano, la condujo a un arroyo donde había una siembra grande de plátano y ahuyama. Al amanecer del

[1] Pasta de tabaco que importan los indígenas de Riohacha (Colombia) o de Maracaibo (Venezuela).

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[p. 11]

día siguiente se despertó desalentada y temblorosa. Oyó muy cerca de su oído una voz que le decía: cóme manilla y maguira [8]. Frecuentemente perdía el sentido y cuando volvía en sí se encontraba débil y temblorosa. Al comer lo ordenado por el espíritu, desaparecían como por encanto el temblor y el malestar general y quedaba en perfecta salud. Iba a ser piache. Su madre, que ya lo era, así lo dictaminó y se preparó para comenzar la enseñanza reglamentaria.

De estos relatos personales de las dos piaches, que acabamos de transcribir, y de los datos que logramos conseguir al respecto, por boca de otros informadores, podemos deducir lo siguiente: 1º Las graduaciones de piache (la dominación, diríamos mejor), son revelaciones del wanarú (espíritu de la muerte) que se introduce en el cuerpo de algunas personas determinadas, escogidas por él, para que ejerzan el oficio de magos curanderos. Como comprobación de la presencia del espíritu en los nuevos piaches, para efectos de la revelación, podemos ver cómo entre los Bororó del Brasil, por ejemplo, el espíritu se presenta en forma de un mono o capivara [9] y entre los Apinagé, los shamanes son designados "por el alma de algún pariente próximo que los pone en comunicación con el mundo de los espíritus, de los cuales obtienen su ciencia médica" [9]. Hubert y Mauss, refiriéndose a este mismo asunto, dicen lo siguiente: "La virtud mágica se adquiere por revelación en la mayoría de las tribus australianas. Normalmente, esta revelación se produce en el curso de un sueño o en un estado extático o semiextático. En principio, la revelación es obra de espíritus, espíritus de los muertos, espíritus puros, y probablemente, con mucha frecuencia, obra de espíritus clasificados menos nítidamente cuyas cualidades son indefinidas y cuya figura mítica flota entre la sombra humana, el animal y la divinidad de la naturaleza" [9]. Y a propósito de la revelación vuelven a decirnos "... es posible y hasta probable que el tema de la revelación por los espíritus de los muertos se confunda a menudo, en un solo y mismo mito complejo, con el tema de la revelación por los espíritus puros" [9].

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[8] Planta de hoja semejante a la del tabaco.

[9] *Métraux, Alfred. Le Chamanisme chez les indiens de l'Amérique du Sud Tropicale.* I, p. [illegible].

[9] *Métraux.* Op. cit. I, [illegible].

[9] *Origen de los poderes mágicos en las sociedades australianas, por Hubert y Mauss.* III, [illegible].

[9] Id. id., III, [illegible].

2º Este espíritu demuestra su presencia por medio de enfermedades repentinas como las que acabamos de ver en las fichas anteriores, o por otras de síntomas variables, pero constituyen en su generalidad verdaderos ataques histeroides, en los cuales el espíritu se manifiesta por fuertes convulsiones y pérdida del conocimiento, para significar que ha entrado en posesión de la persona que ha de ser piache.

Respecto a los ataques histeroides, tan característicos en los piaches, existe una confirmación bastante diciente y que se relaciona con la muerte de estos curanderos. La costumbre ordena que, cuando muera uno de ellos, hay necesidad de velarlo durante tres días consecutivos con sus noches, porque como los ataques que le dan son muy frecuentes y a veces se prolongan por espacios de tiempo bastante largos, hay de temor de que el piache no esté muerto de veras y que, por lo tanto, pueda ser enterrado vivo si no se espera un tiempo prudencial para ver si resucita.

3º En la formación de nuevos piaches interviene una planta de carácter mágico, el tabaco, en dos formas: a) El aspirante a piache debe masticarlo por varios días consecutivos para conseguir el estado de *éxtasis* y provocar así la absorción del espíritu por su persona; hay que recordar que en el momento de darle el ataque, le ponen al iniciado un pedazo de tabaco o de manilla en la boca. Cuando éste vuelve en sí, eructa fuertemente, por acción del tabaco, y estos eructos son considerados como cánticos de alabanza y agradecimiento hacia el espíritu que en él se quiere aposentar; el establecimiento de relaciones entre el espíritu y el aspirante a hombre-medicina por medio de una planta mágica, como el tabaco a que venimos haciendo referencia, se encuentra también entre los Conibo: "L' apprentichaman des Conibo de l' Ucayali tient sa sciense médicale d' un esprit. Pour entrer en rapport avec ce dernier, le shaman boit une decoction de tabac et fume tant qu' il peut dans une hutte hermétiquement closé" [8]; b) El adivino debe ver en las distintas evoluciones de la brasa en el tabaco, si el individuo a quien predice su futuro, después del ataque de *iluminación*, llegará o no a ser verdadero piache. Su dictamen es definitivo.

4º También el sueño, o por lo menos la alucinación, son factores decisivos en la determinación del carácter de piache.

5º La vocación de piache es irrenunciable. Mejor dicho, no depende del individuo mismo, sino que éste, una vez presentados los síntomas y hecho el dictamen favorable por el adivino, debe darla por aceptada, pues de lo contrario sufriría por haber desobedecido la orden del espíritu.

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[8] Métraux. Op. cit., 104.

Métraux, refiriéndose a las características de anormalidad física o psíquica del hombre-medicina, nos dice lo siguiente: "Im Thurn" (Among the Indians of Guiana. London, 1883, p. 334) "déclare bien que chez les Indiens de la Guyane anglaise, les shamans se récrutent parmi les épileptiques, mais cette affirmation qu' aucune autre autorité ne confirme, pourrait bien avoir été inspiré para le compertement du piai au cours de ses transes" [9]. Por nuestra parte, podemos decir que estuvimos tentados de clasificar como epilépticos también los ataques sufridos por el piache al principio de lo que hemos llamado su vocación, pues los síntomas descritos hacen creer bien fácilmente en ello. Pero cuando nos encontramos con el curioso e interesante aspecto del tabú sexual, posiblemente más severo para la mujer que para el hombre, y el cual describiremos ampliamente en párrafos posteriores, nos inclinamos entonces por la forma de histeria y, por lo mismo, los hemos denominado ataques histeroides.

Podría pensarse que la acción del tabaco o de cualquier otro narcótico es la que lleva a esos estados de trance o éxtasis, pero hay que recordar que precisamente uno de los síntomas claros de la *iluminación* es el ataque, que se presenta antes de ingerir los narcóticos o estupefacientes. Esto nos coloca en oposición al profesor Métraux, cuando afirma: "Aucune anomalie ou particularité physique ou physiologique ne semble avor été choisie comme le symptome d' une prédisposition spéciale por l'excercice du shamanisme" [10].

Por otra parte, las visiones y la pérdida del conocimiento se encuentran reafirmadas por Kurt Nimuendajú, citado por el profesor Métraux, al hacer referencia a los Bororó: "... un esprit se manifeste a lui sous l' aspect d' un singe ou d' un capivara et lui demande sa soumission... La tete liu tourne, mille couleurs dansent devant ses yeus: il est devenu un bari" [11].

Otra comprobación de la personalidad enferma del piache, casi como requisito indispensable para la profesión, la encontramos entre los Yaruro de los llanos venezolanos: "Cada comunidad tiene igualmente su propio sacerdote o músico. Este es un Shamán o Piache. Es un ser más o menos tarado desde el punto de vista psico-fisiológico y cuya alma —dice— viaja al país de los dioses durante las ceremonias religiosas" [12].

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[9] *Métraux*. Op. cit., I, 201.

[10] It., it. I, 202.

[11] *Métraux*. Op. cit., I, 203.

[12] *Le Besnerais*, Henry, *Algunos aspectos del río Capanaparo y de sus indios Yaruros*, p. 18.

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Período de enseñanza.—Continuando el relato de la piache con que iniciamos este capítulo sobre la magia en la Guajira, veamos ahora cómo realizó la enseñanza de piache maestra llamada para el efecto: ella le transmitió todos sus conocimientos en una larga temporada de enseñanza: tomaba a la aprendiz, la sentaba en sus rodillas, le hacía coger la maraca ceremonial y con su propia mano le indicaba y dirigía todos los movimientos necesarios. Iba invocando a los espíritus y hacía repetir a su discípula todos los movimientos, actitudes, rezos y cánticos. Esta operación se llevaba a efecto varias veces al día y en ocasiones por la noche. Por lo demás, la vieja piache estaba siempre atenta a las diversas órdenes e indicaciones que el espíritu impartía sobre la alumna. Cuando ya había pasado algún tiempo en esta enseñanza, el espíritu dijo a la maestra: retírate. Ya la niña puede ser piache. Luego ordenó lo concerniente a la fiesta de culminación, la que veremos en el aparte correspondiente.

Durante el período de enseñanza la piache maestra exigió a la iniciada algunas pruebas de su *ciencia*. En una ocasión le dijo: tóma el tizón y haz una prueba de adivinación. La niña obedeció y procedió a adivinar tal como le habían enseñado. Otra prueba que le hizo realizar la maestra fue mandarla a tomar sangre de un macho cabrío sacrificado, para que actuara con ella. La iniciada tomó en las manos la totuma con la sangre y el espíritu descendió entonces inmediatamente a ella. La muchacha comenzó a temblar convulsivamente y el espíritu le ordenó tirar la sangre por encima del rancho, lo cual fue realizado automáticamente por la niña, que salió así triunfante de esta prueba.

La enseñanza de la iniciada del segundo relato no difiere de la anterior, sino en el detalle concerniente a que la madre de la futura piache —que también lo era— la tomaba entre las piernas y le sobaba la cabeza, el cuerpo, por todas partes con sus manos.

El período de la enseñanza es decisivo, según puede apreciarse, para que el nuevo piache pueda ponerse en contacto con los espíritus y, por medio de ellos, con el mundo de lo sobrenatural. A pesar de la revelación y a pesar de estar ya en cierto modo poseída la persona iniciada por el espíritu, es necesario aprender lo que podemos llamar el culto externo, es decir, los sistemas de movimientos, invocaciones, cánticos, manejos de la maraca, masticación del tabaco, etc., para poder propiciar la presencia indispensable del espíritu o los espíritus protectores. Métraux, refiriéndose a este aspecto, dice lo siguiente: "Le second type d'initiation se differe du

prémier que par l'intervention d'un maître que non seulement instruit son élève dan la technique du métier, mais, avant tuot, le prépare a entrer en contact direct avec le surnaturel. Que l'initiation se fasse par l'intermédiaire d'un esprit ou d'un instructeur, aucun candidat au titre de shaman ni peut pratiquer s'il ne s'est assuré a la suite d'une vision la protection d'un ou de plausieurs esprits" [13].

Fiesta de iniciación.—Recomencemos nuestro primer relato: cuando el espíritu ordenó a la maestra que suspendiera las lecciones porque la iniciada estaba en capacidad de ser piache, le dijo, además, que ordenara a la familia de la niña efectuar un baile de *chicha-maya*, cuya duración sería de toda esa noche y el día siguiente con su noche, hasta la madrugada. En ese baile se deberían matar suficientes cabras para que comieran los bailarines, acompañando esta comida con maíz tostado. Las mujeres y los hombres que participaran en esta ceremonia deberían presentarse pintados con bija, y las mujeres podían ser solteras o casadas. Una vez terminado el baile, al amanecer de la segunda noche, la carne de los animales sacrificados sería amontonada en unas hojas y hasta ella debería llegar la piache vieja para *piacharla* [14], escupiéndola con saliva impregnada de la manilla que estuviera masticando, y también debería *piachar* a la novicia. Antes de esto, la carne no podía ser comida por los asistentes. Los concurrentes podrían tomar la carne de los animales muertos, siguiendo para a ir a comerla una dirección opuesta a la que llevó la piache cuando realizaba sobre ella las ceremonias rituales. La comida de esta carne, por lo demás, se haría en honor de los espíritus que el piache quisiera propiciar en ese momento.

Tampoco difiere gran cosa el culto externo del rito de paso del segundo relato al anterior: cuando el espíritu anunció que ya la novicia sabía invocarlo, se organizó por petición suya una gran fiesta que se prolongó por tres días. En esta fiesta se sacrificaron veinte ovejas y una res, y se bailó la *chicha-maya*. Además, se hizo el consabido reparto de chicha y ron a los concurrentes. En el curso de estos tres días de fiesta, la madre —piache— continuó enseñando a la iniciada todo lo relativo a su futuro cargo. Al amanecer del día tercero, fue graduada.

Ultimo período de preparación.—Continuemos el primer relato: después de realizado el baile, con todas las ceremonias adjuntas, la joven piache

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[13] *Métraux*, Op. cit. I, 206.

[14] Nos hemos visto en la necesidad de utilizar el verbo *piachar*, para referirnos a las ceremonias que efectúa el piache durante sus curaciones y demás oficios. Los puristas del idioma nos habría perdonar.

fue encerrada por dos meses en su casa. Este tiempo lo dedicó a practicar la mascada del tabaco y el acto de llamar a los espíritus, la manera de curar un enfermo, atraer la lluvia, *piacher* los animales, alejar las pestes, etc. La maraca y la diadema (*kiara* en guajiro), fueron hechas por ella durante este encierro, aunque hubiera podido comprarlas o mandarlas a hacer a otra persona. Pasados los dos meses del encierro fue necesario, para terminar el ciclo de iniciación de la joven en la ciencia de piache, preparar diez tinajas de chicha de maíz e invitar a muchos indios de diferentes partes para que presenciaran la verdadera graduación de la novicia. Esa noche, mientras los demás bailaban y bebían, la joven piache permaneció practicando sus artes. Es común que en estas ocasiones el espíritu se acerque a la aspirante y le diga, por ejemplo: búscate un animal de tales y tales características (lo describe minuciosamente en todos su detalles) y mátalo. Si no me obedeces, te darán desmayos y ataques y no llegarás a ser piache. La joven pasa entonces la orden a sus familiares, que deben apresurarse a buscar el animal descrito por el espíritu y sacrificarlo. Cuando la fiesta se termina, el espíritu vuelve a decir a la joven: cuélga diez collares en tu cuarto, para que yo baje y te ayude. (Estos collares tienen que ser de cuentas de oro). La aspirante los consigue con sus familiares y amigos aunque sea en calidad de préstamo y los cuelga en su cuarto para poder *piacher*. El espíritu, agradecido por la obediencia y por la ofrenda, se acerca una vez más y le dice: ahora sí vas a ser buena piache. Y le advierte: tú no podrás dormir (cohabitar) con tu marido.

Desempeño de la profesión.—Cuando se ha dado cumplimiento a todos estos ritos y ceremonias preparatorios para entrar en la vida de piache, el individuo, como lo afirma su espíritu protector, ya puede dedicarse a sus funciones. El mismo espíritu le ha conferido tal potestad. Mejor aún: ha descendido hasta él, se ha metido en su cuerpo para acompañarlo en todos los trances profesionales, para comunicarle las artes indispensables en el logro de su función como curandero y como brujo de la comunidad, para que actúe con acierto en la medicación de las enfermedades, en la propiciación de las lluvias indispensables para las buenas cosechas, y en su tarea de ahuyentar las pestes y epidemias que puedan diezmar la población a su cuidado.

Como pudo verse en el aparte que trata sobre el período de enseñanza, ésta se limita ante todo a transmitir al nuevo piache la manera de lograr que el espíritu llegue hasta él. Su ciencia no implica de ninguna manera la posición de conocimientos relativos al valor medicinal de las plantas, de los animales, etc., dado que el proceso de aprendizaje, o mejor, la ciencia,

estriba en la invocación del espíritu que es el verdadero sabio, el único curandero en realidad, el todo-poderoso para propiciar las lluvias y desterrar las pestes y epidemias y cuya ciencia se manifiesta por intermedio del hombre-medicina cuando quiere realizar sus designios. El piache por sí y para sí nada vale. Es un hombre cualquiera, sometido como los demás a las influencias demoníacas de los espíritus de la enfermedad y de la muerte. Su valor fundamental está en la absorción de un espíritu poderoso que lo coloca en pie de igualdad con los espíritus del otro mundo, y si se quiere en uno superior en muchos casos, como que lo hace salir triunfante, con frecuencia, en los casos de enfermedad que se le presentan.

Hay que hacer resaltar en la personalidad del piache guajiro, el hecho de que él tiene por función, casi exclusivamente, ponerse en contacto con el mundo de lo sobrenatural, para lograr por este medio la curación de las enfermedades de sus pacientes. Pero desconoce total o parcialmente la medicina a base de yerbas o animales, de partes de animales o de cualquiera otro tipo que no sea la ejercida directamente por los espíritus protectores que lo utilizan como intermediario.

Como podrá verse en los capítulos correspondientes, la mayoría de las curaciones de niños son realizadas por mujeres adivinas con los sistemas indicados, que se basan en lo que se ha llamado magia participativa o contaminante. Además, las yerbas —muy pocas realmente— que se usan para el aborto, para impedir el crecimiento del feto, para provocar la lactancia, para engordar, etc., son en parte de dominio público y en parte privado de unas pocas familias que conservan tradicionalmente el secreto para arreglarlas.

Por todo lo anterior, vemos cómo la ceremonia de curación es una perpetua invocación al espíritu, un continuo temor de que se aleje por cualquier motivo, y una permanente preocupación por satisfacer sus más mínimos deseos, a fin de obtener el éxito buscado. Para comprobarlo, veamos cómo realiza el piache guajiro una curación cualquiera, cuando ha sido llamado para el efecto.

Ante todo, antes de iniciar sus actividades, exige una prenda. Por eso cuando algún indígena requiere los servicios del piache para la atención médico-mágica de algún familiar, se presenta además éste acompañado de un collar de oro o de una prenda cualquiera de valor.

Cada vez que el piache va a curar a un enfermo, lleva dos maracas. Esta es una costumbre bastante extendida en América del Sur, donde el valor mágico de la maraca parece ser extraordinario y común, aunque se presentan algunas variantes de tribu a tribu, bien en el valor de las dife-

rentes partes, en los adornos del artefacto, en al manera de utilizarlo, etc. Para corroborarlo, bástenos citar al profesor Métraux, nuevamente, cuando dice, haciendo referencia a los aprendices de shaman: "Pendant son initiation le novice apprend a se servir d' accesoires indispensables a l' art magique. Le plus important de tous, celui qui en quelque sorte symbolise la profession, est la maraca ou sonaille faite d' une celebasse contenant des grains ou des pierres et pourvue d' un manche" [15]. Se acomoda entonces el hombre-medicina en un asiento especial para tales casos, tallado en madera y en figura de animal. Pero a falta de este artefacto se usa un asiento cualquiera. Esta costumbré de la utilización del asiento mencionado se encuentra también en las Guayanas: "L' escabeau en bois est également un des accesoires indispensables du shaman guyanais. Il est souvent taillé en forme de jaguar, animal qui joue un role importante dans les invocations d' esprits et dans les métamorphoses du shaman" [16]. Mueve el piache el torso en sentido giratorio. Cuando se encuentra en trance y está efectuando una curación que requiere la invocación del espíritu, no debe hacerse ningún ruido porque el espíritu se espanta y huye y al quedar sin él, el piache sufre síncopes violentos y cae al suelo presa de fuertes convulsiones. El piache lleva siempre en estos casos un pedazo de manilla en la boca; la mastica y con su jugo acaba por emborracharse, lo que lo hace cantar con más brío; el jugo de la manilla sirve para rociar el cuerpo del enfermo y, además, las paredes y todo el contorno de la casa, para ahuyentar el espíritu maligno. Esta costumbre del empleo mágico del tabaco es también muy extendida en América, y para no alargarnos, nos limitamos a dar un simple ejemplo traído por Pauly, referente a los indios Arsonas de Bolivia: "Emplean el polvo de tabaco mezclado con coca para curar enfermedades y conjurar los espíritus malos, mascándolo y escupiéndolo sobre el cuerpo. También lo escupen hacia el cielo, para calmar las tempestades, o al río cuando hay crecientes" [17].

La curación se inicia realmente con un canto de invocación a los espíritus. Mientras se realiza la ceremonia, el piache mastica continuamente el tabaco y con la mezcla producida por la saliva y el jugo de la planta, fricciona todo el cuerpo del paciente y, acto seguido, chupa fuertemente, por varias veces consecutivas las partes afectadas del enfermo, para sacarle

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[15] Métraux, Op. cit. I, 217.

[16] *Ib. id.* I, 218.

[17] *Pauly, Antonio. Ensayo de Etnografía Americana. Viajes y Exploraciones*, VI, 128.

el mar humor. (El mal que posee el indígena, no importa cuáles sean sus características especiales, ni su procedencia, proviene de la acción maléfica de los *wawarí* que poseen flechas semejantes a las que usan los indios para la caza, las cuales son disparadas sobre los individuos para producir el mal y el dolor). El canto del piache se suspende sólo mientras chupa las partes afectadas del cuerpo del enfermo, pero luego se continúa para, nuevamente, volver con las escupidas, fricciones y chupamientos de la parte dolorida. El enfermo debe estar encerrado en su habitación, y más aún, rodeado su lecho de cortinas a manera de una segunda habitación dentro de la propia. A este lugar no puede entrar nadie sin consentimiento expreso del piache. Sin embargo, el brujo permite a veces la presencia de un familiar del enfermo, generalmente la hermana o la esposa, para que actúen como enfermeras, especialmente en los momentos de descanso del piache. Al reanudar sus actos curativos el piache, deben retirarse de nuevo.

Las canciones que entona el piache van refiriendo cómo su espíritu anda buscando el alma del enfermo que el espíritu de la enfermedad y de la muerte se ha llevado a regiones desconocidas que sólo aquél y el mismo piache conocen. Muchas veces el espíritu del enfermo no se deja coger por el piache, o sucede que su alma está prisionera, encarcelada por obra y gracia de los *wawarí*, lo que acarrea un trabajo bastante fuerte al piache. Cuando éste logra, por intermedio de su espíritu protector la reconquista del alma del enfermo, debe pagar al *wawarí* que lo tenía prisionero un rescate por la liberación. El espíritu pide entonces por boca del piache los objetos que se le antojan. Este transmite a su vez la exigencia del espíritu opresor a los familiares del enfermo. Estas exigencias se traducen en animales —reses, cabras, ovejas, etc.—, de determinado color y pintas especiales; prendas de tamaños y formas determinados; telas, comida, y a veces cosas muy difíciles de hallar. Los parientes se apresuran a buscar lo pedido por todo el contorno y una vez hallado se lo presentan al piache y lo colocan, cuando se trata de animales, cerca de él, donde está *piachando*. Los otros objetos, tales como collares, telas, etc., se depositan en su propia mano. Si las órdenes no son cumplidas inmediatamente y de acuerdo con el más mínimo de sus detalles, el piache sufre accesos y ataques muy fuertes y tiene que retirarse de la asistencia del paciente. Esto se debe a que como es simplemente un intermediario del espíritu en la negociación entre éste y el enfermo y sus familiares para liberarlo de su influencia, el piache debe responder ante él por todas las exigencias que se le ocurran. Si el enfermo se cura, el piache se queda con todas las prendas que pidió por su boca el espíritu causante de la enfermedad y las que pidió, por su parte, el espíritu

protector; si no se logra la curación, lo más común es que todas ellas se devuelvan a los familiares del enfermo, aunque en ocasiones esto no se hace y el piache se apodera de ellas, alegando que son sagradas, que ya pertenecen a los espíritus que intervienen en la curación del enfermo, aunque ella no se haya logrado.

Los piaches afirman que cuando están practicando sus ceremonias de curación, mientras procuran arrancar de la prisión el alma del paciente, van observando detenidamente al enfermo para darse cuenta de si su curación es o no posible. En el segundo caso lo desahucian, después de estar bien seguros de que el individuo no podrá salvarse, y de cerciorarse de que han hecho todo lo posible por obtener su curación. Por otra parte, cuentan ellos que es muy frecuente que cuando están dedicados al ejercicio de sus funciones, sus espíritus sostienen charlas con ellos, en las cuales les refieren los sucesos por ocurrir y su destino en la otra vida, es decir, lo que será el piache como espíritu, una vez que muera definitivamente. Es común oír decir a un espíritu durante su conversación con el piache en trance: cuando tú mueras, irás a conocer un país donde hay numerosos pueblos que no conoces, cruzados por anchos ríos azules.

Antes de seguir adelante nos parece interesante llamar la atención sobre estas últimas palabras que dice oír el piache a su espíritu protector, pues ellas representan, en cierta manera, la idea de un cielo especial para estos curanderos, una noción de la vida de ultratumba —que veremos en detalle más adelante— y, sobre todo, la imagen de esa nueva vida: pueblos... cruzados por anchos ríos azules, ideal lógico como ninguno si se tiene en cuenta la conformación geográfica de la Guajira, tierra en donde se desconocen los ríos, las quebradas y sólo los arroyos pequeños, dado el régimen de vientos que gobierna la península.

Cuando el enfermo da señales de mejoría, se hace una fiesta que consiste en bailes de *chicha-maya* y comilonas. Para ello se prepara anticipadamente lo que se va a suministrar a los participantes: chicha de maíz mascado o endulzada con panela, según la situación económica de la familia del enfermo. El baile dura uno o más días con sus noches, según el mandato del piache y teniendo como único instrumento musical el tambor. Para terminar la fiesta, si se gasta rico, se matan una o dos reses y varias cabras y ovejas. A las cuatro o cinco de la madrugada, según los deseos del piache, se saca al enfermo de su lecho y el mismo curandero lo baña con agua y jabón, después de lo cual vuelve a llevarlo a la casa y le permite permanecer levantado pero sin salir de su habitación; lentamente lo va reincorporando a la vida y a la alimentación normales. Si el enfermo resulta, le

piache de nuevo. El proceso de estas curaciones puede durar hasta dos meses, según el estado en que se encuentre el enfermo.

A esta fiesta, que se efectúa por orden del piache cuando se ha logrado la curación de un paciente, no se invita a nadie. Cuando la gente se da cuenta de que hay fiesta, por los toques característicos del tambor, se acerca sin ser invitado y participa en ella, bailando la *chicha-maya*. A las mujeres se les ofrece una tinaja de chicha de maíz masticado, para que la lleven a su casa y beban ellas y sus familiares. A los hombres se les suministra ron o chicha. Las mujeres llevan como atuendo su larga y amplia manta que les cubre hasta los tobillos, un *waiwéin* o sandalias de cuero con capellada tejida de lana y adornada con grandes borlas del mismo material, y un pañuelo en la cabeza cuyas puntas cuelgan sobre la espalda. Si son de cierta riqueza, completan su adorno personal con aretes y pulseras de coral y collares de oro o de tumá. Los hombres llevan también su manta de lujo que, sostenida en uno de los hombros, cubre la parte superior del cuerpo. Esto se complementa con una faja destinada a sostener el guayuco, más ancha que la común, es decir, que la que usan en sus faenas diarias. Si hay animales sacrificados —lo que depende de la riqueza del enfermo o de sus familiares—, entonces se adornan a sus sacerdotes con un buen trozo de su carne.

Purificación de animales.—Cuando la peste comienza a apoderarse de los animales de un indígena guajiro, éste no encuentra otro remedio inmediato para ahuyentarla que recurrir a los servicios de un piache. Y, como ya conocemos en cierta forma el ceremonial acostumbrado en estos casos, desde los días anteriores prepara suficiente cantidad de chicha de maíz, de la que se usa en los bailes de *chicha-maya*, e invita a un grupo numeroso de mujeres para que vengan a bailar. Entonces llama al piache que, una vez llegado, hace reunir los animales todos y encerrarlos en un corral grande. Mientras esta operación se realiza, el piache comienza a prepararse para la ceremonia, invocando al espíritu protector para que ahuyente la peste, y vistiéndose (o mejor, desvistiéndose) en un rancho vecino, tal como se acostumbra para la ceremonia de curación de seres humanos: quedándose con el guayuco si es hombre, y con el atuco si mujer; se adorna luego con la corona de lana y dibuja la marca, que ha de permanecer en sus manos durante todo el evento. A continuación se dirige al sitio donde están los animales, se sienta dentro de ellos y da vueltas a su alrededor, sacudiendo sin cesar la marca y ocupándose con cuerpos con el juego de la manilla que mantiene constantemente. Durante todo este tiempo entona sus oraciones rituales invocatorias.

que difieren de los que usa para la curación de los humanos. Y no deja de agitar la maraca. Esta operación dura por lo general varios días y se suspende sólo por momentos para que el piache pueda tomar algún descanso. Cuando éste cree que el alejamiento de los espíritus que han causado la peste, se ha logrado, suspende sus actuaciones y da orden para que comience la fiesta, que se inicia con el sacrificio de un animal, la repartición de la chicha a los asistentes y el baile. Los animales son llevados al campo en medio de numerosos disparos de escopeta (anteriormente disparo de flecha) que tienen por objeto terminar la labor del piache: ahuyentar de su lado los espíritus de la enfermedad.

Sueños de los piaches.—Cuando un piache sueña en un viaje largo por tierras desconocidas, es señal evidente que va a morir. Puede el sueño no pesar a piache y a adivinar su muerte en el tiempo y sería que éste no se excusado. El espíritu le ha abandonado y no asiste a sus llamados. Por fin, el espíritu descende y le dice: sera te ocurre por no haberme obedecido en tal o cual ocasión.

La relación de tierras [illegible] nuevo dos comprobaciones claras en el piache. Recordemos para el caso las conversaciones tenidas entre el piache y su espíritu protector durante la ceremonia de curación de un enfermo, y en las cuales éste le describía un país maravilloso cruzado por anchos ríos crecidos, como marcado para después de su muerte. Y ahora, su última representación en el sueño que implica la visión del mundo de ultratumba, obedece precisamente al piache que le ha soñado.

El sueño durante una ceremonia de curación que el observamos el baile que ha soñado, a fin de conseguir el total restablecimiento de un enfermo, va a llegar un grupo de indios ricos, montados a caballo, que traen en una mínima un poco de agua o ron y con ella bañan al enfermo y le sopla a las doce de la noche, quiere decir que el enfermo no cuestión sanará y no morirá en su enfermedad.

Otras veces los piaches sueñan que van a morir a alguien, y para conjurar el peligro se dirigen a los familiares de la persona soñada, para ordenarles la ejecución de un sacrificio o ceremonia, como el siguiente: traer una semilla de determinado color, marcada al amanecer y bailar con su ranger al indio sobre el que va a recaer la desgracia, de acuerdo con lo soñado. Para terminar la ceremonia, ofrecer un baile de chicha-maya. El indio en referencia debe seguir exactamente las indicaciones del piache.

pues de lo contrario, no hay duda de que una desgracia caerá sobre él. Así lo afirman los indígenas. (Cf. *Magia y Sacrificio*).

Se cuenta, por ejemplo, de una piache que soñó que debían *piachar* a una india con ron y hacer un baile de *chicha-maya*, pues de no hacerlo, la muerte se le acercaría rápidamente. La india soñada no obedeció los mandatos de la piache, y a los pocos días tuvo un disgusto con su marido, que le pegó y ella, despechada por la actitud de su esposo, se colgó de un árbol a la media noche y se ahorcó.

Los sueños de los piaches son interpretados por éstos, de acuerdo con los elementos que en ellos intervengan. Veamos cómo:

Si el sueño representa un burro atado a un poste y que da vueltas consecutivas alrededor del mismo, hasta caer al suelo, significa que alguien —que el piache determinará— va a morir.

Si lo visto en el sueño es una corriente de agua muy crecida, implica que habrá guerra interclanil muy pronto. Si el sueño se refiere a la muerte de una persona, esto quiere decir que van a matar un animal o es, simplemente, el anuncio de la muerte *del propio piache*. Si, *por el contrario, el* sueño hace relación a la muerte de un animal, es porque una persona conocida será atacada por enfermedad grave.

Cuando el piache sueña que una culebra muerde a una persona, la tal va a recibir una herida con flecha envenenada *(iwára)*; pero si durante el sueño otra persona mata a la culebra en mención, es señal de que las dos personas que intervienen en esta acción van a tener un disgusto y ambas van a recibir los flechazos indicados anteriormente. Si en el sueño dos tigres (animales representativos del clan *Uriana*), se le lanzan a alguien, ese alguien debe andar prevenido en sus relaciones con los *uriana*, porque éstos van a matarlo.

Soñar con fuego, es evidencia de la presencia de enfermedades, acompañadas de fiebres; soñar con agua lluvia en mucha abundancia, es indicación segura de que en la Guajira, sin determinar el sitio preciso, se llevará a efecto en breve plazo, una gran velorio; es decir, que un indio rico o una india de posición económica buena, van a morir. Ver matar un macho cabrío durante el sueño, es saber que van a matar un muchacho; ver sacrificar una res, es darse cuenta de que van a matar a un adulto. Cuando se sueña con el borrico atado al poste, que da vueltas y luégo cae, implica la muerte de un indio pobre; cuando el animal es un caballo, que cumple el mismo ciclo en el sueño, implica entonces la muerte de un indio rico. Soñar con sangre, equivale siempre a la realidad de una pronta muerte en el grupo.

* * *

No son únicamente los sueños de los piaches los que tienen valor de predicción entre estos indios. Los sueños de los indios en general, sea cual fuere su posición social o económica, son revelaciones del porvenir, a las cuales se atienen los demás religiosamente. Los indios se aferran a ellos con la misma fé con que temen a los muertos y cumplen todas las ceremonias relativas a los mismos. Puede decirse, sin temor a equivocarse, que el individuo, según la creencia guajira, se coloca en el sueño en una posición superior a la que tiene en la vida corriente. Su espíritu se ha desligado del cuerpo; anda libre y por lo mismo se puede poner en comunicación con los demás espíritus que le transmiten los sucesos por venir.

El mayor valor de los sueños del pinche estriba en que son proporcionados no sólo por su espíritu personal, sino también por su espíritu protector que se vale de este medio para comunicarle el futuro y los acontecimientos que en él se desarrollarán, mostrándole, además, los medios para prevenir los males que puedan provocarse en el futuro, de acuerdo con lo soñado.

Espíritus protectores de los piaches.—Cada pinche tiene un número determinado de espíritus que le ayudan en sus prácticas mágicas, y cuyo papel consiste en aconsejar al curandero mientras realiza las funciones inherentes a su cargo. Le dicen, por ejemplo: chúpa ahí; sumiñetrale tal yerba, y en premio de mis consejos, dáme un regalo de tales condiciones, pero sin pérdida de tiempo. Esto del regalo, como ya lo vimos, es importante porque si no se cumple estrictamente, el espíritu huye y no presta más su ayuda al pinche; contentarlo de nuevo, para que regrese a colaborar, es muy difícil. En cambio, si el regalo se trae cumplidamente, los espíritus prestan de buen grado su ayuda inmediata y eficaz en muchos casos. Por otra parte, cuando el pinche tiene enemigos, recibe también los consejos de sus espíritus que le dicen: piátha mucho y coda los días, porque tú tienes enemigos y peligros. Hálo muchas veces para que el mal se aleje, como se alejan las lluvias en verano.

Algunos piaches tienen hasta siete de estos espíritus y cada uno de ellos es llamado con un cántico especial. *Maréiwa* [18], por ejemplo, es llamado con un canto singular, bajo el nombre de *furmayale*; y *wonarú*, espíritu de la enfermedad y de la muerte, con el de *jirainy*. Este es el espíritu que exige

[18] Este espíritu, considerado como el dios universal de los guajiros, no es otro sino que la divinidad protectora de la lluvia y propiciadora de las cosechas.

las ofrendas, el que se interpone en las enfermedades impidiendo su curación, pues no quiere desprenderse del alma del enfermo que ha aprisionado, causando así la enfermedad; es también el que discute con los espíritus protectores del piache y con él mismo la devolución del alma del paciente, para que recobre la salud perdida. Creemos necesario hacer la aclaración de que todos los espíritus de los muertos se llaman wawará y que, por lo tanto, su número es inmenso. La diferencia que podemos establecer entre los wawará y los espíritus protectores de los piaches, estriba únicamente, según nuestra opinión, en el hecho de que éstos no son sino espíritus de piaches desaparecidos que quieren seguir cumpliendo sus funciones después de muertos, a través de otras personas. Nuestra afirmación se ve confirmada por Métraux, quien basado en Tessman, afirma que "Les hommes-médecine Campa et Amahuaca prétendent tenir leur savoir de quelque shaman, vivant, ou mort. C'est tantôt l'âme qui fait les avances et vient visiter son disciple en rêve, ou c'est le novice qui s'intoxique à l'ayahuasca afin d'envoyer son double chez les esprits pour en recevoir un enseignement" [10]. Y más adelante dice: "Les esprits auxiliaires peuvent être de différentes sortes: chez les Tsulipáng et les Rasoroyamat" —según Koch Grünberg— "ce sont des âmes d'anciens shamans, des esprits de plantes ou d'animaux". Y luego: "La distinction entre les deux types de shamans Bororo se fonde principalement sur l'origine différente des esprits dont ils dérivent leur pouvoir. Les shamans dits *bari* sont possédés par des *bope*... qui sont soit des démons de la nature, soit des âmes de collègues défunts. Par contre les *aroitaiwarare* sont des médiums choisis par des âmes d'ancêtres dont la principale fonction est de servir d'intermédiaire entre l'univers des vivants et celui des morts" —según Colbacchini— [11].

Hubert y Mauss, hablando sobre la revelación mágica por los muertos entre las tribus australianas, nos dicen lo siguiente: "La forma más simple en que los autores nos describen esta revelación consiste en decir que los espíritus de los padres son los que dan a los niños el poder mágico. La precisión es ya mayor cuando el autor dice expresamente, como Howitt, a propósito de los Kulin del río Wimmera, que sólo los jóvenes que han visto la sombra de su madre, sentada sobre su tumba, pueden llegar a ser hechiceros..." [12]. Y, precisamente, en una de las narraciones orales recogidas por el licenciado Chaves en la Guajira, relativas al piache Umarará,

[10] Métraux. Op. cit., I, 303.
[11] Métraux. Op. cit., I, 311.
[12] Hubert y Mauss. Op. cit.

nos encontramos con el siguiente texto: "Todas las tardes salía a caminar al cementerio —Umarlé— a visitar la tumba de su tía y a prender fogatas en memoria de su tía —una piache muy sabia—; pero aconteció que una vez se le apareció la visión que representaba exactamente la tía a quien lloraba y le dijo: "Véte hijo mío a la región de Jarara, tómas mi capote y mi maraca, visita a los enfermos y *piáchales*, y solamente así encontrarás el verdadero camino" [27].

Respecto al número de espíritus protectores de cada piache, podemos decir que Josefina, una de nuestras informadoras personales, tenía ocho de ellos, tres de los cuales eran masculinos y los restantes femeninos. Los nombres con que se conocían dichos espíritus eran los siguientes: *bewawa*, *tarpirawa*, *machirawai*, masculinos; *anajaura*, *urlwatawa*, *wará-ki-mará*, *wawáwa* y *parárijawa*, femeninos.

El espíritu común de la enfermedad y la muerte, *wawará*, en su sentido maligno, puede ser poseído por un piache, pero su posesión implica peligro toda vez que puede volver loco al piache, atontarlo o dejarlo paralítico. Es un espíritu tan agresivo, altanero y repelente, que cuando se vuelve contra el piache lo hace en forma tal que éste se ve precisado a acudir a los demás espíritus para que lo favorezcan y lo apoyen contra el *jirawy* o *wawará*.

Pero los piaches desconocen el origen de los espíritus en la mayoría de los casos. No saben de qué lugar proceden. Sólo que vienen de un sitio desconocido, venidos como *arijuna* (civilizado). Son *wawará* que les ayudan en la lucha contra la enfermedad, que también se llama *wawará*. El espíritu personal del piache, como ya lo dijimos, no interviene directamente en las curaciones. Son los otros espíritus, aquellos que se han posesionado de él desde el momento en que se inició en las artes mágicas. El espíritu del piache, el personal, carece de nombre especial como carecen de él los espíritus personales de los demás indígenas, y sólo cuando muere el piache ese espíritu toma el nombre común de *wawará* y uno especial si ha sido un hechicero muy destacado.

Existen, en términos generales, otras dos categorías de espíritus: el del piache propiamente dicho, y sobre el cual ya hemos hablado, y el del adivino. Estos dos espíritus pueden ser absorbidos, sin embargo, por una sola persona, pero dicha absorción requiere dos preparaciones especiales: una para cada actividad. Lo más común es que el piache sea también adivino porque esto facilita considerablemente el desempeño de sus funciones, ya que al ser

[27] Chaves, Mirtides. *Mitos, leyendas, etc.*, p. 332.

llamado para una curación, consulta previamente por sus artes adivinatorias con el tizón o con el tabaco (Cf. *Magia y Medicina*), si el enfermo en cuestión sanará o no, y de acuerdo con el resultado irá o no a tratar de restablecerlo.

Refiriéndose a la adivinación, Uricoechea en su introducción a la Gramática Guajira del P. Celedón, refuta, no sabemos con qué autoridad, al alférez de la Rosa cuando éste afirma que los indios adivinan por medio del tabaco, y dice: "Los piaches todavía auguran por la dirección del humo, no fumando tabaco como nos dice de la Rosa, sino encendiendo un hacecillo de leña, yesca o algodón" [32]. Pero ni el uno ni el otro están equivocados totalmente, pues ya hemos visto, y lo veremos luégo, que los dos sistemas: adivinación por el tizón y adivinación por el tabaco, son empleados actualmente en la Guajira.

Respecto a las relaciones entre el piache y sus espíritus protectores, en general, Métraux afirma: "Les rapports entre le shaman et son esprit familier ont été fort bien analysés par Barrère, "Chaque piaye affecte d' avoir un génie, avec qui il a une étroite liaison ou plutot un diable familier; par l'entremise duquel il opere tout ce qu' il veut. Ce prétendu génie ne lui est pas toujours si soumis qu' il n' échappe quelquefois quand il le juge a propos, pour prendre l' essort et aller faire tout le mal qu' il souhaite aux Indiens apres quoi il revient a son gite. Le principal usage de ce génie est de servir de *député* aux piayes, soit pour aller chasser les diables, soit pour envoyer faire quelque ravage, selon leur gré, et tuer les Indies que bon leur semble; car leur pouvoir s' étend également a guérir des maladies, ou a en procurer a ceux dont on veut se venger" [33].

Tabúes de los piaches.—Los piaches tienen que observar religiosamente una serie de tabúes, relativos sobre todo al sexo, a la alimentación general y a los objetos que han recibido como pago por la curación de enfermos y animales. Veamos cada uno de estos aspectos por separado:

Referente al aspecto sexual tenemos los siguientes hechos: 1º Una mujer de vida licenciosa no puede llegar a ejercer nunca el oficio de piache; el espíritu no se apoderaría en ella; 2º Las mujeres solteras que se inician en la profesión de piaches, pueden tener relaciones sexuales sólo cuando se casan conforme a los ritos establecidos, pero con ciertas limitaciones: pue-

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[32] *Celedón Rafael, Gramática, Catecismo y Vocabulario de la lengua guajira. Introducción*, p. 33.

[33] *Métraux.* Op. cit., I, 212.

den cohabitar con su marido y exclusivamente con él, a pesar de las frases del espíritu en el período de la iniciación: no puedes dormir (cohabitar) con tu marido; pero deben realizar el acto sexual de prisa y levantarse de su chinchorro matrimonial tan pronto como éste termine, pues de lo contrario verán en la puerta de su habitación una sombra parecida a la figura de un civilizado, que les habla al oído, diciéndoles: no me gusta que duermas con tu marido, porque tú no le perteneces a él; tú eres mía, eres mi querida. La mujer debe, pues, realizar el coito en forma tan apresurada. como si se tratara de un hecho delictuoso.

Cuando una piache llega a casarse, el espíritu le aconseja lo siguiente: para que no tengas hijos, ya que siempre estás con tu marido, a pesar de mi prohibición, pónte en las muñecas madejas de lana, pónlas también en los tobillos y en la cintura a manera de *sirapo* y áta un poco de cebolla a la lana. Cuenta la india informante a que hace referencia este relato, que ella obedeció en todos sus detalles los mandatos del espíritu y nunca volvió a tener hijos. El espíritu le exigió como retribución de sus consejos, un collar de oro.

Otra de las piaches con quien tuvimos oportunidad de ponernos en contacto, nos narraba lo siguiente: cuando ella se casó, el espíritu le dijo que no la quería más; al averiguar la causa, éste le respondió que ello se debía a que de estar con su marido tenía olor a macho cabrío, olor que a él no le agradaba. La piache le contó entonces que se había casado porque sus padres la habían vendido. El espíritu estaba bastante disgustado con ella y no quería regresar más a inspirarla; no quería que se casara porque le pertenecía a él y no a los demás. Entonces optó por la fórmula de que ella estuviera con su marido, pero sin demorarse en el coito.

Cuando la mujer resulta embarazada, el espíritu soporta la situación sin enojarse, pero no así cuando ella se demora largo rato en el acto sexual con su marido o cuando duerme a su lado toda la noche.

La obligación de la mujer piache, en el aspecto sexual, se extiende también a forzarla a ser un ente pasivo durante el coito, sin imprimir a su cuerpo el más leve movimiento, y también a no dejarse acariciar por su marido antes del acto sexual. Cuando se violan estas disposiciones, las piaches se ven asaltadas en la noche por sueños especiales angustiosos y terroríficos, que las hacen padecer de angustias y temores.

El hombre que se casa con una piache sabe comprender esta situación de su mujer y es, por lo mismo, prudente en sus actuaciones: no le exige sino lo extrictamente indispensable y está de acuerdo con ella en todas las prescripciones relativas a su estado especial.

Pero a pesar de todas estas prohibiciones, la piache que resulta embarazada recibe apoyo de su espíritu en el momento del alumbramiento, ayuda que se traduce en buen parto y en los consejos que aquél le suministra sobre la forma más sencilla de dar a luz, los remedios que debe tomar, etc.

Las piaches no pueden efectuar sus actos ceremoniosos de curación cuando se encuentren en el período menstrual, porque el enfermo en lugar de sanar empeoraría. Sin embargo, el embarazo no opone ningún obstáculo a sus actividades y la piache puede realizar sus curaciones durante todo el período de gestación.

Cuando se trata de un piache varón, el espíritu le permite estar con su mujer, pero por muy corto tiempo; se le permite también, como a los demás guajiros, tener varias mujeres.

Resumiendo: las mujeres piaches deben cohabitar exclusivamente con su marido, evitando las caricias, los movimientos, el prolongamiento del coito y el embarazo; no pueden ejercer sus funciones durante el período menstrual. Los hombres deben ser también parcos en el aspecto sexual y utilizar exclusivamente a su mujer o mujeres legítimas, según el caso.

El tabú alimenticio se limita a la prohibición que tiene el piache de comer: la carne de los animales que ha recibido en pago de sus servicios como curandero; la carne de animales sacrificados durante el velorio de alguna persona, o durante la ceremonia de entierro secundario, máxime si se trata de los restos de un piache que van a ser exhumados; la alimentación ordinaria, durante los días en que está en el desempeño de su profesión, debe limitarse a un poco de mazamorra de maíz y agua. Así, pues, las reses que recibe en cambio de sus curaciones, por petición del espíritu, las utiliza de manera indirecta, dejándolas para cría.

El tabú alimenticio entre los piaches lo encontramos también como característico de los indios Cashinawa, según los textos publicados por Capistrano de Abreu y citados por Métraux. Según ellos, las almas (espíritus) dicen al iniciado: "Je t'ai inoculé de la substance magique; ne va pas manger inconsidérement n'importe quelle nourriture, sinon tu perdras ta force magique (feitiço). Mange peu. Bois du bouillon, mange de bananes cuites et de poisson. Ne mange que cela!..."

Elles disent: "Quand tu ne mange pas. Ne mange pas tu tapir, ni mange pas du cerf, ne mange pas du pecari, ne mange pas de jaguar, ne mange pas de nambú, ne mange pas du jacuu, ne mange pas du cujubim, ne mange pas du coatá, ne mange pas du guariba, ne mange pas du macaco prego! Ce sont là les viandes que tu ne peux manger. Si tu en manges,

nous te tueront dirent les ames. Parmi les légumes, ne mange pas les patates douces, ni manioc doux, et les ignames" [30].

En lo que se refiere a los demás objetos que recibe como pago de su trabajo, tampoco puede utilizarlos él directamente. Los guarda, simplemente, o los regala a sus hijos, lo mismo que las reses. Estos objetos, si no son entregados en vida, serán repartidos después de su muerte entre los herederos, de acuerdo con lo establecido por el derecho consuetudinario guajiro...

Muerte de un piache.—Cuando un piache enferma, debe llamar a un colega suyo para que practique en él todas las ceremonias y ritos indispensables para alejar la enfermedad, pues los curanderos tienen la propiedad de curar a los demás, pero no de curarse a sí mismos.

Si la enfermedad del piache y el anuncio de su muerte, son provocados por un disgusto causado al espíritu que lo protege, no hay la posibilidad, generalmente, de llamar a otro piache para que efectúe en él las ceremonias de curación. La enfermedad del piache, más que suya propia, es enfermedad del espíritu protector; es, por tanto, diferente a las demás enfermedades conocidas por los indígenas. El piache mismo no puede, no sabe aplicarse los remedios que ha utilizado en casos semejantes. Sólo, y eso en contadas ocasiones, se pone agua caliente sobre el pecho. Otras veces, el espíritu compadecido viene y le aconseja un remedio especial, indicándole, además, dónde puede conseguirlo. El piache, entonces, lo toma y se alivia inmediatamente.

A la muerte del piache es de rigor efectuar un velorio de por lo menos tres días consecutivos, a causa de que como los ataques que les dan a los piaches son muy frecuentes (estados de éxtasis) y en ocasiones se prolongan por espacios de tiempo considerables, hay el temor de que no estén realmente muertos. No quieren, pues, los indígenas, darle sepultura a un piache hasta estar totalmente convencidos de su muerte. Hay, además, la creencia de que cuando ellos mueren no siguen el mismo ciclo de los demás mortales, pues su cuerpo no se pone tieso, sino que permanece flojo, laxo, como si sólo durmiera. Pasados estos tres días reglamentarios de velorio, lo llevan a enterrar. Lavan su cuerpo y lo amortajan como hacen con los demás. Pero su corona, su maraca y sus ropas todas, se rompen primero y luégo se entierran en sitio especial en el monte o son arrojadas en un lugar apartado. No pueden echar estos objetos como compañía en su sepultura

[30] *Métraux.* Op. cit., I, 204.

porque el espíritu del piache muerto volvería muy enojado contra las personas que tal hicieran, y castigaría su desacato en una u otra forma.

El espíritu del piache muerto vaga como los demás por todas partes: va al lugar donde vivió su cuerpo, a los sitios conocidos, pero siempre en compañía de su espíritu protector del cual no vuelve a separarse. Ambos, el protector y el protegido, pueden descender sobre un nuevo piache para ayudarlo. Esta es tal vez la explicación a la posesión de varios espíritus por una sola persona. Son varios espíritus asociados por esta relación post-mortem, que actúan ya inseparablemente en su función de consejeros.

Es muy presumible también que los espíritus protectores invocados por los piaches, no sean cosa distinta de espíritus de piaches famosos muertos en tiempos anteriores, a los cuales recurren para sus efectos. En este caso sólo habría un cambio de nombres debido al tabú del nombre de los muertos, y que explicaremos en el capítulo correspondiente.

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Antes de seguir adelante queremos hacer algunas aclaraciones con respecto a la presencia de mujeres en la ciencia mágica de la Guajira, y en general de los primitivos americanos. Ya vimos cómo entre los indios guajiros, la sola condición básica para ser piache es lo que hemos llamado la revelación, acompañada de la sintomatología descrita al comienzo. El sexo, la edad, la posición económica o social del individuo, no intervienen para nada. Es, como lo anotamos, necesario ser un histeroide solamente. Sin embargo, Métraux en el trabajo que hemos venido citando, afirma esto:

"Dans l'Amérique du Sud tropicale, la profession de chamane semble être, en règle générale, l'apanage du sexe masculin. On trouve cependant dans plusieurs auteurs des allusions à des femmes chamanes" [8]. Según estos autores citados por Métraux (Rochefort, Roth, Koch Grünberg, Ivan d'Evreux), se encuentran mujeres en las Antillas y entre los Tupinambas, Tonlipang, Arekuna y Macushi.

Refiriéndose específicamente a los piaches en la Guajira, Métraux escribe lo siguiente, basado en *The Yaruro of the Cojemujero River*, de Petrullo: "Dans la tribu arawak des Guajiro, le nombre des femmes chamanes serait supérieur à celui des piai hommes. A l'instar de ces derniers elles embrassent la profession à la suite d'un appel de l'au delà et son initiées dans

[8] Métraux, Op. cit., I, 198.

les secrets de leur art par une shamane expérimentée qui, la nuit, leur apprend à manier la sonnaille et à chanter des chants magiques" [37]. También cita casos de mujeres shamanes entre los antiguos Mojo de Bolivia Oriental y entre los Itonama, vecinos de los anteriores [38], lo mismo que entre los Apapocuva (Guarani), los Cubeos, los Pulikur y los Carajá [39].

Más adelante, al hablar del papel de las mujeres en la brujería, dice: "A l'exception du passage d'Ivens d'Evreux... (relativo a los Tupinambá) "il n'existe aucune description de séance shamanistique de type courant dirigée para une femme pajé. Cette lacune est peut être due à l'imperfection de nos sources mais elle est aussi révélatrice de la position réelle de la femme dans le shamanisme. La profession leur est ouverte, mais le rôle qu'elles y jouent, est modeste. Il semble se borner aux cures légères et faciles, à des médications diverses et à la récitation de charmes. Les femmes ne se livrent pas généralement à ces invocations d'esprits spectaculaires qui précèdent l'extraction de substances pathogènes. Ce n'est certainement pas par l'effet d'une simple coïncidence que les femmes shamanes apparaissent surtout dans les cultures qui ont fortement subi l'influence européenne (Guajiro, Tarumo, Pulikur, Warrau, Itonama et Guarani, etc.)" [40].

No queremos discutir el profesor Métraux su afirmación sobre la influencia del contacto blanco en la presencia de mujeres-médicas en los demás grupos por él citados, pues no los conocemos objetivamente. Pero respecto a la Guajira, tenemos que hacer la aclaración de que en los cuentos recogidos por nosotros en el terreno, es precisamente una mujer la que verdaderamente inicia la magia o mejor el shamanismo entre los indios, al obligar a su sobrino a seguir su mismo camino. Este aspecto puede ser mejor comprendido cuando el lector lo vea en el aparte de este capítulo, *El pinche en la literatura oral*. El hecho de aparecer la mujer como pinche en la literatura oral, nos demuestra la antigüedad de la institución, dado que dicha literatura conserva, justamente, las tradiciones más remotas del grupo.

El pinche, hombre de dos mundos.—Todo lo que hemos venido viendo en relación con el ciclo vital del pinche guajiro, nos hace pensar en que éste es lo que representamos en el subtítulo que encabeza este párrafo: un hombre de dos mundos. El mundo de los vivos, y el de los espíritus de los muertos.

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[37] Métraux, Op. cit., I, 168.
[38] Métraux, Op. cit., I, 168.
[39] Métraux, Op. cit., I, 168.
[40] Métraux, Op. cit., I, 169.

La comunicación que establece después de todas las ceremonias de preparación con uno o varios espíritus protectores, que le prodigan toda clase de consejos y enseñanzas y que le previenen aún contra el mal en todas sus manifestaciones: enfermedades, enemigos, calamidades públicas, etc., hacen de él un hombre distinto a los demás. Su *status* es superior al de los otros mortales, porque en su mano está el dominio sobre el bien y sobre el mal. Es, por lo mismo, por esa dualidad que aprisiona con su *ciencia* un hombre a la vez sagrado, pero humano; un ser respetado por todos, pero temido al mismo tiempo; un hombre bueno, capaz de curar las enfermedades, pero también un ser malignos, susceptible de desencadenar la furia de los espíritus de ultratumba. Se le respeta, se le quiere, se le teme y, aún, si se nos permite el atrevimiento, se le odia profundamente.

Pero por encima de todo esto prima en él su carácter de impuro por la comunicación con la muerte. Sagrado e impuro se confunden entonces: es sagrado por lo intocable, y es intocable por su participación con la muerte a través de los espíritus protectores.

Su doble posición como habitante de dos mundos, involuntaria por cierto en sus partes, depende de dos hechos fundamentalmente simples: primero, el de ser un mortal, un hombre que vino al mundo, como cualquiera otro de sus semejantes; segundo, por la designación que hacen en él los espíritus de los muertos, y especialmente de piaches ya desaparecidos, como pudimos verlo en uno de los apartes anteriores. Y hemos dicho que su posición es involuntaria, porque ninguno de sus dos caracteres: ser humano y piache, han sido escogidos por él, ni puede renunciarlos. El primero no requiere explicación, sería paradójico. El segundo, ya lo hemos visto: el espíritu, una vez elegida la persona en que va a *aposentarse*, le hace saber —según la creencia guajira— los primeros ataques (muerte aparente), señales evidentes de su futura función en la sociedad. Las palabras de este protector del otro mundo al futuro piache, nos están diciendo con toda claridad, lo irremediable de esta vocación y por lo mismo lo involuntario que resulta para el individuo: Cóme manilla, porque si no lo hace serás persona muerta. Es un imperativo. No una insinuación, ni un llamamiento o la vocación. Es, desde ese momento, la expresión nítida de la dependencia absoluta a que se tiene que someter el individuo para ejercer las funciones de mago curandero de su grupo, dependencia que no cesa en ningún instante y que sólo desaparece con la muerte, cuando su espíritu, ahora el del protector, decide aposentarse en otra persona para sujetarla a su voluntad.

Ahora podemos entender mejor el papel de la manilla en las funciones mágicas. *Si no comes manilla, serás hombre muerto.* La manilla es, por una parte, el símbolo del curandero; es lo que lo pone en contacto con los espíritus. Sin ella no llega a ser verdadero curandero. Y sin comerla tampoco se vuelve a la vida. Esa muerte aparente que representa el ataque que hemos llamado histeroide, se convertirá en muerte real si no se obedece la orden del espíritu de comer la manilla; es decir, el individuo no resucitará. Y esto nos comprueba también la tesis que venimos exponiendo, que el piache es un hombre de dos mundos, pues ha estado realmente en el de los espíritus durante su ataque re revelación.

El piache no actúa ni por sí, ni para sí. Todas sus actividades, y el desempeño de sus funciones, están determinados por y para los espíritus que se han dignado dispensarle su protección. Cuando está practicando el ceremonial indispensable para librar el cuerpo y el alma de algún paciente de las garras de los *wawarí*, no está representando otra cosa que el papel de intermediario entre los dos mundos y, sobre todo, entre dos clases de espíritus: el de su protector que quiere salvar al enfermo, y el de otras personas ya desaparecidas que quieren de todas maneras que el mal que ellos han causado en la persona del paciente, continúe hasta terminar con la muerte y vengar así una ofensa recibida o, simplemente, satisfacer uno de sus voluntariosos caprichos, como seres capaces de causar el mal a voluntad por su posición de habitantes de otro mundo, superior por todo lo que podemos suponer al universo de los mortales.

Claramente se explica esta posición de intermediario en los diferentes momentos de la ceremonia de curación: la comunicación debe hacerse valiéndose de determinados objetos materiales que cobran a su vez el carácter de intocables: la maraca, la corona, las borlas que llevan dentro la representación del estiércol de cabra, y el tabaco o la manilla, objetos que, por lo demás, no pueden ser usados sino por los piaches durante sus momentos de trance o invocación; la soledad a que se somete el curandero para sus invocaciones, con la única presencia del enfermo, so pena de que el espíritu protector desaparezca y se niegue a prestar su ayuda en la curación en que está empeñado el piache; la exigencia de su protector de determinados objetos para satisfacer la voracidad de los espíritus dañinos o la suya propia, exigencia que debe ser cumplida al pie de la letra; los cánticos rituales que relatan los diferentes momentos del arreglo entre los espíritus dañinos y el del piache; el sacrificio de un animal determinado por el espíritu —mucho cabrío, oveja, etc.—, como retribución a sus favores; y por último la prohibición expresa que pesa sobre el piache de no consumir o utilizar los sui-

males y objetos que recibe en pago de sus curaciones, son hechos que nos indican a todas luces que el piache no es más que un intermediario y un representante en la tierra de los espíritus del bien y aún del mal, y sobre todo de los espíritus de los piaches desaparecidos que quieren seguir ejerciendo su influencia benéfica sobre el grupo al que pertenecieron en vida.

Esta función de comunicación con los espíritus, anexa e inseparable de la personalidad del hombre-medicina, es universal. Es, como si dijéramos, el fin último de su misión dentro de la comunidad. El profesor Pinto nos lo reafirma cuando, hablando del pagé tupinambá, escribe lo siguiente: "Otra de las funciones o predicamentos del pagé era comunicarse con los espíritus o con el diablo... Frecuentemente, como lo deja entender Nóbrega, la comunicación se hace mediante el maracá...". Y más adelante: "Naturalmente, el poder de comunicarse con los espíritus elevaba al pagé a la categoría de *xamã*. El xamã, en la exacta definición de Herbert König, se caracteriza por su facultad de hablar con los espíritus, sobre todo en sus momentos de arrobos o éxtasis. O, como explica Robert H. Lowie, el xamã es una especie de *medium* que posee el dón de relacionarse con lo sobrenatural y de servirle como intérprete" [31].

Nuestra afirmación de lo involuntario de la profesión de piache y por lo mismo del carácter irrenunciable que ella tiene, se ve sustentada por esta relación que Métraux ha tomado de Nimuendajú, referente a los Bororó: "Le Bororo qui est appelé à devenir un *bari* (hombres-medicina) "reçoit un ordre mystérieux d'avoir à se rendre dans la brousse, où un esprit se manifeste à lui sous l'aspect d'un singe ou d'un capivara *et lui demande sa soumission*. En signe d'acquiescement, l'élu lui tend son arc et ses flèches. La tête lui tourne, mille couleurs dansent devant ses yeux: il est devenu un bari" [32].

Fuera de esta sujeción a que someten los espíritus al piache, convirtiéndolo en un criado al servicio de sus dueños, hay otro factor más importante tal vez en la forma externa que los anteriores, y que nos hace pensar más en la dualidad vital del piache: son sus ataques frecuentes, ataques que son considerados como una muerte aparente, una separación del alma del cuerpo del piache para poder lograr una mejor comunicación con el espíritu. Estos ataques que aparecen frecuentemente en la vida corriente del piache y que se presentan sobre todo cuando se le interrumpe en sus estados de éxtasis o de iluminación, en sus momentos de conversación espiritual, implican en cierto modo una elación, un como desprenderse de la vida

[31] Pinto Bastos, Esteban. *La estrella figura del Pagé Tupinambá*, pp 323-324.
[32] Métraux, Op. cit., I, 203. El subrayado es nuestro.

terrena para habitar por instantes en el mundo de los muertos que es su mundo real, ya que a él pertenece por decisión expresa de sus espíritus protectores.

El piache en la literatura oral.—Nuestro colega el licenciado Chaves, recogió una serie de cuentos en la Guajira que fueron publicados en el *Boletín de Arqueología* y uno de los cuales hace referencia al piache *Umaralí*. Este relato nos dice que en "los tiempos anteriores había malos piaches que curaban mucho y no curaban" [33] y que quien cambió esta situación fue *Umaralí*, valiéndose de ciertos secretos para las curaciones, acompañados de cantos y movimientos de la maraca. Fue iniciado en sus artes mágicas por su tía que era una buena piache. Su iniciación se realiza justamente en la recaída de una enfermedad sufrida por él durante una época de peste en la Guajira. Los síntomas descritos en el relato son los siguientes: "perdió el habla, sufrió ataques continuos, perdió el conocimiento". Su tía se dedicó a cuidarlo y él "... escuchaba las discusiones que en los cánticos de la tía (ésta) sostenía con el espíritu de allá que era nada menos que *Jirairi*, quien reprochaba todos los cánticos de la piache. Oyó claramente que le decía: "o bien mueres tú, o muere tu hijo" [34]. La piache invocó la ayuda de un nuevo espíritu, pero al fin murió para que se salvara su sobrino.

El cual, junto con su siervo, le dio sepultura y cumplió con todas las ceremonias relativas a los muertos, hasta que una noche que lloraba a su tía muerta, ésta se le apareció y le dijo: "véte hijo mío a la región de Jarez, tima mi capote y mi maraca, visita a los enfermos y piáchalos y solamente así encontrarás el verdadero camino. Pero antes debes cambiar tu nombre ... por el de Umaralí". (Véase aquí otra muestra de la muerte aparente: el cambio de nombre). "La visión desapareció y Umaralí se vio precisado a obedecer lo que había oído; visitó enfermos, los piachó y alivianó las enfermedades y su fama de gran médico corrió por toda la Guajira" [35].

El relato continúa narrando las curaciones numerosas realizadas por *Umaralí*, y en general su vida de piache hasta el momento de su muerte.

Lo que nos interesa en este cuento es simplemente la comprobación en la literatura oral legendaria de la Guajira, de lo que hemos venido exponiendo a través de este capítulo, o sea: la sintomatología de la vocación de piache, representada por enfermedades especiales —generalmente de tipo

[33] Chaves, Op. cit., 321.
[34] Chaves, Op. cit., 321-22.
[35] Chaves, Op. cit., 322.

histérico—, en las que intervienen: la pérdida del habla y del conocimiento, el delirio, posiblemente febril, acompañado de visiones, y los ataques; la iniciación por un piache viejo y conocedor de las tareas del curandero; la presencia de un espíritu protector, que se manifiesta de su pupilo y le somete a su entera voluntad; la presencia también de los objetos mágicos del piache: la marca y ciertos adiaphoros en el vestido, etc.; la no dependencia de la voluntad del individuo para llegar a ser piache, profesión que se supedita estrictamente a la voluntad de los espíritus, a los que hay que obedecer ciegamente. Recordemos si nó las palabras de la tía a *Umarálü* y, sobre todo, las palabras del relato: "Umarálü se vio precisado a obedecer lo que había oído ..."; el hecho de que el espíritu protector se generalmente el de un piache desaparecido que sigue ejerciendo sus funciones, sus verdaderas funciones de curandero, validadas de un intermediario: el piache vivo. Es decir, que el piache se convierte realmente en un bienhechor, o mejor, en un verdadero hombre-medicina después de su muerte y que se sólo entonces cuando puede ejercer la profesión por sí, teniendo a su servicio un intermediario terrenal, al que comunica por diversos sistemas sus medios de curación, los hechos del porvenir, etc. Esto confirma, igualmente, nuestra tesis expuesta anteriormente con relativa amplitud, de que el piache es un hombre de dos mundos: el mundo de los vivos, y el mundo donde moran los espíritus de los muertos. Por último, confirma lo dicho por nosotros en relación con la afirmación de Métraux, de que la institución femenina del shamanismo en la Guajira no se debe a la influencia de las culturas europeas (que apenas ahora comienza a sentirse fuertemente), sino que ella es tan antigua como la literatura oral.

Posición actual del piache.—Si consideramos las condiciones económico-sociales de la Guajira en la época de Pre-conquista, que colocaban al grupo indígena en la posición de pueblo sumamente cuerdo y pacífico en las costas [*] tenemos que suponer en cierta forma una igualdad virtual entre las diferentes clases que componían la comunidad. La superioridad de una o varias clases sobre las demás, debería sentirse posiblemente en sus mayores aptitudes guerreras o en el mayor número de hombres combatientes que tuviera a su disposición. La riqueza estaría representada por los objetos valiosos de adorno: collares de oro o tumbaga, perlas, etc.

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[*] Rodríguez Fresle dice: "Los guajiros y costeros ocupan la provincia Guajira. Eran valientes y vivían de la caza y de la pesca, sin sementeras importantes que trasladaban de un sitio a otro." (*Historia de la Provincia de Santa Marta*, Pp. I, 10).

En tal estado de cosas, dentro del primitivismo que es presumible suponer en la comunidad guajira de entonces, el piaché debió ocupar la primera columna de la pirámide social. Sus poderes sobrenaturales sin mengua, su posición como intermediario entre la comunidad y el mundo de los muertos, el temor que infundían sus poderes, eran bases suficientes para que se le respetara y se le tuviera por encima de todo y de todos.

Pero vino la Conquista. El indio Guajiro conservó su independencia a base de guerras y de asaltos y mantuvo incólume, hasta donde ello es posible, su personalidad. Su organización interna perduró y siguió manifestándose sin mutaciones por un tiempo; la organización familiar, la servidumbre, la esclavitud, las guerras intertribales, los lazos de herencia y de cobro, todo el andamiaje social, incluáse el matriarcado, siguieron los rumbos tradicionales. Sin embargo, empezaron los robos de ganado de los hatos españoles vecinos y los indios de la Guajira fueron dominando la industria ganadera hasta llegar a convertirse en un grupo de pastores, con agricultura, caza y pesca ocasionales.

La situación fue cambiando así con cambio aparentemente suave por la forma en que se realizó, pero brusco en los resultados que se operan en el matriarcado, la herencia, status del clan como conjunto y del individuo en particular, lo que significaba a la vez cambio sustancialmente, y, además, a la transculturación provocada por la presencia cada vez mayor del elemento civilizado en la Península de la Guajira: misioneros, militares, empleados, comerciantes y aventureros, que han logrado introducir, como lo dijimos en la Introducción, una serie de costumbres de su medio de origen, un pequeño vocabulario, pero que, lentamente, van minando la organización social del indígena.

Todo esto ha chocado contra la institución más fuerte de la Guajira primitiva, el piaché, que ha tenido que soportar el asalto de las misiones que intentan en la conciencia del indio las creencias cristianas o cristianas en general, particularmente aquellas del mitismo primario y a las leyes mágicas que determinaban y aún determinan en parte las actuaciones y la vida y la muerte en general de todos y cada uno de los miembros de la comunidad guajira.

La nueva concepción de riqueza, basada en la ganadería, la presencia de elementos civilizados, la red de comunicaciones que actualmente cruza la Península, la actitud decisiva de las misiones y de la escuela, han reducido al piaché a sus mínimas proporciones. Claro que no el indígena sólo cuenta elementos que permiten clasificarlo dentro de la comunidad mágica, pero las influencias externas lo van llevando a las cosas de la civilización

que lo atrae poderosamente. Casi podemos afirmar que si el servicio médico e higiénico de la Guajira se intensificara por parte del gobierno colombiano, el piache, en cuestión de pocos años, terminaría como institución en la Península, y la mayor parte de las creencias mágicas de estos indígenas, relativas sobre todo a la enfermedad y la muerte, desaparecerían del conjunto y permanecerían sólo como manifestaciones folklóricas que recordarían su presencia en tiempos anteriores.

La decadencia de esta institución puede notarse muy fácilmente si vemos lo que dice Uricoechea en la introducción de la obra ya citada: "Siempre tuvieron sus piaches o curanderos i adivinos a quienes consultar i respetar. Los piaches tenían sus escuelas en los montes i eran además de médicos, lejisladores; más aún eran los Sacerdotes e intérpretes de las observancias i creencias que estos, como todos los habitantes de América, tenían" [8]. Compárese lo que dice en estos párrafos con todo lo que hemos expuesto, y podrá notarse la mengua tan enorme que ha sufrido el piache en la Guajira en el espacio de unos pocos lustros.

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[8] Cabrera, Rafael. Op. cit. Introducción, p. 38.

III

MAGIA Y SACRIFICIO

Podemos distinguir dentro del estudio cultural de los guajiros, cuatro clases de sacrificios:

1—De carácter ritual funerario;
2—De carácter maléfico guerrero;
3—Para prevenir los efectos de los sueños;
4—De propiciación al espíritu protector de los pisches.

1—El primero de ellos hace referencia a la costumbre establecida entre ellos de sacrificar, durante el velorio de alguno de los miembros de la comunidad, un número de animales de su pertenencia (vacas, toros, cabras, ovejas), cuya carne se reparte entre los concurrentes al velorio, junto con la correspondiente bebida, que en la actualidad es el ron y que en tiempos anteriores fue la chicha.

La respuesta que se da a la pregunta de para qué sacrifican los animales durante el velorio, es la de que se hace para obsequiar a los asistentes, y sobre todo, a los que podríamos llamar los *plañidores*, que se pasan el día y la noche lanzando gemidos sobre el cadáver. Pero al observar ciertas prácticas y sobre todo ciertos tabúes respecto a la carne de estos animales sacrificados, hay que pensar más bien en el sacrificio de carácter ritual, como lo acabamos de decir.

Porque es cierto que los familiares —hijos, hijas, sobrinos, hermanos, etc.— del muerto, no pueden comer la carne de estos animales que se sacrifican en el velorio o durante la ceremonia posterior del entierro secundario, ya que esta, según la creencia, equivaldría a comerse la carne de su pariente muerto. Este tabú, impuesto a los familiares del difunto, nos está comprobando, hasta donde es posible deducirlo, el sacrificio ritual de los ganados del muerto, ganado que al ser sacrificado participa del mismo carácter intocable o mágico de que entra a formar parte el individuo cuando desaparece del mundo de los vivos y penetra en el universo de los muertos.

Para decirlo mejor, los animales sacrificados están contaminados de su dueño desaparecido.

Este carácter intocable del animal sacrificado en el velorio o de la ceremonia que acompaña al entierro secundario, queda corroborado con el siguiente hecho: Hay la creencia en la Goajira de que si durante el embarazo, la madre o el padre del futuro niño presencian la muerte de una reina, el niño nace enfermizo: sufre de diarrea permanente, vomitos nutritivos, palidez cada día más acentuada, y enflaquecimiento progresivo. El mal sigue agravándose sin que ninguno de los remedios conocidos surta el efecto deseado. Apelan entonces los padres al siguiente sistema de curación (sistema que con algunas variantes se también conocía entre los grupos del pueblo de Sonsonete): Esperan a que haya un velorio de desconocimiento y entonces meten al niño dentro de uno de los animales que se sacrifican en tal ocasión, teniendo el cuidado de que el cuerpo del animal esté aún caliente, con el objeto de que el niño entre en calor.

Si no se puede llevar al enfermo hasta el lugar donde se practica la ceremonia ritual, los padres toman un hueso del animal sacrificado, lo dejan secar y luego lo cocinan en bastante cantidad de agua, con la que bañan o cauterizan el cuerpo del niño. El efecto debe lograrse después de realizado el primer baño, o después de algunos sucesivos.

Es cierto que hay otro sistema para curar esta enfermedad que el goajiro denomina *frío de la tumba*. La presencia de los padres en el velorio ha contagiado a la criatura feral el frío de la tumba que va a ocupar el muerto. Por eso, lo importante es sacarle el frío, para lo cual se valen, cuando no hay proximidad de una ceremonia de desconocimiento, de una suplencia que consiste en abrir un hueco en la tierra, aproximadamente del tamaño del niño y enterrar en él su cuerpo hasta el cuello, cubriéndolo luego con la tierra desalojada.

En todo caso, como puede verse, la segunda forma no es más que una suplencia por ausencia del remedio indicado y definitivo. Hay en el primer caso dos asociaciones mágicas: la participación del muerto, pasiva, involuntaria, en la transmisión de la enfermedad, y la otra, más activa, de curación, en el animal sacrificado que, como lo sabemos, participa del carácter tabú por virtud del sacrificio. Si se tratara simplemente de la asociación frío-calor, es decir, si se tratara de sacar el frío del cuerpo del enfermo, el camino más práctico y rápido sería el tercer sistema, es decir, enterrar el cuerpo del niño en un hueco excavado, cubriéndolo luego con la tierra para que el calentamiento por acción del sol surtiera su efecto, máxime si se tienen en cuenta las altas temperaturas que se soportan durante

el día en el aniversario de la Guajira. Pero hay algo más: hay el carácter mágico de la ceremonia del sacrificio —que seguramente ya se va perdiendo por efectos de la transculturación— pero de la cual queda, por lo menos, el hecho de utilizar la fuerza mágica del animal sacrificado o de una parte del mismo —el hueso que se deja secar y luego se cocina— que participa también de su fuerza, porque en la mentalidad primitiva la parte se tomada por el todo o, por lo menos, participa de su fuerza, sea o diversa.

Otro sentido que tiene el sacrificio de animales se relaciona con el status del individuo en su otra vida. Uno de los puntos de referencia del status en la Guajira es la riqueza, que equivale, casi generalmente, a la posición de mayor o menor número de cabezas de ganado. El ganado representa, pues, en ciertos aspectos, la moneda guajira, ya que los intercambios, los pagos de sangre, etc., se realizan teniendo como base un número determinado de cabezas, o sea, claro está, de cabezas de vacas, de ovejas, etc.

Naturalmente, si el individuo ocupa una posición social determinada en su vida, se higiere que al pasar a su otra vida, al mundo de los muertos, ocupe una posición idéntica, o trate de mejorar la que tuvo en vida. Es, pues, deber, uno de los motivos para que el individuo se le coloquen cerca o la tumba o dentro de ella, algunos objetos de su posición y que, para completar su ajuar, se sacrifique un número de animales, en mayor cantidad cuando más alta sea la posición en sociedad, para que desde la dada su posición social demanda en el mundo de los espíritus.

La sanción se fácil entender de establecer: si el individuo al morir pasa a una nueva vida, semejante a la que llevó en la tierra, necesita el animal, sea animado como el hombre, al desaparecer por la muerte pasa a ocupar un puesto en el otro mundo. Esto, claro está, es sólo teoría especulativa. Pero no encontramos ningún otra explicación a la afirmación guajira de que los animales deben sacrificarse para que acompañen a su dueño en la otra vida y le den una situación ventajosa dentro de los demás espíritus.

El sacrificio implica entre todo un acto mágico. El hecho de que los parientes cercanos del muerto no puedan comer la carne del animal sacrificado porque se comen si consumen la propia carne de su parientes, nos está estableciendo la relación entre el dueño y la cosa poseída, en el sentido de que dicha participa del carácter de aquél. Y como el muerto es una persona sagrada, o por lo menos tabú, se dice, sagrado en el sentido de lo intocable, también las cosas de su posición —los animales que son las que

vos o acompañarlo en su viaje y que siguen siendo su dueño posesivo, ya que los dueños son superiores entre sus hermanos— tienen el carácter de inmortales.

3—La flecha encantada.—El segundo sacrificio de que tratamos antes, pero con importancia mayor que el anterior, por dos razones principales, porque es el sacrificio de un ser humano; segundo, porque lleva aparejada una serie de ceremonias encaminadas a lograr un fin determinado: el poder mortífero de la *mara* o flecha encantada. Digamos más bien: flecha mágica.

Este sacrificio, por todo lo que pudimos observar, ya no se practica en la Guajira. Según los antiguos etnógrafos, era practicado exclusivamente por los indios *Anaires*, hablamos de la *mara* de su nombre, indios belicosos, guerreros, hábiles, astutos, que mantenían en tenaz permanente a las demás comunidades indígenas de la Península con sus ataques y depredaciones. Nos parece interesante destacar aquí que esos indios, conocidos vulgarmente con el nombre de *mairas*, según todos los datos allegados no constituían en sí un grupo cultural aparte. Su lengua era la misma de las demás guajiras, sus costumbres, relativamente las mismas y su tipo físico idéntico. Todo parece indicar que no eran más que las características sociales, todas aquellas que, por extremas crueldades y no pequeñas conformes a los leyes establecidas, se vieron obligados a asumir en ocasiones el escarpe de la ley. El problema no está suficiente del todo, y será difícil hacerlo porque ya no se encuentran indios *Anaires* en la Guajira.

Dentro de las armas utilizadas por los guajiros se destacaban especialmente (y decimos destacaban porque ahora se usan más el rifle de fabricación extranjera), el arco y las flechas. Una de ésas, que ellos llaman *encantada*, lleva el nombre de *mara*. La varada de esta flecha está constituida por una varilla delgada del árbol llamado *pavito*, y está aproximadamente unos ochenta centímetros de largo. A un palo agregado en la cabeza en el extremo superior la punzada de la caña o un hueso de carpintero venenoso. Esta *mara* es la que utilizaban los *Anaires* como dijimos recientemente con los cambiaros con los blancos o con los miembros de algunas localidades guajiras, durante sus excursiones de rapiñas.

El valor de la flecha, considerada como infalible, estaba en el hecho importantísimo de estar untada en punta con la sangre de un niño recién fecundado. La flecha participa así, por consecuencia mágica, del carácter sagrado o impuro de la ceremonia del sacrificio efectuado en el niño, en-

rácter de gran valor si se tiene en cuenta que el sacrificio lo realizaba el mismo padre del sacrificado.

El proceso es como sigue: Los *kaiwa*, según el relato de la informadora, una india procedente de la Sierra de Jarara que pudo conocer por narraciones de sus padres bastante bien las costumbres de esas indias con quienes tenían intercambio los habitantes de la Sierra, acostumbraban tomar un niño varón de su misma familia. Lo llevaban a unas cuevas lejanas, situadas en la parte interna de la sierra de Cocina. Lo subían a uno determinado y en la cúspide del mismo, debajo de un *pó* (árbol especial), lo mataban. La muerte se realizaba así: le tapaban las narices, le apretaban la garganta con las manos, es decir, producían una asfixia en el niño y, con una piedra puntiaguda, le golpeaban la frente varias veces, de manera continua hasta que de ella manara sangre. Esta sangre, que era justamente lo que se buscaba en el sacrificio, no se dejaba derramar sino que se recogía cuidadosamente en un recipiente muy limpio. En los últimos tiempos la sangre se recibía en un recipiente vacío de latón, de los que habían servido para el envase de sardina o salmón. Pero es de suponer que antiguamente se utilizaba uno especial de cerámica. Una vez recogida la sangre, la ponían a hervir en el mismo recipiente en que había sido recogida. A continuación, la echaban en otro que en los tiempos modernos era un envase de vidrio, pero que antiguamente debió de ser de otro material, para conservarla. Ese recipiente que contenía la sangre hervida del niño sacrificado se guardaba en el monte entre unas piedras que se buscaban al efecto. El verdugo, que no era otro que el padre del niño, preparaba con anticipación una serie de flechas con punta de pentalla de raya, las cuales untaba luégo con esa sangre y las distribuía entre los demás indígenas kusina o guajiros en general, a cambio de ganado. El precio que debía pagarse por una de ellas era bastante alto, lo que también nos da una idea de su valor, y así lo creían los indígenas que consideraban que, por el hecho de estar las puntas impregnadas de sangre de niño sacrificado, se hacían más venenosas y certeras.

El cuerpo del niño, que debía fluctuar entre los cuatro y los seis años de edad, era traído por su padre al poblado después de estas operaciones mágicas y enterrado en el cementerio de su clan. El entierro, como la muerte del niño, era secreto. Nadie debía darse cuenta del hecho. No pudimos saber si el carácter secreto de la ceremonia era debido al hecho de que la comunidad podría castigar el infanticidio, cobrando la madre o el tío materno o alguno de los miembros de la familia del niño por líneas maternas, la suma correspondiente por la muerte de éste, de acuerdo

con el derecho consuetudinario guajiro, o si era porque el secreto reforzaba las cualidades mágicas del envenenamiento de la flecha. Es de presumir como más aceptable la última hipótesis, pues la desaparición del niño y la venta de flechas mágicas por parte del padre, denunciarían a éste como autor del sacrificio.

En todo caso no podemos pasar desapercibido en ninguna forma el aspecto de la sangre en el sacrificio de niños a que venimos aludiendo. El derramamiento de sangre es uno de los crímenes que se castigan más fuertemente. La sangre, según todo lo que puede deducirse, tiene gran valor para estos indígenas, ya que la consideran parte integrante de su personalidad humana, llegando a confundirla, si así puede decirse, con la personalidad misma, como ocurre también con el nombre. Y, por lo mismo, el que la derrama voluntaria o involuntariamente, en otra persona, queda contaminado, se margina de la sociedad, se convierte en un impuro, y tiene por tanto que hacer la separación correspondiente que en la actualidad se cumple pagando el ofendido o a su familia una cantidad determinada en objetos preciosos y animales. Por esta misma razón, las flechas contaminadas con la sangre del niño sacrificado por su padre pueden, o deben poner para la mentalidad del guajiro, un valor incalculable, por la participación en el sacrificio y en el derramamiento de sangre, gracias a la presencia de ésta en su punta. Por otra parte, si tomamos en cuenta lo que significa para el guajiro el muerto como espíritu capaz de hacer el mal cuando no se le guardan las consideraciones debidas a su status (C. Mapu y *Pandrinai*) y sobre todo el espíritu de los muertos por violencia, podremos entender mejor el valor que le atribuye a la *ówáre* o flecha mágica.

Es bueno aclarar de nuevo la posición del padre frente al hijo en la Guajira. La familia en esta sociedad sigue la descendencia matrilineal y, por tanto, el padre no se considera realmente como tal de sus hijos, sino de sus sobrinos hijos de hermana. Los nexos familiares entre padre e hijo son tan débiles, que no existen sino para ciertos aspectos secundarios de la organización económico-familiar.

La presencia de la flecha envenenada entre los indios *kaxiwa* queda demostrada con el siguiente fragmento de un cuento narrado por la misma informadora que nos suministró los datos que nos han servido para el presente estudio, y que se refiere en concreto a la pelea entre un indio guajiro, llamado *kaxiwa-pátu* y algunos *kaxiwa* que vinieron a su ranchería a robarle el ganado una noche cualquiera. El aparte correspondiente a la flecha mágica, traducido literalmente del texto guajiro, dice así:

Los kaxiu le tiraron (dispararon con el rifle) a *Kaxiu-Pala* que venía detrás. Le partieron el mundo. —Ahora sí no puede hacer nada— dijo K. P. —Vamos a matarlo, para que se acabe de una vez—, dijeron los kaxiu. Se levantó K. P. sobre la rodilla que no estaba herida. Tiró a los kaxiu (les disparó con su rifle) y mató a uno de ellos. —Vamos —dijeron entonces los kaxiu— a matarlo con la *ewára* (flecha envenenada).

Con el fragmento de este cuento queda corroborada la existencia de la flecha mágica entre los *kaxiu* y, también, lo dicho anteriormente: la flecha envenenada —mágica para nosotros— era el último recurso utilizado por estos indios cuando los demás armas no surtían el resultado deseado.

El área de distribución de este elemento cultural era, como se ha podido ver, la Sierra de Cocinas y se utilizaba, además, muy frecuentemente, en Jarara, donde se obtenía por compra o cambio a los fabricantes. Esta clase de armas se empleaba en la última región —Jarara— en caso de guerra. Ya no se encuentran en ninguna de las dos zonas mencionadas, por dos motivos: primero, por la acción evangelizadora de los padres capuchinos en la Sierra de Jarara, que mitigó en gran parte el carácter belicoso de los jararacos; y, segundo, por la desaparición completa (según todos los informes) de los indios *kaxiu*, desde hace veinte o veinticinco años, por diversas causas. Es decir, que las flechas que aún quedan y de las cuales no pudimos obtener ningún ejemplar, son las que conservan todavía los indios ancianos de Jarara, por compra que hicieron a sus fabricantes en épocas anteriores.

3.—*Sacrificio para prevenir los efectos de los sueños.*—Los sueños en la mentalidad del guajiro, son considerados como revelaciones del porvenir, provenientes de un espíritu benigno que quiere manifestar de esa manera su protección a un individuo determinado. Y cuando el piache se quiere tiene los sueños reveladores, encuentra dentro cabeza, como ya lo vimos, mayor importancia. Por lo mismo, cuando uno de éstos tiene un sueño especial, se lo refiere al interesado, agregando a ella las instrucciones necesarias, o sea, estableciendo las ceremonias especiales que debe realizar a fin de conjurar el presagio. Si tales ceremonias no se cumplen, o si no se hacen a cabalidad, el sueño se convierte en realidad. Es grande la fe que el guajiro tiene en los sueños de los piaches sobre todo, y son muy pocas las personas que se exponen a sufrir las consecuencias por incumplimiento de las citadas actividades, pues la experiencia, según ellos, les ha enseñado

que la desobediencia a las instrucciones de los piaches, ha costado muchas vidas y desastres, al cumplirse las vaticinios de los sueños.

Como el aspecto de los sueños está tratado en aparte especial, nos referiremos únicamente al tema que nos interesa y que hace relación con los sacrificios. Al respecto, citaremos a continuación el relato de uno de nuestros informadores:

Ocurrió en Jarara. Una piache vió que a un individuo del clan familiar *pachaira* le iba a acontecer una desgracia, pues moriría a manos de otro de su mismo grupo familiar. La piache se lo comunicó inmediatamente y le ordenó que para conjurar el peligro, realizara una fiesta de carnes de cabillas, y sobre todo, que sacrificara un macho cabrío negro, con cuya sangre debería bañarse. Este indio no quiso acatar las indicaciones de la piache, y al poco tiempo murió a manos de un miembro de su mismo grupo, de condición económica inferior. Las represalias que siguieron a este acontecimiento contra el grupo familiar inmediato del homicida, como era de esperarse dada la organización social guajira, fueron bastante crudas: sus casas fueron incendiadas, arrasadas sus fuentes de abastecimiento de agua, muertos tres hombres y cuatro mujeres, y esclavizados sus niños.

Lo interesante para el capítulo que nos ocupa estriba en el sacrificio del animal. Este, aparentemente, sirve de substituto al individuo en quien se va a cumplir la sentencia revelada por el sueño. Desempeña su papel y por ello es sacrificado. Como ya ha ocurrido entonces una muerte, el espíritu maléfico que se había encontrado del presente criminal para llevar a cabo su determinación de dañarla, se dará por satisfecho con ese acto propiciatorio. Por otra parte, como el animal (el macho cabrío negro, en este caso), participa de las cualidades de su amo por efecto de la posesión, se ha sacrificado también una fracción de la personalidad del sujeto sentenciado por la revelación. El individuo sobre sí dos posibilidades: muerte en parte por el sacrificio del animal, y participación en el sacrificio por el baño con la sangre del animal sacrificado.

Restos posibles de esta creencia indígena permanecen aún en el folklore colombiano, en algunas partes de los departamentos de Antioquia, Boyacá, Norte de Santander. Allí, la gente del pueblo tiene la creencia de que cuando muere un animal doméstico, especialmente si es un animal en el que se ha depositado un gran cariño por parte de los habitantes de la casa, ello es indicio de que una persona del lugar iba a morir. La sentencia de muerte que pesaba sobre ella, según la explicación que se obtiene en todos estos casos, se trasladó al animal por concesión especial de Dios,

para evitar el mal mayor en la familia. En Nariño esta creencia, según información del licenciado Chaves, ha sido llevada a la literatura popular oral. Hay, en realidad, un cuento en el que se narra cómo una pareja de recién casados prometieron o supieron (no sabemos en qué forma) que iban a morir muy pronto. Para evitarlo, la mujer se dedicó a la cría de cuyes (curíes), que fueron muriendo sucesivamente; entonces apuró la cría de gallinas, que también fueron muriendo rápidamente; atendió luégo a la de perros, que también fallecieron. Con la muerte sucesiva de estos animales lograron conjurar la suya propia y vivieron felices por espacio de mucho tiempo, libres de la amenaza de muerte que sobre ellos pesaba, pudiendo criar sus animales domésticos con mejor resultado que hasta entonces.

4—*Propiciación al espíritu protector del pache.*—El sacrificio de animales, como propiciación o agradecimiento al espíritu o espíritus que se han encargado de proteger al pache, está ampliamente explicado en el capítulo anterior y por ello nos abstenemos de hacer nuevas referencias a él.

Conclusiones.—En el aspecto del sacrificio dentro de la organización social guajira, tenemos los siguientes hechos: a) Sacrificio de animales, de dos tipos: uno de carácter ritual funerario, y otro de prevención contra el efecto de los sueños; b) Un sacrificio humano, que ya puede darse por desaparecido, debido a diversas circunstancias que ya fueron enunciadas; c) Los dos primeros subsisten, en su forma original unas veces, y otras como meras supervivencias, disimuladas bajo el aspecto de formas de sociabilidad, más que rituales, como sucede, por ejemplo, con el sacrificio de animales durante el entierro secundario o el velorio en el ceremonial del entierro primario; d) Pero, de todas maneras, los tres presentan un acentuado carácter mágico; e) Respecto al sacrificio de animales, podemos suponer que en tiempos antiguos el animal sacrificado debió de ser uno de menor elevado por medio de la caza, puesto que el guajiro, como los demás indios colombianos, y en general los americanos, careció por completo o casi por completo de animales domésticos, que fueron adquiridos sólo después de la Conquista, cuando los colonizadores españoles los importaron de la Península para mantener sus hatos; f) Con base en este mismo hecho económico-social, podemos presuponer un cambio bastante apreciable en el contenido y en la forma de las ceremonias de cierto tipo, por el tránsito de una economía a otra, sobre todo cuando es tan radical como

el guajiro, que cambió su carácter de cazador nómade por el de pastor y ganadero, implica una transformación bastante apreciable en la organización social general; g) En el sacrificio de niños, y en el de animales como prevención de los efectos de los sueños, tenemos que admitir el valor contaminante de la sangre derramada —tabú principalísimo en la Guajira— para fines determinados: aumentar el valor maléfico de la flecha mágica en el primer caso, y defender al sentenciado a muerte por el sueño, por intermedio de la sangre del animal sacrificado, en el segundo; h) Además, en el segundo caso encontramos una substitución aparente de la personalidad del individuo, o mejor aún, un sacrificio en parte de la misma, al entregar a la muerte un animal de su posesión; i) En el sacrificio de animales, de carácter ritual funerario, podemos distingir los siguientes efectos conseguidos: primero, la propiciación al espíritu del muerto que, como podrá verse en el capítulo correspondiente a *Magia y Funebrias*, puede ser benéfico, neutral o maléfico, según que se le guarden o nó todas las consideraciones debidas a su *status* como tal, o según que se violen o nó todas o parte de las disposiciones tabúes establecidas al respecto en el transcurso de la vida social de la comunidad; y, segundo, la confirmación de la creencia en la vida de ultratumba, reflejo de la actual. El sacrificio, con el sentido de que el animal muerto acompañe a su dueño en la otra vida y lo coloque en el plano social que tenía en ésta, frente a sus compañeros, los otros espíritus, ratifica dicha creencia en la vida casi material de ultratumba.

IV

ENFERMEDAD Y MEDICINA

Si tenemos en cuenta las características esenciales de la mentalidad primitiva, debemos percatarnos de que su mundo es uno que podríamos llamar metafísico, toda vez que los objetos que lo rodean no tienen una existencia real, en cuanto no son mirados con criterio verdaderamente objetivo, sino que, alucinada su imaginación por los fenómenos que lo rodean, ellos se convierten en seres sobrenaturales, animados todos, no en el sentido físico del movimiento, sino en su capacidad para hacer el bien o el mal, o para intervenir en cualquier forma en la vida del hombre, de los demás seres y del cosmos en general. Todo lo que es el medio ambiente del primitivo: rocas, plantas, animales, fenómenos naturales..., son seres actuantes en el mejor sentido de la palabra, capaces de intervención y dignos del respeto, del temor o de la admiración de los indígenas. El primitivo no ha alcanzado en esta etapa el discernimiento necesario para establecer la relación lógica entre los fenómenos y sus causas reales, sino que establece un nexo mágico que no corresponde en la mayoría de las veces a ninguna realidad concreta y objetiva.

Esta manera de pensar y de sentir se refleja especialmente en los hechos que se relacionan con el individuo mismo y sus reacciones orgánicas y, esencialmente, con las variaciones de que pueda ser susceptible su organismo en el sentido biológico o patológico. Las enfermedades para el primitivo no son males causados por gérmenes patógenos (lo decimos en sentido general, pues se presentan algunas excepciones) o por causa de desarreglos internos o externos, sino efecto de la acción maléfica de algún sér —animal, humano, mineral, vegetal...— que es su enemigo potencial o a quien ha herido en una u otra forma, especialmente violando las disposiciones sociales rituales que en principio se relacionan casi exclusivamente con el totem y que luégo van evolucionando hacia diversas formas de la magia que lo llevan a una verdadera curiosidad investigativa.

Esta curiosidad no se limita, como podría creerse, al hecho simple de saber qué fenómeno o qué espíritu determinado le causó la enfermedad, sino que se encamina a conocerlo totalmente para poner en práctica algún

sistema curativo —no importa de qué clase— que lo retorne a su estado de salud, a la normalidad, y lo aleje del peligroso mundo de los espíritus.

Por esta razón vamos a encontrarnos en las páginas siguientes con este fenómeno: si las causas de la enfermedad son mágicas, o en términos más generales, sobrenaturales, los sistemas de curación que se apliquen habrán de ser del mismo tipo. El mundo de los espíritus es considerado superior al mundo corriente de los vivos, por lo mismo que se desconoce total o parcialmente. La lucha, pues, frente a frente, de individuo contra espíritu, resulta desigual, porque éste —el espíritu— está dotado de fuerzas sobrenaturales que el vivo desconoce. Por tanto, es indispensable que se valga de los pioches —intermediarios entre el hombre y el espíritu— o que emplee en su defecto ciertas prácticas de carácter mágico que lo colocan —guardadas las debidas proporciones—, en plano de igualdad con el espíritu o, por lo menos, le dan la posibilidad de alejarlo de su cuerpo o del de sus semejantes. En los sistemas curativos, como podrá irse viendo a medida que se adelante en este capítulo, el individuo aprovecha directamente, o indirectamente valiéndose de los intermediarios —el hombre-medicina en este caso—, las potencialidades benéficas del instrumento causante de la enfermedad, o en cambio las de otro espíritu —bajo cualquier materialización— tan fuertes o más que las del causante, para desterrar el mal que se siente.

El valor del pioche o hombre-medicina guajiro como curandero, tal como pudimos observar en el segundo capítulo, estriba en la superioridad que se le concede por su constante comunicación con el mundo de los espíritus, que lo coloca, por así decirlo, en plano de igualdad con ellos. Sin embargo, en el aspecto de la medicina guajira intervienen cuatro factores diferentes que podemos definir en principio así:

1º La medicina ejercida directamente por el pioche a través de su comunicación con los espíritus bienhechores;

2º La medicina por adivinación, dependiente o independiente del pioche y que crea otra categoría social no muy bien definida: la del adivino;

3º La medicina que podríamos llamar casera, independiente del pioche y de los adivinos, que se aplica por el conocimiento pragmático del valor curativo de algunas plantas o por la observancia de determinadas costumbres relacionadas con el tabú y que, como lo veremos más adelante, son de tipo preventivo; y

4º La medicina ejercida por los extranjeros. Este último factor debe tener sus orígenes en la etnografía histórica y nos parece bastante difícil de clarificar: se trata de la intervención médica de los curanderos de la

Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, a las cuales recurren en ciertos casos los guajiros. Estos habitantes de la Sierra pertenecen a grupos indígenas incluidos por el profesor Rivet dentro de la gran familia lingüística chibcha [10]. Nuestra suposición del contacto de relaciones entre los dos grupos en alguna época de su historia, no sabemos si antes o después de la Conquista, se basa en la presencia de ciertas técnicas de la cultura material de los indios arwakos dentro del corpus guajiro.

Veamos ahora, ordenadamente, cada uno de estos factores por aparte:

Medicina ejercida por el piache.—En el capítulo II de este estudio tuvimos oportunidad de referirnos a los sistemas curativos de los piaches, que se efectúan por la comunicación mágica con los espíritus, quienes suministran las instrucciones necesarias para las ceremonias y procesos que deben ejecutarse en la curación de los males —*wawaré*—, que se han apoderado del enfermo. Remitámos, pues, al lector, nuevamente, al mencionado capítulo.

Medicina por adivinación.—Antes de entrar en materia propiamente dicha, nos vemos precisados a abrir un paréntesis para aclarar un poco la posición del adivino en la Guajira y para conocer, siquiera en sumaria, los procesos de adivinación.

Existen algunos hombres y mujeres que son capaces de adivinar hechos ocurridos secretos o los que van a suceder. Para esto emplean diversos objetos; algunos se valen de un machete (elemento de aculturación), y por su filo, que miran varias veces, adivinan por ejemplo lo que ha sucedido, el sitio en donde se encuentran los objetos robados, cuando se trata de un robo; otros se valen de un tabaco encendido y, otros, en fin, de un tizón también encendido.

En el aspecto de la adivinación juega gran papel, como en general en todos los temas de la magia, el mundo de los espíritus, pues la ocasión de hechos, por ejemplo en la adivinación de un robo, es que el espíritu del adivino se desprende de su cuerpo y va a buscar los objetos perdidos siguiendo las rutas que trajinó el ladrón, hasta dar con su paradero, y por ende, con el de los prendas robadas, retornando luégo al cuerpo del adivino para comunicarle los resultados y que éste, a su vez, los transmita al interesado que ha venido a consultarlo.

[10] Rivet, Paul. *Conferencias dictadas en el Instituto Etnológico Nacional.* Bogotá, 1942.

El piache también tiene algunos veces poder adivinatorio y tanto él como los demás presagios muertos próximos y sucesos por venir; el piache es, por condición misma inherente, el que más le incumbe con sus presagios que casi nunca dejan de cumplirse.

Uno de las funciones del adivino del tabaco, por ejemplo, es decidir en junta de piaches, a la cual es llamado expresamente, si un individuo determinado muestra síntomas decisivos de que en él vaya a aparecer un espíritu de los de su clase. Este adivino no es piache graduado generalmente, pero es un hombre o una mujer de gran experiencia en este tipo de ciencia. El adivino toma el tabaco o la manilla en la boca y un tizón encendido en la mano derecha, que hace de arriba a abajo mientras discurre su declaración; va mirándolo fijamente y dicta su fallo de acuerdo con las variaciones que la candela sufre en el madero. Este fallo se considera definitivo.

Los piaches aprenden también en algunos casos el arte de adivinar con el tizón, para saber, en caso de ser llamados a curar a un enfermo, si deben o no encargarse del caso. Toman para el efecto un tizón encendido; llaman al espíritu para que venga en su ayuda; permanecen con el tizón encendido en la mano, sin soplarlo, y van observando cuidadosamente las diversas transformaciones que sufre por efecto del fuego, de las cuales deducen lo que va a ocurrir. Si el tizón llega a apagarse mientras está en la observación, es porque el enfermo va a morir y entonces su presencia no será necesaria.

Las ceremonias de adivinación por medio del fuego, deben realizarse de noche y nunca de día. Hay adivinos que utilizan para esta ceremonia un bejuco encendido. Lo toman en la mano y no apartan la vista de él, mirando fijamente las ondulaciones de la llama si la hay, el proceso de avance o retroceso de la brasa y las variaciones que ella pueda sufrir. Según todos estos detalles, determinan el hecho adivinatorio en que se hallan empeñados y lo utilizan sobre todo para obtener la localización de objetos perdidos o de animales robados. El adivino quiere seguir en el fuego el proceso del robo, y luego el camino que tomó el objeto perdido, hasta dar con el sitio en que se encuentra. Con esto puede decir dónde se halla, y quién fue el ladrón.

Pero lo más interesante es que cada persona común en la Guajira puede aprender las señales que determinan la adivinación, según los diferentes métodos y utilizarlos para prestar un servicio a los que se lo soliciten, o para satisfacer por sí mismos muchas curiosidades que la dominan. Sobre todo las mujeres son muy adictas a estas artes adivinatorias,

2: Pineda Giraldo SC13 Goajiro

para averiguar o detectar qué hacen sus maridos cuando se ausentan, o qué va a ocurrirles durante su alejamiento del hogar. El proceso se sigue así: primero se enciende el tabaco, luégo se recita una oración especial en la que se pide ver lo que está ocurriendo o lo que va a suceder; entonces se empieza a dar chupadas y a observar cuidadosamente cada una de las transformaciones del tabaco al arder. Por ejemplo, si hace chispitas, quiere decir que la persona a que se refiere el acto adivinatorio va a recibir dinero; si se abre por la mitad, que el marido está enfermo, y que está grave cuando se pone negro la ceniza. Otras señales características indican cuándo el marido tiene otra mujer y cuándo se encuentra con ella.

Esta última circunstancia de poder aprender cada persona común la manera de adivinar por cualquiera de los métodos conocidos para el efecto, es la que nos interesa por el momento, porque se traduce en el aspecto de la medicina que nos ocupa, pues los adivinos, generalmente mujeres, son las que en estos casos determinan qué clase de enfermedad es la que sufre el paciente —un niño— y cómo fue adquirida (generalmente por contaminación directa a través de la madre, durante el embarazo, de un animal que probó los alimentos tomados por aquélla). Por lo mismo, los alimentos curativos que deben seguirse para librar al paciente de la enfermedad que lo aqueja.

Para aclarar mejor el punto, veamos algunos ejemplos al respecto, tomados de nuestros notas de viaje:

Se dice en Manaure, y es esta una creencia muy extendida en toda la Península, que un pájaro llamado *cuibe*, que acostumbra a pasar sus horas de sueño en la sierra de Macuira, es dañoso cuando pasa volando por encima de las casas de habitación de los indígenas, pues él es el portador de la bronquitis, la cual derrama sobre los techos de las casas, de donde viene que los niños se contagian y mueren a consecuencia de dicha enfermedad.

Cuando el niño al nacer, o pocos días después del nacimiento, presenta molestias de estreñimiento y hace deposiciones de características especiales que la adivina determina, lo que ha pasado es que la madre, durante el embarazo, inadvertidamente comió una patilla que ya había sido probada por la zorra. Comprobado este hecho por arte y gracia de la adivinación, se procede a lograr la curación del infante, que consiste en buscar una zorra, matarla, descuartizarla, despojar sus huesos de la carne, calcinarlos y reducirlos a polvo. Este polvo resultante de la calcinación se vierte alrededor del ombligo del niño después de que haga la deposición. Una parte de la carne del animal muerto se pone a asar y se da de

comer al niño enfermo. Si ambos remedios se aplican oportunamente, el niño se repondrá con rapidez. Por lo menos esa es la creencia guajira.

Podría pensarse que en este caso lo lógico sería que la afectada fuera la madre directamente, ya que es ella quien ha comido la fruta contaminada; pero hay que tener en cuenta que el niño para el primitivo, como para nosotros, es un sér relativamente indefenso y que, por lo mismo, necesita de mayor protección porque los males, debido a su incapacidad de defensa, harían presa fácilmente su cuerpecito. Los males, en este caso, están representados por los espíritus maléficos causantes de las enfermedades. Para sustentar nuestra aseveración, basta citar el caso de los indios witoto, habitantes de la selva amazónica, con su institución social de la *covada*, y con la costumbre generalizada de cubrir el cuerpo del niño con unas mutas vegetales, para disfrazarlos y darles el aspecto de verdaderos monos pequeños. Veamos lo que es la covada: "El que más piensa en este asunto" —el nacimiento del nuevo niño— "es el marido, porque a él le toca soportar las cargas de la rigurosa dieta. En efecto, la india, cuando ya *natus est homo*, y ha practicado los indispensables oficios de obstetricia, entrega el fruto de sus entrañas al marido. Este lo toma a su cuidado, y haciendo las veces de la madre se acuesta con la criatura en su hamaca, y pasa ocho días así, guardando la dieta que pudiera tener la dama más delicada. Pero antes de desempeñar estos oficios, primero se viste de luto, es decir, se pinta de negro, quedando como un africano... En dichos ocho días la india asume todos los oficios del marido: va a la sementera, carga yuca, recoge la leña, etc. Mas el indio, una vez que ha cumplido con su dieta, se levanta de la hamaca, dirígese al río y con un buen baño se quita la negra untura quedándose otra vez con la ropa de Adán" [30].

En este hecho mágico-social de importancia relevante, en el que el misionero no vio otra cosa que un aspecto curioso de la vida de los indios, lo que se presenta en realidad es un cambio de personalidad frente al espíritu maligno: el hombre se transforma en mujer (por lo menos asume la actitud de tal, haciéndose cargo del niño recién nacido y desempeñando todos los papeles que aquélla debería realizar en los ocho días de dieta reglamentaria), y la madre se transforma en el padre (también sustituyendo a éste en las labores que le corresponden), todo con el objeto de alejar a los malos espíritus de la criatura acabada de nacer. Pero a más de ésta, el padre acaba de completar su labor cubriéndose el cuerpo con lo que lla-

[30] *Andaimo: Relaciones Interesantes y datos históricos sobre las Misiones del Caquetá y Putumayo*. 2º, I, 36-37.

mas los misioneros el "luto", es decir, con la pintura negra con que embadurna todo su cuerpo. Con todos estos trucos realizados por el padre y la madre en conjunto, los espíritus deben desconocer el paradero exacto del niño que debería estar al lado de su madre, y éste —el niño— se libra de su influencia maléfica.

Pero el sistema para defender al niño no pára allí. Sigue, según el relato de los misioneros, pues ".. . tomas el niño y hasta la edad de unos dos años, le acomodan un vestido tan singular que a primera vista uno duda si es o nó ser humano. Le cubren todo el cuerpo con el jugo de un árbol... muy pegajoso, y respetando sólo la cara del niño, ringan sobre el referido jugo la lana de otro árbol, que es muy semejante al del balso. Vestidos así los infelices y encaramados en las desnudas espaldas de sus madres o escondidos por los piernas, parecen en realidad unos monitos. Con todo y sólo aquel vestido salvaje, estos indios son felices..." [40].

Tiene razón el misionero cuando compara a los niños con unos monitos. La idea, al acomodar al niño tan singular vestimenta, no es propiamente defenderlo de las inclemencias del clima, ni adornarlo con mayor o menor gusto estético, sino preservarlo, por medio del disfraz corporal, que constituye una verdadera deformación de la personalidad física, de los espíritus del mal. El niño, al ser ataviado con este extraño vestido, se convierte realmente en otro ser y así los males que pudiera atraer su persona, pierden la acción efectiva por el desconocimiento de los espíritus por efecto de la variación sufrida.

Un sistema curativo bastante parecido al que acabamos de ver, es el que se sigue cuando la enfermedad de un niño recién nacido se manifiesta también por trastornos intestinales y diarrea arrojada en forma de escupa. La mujer que lleva a cabo el evento adivinatorio, determina que la enfermedad que ataca a la criatura se debe a que la madre dejó comer de su alimento a un perro. Por eso, el niño arroja sus heces fecales a la manera de dicho animal. ¿Cómo hay que proceder, entonces, para lograr el restablecimiento? Se trata de arrancar las plumas que rodean el ano del perro, quemarlas y reducir las cenizas a polvo. Una vez que el niño haga la deposición, es necesario que la madre lo limpie cuidadosamente y luégo le aplique el polvo de las cenizas de las plumas alrededor del orificio anal. Si el dictamen dado por la adivina ha sido correcto, el niño debe sanar prontamente con la aplicación del remedio señalado.

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[40] *Anónimo*, Op. cit., 1º, I, 37.

Si durante el embarazo la madre come alguna fruta que antes haya sido picada por un pájaro cualquiera, el niño al nacer estará enfermo del estómago y su deposición será como la de dicho animal. Los indios que son expertos en estas enfermedades y que se dedican a aplicar los remedios y a adivinar las causas de tales males, prescriben entonces de cuál pájaro fue que la madre comió el sabrado. Una vez determinado el origen de la enfermedad, se procede a aplicar el sistema curativo que comprende la carne del animal causante que, una vez muerto, se usa para dar su carne al niño enfermo. También se prepara un sancocho con porciones de la carne del animal cazado, buena parte del cual se suministra al niño. Con estas medicinas el infante debe curarse rápidamente. Si no se logra su curación, la adivinación estuvo mal hecha y no era de el pájaro que había picoteado la fruta que comió la madre durante su embarazo. El proceso debe recomenzar para descubrir con toda certeza el animal causante de la enfermedad del niño.

Si una mujer embarazada come la carne de una gallina que haya sido muerta por el gavilán, el hijo nacerá enfermizo, su deposición será de coloración verde y su llanto semejante o parecido al canto del gavilán. Cuando se desconoce el origen de la enfermedad, se aplican remedios caseros o de un curandero cualquiera. Pero si éstos no surten el efecto deseado, entonces hay que recurrir a la adivinación. La adivina determinará que la madre comió carne de gallina descuidada por el gavilán. El sistema curativo sigue un proceso semejante al que vimos anteriormente: se busca un gavilán y se mata; se despoja de la carne una pierna del animal y el buche, muy limpio, se deja secar; cuando está lo suficientemente seco, se pone a hervir y con la infusión resultante se baña el cuerpo del niño.

La carne de este animal, contaminada por la presencia del gavilán que estuvo comiendo de ella, es malífica también para los niños en general, los jóvenes y las jóvenes y los adultos, todo vez que su comida ocasiona la esterilidad. Por lo mismo, el tabú mágico de esta carne está levantado sólo para los viejos y ancianos que ya han perdido su capacidad generadora y nada tienen ya que temer al respecto.

Medicina casera.—Este sistema de medicina que, como lo dijimos, es independiente de la intervención del piache y de los adivinos, se basa ante todo en la realización de ciertas prácticas mágicas emparentadas directamente con algunas prohibiciones de carácter tabú, o con costumbres sociales establecidas, de las cuales desconocemos su origen y en parte su significado. Pero lo que llama la atención en este aspecto de la medicina gua-

jira, es su carácter, más preventivo que curativo. Para demostrarlo, citaremos algunos ejemplos:

El padre o la madre —durante el período del embarazo de ésta— no deben presenciar la caída de una mata en la ceremonia que efectúan los indígenas para dar cumplimiento al entierro secundario, porque de lo contrario, el niño próximo a nacer presentará en el momento del nacimiento o pocos días después de él, un aspecto enfermizo, caracterizado generalmente por diversas convulsiones, sudores por las noches, palidez muy marcada y enflaquecimiento acentuado.

Si esto ocurre, si por imprudencia los padres presenciaron la caída de las matas durante el embarazo de la madre, y su hijo nace enfermo, no trataría de achacar el mal de la criatura a esta causa distinta de la anterior. De acuerdo con mi, procedería a aplicar los sistemas de curación indicados para tal emergencia, y que, como lo vimos en el capítulo anterior, Magia y Sacrificio, consisten en: a) Esperar a que haya una fuerza de carácter sensorial de exhumación de restos humanos, para meter el niño dentro del cuerpo recién abierto del animal sacrificado para la ceremonia; b) Si no se puede llevar el enfermo hasta el sitio donde se practica la ceremonia, recoger un hueso del animal sacrificado, dejarlo secar, calcinarlo y beber el cuerpo del enfermo con esa agua; c) Si no hay la posibilidad cercana de una ceremonia del tipo que venimos describiendo, abrir un hueco en la arena y meter en él el cuerpo del niño hasta la base de la cabeza, cubriéndolo luego con la tierra desalojada.

Tampoco debe el vestido de una mujer enferma, cavar por ningún motivo una sepultura o ayudar en la construcción de una bóveda (elemento de acultuación) para el entierro primario de una persona cualquiera, ni para el entierro secundario tampoco, porque su mujer sufrirá las consecuencias del desastre en el parto que no será normal: se prolongará por espacio de algunos días, será doloroso y de graves consecuencias para la madre y para el niño por nacer.

Las mujeres grávidas no deben presenciar o mirar la entrada de un ataúd en la tumba, porque tendrán mal parto: la criatura retardará su nacimiento, en forma muy dolorosa y violenta para la madre.

Al individuo que haya tocado el cadáver de una persona cuya muerte no ha sido natural —suicidio, por ejemplo— le será vedado acercarse al sitio donde se encuentra algún enfermo, porque éste morirá a causa de su presencia. Esta prohibición se hace extensiva también a los que han participado directamente en la exhumación de restos humanos; y más aún: a ambos se les prohibe terminantemente acercarse a los niños o a los sitios

donde las haya, porque su presencia, concomitante del carácter del muerto, las enfermaría.

También la serpiente tiene influencia mágica en las mujeres embarazadas. No es ya de temer [illegible] a dolor a la criatura por nacer, sino hacia la madre misma que sufre en carne propia la acción maléfica del animal, en diversas circunstancias, como las que enumeramos a continuación:

Si una mujer en el período de embarazo ve una culebra cazadora y permanece estándola por algún tiempo, su hijo saldrá bobo. La explicación que dan los indios sobre esta creencia tan generalmente extendida, es la de que, como esta culebra tiene el aspecto de ser bobo, ya que no ataca a la gente, como las demás, y no les hace ningún daño, sino que se limita a la caza de pichones de ave para procurarse alimento, transmite al niño esa cualidad. La madre, cuando se encuentra con una de estas serpientes, debe simular que no la ha visto, y desviar automáticamente la vista hacia otra parte.

Si durante este mismo período la futura madre ve una culebra cualquiera (excepto la cazadora), le sucederá un aborto o una dolencia cualquiera relacionada con el parto. Para evitar estos posibles males, la mujer debe tratar de pasar por encima del ofidio. Si a pesar de esto se presentan las dolencias respectivas, entonces se recurre a un sistema curativo que consiste en buscar una culebra semejante, matarla, abrirla cuidadosamente y localizar en el interior de sus intestinos el agua que ha bebido, recogerla y llevarla a la enferma que, al tomarla, acelerará el alumbramiento, que se presentará así sin complicaciones graves.

Si en un mismo estado la mujer ve una serpiente debajo de una piedra o en una cueva, su parto se retardará y dará a luz penosamente. También, como en el caso anteriormente anotado, el sistema preventivo se reduce a la indiferencia de la mujer frente a la culebra: apartar rápidamente su vista de ella. Pero el hecho de la concomitancia entre la serpiente y la situación precisa de encontrarse en una cueva o debajo de una piedra, aparejo a su vez una nueva complicación, toda vez que intervienen dos elementos: primero, la serpiente como tal, y que ya vimos en las fichas anteriores, y segundo, la posición aparentemente forzada que se transmite a la parturiente en el momento del alumbramiento en forma de retardo del parto y de penosidad física para realizarlo.

También se retardará el parto por varios días y será demasiado doloroso, si durante el embarazo, el esposo de una mujer comete la imprudencia de matar una culebra cualquiera.

La serpiente, pues, como lo anotamos al principio y como hemos podido comprobarlo a través de las fichas presentadas, ejerce influencia mágica especial sobre las mujeres grávidas. Esta influencia es mayor cuando contribuye a ello la posición de la serpiente en el momento de ser vista, bien por la mujer directamente, o por su marido. Relacionada con la serpiente y el embarazo existe también una creencia recogida por nosotros con base en un relato. No podríamos decir si existe realmente o si es producto de la imaginación y la leyenda, pues parecen entremezclarse los dos elementos: la existencia de una serpiente especial que ataca a las personas saltando desde un árbol e introduciendo su rabo por las orejas, y el hecho de que sólo ataca a las mujeres en una época determinada del embarazo, o al marido de la mujer grávida, en la misma época.

El caso es que, según el relato a que hacemos referencia, durante los tres primeros meses del embarazo la mujer se puede ver atacada por una serpiente macho, muy especial, de tres colores: verde, negro y blanco, dispuestos en forma de X sobre el dorso. (La hembra de este animal, según el relato, es de un solo color: verde). La serpiente macho ataca bien a la mujer durante sus primeros meses de embarazo, o bien a su marido. El animal se encuentra generalmente en acecho en las ramas de los árboles que sombrean los caminos, y con su cualidad de saltar como una flecha desde su punto de acecho, ataca a las personas con gran precisión, colocándose de un salto sobre su cabeza y enrollándose en ella. Con el rabo, que es muy fino, atraviesa el oído. Y es tanta la presión que generalmente acaba por salir por el otro oído la punta de la cola, con lo que ocasiona la muerte de la persona atacada. El sistema defensivo no invoca ya, como en los otros casos, la magia, sino que se limita al simple hecho de tomar la precaución de llevar las mujeres cubierta su cabeza con un pañuelo que tapa las orejas. Así, el ofidio se enrolla en su cabeza, pero no puede introducir el rabo por el oído de su víctima; la mujer, al llegar a su casa o al encontrarse con alguien, tendrá la oportunidad de vengarse de la serpiente, matándola. Pero ella toma también sus precauciones, según reza el relato, pues si van ambos, marido y mujer, no ataca, porque teme que el hombre la mate.

Hasta aquí, el hecho no pasa de ser tal vez una leyenda interesant fruto de la imaginación del primitivo; pero para el estudio que nos ocupa, tiene gran valor la última parte del relato que dice lo siguiente: Por el contrario, si dicho ofidio ve a la mujer cuando su embarazo ya está adelantado (después de los cuatro meses), sufre una influencia maléfica por parte de la mujer, manifiesta en una como paralización del animal, pues

se queda atontado, tirado en el suelo, sin poder saltar a los árboles. Allí, en tal situación, puede ser matado fácilmente. Si no se le mata en el mismo instante, el ofidio recobra su fuerza y agilidad, tan pronto como la mujer se retira de su presencia.

Una vez más queda demostrada la interacción mágica serpiente-mujer embarazada. Pero a diferencia de la acción mágica de los otros animales que se realizaba a través de la madre para dejarse sentir en la criatura por nacer, éste —la serpiente— descarga toda su acción mágica sobre la mujer directamente, provocándole dolencias en el parto, retardos en el mismo, abortos, etc. ¿Por qué?

Tenemos hasta aquí una serie de hechos que nos muestran muy claramente la acción mágico-participativa de los animales en la vida del indígena guajiro, y sobre todo en lo que se refiere a la explicación de la presencia de enfermedades. Por otra parte, la acción de la serpiente, relacionada con uno de los fenómenos más interesantes del ciclo vital, el nacimiento, comprendido éste desde el embarazo. La dualidad generación-serpiente, se nos muestra, pues, con una insistencia y un realismo desconcertantes. Tratemos de explicarlo:

Si echamos un vistazo a lo que es la organización familiar de los guajiros, podemos ver cómo dicha comunidad, entendida como un todo homogéneo, se encuentra dividida en una serie de grupos familiares extensos, que siguen la línea de filiación materna; pertenecen a un grupo familiar la madre, los hijos e hijas de la madre, los hijos e hijas de las hijas de la madre, y así, sucesivamente; la dirección de la familia no está en manos del padre, que no es considerado como tal, sino en las de los tíos maternos, con predominio del mayor; la herencia está determinada también por este sistema y, por lo mismo, los hijos no heredan nada de su padre natural, sino de su madre o de sus tíos maternos; la herencia del padre se reparte entre sus sobrinos hijos de hermana, que es a los que considera como hijos. Existen la patri y la matrilocalidad, con predominancia de la primera sobre la segunda. El grupo familiar mal llamado por algunos autores "casta", es muy extenso y a él pertenecen en rigor todos los que llevan el mismo apellido. Cada grupo familiar extenso posee su marca de propiedad y un animal representativo. Así, por ejemplo:

Grupos familiares:	*Animales representativos:*
utúlaa [a]	tigre
wuúiyá	serpiente cascabel
wuyá	la culebra
wuúiyá	la perdiz
wyúiyá	cusuco (especie de venado)
ápuuma	el cari-cari
ráipuuma	el alcaraván
jayúiyá	el perro [a]
ápúlaa	gallinazo
ráipuuma	avispa
uuyá	cazaneja
pámuyá	abeja

El sentido social o mítico de estos animales representativos de los grupos familiares extensos se ha perdido. Por lo mismo, nosotros no pudimos recoger ninguna declaración verbal de nuestros informadores, en la que pudiera percatarse la presencia actuante del *totem*, que es lo que posiblemente representó en los tiempos antiguos. Pero sí hemos logrado establecer en algunos casos, la correspondencia lingüística entre el nombre del grupo familiar y el de su animal característico. Para comprobarlo, podemos ver algunos ejemplos: [a]

1) *wú* o *wúi* = culebra
   wuyá = indio, gente
   wúiyá = indios (gente de la culebra)

2) *wúichiur* = gente de la culebra
   Waradira = pez-serpiente (Arawak de Guayana) [a]

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[a] Para mayor comodidad de nuestros lectores, hemos adaptado la fonética de todos estos nombres guajiros, a la grafía castellana, buscando las escritas más apropiadas.

[a] Es necesario aclarar que este animal símbolo es, o debe de ser relativamente moderno, pues era desconocido antes de la Conquista. La sustitución, no sabemos de cuál otro animal, debió realizarse en la época de Post-Conquista, por causas que desconocemos hasta ahora.

[a] Este pequeño estudio lingüístico lo hacemos con algunas reservas, debido a que la permanencia nuestra en la Guajira fue relativamente corta, dos meses, aproximadamente, tiempo en que los estudios de la lengua apenas si alcanzan a ser rudimentarios.

[a] Tomado de: *Anónimo: Arawakisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch.* Abschrift im Besitze der Herrnhuter Brüder Unität bei Zittau sich befindliches Manuscriptes. (Traducción del alemán, de Eginhard Meughini).

wayú = indio, gente
wáyúyú = gente de la serpiente cascabel

3) wú = culebra
ure = (desconocemos el sentido exacto de esta partícula)
wúúre = debe ser "descendiente de la culebra".

o sea por el sexo. Aquí, la correspondencia lógicamente entre el grupo familiar y el nombre de su animal representativo se nos pierde, toda vez que la palabra o palabras para designar al tigre son *kaváre* y *kávaúyú*. Pero de todos modos se intervienen la relación con serpiente.

Otro caso parecido al anterior nos presenta el grupo familiar wouriyú, que tiene como animal representativo a la perdiz. La palabra para designar esta ave es *pirr*; en cambio, la descomposición que podemos realizar en la palabra wouriyú —guardando siempre la reserva indicada— es como sigue:

ur (de wo o wuyú, nosotros) = nuestro, nuestra
ori = ojo
wú = culebra
yú (de wayú, indio = gente).

De donde podemos deducir que wouriyú, puede traducirse como "gente del ojo de nuestra culebra".

En el caso del grupo wyáwyú, nos encontramos con esta correspondencia perfecta entre el nombre del animal y el del grupo familiar:

wyáwa = cusquero (especie de venado)
yú = de wayú, gente, indio
wyáwayú = gente del cusquero.

Lo anterior nos demuestra la presencia en la comunidad guajira de restos de una antigua organización clanil, matrilineal y totémica. Restos, decimos, porque el sentido del totem, como ya tal vez lo sostuvimos, ha desaparecido casi por completo, toda vez que no existe una prohibición determinada de matar ciertos animales (en este caso el animal correspondiente al grupo), ni ningún ritual ceremonial relacionado con el mismo. No queremos alargarnos en este estudio sobre la existencia del totem en la Guajira, que será objeto de una presentación posterior. Sólo queremos destacar el valor de la serpiente en la magia guajira, que no puede encon-

[illegible]

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La futura madre debe también evitar la vista del gavilán, ya que a contravenir esta disposición su hijo nacerá lagañoso, como dicen que es el animal.

El aspecto de una mujer que se encuentra en estado de gravidez, no debe carear con armas modernas —el rifle— ya que puede hacerlo con las armas tradicionales —el arco y las flechas—, porque si lo hace, el parto de su mujer se prolonga por mucho tiempo y no le valen ni remedios ni procedimientos algunos para alivianarla. Cuando el marido ha faltado a esta norma mágica-preventiva, es necesario conseguir un rifle —véase el que utilizó el marido en la cacería—, y lavarlo cuidadosamente, para dar a la parturiente dicha agua, lo que le permitirá dar a luz inmediatamente.

Si un padre guajiro tiene que emprender un largo viaje a caballo, dejando a su hijo recién nacido, debe cumplir con una costumbre de tipo mágico que ordena poner la cincha de su caballo al cuerpo del niño durante algunos minutos, pues de lo contrario sufrirá el niño mucho en el espacio de tiempo que cubre la ausencia del padre y morirá quejándose lastimeramente. Una fuerza equivalente a la que acumulaba el padre, en idénticas circunstancias, y que se reduce a poner el pie sobre el pecho del niño recién nacido durante breves instantes. Si no se cumple con esta obligación, bien por olvido o por mala voluntad del padre, la madre o algún pariente cercano del niño debe buscar las cantidades viejas del padre y ponerlas sobre el pecho del niño por algunos momentos, para lograr el efecto deseado que el ritual celebrado por el padre directamente, debería alcanzar.

Nos atrevemos a intentar una explicación de estas dos últimas fórmulas, así: El objetivo que se busca en el cumplimiento de las dos costumbres tradicionales, es alejar del niño la presencia del *wawarú* o espíritu de la enfermedad. La presión ejercida por el pie del padre, o en su defecto

por las sandalias viejas del mismo, simboliza su presencia en el niño, precisamente en el lugar en que suelen aposentarse en él los espíritus, para lograr sus efectos maléficos: el pecho, como tendremos ocasión de verlo en el capítulo siguiente. Esta presencia simbolizada del padre impide a los espíritus acercarse al niño para hacerle mal. Por último, la costumbre de colocar la cincha del caballo en que debe viajar el padre, alrededor del cuerpo del niño, se relaciona estrechamente con la creencia que tienen estos indígenas de que dicho animal tiene la propiedad de ahuyentar al wawarí o espíritu de la enfermedad, con sus resoplidos o, simplemente, colocando su calavera en un sitio cercano a las habitaciones. (Cf. *Amuletos, Fetiches Talismanes*). También en este caso hay una sustitución de la fórmula mágica, (tomando la cincha en lugar del caballo), sustitución que sirve los mismos efectos y cuya acción podría basarse en una de las leyes establecidas por Sir J. G. Frazer para la magia y según la cual " . . . las cosas que una vez estuvieron en contacto se actúan recíprocamente a distancia, aún después de haber sido cortado todo contacto físico" [46].

Hay otra prevención médica, también de tipo mágico, encaminada a evitar la mortalidad infantil en los matrimonios guajiros, cuando ocurre la muerte del primogénito. Esta prevención obliga a enterrar su cuerpo en condiciones especiales, a soportar la madre un nuevo encierro que recuerda el que sufrió a su llegada a la pubertad (rito de iniciación), y a tomar algunas medicinas extraídas de raíces vegetales. Si todas estas prescripciones no se llenan a cabalidad, a medida que nazcan los demás hijos, irán muriendo sucesivamente.

La placenta, una vez que ha nacido el niño, debe ser botada fuera de la casa hasta que desaparezca por completo, porque si se entierra traerá mala suerte al niño, quien a consecuencia de esta imprudencia, vivirá enfermo y penará mucho hasta morir.

Cuando hace apenas uno o dos días que la mujer ha dado a luz y se le presenta una mala hinchazón en los senos, acompañada de fuertes dolores y falta de secreción láctea, es necesario que el marido coloque el pié sobre el seno desnudo de la enferma, haciendo una ligera presión sobre él, con lo cual la enferma sanará. Y cuando la madre, después de un largo período de lactancia pierde la secreción de la leche y no puede alimentar más a su niño, hay que golpearle la espalda y los senos por algunas veces, con las ramas de una planta que se encuentra sobre todo en los alrededores

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[46] *Frazer: La Rama Dorada*, III, 27.

de Puerto Estrella y que, al ser trunchada, vierte un líquido de color blanco.

El guajiro cuida mucho del cabello que se le ha recortado, pues teme que se le haga un mal. Este temor está fundamentado en la creencia de que quien se apodere de un trozo de pelo, cualquier cosa mala que haga con él, refluirá directamente en su dueño; si ese pelo, por ejemplo, se echa a la candela, su antiguo dueño tendrá una muerte semejante a la desaparición de esa porción de su cuerpo: morirá consumido por las llamas. Por otra parte, si un trozo de cabello de una persona, se entierra acompañado de un poco de estiércol de perro, el ejecutante de este acto mágico podrá causar en su dueño el mal que desee.

Medicina ejercida por extranjeros.—Para que el niño se mantenga sano y presente mayor resistencia a las enfermedades, el padre guajiro se vale de las medicinas de los *arbuaco*, que, como las demás indígenas que conocemos, la relacionan directamente con la magia. Es bueno hacer notar aquí, antes de continuar con esta ficha, que los *arbuaco* son tenidos por todos sus vecinos, no solamente indios, sino mestizos y mulatos y aún blancos, como médicos excelentes, a los que confieren valor especial. Hasta tal punto llega la fama de tales curanderos, que desde las ciudades circunvecinas a la Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, y aún desde Maracaibo, los enfermos se hacen llevar hasta ellos con el fin de que les curen sus dolencias; o, en último caso, mandan algunas de sus prendas interiores de vestir, por medio de las cuales el curandero *arbuaco* determina la enfermedad que padece el individuo, y le envía las medicinas necesarias.

Los guajiros no han escapado a esta influencia. Su misma proximidad geográfica les facilita la comunicación, pero no sabemos si este intercambio de relaciones ya estuviera establecido antes de la Conquista o si se debe a la influencia externa de los colonos que habitan las faldas de la Sierra o las regiones más vecinas a ellas, quienes a su vez transmitieron la leyenda de la fama de los *arbuaco* como médicos a los indios de la Guajira.

Lo cierto es que, poco antes del nacimiento del niño, generalmente, o cuando al padre se le presenta alguna oportunidad, va a donde los *arbuaco* y de uno de ellos, conocedor del valor curativo o preventivo de las plantas, consigue unas cuantas de ellas para medicinar al niño y prevenirle los males. Entre estas yerbas figuran la vira-vira, la quina dulce, el frailejón, y unas cuantas más. Estas yerbas, después de desmenuzadas, se echan en una botella con ron y a esta mezcla se le agregan dos clases diversas de gotas de jugos de plantas también, pero cuidadosamente "secreteadas"

2: Pineda Giraldo SC13 Goajiro

o "rezadas" por el médico *arbuaco*. Las gotas, a más de las plantas a que aludimos anteriormente, son las que tienen valor curativo por su fuerza mágica. La aplicación de estas medicinas se hace de la siguiente manera: se hierve agua, se le agrega la infusión de las plantas con ron y las gotas "secreteadas", y con todo esto se baña al niño al nacer. La madre, cuando siente que se acercan los dolores del parto, se toma también una copa, operación que repite a los pocos minutos de nacido el niño, para acabar de arrojar la placenta.

* * *

Hasta aquí las fichas que poseemos relacionadas con los sistemas médicos mágico-preventivos o curativos de los indios de la Guajira. Ellas demuestran, primeramente, cómo la medicina, lo mismo que el nacimiento, la enfermedad y la muerte, están sujetos a una serie de pautas culturales, resultado de las relaciones mágicas o espiritistas (en cuanto se relacionan con el espíritu de los muertos) del individuo con su medio circundante, entendido éste en el más amplio significado, ya que, como dice el doctor W. Born: "El mundo intelectual del hombre primitivo no se limita en realidad al hechizo, pues hay demasiados enigmas que se presentan ante la joven humanidad, tales como el parto y la muerte, el sueño y la enfermedad; para explicarlos, el hombre primitivo admitía diversas fuerzas sobrenaturales. De las experiencias del mundo de los sueños surgió la creencia en el alma como explicación clara de la conciencia del "yo" que se opone al destino de la muerte. Admitida la facultad del alma de librarse del cuerpo (como parecía indicarlo el sueño), era natural que se admitiera la posibilidad de la existencia de las almas independientes y activas en la Naturaleza. Este estadio comprende tanto un *polidemonismo*, como también la noción de la materia del alma. El polidemonismo admite que en toda cosa de la Naturaleza habita un demonio, una especie de alma, mientras que la sustancia del alma es una energía invisible emanada por los objetos. Como quiera que la sustancia del alma es uniforme, también los efectos de todas las cosas están relacionados entre sí mágicamente" [40].

Este polidemonismo de que habla el doctor Born, o espiritismo como lo hemos llamado nosotros, podrá verse más claramente en la vida de las comunidades guajiras en el capítulo en que se trata el aspecto funerario. Todo el ceremonial relativo a los muertos está impregnado de esta creen-

[40] *Born:* Fetiche, Amuleto, Talismán, p. 3.

cia en el alma universal y en la supervivencia del alma personal después de la muerte.

En el capítulo que tratamos lo vemos también claramente establecido, especialmente en los sistemas curativos seguidos por el piache u hombre-medicina, que se ampara en el espíritu o espíritus protectores para determinar la calidad del mal y la manera de desterrarlo del cuerpo del enfermo, y también en algunos aspectos de la medicina casera relacionados con los sistemas preventivos. No otra cosa son las prohibiciones tabú relacionadas con los muertos, con los enterramientos y desenterramientos en general, con los animales sacrificados en el ceremonial funerario, y con los individuos que han estado en contacto directo o indirecto con los muertos, por colaboración en la inhumación o exhumación de los restos humanos, por la apertura de la tumba, por mirar imprudentemente la entrada del ataúd en la fosa, etc., todo lo cual los contamina de la esencia del muerto que, por su carácter mismo, por el hecho de pasar a una vida situada en plano de potencialidades superiores a la que ha dejado, se convierte en algo peligroso, sagrado o impuro, según el caso, y por lo mismo contaminante.

Esta acción contaminante de los muertos, se encamina también en el aspecto de la medicina, a evitar males posibles en los niños antes del nacimiento y por ende en las mujeres embarazadas o en las parturientas, pues, como ya lo vimos, son las víctimas más propicias para la acción maléfica de los espíritus. Sobre todo lo niños, que reciben las influencias a través de sus padres, cuando están en el organismo materno, por sus escasas posibilidades defensivas. Si tenemos en cuenta la alta mortalidad infantil entre la población guajira, de acuerdo con los datos recogidos por las investigadoras señoras licenciadas Virginia de Pineda Giraldo y María Rosa de Recasens, cuyos resultados fueron publicados en el *Boletín de Arqueología*, que alcanza un altísimo porcientaje (32.97%) [47], podemos explicarnos mejor aún la serie de prohibiciones, de pautas establecidas para defender a las futuras madres y a los niños por nacer de la influencia maléfica de los espíritus, sean ellos humanos, animales, etc.

Por otra parte, podemos desprender de este estudio las siguientes consideraciones: 1º La medicina ejercida por el piache, intermediario entre los dos mundos, se realiza casi exclusivamente en los adultos, a quienes aconseja los sistemas curativos a que haya lugar, de acuerdo con la enfermedad que aqueje al individuo; 2º En cambio, la medicina por adivinación

[47] *Pineda Giraldo Roberto. Informe preliminar sobre aspectos sociales y económicos de la Guajira.*

y la que hemos llamado casera, tomando un término vulgar, tiene su campo de acción en los niños recién nacidos y en las futuras madres; 3º En este último caso, nos encontramos con un hecho sumamente interesante: la ambivalencia de ciertos animales, representada en su doble capacidad para hacer el mal y a la vez para curarlo; 4º En la aplicación de la medicina casera preventiva, se sigue con mucha frecuencia la magia llamada simpática o simpatética; 5º En una de las fichas nos encontramos con la presencia de la acción mágica de una planta. Se trata de la utilizada para hacer que las glándulas mamarias segreguen su jugo, cuando la madre ha perdido su lactancia y el niño aún la requiere. Como la planta es capaz de producir leche, su contacto hará inevitablemente que la madre participe de esta cualidad, según la creencia indígena. Este aspecto ha sido tratado bastante extensamente por Castiglioni en uno de los capítulos de su obra *Encantamiento y Magia*. Nosotros queremos citar sólo unos pocos párrafos que aclararán mejor el valor mágico-curativo de la planta en mención: "Algunas veces" —dice Castiglioni— "como ya se ha dicho, esta popularidad" —la de las plantas medicinales— "deriva de poderes terapéuticos reales, como por ejemplo, el uso de las raíces de la quina, el cual está autorizado por la medicina científica; su poder de curar las fiebres intermitentes era bien conocido en los pueblos de la América precolombina. En muchos otros casos las virtudes de estas plantas dependen de su aspecto, de la semejanza de las raíces, las flores o los frutos con ciertos aspectos de enfermedades o con cualquier órgano del cuerpo" [48]. Y un poco antes, refiriéndose a esta segunda categoría de plantas, nos dice: "La segunda categoría comprende innumerables substancias que por sí mismas, hablando objetivamente, no pueden ejercer ninguna acción eficaz en ningún sentido, tanto favorable como desfavorable, pero cuyo poder deriva, exclusiva y directamente, de las imágenes que provocan en la mente de los actores" [49].

La influencia mágica en la medicina se comprueba, por último, en la costumbre de visitar a los médicos *arhuaco* en los cuales ven magos poderosos que poseen el secreto de oraciones dirigidas a un espíritu potente, para que impregne de su esencia los remedios. Es ese aspecto el que atrae a los guajiros; no las plantas en sí mismas; es el espíritu, el demonio si así quiere llamarse, presente en las gotas "secreteadas" por el curandero *arhuaco*.

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[48] *Castiglioni*, Op. cit., VI, 82.
[49] *Castiglioni*, Op. cit., VI, 81.

V

MAGIA Y FUNEBRIAS

El complejo ceremonial relacionado con los muertos, absorbe al indio guajiro, como a la mayoría de los pueblos primitivos, una gran parte de sus actividades, de sus maneras de actuar, de pensar y de sentir. Impotente para conocer el proceso lógico de la vida con sus fenómenos principales de nacimiento, desarrollo, crecimiento, senectud y muerte, busca una explicación que se acomode, por lo menos en apariencia, a sus creencias, a sus limitadas capacidades de conocimiento, y se aferra a las tradiciones recibidas en la herencia cultural, tradiciones todas de rico sabor subjetivo y en las que lo sobrenatural, lo puramente metafísico —aún dentro del fenómeno físico mismo—, domina el panorama intelectual y sensitivo. Si en principio atribuyó el fenómeno del nacimiento a la acción sobrenatural y lejana en el espacio, de un animal, de una planta o de otro objeto cualquiera que pasó a convertirse con el tiempo en su totem, en su antepasado mítico divinizado, más tarde sus exploraciones mentales tratan de buscar una explicación nueva, perdida ya por diferentes causas la valoración de su totem, que únicamente queda como un recuerdo borroso, trata de buscar, decimos, una explicación nueva que se acomode más a la realidad que lo circunda; por eso lo oímos afirmar, como al guajiro, que el nacimiento es debido a la unión del semen masculino con la sangre menstrual, que produce el feto. La asociación, si no es cierta, no carece tampoco de una realidad extraordinaria, toda vez que la concomitancia de los dos factores, pone de manifiesto una aparente conjugación de los mismos para realizar el complicado proceso de la fecundación y el nacimiento.

Pero en la explicación del fenómeno de la muerte, son los reinos de lo desconocido los que siguen teniendo una influencia mayor en la mentalidad de los primitivos y, para el caso que nos ocupa, en la mentalidad del guajiro en particular. Si bien es cierto que la influencia constante de misioneros, colonos, comerciantes y ganaderos, maestros y soldados, comienza a cambiar el estado de cosas, inculcando en el indio otra clase de creencias que, por lo demás, no siempre están ajustadas a la realidad, por la simple razón de que en nuestro pueblo conviven tres razas diferentes

pero igualmente fanáticas en sus creencias: el negro, con su fetichismo y su fantástica mitología; el indio, también con su mitología y su sujeción a los espíritus de los muertos; y el español, fanático como el que más o renegado, igualmente como el que más, es cierto también que en su personalidad quedan todavía grabadas, con caracteres muy fuertes, sus creencias primitivas, sus tradiciones recogidas a través de milenios de años y que, lentamente, se han ido transformando a medida que el proceso evolutivo del pensamiento cumple su estupenda labor de perfeccionamiento.

La muerte no es una muerte real para el guajiro. Acostumbrado a interpretar el sueño como la separación, como la liberación del espíritu, del alma universal de la caparazón del cuerpo (Cf. *Enfermedad y Medicina*), la muerte para ellos entonces no es más que una liberación mayor y definitiva del espíritu para pasar de este mundo a otro —el mundo de los espíritus—, desconocido y fantasmagórico, pero tan real para su imaginación, como la existencia misma. Por esta misma razón, y por el temor que infunden en el primitivo los espíritus desligados de su cuerpo, capaces de tomar formas nuevas y desconocidas, capaces de trasladarse a distancia, capaces, en fin, de proezas irrealizables por el mortal, creen indispensable para su tranquilidad practicar una série de ceremonias, de ritos, de guardar una actitud determinada y constante frente a los muertos, porque ellos, por el hecho físico de la separación del alma del cuerpo, poseen potencialidades especiales que les confieren el poder de dañar a los vivos cuando su persona sea ofendida por la violación de alguna de las normas establecidas en el ceremonial de los muertos.

Porque hay que tener en cuenta que para el primitivo el muerto no es únicamente un sér sagrado —por lo menos intocable— sino que es considerado también como un enemigo potencial. Freud así lo reconoce, cuando dice: "Sabemos ya, que los muertos son poderosos soberanos; quizá nos asombre averiguar ahora, que son también considerados como enemigos" [80].

Esta dualidad que hemos expresado en el párrafo anterior, corroborada por la cita del profesor Freud, tendremos oportunidad de verla más ampliamente a medida que avancemos en este estudio y que consideremos las diferentes categorías de peligrosidad que se dan entre los espíritus de los muertos, de acuerdo con las circunstancias de su muerte o con los irrespetos que con ellos se cometan.

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[80] *Freud. Totem y Tabú*, II, 75.

La enfermedad, como pudimos verlo en el aparte correspondiente (Cf. *Medicina y Enfermedad* y *Ciclo Vital del Piache*), no corresponde en la mentalidad del guajiro a un hecho provocado por causas naturales, sino que es la consecuencia de la acción maléfica de algún sér especial. Sobre todo de un espíritu. Y una serie de creencias, de prevenciones de tipo mágico, han sido establecidas para evitar o para conjurar la acción hostil de los mismos sobre el individuo, como pudimos también notarlo en el capítulo respectivo, *Enfermedad y Medicina*. Vimos también en lo relativo a la magia y la enfermedad, cómo determinados animales, plantas u objetos podían ser decisivos, por efecto de la contaminación o la participación en la formación y desarrollo de las enfermedades. Pero es especialmente el espíritu del muerto, ofendido y maléfico, el que ocasiona mayores desastres en el guajiro, según lo atestiguan sus creencias y sus mismos sistemas preventivos.

Podemos apoyarnos un poco en la lingüística para aclarar este concepto: La palabra que tienen los guajiros para designar la enfermedad en general, es *wanurú* y esta misma palabra es la que sirve para nombrar el espíritu de los muertos —el demonio según todos los autores, y aún los propios indígenas, por efecto de la transcuturación religiosa provocada por los padres capuchinos. Más aún: si descomponemos la palabra, nos encontramos con que ella está formada por tres partículas especiales: *wa, nu, rú*, que corresponden por separado a tres conceptos diferentes: *wa*, se deriva del pronombre personal de primera persona del plural; *wayá*, es decir, "nosotros"; *nu*, o simplemente *n*, no es más que el apócope general del pronombre personal de tercera persona del singular, *niá*, es decir, "él"; y *rú* es una partícula de relación que se deriva de *surú* o *hurú* (*s* o *h*, según la zona dialectal en que se tome), y que quiere significar "dentro, dentro de, adentro". Dada la composición idiomática del dialecto guajiro, podemos, con toda certeza, hacer la traducción de la palabra *wanurú*, como sigue: "él, dentro de nosotros". El concepto lingüístico corresponde así a una realidad social: la enfermedad, *wanurú*, no es más que eso: él, el espíritu del muerto, que se ha metido dentro del individuo para causarle un mal determinado, por cualquier desacato cometido contra él, o simplemente porque es un espíritu maligno y vengativo.

La relación enfermedad-muerte-espíritu, que será objeto de un estudio especial posterior por parte nuéstra, se puede comprobar a través de la lingüística en muchos de los grupos aborígenes colombianos y aún americanos, hasta donde nos ha sido posible comprobarlo personal o bibliográficamente. Para no dar sino una pequeña muestra de esto, veamos dos

citas bibliográficas que corroboran lo anteriormente dicho. Pero antes de hacerlo, tenemos que recordar un poco, para mejor comprensión, la posición del mago, hechicero, hombre-medicina o piache dentro de las comunidades aborígenes, considerado como un intermediario entre los dos mundos, o como un acaparador de los espíritus por medio de los cuales logra sus efectos mágicos. Esta aclaración es necesaria, porque muchas veces la enfermedad o la muerte, pueden confundirse idiomáticamente, también con el piache u hombre-medicina, por su condición misma.

Dice, por ejemplo, la Madre Laura, refiriéndose a los katío [51]: "Entre las muchas particularidades que ofrece el estudio de las costumbres, usos y creencias de la raza catía, descuella en primer término el jaibanismo.

"La etimología de la palabra jaibaná es así: *Jái* —achaque— *Pana*, reunión (derivado de *capaná*, manada). De modo que puede traducirse: conjunto o reunión de enfermedades. La acepción que le dan es doctor o médico" [52].

Este jaibaná a que hace referencia la Madre Laura, corresponde a lo que etnográficamente podemos denominar hombre-medicina, pues es el brujo y curandero de la tribu, según se desprende del estudio de la religiosa, brujo cuyos poderes sobrenaturales lo colocan en la cúspide de la pirámide social. Este jaibaná no es otra cosa que un individuo que ha absorbido por sí y para sí el poder de los espíritus —los muertos— y que, por lo mismo, puede desempeñar los mismos oficios de aquéllos, es decir, hacer el mal o el bien, según se le antoje. Por eso, "Cuando atacan a los indios alguna enfermedad, súbitamente, dicen que están embrujados y señalan de quién han recibido el perjuicio. Sueñan persistentemente con un jaibaná determinado y que éste los mira con mirada torva, o que los acecha con lanzas y escopetas y de ahí toman pié para creer que el Doctor con quien sueñan es el mismo que los ha embrujado" [53]. Es, pues, en este caso el *jaibaná* (conjunto de enfermedades según la etimología), el que, aprovechando su capacidad de absorción y dominio de los espíritus, se vale de ellos para causar el mal entre los indios, y también para realizar las cura-

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[51] Los *katío*, indios pertenecientes lingüística y culturalmente al grupo *chokó* de la familia lingüística *karib* (Rivet. Op. cit.), habitaron y aún habitan una gran parte del noroeste del departamento de Antioquia, en la República de Colombia.

[52] *Montoya*, Laura (Rvda. Madre) *Nociones sobre usos y costumbres de los Catíos en el departamento de Antioquia*. p. 148.

[53] It. it. p. 151.

2: Pineda Giraldo SC13 Goajiro

ciones cuando los enfermos recurren a él en busca de remedios. Nuevamente nos encontramos con la dualidad que ya habíamos señalado para los espíritus de los muertos (amigos-enemigos) y que mostramos en el capítulo anterior *Enfermedad y Medicina*, para los espíritus en general y para los animales.

Entre los *chibcha* colombianos de las sabanas de Cundinamarca, encontramos también una correspondencia lingüística y conceptual entre demonio y muerte. Según nuestra opinión, en el primitivo no existe, o no existió en el americano antes de la Conquista el concepto de demonio propiamente dicho, sino el de espíritu del mal que, aunque posea algunas semejanzas con el demonio de nuestra religión católica, diverge por muchos otros aspectos de aquél. Entre el primitivo americano, por todo lo que hemos podido observar, el concepto de demonio, introducido seguramente después de la Conquista por los misioneros católicos, corresponde más bien a una entidad, espiritual es cierto, y capaz de hacer el mal o el bien, pero un mal físico siempre, no un mal espiritual como lo hace el demonio según el concepto de la religión católica. Además, según nuestras observaciones, ese mismo espíritu del primitivo no es otro que el de los muertos, el de los antepasados, habitantes del "otro mundo", un mundo irreal como que no es tangible directa, o por lo menos completamente a los sentidos, pero real en el concepto, en la fe y en las creencias de los primitivos. Esta última característica de los espíritus *demoníacos* de los aborígenes americanos, confundidos con los muertos, los separa formal y conceptualmente de la idea de demonio entendida a través del catolicismo.

Volviendo a los *chibcha* de la Sabana, nos encontramos con que una de las palabras que posee su dialecto para designar al muerto es *guajaia* (respetamos la grafía del autor); y la palabra para demonio es *guaioque*. Podemos intentar la descomposición de la segunda palabra, de la siguiente manera: *guaia, que*. Esta última partícula que hemos desmembrado de la palabra, tiene el sentido de "fuerte, vigoroso". De suerte que, según la descomposición, *guaioque*, traducida como "demonio" por los diferentes tratadistas de la lengua chibcha de Cundinamarca, tendría realmente el sentido de "muerto poderoso" [54].

Muchas otras serían las citas que podrían servirnos de base para corroborar nuestra aseveración, pero como ya lo anunciamos, las reserva-

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[54] Las notas lingüísticas han sido tomadas de dos obras: *El Idioma Chibcha o aborígen de Cundinamarca*, de J. Acosta Ortegón y *Gramática, Vocabulario, Catecismo i Confesionario de la lengua Chibcha...* de Ezequiel Uricoechea.

mos para un trabajo especial. Sólo queríamos, para mejor comprensión de este estudio, esbozar nuestra teoría general. Bástenos, pues, afirmar una vez más que muerte, enfermedad, espíritu (demonio) y aún hombre-medicina, son todos conceptos que corresponden a un mismo círculo ideológico, imbuído totalmente por el contenido espiritista de la magia, relacionado con el alma de los muertos.

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Podemos decir que en la Guajira existen dentro de los espíritus de los muertos, categorías determinadas por su capacidad para el mal: los espíritus en general son inofensivos, mientras no se violen las normas establecidas respecto a ellos, como el cumplimiento del ceremonial *post-mortem*, la no invocación de su nombre, etc.; pero cuando el espíritu es el de un suicida, entonces su categoría crece como autor del mal, pues por el hecho de haber violado el orden social establecido, por el suicidio mismo, se coloca automáticamente al margen de la comunidad, es un excecrado social, aún en el mundo de los muertos, y su espíritu no vaga como el de los demás, sino boca-abajo y a ras de tierra; por lo mismo, es un enemigo de la comunidad.

Cuenta la leyenda guajira relacionada con el cerro de *katétamána*, que en tiempos muy antiguos había una *majayura* (señorita), que tuvo relaciones sexuales con su padre, y resultó embarazada. Al verse en tal estado —sigue la leyenda— sintió tánta vergüenza que quiso borrar su pecado social ahorcándose. En efecto, lo hizo. *Moriwa*, el dios de los guajiros, le dijo entonces que como castigo a la falta cometida, la convertiría en un cerro. Por eso, dicen los indios, el cerro de *katétamána* tiene la forma de una mujer ahorcada. Desde entonces —concluye la narración—, los indios se ahorcan frecuentemente, por cualquier contrariedad que les suceda.

El suicidio se realiza, según puede apreciarse por la leyenda que acabamos de transcribir, cuando el individuo no puede llevar a efecto algún hecho que choca contra las pautas culturales establecidas dentro de su círculo familiar o de la sociedad en general. Y como el castigo por la violación ya no puede recibirlo en vida, se cumple entonces después de muerto. Es su espíritu el que siente y vive las consecuencias del pecado social cometido. Por eso existe la creencia generalizada, y a la cual ya aludimos, de que el alma del suicida vaga siempre boca-abajo y a ras de tierra por el mundo de los muertos.

Pero si el castigo contra el suicidio no puede realizarse en vida sobre el individuo mismo, sí se efectúa en los objetos que sirvieron de agentes principales para llevar a cabo su fatal determinación. Como la forma de suicidio que se conoce en la Guajira es casi exclusivamente el ahorcamiento, entonces se procede a quemar el palo en que se colgó el individuo y el lazo que le sirvió de cuerda, porque, según dicen ellos, estos fueron los culpables directos de su muerte.

Respecto al *castigo* cumplido en los objetos, para nosotros inanimados, que sirven para el cumplimiento del suicidio, se pueden hacer varias sugerencias: por una parte, podría pensarse en el "cobro de sangre", ley consuetudinaria establecida en esta comunidad y por medio de la cual, cualquier derramamiento de sangre que se provoque en una persona, voluntaria o involuntariamente, directa o indirectamente, debe ser pagado de acuerdo con el avalúo que establecen los llamados "componedores" o "palabras", que no son otra cosa que unos intermediarios que nombran los grupos familiares afectados, para arreglar el asunto pacíficamente. Este pago es considerable cuando el derramamiento de sangre culmina con la muerte del individuo. Si el asesino se niega a cubrir la suma convenida (en ganado, collares, piedras preciosas, etc.), entonces los miembros del grupo familiar del muerto toman la venganza en su persona y le dan muerte. Todo esto culmina, como es natural, en guerra a muerte o *putchi* entre los grupos familiares extensos, cosa que por lo demás es muy frecuente en la Guajira. Así, pues, como a estos objetos —el palo y la cuerda— no se les puede exigir un "cobro de sangre", se les castiga, en cambio, con la destrucción por el fuego. La hipótesis se reforzará si recordamos que para el indio guajiro, como para la mayor parte de los primitivos, los objetos —que para nosotros no tienen vida animada—, son susceptibles de ejercer influencias maléficas o benéficas sobre el individuo (Cf. *Enfermedad y Medicina* y *Amuletos, Fetiches, Talismanes*), pues están dotados de un espíritu, de una especie de *mana* o fuerza inmaterial que todo lo cubre y lo anima.

Otra sugerencia que podría hacerse respecto a la destrucción de los objetos del suicidio es la siguiente: como estos objetos estuvieron en contacto directo con el muerto, y sobre todo con un muerto tan peligroso como es el suicida, es necesario destruírlos para que la contaminación no se transmita a las personas que por cualquier circunstancia se acerquen a ellos y los toquen.

La maldad del espíritu suicida, en todo caso, se ve reafirmada por otra creencia del guajiro, cual es la de que no debe atreverse a pasar de

noche por el sitio en donde algún indio se haya ahorcado, pues su espíritu vaga constantemente alrededor de este sitio y, como es maligno, seguramente lo perseguirá y correrá detrás de él a manera de gran llama o bajo cualquiera otra forma.

A medida que vamos viendo los datos relacionados con la participación de los muertos en la vida de la comunidad guajira, daremos los relacionados con los espíritus de los suicidas, para obtener así mayor objetividad en nuestras afirmaciones.

Presencia y vida de los muertos.—El espíritu del muerto, conocido generalmente como *wanurú* y algunas otras veces como *yorujá*, vaga por el mundo al separarse de su cuerpo. Y aunque ya no tiene ninguna relación tangente con las cosas terrenales, es, sin embargo, peligroso. Generalmente va a refugiarse en los lugares apartados y solitarios, como en algunos cementerios, en las grietas que forman las rocas erosionadas por el mar en el Cabo de la Vela, o en las soledades del bosque *Emejuy*. Pero parece, además, que fuera de estos sitios donde moran los espíritus de los muertos, haya uno especial, no determinado, bastante lejos de la Guajira, pues hay la costumbre de que cuando muere una mujer, antes de amortajarla para echarla en la caja mortuoria y entregar sus despojos a la tierra, le cubren el rostro con *paipai* (pintura para la cara). La explicación es que ella va de viaje, un viaje muy largo, y los soles que debe soportar son muy fuertes para el rostro. Por eso, según la costumbre guajira, deben tratar de protegerle la piel del rostro contra la acción solar, con la pintura facial. Además, porque va de visita y es requisito indispensable pintarse la cara para visitar a los amigos y parientes [35].

Otra prueba más clara y convincente de la realidad de los muertos como seres que van a otra vida, hasta cierto punto material, la presentan los siguientes hechos: al morir una persona, suelen colocarle al momento del entierro, al costado, un poco de chicha dentro de un calabazo; también le echan carne y ron, como alimentos indispensables para la jornada que tiene que recorrer. Después de enterrada, se coloca sobre su tumba uno de los objetos de propiedad personal y que hubiera sido utilizado por esa persona para la satisfacción de sus necesidades primordiales. Estos ob-

[35] La india guajira, cada vez que ha de exponerse a los rayos solares, acostumbra protegerse la cara con una mezcla del polvo *paipai* (color ciena oscuro) o polvo de achiote, mezclado con cebo o grasa animal de cualquier clase, pues así evita las quemaduras que podría producirle el fuerte sol del desierto.

jetos pueden ser: un vaso de noche (influencia de la transculturación con elementos civilizados), si es un indio rico; el jarro donde tomaba las bebidas o el plato donde acostumbraba comer. A las mujeres, fuera de estos objetos, se les coloca uno especial que apreciaran mucho en vida y con el cual trabajaban, por ejemplo el huso de hilar. Además, después de enterrado el cuerpo del difunto, encienden fogatas durante varias noches para que el espíritu encuentre el camino que ha de hacer en su recorrido a la otra vida, y no sufra el perjuicio de equivocarse, porque ello se traduciría en molestias para sus familiares.

Por otra parte, cuando el indio guajiro que ha emigrado de su tierra por diversas circunstancias, especialmente en las épocas de los grandes veranos cuando la escasez se hace sentir de manera alarmante, y se siente enfermo en tierra extraña, toda su preocupación se concentra en la necesidad de regresar a su patria lo más pronto posible, para morir en ella y ser enterrado en el cementerio donde reposan los restos de los antepasados de su grupo familiar. Esta preocupación que podría interpretarse románticamente como un acto sentimental, como una simple manifestación de saudade, tiene otra explicación más sociológica y consciente, relacionada con la vida de ultratumba, pues el guajiro, cualquiera que sea su condición social o familiar, está convencido de ella y de que después de su muerte tendrá que recorrer un largo trayecto para llegar a la morada de los espíritus, trayecto que se haría difícil y hasta imposible si tuviera que partir de otro sitio que no fuera el especial del cementerio de su grupo; y, sobre todo, teme que no se cumplan con sus despojos mortales todas las ceremonias requeridas y ya anotadas en parte, ceremonias indispensables para el buen éxito de su recorrido *post-mortem*.

Estos hechos nos indican la presencia actuante, la continuidad de vida de los individuos después de su muerte física, en forma de espíritu. Y es precisamente esta creencia en la vida de ultratumba, la que moldea, dirige y controla las actuaciones de la vida del guajiro en múltiples circunstancias, como ya lo anotamos anteriormente. Para corroborarlo, destaquemos algunos de estos comportamientos que se refieren directamente al espíritu de los muertos.

Retorno de los muertos.—En uno de los relatos recogidos por nosotros en la expedición a la Guajira y cuya narración fue hecha por la misma informadora que nos suministró los datos acerca del sacrificio de niños para la flecha mágica, cuenta ella cómo cuando era pequeña salió una mañana en compañía de su hermanita, también pequeña como ella, a bus-

car unos burros que se habían perdido. Buscaron todo el día sin hallarlos y decidieron tomar el camino de regreso a la casa. Era ya tarde cuando las niñas se dirigían al hogar, del cual se habían alejado bastante. Cuando el sol ya comenzaba a ocultarse, en un pequeño arroyo, bordeado de bosque, vieron a su abuela que había muerto hacía ya algún tiempo. Según el relato, la anciana estaba bañándose y se encontraba acompañada de un niño. Las niñas, para comprobar si era realmente su abuela muerta, le preguntaron algunas cosas y ella no les contestó, señal evidente de que era su espíritu el que había recobrado su forma carnal. (Se puede desprender de esta parte del relato una característica de los espíritus de los muertos, y es su incapacidad para comunicarse directamente con los vivos, a través del idioma; estas comunicaciones sólo se logran en los sueños del indio, cuando su espíritu, también desligado de su cuerpo, puede disfrutar de su calidad de tal). Las niñas regresaron a su casa y preguntaron por qué habían visto a su abuela si ella ya había muerto. La respuesta que obtuvieron fue la siguiente: Es que los muertos en la casa, van a aumentar.

En este relato podemos apreciar tres hechos bastante claros en relación con los muertos: 1° Que ellos pueden tomar la forma corporal que tuvieron en vida; 2° Que su presencia en esta forma es presagio de desgracia, pues anuncia la muerte de alguno de los miembros de la familia, especialmente de los más allegados; 3° Como ya lo anotamos, su incapacidad de comunicarse por medio de la palabra con los vivos.

La ciega creencia que tienen los guajiros en la aparición del muerto bajo su forma corporal, se debe, según las investigaciones que pudimos realizar en parte, a un fenómeno psicológico: Se observa muy claramente en la Guajira y los indígenas así lo reconocen, que la gente no quiere mirar la cara del difunto. Esto se debe a que el dicho rostro se graba muy fuertemente en la memoria, hasta el punto de que, cuando el individuo que lo ha observado va solo por un camino y de noche, o cuando ya está oscureciendo, o cuando se encuentra solo en su habitación por la noche, preocupado, al abrir los ojos, ve claramente al muerto, en la forma que tuvo en vida. Creemos entonces que lo que sucede en este caso es que el individuo se obsesiona, se impresiona con la cara descompuesta del muerto que, como ya lo dijimos, queda por ese mismo hecho bien grabada en la memoria. Esta observación que hacemos no es exclusiva para los indios guajiros, o para los primitivos. Es también muy común en las gentes del pueblo de casi todas las regiones de Colombia que hemos visitado. El fenómeno psíquico de la obsesión, y luégo la reconstrucción casi perfecta de la imagen grabada en la memoria, es lugar común entre ellas. Pero si

a esto agregamos en el guajiro, el conjunto de creencias relacionadas con los muertos, el temor a la aparición de los espíritus, que siempre es presagio de mal agüero (muerte, enfermedad, desgracias en general), nos explicamos así cómo el individuo obsesionado reconstruye, bajo el impulso de los nervios, la imagen recogida anteriormente y le da cuerpo, por así decirlo, en su imaginación. El efecto del miedo se traduce entonces en la visión real de la imagen del individuo muerto, y la persona es incapaz de distinguir entre lo meramente ficticio, lo imaginativo y lo real. Para él, la imagen reconstruída tan fielmente en la imaginación, es tan real como la imagen viviente del difunto. Entonces la explicación para el fenómeno, según su mentalidad, es la de que el muerto se le ha aparecido por una circunstancia cualquiera.

Este hecho se complica además con la creencia de que toda persona muerta "desanda sus pasos" o "deshace sus pasos"; es decir, que recorre nuevamente todo el trayecto que hizo en vida; vuelve a los sitios donde estuvo en ocasiones diversas; por eso es por lo que se *siente* muchas veces. El individuo vive la presencia del espíritu del muerto aunque no lo vea, en muchas ocasiones. Esta creencia guajira se encuentra también muy difundida en todo el folklore colombiano. El fenómeno que conoce el pueblo como "deshacer los pasos", corresponde exactamente a la versión guajira que acabamos de transcribir. Por supuesto, que según rezan las leyendas populares, el muerto "deshace sus pasos" cuando está en agonía o pocos días o momentos antes de morir. Sentir ruidos extraños, sin explicación lógica aparente, ver sombras, etc., es para el pueblo señal evidente de que alguno de sus familiares o allegados, o simplemente una persona que antes habitara esos lugares, está en agonía o va a morir de un momento a otro. Por lo mismo, se evita transitar solo por determinados lugares cuando se sabe que una persona que haya vivido allí, se encuentra en estado agónico.

Grados de peligrosidad en los espíritus.—El asesino guajiro sufre doble castigo: primero, el cobro de sangre que le presentan los familiares del muerto, que se traduce en muerte si no se paga lo convenido; y, segundo, la presencia constante del espíritu del muerto que no lo abandona jamás. Por esta razón, el asesino no puede penetrar a las casas donde haya niños pequeños, porque el espíritu del muerto, que le sigue, se sube encima de ellos, los aprieta y los hace llorar. Si los niños están enfermos, la presencia del asesino es más peligrosa porque el espíritu les ocasiona la muerte rápidamente. Si están sanos, lo general es que se enfermen.

La muerte de un semejante se convierte en el guajiro en tremenda obsesión: el asesino está convencido de que el espíritu del muerto le sigue a todas partes; cuando enferma, sufre pesadillas y sueños, posiblemente en el delirio de la fiebre, que el espíritu se le trepa y le aprieta dolorosamente el pecho, lo persigue insistentemente, lo que provoca una crisis grave en la enfermedad. El espíritu, pues, aprovecha el estado de debilidad del asesino para agravar su mal. Una de las consecuencias sociales más importantes de este hecho, debida a la obsesión de la presencia del espíritu del muerto, es la auto-confesión, toda vez que un asesino que ha logrado conservar el secreto de la muerte de otro, y por lo tanto ha escapado del cobro de sangre, pierde su serenidad durante la enfermedad y refiere lo ocurrido. En el delirio de la fiebre, presa de la angustia ocasionada por el supuesto peso del espíritu del muerto sobre su pecho, detalla todos los pormenores de su crimen. La confesión, según su creencia, puede traer algún alivio, ya que implica, en cierto modo, la venganza del muerto, y por tanto devuelve tranquilidad al ofensor, y descanso al espíritu ofendido.

Los espíritus de los muertos por violencia caen, si así podemos decirlo, dentro de una categoría de más alta peligrosidad que los que fenecen por causas naturales. Representan, digámosla, un punto intermedio entre los espíritus de éstos y los de los suicidas. Hasta tal punto es esto cierto, que la casa en donde se ha dado muerte a algún indígena se deshabita inmediatamente porque su espíritu vivirá en aquel sitio y no se alejará de él sino para atormentar a su asesino. El indio guajiro no querrá jamás pasar por allí en el lapso de tiempo comprendido entre la puesta del sol y la llegada de la aurora, porque está convencido de que en tal sitio se repite continuamente toda la escena de tragedia de la muerte: se oyen de nuevo los insultos, los disparos o flechazos, los suspiros y quejidos de agonía, tal como se oyeron el día de la muerte. Y a fuer de eso, el espíritu se aparece en la forma de una llama que persigue al que está cerca de la casa; también puede aparecer bajo la forma de un animal cualquiera, un pájaro por ejemplo.

Pero el más alto grado de peligrosidad lo presentan los espíritus de los indios asesinados, frente a su asesino. Es un espíritu herido y vengativo, hasta tal punto, que la familia del asesino, después de haber llenado las formalidades relativas al arreglo o convenio con la familia del muerto, le impone a éste una especie de castigo, un ritmo de vida totalmente diferente al que llevaba normalmente y que puede interpretarse de dos maneras: a) Como rito de purificación; b) Como cambio de personalidad, para evitar la presencia mortificante del espíritu frente al asesino. A nos-

otros nos parece más clara y aceptable la segunda, ya que desconocemos otros ritos de purificación en la Guajira, que puedan dar pié para pensar en ello.

El homicida arrepentido, según la ficha recogida por nuestro colega y compañero de expedición, licenciado Milciades Chaves Ch., se castiga por su propia voluntad y también por determinación de su familia, con normas que le dan sus tíos y tías. El se somete voluntariamente a ellas para no volver a incurrir en este mismo delito que ha constituído su ruina y la de sus familiares, que también quedan expuestos a ser víctimas de la retaliación de los familiares del muerto, en venganza del asesinato. Ese castigo se ejecuta de la manera siguiente:

1° El homicida debe pasar oculto durante cinco o seis días en medio de la selva o en alguna montaña lejana;

2° No debe tomar alimento sólido. Sólo se le permite tomar bebidas calientes o mazamorra (chicha de maíz) muy clara, y agua;

3° No debe tratar a ninguna persona, y ha de estar alerta en todo momento, con el rifle en la mano, dispuesto a defenderse de los enemigos;

4° Debe disfrazarse: recortarse el cabello, usar unas fajas y harapos especiales, y llevar su manta —de color negro—. (Esta manta es una tan pequeña y corta, que apenas sí alcanza a cubrirle la parte superior del cuerpo);

5° En el monte debe dormir sobre el suelo por la noche. Y, sobre todo, no debe acostarse boca-arriba porque el alma de la víctima se le treparía y le presionaría el pecho hasta provocarle la muerte por asfixia. Sólo por unos pocos momentos puede regresar a su casa para descansar en el chinchorro. Pero éste ha de ser de tal naturaleza pequeño, que no pueda acomodarse perfectamente en él, y por la misma incomodidad no pueda quedarse dormido;

6° Debe, pues, comer y dormir muy poco y estar siempre alerta, teniendo por compañía únicamente un perro que sienta y le anuncie la presencia del peligro;

7° Debe abstenerse de todo negocio y renunciar a sus amistades por algunos años, y rehuir las reuniones, sobre todo las que tienen el carácter de fiesta o de parranda; y,

8° En caso de que no se lleve a efecto ningún convenio entre los dos grupos familiares —el del asesino y el del muerto— aquél —el asesino— debe desterrarse por propia y espontánea voluntad a tierras lejanas.

Si el homicida no cumple con todos los requisitos indicados, puede estar seguro de que el espíritu de su víctima lo entregará indefenso en

manos de sus enemigos, quienes lo harán perecer inmediatamente, para satisfacer su venganza.

Podemos ver claramente desprendidas de estos hechos, dos cosas esenciales: a) Que el matador se coloca, automáticamente, por el crimen social cometido, en la calidad de un excecrado, de un impuro, o mejor, de un contaminado peligroso. Por lo mismo, es un individuo que debe ser alejado un poco de la comunidad; b) La familia del homicida, a la vez que le proporciona las bases para su alejamiento, cumpliendo con una de sus funciones principales: la ayuda mutua entre sus miembros, vela porque el *asocial* no sea presa fácil del espíritu de su víctima. Porque el alejamiento de los sitios habituales de vida, de sus personas conocidas —aún de sus mismos parientes, y sobre todo de ellos—; el disfraz por el recorte del cabello y la utilización de determinadas prendas de vestir; el evitar dormir en el chinchorro; el esquivar que la cara le sea vista (dormir boca abajo); la abstención en sus amistades, en sus negocios y en general en las reuniones sociales; y, en último caso, como recurso postrero, el alejamiento espacial de su clan, nos están demostrando con una evidencia palpable que lo que el victimario trata de hacer —consciente o inconscientemente— es efectuar un cambio de personalidad total; casi que diríamos que trata de convertirse en otra persona hipotética, desconocida sobre todo para el espíritu de la persona que ha ultimado, para evitar que sea reconocida por él, y que sacie en su cuerpo la venganza.

La demostración más palpable de que el cambio de personalidad se hace con relación al muerto es el hecho de que sólo cuando no se puede llegar a un acuerdo entre los dos grupos familiares —el del asesino y el del muerto— aquél debe huir a tierras lejanas para evitar así que se cumpla en él la venganza de sus enemigos. Tenemos, pues, aquí, la repetición, diferente en la forma, pero la misma en esencia, del disfraz para evitar la presencia de los espíritus, que practican los *Witoto*, tanto en el padre como en la madre y el niño, con el objeto de defender al último de la acción maléfica de los espíritus. (Cf. *Enfermedad y Medicina*).

Presencia de los muertos en los sueños.—La presencia de los muertos puede efectuarse también por intermedio de los sueños. Y es entonces tan real, tan viva, como la aparición durante el día o durante la noche bajo la forma corporal o en diversas formas, frente a los indígenas, como lo hemos venido viendo a través de este capítulo. Por eso, cuando el indio sueña con uno de sus familiares muertos, en cualquier ocasión, cree que es que éste está pasando necesidades en su mundo y que requiere la ayuda

especial de sus parientes. Reúne entonces a los familiares más cercanos del muerto, se dirigen todos, lo más pronto posible, a la tumba de la persona soñada y le llevan un poco de comida. Después de un rato de lamentaciones sobre la tumba, desenvuelven el fiambre llevado expresamente para la ocasión y se sientan sobre la tumba dispuestos a comer, diciendo al iniciar la comida: Vén, entonces, comámos juntos. Y, para evitar esta presencia de los espíritus a través de los sueños, es costumbre generalizada realizar viajes a la tumba del muerto en épocas de luna clara, por la noche, y en la fecha anual de su muerte.

La explicación de la presencia del espíritu en el sueño, se puede hallar muy claramente expuesta en las palabras que citamos del doctor Boro, y según las cuales "...de las experiencias del mundo de los sueños surgió la creencia en el alma como explicación clara de la conciencia del "yo", que se opone al destino de la muerte". Según esto, la comunicación en el sueño se establece entre dos espíritus, entre dos almas, como dice el doctor Boro: la del muerto, libre ya definitivamente de su envoltura humana, y la del vivo, libre momentáneamente de su cuerpo por efectos del sueño.

Fecundidad y Niños.—Cuando muere el primogénito de un matrimonio guajiro, antes de nacer los demás hijos, lo colocan en una urna con la cabeza para abajo, y luégo lo tapan con el pedazo de otra olla de barro, nueva, generalmente con el asiento. Lo entierran en el monte al pié de un árbol especial que se llama en guajiro *barawá* (dentro de nosotros, según la etimología), con el fin de que no se sigan muriendo los otros niños que nazcan. Ninguna ceremonia especial acompaña el entierro del niño, que debe ser realizado por un tío materno, ya que ni el padre ni la madre pueden presenciarlo, porque si lo hacen se les seguirán muriendo los demás hijos, a medida que vayan naciendo.

Muerto el primogénito y cumplidas las labores del entierro, la madre sufre el siguiente proceso: la cuelgan en un chinchorro por espacio de tres días, en una pieza cerrada (es, realmente, una pequeña casa fabricada especialmente para el efecto). A los tres días la descuelgan del chinchorro, pero tiene que permanecer encerrada por espacio de cinco meses (cinco meses lunares) y se le prohibe que el marido vaya a visitarla, con el fin de evitar el contacto sexual. Después de este encierro puede entonces regresar el marido y continuar su vida marital normalmente. Durante el tiempo en que está en la hamaca no puede la madre recibir ninguna comida sino una medicina que se llama *hewaji* y que sirve para engordar. Esta medicina es una mezcla de raíces que se raspa, se disuelve en agua

fría y después de colada se bebe la cuenca. Esta medicina la recibe de manos de su madre, que es la que realiza las funciones de enfermera.

Es decir, que la madre, por efecto de la muerte del primogénito, tiene que repetir todo el ciclo del enterro de iniciación de los jóvenes, como cuando llegó a la pubertad. Las características son las mismas: enterro, toma de la medicina para engordar, alejamiento sexual del hombre y en general todo contacto o relación con él, etc.

Si el próximo niño, a pesar de estas precauciones, muere también, ya no se sigue el ciclo anterior, sino que se entierrado con todas las ceremonias del caso. Se realiza una fiesta para su entrenamiento. Se hace un velorio con la consabida repartición de bebida y de carne de animales sacrificados que suministran para el caso los abuelos paterno y materno. La madre sufre un nuevo tratamiento especial, pero sin repetir las consecuencias del anterior.

En estas prácticas mágicas podemos observar los siguientes hechos: 1º El entrenamiento del primogénito bajo-abajo en una urna funeraria, evita que los demás niños posibles por nacer mueran también como él. Si se le entierra con la cabeza hacia arriba, los demás hijos morirán indefectiblemente. El espíritu del niño es, pues, como los de los demás muertos adultos, un espíritu capaz de hacer el mal, pero su influencia se puede contrarrestar fácilmente al variar la posición normal de la cabeza en el momento del entierro; 2º Hay allí la intervención de un árbol especial, el *hawará*, intervención que desconocemos hasta el momento, pero que presupone la presencia de ciertas propiedades mágicas del mismo, pues es debajo de este árbol, y no de ninguno otro, donde debe ser enterrado el cuerpo del primogénito muerto; 3º La presencia del padre o de la madre en el momento del entierro, puede ocasionar la muerte de los futuros hijos, lo que corrobora lo anteriormente dicho de que el espíritu del muerto, sea el del niño recién nacido, deja morir, con la muerte, su influencia en la generación, como lo hemos visto en otros casos. (Cf. *Magia y Sacrificio*, y *Enfermedad y Medicina*); 4º La madre debe sufrir o revivir el ceremonial del rito de iniciación, pues éste, que también está directamente emparentado con la magia, presupone la preparación de la mujer para su vida como tal. Si hacemos la abstracción, podemos suponer o reproducir el proceso mental del indígena en este caso: si el rito de iniciación tiene como fin especial la preparación de la mujer para sus funciones en sociedad y en familia, y si a pesar de él, el primogénito —que implica una de sus funciones principales: la generación— muere, es que el dicho rito no revistió toda la solemnidad, no cumplió todas y cada una de sus

partes fundamentales y se necesita repetirlo. La madre del primogénito muerto se cubre, pues, en la condición de adolescente.

* * *

Dijimos en uno de los aparte correspondientes al capítulo Mágico y Enfermedad, que el niño, también para los primitivos, se ve así hasta cierto punto indefenso y que, por lo mismo, necesita mayor protección que el adulto, pues los niños, debido a sus pocas capacidades defensivas, pueden tener pasmito fácilmente de su cuerpo. Hacíamos referencia en ese aparte a la acción nociva de ciertos animales, y también, a la influencia de los muertos, a la contaminación de los muertos mejor, en la generación y en los niños pequeños. Y ahora, volvemos a hacerlo especialmente con referencia a este último aspecto. Vimos también, cómo los efectos dolosos de los animales se controlaban especialmente en las criaturas no-natas, por imprudencia de los madres embarazadas o de sus maridos, y esto se repite, igualmente, en el aspecto de la fundición.

Cuando la fosa destinada a algún muerto está abierta, los niños pequeños que concurren al entierro, familiares del muerto, deben ir deslizándo por sobre ella, con el objeto de que la muerte se retarde y no los haga presa muy jóvenes.

Al hablar del sacrificio (Cf. Cap. III), y también al hablar de la medicina entre los indios guajiros, desde un aspecto mágico, citamos la creencia generalizada en la Guajira, que se conoce también como aspecto folklórico en varios regiones de Colombia, entre ellos Santander y Nariño, de que si durante el embarazo el padre o la madre de la criatura por nacer, han presenciado la muerte de unas reses, el niño nace enfermizo: sufre de diarrea, sudores nocturnos, palidez y pérdida del peso. El carácter de esta muerte por la muerte que tienen las reses, se contagia, contaminó por así decirlo a la madre de la criatura, que por su debilidad se incapaz de presentar resistencia a la influencia. Si se considera en este caso el aspecto folklórico, la explicación que se da —como ya tal vez lo mencionamos que el frío de la muerte se ha contagiado al niño a través de la presencia de la madre o del padre frente a las reses. La explicación en el caso de la Guajira nos parece un poco más compleja, como tuvimos oportunidad de manifestarlo en líneas anteriores, aunque las personas curativas tienden en realidad a extraer el frío de la muerte del cuerpo del niño después que ha nacido. Porque el sistema de curación infalible para ellos es el de "tomarse" al niño en las vísceras aún calientes del animal sacrificado

durante el velorio y sólo cuando no haya dicha posibilidad recurrir al sustituto del hueso, ya mencionado también o al de enterrarlo en la arena caliente y cubrirlo hasta la base de la cabeza. Hay, pues, una decidida intervención mágica cuya acción determinada desconocemos, por parte del animal sacrificado que, como lo dijimos, participa del carácter contaminante de su dueño muerto.

Otras creencias que confirman lo dicho, son las siguientes: El marido de una mujer en estado grávido, no debe por ningún motivo cavar una sepultura o ayudar en la construcción de una bóveda para el entierro primario o secundario, porque el parto de su mujer no será normal: se prolongará, con peligro para la madre y para el niño.

Tampoco la futura madre debe presenciar la entrada de un ataúd en la bóveda, porque el fenómeno anterior se repetirá: tendrá un mal parto, por retardo en el nacimiento y por dolencias.

Una persona que ha tocado a un muerto, cuya muerte no ha sido natural, no puede acercarse donde haya un enfermo porque éste morirá rápidamente; tampoco pueden hacerlo los que han participado en la ceremonia de exhumación, y en general en las ceremonias que acarrea el entierro secundario, ni tampoco acercarse a donde haya niños pequeños, porque éstos, automáticamente, según la creencia, empiezan a llorar y a retorcerse, presas de alguna enfermedad.

En términos generales: el individuo que se acerca a un muerto, que lo toca, o participa en las diferentes ceremonias directas, relacionadas con el mismo, queda contaminado. Pero no sufre en carne propia las consecuencias de tal contaminación, a no ser las mujeres embarazadas, sino que representa el papel de agente transmisor. Es un intermediario, si así podemos llamarlo, entre el espíritu y los niños, los enfermos o las mujeres embarazadas, que son los tres preferidos por el espíritu de los muertos para sus contaminaciones maléficas. En los tres casos se comprueba la debilidad del contaminado: el enfermo, el niño dentro del útero, incapaz de defenderse, y el recién nacido, incapacitado también para defenderse del espíritu, como lo manifiesta frente a los demás miembros de la comunidad, es decir, frente a los adultos, de los cuales depende para su subsistencia y en general para todos los aspectos de su vida.

La relación espíritu-enfermedad-muerte, que hemos anotado en los apartes anteriores, queda corroborada con esta categoría de seres expuestos a la influencia dañina de los espíritus, casi con el mismo sentido con que se mira la enfermedad en la ciencia: a mayor debilidad, mayores posibilidades de contaminación por gérmenes patógenos. En pocas palabras:

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que la mortalidad se presenta más frecuentemente entre los niños y los ancianos, que entre los adultos. Sólo que los gérmenes patógenos, o las causas diversas de enfermedad entre los guajiros, quedan reducidas, por causa de su mentalidad, y en la mayoría de los casos, a uno solo: el *wanurú*, espíritu de la enfermedad y de la muerte.

VI

CONTRAS MAGICAS

(Fetiches, Amuletos, Talismanes)

Como estos tres términos, fetiche, amuleto, talismán, se prestan generalmente a confusión, queremos dejar aclarado el sentido de cada uno de ellos para poder entrar en materia.

Amuleto, "indica un objeto que posee la cualidad mágica y pasiva de defender al portador, de las influencias malignas..." [56].

Fetiche, que se deriva del portugués feitiço; corresponde a la voz latina "facticius" (hecho con las manos) y en un principio se usó como denominación de los amuletos cristianos, siendo empleada en el siglo XV por los navegantes para designar las maderas y piedras primitivamente talladas que eran adoradas como portadoras de fuerzas mágicas por los negros del Africa Occidental... El fetiche... *es un hechizo eficaz, cuya supuesta acción es encauzada por el deseo de su poseedor"* [57]. Pero esta definición, según nuestro criterio, quedaría incompleta si no agregáramos que el fetichismo implica un culto especial, una veneración por parte de su poseedor. El fetiche viene a ser casi la representación material de una divinidad protectora y personal.

El Talismán, por su parte, "ejerce una influencia mágica activa, dado que puede proporcionar fortuna o éxito al que lo lleva" [58]. La diferencia entre los dos últimos, que aparentemente podrían prestarse a confusión, es la siguiente: el fetiche es una pieza mágica que está a disposición de su propietario para lograr con ella su propio bien o el mal de los demás. En cambio, el talismán, es independiente de la voluntad de su dueño. Su función consiste, simplemente, en proporcionarle "fortuna o éxito".

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[56] *Castiglioni,* Op. cit., VI, 87.
[57] *Born,* Op. cit., 2-3.
[58] *Castiglioni,* Op. cit., VI, 87.

[p. 90 blank]

[p. 91]

Hecha esta aclaración, pasemos adelante en nuestro estudio sobre la vida mágica de los indios guajiros:

Bajo el nombre general de *cóntras*, se conocen en la Guajira y en la mayor parte del territorio colombiano, los objetos mágicos que pueden incluírse dentro de las tres categorías que anotamos anteriormente. Porque ésto no es privativo de un determinado grupo racial, sino que pertenece al pueblo, entendido éste en el sentido más amplio. Las *cóntras* son tan apreciadas por un indio, como por un negro, un mestizo, un blanco... y, por lo mismo, su mercado cubre casi todas las esferas sociales y espaciales de Colombia.

Pero lo más interesante como fenómeno social es la simbiosis que se ha realizado: lo negro, lo español y lo indio se encuentran tan estrechamente ligados, tan perfectamente amalgamados, que ya resulta poco menos que imposible, determinar el origen de las distintas influencias en muchos de los aspectos de la magia y de la hechicería populares; saber exactamente lo que constituye el fondo africano, o el amerindio o el peninsular. Todos estos elementos etnográficos, que en un momento histórico determinado constituyeron parte integrante y esencial del corpus cultural de las diferentes comunidades, se convirtieron, gracias al mestizaje racial y cultural, en elementos folklóricos de los nuevos pueblos que se formaron como resultado del cruce.

Hasta tal punto llega a ser cierto lo anterior, que aún en comunidades indígenas bastante homogéneas antropológicamente, como la Guajira, resulta difícil saber cuáles creencias, cuáles prácticas mágicas o de hechizo son autóctonas y cuáles son transculturaciones debidas al contacto con los mestizos circunvecinos que, dada la circunstancia que ya hemos anotado, de ser en su mayoría mulatos, tienen un acopio considerable de este tipo de creencias y de prácticas heredades especialmente de sus antepasados negros.

Siéndonos imposible totalmente hacer un balance del origen de todas y cada una de las creencias autóctonas guajiras, tendremos que limitarnos a mostrar las correspondencias que ellas tienen en el conjunto folklórico colombiano. Claro está que estas correspondencias no indicarán siempre una transculturación, sino semejanzas debidas a la influencia de otros grupos indígenas desaparecidos que vivieron en el territorio colombiano, o creencias exactas, llegadas de otros continentes que sólo podrían explicarse por un proceso evolutivo general de la mentalidad humana.

Características de las cóntras.—1. Algunas cóntras pueden ser prestadas a otra persona por su propietario, simpre que ambos —propietario y

prestamista— sean del mismo sexo, para ser utilizadas por la segunda para alcanzar sus virtudes.

2. Para emplearlas, el individuo debe someterse durante el período de acción, a una dieta especial muy estricta. La infracción de una cualquiera de sus normas, inutilizaría el efecto y acarrearía graves perjuicios en la salud, cuando no resultados contrarios a los que se buscan y desean. La manera de llevar a efecto esta dieta, se encuentra descrita en el aparte siguiente, *Aplicación y Efectos.*

3. Es suficiente que un extraño vea la *cóntra* que posee una persona determinada, para que todo su poder mágico pase a él. Por lo mismo, es requisito indispensable tenerla cuidadosamente guardada, ajena a las miradas de los demás, y andar prevenido contra esta clase de violaciones.

4. Es muy difícil conseguir una *cóntra* verdadera, puesto que quienes las venden son unas ancianas guajiras muy entendidas en estas artes. Ocurre con mucha frecuencia que muchas mujeres inescrupulosas se dedican al comercio de las *cóntras*, las que generalmente carecen de algún valor mágico y resultan una verdadera estafa. Estas mujeres acostumbran envolver cualquier cosa en una bolsita de lana que da la apariencia de una buena *cóntra*, y la venden como verdadera.

5. Una *cóntra* de amor vale alrededor de trescientos pesos colombianos, y el solo préstamo por pocos días a un amigo, para que éste alcance los efectos buscados, se cobra. Este préstamo adquiere un valor aproximado de cien pesos colombianos.

6. Fuera de las *cóntras* de amor, estrictamente guajiras, existen las que venden las llamadas *gochas*, mujeres que abundan en Maracaibo y en el Zulia. Desgraciadamente no pudimos obtener ningún dato especial relativo a estas fabricantes de *cóntras* mágicas que pululan en los límites levantinos de los guajiros.

7. Las *cóntras* son iguales para uno y otro sexo. Lo que varían, en términos generales, son los efectos.

8. Algunos objetos personales, como el cabello, las sandalias, etc., pueden constituír la base de una *cóntra* amorosa de gran potencial mágico. Este potencial se debe sobre todo a la posesión de una parte de la personalidad del sujeto a quien se desea dañar.

9. Las diversas *cóntras* amorosas pueden ser mezcladas entre sí.

10. Las *cóntras* pueden ser adquiridas entre los civilizados. Esta clase de material mágico se guarda especialmente en frascos de vidrio, apropiados para el efecto.

Cóntras de amor.—El guajiro, hombre o mujer, conoce y utiliza diversas *cóntras* para atraer o repeler el amor. Las hay de distintas clases, en cuanto a formas, preparación y materia prima. Algunas de ellas son las siguientes:

a) Una que tiene la forma y la apariencia general del estiércol del machorro (especie de lagarto). Recuérdese que uno de los objetos mágicos utilizados por el piaches es una bolsita de lana que tiene dentro una pasta preparada por un yerbatero especializado, pasta que tiene la forma del excremento de la cabra y que sirve para atraer a los espíritus.

b) Otra, que se conserva dentro de un frasquito, que tiene la apariencia de una piedra y va acompañada de pedacitos de coral.

c) Otra de ellas se fabrica de la siguiente manera: se toma la raíz de una yerba que abunda mucho en el cerro *Itojoro,* se muele y se hace un bollo. Esta pasta se usa disuelta en el agua que la persona que quiere utilizarla, emplea para el baño o de alguna otra manera que ya veremos más adelante.

ch) También constituye una *cóntra* amorosa la sarta de collares de pequeñísimos pedazos de corteza de coco, que llevan como adorno las indias.

d) Una cosa que es muy acostumbrada como *cóntra* amorosa, especialmente por las jóvenes, es su propio cabello.

e) Con el cabello que se quita a la mujer cuando le aparece la primera menstruación, mezclado con sangre de colibrí, cola de perro y bija, se fabrica una *cóntra* de poderosos efectos mágicos amorosos, sobre la mujer dueña del cabello. El hombre que los posea, puede considerarse dueño de tal mujer.

f) Por último, un elemento que interviene decisivamente en la efectividad de las cóntras amorosas, es el polvo de bija que debe ser aplicado a determinadas partes del cuerpo del poseedor de la *cóntra,* cuando quiere lograr un efecto determinado.

Aplicación y Efectos.—La mujer, cuando utiliza la *cóntra* que le dará la virtud de atraer al marido para siempre y reconquistar su amor perdido o conseguirlo, no debe comer, mientras está tratando de aplicar las cualidades de su *cóntra,* nada asado. Debe además, tomar la *cóntra* y pasarla por todo el contorno de su cuerpo, cuando está reciente un alumbramiento o durante el período menstrual. Es entonces cuando debe privarse de comer alimentos asados (carne, maíz tostado, etc.), en los cuales la acción del fuego ha sido directa. Debe también abstenerse de tomar cualquier

clase de leche, salir al sol o dejarse ver la cara de otra mujer. Esto último es muy importante, pues en caso de suceder, los efectos que se buscan no se consiguen por la persona que está siguiendo el régimen indicado, sino que se trasladan automáticamente a la mujer que le ha visto la cara; por otra parte, la mujer debe abstenerse de cohabitar con su marido. Cuando se baña, debe hacerlo no en el arroyo, sino en el interior de su casa; el baño debe ser hecho por otra mujer, empezando por la coronilla, luégo por la espalda, a continuación por el pecho y así, todo el cuerpo; una vez tomado el baño, debe colgar su vestido a secar sobre chinchorro, también en el interior de la casa; es necesario que se unte el polvo de bija en ciertas partes del cuerpo, como, por ejemplo, debajo de los brazos, en los senos, en los órganos genitales, etc., con el objeto de facilitar la acción de la *cóntra* en esos puntos y para evitar que el potencial mágico de la misma disminuya o se pierda. Este régimen especial debe cumplirse por cuatro días consecutivos, al cabo de los cuales el efecto ya se ha logrado o, por lo menos, ya no hay el temor de que pase a otra persona.

En general, toda persona, hombre o mujer, que posea una *cóntra*, mantiene algunas partes de su cuerpo untadas con el polvo de la bija, permanentemente (axilas, senos, órganos genitales, etc.).

También los hombres utilizan las mismas *cóntras* que las mujeres, cuyo valor mágico consiste en lograr que las damas les entregen íntegro su amor, sin que ellos a su vez se sientan enamorados.

Cuando la mujer llega a su período de pubertad y le viene la primera menstruación, se cuelga al cuello, durante todo el tiempo que parmanece encerrada, colgada en su chinchorro (ritual de iniciación de las jóvenes), una *cóntra* de amor que da a las mujeres la propiedad de ser admiradas y amadas por los hombres. El plan de llevar esta *cóntra* es para que cuando salgan del encierro, encuentren quien las compre para esposas a buen precio. La *cóntra* es colocada al cuello de la púber por su mamá o por una de las tías maternas.

Cuando la madre o la tía de una muchacha que no ha sido feliz sentimentalmente, conocen su desgracia, consiguen *cóntras* que las hagan acreedoras a un estado amoroso más deseable.

Las mujeres deben ser muy cuidadosas con el cabello que les recortan al llegar la primera menstruación, pues si un hombre se apodera de él, se apodera también, prácticamente, de su dueña, ya que mezclándolo con sangre de colibrí, cola de perro y bija, hace una *cóntra* cuya acción se encamina directamente contra la mujer dueña del cabello. El hombre le muestra la *cóntra*, o mejor, le hace presente la *cóntra* cuando la mujer está

de espaldas, pero con la firme intención de causarle un mal. La mujer, con este simple hechizo, se enamora locamente de aquel hombre, que generalmente la deja burlada y se jacta de esta situación embarazosa en que coloca a la mujer.

Esta *cóntra,* tan maléfica según la creencia de los indígenas, se utiliza sobre todo cuando un hombre quiere hacerle mal a una mujer cualquiera o burlarse de ella o de sus familiares.

Afortunadamente para las mujeres, también ellas poseen la manera de burlarse o vengarse de los hombres cuando éstos les han hecho una mala pasada y ellas ya no desean su amor sino la venganza. Para tales casos se compra una *cóntra* de amor a las indias viejas que tienen conocimiento de estas cosas, *cóntra* que se coloca entre las ropas del hombre en quien se piensa llevar a efecto la acción maléfica. Luégo se consigue una sandalia vieja de la víctima y se quema. Es muy importante que la sandalia sea vieja para que el sudor del individuo en cuestión se encuentre presente en ella, como parte de su personalidad.

Con estas dos cosas simples, afirman las mujeres indias, el hombre pierde el sentido, anda como alelado, no cuida de su persona; es un desastrado y un sér embrutecido desde entonces. Tan seguras están de ello que dicen que un indio demente que se encuentra en Nazaret, se halla así a causa de un hechizo de los que venimos describiendo, después de haber sido uno de los indios más apuestos y más bien vestidos.

Otra *cóntra* de amor se usa, no ya para reconquistar un amor perdido, sino para retener el efecto que se desea; y como es propiedad de las mujeres —para mal de los hombres—, tiene el objeto de lograr que éstos no puedan tomar otra mujer. Esta *cóntra* se consigue, como algunas otras, con las indias viejas de la Sierra de Jarara y se hace con yerbas que se muelen cuidadosamente y a las que se les agrega bija, sustancia por excelencia de las *cóntras.* La mezcla se envuelve en un trapo o se guarda en una bolsa pequeña de lana.

La acción de las *cóntras* amorosas puede ser desviada hacia la consecución de otros fines. Por ejemplo, cuando una mujer desea que su marido le obsequie un regalo especial, va a su *cóntra,* la toma, la sacude fuertemente y la mira luégo con fijeza, haciéndole la petición del objeto deseado. La *cóntra* logra su objetivo y la mujer alcanza lo que ha deseado.

Los collares de pequeñas rodajas de corteza de coco, agujereadas, se convierten en *cóntras* amorosas cuando las mujeres entendidas en hechicería, los "secretean"; es decir, cuando repiten delante de ellos una serie de oraciones mágicas que tienen por objeto conferir el poder de hacer amar

a la dueña por el hombre o por los hombres que ella desea y, especialmente, por su marido cuando se trata de una mujer casada.

Ya vimos en párrafos anteriores cómo el cabello de una niña púber servía de base a los hombres para confeccionar una *cóntra* mágica dirigida hacia la dueña del mismo. Pero el cabello de las jóvenes, en circunstancias distintas, sirve para atraer a los hombres en general y hacer que la mujer sea mirada con deferencia por un hombre y éste la compre para esposa a buen precio. Por eso las jóvenes guajiras, especialmente las de la Sierra de Jarara, acostumbran guardar su cabellos cuando se lo cortan; y en ocasiones, para hacer más efectiva la práctica y obtener resultados mejores y rápidos, lo colocan debajo de un estiércol de vaca. La asociación del cabello con el estiércol de vaca se basa en un fenómeno socio-económico que queremos aclarar, aun cuando sea someramente.

Hemos visto en repetidas ocasiones que la riqueza en la Guajira, está determinada por la cantidad de cabezas de ganado que posea un individuo; y se puede ver en la organización social cómo la mujer, la esposa, se adquiere por compra. Cuando el comprador es rico, paga en cabezas de ganado vacuno o caballar; cuando pobre, en ganado caprino o lanar. Y, es claro, cada mujer aspira a ser comprada por vacas, y en mayor número que las otras, porque esto determina un avance en su státus social. Por eso es por lo que entierra su cabello debajo del estiércol de uno de estos animales y no de otro cualquiera. Ha hecho una asociación muy primitiva, pero a la vez diciente. Parece que la acción mágica de la atracción está determinada por el estiércol, y que se aumenta en los resultados si éste es de vaca, el animal valioso por excelencia en la Guajira.

De todas maneras, las jóvenes se cuidan mucho de dejar sus cabellos en sitios que puedan ser alcanzados por otras personas, y por eso los guardan muy bien hasta su muerte, dándoles así un verdadero carácter de sagrados. Este carácter que hemos llamado sagrado estriba en la participación mágica establecida por el primitivo entre el individuo y las diversas partes de su cuerpo, a la cual ya nos hemos referido en varias ocasiones en este trabajo.

Cóntras para la caza.—De estos talismanes sólo pudimos recoger noticias referentes a dos que se relacionan con la caza del venado y con la del conejo. El objeto de tales talismanes es doble: por una parte, infunden destreza y habilidad en el cazador que los posee; y por la otra, ejercen una acción coercitiva en el animal que se desea cazar, dado que,

según la creencia indígena, le impide huír y lo convierte en presa fácil del cazador.

La *cóntra* para facilitar la caza de conejos se fabrica con las hojas de un bejuco conocido en guajiro con el nombre de *átpana-pi* (átpana=conejo). Las hojas de esta planta, que son las utilizadas para la elaboración de la *cóntra*, tienen forma alargada y de cartucho, lo que les da gran semejanza con las orejas del conejo. Por otra parte, sirven de alimento de este animal, que gusta mucho de ellas.

Para elaborar la *cóntra*, el cazador coge cuidadosamente las hojas, las muele y con la pasta resultante hace peloticas diminutas que semejan el excremento del conejo; una de estas bolitas se ata cuidadosamente con un hilo y se coloca en la parte media de la borla que adorna el guardamano utilizado por ellos en el manejo del arco. El efecto de la *cóntra* se dirige ante todo contra el conejo, coartándole la posibilidad de huír, y haciendo así que el cazador logre más fácilmente el cumplimiento de su labor.

También la *cóntra* para la caza de venado se fabrica con una planta muy conocida por los cazadores. Esta planta, en forma de bejuco, tiene unas hojas anchas, brillantes como un espejo y se encuentran abundantemente en el bosque, sin cultivo especial; en guajiro se denomina *supánaunú* (*su* = neutro; *pana* = hoja, hígado; *unú* = árbol, palo; *wunú* = remedio). Su preparación se hace de manera semejante a la de la caza del conejo, y como aquélla, se lleva en forma de pequeñas bolas que se atan al guarda-mano del arco. Una vez terminada recibe el nombre de *sipiiráma* (*iráma* = venado) y tiene por objeto volver más fácil la caza de este animal, pues lo atrae hacia el cazador que no falla el tiro e imposibilita al animal para la fuga, convirtiéndolo también, como al conejo, en presa fácil.

Es muy interesante destacar aquí el hecho de que la composición de las cóntras para caza que hemos mencionado, tomen la forma del estiércol del animal que se quiere cazar. Es tal la constancia de la presencia del estiércol en la cuestión mágica, que no podemos dejar desapercibido el suceso. Recordemos si nó el hecho que tánto hemos mencionado de que para ciertas curaciones de enfermedades umbilicales en los niños, se aplica el estiércol del machorro; que para llamar a los espíritus protectores de los piaches, éstos usan unas cóntras que tienen la forma del estiércol de cabra; y que, para que sean tomadas a buen precio como esposas, las jóvenes guajiras entierran su cabello debajo del estiércol de las vacas.

Estos fenómenos nos hacen pensar en una función muy importante de los excrementos en el pensamiento mágico de los indios, función que

apenas conocemos en su parte externa pero cuya aplicación no nos extraña, aun cuando la explicación todavía aparece obscura.

Hay que recordar todavía que el estiércol de las aves según la mítica guajira, fue el que propició la dispersión de las semillas y pobló a la Guajira de plantas alimenticias o útiles para hombres y animales. Uno de los informadores nuéstros narraba de la siguiente manera esa parte de la Creación: Entonces *Mareiwa* recogió todos los zancalargas (ave zancuda) y los turpiales y las palomas en un bandada. Les mostró allá lejos y les dijo que fueran a buscar y allá ellos comieron la *iwaráya* (fruto del cardón) y tunas. Les ordenó que trajeran las frutas de cereza, y *Mareiwa* las regó por toda la Guajira. Cada paloma iba cagando e iban naciendo allí, del estiércol de estos animales, todas las plantas para que los *wayú* (indios) y los animales comieran. Nacieron los cardones, las cerezas, y sembraron la tierra...

Cóntras para la guerra.—Esta *cóntra* tiene la virtud de proporcionar a su poseedor una completa inmunidad corporal en las luchas que se llevan a efecto frecuentemente entre los diversos grupos familiares. Por esto, antes de aprestarse para el combate, cuando va de camino y teme un ataque sorpresivo, o cuando concurre a la presentación de un cobro, en caso de muerte de uno de los miembros de su clan, el indio se fricciona con la *cóntra* todo el cuerpo, con doble fin: hacerse inmune a las acciones de las armas de sus enemigos, y adquirir valor y sangre fría en la lucha. Esta *cóntra* se llama en guajiro *ranía*.

El mal de ojo.—Es ésta una de las creencias que nos parece de aculturación en el grupo guajiro, pues no la hemos encontrado en ningún grupo indígena puro y sí, por el contrario, muy difundida en todas las regiones colombianas, especialmente en los estratos mestizos. Personalmente la hemos visto en los departamentos del Cauca, Valle del Cauca, Tolima, Antioquia, Santander y Magdalena. Sin que sea privativa de los grupos negros o negroides, es entre ellos en donde se encuentra con mayor intensidad y frecuencia.

La presencia de los negros en la Guajira no se debe solamente al mestizaje con los grupos mulatos de la Costa, sino que se inició en los siglos de la Colonia, como puede verse por estas notas tomadas del Padre Julián: "...dióme luégo como práctico dos razones evidentes y palpables: razones, que obligado del zelo del bien de la Nación Guajira, y de la Monarquía, descubro ahora. La primera es, la provisión y uso que tienen de las

armas de fuego con el continuo comercio con los extrangeros; y la segunda es, que por medio de estos se han introducido ya los Negros y Negras, y mezclados con los mismos Indios e Indias que los compran y retienen esclavos, y de ahí proviene, que no solamente se aumenta el número de gente entre los Guagiros, sino también se multiplica la diversidad de razas temibles de Mestizos, de Mulatos, de Zambos, etc., los quales unidos con los Guagiros harán siempre más formidable esta Nación y más difícil cada día su conquista . . . [59].

Refiriéndose a esta creencia popular en Santander, Juan de Dios Arias afirma: "En nuestras comarcas, por ejemplo, es muy general la creencia de que ciertas personas tienen "mal de ojo"; y si llegan a mirar con detenimiento y mala intención a un niño, éste a los pocos días se cubre de granos y enconos de difícil curación. Esta mala influencia obra también sobre las aves, las cuales, cuando son "ojeadas" mueren al cabo de poco tiempo. Para preservar a los niños se les ponen cintillos o brazaletes de cuentas de azabache, huesos de *chulo*, dientes de *guache*, o piedras corales macho y hembra. También se conjura el mal de ojo haciendo cantar tres evangelios sobre el paciente.

"Esta superstición la encontramos también en España. El doctor Juan Rodríguez López, médico, refiriéndose a las Supersticiones de Galicia, escribe: "Aquí donde tan arraigada está la creencia en el mal de ojo, es rarísimo que las madres dejen de colgar del cuello ciertas reliquias, yerbas, cuernos u otros objetos sumamente heterogéneos en su contextura, que otras veces cosen a la ropa o atan a las muñecas de los hijos para preservarlos del contagioso efecto del mal de ojo" [60].

Por otra parte, en el estudio del licenciado Panesso Robledo sobre el folklore antioqueño, encontramos lo siguiente:

"Y no ya gentes del campo sino también personas de las ciudades portan *ópalos*, casi todos falsos, para librarse de maleficios y ponen en la muñeca de los niños chaquiras negras, llamadas *El Azabache*, rara vez legítimo, para ponerlos al abrigo del "mal de ojo", superstición universal cuyos efectos, si existen, deben imputarse a fenómenos de hetero-sugestión y de hipnotismo" [61].

Dejando el folkllore colombiano y limitándonos a la Guajira, encontramos que allí el azabache es la mejor *cóntra* para el mal de ojo, del cual

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[59] *Julián*, Antonio. *La Perla de la América*. 2ª XIV, 195.
[60] Arias, Juan de Dios. *Supersticiones Populares*. 265-66.
[61] *Panesso R.*, Antonio. *Del Folklore Antioqueño*, p. 25.

sufren especialmente los niños. Este mal no se logra, si la persona sobre quien se ejerce lleva consigo un azabache, que tiene la propiedad de contrarrestarlo. La creencia establece que cuando un individuo que lleva el azabache, ha sido ojeado, éste revienta, contrarrestando el mal. Es decir, que la acción mágica de los ojos se desvía hacia el azabache que recibe directamente la acción, librando de ella a su dueño.

También se utiliza con el mismo fin, un mineral llamado *salta-piedra*, que se suspende por una cuerda a la muñeca de los niños. Es de color amarillento y brillante.

El coral, que lo utilizan las mujeres en sus collares, brazaletes y ajorcas, como adorno y presagio de dicha, salud y buen agüero, se suspende a la muñeca de los niños para prevenir el mal de ojo y algunas otras enfermedades. Los mestizos que habitan en la Guajira, lo llevan adherido a la cintura por medio de una cuerda.

Es muy común encontrar también como preventivo para este mal, las semillas de "ojo de buey" u "ojo de venado", suspendidas por una cuerdecita de algodón, en alguna parte de su cuerpo.

También se usa la corteza de coco en forma de una manecita, forma que es frecuente y más efectiva quizás en el azabache.

El mal de ojo, según la creencia indígena, lo ejercen determinadas personas que llevan en sus ojos una fuerza especial que enferma a los que miran si ellos son débiles: niños y personas enfermas, pero cuya acción en la mayoría de los casos, es involuntaria, aunque algunos sí la ejercen y la ponen en práctica con el deseo manifiesto de causar mal. Los efectos de estos ojos se hacen extensivos a las plantas y a los animales.

La enfermedad se manifiesta bajo la forma de males de estómago, diarreas, vómitos y fiebres, o por erupciones generales de la piel. Los animales también enferman y mueren, y las plantas no continúan su desarrollo natural y acaban por secarse.

Sistema para alejar el wanurú.—En las cercanías de las habitaciones indígenas se colocan calaveras de caballos que, como dicen los indios, son buenas para ahuyentar las enfermedades de los niños y de los adultos, pues tienen el privilegio de espantar el *wanurú*. Nosotros creemos que esta actitud está fuertemente ligada a otra de los indígenas que los convence de que el resoplido de los caballos asusta a los espíritus que acechan en los caminos por la noche. Por esta razón, cuando se hace una correría nocturna, como nos tocó presenciar personalmente, siempre toman la delan-

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tera los jinetes que montan caballos, obligando a los que se transportan en burros o a pié, a seguirlos de cerca.

Si el *wanurú* teme al caballo por los resoplidos, teme también a la presencia de la calavera. Es la explicación que encontramos. Pero, lo importante de esta creencia es que debe datar de la época de Post-Conquista dado que los indígenas carecían del caballo. Es, pues, una creencia de aculturación. Nuestra hipótesis es que ella se debe a la introducción por parte de los negros, pues creencias similares se encuentran en las regiones mineras de Antioquia, como podemos verlo citando a don Tomás Carrasquilla en su obra *La Marquesa de Yolombó,* cuya trama se desarrolla en la época colonial en esas regiones. El habla de los engendros demoníacos populares, especialmente de los negros esclavos que explotaban las minas, y se refiere a un sér especial a quien denominaban las gentes sencillas el *pate-tarro* (pata de tarro), "un gigantón que sólo tiene una pierna de carne y hueso... Si no fuera porque el grandísimo sinvergüenza se muere de miedo con las calaveras de vaca, no quedara a vida ni un papayo en estos sembrados montañeros".

La similitud es clara: una calavera de vaca que tiene por objeto alejar espíritus malignos, impidiendo sus maldades. La diferencia estriba en cosas de menor importancia; la una es de vaca y la otra de caballo. Los seres contra los cuales se dirige su acción, son distintos por simples cuestiones de acomodación al ambiente cultural en que se implanta la creencia.

Cóntras para volverse rico.—Esta *cóntra* se adquiere, como las demás, por compra a una mujer guajira entendida en la materia. Casi siempre el poseedor de tal *cóntra* es un hombre que, mediante su poder, adquiere riquezas considerables porque su *cóntra* no le permite efectuar malos negocios, le aconseja las operaciones que debe realizar, le muestra las ganancias que puede derivar de ciertas operaciones financieras y, sobre todo, le garantiza éxito en cualesquiera negocios en que se aventure.

La *cóntra* se guarda dentro de una bolsa pequeña de lana y en su interior lleva una cuenta de oro y a veces collares de este metal. La parte que podríamos llamar inmaterial de la *cóntra,* está constituída por las oraciones y actos especiales de magia que la fabricante le comunica para infundirle el potencial mágico.

Cóntra para conseguir respeto, prestigio y cariño.—Estas *cóntras,* que son de uso exclusivamente masculino, son muy codiciadas por los *caciques* y componedores de pleitos entre dos grupos enemigos. La creencia popular

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indígena asigna a los hombres que tienen gran dominio sobre ellos, es decir, a sus jefes naturales o superiores directos, la posesión de este tipo de *cóntra* y asegura que cuanto mayor es el poder personal de dicho sujeto, tanto mayor es el potencial mágico de la *cóntra* que posee. Por eso el empeño de cada indio poderoso de adquirir una cóntra superior en los efectos a todas las demás que existan en manos de sus congéneres.

La posesión de uno de estos objetos mágicos infunde respecto a los demás, que no se atreverían a atentar contra la vida o la fama del poseedor, porque la *cóntra* lo defendería con grave peligro para el ofensor. Hay que tener en cuenta que la posesión de este amuleto implica un estado de riqueza considerable, pues la *cóntra* se adquiere sólo a precios muy elevados, lo que influye definitivamente en el respeto y el temor debido a su dueño por la costumbre social establecida de relacionar el status social del individuo con su grado de riqueza.

Cuando el indígena dueño de esta *cóntra* mágica necesita salir de viaje en cumplimiento de una misión difícil, como por ejemplo participar en la efectividad de un cobro o arreglar un pago entre dos grupos enemistados por cualquier causa, o cuando necesita estar con muchos indígenas, entre los cuales quiere asegurar su prestigio, o cuando intenta dominar situaciones graves, se encierra en su cuarto, oculto a cualquier mirada extraña, busca la cóntra y la destapa, mirándola fijamente un momento; luégo la levanta en la mano por un instante y desea vehementemente que toda su fuerza mágica se le contagie y lo defienda en la aventura que va a correr; la guarda de nuevo y empieza la dieta indicada para que la acción de la *cóntra* sea efectiva; no debe comer carne asada, ni maíz tostado, por espacio de tres días, ni debe bañarse, pues de lo contrario se volverá loco.

Esta *cóntra* es *personal* e *instransmisible*. Si otra persona que no sea su dueño, llega a tocarla, tiene que someterse a la dieta descrita en el párrafo anterior, o sufrirá como castigo la locura; se le alterará el carácter, le darán enojos sin motivo justificado, sufrirá de nerviosidad continua y se le trastornará la mente. Sin embargo, puede mirarla con permiso de su dueño, sin que su personalidad sufra ninguna alteración. De nada sirve robarla, porque no prestará ninguna utilidad al ladrón, sino que seguirá fiel a su primer amo, y más bien causará disgustos a quien se la apropie ilegalmente.

Como casi todas las *cóntras*, tiene su cobertura especial y se guarda acompañada con bija dentro de tres bolsitas sucesivas, tejidas de lana por

la misma india que le imprimió su valor mágico. Realmente no se sabe en qué consiste, porque no puede destaparse totalmente.

¿Cuál es la cualidad que la hace valer tánto? La creencia asegura que cuando el poseedor duerme, le hace soñar lo que va a ocurrirle, con todos los detalles, aún los más nimios; le refiere durante el sueño quiénes son sus enemigos ocultos, quiénes quieren causarle mal, dónde van a espiarlo cuando vaya de camino, qué dificultades va a encontrar en las gestiones de un arreglo, qué palabras debe utilizar, etc. El poseedor de la *cóntra* se despierta sobresaltado, se levanta en seguida, la busca rápidamente, le da unas ligeras palmadas y así se conjura el mal.

Según el decir de los indígenas, ella es como otra persona que está en todas partes donde falte su dueño, que conoce las intenciones de las gentes, adivina lo que va a suceder, y previene a su amo.

Cóntra para el mar.—En Riohacha, uno de los indígenas que ayudaba en la pesca y en el acarreo de cargue y descargue en los barcos del muelle, llevaba pendiente del cuello un pedazo de corteza de árbol, cuya especie no pudimos determinar. Preguntado por el objeto de ese pendiente, se explicó diciendo que lo llevaba puesto para prevenirse contra las olas del mar; es decir, para evitar que se ahogara si un día caía al mar.

No pudimos en nuestra correría volver a encontrar la presencia de este objeto mágico, lo que nos hace pensar que no pertenece al conjunto cultural guajiro, sino que se debe más bien a influencias de los mulatos de la costa que, como es bien sabido, son bastante supersticiosos.

Cóntras para llamar a los espíritus.—Estas cóntras, a las que ya nos hemos referido en otras ocasiones, se limitan al uso de los piaches y tienen por objeto propiciar la venida de los espíritus protectores, cuando están en trances de curación o en cualquiera de las funciones relativas a su status. Aún no hemos alcanzado una explicación satisfactoria sobre su influencia en los espíritus. Sólo queremos ahora, agregar algunos pocos datos a los ya conocidos: Una de las piaches que nos sirvió de informadora, procedente de la Sierra Jarara, poseía sus *cóntras* para atraer a sus espíritus. Nos explicaba que como tales espíritus son ayudantes de piaches jóvenes unos, y de viejos otros, las *cóntras* para propiciar su venida son de dos clases también: una para shamanes jóvenes y otra para viejos.

La *cóntra* está hecha de la hoja de la planta llamada en guajiro *morõno*, muy abundante en el cerro de *Itojóro*. Las fabrica en este sitio una

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mujer especializada en tales menesteres, moliendo las hojas de dicha planta, reduciéndolas a una pasta de forma redondeada, que guarda en una pequeña bolsa de hilo rojo. Las de tamaño mayor son para los piaches viejos, y las otras, unidas a la anterior, para los jóvenes.

El guará o guale.—*El guará* o *guale* es una especie de ídolo constituído por un muñeco de plata o de oro macizo, difícil de encontrar en la actualidad, y del que sólo se hallan unos pocos ejemplares, dado que ya no se fabrican. Este idolillo es una representación antropomorfa en posición fetal y parece que no es producto autóctono de los guajiros, porque ellos mismos afirman que proceden de los "antiguos", y por tales entienden a los *arhuaco* de la Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta.

Este fetiche es conocido a veces también con el nombre de *Mareiwa*, divinidad o espíritu asimilado a la idea de Dios, pero que parece no ser otra cosa que el espíritu de las lluvias, como lo veremos más adelante. (Cf. *Mareiwa* y *Wanurú*...).

Los poseedores de este idolillo —que nadie puede mirar— lo guardan celosamente en un baúl, de donde nadie puede sacarlo; se cumplen con él ciertos rituales curiosos como bañarlo con esmero en ocasiones y ponerlo luégo a la acción de los rayos solares. Cuando los veranos son muy fuertes y prolongados, lo bañan, con lo cual, dicen que se complace y le pueden pedir que envíe la lluvia.

Lo reducido del número de estos idolillos y la ignorancia del indígena respecto a su origen, nos hacen pensar en que es un elemento extraño, por lo menos en cuanto a la representación formal, que es producto de la transculturación. La posibilidad de que estos objetos procedan de los *arhuaco* es también muy remota, pues no hemos hallado en la literatura referente a este grupo, nada que se parezca al idolillo en mención.

Los objetos de oro son, por otra parte, tan pocos, que se limitan en la actualidad a collares, muy estimados y que se heredan siguiendo la línea materna. Pero anteriormente, parece que tuvieron otros objetos de oro, distintos de los collares, pues el Alférez José Nicolás de la Rosa, afirma que en cierta ocasión "salió todo el vecindario del Río de la Hacha a hacerles la guerra, y fue tan cruda y sangrienta, que confesándose vencidos los Guajiros, pidieron capitulación, ofreciendo no hacer semejante traición en adelante con los vasallos del Rey de España y en señal de ello, y por satisfacción de la sangre de Tomás (Quintero), dieron a su Magestad un

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águila de dos cabezas de oro bajo, que es la alhaja que en rehenes, de que mantendrían la paz, está depositada en aquella real caja" [62].

No podemos, pues, conocer hasta el momento el valor histórico del idolillo denominado *guará* o *guale*, y seguimos inclinados a nuestra primera afirmación de que es producto de transculturación.

Oraciones Mágicas.—Como información, copiamos a continuación, sin ningún comentario, la siguiente ficha recogida por nosotros: Hay unas oraciones especiales que sólo conocen determinados indígenas, y cuya fórmula verbal la venden a veces a quien la necesite, con la obligación de que él la recite con toda la fe y haciendo gala de su fuerza mágica, oraciones que sirven para curar las plagas que puedan presentarse y que se presentan frecuentemente, en los cultivos de algodón.

Las cóntras mágicas en la literatura oral.—De los relatos que pudimos recoger entre los indígenas guajiros, relativos a su vida diaria, hay uno que tiene un aparte relacionado con las *cóntras* mágicas, y es el que se refiere a la lucha del indio *Kurita-Páta*, jarareño, con unos *kusinas* que venían a robarle su ganado. De esta lucha salió herido el jarareño en un muslo, y su restablecimiento se logró a través de un sueño en el que se le comunicó que debía tragar una *cóntra* (una tuma, piedra preciosa), y dejar su mujer para cambiarla por una esclava. *Kurína-Páta* obedeció las órdenes recibidas en el sueño, y curó.

Tenemos, pues, una nueva *cóntra* mágica, que ejerce la función de medicina, y que viene a sumarse a las que que ya tenemos anotadas a lo largo de este capítulo. Su acción mágica se combina con un acto social de gran trascendencia dentro de la comunidad guajira, cual es el de abandonar su propia mujer y tomar por tal a una esclava, descendiendo en la escala social, ya que los status son bastante diferentes entre la mujer libre y la simple esclava o la sierva. Un nuevo objeto mágico, la tuma, aparece como poseedor de fuerzas sobrenaturales capaces de conjurar los males que se apoderan del individuo.

Resumen y Clasificación.—1º Lo que hemos denominado *cóntras* mágicas en este capítulo, comprenden las tres clases de objetos mágicos conocidos: fetiches, amuletos, talismanes.

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[62] *De la Rosa*, José Nicolás. *Floresta de la Santa Iglesia Catedral de Santa Marta.* 2ª IV, 213.

2° Todos ellos son poseedores, en mayor o menor grado, de un potencial mágico capaz de ejercer el bien o el mal;

3° Su acción, en la mayoría de los casos, puede ser controlada y dirigida por el poseedor, especialmente para lograr el mal en los demás, en los que quiere dañar;

4° Pero, por regla general, las cóntras que se dirigen a librar a su poseedor de malas acciones por parte de los demás, son independientes de su voluntad, y exigen un cuidado y una dieta especiales para que su efecto sea positivo;

5° Los objetos que llegan a convertirse en cóntras mágicas, pueden ser utilizados de dos maneras: para dañar a una persona determinada, o para lograr la felicidad en algún aspecto de la vida espiritual ordinaria del poseedor. Todo depende del tratamiento especial que se le dé al mencionado objeto;

6° Los indios están convencidos hasta la evidencia de la efectividad de las *cóntras* de cualquier índole. Su presencia y su valor están tan arraigados entre ellos, que es difícil encontrar a uno solo que no posea por lo menos una, no importa de qué clase sea;

7° La clasificación que podemos hacer de estas cóntras mágicas, de acuerdo con los tres tipos esenciales que hemos especificado al principio del capítulo, es la siguiente:

Amuletos.—1. Los que colocan las madres o las tías a las niñas que son desgraciadas sentimentalmente; 2. *Cóntras* para la guerra; 3. El azabache; 4. La salta-piedra; 5. El coral; 6. Las semillas de "ojo de buey" u "ojo de venado"; 7. La corteza de coco en forma de manecita; 8. La calavera del caballo; 9. La *cóntra* para hacerse rico; 10. La *cóntra* para conseguir respeto, prestigio y cariño; 11. El pedazo de madera al cuello para librarse del mar.

Fetiches.—1. *Cóntra* amorosa para atraer al marido para siempre y reconquistar su amor perdido, o conseguirlo; 2. *Cóntra* amorosa para lograr el amor de las mujeres, sin sentirse enamorados; 3. La que fabrican los hombres con el cabello que se corta a las niñas en la primera menstruación, sangre de colibrí, cola de perro y bija; 4. La que usan las mujeres, acompañada de la cremación de la sandalia, para vengarse de los hombres; 5. La que utilizan también las mujeres para retener el amor de un hombre e impedirle que tome otra mujer.

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Talismanes.—1. La *cóntra* usada por las mujeres en el período de iniciación —primera menstruación—; 2. Las que utilizan también las mujeres para alcanzar que su marido les haga un regalo determinado; 3. Los collares de pequeñas rodajas de corteza de coco; 4. El cabello de la mujer, enterrado en estiércol de vaca; 5. *Cóntras* para la caza del venado y del conejo; 6. El guará o guale.

VII

OTROS ASPECTOS DE LA MAGIA

El nombre en la magia.—"La prohibición de pronunciar el nombre del muerto es observada generalmente con extraordinario rigor. Ciertas tribus suramericanas consideran que el pronunciar el nombre de un difunto ante sus familiares supervivientes es infringirles una grave ofensa y aplican al ofensor una pena no menos rigurosa que la señalada para el asesinato . . .", dice Freud [69], y la Guajira es un caso típico en esta materia. Veamos uno por uno los rituales seguidos con el nombre, cuando acaece la muerte de un miembro cualquiera de la comunidad.

Es de rigor que todas las demás personas que tienen igual nombre que el del difunto, se lo cambien. Esto se hace para evitar la pronunciación de tal nombre delante de alguno de los parientes de la persona muerta, pues si llega a ocurrir, ésta puede presentar cobro por ofensa. El familiar considera que al decir el nombre de su pariente difunto, le han renovado toda la pena que sintió con su muerte.

Este cambio que se realiza en los homónimos de un muerto cualquiera, es de por vida y se extiende geográficamente a la zona habitada por los parientes del difunto, lo que da origen a que una misma persona tenga nombres diferentes. Esta es, por lo menos, una de las causas.

Porque es común en la actualidad entre estos indígenas que cada persona lleve generalmente tres nombres: uno español, tomado del santoral católico e impuesto por el sacerdote en el bautizo; un sobrenombre familiar con que es conocida generalmente y que casi siempre se refiere a una cualidad distintiva física o espiritual; y un tercero, íntimo, secreto para la mayoría de las gentes, conocido únicamente por su propietario y algunos miembros de su familia.

Y es que el nombre propio del individuo no debe ser pronunciado más que por sus familiares allegados. Aquél que sin ser pariente de una persona pronuncia su nombre, debe pagar determinada suma como repa-

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[69] *Freud: Totem y Tabú.*

[p. 109]

ración por la violación de la norma social. Generalmente se exige como pago la entrega de varias cabezas de ganado, collares u otras prendas. Si la cantidad convenida por los componedores, no se paga debidamente, se provoca la guerra.

Cuando nace una niña, el padre le pone un nombre que repite el de la madre, el de la abuela materna, o, secundariamente, el de una tía o de una prima de su predilección, o el de una amiga muy apreciada. Pero fuera de este nombre, nacido del sentimiento familiar o de amistad del padre, la niña llevará también sobrenombres caprichosos que no siempre corresponden a cualidades o defectos de su personalidad psico-física, o a circunstancias especiales de su nacimiento, sino que puede ser algo arbitrario que se ocurre de momento al padre, a la madre o a los hermanos, quedando así la niña con varios sobrenombres, de los cuales uno acaba por primar y generalizarse.

Pero cuando la niña pasa al estado de señorita, cuando aparece la primera menstruación y se cumple en ella el complicado ritual de iniciación, el cambio que experimenta en su funcionamiento biológico y en la consideración social, lo sufre también en el aspecto de su nombre y no quiere responder más al apodo con que se la venía distinguiendo desde pequeña, y aparece el nuevo nombre con que se la conocerá hasta la muerte.

Resulta de lo anterior, que el nombre en la Guajira, no se usa entre los indígenas, sino de manera muy restringida y que, en cambio, el sobrenombre, que el individuo adquiere cuando niño, por influencia de sus padres o de sus hermanos, es el verdadero, el universal, con que pueden llamarlo todos los coterráneos hasta su muerte.

Presagios.—Cuando un gato montés maúlla repetidas veces durante la noche junto a la casa y permanece por largo espacio de tiempo dando vueltas a su alrededor, es anuncio de muerte cercana de uno de sus habitantes. La actitud de este animal se vuelve desesperante, pues en ocasiones repite sus rondas y maullidos por varias noches y aún llegan a persistir en ellas por años.

Si alguien se encuentra en ocasiones sucesivas con un murciélago, cuando va de camino, es síntoma de que en el camino, o al llegar al lugar de su destino, recibirá una mala noticia, habrá una desgracia en el lugar a donde se encamina. Por otra parte, si durante la noche se le oye frecuentemente, la muerte se avecina para una persona conocida.

Ya vimos en el capítulo *Enfermedad y Medicina*, la relación existente entre serpiente-mujer embarazada y una serie de hechos que colocaban a

los ofidios en situación especial dentro de la mentalidad guajira, determinada por el temor que estos animales inspiran en el individuo por la serie de propiedades generalmente maléficas que le atribuyen. A esto tenemos que agregarle la cualidad de animal presagio, porque si al anochecer o durante la noche se ven los rastros de una culebra, sin que logre darse con ella, el primero que la vea al día siguiente sufrirá la pérdida de un miembro de su familia, u otra desgracia cualquiera. Así dicen que aconteció a una de las niñas internas en el Orfelinato de Nazaret. Una noche se hallaron en el patio rastros del paso de una culebra grande; las niñas la buscaron tenazmente sin poder hallarla, pues estaban convencidas de que si el hallazgo no se lograba esa noche, la primera que la viera al día siguiente tendría una pena. Realmente —afirmaron las niñas—, la que la encontró sufrió la pérdida de su abuela al poco tiempo.

Pero en este aspecto que hemos llamado *presagios*, son las aves las que tienen más influencia. Podríamos por tanto hablar de pájaros agoreros en la Guajira, que anuncian los sucesos del futuro cuando se colocan en circunstancias especiales que el guajiro interpreta a su manera, de acuerdo con cierta tradición y determinadas reglas que los hechos nos dan a conocer, pero que no constituyen, por decirlo así, un canon rígido, una ley preestablecida y fija, sino que son en cierta manera productos del azar y de la imaginación del aborigen, qus busca en todas las circunstancias concomitantes de un fenómeno, lógicas o nó, la explicación del mismo. Los acontecimientos de su vida no se producen sin razón, sin causa. Alguien debe conocerlos y comunicarlos oportunamente. De ahí la creencia en el anuncio de hechos venideros, que se interpretan por las asociaciones relacionadas con ciertos animales en determinadas circunstancias.

Por ejemplo, el pájaro que conocemos con el nombre de carpintero, anuncia con su canto al caminante que en el sitio a donde se encamina, ocurrirá una desgracia, una riña de borrachos, o simplemente, que allí habitan los espíritus del mal.

Ya vimos la acción maléfica del pájaro nocturno que aparece con frecuencia en Nazaret y que duerme en la Sierra de Jarara que por las noches, según afirman los indios, vuela por encima de las casas y en su estiércol derrama el germen de la bronquitis que es absorbido por los niños, que adquieren la enfermedad y mueren.

Y hay también un pájaro que se conoce en la Península con el nombre de *cucarachero*, diferente al que en el interior lleva el mismo nombre, que anda por los techos de las casas en busca de cucarachas, escorpiones, lagartijas, etc., anida en los árboles cercanos a las habitaciones y canta con

frecuencia en la época en que está empollando o criando. Se le conoce en guajiro con el nombre de *waimpirai*. Este pájaro, y el llamado *uteté* anuncian las visitas que han de llegar a la casa donde están cantando. Hay la creencia de que estas dos aves apresuran a los que vienen de camino y les aconseja ir de prisa para que no les vaya a ocurrir alguna desgracia en el trayecto.

Otro pájaro, el conocido vulgarmente con el nombre de *alcaraván* y en guajiro con el de *karré*, gusta andar cerca de las habitaciones indígenas y meterse en ellas. Si al atardecer ronda por cerca de las casas, los indios creen que anuncia la muerte de alguno de la familia. El terror de los indígenas llega al extremo cuando no se contenta con rondar por la casa o adentrarse en ella, sino que llega hasta la cocina y se acerca al fogón, porque en este caso la muerte se llevará muy pronto a uno de los habitantes de la casa. El animal sufre las consecuencias del miedo de los indígenas, que lo sacan rápidamente de la casa a pedradas y garrotazos.

Otro pájaro de mal agüero es el mochuelo, pues si un individuo va de camino por la noche, lo ve y lo oye cantar, es señal de que va a ocurrir una desgracia en el sitio donde el caminante lo encuentra o de que va a tener un disgusto en su camino.

Si al atardecer se oye prolongadamente el canto del *waimpirai*, es indicio de que se avecina una guerra entre dos clanes o familias extensas. Se refiere en la Guajira que en cierta ocasión, después de haber sucedido este augurio del pájaro, se desató la lucha entre dos familias y veinte miembros del clan *uriyú* tuvieron que refugiarse en el convento de Nazaret, vencidos por sus contrarios que los buscaban para eliminarlos.

Cuando una gallina cacarea en la madrugada, hay muerte segura en la casa, sobre todo cuando el hecho se repite por tres días consecutivos.

Los fenómenos naturales en la magia.—El fenómeno natural preponderante para el guajiro, es la lluvia, fuente esencial de su agricultura, ganadería, base de su organización económica actual. Y no es de extrañar que así sea, pues si para todas las comunidades y para los seres vivos en general el agua es elemento indispensable y si muchas de las divinidades o espíritus de los primitivos americanos se concentraron en ella, para el guajiro es infinitamente más necesaria si se tiene en cuenta el medio geográfico en que vive y al cual nos hemos referido tal vez insistentemente en este trabajo, por considerarlo de vital importancia. (Cf. *Introducción*). No habiendo en todo el territorio ningún río o riachuelo de importancia; siendo su suelo permeable hasta el máximo; soportando altas temperaturas

y careciendo de técnicas para la conservación y distribución de las aguas lluvias, el guajiro vive pendiente de las épocas de invierno para sus siembras. Por lo mismo, muchos actos de la magia se dirigen a este fin. Pero como este aspecto lo veremos mejor en el capítulo sobre *Mareiwa* y *Wanurá*, o las nociones del bien y del mal, nos limitaremos en el presente aparte a anotar algunos hechos mágicos que se relacionan con la lluvia y con otros fenómenos naturales.

La intervención del piache, que la habíamos perdido de vista desde el segundo capítulo, cuando nos referímos extensamente a su personalidad y a sus atributos, vuelve a presentársenos en la propiciación de las lluvias que es la culminación de los rituales del indio guajiro.

Para atraerla, cuando el verano comienza a prolongarse con peligro para las sementeras, los animales y la comunidad en general, el piache se dispone a llamarla. Para el efecto, se viste a la manera que vimos para curar los enfermos o ahuyentar las pestes y empieza a invocar a sus espíritus protectores, para que les ayuden en el trance. Mastica el tabaco y mueve rítmicamente el torso y la cabeza mientras sacude su maraca. Todos estos actos los realiza sentado en el banco de madera zoomorfo. Empieza luégo a cantar fuertemente para atraer a sus espíritus y cuando lo logra les pide la lluvia; les dice que los hombres la están necesitando; que no hay que comer, ni agua en los pozos, y que están abocados a morir de hambre y de sed; que los animales mueren y la desolación y la miseria empiezan a adueñarse de sus tierras. En ciertos momentos el piache sale fuéra de la casa en donde está realizando la ceremonia y da vueltas a su alrededor para atraer la lluvia y ahuyentar a los espíritus malos que la retienen. Con estas ceremonias, la lluvia debe venir.

Pero no es éste el único sistema de que disponen los indígenas para atraer las lluvias. La propiciación se puede hacer de maneras diferentes sin la intervención del piache, como sucede en todos los actos de la magia en esta sociedad que podríamos llamar en desintegración y en la que el prestigio del piache ha perdido importancia, apoderándose de su ciencia las gentes comunes. Vamos a ver a continuación, una serie de sistemas que emplean los indígenas para atraer la lluvia sin intervención del piache:

Es muy común, por ejemplo, una especie de adoración que tributan los indios a una iguana determinada que se encuentra en las grietas de las peñas, especialmente en los acantilados de la costa, adoración que se manifiesta externamente en una serie de fiestas y bailes que tienen como fin lograr de los mencionados animales que no opongan obstáculos a las llu-

vias y que las dejen venir libremente. Esta asociación iguana-lluvia, la estudiaremos más ampliamente en el capítulo último.

Otros sistemas empleados por los indios para atraer las lluvias en los veranos largos son: tocar su tambor todas las noches durante largas horas, repitiendo esta operación a la madrugada, o disparar contra las nubes sus flechas y, más modernamente, sus escopetas, para obligar a las nubes a descargarse en forma de lluvia. En el primer caso parece ser que el tambor quisiera reproducir los ruidos del trueno durante las tempestades que generalmente están asociadas a la lluvia. El indígena cree que reproduciendo uno de los factores concomitantes, alcanza el fin que desea, es decir, la producción del fenómeno conjunto; para él, truenos y lluvia son dos cosas iguales, inseparables; logrando el uno, se logrará automáticamente el segundo.

* * *

En la siembra participan por igual hombres y mujeres en una división del trabajo que corresponde al conjunto mágicio-biológico: los hombres son los encargados de preparar el terreno y de abrir los hoyos para la siembra; las mujeres se encargan de enterrar las semillas y cubrirlas Dicen que si el grano es enterrado por la mujer, tendrá más posibilidades de crecer y desarrollarse y la cosecha será más abundante. La mujer se considera como símbolo de la fecundidad por cumplir la gestación del niño y esa fuerza es la que transmite a las semillas en el momento de enterrarlas.

* * *

Durante los eclipses de sol o de luna, los indígenas lloran desconsoladamente porque temen que estos astros no sigan cumpliendo sus funciones; en el lloro imploran para que no los abandonen, ni dejen al mundo sumido en las tinieblas. Para obligarlos a volver a la normalidad, los indios disparan sus rifles contra ellos; y en los lugares más apartados de la Guajira, arman grandes griterías, lloran y disparan sus flechas contra el cielo para que triunfe el nuevo día.

* * *

Cuando caen numerosos rayos en las épocas de tempestad, los viejos guajiros que aún tienen gran temor a este fenómeno natural, forman como en el caso de los eclipses, algarabías y piden a gritos a los rayos que se re-

tiren, que se vayan al mar a formar las tormentas que frecuentemente azotan las Costas del Cabo de la Vela y de Chichibacoa.

* * *

Cuando el guajiro se halla en el mar y sobreviene una de las frecuentes calmas, propicia el regreso de la brisa por medio de un largo silbido con que la llama en todos los tonos hasta lograr que regrese.

* * *

Por último, si en el crepúsculo se ve un arrebol rojo de color intenso y vivo, de tamaño considerable, los indígenas creen que es anuncio de pronta guerra entre dos organizaciones claniles.

Magia y Sueños.—El indio guajiro considera sus sueños como revelaciones del porvenir. Su mentalidad no los concibe como productos del pasado o asociados a ciertos fenómenos psicò-fisiológicos, sino coma avances en su vida; como manera de mirar las cosas en el futuro; como revelaciones que hacen los espíritus de los fenómenos que ocurrirán a la persona soñadora o a las que intervienen en su desarrollo. No son, pues, fenómenos particulares, personales, sino hechos sociales, ya que su contenido afecta a toda la comunidad o a partes de la misma y determina muchos de los actos individuales o colectivos, toda vez que el guajiro está atado fuertemente a este fenómeno como a los demás de la magia y es determinista en tal sentido. Su vida, sus actividades sociales y económicas, sus relaciones con el medio geográfico, sus enfermedades, nacimiento y muerte, están determinados por este juego de interacciones mágicas. No importa que los fenómenos no se repitan siempre de manera igual, o que muchas veces los acontecimientos que se esperaban como consecuencia de cierta concatenación de causas mágicas no aparezcan o lo hagan de manera diferente, así sea la contraria, el indígena no se desliga de esa fuerza invisible pero activa; sigue prendido a ella, como a una fé, como a un credo. Y sólo la presencia de elementos distintos en su civilización y el contacto con otras agrupaciones humanas más avanzadas y racionales (en nuestro sentido), van minando el poder de esta fuerza que constituye en gran parte su sistema de vida, lo regula y lo determina.

En el estudio que adelantamos no nos interesan los sueños como hechos ligados a la vida psíquica del individuo, ni vamos a tratar de inter-

pretarlos. Ello es parte de otro trabajo que será presentado posteriormente por otros investigadores. Nos interesa el fenómeno en sí; sobre todo la interpretación que el indígena da a sus sueños, como revelación de hechos futuros, de sucesos por venir, relacionados con su propia vida, con la de sus congéneres en particular, o con la de la comunidad en general. Es decir, el hecho mágico que está marcando, como lo dice Thorndike "un estado mental", una manera de pensar y de sentir, un sistema de explicar los efectos cuyas causas reales se desconocen. Vamos, por tanto, a exponer escuetamente una serie de sueños y su sentido para el primitivo, sin hacer comentarios, sino únicamente en el caso en que lo creamos extrictamente necesario para aclarar ciertas situaciones o instituciones especiales a que ellos se refieran.

Pero antes de entrar en materia propiamente dicha, hagamos primero una subdivisión de los sueños en dos categorías, de acuerdo con su contenido: los que podemos llamar reales, y los simbólicos. Los primeros parecen ser obra de espíritus especiales que se manifiestan por medio del sueño para prestar sus servicios de ayuda y protección al individuo, de manera casi directa: son tan claros, tan explícitos, que no requieren interpretación; son como una conversación entre el individuo y el espíritu, en la cual éste le dice todas las cosas que debe hacer, por ejemplo las yerbas que debe tomar para curar determinada enfermedad que lo aqueja; en cambio, los otros no tienen esa relación directa; son sueños desligados de la realidad actuante, pero su interpretación —hecha generalmente por el piache— muestra fenómenos de carácter social determinado que deben ser prevenidos o acelerados. Estos sueños son los que dan origen a la serie de ceremonias y ritos encaminados a la conjuración, como lo vimos en el capítulo correspondiente.

Si uno sueña que una persona está muerta y la ve en tal estado, es porque va a ver matar una res próximamente; por el contrario, si en el sueño se presencia el sacrificio de una res, es porque a una persona determinada, que luégo es indentificada por el intérprete, va a ser muerta violentamente.

Si en el sueño aparece una persona que vive lejos, es presagio de que muy pronto va a verla; contrariamente, si la persona que aparece en el sueño es una de la vecindad del soñador, esto quiere decir que a esa persona no la volverá a ver en mucho tiempo, o definitivamente; es decir, que esa persona va a morir muy pronto.

Si alguien sueña que quiere mucho a una persona, y se ve haciéndole demostraciones de afecto, esa persona no lo va a querer más, lo va a olvi-

dar y a ignorar totalmente. En cambio, si el soñador se muestra muy esquivo con esa persona, haciéndole inclusive demostraciones de odio, lo va a querer apasionadamente.

Cuando alguien sueña con una persona a quien van a matar en el sueño, esto indica que alguno de su grupo va a morir; pero no es la misma persona soñada, sino otra.

Si en sueños se tiene la sensación (pesadilla) de que se cae del chinchorro en donde se duerme, hay la seguridad de que al morir, los que llevan su cuerpo a enterrar lo van a dejar caer de un solo golpe en el fondo de la tumba, cuando la norma social estipula que el cuerpo de los muertos debe dejarse caer lenta y cuidadosamente en su fosa. Esto, por extensión, significa que aquellos que llevarán su cuerpo a enterrar, no le tienen estimación.

Una mujer que sueña que tiene o va a tener una hija, llega a la convicción de que su honra va a ser difamada; que se va a ver envuelta en chismes y calumnias; se va a decir que de ella han abusado los hombres, y cuando la encuentren con alguno, dirán que ese es uno de los tantos con quienes ha tenido relaciones ilícitas. Pero cuando sueña que el hijo que va a tener es varón, seguramente sobrevendrá un *putchi* y su familia se va a ver envuelta en una guerra interclanil y va a sufrir represalias del grupo contendor. Nos contaba una de nuestras informadoras, casada y sin hijos, que una ocasión soñó que iba a tener un hijo varón; al poco tiempo de este sueño su grupo, el *uriyú*, se trabó en lucha con el *epieyú*, más fuerte; algunos de sus miembros fueron muertos, y otros se refugiaron en el convento de los capuchinos; y la mayoría, emigraron hacia Venezuela, para evitar mayores desastres.

Cuando la escena del sueño representa el sacrificio de una res, y el individuo que sueña está acompañado por una persona de clan diferente, la interpretación dice que el individuo soñador va a perecer a manos de un miembro del grupo familiar del que lo acompañaba. Durante nuestra permanencia en Nazaret, asistimos a las ceremonias funerarias de una mujer que apareció muerta una mañana, como si se hubiera ahorcado, utilizando un pequeño horcón del interior de su habitación. Rápidamente se estableció que había sido muerta por su esposo que la golpeó brutalmente y quien, para librarse del castigo, la acomodó de manera que apareciera como ahorcada voluntariamente. Uno de los familiares de la muerta, explicaba después el fenómeno, diciendo que días antes la mujer había tenido un sueño, tal como el que acabamos de describir.

Por otra parte, un sueño que represente la convalescencia de una enfermedad cualquiera, del individuo que sueña, indica que va a sufrir la

enfermedad soñada; para evitarla hay que hacer un exorcismo, que consiste en la representación de la fiesta que se celebra cuando ya el enfermo ha pasado el período de la enfermedad y entra en la convalescencia; es decir, un baile de *chicha-maya* en que se reparte a costa del que debería sufrir la enfermedad, chicha y carne a los que asisten a él.

Respecto al presagio de las guerras interclaniles, que aparece como algo obsesivo entre los indios, tenemos, a más de los anotados anteriormente, un sueño indicador, cuando se ve en él una gran creciente de agua que está arrastrando todo lo que encuentra a su paso, devastando todo lo que topa, y llevándose consigo al individuo soñador. Este logra salvarse de morir ahogado en la corriente agarrándose a una yerbecita muy débil o a un tronco que flota en medio de la creciente. El sentido es que vendrá una terrible guerra de familias en la cual se va a ver envuelta la suya. Pero, así como el soñador se logró salvar en el sueño, agarrándose de algo, tiene también la convicción de que saldrá ileso de esa guerra; podrá ponerse a salvo en lugar seguro.

El guajiro se guía generalmente por su propia experiencia, cuando trata de hacer una excavación para localizar aguas subterráneas potables para su consumo y el de sus ganados. Pero ocurre con lamentable frecuencia que después de varios días de intenso trabajo, cuando aparece el manantial, tiene que dejarlo porque la salinidad es tánta que no permite la utilización de sus aguas. Pero es tradición que el guajiro halla los sitios más adecuados para la extracción de agua por medio de los sueños. El dormido conoce el lugar adonde se puede cavar y encontrarla y con fe inquebrantarle pone en práctica lo soñado. Naturalmente, la simple casualidad determina muchas veces la confirmación del sueño; pero en la mayoría, los resultados no aparecen como positivos, lo que no impide que el guajiro siga creyendo en sus sueños.

Si un indio sueña que al ir de camino se encuentra con una serpiente que se le enrosca en una parte del cuerpo, es o va a ser una persona muy inteligente y con facilidad para aprender un idioma distinto al suyo. Si, por el contrario, en el sueño muestra miedo a la culebra y huye, es porque no tiene facilidades para el aprendizaje y es muy poco listo.

Si se sueña con abundancia de comida, se avecinan un sinnúmero de tristezas.

Si un individuo sueña que después de haber escalado un alto cerro, se encuentra en su cumbre, es símbolo de que va a vivir muchísimos años y morirá muy anciano.

Si se sueña con un toro que lo embiste, es porque próximamente el soñador sufrirá de tos ferina.

Por último, si estando uno profundamente dormido, sueña que alguien viene hasta el sitio en donde está acostado y lo ase fuertemente, y de esta sensación se despierta, la causa no es otra que la presencia del *wanurú* o espíritu de una persona muerta que viene de visita.

Basten estas muestras, que no alcanzan a copar las infinitas variedades de sueños que pueden presentarse entre los guajiros, ni sus diversas interpretaciones, pero que sirven para demostrar que la vida de estos indios depende de los fenómenos naturales o sobrenaturales, impregnados del factor magia, y cómo es difícil separarlos de ellos.

Otros hechos mágicos.—Hay la creencia entre estos indígenas de que comer las sobras alimenticias de una persona, implica adquirir las cualidades de la misma; así, si se come el sobrado de una persona de piel blanca, la piel del que ha comido las sobras de su comida, tomará el mismo color; las indias son por ello muy adictas a comer los residuos de comida que dejan las mujeres blancas cuando las visitan, porque anhelan tener un color más claro; es muy común también entre los hombres comer los sobrados de los que se han distinguido por su valor, porque con ello adquieren parte del mismo; esto se extiende a todo lo que tenga algún contacto con la boca o con el aliento del individuo, pues las colillas de tabaco o de cigarrillo, tienen la misma virtud. Se cree, por lo mismo, que si un indio fuma la colilla que ha botado un extranjero, el indio adquiere una de las cualidades de ese extranjero: la barba.

Esto nos da indicio de la presencia de lo que algunos autores han llamado el *mana*. No otra cosa es el recuerdo que se manifiesta en el conjunto de los fenómenos mágicos que hemos venido tratando. La noción no es muy clara, pero permite suponer su existencia en épocas anteriores. El mana es una fuerza transmisora de cualidades; es la energía y la vitalidad mismas que, a pesar de ser inmaterial, impregna todo lo que toca, se puede absorber y adquirir de maneras distintas, y de aquí la explicación que se ha querido dar a la antropofagia en algunas tribus primitivas. Su efecto concomitante es el que ha llevado al guajiro a conservar uno de los aspectos de esta noción: los alimentos, y en general los objetos que han estado en más íntimo contacto con un individuo poseedor de ciertas características, superiores para el indígena, puesto que las desea y se siente más completo con ellas, llevan hasta él esa fuerza, esa esencia singular por la imanación —permítasenos el término por lo gráfico— que ha sufrido al tocar al poseedor.

Ese objeto o ese alimento le han robado, por así decirlo, un poco de mana al individuo que estuvo en íntimo contacto con ellos.

* * *

Hay otra serie de hechos mágicos que se relacionan con el anterior, en la participación de las cualidades de otro individuo, pero que se diferencian de él por dos aspectos: primero, porque son indirectos; es decir, porque los recibe el niño a través de la madre, durante el período de gestación; segundo, porque ya no se relacionan tan directamente con la noción del mana, sino que podrían incluirse en lo que denominaríamos fenómenos de auto-sugestión, pues sólo hay una impresión repentina o un deseo vehemente insatisfecho que crea la angustia. Algunos de estos hechos son los siguientes:

Cuando una mujer está embarazada y recibe una fuerte impresión por la aparición repentina de una persona, el niño que dé a luz tendrá el mismo color de la piel de la persona que la impresionó.

Por otra parte, si durante el embarazo, especialmente durante los primeros meses, la madre sufre un susto grande, el embarazo resulta doble. En este aspecto de los gemelos hay también la creencia de que ellos aparecen cuando la mujer ha sido llamada a dar el seno a un niño gemelo ajeno a quien su madre no alcanza a alimentar, y se ha negado.

Por último, cuando durante la época de su embarazo una mujer experimenta en forma muy intensa el deseo de poseer alguna cosa, como por ejemplo un vestido, un collar, un adorno de tipo especial y determinado que ella busca ansiosamente, y no lo consigue o no se le satisface su deseo, el niño nacerá bajo la influencia del antojo insatisfecho y presentará en su rostro la expresión afanosa de la madre: tendrá la boca entreabierta, la mirada ansiosa y estará siempre lloriqueando e inquieto.

VIII

LA MAGIA COMO ORIGEN DEL TEATRO EN LA GUAJIRA

(El baile de la cabrita)

Tal vez resulte atrevido el título con que encabezamos este capítulo, y aun lo sean el contenido y las afirmaciones que en él vamos a hacer, porque aquí entran en confusión algunos conceptos que se podrían tratar por aparte, tales como la diferenciación entre magia y religión, y entre juego propiamente dicho y drama. Pero están tan entrelazadas estas cuatro cosas, que no es posible tomar cada uno de los aspectos por separado para su análisis o siquiera sea para su presentación. Si el conjunto aparece claro, nos decleramos satisfechos. Nuestra intención en todo este estudio, ha sido presentar los hechos de la manera más objetiva posible, sin descuidar, claro está, el punto de la interpretación en los momentos que nos ha parecido necesario o cuando nos hemos sentido con capacidad para hacerlo..

Como lo decimos, si lo que se presenta en el *baile de la cabrita* es magia o religión, es tema que podría prestarse a discusiones bizantinas que en nada aclararían la materia y sí, por el contrario, la embrollarían y restarían oportunidades de dar a conocer uno de los aspectos más interesantes de la vida espiritual del guajiro que en él rompe muchas de sus tradiciones sociales, de sus pautas culturales cuotidianas diríamos más bien, y en el que tiene oportunidad de mostrar su destreza más que sus capacidades como actor, pues no hay que pensar que lo que hemos llamado *teatro*, lo sea en el sentido riguroso de la palabra, sino más bien comienzo del mismo, iniciación de las representaciones, sin finalidad en sí mismas, sino como propiciación de la lluvia y de las buenas cosechas, como parte integrante de todo un ritual que incluye danzas, canciones y representación de escenas naturales o tomadas de la mitología.

Lo que nos ha dado pie para llamarlo teatro, o si se quiere, mejor, *drama*, es la concomitancia de la representación de escenas en las que interviene un número reducido de los participantes en la fiesta o baile de la cabrita, y la presencia de un crecido número de los otros asistentes que desempeñan el papel de espectadores.

Además, es frecuente que cada grupo que interviene en la representación, esté encabezado por una especie de juglar o cantador que va narrando los acontecimientos que se desarrollan; el lenguaje empleado es dramático y utiliza los más bellos giros de la lengua; la música verbal se une al drama, pero no bajo la forma de masas corales, sino expresada por cada uno de los cabecillas que dirigen la acción de los participantes en la escena que se quiere representar. Desgraciadamente, estas canciones no se conservan tradicionalmente, sino que son más bien improvisaciones; lo único que perdura es la música, compuesta por algún indígena, especialmente por un habitante de *Jarara*, que es la cuna de la poesía y de la música, según el decir de los mismos indígenas. A esa música se va adaptando la parte verbal a medida que se lleva a efecto la representación.

El baile de la cabrita se realiza cuando llegan las lluvias; cuando las ahuyamas, las patillas, los frísoles están creciendo; es, prácticamente, un rito ceremonial en el que se celebra la llegada de las lluvias y la aparición de los frutos. A este baile, que se ejecuta por las noches y durante semanas o meses consecutivos, concurren todos los que quieren, pues la invitación la constituye tan sólo el toque de tambor, característico para estas ocasiones.

Hay dos danzas especiales, que se bailan de la siguiente manera: en la primera, cada indio va unido a su compañera, en fila, uno detrás de otro, y tomados de la cintura, caminan en la dirección que indique la primera pareja. Empieza el canto, que puede ser éste: "préstame tu compañera para que yo viaje con ella". Dan entonces la vuelta. Al hacerlo, el primer indio quita la pareja al segundo y así, sucesivamente, toda la hilera. El baile se continúa dando vueltas y caminando hasta que la pareja inicial regresa a su primer compañero.

En la otra danza cada hombre toma una mujer, soltera por regla general. Se prenden de las manos, haciendo lo mismo con las otras parejas que intervienen en el baile. Una vez asidos caminan todos en hilera, pero no adelante ni hacia atrás, sino hacia derecha e izquierda. Luégo, asidos siempre de la mano, corren en círculo, teniendo como eje al primero de la fila y caen tendidos en el suelo por el impulso que proporciona la velocidad de la carrera. Se levantan e inician de nuevo el baile.

La fiesta comienza más o menos a las seis de la tarde y dura hasta cerca de las doce de la noche. A esa hora todos los participantes regresan a sus casas, pero retornan a la noche siguiente y durante todas las que cumplen el ciclo de aparición de las lluvias y recolección de las cosechas o madurez de los frutos.

2: Pineda Giraldo SC13 Goajiro

Esta ceremonia que venimos describiendo presenta tres aspectos especiales: 1º Demostración de destreza en las representaciones teatrales; 2º Baile propiamente dicho —las danzas que hemos descrito en los párrafos anteriores— acompañado de canciones; 3º Un aspecto sexual muy interesante, en el cual se rompen las pautas culturales que gobiernan la sociedad guajira en este sentido y permite la posibilidad de una cierta libertad sexual sin las consecuencias anejas a la misma en las épocas normales. Vamos a empezar con este último aspecto, dejando para después lo que son las canciones y las representaciones o drama propiamente dicho.

Aspecto sexual.—a) El hombre, al llegar el momento de las danzas, toma una pareja que generalmente lo acompaña durante todas las noches en que se celebra el baile de la cabrita. Cuando acaban por gustarse, a raíz del trato de los bailes, las parejas se van separando de las cuadrillas de baile y se retiran al monte para satisfacer sus deseos sexuales.

Este hecho, en las épocas normales de la comunidad, se prestaría a conflictos en que intervendrían los clanes de los protagonistas: el hombre sería demandado y estaría en la obligación de pagar una suma grande por el daño causado y otra por los dolores y peligros del parto en caso de embarazo, o se vería en la necesidad de comprar a la mujer por esposa para reparar así la falta cometida. En caso de no cumplir uno de estos requisitos, vendrían las venganzas y la guerra. Pero no sucede así en estos momentos de fiesta. Si el hombre qué ha estado con una mujer en esas noches de baile (que puede durar tres o cuatro meses), quiere tomarla por esposa, debe pagarla a sus familiares, según el precio que convenga con ellos; pero si no quiere hacerlo, toda su obligación se limita a regalarle una manta para vestido. Ella, en cambio, le retribuirá otra, o simplemente una faja para su guayuco. Después no vuelven a verse sino de manera ocasional.

Por otra parte, si de las reuniones ocasionales habidas durante el baile entre parejas de solteros, resulta un niño, el padre no tiene para con él, ni para con la familia de la muchacha, ninguna obligación. El niño es reconocido por la familia de la madre; no se le mira mal y participa al igual que los herederos legítimos, de todos los deberes y derechos de los miembros de su grupo familiar.

b) De las canciones que se cantan en esta ceremonia de propiciación de las lluvias, hay algunas que tienen un simple carácter burlón hacia otros grupos indígenas circunvecinos, a los que señalan sus defectos, como la que transcribimos a continuación:

Yo no quiero riohachero
porque ellos gustan
fumar tabaco;
no me gustan los de Nazaret,
porque son muy golosos.

Pero hay otras de típico sabor erótico, cantadas por los hombres, que no son otra cosa que la invitación al amor, la narración de su hombría, de su valor como macho. Traducimos literalmente un fragmento que pudimos escuchar en Uribia:

Ven a mí mi hermana.
Ven a mí mi mujer.
Yo soy macho.

No lo mires a él
—a ese jovencito—
Camina derecho y bien.
Camina derecho y bien.
Camina derecho y bien.

Yo estoy aquí.
Yo soy el macho.
Traigo conmigo el rifle
y mi revólver.
Soy macho.

Muy simpática eres mi amor.

Ojalá yo tome una india!
Yo la pago
Porque soy rico.

Como ésta, muchas otras canciones se recitan en el baile de la cabrita, pero no pudimos tomar sus letras porque, como ya lo dijimos, la canción no existe como tal, estereotipada, con moldes y palabras definidas y constantes, sino que se improvisa, recurriendo a todos los recursos, y sobre todo a relaciones del pasado, a las que se adapta una melodía determinada.

c) Hay otro hecho muy importante en este aspecto sexual de la fiesta que nos ocupa y es el que podríamos denominar *prueba de la virginidad.*

2: Pineda Giraldo SC13 Goajiro

La virginidad es altamente valorada por el indígena, a pesar de que en la actualidad, por factores económicos y de transculturación, se hace difícil encontrar intactas a las mujeres casaderas, cosa que el guajiro no ignora. Pero siempre es motivo de jactancia y de orgullo para el indio encontrar virgen a la mujer la primera noche de su matrimonio. Es costumbre, por otra parte, que si el indio guajiro se casa a obscuras de que su futura esposa ha perdido la virginidad, y tiene el consiguiente desengaño la noche de bodas, los parientes de la muchacha tengan que devolverle una parte del ganado que pagó por ella, y sobre todo el collar familiar. Esta preocupación del indio, que permanece oculta en su estado normal, se hace consciente durante las borracheras, en las cuales entona canciones en que alaba a su mujer y se jacta de haber tenido una que fue virgen al chinchorro matrimonial, o la insulta y la denigra en improvisaciones soeces cuando lo ha defraudado.

Esta actitud sexual del indígena, o mejor, esta valoración de la virginidad de sus futuras esposas, se expresa en una especia de juego que se efectúa con motivo del baile de la cabrita. Para el efecto, las muchachas se congregan en grupo alrededor de un juglar que canta: Veamos mi linda señorita si tú eres virgen, si en realidad no has corrido mundo, si ningún varón ha puesto su mano sobre tu cuerpo. Y va pasando las manos por el contorno del cuerpo de las muchachas, haciéndoles cosquillas. Empieza por el dedo gordo del pié, asciende por el empeine, las pantorrillas, las rodillas, los muslos, el sexo, el estómago, la espalda, las caderas, los costados, los senos, las axilas y termina por el cuello hasta llegar al extremo de la cabeza. La mujer que permanece tranquila, indiferente, sin reírse, sin sonreír siquiera, triunfa en la prueba y es declarada virgen. El juglar vuelve entonces a cantar: Tú eres, en verdad, señorita, mi linda majayura . . ., entona un verdadero canto de alabanza y termina por llevarla a un sitio determinado. Continúa con las demás muchachas congregadas, repitiendo la operación. Cuando alguna se mueve o se ríe, el cantador le dice: Tú no eres señorita; yo no hubiera pensado eso de tí, pero es cierto; lástima, mi linda majayura que no lleves contigo la virginidad y que los hombres hayan puesto sobre tu cuerpo el suyo. La coloca entonces en sitio distinto al de las vírgenes. Cuando termina de hacer esta operación con todas las muchachas que integran el conjunto, reparte premios a las vírgenes, a las que han salido triunfantes en la prueba, y las elogia de nuevo. Las muchachas devuelven a continuación el regalo, que ha sido simulado.

El escritor francés Roger Callois ha interpretado estas fiestas, retrotrayéndolas hasta los tiempos modernos, en un capítulo que denominó *La*

transgresión sagrada. Teoría de la Fiesta, y dice al respecto: "A la vida normal, ocupada en los trabajos cotidianos, apacible, encajada en un sistema de prohibiciones cauto, donde la máxima *quieta non movere* mantiene el orden del mundo, se opone la efervescencia de la fiesta. Esta, si no se consideran más que sus aspectos externos, presenta caracteres idénticos en cualquier nivel de civilización. Implica un gran concurso del pueblo agitado y ruidoso. Esas aglomeraciones de masas favorecen eminentemente el nacimiento y el contagio de una exaltación que se agota en gritos y gestos, que incita a abandonarse sin traba a los impulsos más irreflexivos. Incluso hoy, en que sin embargo, las fiestas empobrecidas resaltan bien poco sobre el fondo grisáceo que constituye la monotonía de la vida ordinaria, y aparecen en ella dispersas, diseminadas, casi estancadas, se distinguen todavía en sus manifestaciones algunos miserables vestigios del desencadenamiento colectivo que caracteriza las antiguas francachelas". Y más adelante: "En las civilizaciones llamadas primitivas, el contraste ofrece mucho más relieve. La fiesta dura varias semanas, varios meses, interrumpida por períodos de reposo, de unos cuatro o cinco días. A veces eran precisos varios años para reunir la cantidad de víveres y de riquezas que se verían no sólo consumidos o gastados con ostentación, sino también destruídos y derrochados pura y simplemente, porque el derroche y la destrucción, formas del exceso, entran por derecho propio en la esencia de la fiesta.

"Esta suele terminarse de manera frenética y orgiástica en un libertinaje nocturno de ruido y movimiento que los instrumentos más burdos, tocados a compás, transforman en ritmo y en danza. Según la descripción de un testigo, la masa humana, hormigueante, ondula apisonando el suelo, gira a sacudidas en torno de un mástil central. La agitación se traduce en toda clase de manifestaciones que la aumentan. Crece y se intensifica con todo lo que expresa: choque obsesionante de las lanzas contra los escudos, cantos guturales fuertemente marcados, brusquedades y promiscuidades de la danza. La violencia nace espontáneamente. De cuando en cuando surgen disputas: los combatientes son separados, alzados en el aire por brazos vigorosos, y mecidos a compás hasta que se calman. Pero eso no interrumpe la danza. Del mismo modo, las parejas la abandonan de pronto, se unen en los bosques próximos y vuelven a ocupar su sitio en el torbellino que continúa hasta la mañana.

"Se comprende que la fiesta, representando un tal paroxismo de vida, y resaltando tan violentamente sobre las pequeñas preocupaciones de la vida diaria, parezca al individuo como otro mundo, donde se siente sostenido y transformado por fuerzas que lo rebasan. Su actividad cotidiana, cosecha,

caza, pesca o cría, sólo llena su tiempo y provee a sus necesidades inmediatas. Pone sin duda en ella atención, paciencia, habilidad, pero más profundamente vive en el recuerdo de una fiesta y en la espera de otra, porque la fiesta representa para él, para su memoria y su deseo, el tiempo de las emociones intensas y de la metamorfosis de su ser" [64].

Sigue Caillois explicando la fiesta como la ceremonia de la transformación del caos en cosmos, o en otras palabras, la representación de la recreación del universo, el resurgir de la naturaleza que cambia, desaparece y vuelve a aparecer.

Esto podría explicar en gran parte el conjunto de la fiesta. Porque en realidad lo que en la Guajira se celebra con el nombre de *baile de la cabrita*, no es otra cosa que una verdadera recreación del mundo del indígena de aquellas tierras esteparias: con la llegada de las lluvias, el mar de arena se convierte en un mundo de verdor; los lechos secos de los arroyos son fuentes potentes de agua; los chamizos se transforman en bosques de frescura; la ansiedad de la sed desaparece; la fatiga del sol y del desierto se truecan en descanso; el hambre, en abundancia y la inquietud en la esperanza de la madurez de los frutos y la desaparición del espectro de la miseria que ronda por sierras y llanuras. Es *Mareiwa*, su divinidad, su espíritu del bien, que ha hecho su aparición sobre las lagunas de la Sierra Nevada desatando los huracanes y las tempestades, y llevando hasta sus creaturas la lluvia promisoria.

Pero de otro lado, los hechos sexuales que venimos señalando, presentes en esta fiesta tradicional de la Guajira, deben ser tratados aparte porque ellos representan una transgresión a las pautas culturales establecidas, rígidas y severas, referentes a las relaciones carnales entre hombres y mujeres. Como no se ha terminado todavía la interpretación de conjunto de la comunidad guajira, que podría suministrarnos bases suficientes para hacer las aclaraciones necesarias, tendremos que limitarnos a anotar algunos hechos relevantes.

El hombre y la mujer solteros en la Guajira, considerada ésta en su estado normal, soportan restricciones rigurosas en su vida sexual. A las mujeres no les está permitido el trato carnal antes del matrimonio, porque el varón anhela que su esposa sea virgen. El hombre soltero está limitado en el cumplimiento de sus impulsos sexuales por la ley de cobro que lo obliga, caso de tener relaciones con solteras, a pagar una fuerte suma de indemnización, con la que se cubren: el daño causado a la mujer, la ofensa inferida

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[64] *Caillois*, Roger: *El hombre y lo sagrado.*

a los familiares, y los posibles dolores y peligros del parto, si es que ha habido embarazo. Y si estas imposiciones no se cumplen, o si el indio no la toma por esposa, pagando lo que exigen por ella sus familiares, vendrá, como lo hemos repetido hasta el cansancio, la venganza y de hecho la guerra a muerte entre los clanes afectados.

Hay que contar con el hecho de que una mujer que se compra por esposa vale mucho relativamente y el indígena varón no siempre está en la capacidad de acumular el número de animales suficientes para adquirirla, aunque cierto es también que sus familiares están en la obligación de ayudarlo cuando llegue el momento de su matrimonio. Y como la prostitución está tan limitada por la condición de inferioridad en que se coloca la mujer que trafica con su carne, la situación del hombre soltero es, entonces, más difícil de obviar. Volvemos a hacer la aclaración de que hacemos esta interpretación tomando como base una sociedad guajira normal, sin los problemas que ahora soporta de hambre, de pobreza y de transculturación en escala ascendente, fenómenos que están dando al traste con todas sus instituciones tradicionales.

Planteada la cuestión en estos términos, se puede ver la angustiosa posición del indígena guajiro soltero, sin esclavas y sin posibilidades económicas que le permitan comprarse esposa. Vive dentro de un régimen de limitaciones y de restricciones que van hasta los tabúes sexuales que podríamos dividir en dos clases: los especiales aplicados sobre todo en las piaches en su vida sexual, como ya lo vimos, y los generales, aplicables a toda la comunidad, y que llegan hasta el extremo de provocar en el idioma curiosos eufemismos cuando la palabra para órgano genital se asemeja fonéticamente a otra, como sucede con el término para perro.

Esas restricciones deben reflejarse en el conjunto de las normas sociales, pero no es este el momento para exponerlas, pues ya se presntarán en esta misma revista, como interpretación de conjunto de la sociedad guajira. Pero queremos destacar su presencia en el baile de la cabrita, o mejor dicho, su ausencia, pues ya lo dijimos, ellas desaparecen y hay le completa libertad sexual que permite al juglar acariciar a las jóvenes doncellas, so pretexto de adivinar su virginidad o la pérdida de ella, cosa que en la vida normal no se permite; y llegar hasta la unión carnal sin consecuencias de orden económico o social y para la cual sólo se requiere el consentimiento de la muchacha que, a pesar de la pérdida de su virginidad, a pesar de su maternidad ilegal, no desciende en su status, ni trae a la comunidad un nuevo ser inferior en categoría a los demás.

Esto explica en gran parte la afluencia de jóvenes de ambos sexos a la ceremonia de la cabrita, lo que para el indígena que ofrece el rito resulta benéfico, pues mayor solemnidad reviste la fiesta y, por lo mismo, la propiciación de las lluvias y de las cosechas tendrá resultados más efectivos.

d) Una nueva comprobación del rompimiento en estas ceremonias del orden sexual establecido en la comunidad, son las representaciones frecuentes del acto sexual entre los animales, combinadas con las otras dramatizaciones que estudiaremos más adelante. Veamos algunos ejemplos:

La tortuga carey.—Los participantes se disponen en una larga fila o cadena, fuertemente agarrados unos a otros por la cintura. Simbolizan con esto el acto sexual de la tortuga carey. Esta fila pertenece a un juglar que refiere en la canción que sus tortugas se encuentran cumpliendo el acto sexual, porque están en período de celo. El otro bando está encabezado también por su cantador. Su papel consiste en tratar de separar las tortugas, halando, cada uno por separado, la cadena formada por las tortugas. Tortuga que logre ser apartada de su bando, pasa como trofeo al contrario; pero si este no logra separarlas, pierde el juego. Esta actividad se prolonga hasta que hayan sido separadas todas las tortugas de la cadena o hasta que el bando que lo intenta se declare vencido.

El cabrito.—Este juego se presenta en campo limpio. Un grupo de indios cogidos de la mano forman un círculo que finge ser el corral donde se guardan las cabras por la noche. Fuera del corral están los machos cabríos representados por otros indios que, a la vista de las cabras encerradas en el corral, dan vueltas alrededor y hacen intentos sucesivos de entrar. Los indios que representan el cerco los rechazan, pero al fin logran saltar dentro uno o dos machos; una vez dentro, fingen y toman todas las actitudes del macho cabrío en celo: persiguen las hembras, las huelen, las acosan y, por fin, simulan el acto sexual. En tanto llega el dueño de las cabras a mirar su rebaño y va refiendo en sus canciones que no falta ninguno de sus animales, que están gordos porque el pasto abunda y es fresco, y anuncia que va a marcarlos. Comienza a sacar todas las cabras una por una y simula cortarles la oreja, como es costumbre para estampar la marca. Sigue refiriendo en sus cantos lo que hace. Tengo muchas y ahora no me faltarán ni su leche ni su carne; soy rico...

e) Agreguemos a lo anterior el hecho de que las indias de clase rica no participan en estas reuniones, sino muy pocas veces, ya que su prestigio

desmerecería por el concepto que se tiene de la fiesta, según el cual a ella no van sino las muchachas que quieren conseguir marido fácilmente o satisfacer sus deseos sexuales. Además, la obligación de cada muchacho de trabajar un poco en la roza de la muchacha que le ha servido de pareja y la de ésta, de suministrarle a su vez, comida en el baile: maíz tostado, bollos, carne, chicha, etc.

Resumiendo hasta aquí, podemos decir que el *baile de la cabrita* se presenta como festividad en que se busca la propiación de las lluvias, a la vez que se celebra su aparición y la fecundidad: fecundidad en los frutos, fecundidad en los animales, según las representaciones que acabamos de describir, y fecundidad en los hombres, en los seres humanos libres ya de todas las trabas que en la vida cotidiana impone la comunidad a sus asociados para mantener el orden social.

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Representaciones teatrales.—"El drama es particularmente difícil de clasificar porque a menudo se mezcla con la religión... Por otro lado, las escenas dramáticas pueden ejecutarse a manera de diversión colectiva o como farsas sin pretensión alguna, como por ejemplo en una pantomima tahitiana que representa el hurto de un canasto lleno de alimentos a un criado dormido; aunque a veces ocurre que estas sencillas e inciertas tentativas pueden dar origen a verdaderos dramas" [65].

Estas palabras de Lowie que acabamos de citar nos sirven bien para lo que hemos querido denominar representaciones teatrales en la Guajira, pues también ellas son farsas sencillísimas en las que se quiere calcar un hecho cualquiera de la vida de la comunidad, de su mitología o de las escenas de la vida natural circundante, en medio del ceremonial que caracteriza la celebración de la llegada de las lluvias y la propiación de las mismas y de la madurez de los frutos. Naturalmente, y como lo dijimos al principio, esta ceremonia es hasta cierto punto un todo inseparable, un conjunto en que se mezclan las diversiones más triviales, como estas pequeñas representaciones y algunos juegos, con hechos tan importantes como la transgresión de las pautas culturales en la satisfacción de los impulsos sexuales que acabamos de describir y de analizar, en la cual se vuelcan las normas de organización, se rompe la tradición y se da cabida al desenfreno y al

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[65] *Lowie.* Antropología Cultural, XI, 194-195.

placer. Es ante todo un rito. Pero, como lo afirma el mismo Lowie, "Es frecuente que estos importantes rituales presenten elementos dramáticos, por lo que alguna vez se creyó ver que una ceremonia no era más que un mito dramatizado. Por ahora sabemos que cuando mito y ritual se encuentran asociados, a menudo el primero ha sido añadido después, ya sea o no más antiguo... En suma, el ceremonial de los primitivos a veces es algo más que pompa, y puede elevarse a la altura de una verdadera representación teatral" [68].

Es curioso, sin embargo, que en la celebración de esta fiesta dedicada a la propiación de las lluvias, no se encuentre nada relacionado con el mito de las mismas. Las representaciones de la fecundidad abundan en muchos de sus aspectos, como lo acabamos de ver en la descripción del aspecto sexual. Pero representación que se relacione con las lluvias, no hay ninguna, al menos conocida por nosotros, a no ser una en la que intervienen el diablo y la nube o el diablo y el humo, ya que la palabra para designar estos dos conceptos —nube y humo— es la misma: *sirúma*. En esta dramatización, que describiremos más adelante, la nube sale triunfante sobre el diablo. Podría ello interpretarse como el triunfo de las lluvias sobre el largo verano, y sobre las enfermedades, las pestes y las muertes que se desencadenan como consecuencia del mismo. Pero no tenemos ninguna obra base para sustentar esta afirmación. Además, hay que contar con el hecho de que los indígenas no son partidarios de que los extraños presencien sus festividades de la cabrita, y cuando ello ocurre, la representación se reprime en su naturalidad, y se convierte en algo postizo, artificial, casi podríamos decir en un producto especial de exportación, a lo que han contribuído grandemente los misioneros que se oponen a ella por considerarla amoral o inmoral, debido a la libertad sexual que en ella se demuestra y a las representaciones de escenas naturales relacionadas con la vida procreativa de los animales. Todos los datos que tenemos, no son producto de observación personal de la fiesta, sino de narraciones recogidas entre distintos informadores de diversas partes de la Guajira. Tienen, por lo menos, el valor de datos ratificados varias veces.

Todo esto nos hace pensar que el baile de la cabrita, aun cuando se relaciona directamente con las lluvias, toda vez que se inicia cuando ellas aparecen; aun cuando es dedicado especialmente a *Maraiwa*, divinidad de las lluvias, como se comprobará en el capítulo siguiente; aun cuando su nom-

[68] Lowie. Op. cit. XVII, 310.

bre parece derivarse de las constelación de las siete cabritas, *iwa*, cuya asociación con lluvia anotaremos también en el capítulo que sigue, es una ceremonia dedicada a la fecundidad: fecundidad de la tierra en la aparición de los frutos, determinada por las lluvias. Fecundidad y lluvia se presentan, pues, como dos factores inseparables, como dos términos de una misma ecuación: vida.

Hablámos del aspecto de demostración de destreza en las representaciones teatrales cuando delimitamos los campos de estudio del ceremonial de la cabrita. Efectivamente, según todas las narraciones de los juegos representativos que tenemos a disposición y que se irán describiendo detalladamente en la última parte de este capítulo, el final de cada uno está dado por el triunfo de una de las partes que intervienen en el desarrollo, debido a la mayor o menor habilidad o destreza en los movimientos o por la mayor o menor cantidad de fuerza física de los participantes cuando se trata de representaciones de luchas como lo vimos en la tortuga carey, y como lo veremos también en las representaciones de escenas de animales, de hombres y animales o de hombres solos, como en la descripción de un *pstchi* o guerra interclanil. Esta demostración de habilidad y destreza en los movimientos se manifiesta muy claramente en el baile de *chicha-maya*, que se detallará ampliamente en el aspecto descriptivo de la cultura guajira próximo a publicarse, y que, en términos generales, se limita a una verdadera lucha entre el hombre y la mujer que forman la pareja, lucha en que la segunda trata de derribar al primero.

Sin embargo, en las representaciones de carácter mítico, la escena es más limitada, siempre termina de la misma manera; es estática en el sentido de que su desenlace no puede ser cambiado por la habilidad de los participantes, sino que está sometida a una trama regular, rígida para cualquier ocasión en que se presente. Esto, creemos nosotros, es lo que le da su verdadero carácter de mito. Es parte de la tradición oral del grupo y, por lo mismo, no puede estar sujeta a variaciones determinadas por el momento.

Hechas estas anotaciones generales sobre las representaciones teatrales o dramas, vamos ahora a describirlas una por una, presentando primero las que hacen relación a la vida social, luégo las relativas al aspecto mítico y por último aquellas en que intervienen animales solos o mezclados con hombres.

1. *Visita entre la Guajira Alta y la Baja.*—Participan en esta representación dos bandos, compuestos ambos por hombres y mujeres. El primero representa la Guajira Alta; el otro la Baja. Los bandos se sitúan en dos filas

paralelas, a distancias de una cuadra entre uno y otro grupos; los componentes de cada cuadrilla se toman unos a otros por la cintura. Están frente a frente dejando entre ellos un pequeño espacio. El juglar que encabeza a los indios que representan la Guajira Alta, comienza, dirigiéndose al visitante de la Guajira Baja: *Ansh piá* "Llegaste?" *Aaa* "Sí", responde el otro. *Kasáchicki* "Que se dice", vuelve a preguntar el primero. *Nobots* "No, nada", responde su hermano de la parte meridional. De nuevo pregunta el del Norte: ¿Qué tal el invierno? ¿Llegaron por fin las esperadas lluvias? El otro contesta: Estamos contentos. Llegaron las lluvias. Por eso están hermosas nuestras sementeras. Hemos recogido alimentos en abundancia. Y aún hay bastante para recoger. Los pastos, como los árboles, reverdecen. Nuestros ganados tienen agua suficiente para calmar su sed en las casimbas y jagüeyes. Están gordos y se han multiplicado. No nos faltan la carne ni la leche. Ni tampoco las frutas... El del norte tomo la palabra y dice: Yo, mi amigo, sufro mucho. Padezco las angustias del hambre en espera del invierno. Mis ganados mueren de sed al pie de las casimbas secas. No dispongo de otro alimento que las frutas del cardón y de la tuna. He de recorrer largos y penosos caminos para que mis hambreados rebaños disfruten de pastos y de agua. El verano es duro. Y el sol quemó las sementeras y los pastos. El del sur, vuelve a intervenir, para invitar a su amigo con estas o semejantes palabras: Ya que eso es así, mi hermano, como lo cuentas, por qué no vienes con nosotros a nuestra tierra, a la Guajira Baja? Allí encontrarán tus rebaños pastos verdes y jagüeyes rebosantes de agua. Ven con tu mujer y tus sobrinos que para todos habrá comida. Allí el invierno es bueno. Y nosotros te esperamos.

Dice, por fin, el de la Guajira Alta: Sí. Me voy contigo. Partiré con mis ganados hambrientos. Y con mi gente, que soporta necesidades y miserias... Después de esto, los dos bandos se reunen en uno solo y abrazados todos por la cintura se van caminando en dirección a la Guajira Baja. Termina la representación.

2. *La guerra interclanil.*—Se forman, como en el caso anterior, dos grupos encabezados por sus cantadores. Pero ahora no intervienen directamente las mujeres. La representación se inicia así: el jugador de uno de los bandos se acerca hasta el otro y finge matar a uno de sus miembros. Este aparenta estar herido y se retuerce en el suelo hasta morir. El otro lo deja tendido en el campo, huye hacia su cuadrilla y se esconde. El cantador empieza entonces su tarea, diciendo que la causa de la muerte fueron los celos, porque cortejaba a la mujer del homicida o era su rival afortunado en un noviazgo. El otro bando se entera de la muerte de su miembro y corre a

recogerlo. Hace grandes ademanes de furia y de venganza, y el cantador de ese grupo refiere el enojo de su clan, sus amenazas hacia el clan contrario, al que impreca con palabras injuriosas, y acaba por declararle su enemistad. Poco después viene la escena del cobro, en la que un representante del grupo del muerto llega hasta el contrario para exigirle el pago por la ofensa recibida, pide cantidades grandes alegando que los de su clan están muy enojados, y anuncia que si no se cubre lo pedido vendrá la guerra. El cantador va diciendo: Pága mi sobrino porque has derramado su sangre. Y nos has dado por ello un gran pesar. Yo te pido buenamente que lo hagas si no quieres merecer nuestro odio; que matemos a tus sobrinos y despojemos a tus gentes de sus ganados; que ceguemos tus casimbas e incendiemos las casas de tus parientes. Si no atiendes nuestro pedido, tomaremos a tus mujeres y a tus hijos y sobrinos como esclavos. Pága!

El bando homicida recoge niños —que simulan ser ganado— collares, etc., y los entrega a su contendor. Pero su juglar canta diciendo que aquello es muy poco, que su clan exigió más, que lo tome de nuevo y que ya que no cumplió con lo estipulado en el compromiso, que se disponga a pagar con su propia sangre. La guerra está declarada. Cada bando se preocupa por apertrecharse, para lo cual recogen cardón tierno, que abren en tiras que servirán como armas.

El catandor del clan del muerto vuelve a cantar; Aprestaos mis hijos, mis sobrinos. Vamos a atacar a nuestros enemigos, a cobrar la sangre de nuestro hermano, ya que ellos no pagaron lo debido. Pero no os expongáis. Sed prudentes. Atacad, bien resguardados detrás de los árboles y de los cardones. Apuntad bien. No os dejéis vencer, porque nos llamarán en adelante cobardes y no nos respetarán; no pagarán entonces nuestras mujeres y seremos despreciados por todos. En toda la Guajira se sabrá nuestra derrota que se convertirá en burla y en desprecio por nosotros.

El cabecilla del grupo homicida canta: Mis sobrinos, alistáos! Pronto vendrán esas gentes a atacarnos. Estad litos para la guerra. No os descuideis ni un momento, porque llegarán de improviso, dispuestos a quemar nuestras casas, a robar nuestros ganados y cegar nuestras fuentes de agua y a tomar como esclavas a nuestras mujeres y nuestros niños. Luchad y apuntad bien. Vamos a destruírlos.

Después de estas arengas que cantan los cabecillas que caracterizan a los jefes en las guerras, viene el ataque: los que están de duelo simulan ir de madrugada (todo esto lo va refiriendo el cabecilla en sus canciones), para caer de improviso sobre sus enemigos. Con los montones de cardón se disparan mutuamente. Los atacados salen huyendo, y dejan el campo cubierto

de muertos. En el combate todos se azuzan; al lanzar el cardón, imitan el estampido y el silbo de las balas al ser disparadas. Cada cual se guarece donde puede y esquiva los golpes. Los que son tocados por los proyectiles lanzados, caen gritando que están heridos y fingen morir. Los jefes arengan a sus hombres: Tirad bien mis sobrinos, porque nos creerán unos cobardes.

Cuando los proyectiles se terminan, se disponen los bandos a recoger los cadáveres. El que tenga más muertos ha perdido la batalla. En este momento intervienen las mujeres para llorar a los muertos de su grupo: se cubren el rostro con su pañuelo, y agachadas sobre el cadáver lloran lastimosamente. Luégo van a enterrarlos y con esto termina la representación del *putchi*.

3. *El diablo y los indios.*—En esta dramatización un indio se cubre con una manta negra, caracterizando al diablo o *yorujá*. El diablo aparece paseando por el campo y un indio le sale al encuentro; el diablo, con gran destreza, lo agarra por las narices con el pulgar y el índice y lo arroja al suelo. Ese indio está muerto. Esta misma escena, en la que participa siempre el diablo, pero cada vez con indios diferentes, se repite por tres veces con el mismo resultado, hasta que al fin todos los indios que participan en la representación se van contra el diablo y lo matan. El diablo desaparece, pero al cabo de un rato vuele a escena. Se traba nueva lucha entre todos en la que el diablo lleva esta vez la mejor parte porque mata a todos los indios e indias que participan en la reyerta. Se retira luégo y se quita su manta, dándole así fin al juego.

4. *El diablo y la nube.*—Los indios se despojan de sus mantas y hacen con todas ellas una especie de tolda dentro de la cual se colocan los participantes. Esta carpa es la caracterización del humo o de la nube. Allí simulan que están comiendo y jugando tranquilamente. El diablo, otro indio, aprovecha el descuido de los hombres, entretenidos en sus ocupaciones, y cubierto siempre con su manta negra, se mete dentro de la nube para hacer el mal. Se arma a continuación una pelea entre los indios y el diablo. La nube acaba por atrapar al diablo y sale triunfante en la representación.

5. *La carrera de caballos.*—La carrera de caballos es en la vida ordinaria de los indios uno de los deportes o pruebas de competencia más practicado. En ella se trata de poner por alto el nombre del caballo y la habilidad de su jinete. En todas las grandes fiestas hay siempre un número de carreras de caballos y es tal su afición a ellas, que en algunos cuentos narrados por los indígenas se mencionan frecuentemente.

En la fiesta de la cabrita se forman dos bandos que, como en los casos anteriores, están dirigidos por su respectivo narrador. Cada grupo posee un número igual de caballos corredores, representados por indios. Se ha señalado previamente el campo de la carrera con un punto de salida y meta de llegada. Empieza entonces un cantador a referir la bondad de su caballo, alabando su rapidez. El otro le contesta en idéntico tono y con elogiosos conceptos para su animal. Convienen luégo en jugarlos, y lo ponen en práctica. Dice uno de ellos: Aquí va mi caballo *ruano;* es más rápido que las nubes y que el viento y más valiente que ninguno otro en la Guajira. El otro canta: Este es mi caballo alazán. Tengo seguridad en su triunfo, porque es más veloz que el venado. Largan luégo sus caballos, que se disputan la carrera; a contiuación sale otra pareja, y otra, hasta que hayan intervenido todos los competidores.

6. *Las abejas y los ladrones de frutos.*—Hay en la península guajira una abeja pequeña que los indios denominan *wáya* y que construye sus colmenas en los árboles o en los huecos de los troncos. Al golpear cerca de su colmena, las abejas se alborotan, salen en bandadas y se prenden al cabello de las personas que están cerca, se meten por entre la ropa e invaden todo el cuerpo, zumbando y molestando hasta desesperar a su enemigo. Los indios tienen la costumbre de recoger colmenas de estas abejas para colocarlas a la entrada de las siembras y que sirvan así como defensa de los frutos que se cultivan, contra los ladrones. En la escena aparecen dos grupos: uno simula ser la colmena de las abajas y otros caracteriza a los ladrones que quieren robar la cosecha de una sementera. El bando de las abejas se coloca a la entrada de la siembra, en forma compacta que recuerda la colmena. Los ladrones comienzan a llegar y a tratar de entrar en el sembrado para tomar los frutos maduros, pero al intentarlo rozan la colmena; las abejas se alborotan, zumban y atacan a los ladrones que huyen perseguidos por ellas, los hostigan como pueden e impiden así que la cosecha sea robada.

7. *La caza de los jirijir.*—Bajo el nombre de *jirijir* conocen los indígenas un pájaro pequeño que aparece en la Guajira durante las épocas de cosecha y devora los sembrados. Los indios los persiguen asiduamente para defender sus cosechas y para utilizarlos como carne en la alimentación, pues sostienen que son muy gordos y de sabor agradable. El sistema de que se valen para capturarlos es el siguiente: este pajarito acostumbra siempre volar en línea recta, entrando sin variación alguna por un punto determinado y saliendo por otro, de manera precisa. El indio ha aprovechado esta

observación y entonces se va a los sembrados en la época en que acostumbran bajar las aves, provisto de chinchorros o de grandes redes. En el sitio de salida de las aves colocan sus chinchorros. Esperan la llegada de los pájaros, los asustan, e inmediatamente cubren con gran rapidez el punto de salida y las aves quedan atrapadas en la red, cayendo en ella por centenares.

Esta escena se representa en la ceremonia que venimos describiendo. Al iniciarse, se encuentran reunidos en grupo aparte varios indios que harán la función de chinchorreros, es decir, de los que tratarán de atrapar a los pájaros en sus redes; algunos de los niños, se reunen en el centro del campo para representar la siembra. Y un tercer bando, formado por adultos, desempeñará las funciones de los pájaros.

Cuando todo está preparado, el último grupo se pone en movimiento y se acerca en ademán de volar, produciendo un ruido peculiar que semeja el del *jirijir*, y cae sobre el grupo de niños, es decir, sobre la siembra. Un nuevo agrupamiento, pero ya de mujeres, interviene en la escena para espantar los pájaros con gritos y ruidosos palmoteos de las manos. Los pájaros tratan de escapar en bandada, siguiendo la línea recta acostumbrada por ellos, produciendo siempre el ruido peculiar, y pasan así por el sitio donde se encuentran apostados los chinchorreros, que están dispuestos en semicírculo, de dos en dos, y con las manos cogidas, derecha con izquierda, formando un cuadrilátero. Los pájaros llegan hasta allí corriendo a la mayor velocidad posible, y los chichorreros los atajan y rodean para impedirles la fuga. Luchan, pero al fin el semicírculo comienza a cerrarse hasta convertirse en círculo y las aves se ven encerradas. Un indio viene luego a sacarlos; los va tomando uno por uno, del brazo, como si éste fuera el ala, y finge torcerles el pescuezo. Una vez sacados todos los pájaros de entre la red, termina la escena.

8. *Los tigres y los perros.*—Este juego teatral trata de demostrar la fortaleza del tigre y su superioridad sobre los perros. Por ello exige mucho cuidado en la selección de los indios que en él intervienen, pues deben luchar fieramente entre sí, y es necesario que los que hacen el papel de tigres salgan vencedores. Esto nos ha hecho creer en el valor mítico del tigre, que aparece realmente en las leyendas relacionadas con *Mareiwa* y en la nomenclatura clanil. El juego consiste en trabarse en ruda lucha, en la que siempre el tigre, por ser más fuerte, consigue derribar al perro y dominarlo.

La descripción completa puede resumirse así: el grupo de los tigres finge estar encaramado en un árbol; a veces lo hacen realmente. El de los perros llega husmeando y siguiendo el rastro hasta colocarse al pie del árbol

que sirve de guarida a los tigres. Al encontrarlos, ladran debajo y los provocan hasta hacerlos saltar, y es entonces cuando se traban en lucha, levantándose por lo alto. Cuando al fin el perro cae a tierra, el tigre finge morderlo y despedazarlo. Le pone las uñas en el pecho y lo ataca con los dientes en la garganta, por donde empieza a devorarlo. El perro chilla dolorídamente, hace convulsiones y se queda inmóvil, como muerto. El tigre se levanta satisfecho porque ha triunfado, dando así fin a la representación.

9. *Los perros y los zainos.*—Se forman dos bandos, cada uno compuesto por diez hombres dispuestos en fila y encabezados, como de costumbre, por el cantador que es el jefe del grupo. El uno representa los zainos y el otro los perros que van a darles caza. El juego se inicia:: los zainos se reunen en grupo, fingiendo por su posición y sus movimientos que están metidos dentro de una cueva que les sirve de refugio. Empieza a cantar el jefe de los perros, que se agrupan a su alrededor, arengándolos para que vayan a matar a los zainos y no se dejen vencer por ellos. El grupo de los zainos ronca y se apresta para defenderse. Los perros se acercan cautelosamente hacia su presa y escogen uno de entre el grupo. Se traba así la lucha entre un perro y un zaino, lucha desesperada por el predominio, y en la que procuran agarrarse del guayuco y levantarse por el aire para arrojar al contrincante al suelo; la pelea es fuerte y tenaz, porque se escogen generalmente los más aguerridos y bien musculados para representar tanto a los perros como a los zainos, y se prolonga hasta que uno de los contrincantes sea derribado por el otro, caso en el cual se da por vencido. El bando del ganador se anota un punto. Cuando la primera pareja concluye su lucha, se inicia una nueva con otros dos indios, uno de cada grupo, y así sucesivamente, hasta que participen todos los que representan los dos bandos. En el desarrollo de las luchas personales entre perro y zaino, cada cantador azuza a su partidario, le infunde ánimos, lo dirige, etc. Luego se hace el cómputo de los puntos obtenidos por cada grupo, y el vencedor recibe un premio consistente generalmente en comida.

10. *La zorra y el conejo.*—En este acto intervienen tres personajes: uno que simula ser la zorra, otro el conejo, y un niño que hace el papel de patilla. El juego conviste en ver cuál de los dos animales, si la zorra o el conejo, se queda con la patilla que se están disputando, porque ambos quieren robarla. Entonces, cada uno de ellos hala por un brazo al niño (de doce o trece años de edad) y el que logre arrancárselo al otro, se considera vencedor.

Para entender mejor esta representación, es bueno decir que en la Guajira recogimos un cuento relacionado con la zorra y el conejo, publicado en la *Revista de Folklore* [67], en el cual se muestra también una competencia de malicia entre los dos animales que, en el cuento, es superior en el conejo.

11. *El hombre y el puerco montés.*—Un indio está representando el papel de marrano de monte, y otro el de cazador que lo persigue. Este último sigue al puerco que huye velozmente esquivando las flechas que le dispara el cazador. En este juego de destreza puede salir vencedor el cazador que al fin logra herir al animal con las flechas que dispara, o el puerco, si consigue cansar a su perseguidor y esquivar todos los disparos que le hace.

12. *El cazador, el perro y el conejo.*—Este juego es otra demostración de competencia, pues se trata de comprobar la habilidad de cada uno en el desempeño de los papeles que le han sido asignados. Es, en resumen, el simulacro de una cacería, en la que el hombre y el perro tratan de dar alcance al conejo. El perro lo persigue para alcanzarlo y despedazarlo con sus dientes, mientras el hombre lo persigue más de lejos, disparándole piedras con cauchera hasta que logre tocarlo con una de ellas, caso en el cual el conejo debe darse por muerto, dejando como ganador al cazador; lo mismo ocurre si es el perro el que logra atraparlo entre sus garras. Pero si el conejo logra burlarlos a ambos, haciendo mayor gala de destreza y ligereza, queda como vencedor en la prueba.

13. *La canción de la serpiente.*—Este aparte que hemos dejado para finalizar el estudio sobre el teatro en la Guajira, presenta características diferentes a todas las demás representaciones que hemos descrito, porque no constituye una demostración de habilidad o fuerza, ni intervienen bandos opuestos en ningún sentido y por lo mismo no hay diálogo sino monólogo, cantado por el cabecilla del grupo, seguido por todos los participantes y en el que se narran los hechos relativos a la serpiente.

Como nota aclaratoria trasladamos al lector al capítulo referente a *Enfermedad y Medicina*, en el que se destaca el valor mágico de este animal, en relación sobre todo con las mujeres embarazadas y lo que las rodea. Y recordamos también que, como en el caso del tigre, la serpiente

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[67] *Pineda Giraldo*, Roberto. *La chama, un mito guajiro.*

interviene en la nomenclatura de los clanes, a veces en estrecha relación con aquél.

El acto se desarrolla como sigue: Se forma una hilera intercalada de hombres y mujeres que van tomados de la mano. Corren a pasos menuditos y ondulando a la manera de las serpientes cuando se arrastran por la tierra. Van cantando, entonces, todos, la canción de la culebra, encabezados por un juglar. La canción dice, más o menos, lo siguiente: Yo soy la culebra. Ando arrastrándome por los suelos. No hago mal a nadie. Pero el que se atreva a pisarme porque estoy en el suelo, lleva su castigo: lo muerdo y lq invalido. Y a veces lo mato. Lo dejo en cama sufriendo largo tiempo en castigo de haberme pisado, considerándome indefensa porque ando arrastrando mi cuerpo por la tierra . . El canto se repite por varias veces.

IX

MAREIWA Ý WANURU

O

LAS NOCIONES DEL BIEN Y DEL MAL

A través de todos los capítulos que anteceden, hemos tratado de poner en claro lo que constituye la vida mágica del guajiro, que es casi como decir su vida espiritual y de paso hemos mencionado la presencia y actividad de seres con poderes superiores a los naturales, capaces de hacer el bien o el mal, según el sér de que se trate en cada caso particular. Hemos tocado, pues, dos nociones fundamentales: el bien y el mal.

Nuestro interés se concentra ahora en tratar de dilucidar la calidad de esos espíritus o seres sobrenaturales que se prestan a confusiones graves, debidas ante todo a la influencia de la transculturación y, muy especialmente, a la presión ejercida por los misioneros en su función evangelizadora. Es tal la transgresión de términos y conceptos en este mundo de las ideas que podríamos llamar religiosas, que hasta su misma mitología se ha transformado en términos que resultan peyorativos e inferiorizantes para el pueblo guajiro [68].

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[68] Esta afirmación se basa en la leyenda que recogimos de boca de un indio en la localidad de Nazaret, relacionada con *Mareiwa* y el origen de la humanidad, en la cual se presentan los comienzos de los distintos grupos humanos: indígenas y extranjeros. Dice la leyenda que *Mareiwa* creó los seres humanos y los reunió, invitándolos a un banquete. Los que cumplieron con las fórmulas de etiqueta social (saludar de mano, respetuosamente, sentarse en su debido sitio, guardando compostura, comer conforme a las reglas civilizadas utilizando los cubiertos, lavarse las manos, etc.), fueron convertidos en *arijuna* (blanco, civilizado); los que se portaron mal y no cumplieron con estos rituales de etiqueta social, es decir, los que se manifestaron como indios, fueron desde entonces *wayú* (indios). Como puede verse, el indio se cree superior al blanco por estas normas de etiqueta social, que él desconoce total o parcialmente.

[p. 141]

El problema estriba en el hecho de que esas dos nociones de *bien* y de *mal*, representadas en dos clases de espíritus, *benignos y malignos*, se han cambiado por los conceptos católicos o cristianos en general de *Dios* y *demonio*,, conceptos que el indígena, cada vez más en contacto con la civilización de tipo cristiano, acepta gradualmente en el proceso de conversión a las nuevas ideas.

Corroboran nuestra afirmación varias citas, tomadas bien de los mismos misioneros católicos o protestantes, o de viajeros y etnólogos que han incurrido en la misma confusión. Para el caso transcribiremos algunas de ellas.

El padre de Carcagente, refiriéndose a la iglesia de Manaure, dice: "Los indios le dicen a *Dios:* "Ten lástima de nosotros". Saben lo que puede hacer *Dios* por ellos", frases que traslada el guajiro de esta manera: "Nuchúntaca guayú numuín *Maléigua* "Pumúliaja guayú". Je natújain au tu náinjecta nau *Maléigua*" [69].

Los misioneros protestantes, por su parte, publicaron en guajiro y español una versión del Evangelio según San Marcos, a través de toda la cual, la palabra *Dios* está representada en guajiro por la palabra *Mareiwa* [70].

El padre José Agustín de Barranquilla, misionero capuchino que en misión evangelizadora recorrió la mayor parte del territorio guajiro y recogió sus impresiones en un libro, al hablar de las cualidades y defectos morales del guajiro trae las siguientes frases: "...Es Monoteista, es decir, que cree en un solo Ser Supremo, llamado Mareigua (Dios)... tiene por verosímil el diablo a quien denomina Yarujá o Yolujá..." [71]. Y más adelante: "El guajiro no es como otros indios, idólatra, porque nunca se ha encontrado entre los vestigios de las antigüedades guajiras, ni ídolos que adoraran en otros tiempos, ni tradiciones que lo entronquen con la idolatría, salvo algunos insignificantes talismanes de carácter doméstico y familiar, tendientes a favorecerlos, pues ni al sol, la luna, ni a ninguna otra cosa visible le ha tributado jamás culto alguno. El guajiro atribuye todo lo bueno que ocurre en este mundo, a Merigua (Dios). Mareigua siempre es bueno; nunca es malo. Mareigua fue quien hizo el mundo y todas las cosas visibles; El solo. El es invisible, pero ve todas las cosas... Mareigua tiene tres espíritus principales y muchos otros subalternos, inferiores a El;

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[69] *Carcagente:* Guía Goajiro, pp. 18-19. El subrayado es nuestro.
[70] Máruko. Cf. Bibliografía.
[71] *Barranquilla. Así es la Guajira*, II, 57.

estos espíritus son unos masculinos y otros femeninos... Ve un indio que la siembra se está secando por falta de agua, y lejos de clamar al cielo para que llueva, lo que hace es tocar su tambor o caja todas las noches y en las madrugadas como si quisiera que el ruido hendiera las nubes; dispara su escopeta sobre ellas para igual fin... Enferma uno de sus pariente y llama al Piache para que, con sus sobos, la maraca, los salibazos de tabaco o manilla, los dictámenes de los espíritus, sane al enfermo, en vez de recurrir a Dios pidiendo por la salud de su allegado" [72].

Jorge Isaacs, el famoso novelista colombiano, realizó en la segunda mitad del siglo pasado un viaje de estudios a la Guajira y otras regiones del país, por encargo oficial, y escribió en el informe presentado: "*Mareigua* es el nombre con que los guajiros designan a Dios, mejor dicho, *al no engendrado, fuerza inmaterial, dueño de la creación*" [73].

Por último, el etnólogo profesor Hernández de Alba, a raíz de su expedición a la Península, dice: "*Mareigua*. Todo lo bueno para el guajiro: la lluvia, la abundancia, la vida, la protección, el mundo en que viven, lo da Mareigua, el Dios único, siempre bueno y nunca malo..." [74].

Estas citas que hemos transcrito nos llevan a la creencia en un dios todopoderoso, único y universal para los guajiros. Así es, en cierto modo, para los que ya se encuentran imbuídos de las prácticas religiosas cristianas, pues al hacer referencia a nuestro Dios, a Jesu-Cristo, lo llaman *Mareiwa*. Pero en el fondo, según nuestro criterio, hay algo distinto a ello, que es precisamente lo que trataremos de explicar.

Al hablar del piache nos referimos extensamente a sus espíritus protectores, verdaderos curanderos, y de los cuales éste no es más que un intermediario. Naturalmente, hablamos también en ese capítulo y en el que se relaciona con la enfermedad, de los espíritus malignos, causantes de los males, conocidos con el nombre genérico de *wanurú*, y explicamos cómo los primeros son, en general, los espíritus de piaches desaparecidos que siguen ejerciendo sus funciones en beneficio de la comunidad, mientras los *wanurú* son espíritus de gentes también muertas, que satisfacen venganzas personales, cobran desacatos cometidos contra su status de muertos, o sencillamente son peligrosos por los hechos circunstanciales que provocaron su muerte, como en el caso de los suicidas.

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[72] *Ib., id.*, II, 65-67.

[73] *Isaacs. Estudio del Lenguaje Guajiro*, 303.

[74] *Hernández de Alba. Etnología Guajira*, 49-50.

Fuera de los espíritus de la enfermedad y de la muerte, hay otro, llamado *yo-ru-já*, difícil de describir y de delimitar en sus funciones. Sólo sabemos que es maligno por excelencia y que ha sido a él, justamente, al que, por contraposición a *Mareiwa* (Dios), se le ha bautizado como *demonio, diablo*, por parte de misioneros, escritores, etc.

A propósito de lo anterior tenemos algunas citas que nos reafirman: "*Yolubá* es el demonio en la sencilla teogonía guajira; como el dios, es apenas un concepto, la palabra que representa las fuerzas destructoras y a la vez poderosas, pues llega hasta tener intervención en las palabras del piache cuando adivina. "¿Qué dice el diablo? Jamúseneik Yolujá?", es la pregunta que se hace al adivino. No es, pues, el demonio guajiro como el de los cristianos, lo contrario del dios, puesto que a más de la maldad, y destrucción, encierra la idea de poder y adivinación" [75].

"Parece que para el guajiro existieran dos diablos: el llamado Yarujá o Yolujá y el Guanurú. El *Yarujá* o diablo propiamente tal es lo más malo que existe y lo más aterrador: él siempre es malo y ejerce su acción sobre los hombres, sobre la humanidad, pero actúa más que por sí mismo, por medio de otro menor que él que es el Guanurú".

"El guanurú es más entrometido en este mundo; es enemigo del cuerpo, como también del alma; él es el encargado de producir las enfermedades en las personas, en los animales y aún en las plantas. El guanurú también es un espíritu" [76].

Como se ve, la confusión es grande; y ello no es obra solamente de los escritores citados, sino del indígena mismo, como lo veremos más adelante.

Lo que se puede sacar en conclusión hasta el momento, es el establecimiento de dos categorías de espíritus, una para los del bien, y otra para los del mal, categorías basadas en la mayor o menor capacidad para ejercer sus influencias benignas o malignas, respectivamente. Pero si examinamos un poco más detenidamente la serie de hechos observados por nosotros en el viaje del año 47, podemos anotar algunas separaciones más que nos permitirán dilucidar un poco el problema que atañe a las nociones de bien y de mal en el indígena, nacidas de la presencia de seres caracterizados y dispuestos a ejercer lo uno o lo otro sobre el individuo o sobre la comunidad en general; es decir, espíritus benignos o malignos que personi-

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[75] *Hernández de Alba. Op. cit.*, 50.

[76] *Barranquilla. Op. cit.*, II, 67.

fican lo bueno y lo malo, y que presiden los hechos socialmente aceptables o reprobables.

* * *

Mareiwa. Para nosotros, *Mareiwa* es ante todo el espíritu propiciador de las lluvias. Esta afirmación la hacemos basados en los siguientes hechos:

1. El baile de la cabrita, como ya vimos en el capítulo anterior, es dedicado a él y se realiza cuando aparecen las lluvias de verano;

2. Según una ficha recogida en el terreno, el hijo de Dios (Mareiwa) existe. Nació de la unión de las olas y las nubes en el sitio de *Pulówi*, en lagunas "sagradas" adonde no pueden ir los seres humanos, en la Sierra Nevada, donde hay pequeñas lagunas de aguas saladas y dulces, rodeadas de plantas medicinales. Hasta esos lugares desciende *Mareiwa* en ciertas ocasiones y es cuando sobrevienen los grandes aguaceros en la Guajira; es decir, en las épocas que en la Península se denominan otoño, primavera e invierno. Entonces comienzan a reverdecer los árboles, los pastos y las plantas todas;

3. Otra leyenda dice que *Mareiwa* nació de una mujer que quedó embarazada cuando, estando en el período menstrual, se espantó ante el espectáculo de una fuerte tempestad. Sin haber tenido contacto sexual con ningún mortal, alumbró luégo, como las demás mujeres;

4. También aseguran las leyendas guajiras relacionadas con el sér que nos ocupa, que nació bajo un olivo [77] en algún lugar de la Guajira. La importancia de esta leyenda estriba en el carácter peculiar de este árbol que es el único de los que forman la flora guajira, que escapa a la acción de los veranos largos, y permanece siempre fresco, conservando durante todo el tiempo sus hojas, y fructificando;

5. En la propiciación de las lluvias por el piache, cuando los veranos se prolongan demasiado, éste invoca a sus espíritus protectores, espíritus del bien, y especialmente a *Pumayule*, nombre con que conocen los curanderos a *Mareiwa;*

6. En la obra y párrafos ya citados del profesor Hernández de Alba, encontramos una nueva relación de *Mareiwa* y lluvia, cuando dice: "*Mareigua.* Todo lo bueno para el guajiro:la lluvia, la abundancia . . . y El salvó

[77] El olivo a que hacemos referencias en estos párrafos, no es el mismo de las zonas templadas, sino un árbol autóctono, cuyo parecido con el otro, le ha valido ese nombre.

al pueblo en el diluvio, sobre el gran cerro de Pororo que hizo crecer así como iban subiendo las aguas" [78].

7. Al hablar de los fenómenos naturales en la magia, dijimos que era muy común una especie de veneración que tributan los indígenas a una iguana que vive en las grietas de las peñas, especialmente en los acantilados de la costa, veneración que se manifiesta externamente por fiestas y bailes, y que tiene como fin lograr de la iguana que no oponga obstáculos a las lluvias, que están bajo su dominio. Hasta aquí el hecho parece desligado del tema que tratamos; pero apoyados en la lingüística, aclararemos nuestro punto de vista:

La palabra guajira para designar a la iguana es *iwána* y puede descomponerse así: *íwa* "lluvia" (así llaman los indios a las que caen en verano, abril); *ná*, partícula que parece denotar abundancia de algo, como puede verse en estos otros ejemplos: *ipa-na-rú*, topónimo de la Guajira, quiere decir "entre muchas piedras" y corresponde al contenido: es un cono de recepción de aguas lluvias, entre acumulaciones rocosas; *garrapatamana*, otro topónimo que corresponde a su significado: sitio en donde abundan las garrapatas. Según lo anterior, *iwána* quiere decir abundancia de lluvias.

Ahora bien: la palabra para nombrar la constelación de las siete cabritas, que en determinada posición coincide con las lluvias de verano, es *íwa*, igual que para lluvia. Además, el nombre de Mareiwa permite aislar esa partícula constante *íwa*, lluvia. Desgraciadamente, no pudimos encontrar nada que correspondiera a la primera partícula, *máre*, en el vocabulario recogido por nosotros, ni en los que se han publicado y que hemos tenido oportunidad de consultar. Pero revisando el diccionario de la lengua arawak de las Guayanas, con la que está íntimamente ligado el dialecto guajiro, nos encontramos con que *mali* es el nombre de "cierto astro"; *malidalte*, "comienzo de la sequía". "El nombre se deriva del astro *mali*" [79].

Si aceptamos que los guajiros provienen de los arawak de las Guayanas, con quienes están íntimamente ligados por la lengua y la cultura, nada tiene de extraño la formación del nombre *Mareiwa* de *mali*, *male* (la *l* y la *r* no existen en guajiro), e *íwa*, palabras que sirven para designar astros y, por tanto, deben estar relacionados con la cosmogonía general arawak. En todo caso, la asociación lingüística y temática astro-lluvia-dios-divinidad, está confirmando la aseveración que hemos venido sosteniendo de que *Ma-*

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[78] *Hernández de Alba*. Op cit., 49-50.

[79] Anónimo. Op. cit., 71.

reiwa no es otra cosa que el espíritu propiciador de las lluvias y, por lo mismo, de las buenas cosechas y de la abundancia y el bienestar.

Las fuertes condiciones geográficas de la Guajira y la incapacidad técnica en que se encuentra el indígena para dominarlas y ponerlas a su servicio, sin sufrir los graves perjuicios que ocasiona sobre todo el clima, han elevado a este sér al primer escalón en la categoría de los espíritus protectores de la comunidad. También debió de haber contribuído a ese levantamiento de status, en parte apreciable, el cambio de economía efectuado en los siglos pasados a raíz de la introducción de la ganadería, pues se hace más indispensable desde entonces la presencia del invierno para la conservación de los pastos, sin los cuales el ganado sufre serios quebrantos. No tenemos ningún dato relativo a la mítica o la religión de estos indígenas en la época de Conquista, pero los que dejamos expuestos y el hecho de haber una verdadera confusión respecto al origen y a las actuaciones de *Mareiwa*, nos indica que es, en cierto modo, un estado de transición el que está viviendo el guajiro en el aspecto de sus divinidades, y casi diríamos, un momento de creación verdadera de sus dioses, que aun no se ha logrado definitivamente y a la cual ha puesto trabas, insalvables ya, el contacto con la civilización occidental.

Wanurú.—Como al hablar de la enfermedad y del piache nos referimos extensamente al *wanurú*, sólo agregaremos ahora unos pocos datos y sistematizaremos los conocimientos adquiridos hasta el momento, sobre el mismo.

1. El *wanurú* puede hacer daño al guajiro, corporal y espiritualmente. Corporalmente, con las enfermedades que atacan a los hombres, animales y plantas, bien sea en forma aislada y personal, o conjunta, con la aparición de las pestes. Espiritualmente, inspirando los hechos reprobables como el asesinato que acarrea desgracias sociales; en general, todas las transgresiones a la ley social guajira, la ira, el suicidio, la infidelidad, etc., son inspiradas por este espíritu.

2. Tienen sitios permanentes de habitación, con especialidad en las casas desocupadas.

3. Reviste categorías especiales que dependen de las circunstancias de la muerte, lo que se traduce en el modo de vida que llevan los espíritus en el otro mundo.

4. Se hacen presentes adoptando cuerpos especiales; es decir, se hacen visibles. Esto los diferencia fundamentalmente de los espíritus del bien, como *Mareiwa*, que no se manifiestan bajo ninguna forma corpórea. Al efecto,

tenemos estas creencias indígenas: Si durante la noche o en las últimas horas de la tarde, se encuentra en el dormitorio una mariposa nocturna blanca y de tamaño regular, no se la puede maltratar ni matar. Hay que tratarla con consideraciones, porque ella no es más que el espíritu de algún antepasado —*wanurú*— que viene de visita. Si se vuelve muy molesta y no deja dormir con sus aleteos, hay que sacarla muy cuidadosamente de la habitación. Si se llega a matar, el espíritu del muerto, encarnado en ella, se aparecerá en sueños y reclamará: —¿Por qué me mataste? Yo te estimo y por eso vine de visita a tu casa. Tú me hiciste daño. Y seguramente el espíritu se vengará en forma de un mal cualquiera, de la persona que violó la hospitalidad debida a los espíritus de los muertos.

Yorujá.—El concepto de *Yorujá* es más difícil de poner en claro. Parece ser que es el mismo *wanurú*, por los siguientes hechos:

1. A él se refieren los indígenas, dando a entender que es el espíritu del muerto;

2. Como los *wanurú*, tiene sus sitios de habitación determinados, especialmente en los cementerios, en las grietas del Cabo de la Vela o encaramado en los árboles en las soledades del bosque *Emejuy*, en la Guajira Baja;

3. También como el *wanurú*, es el causante de males físicos y espirituales a los indígenas y a la comunidad en general;

4. Reviste como aquél formas especiales, tales como las de "rey", *arijuna* (civilizado) e indio. A veces le salen llamas por los ojos y por la boca (posible transcultación con las leyendas relativas al demonio de los católicos);

5. Hay otras creencias que se refieren a él, como la que dice que cuando en la noche una mujer guajira llega a encontrar una *mantis religiosa*, debe arrojar apresuradamente al fuego semillas de algodón y un poco de sal para que, con el estallido que producen al quemarse, espanten al espíritu maléfico o *yorujá*, que trae consigo dicho animal. Hay en esta creencia una relación de semejanza con la que prescribe colocar calaveras de caballo para alejar al *wanurú* de las cercanías de las habitaciones.

* * *

Resumiendo, diremos que los espíritus del bien están representados por *Mareiwa* y por una serie de otros espíritus protectores, especialmente de los piaches, que no son más que los curanderos muertos. Su categoría o *status* depende del que tuvieron en vida; mientras mejores curanderos hayan sido

en este mundo, mejor será su posición en el otro, como espíritus bienhechores. Los espíritus del mal están representados por personas muertas con distintos grados de peligrosidad, según las características de la muerte. Es presumible que los que se denominan *yorujá*, asimilados al *demonio*, a la encarnación superior del mal como noción abstracta, sean espíritus de muertos de categoría superior por su peligrosidad, mientras los *wanurú*, relacionados casi exclusivamente con la enfermedad, sean personas desaparecidas con grado menor de peligrosidad.

Por último, las diferencias entre las dos categorías de espíritus, bienhechores y malhechores, son de dos clases: De carácter cuantitativo, según la capacidad para hacer el bien o el mal, respectivamente; 2° De carácter formal, en cuanto a la aparición de los segundos en diversas formas corporales, y ausencia en los primeros de tal cualidad.

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CONCLUSIONES

La magia se nos presenta como una de las instituciones más fuertes de la cultura guajira, a pesar de que, como lo dijimos y demostramos a través de este trabajo, va perdiendo día a día su importancia, a medida que el piache desciende en su categoría de conductor espiritual del grupo por los factores ya enunciados de evangelización y transculturación en escala ascendente por influencia de la presencia cada vez mayor de elementos civilizados en la Península y a medida también que los componentes de la sociedad van sufriendo también las consecuencias de dicha transculturación. Sin embargo, aún es ella la que domina muchos de los aspectos de la vida cuotidiana del indígena, por no decir la mayoría, y es lo que tratamos de sintetizar y aclarar brevemente en este capítulo.

1º *Economía.*—La vida del guajiro, como pudimos verlo en la *Introducción*, guarda una estrecha dependencia y una tiránica sujeción al factor clima, dada las condiciones de la Península que habitta esta comunidad, sometida al régimen estacional de lluvias al cual ha adaptado su sistema agrícola y ganadero, fuentes esenciales de su economía. Y como de ellos depende directamente la subsistencia del grupo, el guajiro, carente de técnicas para la irrigación y conservación de las aguas en escala ascendente, deposita su confianza de supervivencia en los sistemas mágicos, bien sean ellos personales o colectivos, o ejercidos directamente por el mago-curandero de la comunidad. No otra cosa son los exorcismos realizados por éste para atraer las lluvias en los veranos largos, invocando a sus espíritus protectores y especialmente a la personificación del bien y de la lluvia, *Mareiwa;* o la adoración y ceremonias en honor de la iguana, hecha por los particulares con el mismo fin; o, en fin, toda esa clase de sistemas mágicos que hemos venido enumerando relacionados con el fenómeno natural de la lluvia.

También en este aspecto de la economía hay que recordar la presencia de las mujeres en la siembra, que establece una división del trabajo por sexos, basada en la asociación mágica de la transmisión de la fecundidad femenina a las semillas.

[p. 150 blank]
[p. 151]

Por otra parte, frente al fenómeno nuevo de la ganadería, el indígena adaptó sus sistemas mágicos a él, imponiéndole los mismos o semejantes tratamientos utilizados para los miembros de la comunidad, sobre todo en lo referente a las enfermedades y pestes, como se pudo ver en el aparte *Pischanza de Animales* del Cap. II. Si, de un lado, la ganadería cambió en parte algunos de los sistemas sociales con ella relacionados, por otra parte ella sufrió a la vez, también, la influencia de esta institución hasta el punto de adquirir características propias que la diferencian en sus sistemas de las demás ganaderías que siguieron en líneas generales los trazos dados por los colonos españoles. Es sui-géneris y hace parte hoy, como puede hacerlo la institución más antigua, de la cultura guajira.

Además, no ya en el campo colectivo sino en el individual, la acción de la magia sobre la economía se manifiesta muy claramente en la *cóntra* para hacerse rico que hemos descrito en detalle en el Cap. VI y que, como es lógico dentro de la dinámica social guajira, se relaciona con aspectos sociales tan importantes como el *status*, que veremos más adelante.

En el capítulo que hemos denominado *La Magia como Origen del Teatro en la Guajira*, podemos ver también la efectividad de la magia en la economía particular, pues el dueño de una parcela de tierra cultivada es el que promueve el baile y la fiesta, a su costa, para atraer los beneficios de los espíritus benignos, de *Mareiwa* sobre las cosechas que requieren agua suficiente y condiciones climáticas determinadas para su maduración. Y tan cierto es ello que su creencia lo lleva a la convicción de que mientras más solemnidad tenga la ceremonia del baile de la cabrita, mayor será el beneficio recibido de los espíritus invocados y festejados y mayores probabilidades de éxito tendrá en su cosecha.

2º *Sociedad.*—La sociedad guajira, como lo dijimos, ha descargado gran parte de la responsabilidad de sus supervivencia y estabilidad en la magia, y en ella reposa tranquila, convencido de su efectividad y agarrada a un determinismo institucional que apenas ahora comienza a resquebrajarse hondamente. La institución cultural de la magia representa para el individuo guajiro un sistema de vida, de pensamiento y de creencias que lo liga a su grupo tanto como el lazo consanguíneo o el sistema clanil establecido. Es la magia la institución general y generalizada, independiente en su esencia de las divisiones sociales características debidas a la organización familiar y clanil, que abarca sin distinción a toda la comunidad, la influye y la determina en muchos de sus aspectos.

Por lo mismo ella está vinculada estrechamente al régimen de seguridad personal y colectivo, en tres sentidos: 1°, porque proporciona una serie de normas preventivas encaminadas a defender al individuo y a la sociedad de males posibles provocados por la concomitancia de fenómenos naturales o sobrenaturales, físicos o psíquicos; 2°, porque posee sistemas adecuados para el tratamiento de los males que, por infracción de las pautas culturales hayan sufrido el individuo o la sociedad en sus personas o intereses; 3°, instruyendo a la comunidad en la creencia de que cualquier infracción a las normas establecidas puede provocar hechos anormales que van contra su estabilidad.

Podemos, pues, decir en primer lugar, que el piache, con sus sistemas mágicos, es una institución creada para mantener, defender y aún devolver el régimen de seguridad a la comunidad y a sus asociados, como se verá en la enumeración somera de los siguientes hechos:

a) Medicación de las enfermedades, para devolver la salud perdida de los pacientes;

b) Propiciación de las lluvias, indispensables para la agricultura, el crecimiento y conservación de los pastos, base de la ganadería y el mantenimiento de agua dulce en las casimbas y jagüeyes, tanto para uso de los miembros de la comunidad como para el sostenimiento del ganado;

c) Alejamiento de las pestes y epidemias, tanto humanas como animales, dirigidos, el primero a la conservación de la vida de los individuos que integran la comunidad, y el segundo a la defensa de sus intereses, representados en ganados, soporte de su economía y de su subsistencia;

d) Prevención de los efectos de los sueños que, dentro de la mecánica mental guajira, corresponden a realidades actuantes como que son revelaciones del porvenir, anuncios anticipados de los acontecimientos que van a desarrollarse dentro de la sociedad y que afectarán a una o varias personas de las que integran el grupo social. Este es uno de los orígenes, como ya lo vimos, del sacrificio de animales que tánta trascendencia tiene en la vida cuotidiana de los indígenas a que nos venimos refiriendo; y,

e) Defensa de la comunidad y del individuo de la influencia dañosa de los espíritus malignos, influencia que se expresa en gran parte en la presencia de enfermedades personales o colectivas.

A cambio de todos estos servicios prestados por el piache, la comunidad le ofrece como pago, de un lado el respaldo, el respeto, la admiración y aún el temor, y de otro, bienes materiales que consolidan su status de privilegio, como collares, telas, joyas en general, animales y dinero.

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De acuerdo con la previa división establecida entre magia y adivinación en el Cap. IV, debemos asegurar también ahora que el adivino sirve, como el piache, para mantener, defender y devolver el régimen de seguridad individual y colectivo, afirmación que hemos basado en los siguientes actos provocados por él:

a) Descubrimiento por adivinación de las causas de las enfermedades, permitiendo así una medicación adecuada con grandes probabilidades de éxito para el afectado que es generalmente un niño;

b) Devolución de los objetos perdidos por gracia de su arte adivinatorio, y descubrimiento del ladrón —factor de contravención del régimen de seguridad personal— para que sufra las penas con que la sociedad castiga a los que violan las normas culturales de la propiedad personal;

c) Adivinación, cuando los maridos están ausentes, del estado de salud en que se encuentran, a fin de que sus esposas puedan prestarles auxilio rápido y efectivo; y,

d) Determinación en última instancia de la "vocación" o no "vocación" de un iniciado en las ciencias shamnísticas, dictamen que tiene gran trascendencia para la comunidad en general, pues de él depende que la sociedad tenga en el futuro mago un defensor de su régimen de seguridad, un consejero y un director espiritual, o, por el contrario, un charlatán sobre el que los espíritus protectores no han descendido para iluminarlo y, por lo mismo, una verdadera posibilidad de estafa moral y material.

Tenemos que recordar en el aspecto de la adivinación dos hechos fundamentales: 1º, que el piache puede ser ambas cosas: mago y adivino, con lo que refuerza su posición y su prestigio; [illegible] que cada individuo puede aprender para su uso personal o para beneficio de los demás, los sistemas de adivinación que no requieren, como para el caso del piache, la iluminación y presencia constante de espíritus protectores que ejercen su predominio sobre el individuo en quien se aposentan, al cual someten a su entera voluntad.

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La magia corriente, es decir, aquella que no depende del piache ni del adivino, sino que está dispersa en la creencia popular y que es como un código de normas preventivas, tendientes a evitar la contradicción de pautas culturales institucionalizadas, es también un verdadero sistema de ré-

gimen de seguridad, toda vez que indica claramente que si se viola ésta o aquélla norma, el individuo sufre el castigo en sí, en su descendencia o en su grupo familiar. Tales son, por ejemplo:

a) La no asistencia a entierros, el no cavar sepulturas, el no mirar la entrada de los ataúdes en las tumbas, etc., por parte de los padres, cuando la madre está embarazada;

b) La prohibición de acercarse a donde haya niños o enfermos, cuando se ha tocado un muerto;

c) Las precauciones que debe tener la mujer embarazada frente a las serpientes;

d) La ceremonia que debe realizarse con el cadáver del primogénito;

e) La prohibición que pesa sobre el esposo de una mujer embarazada, de cazar con armas modernas;

f) En fin, la observancia de todas aquellas normas cuya contravención pueda perjudicar la generación, por malestares y enfermedades de la madre durante el parto, o en la criatura por nacer;

g) También podemos ver esta acción de la magia en el uso de diversos tipos de *cóstras* (fetiches, amuletos, talismanes); en la prohibición expresa de pronunciar el nombre propio de un individuo y el de los muertos; en el aspecto que hemos llamado Presagios y pájaros agoreros; en la conducta que siguen los individuos para llamar la brisa durante las calmas marinas, para alejar los eclipses y los rayos que, según su creencia, son maléficos.

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Aspecto muy interesante de la magia es su utilización en provecho o detrimento de algunas de las instituciones culturales y sus pautas institucionalizadas, como ocurre, por ejemplo, con el uso de algunas *cóstras* amorosas y el cumplimiento de ciertas normas desde el período de encierro que corresponde a la época y ceremonias de iniciación de las jóvenes, con el fin de luchar contra la poligamia, bien sea para obtener el predominio sobre las demás mujeres, o bien para evitar que el hombre que las adquiera por esposa, tenga más mujeres con las cuales haya ella de compartir su vida. Se muestra, nítidamente, quizás por influencias de la transculturación, una tendencia a la monogamia en la mujer, mientras el hombre, por prestigio, la muestra hacia la poligamia, para lo cual requiere buena posición económica, toda vez que el precio de las mujeres es alto, tanto más cuanto mayor sea su categoría social.

Otra institución que se ve directamente afectada por la magia es la iniciación misma de las jóvenes. Vimos cómo la muerte del primogénito requería una serie de ceremonias tendientes a evitar que los futuros hijos mueran a medida que van naciendo y dijimos cómo una de las principales consistía en la observancia de ciertas normas que recordaban de manera muy clara la iniciación de la madre joven, como si se pensara que uno de los causales de la muerte del primogénito era el cumplimiento deficiente de todo el ceremonial mágico-biológico-social a que debe someterse la muchacha para la preparación de su vida como adulta.

También las normas relacionadas con los muertos y la creencia en la vida de ultratumba descansan casi exclusivamente en la magia y en ella sostienen su prestigio y su funcionamiento; a ella se debe el temor y el respeto que los asociados muestran frente a sus difuntos y es también ella la que promueve todo el rito ceremonial que se tributa a los muertos.

3° *El Individuo.*—Otro interesante aspecto social relacionado con la magia es el referente al status que tiene como punto principal de referencia la riqueza, expresada ésta en el mayor o menor número de cabezas de que pueda disponer un individuo. Pero aparte de este aspecto eminentemente material, la magia dispone de elementos que puestos en acción ayudan al individuo a adquirir una posición anhelada o a mejorar la que ya tiene, como lo hace por ejemplo en el aspecto cultural del lenguaje, el dominio del idioma con el empleo de los más bellos giros de la lengua, que concede a su poseedor el cargo muy estimado y prestigioso de componedor o intermediario en las luchas interclaniles, cargo que se confunde a veces con el de jefe.

Dentro de este campo de actividad de la magia podemos destacar como ejemplos los siguientes:

a) El sacrificio de animales, que no sólo da prestigio a los vivos, sino que determina el status de los muertos en la vida de ultratumba;

b) El uso de diversas *cóutras*, tales como algunas de amor, para hacerse rico, para conseguir respeto, prestigio y cariño, etc.;

c) La costumbre de comer las sobras de alimentos de individuos de características físicas especiales, que se consideran como buenos y provechosos, y, sobre todo, superiores a las que posee, tales como piel blanca, presencia de barba, etc., con el fin de destacarse y elevar su status;

d) Como forma indirecta de elevar el status, tenemos el caso de la toma de la *cóutra* del Indio *Kuríra-Pála* y la adquisición de una esclava para esposa, a fin de poder sanar de las heridas recibidas de los indios *Iranies*.

La esclava, por parte y gracia de un sueño, pasa a la categoría de esposa, ascendiendo así en la escala social.

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Gran parte de la personalidad del guajiro está moldeada por esta institución de su cultura, y por eso muchas de sus reacciones no podrían aplicarse sin conocer antes el proceso de la magia, los distintos campos de funcionamiento de la misma, los sistemas de vida que ha creado, la mentalidad que origina, imbuída, como ya lo hemos afirmado, de un determinismo animista, y las creencias que implica en los diversos ángulos de la actividad humana guajira, como se habrá podido observar a todo lo largo de este trabajó que venimos presentando. Tan cierto es ello, que los mismos impulsos básicos del individuo se ven influídos en muchas circunstancias por la magia:

a) Para comprobarlo en el aspecto sexual, nos basta con citar nuevamente algunos hechos ya presentados y explicados en algunos capítulos anteriores, tales como los tabús impuestos a los pisches, especialmente cuando son mujeres y según los cuales deben cohabitar exclusivamente con su marido, evitando las caricias, los movimientos, el prolongamiento del coito y el embarazo; además, no ejercer sus funciones durante el período menstrual; y, por otra parte, los hechos referentes al levantamiento de los tabúes sexuales o mejor, la permisión de la violación de las normas que rigen a la comunidad en este sentido, durante la celebración de la fiesta de la cabrita, llegando hasta la consumación del acto carnal entre solteros, totalmente prohibido en las épocas normales de la sociedad, pues provoca, como lo expusimos ampliamente en el aparte correspondiente, cobro e inclusive guerras interclaniles con sus tremendas consecuencias de persecución, aniquilamiento y esclavitud; también se puede observar en lo que denominamos "prueba de la virginidad", que permite a un varón acariciar todo el cuerpo de las señoritas que participan en la fiesta, cosa prohibida, como la anterior, en los momentos de normalidad. Encontramos, además, en las *cóstras*, algunas dirigidas en este sentido y es muy significativo el hecho de untar la hija en los órganos genitales y en los senos, para lograr mayor efectividad en el uso de las que se refieren al amor.

b) En la alimentación también vimos comprobaciones de la influencia de la magia, especialmente relacionada con la vida del pische, sobre todo cuando se encuentra en sus trances de "iluminación", o en la ceremonia de curación. Lo mismo en la iniciación del pische, en la iniciación de las

jóvenes, en la contaminación mágica de los alimentos provocados por algunos animales que provocan enfermedades en los niños recién nacidos y en prohibición de comer la carne del gavilán que produce esterilización en jóvenes y adultos de ambos sexos. Se encuentra, además, en la prohibición que tienen los familiares del difunto de comer la carne de los animales sacrificados en el velorio. La supresión voluntaria de alimentos sólidos en su dieta alimenticia a que debe someterse el homicida, es otra comprobación de la intervención de la magia en el aspecto alimenticio del guajiro. Por lo demás, las ceremonias de propiciación de las lluvias y maduración de los frutos, son otra demostración palpable de la acción de la magia en este punto.

c) Y, por fin, en el aspecto de la agresión, vemos la influencia muy marcada de la magia sobre todo en las *cóntras* que se utilizan para causar el mal a determinadas personas, como son por ejemplo las fabricadas con el cabello de la mujer jovén, sangre de colibrí, cola de perro y bija para enamorar a la muchacha y dejarla burlada, o la que usan las mujeres valiéndose de un talismán comprado a una mujer entendida en estas materias, que colocan en la ropa del hombre que quieren dañar, y apoderándose luégo de la cudulia del damnificado la queman, a fin de perjudicarlo en su vida mental y física. Por otra parte, la magia previene y deja ver por anticipado los actos de agresión de que va a ser víctima un individuo a un grupo clanil o familiar, por la interpretación de los sueño del piache o de los particulares, como se vio ya en el aparte *Magia y Sueños*, del capítulo VII. Y, precisamente el efecto de la magia sobre el régimen de seguridad personal y colectivo, tiende a evitar al individuo o al grupo, según el caso, los efectos de la agresión de sus enemigos potenciales denunciados por los hechos mágicos debidamente interpretados.

NOMBRES DE PLANTAS Y ANIMALES

Plantas:
achiote *(bixa orellana)*
ahuyama *(cucúrbita máxima)*
alcamán (f. *sinantéreas* o *compuestas*).
aká (f. *leguminosas*)
cardón *(pilocéreus atrovirídis)*
cedro cuebo (fam. *cedrélaceas*. esp. *Mahogoni de Linneo)*
chocho *(abrus precatórius)*
dividivi *(libidíbia coriária. Jacq.)*

frailejón (*espelétia* spp.)
guamacho (*peréskia colombiana*. Webb).
guayacán (f. *zigophilleaceas*)
llantén (f. *Plantagineas*. esp. *Ureus*)
lengua de vaca (*poligonáceas*. g. *Rumex*)
mamoncillo (f. *sapindáceas*. esp. *bijuga*)
mangle (f. *rizoforáceas*)
ojo de venado (f. *Papilionáceas*)
ortiga (f. *Urticáceas*)
patilla (*cucúrbita vulgáris*)
quina dulce (*chinchóna spp.*)
salvia (fam. *Labiatáceas*)
sauco (f. *caprifoliáceas*)
verdolaga (f. *portulacáceas*, g. *portulaca*)
vira-vira (f. *compuestas*. g. *gnaphalium*.)
yuca (*manihot utilíssima*)

ANIMALES:

abeja (orden de los *himenópteros*)
alcaraván (*belonopterus cayennensis*)
avispa (orden de los *himenopt.*)
buho (*bubo virginianus elatus*)
cauquero (esp. de venado)
colibrí (fam. de las *troquílidas*)
conejo (*sylvilagus apollinaris*)
culebra cascabel (*Crotalus terrificus*)
culebra cazadora (*Clelia clelia*)
gallinazo (*Coragyps atratus foetens*)
garrapata (g. *Boophilus*)
gavilán (*harpagus bidentatus*)
iguana (orden de los *saurios*)
lechuza (*Tyto alba sabandeana*)
machorro, esp. de lagarto (orden de los *saurios*)
murciélago (*Carollia perspiciliata*)
pájaro carpintero (*Ceophloeus lineatus*)
pato doméstico (*Anas platyrhynchos*)
perdiz (*pérdix rubra*)
raya (*Rajas batis*)

tigre (*félis onça* o jaguar)
turpial (F. de las *Ictéridas*)
zaino (*Pecari*)
zorra (*Canis azaroe*)
curí (*Cavia anolaimae*)
gato montés (*margay tigrina*)
venado (*Cérvus élaphus*)

2: Pineda Giraldo SC13 Goajiro

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YECUANA SS20

KINSHIP AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE YEKUÁNA AND GOAJIRO[1]

JOHANNES WILBERT

YEKUÁNA KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

THE PRESENT PAPER is concerned mainly with the kinship system of the Yekuána Indians. The data were collected from a Makiritare Indian. Although the Makiritare are but *one* Yekuána subgroup out of several, and although we were told by our informant that the phonetics of the kin terms may vary considerably from one group to another, we are sure that these facts are of no structural importance with respect to the system as such. The Yekuána tribes belong to the Cariban linguistic stock. They occupy a large area between the Parágua and the upper Orinoco where they live in scattered settlements with some concentration along the rivers Parágua, Caura, and the headwaters of the Orinoco. 101 121 [192] [131]

Subsistence is based on hunting and brand-tillage agriculture, supplemented by fishing and gathering. Bitter manioc is the staple crop, followed by maize, but pineapples and tobacco are also grown. The dog is the only domestic animal. Both men and women fish. The men hunt, clear the land, plant the crops, and also weave and make baskets, coiled pottery, and dugout canoes. Intertribal trade is important. A settlement includes a single large communal dwelling, oval in shape, with a conical thatched roof and walls of wattle-and-daub. Individual families occupy apartments along the walls, the center of the hut being reserved for communal dinners and as a bachelors' room.[2] 105

Of the twenty-one fundamental kinship terms listed below nineteen are always used in address and two only in reference. The latter refer to "husband" and "wife" who, because of a strong avoidance taboo are not supposed to address each other in public. No teknonyms are employed, and personal names are only known of a few individuals. A number of terms such as those for sisters and younger brother are always used with the diminutive suffix /-kɔ/, which to omit is considered to be very rude. All kinship terms appear to be elementary terms and most of them are highly classificatory with regard to their range of application. Only two terms of address are denotive, not counting the referential forms for "husband" and "wife." 601 [551]

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2 R. Koch-Grünberg, *Vom Roraima zum Orinoco* (Stuttgart, 1923), vol. 3, pp. 250-333; G. P. Murdock, *Outline of South American Cultures* (Behavior Science Outlines, vol. 2, 1951, New Haven), p. 121; G. P. Murdock, *South American Culture Area* (Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, vol. 7, 1951, pp. 415-436), pp. 432-433; J. Gillin, "Tribes of the Guianas" (in *Handbook of South American Indians*, J. H. Steward, ed., vol. 3, pp. 799-860), pp. 848-850.

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(60) *List and application of kinship terms*[3]

1 kóko: FaFa/FaFaBr/FaFaBrSo/FaFaSiSo/FaMoBr/FaMoBrSo/FaMoSiSo/MoFa/MoFaBr/MoFaBrSo/MoFaSiSo/MoMoBr/MoMoBrSo/MoMoSiSo

2 ñida: FaMo/FaMoSi/FaMoSiDa/FaMoBrDa/FaFaSi/FaFaSiDa/FaFaBrDa/MoMo/MoMoSi/MoMoSiDa/MoMoBrDa/MoFaSi/MoFaSiDa/MoFaBrDa

3 hóku: Fa/FaBr/MoSiHu

4 ñme: Mo/FaBrWi/MoSi

5 wiñeme: FaSi/MoBrWi/WiMo/HuMo

6 yáwo: MoBr/FaSiHu/WiFa/HuFa

7 udói: e.Br (m.s.)/FaBr e.So (m.s.)/MoSi e.So (m.s.)

8 yákonde: y.Br/FaBr y.So/MoSi y.So/FaSi y.So (w.s.)/MoBr y.So (w.s.)/FaSiSoSoSo (w.s.)/FaSiSoDaSo (w.s.)/FaSiDaSoSo (w.s.)/FaSiDaDaDa (w.s.)/MoBrSoSoSo (w.s.)/MoBrSoDaSo (w.s.)/MoBrDaSoSo (w.s.)/MoBrDaDaSo (w.s.)

9 yáya: e.Si/FaBr e.Da/FaSi e.Da (m.s.)/MoBr e.Da (m.s.)/MoSi e.Da/BrWi (m.s.)/WiBrWi/WiSi

10 adíya: y.Si/FaBr y.Da/FaSi y.Da (m.s.)/MoBr y.Da (m.s.)/MoSi y.Da/FaSiSoDa (m.s.)/FaSiDaDa (m.s.)/MoBrSoDa (m.s.)/MoBrDaDa (m.s.)/FaSiSoSoDa (m.s.)/FaSiSoDaDa (m.s.)/FaSiDaSoDa (m.s.)/FaSiDaDaDa (m.s.)

11 yayíke: e.Br (w.s.)/FaBr e.So (w.s.)/FaSi e.So (w.s.)/MoBr e.So (w.s.)/MoSi e.So (w.s.)/HuSiHu/HuBr

12 wíne: FaSiSo (m.s.)/MoBrSo (m.s.)/FaSiSoSoSo (m.s.)/FaSiSoDaSo (m.s.)/FaSiDaSoSo (m.s.)/FaSiDaDaSo (m.s.)/MoBrSoSoSo (m.s.)/MoBrSoDaSo (m.s.)/MoBrDaSoSo (m.s.)/MoBrDaDaSo (m.s.)/SiHu (m.s.)/WiBr/WiSiHu

13 yíke: FaSiDa (w.s.)/MoBrDa (w.s.)/FaSiSoSoDa (w.s.)/FaSiSoDaDa (w.s.)/FaSiDaSoDa (w.s.)/FaSiDaDaDa (w.s.)/MoBrSoSoDa (w.s.)/MoBrSoDaDa (w.s.)/MoBrDaSoDa (w.s.)/MoBrDaDaDa (w.s.)/BrWi (w.s.)/HuBrWi/HuSi

---

[104] [3] Phonetic transcription:
a – [illegible]
d – [illegible]
ñ – [illegible]
~ – [illegible]

14 umédĩ: So/Da/BrSo (m.s.) /BrDa (m.s.) /SiSo (w.s.) /SiDa (w.s.) / 601
FaBrSoSo (m.s.) /FaBrSoDa (m.s.) /MoSiSoSo (m.s.) /
MoSiSoDa (m.s.) /FaBrDaSo (w.s.) /FaBrDaDa (w.s.) /
MoSiDaSo (w.s.) /MoSiDaDa (w.s.)

15 ɸóne: BrSo (w.s.) /SiSo (m.s.) /FaBrSoSo (w.s.) /FaBrDaSo (m.s.) /
FaSiSoSo/FaSiDaSo/MoBrSoSo/MoBrDaSo/
MoSiSoSo (w.s.) /MoSiDaSo (m.s.)

16 háse: BrDa (w.s.) /SiDa (m.s.) /FaBrDaDa (m.s.) /FaBrSoDa (w.s.) /
FaSiSoDa (w.s.) /FaSiDaDa (w.s.) /MoBrDaDa (w.s.) /
MoBrSoDa (w.s.) /MoSiSoSo (w.s.) /MoSiDaDa (m.s.)

17 háde: SoSo/SoDa/DaSo/DaDa/BrSoSo/BrSoDa/BrDaSo/
BrDaDa/SiSoSo/SiSoDa/SiDaSo/SiDaDa/FaBrSoSoSo/
FaBrSoSoDa/FaBrSoDaSo/FaBrSoDaDa/FaBrDaSoSo/
FaBrDaSoDa/FaBrDaDaSo/FaBrDaDaDa/MoSiSoSoSo/
MoSiSoSoDa/MoSiSoDaSo/MoSiSoDaDa/MoSiDaSoSo/
MoSiDaSoDa/MoSiDaDaSo/MoSiDaDaDa

18 xadáne: SoWi

19 xanĩde: DaHu

20 "ĩño": Hu

21 "xĩñáme": Wi

Kin Relationships

Kinship is bifurcate-merging. The father's brother is classified with the father, while the mother's brother is designated by a different term. On the other hand, the mother's sister is classified with the mother, while the father's sister is designated by a different term. Other relatives merged are Ego's son and Ego's brother's son. Some kinship terms vary according to the sex of the speaker, and others are used to denote relatives irrespective of their sex and age. Grandparents and their brothers and sisters are terminologically distinguished by sex, Ego's siblings and cousins by sex and age. Exceptions are made with the cross-cousins whom one can marry: they are referred to by the same terms as are brother-in-law and sister-in-law, and their parents are classified as parents-in-law. Cross-cousin terminology, then, reflects the system of marriage. Parallel cousins are classified like Ego's siblings and are not considered by Ego as potential spouses. On the basis of cousin terminology the kinship system of the Yekuána is thus of the Iroquois type. [582]

The terms for cross-cousins are extended to include their children's children, distinguishing between sex. The offspring of siblings' children, as well as those of

3: Wilbert E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 SC13 Goajiro
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+601 parallel-cousins, are designated by one term without marking sex differences. The latter is also true of the term used to designate brother's children and those of male parallel cousins; whereas by using two different terms, differentiations by sex are made for sister's children and those of female parallel-cousins. The term for "younger sister" is extended to include all individuals of opposite sex in the line of Ego's cross-cousins.

602 Avoidance regulations are strictly observed in Yekuána groups. They are extended from FaSi, MoBrWi, HuMo, WiMo, to include all cross-cousins and their offspring of opposite sex and parents-in-law and siblings-in-law of opposite sex. Avoidance was said to be not observed between Ego and Mo, MoSi, FaBrWi, parallel-cousins, or siblings.

593 It is certainly remarkable that an avoidance taboo exists between husband and
602 wife in Yekuána society. Koch-Grünberg[4] observed that a Yekuána wife never serves her husband first during communal banquets, but from this one would not necessarily deduce a husband-wife avoidance; especially since this kind of avoidance is generally unheard of between partners of this category.[5] To judge from the confirmation given by our informant and according to the kinship terminology, however, there can be no doubt concerning the correctness of this statement. Avoidance taboos thus do not coincide with incest taboos in Yekuána society. In a case of emergency the general pattern of avoidance may be disregarded, when partners converse with averted faces.

[593] Relations between husband and wife were said to be generally friendly, and
603 children treat their parents with respect. Intimate relations exist between grandparents and grandchildren. Instead of calling them by the general term of mīdekáka (children) they may bestow the name emukewedyu on them; a term which may be interpreted best as "my little one" but actually cannot be translated. The grandparents make little presents to their grandchildren, e.g., food, a bow, or a musical instrument. When grown up, the grandchildren present their grandparents with food or weapons, such as a blowgun. If a child disobeys his grandparents, the latter have the right to punish him; a father will call his child to order if it should ridicule the old ones. Grandparents look after their grandchildren whenever their parents are out in search of food, and they accept them in their household should
[736] they become orphans. As a rule, however, orphans join the family of a maternal or paternal aunt.

596 Within the extended family greatest respect is paid to the parents of the spouse,
[602] and especially to the father of the wife. He is obeyed in all domestic affairs. A

4 Koch-Grünberg, *Vom Roraima zum Orinoco*, p. 353.
5 G. P. Murdock *Social Structure* (New York, 1949), p. 278.

3: Wilbert E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 SC13 Goajiro
Yeluana SS20

A child was said to owe more respect on a whole to his father because he was the one who "filled" a "vessel," the mother, whose function was only to receive and guard. 596 [593]

There exists a kind of blood-brotherhood among the Yekuána, and according to our informant also among the Guahariho. Shortly before meeting an enemy the warriors will halt on their path to make sure everybody who came so far will continue on the war path as a man one can count on. Two leading individuals will cut their arms, collecting the blood in a leaf formed as a funnel. Each of them will trickle his own blood into the partner's nose, upon which they address each other as wuščakono, meaning "my intimate one." The same term, however, is also used by consanguineal brothers who love each other very much: wuščakono thus gets the meaning of "my intimate brother." While the war leaders exchange their blood, the warriors squeeze the sap out of the stems of a certain plant to drop it into each other's noses. This would cause them to become like "wild animals," and was said to be the reason why many enemies would call them "tigers." The exchanging of blood and the consuming of the plant's sap anticipates the approaching victory. The war chiefs lead their men on the final stage towards the enemy and nobody may return after this ceremony. The war chiefs exchange their blood each time they encounter the same situation. 608 [171] [726] 726 [824] [608]

Notes on the Social Organization

Although cohabitation of the extended family within a single communal house calls for subordination of its nuclear families, the latter, nevertheless, are the fundamental social and economic units among the Yekuána. Most of the daily activities are carried out by the members of the nuclear family for its direct benefit. On festive occasions, after a game drive or when a big piece of game is brought in by a hunter, the food is put at the disposal of the head of the extended family to be redistributed among its members. Within the nuclear family each member is allotted his share by the father. 594 596 [224]

The prevailing rule of residence of a married couple is matrilocal. Heretofore the Yekuána have been described as patrilocal, mainly because of Koch-Grünberg's statement that the woman follows the man to live in his house, that she becomes a member of his "Sippe" and that her children belong to her spouse's group.[6] We have tested our informant on this question and there remains no doubt that at least among the Makiritare matrilocality prevails. Since Yekuána villages mostly consist of one huge communal dwelling marriage involves the removal of the groom to another village in local exogamy. There was said not to exist any exception to either matrilocality or local exogamy. Only upon the death of the wife or of both 591 [114] [621] [582]

6 Koch-Grünberg, *Von Roraima zum Orinoco*, p. 354.

3: Wilbert E-5 (ca.1957) 1958 SC13 Goajiro
YECUANA SS2

591 of her parents is the man free to return to the kin of his family of orientation. It may be that the prevailing opinion of previous authors concerning the patrilocality of the Yekuána rests on such an exceptional case hit upon by Koch-Grünberg. In [578] case of active hostilities between the husband's family unit of orientation and that of procreation he may be exempted from participation in any action against the members of the first group.

595 Our informant approved of Koch-Grünberg's statement that polygyny is practiced among the Yekuána.[7] Two to five women may be married by a man, and [587] sororal marriages are frequently to be observed. The levirate is practiced in the event the husband's brother is a bachelor. Polygyny does by no means seem to indicate a special degree of achieved status or rank. Within the extended family authority 596 rests with the *pater familiae*. His function may be inherited by the paternal uncle or by the eldest son: the paternal uncle ranks first, however. The head of the 622 local group is addressed by kíka, and the last chief to have been widely known lived towards the end of the 19th century at the Conucunuma under the name of [643] Arandre.[8] A paramount chief does not seem to be recognized among the Yekuána. [621] Instead the local group is politically autonomous under the headman.

428 Personal belongings are inherited by sons or daughters, depending on the sex of the defunct.

585 We have not inquired deeply into marriage rites. Special ceremonies, however, 881 do not seem to exist. Initiation for boys was said to be unknown, although girls, when menstruating for the first time, had to stay in a cabin (closed from all sides) within the communal dwelling. This seclusion is observed for fifteen to twenty days, a period during which the girl may eat very little and only foods which had been "blown upon" by the piache (sîwéi). After this period is over the girl is led by her mother to a place some 400 m away from the house from where she has to run the gauntlet between two lines of men in the direction of the house. She is whipped with leaves of curagua until she reaches the house where her father and her paternal uncle receive her. Here the candidate has to stand still with her hands raised over her head while the two men continue the whipping for a while. If she has learned how to control herself the girl is not supposed to cry. No explanation was given of the object of this ceremonial whipping, but Koch-Grün- [751] berg[9] reports the practice of prophylactic whipping against sickness, and there obviously is some connection. After the ceremony a festival begins which lasts for

7 *Idem*, p. 333.

8 J. Chaffanjon, *L'Orénoque et le Caura, relation du voyage entrepris en 1886 et 1887* (Paris, 1889), p. 301.

9 Koch-Grünberg, *Von Roraima zum Orinoco*, p. 95, Abb. 2

3: Wilbert E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 SC13 Goajiro SC13
YECUANA SS20

Y 881 [582]

some two or three days; from that time on the girl is considered marriageable. Girls are married early and bachelors practically do not exist.

Y 611

Future field work will have to disclose whether it is true that a unilinear rule of descent has indeed not been established among the Yekuána, as our informant told us. So far we can only say that the Yekuána have a society with bilateral descent, local exogamy, matrilocal residence, Iroquois cousin terminology, and matri-dense. In general it is rare to find Iroquois cousin terminology with bilateral descent. The matri-dense structure, however, resulting from local exogamy and matrilocal residence, provides a perfectly good functional basis for Iroquois cousin terminology despite the absence of unilinear descent.

Y [114]

THE GOAJIRO KINSHIP SYSTEM

G 121 114

This section is intended to contribute to the study of Goajiro sociology, by giving some notes on the kinship system of this Indian group. Although some contributions, mainly with respect to the social organization of the Goajiro have been published in the past, information on their kinship system is almost completely lacking.

G 115 G [191]

By chance, the author was visited by J. A. Polanko, a Goajiro Indian in his thirties, who belongs to the Guanero group of the Venezuelan part of the peninsula "La Goajira." The informant is bilingual, speaking Spanish as a second language to his mother tongue. Although the information acquired through the help of this person has been carefully checked, it may very well be possible that certain mistakes are to be corrected by future research.

G 601

1 anáke:	FaFa/FaFaBr/FaMoBr/MoFa/MoFaBr
2 ánka:	FaFaSi/FaMa/FaMoSi/MoFaSi/MoMa/MoMoSi
3 ali:	Fa/FaBr/FaSiHu/FaFaBrSo/FaFaSiSo/FaMoBrSo/ FaMoSiSo/MoSiHu/MoFaBrSo (w.s.)/MoFaSiSo (w.s.)/ FaSiSo/FaSiDaSo/FaSiDaDaSo
4 ai:	Ma/FaBrWi/FaSi/FaFaBrDa/FaFaSiDa/FaMoBrDa/ FaMoSiDa/MoFaBrDa (w.s.)/MoFaSiDa (w.s.)/FaSiDa/ FaSiDaDa/FaSiDaDaDa
5 aráuti:	MoBr/MoFaSiSo (m.s.)/MoMoBr/MoMoSiSo
6 aíagyu:	MoBrWi (m.s.)/WiSi (m.s.)/BrWi (m.s.)
7 áirí:	MoSi/MoFaSiDa (m.s.)/MoMoSiDa/SoWi/HuMo
8 ouléik:	y.Br
9 apáiyu:	a.Br/a.Si (w.s.)

3: Wilbert E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 SC13 Goajiro SC13

60) 10 aŏnüi: Si (m.s.)/FaBrDa (m.s.)/FaSiSoDa (m.s.)/MoSiDa (m.s.) FaSiDaSoDa

11 aŏnüi: FaBrSo/FaBrDa (w.s.)/FaSiSoSo/FaSiSoDa (w.s.)/ FaSiDaSoSo

12 aguira: MoSiSo (m.s.)/MoSiDa (w.s.)

13 nurf MoBrWi (w.s.)/HuSi/BrWi (w.s.)

14 aŏing: MoFaBrSo (m.s.)/MoFaBrDa (m.s.)/MoMoBrSo/ MoMoBrDa/MoBrSo/MoBrDa/So/Da/BrSo/BrDa/ FaBrSoSo/FaBrSoDa/FaBrDaSo (w.s.)/FaBrDaDa (w.s.)/ MoSiSoSo/MoSiSoDa/FaSiSoSoSo/FaSiSoSoDa/ FaSiSoDaSo (w.s.)/FaSiSoDaDa (w.s.)/ MoSiDaSoSo (m.s.)/MoSiDaSoDa (m.s)

15 aring: MoBrSoSo/MoBrSoDa/MoBrDaSo/MoBrDaDa/ FaBrSoSoSo/FaBrSoSoDa/FaBrSoDaSo/FaBrSoDaDa/ FaBrDaSoSo/FaBrDaSoDa/FaBrDaDaSo/FaBrDaDaDa/ MoBrSoSoSo/MoBrSoSoDa/MoBrSoDaSo/MoBrSoDaDa/ MoBrDaSoSo/MoBrDaSoDa/MoBrDaDaSo/ MoBrDaDaDa/MoSiSoSoSo/MoSiSoSoDa/MoSiSoDaSo/ MoSiSoDaDa/MoSiDaSoSo (w.s.)/MoSiDaSoDa (w.s.)/ SoSo/SoDa/DaSo/DaDa/BrSoSo/BrSoDa/BrDaSo/ BrDaDa/SiSoSo/SiSoDa

16 aŏpŭ: SiSo (m.s.)/SiDa (m.s.)/FaBrDaSo (m.s.)/ FaBrDaDa (m.s.)/MoSiDaSo (m.s.)/MoSiDaDa (m.s.)/ MoSiDaDaSo (m.s.)/MoSiDaDaDa (m.s.)/SiDaSo (m.s.)/ SiDaDa (m.s.)/FaSiSoDaSo (m.s.)/FaSiSoDaDa (m.s.)

17 aŏŏingrŭ: SiSo (w.s.)/SiDa (w.s.)/SiDaSo (w.s.)/SiDaDa (w.s.)/ MoSiDaDaSo (w.s.)/MoSiDaDaDa (w.s.)

18 ŏŭrŭ: Hu

19 nrŭrŭ: Wi

20 aŏmiyu: WiFa/DaHu (m.s.)

21 aŏŭ: HuFa/DaHu (w.s.)

22 nnaŏŭ: WiMo

23 aŏŭ: SiHu (m.s.)/WiBr

24 hanŭa: SiHu (w.s.)/HuBr

25 apiyanning: HuBrWi

26 nnaŏing: SoWiFa/SoWiMo/DaHuFa/DaHuMo

3: Wilbert E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 SC13 Goajiro SC13

Twenty six fundamental kinship terms by which the Goajiro designate their 601
relatives were recorded. Most terms are applied to more than one relative so that
the system is classificatory in type. Among the Goajiro, kinship terms are almost
exclusively used in reference, while in addressing a person teknonyms are em- 551
ployed, e.g.; ülshi pïichi – father of pïichi (ül – prefix, 3rd pers. singl. masc.;
(a)shi – father; pïichi – baciro). The term corresponds to a male person who is
the father of a boy child. This practice of teknonymy presupposes the presence of
personal names. Either sex can be given a name in remembrance of an event which
occurred on their birthday, e.g., "the one of the full moon," "the one of the
blossoms of that tree," "the one of the war between . . .," etc. More fre-
quently, however, personal names differ from each other by sex. Boys are called
after strong and wild animals, such as baciro (pïichi), tiger (karüire), pig
(pïrïki), wild cat (mülü), while girls' names are ornamental and flattering,
e.g., "brilliant one" (hawüü), brownish one (murüachong), etc.

The teknonym employed to address a person is derived from the name of the
oldest son, and in default of sons, from that of the oldest daughter. Personal
names are used in addressing unmarried persons. It is a disgrace, however, for an
adult not to have children. Grandparents may be called by a teknonym referring [842]
either to a son or to a grandchild.

Kinship terms are never employed in the forms as listed above, but only with 601
possessive prefixes, e.g., tashi – my father; pïshii – your father; ülshi – his father;
ashi – her father; washi – our father; hashi – your (pl.) father; nashi – their
father. In the table, kinship terms are represented by their root forms. As a [572]
friendly gesture, people may address each other by general terms such as "brother," [576]
"sister," etc., or they may call any small child "son" or "grandchild."

Of particular interest is the distinction the Goajiro make between "blood- 601
relatives" and "flesh-relatives." Blood-relatives are all patrilineally related persons, 602
whereas "flesh-relatives" are related to Ego through the mother's line. Kinship 611
ties between flesh-relatives are considered to be stronger than those existing between
blood-relatives. In practical life this would mean that Ego would have to help his
maternal uncle in a fight against his own father. Among all kinsmen the maternal [604]
uncle possesses the greatest authority and his word counts most in all domestic
affairs. Frequently, therefore, we find the extended family clustered around the
homestead of the maternal uncle, which makes the Goajiro a matrilineal avuncu- [591]
local society. Otherwise residence is matrilocal. Any one of the three ankor-rela-
tives (maternal uncle), as listed in the table above, may replace the true maternal [768]
uncle in case of his death. But only his sister's children can be heirs of his posses- [424]
sions (including his wife or wives).

3: Wilbert E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 SC13 Goajiro SC1

582 As for the mentioned forms of cousin marriage, Ego (m. and f.) may marry any cousins on either side except for mother's sister's children. Ego (m. and f.) may also marry any kinsman of the third degree with the exception of a mother's sister's daughter's child. All relatives of the fourth degree are potential spouses.
[595] Polygyny is practiced and is definitely a mark of status and rank. Sororate is mentioned although it very rarely occurs. The data indicate, then, a very typical system
[596] [597] of Crow type.

602 No avoidance taboos were said to exist in Goajiro society, but great attention is paid to respectful behavior between kinsmen. In the family parents are respected
[593] equally highly by the children, whereas among siblings the brother enjoys greater authority than his sisters, and an older than a younger brother. In the presence of the maternal uncle nobody is supposed to speak up unquestioned; this rule applies especially to the younger people. Grandparents maintain close and friendly relations with their grandchildren. They make gifts to the latter: horses, bows and
[593] arrows, drums, rifles, etc., and the grandchildren assist the old after having grown up. The father-in-law is respected greatly by his daughter-in-law. When visiting she serves him before she serves her mother-in-law. She does not, however, attend her own mother. Cousins are completely free to meet without being obliged to observe any avoidance regulations.

608 Artificial kin relations were said to be missing altogether among the Goajiro.
609 Non-relatives are treated with great friendliness and may even be accepted as
597 stepparents of an orphan of the group. Orphans usually join a family on the father's side.

Caracas, Venezuela

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
SC13 Guajiro SC13

COMPOSITION OF 'TORTS' IN GUAJIRO SOCIETY

By

Vincenzo Petrullo

A discussion of the laws of a primitive society has first to /2/ surmount the difficulties of definition. How shall we differentiate law from custom, moral from legal duties and obligations in a society that has not codified its law, that lacks an easily recognized agency for making and enforcing them, and that cannot put forward a juristic philosophy? Are we justified in selecting certain acts which in our socley fall subject to legal actions, and constructing a system of 'laws' out of them? In the literature on jurisprudence there is the tendency either to exclude law from primitive society altogether, to recognize in a vast array of reciprocal obligations andsocial censures law in the raw, or to set up criteria which allow for the existence of law in some societies and exclude it from others. For instance, analytical jurisprudence practically limits law to those rules which a fully organized state recognizes and enforces.[1] Obviously many primitive societies cannot satisfy such a strict concept of law for lack of the required social mechanism. Even Stammler, who rejects the concept that there can be no law without a state and who seeks law in custom, approaches the problem by asking: Is there an agency to make and enforce laws; is its purpose to ensure justice; does it determine in sovereign fashion who shall be subject to it; does it claim inviolability as long as it is in force? Likewise the historical and sociological schools would exclude law from some of the primitive societies.[2] Radcliffe-Brown, writing from an anthropological point of view, accepts Roscoe Pound's definition of law as 'social control through the systematic application of force of politically organized society,' and goes on to say that

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121 the field of law is 'coterminous with that of organized legal sanctions.' If there are no 'legal sanctions,' obligations are considered as matters of custom and conventions. He further suggests the use of 'public delicts' and 'private delicts' to classify violations of law which in our society would fall into the criminal and civil classes respectively.[3] Malinowski, justly calling attention to the fact that the field of law does not limit itself to prohibitions but also enjoins duties, extends the term to include binding obligations governing the intercourse of daily life and enforced by a 'specific mechanism inherent in the structure of society.'[4]

While it is not within the scope of this paper to examine critically the various concepts of what constitutes law, we may well ask if its existence in primitive society is dependent upon what one accepts as its definition. We are given the choice of admitting either that certain societies do not know law, or that law is present in all societies in the form of reciprocal obligations which include many phases of behavior which we are accustomed to call either custom or moral obligation. Still it may be granted that in any society there occur breaches of custom, which are recognized as trespass on the recognized rights of the individual and perhaps on the entire community, for the composition and rectification of which there are known and accepted acts whose nature is set and limited by precedent. These are in contrast to those breaches which may bring on the offender only social reprobation in a mild form through giving him a 'bad name.' The former ought to fall within the province of law as generally understood in our society, while the latter may properly be included in the field of morals.

105 Before proceeding with a description of Guajiro concepts of law and of custom it may be well to outline briefly the structure of their society. It is estimated that there are between ten and [161] twenty thousand Guajiro inhabiting the peninsula that takes its name from them. Though most of the territory belongs to Colombia and a narrow coastal strip is within Venezuelan borders, the Guajiro live almost independently of both [133] governments. The land is arid, lacking running water except in the hills of Macuire, where there are some springs. Most of

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the men speak some Spanish in addition to their native 105
language. Some of them know how to read and write. They
are almost entirely pastoral, possessing great herds of horses, [233]
asses, sheep, goats, and cattle. They have borrowed a great
deal from the Europeans but they have also kept their own
culture to a remarkable degree. As usual, native elements
are most strongly present in the non-material phases of culture.
Unfortunately they are not united or organized into a modern
state, though against all foreigners they stand together as a
unit. Authority is acquired by certain caciques through their [554]
wealth and membership in the 'casta,' the major social group- 614
ing in Guajiro society. Each casta claims a mythological 631
origin and holds sovereignty over a well-defined territory.
Many of these castas or social groupings are further sub-
divided. Each casta has its caciques whose function is chiefly
to settle disputes and whose position is inherited, matrilineally.
The oldest of them is allowed more authority, but generally it [556]
is the wealthiest man, and the one who can marshal more
retainers, armed with rifles and revolvers, who is listened to
with greater respect. There are further divisions in Guajiro
society. At the top are the caciques and their families who are 565
rich and powerful. The next group is composed of peons or
retainers in the service of the upper stratum, and at the bottom
are the 'slaves' who have been born in that condition or have
been enslaved following an offense to some powerful group, and [567]
who can even be let out to work for planters in the sugar fields
of Zulia The life of the poor people has not changed much
since early times. Polygamy is widely practised, as is also 595
concubinage, by the wealthier men. Each wife lives in her
own rancho and there awaits the occasional visit of her hus-
band. The children inherit property and social affiliations [611]
through the mother. Disputes that arise within a casta are
settled by arbiters chosen by the families of the litigants. [627]
Disputes inter-casta may be settled by arbitration if violence
is not desirable. Generally the killing of an individual gives [628]
rise to armed action with an eventual composition by payment.

My informants attempted to demonstrate the difference be- 671

671 tween law and custom in Guajiro society by a variety of illustrations. One of them said in effect:

> 574 If a cacique visits me and I fail to kill a sheep in honor of his visit
> and to feast him in accordance with the dignity of his rank and my
> 626 wealth, I have broken a custom of my people. However, though I
> 671 offend him by such negligence my guest may take no action to redress the wrong other than to inflict the same discourtesy on me if the opportunity should arise. He may seek neither redress in violence nor composition in payment. My only punishment may be the acquisition of a bad name among my people.
>
> 586 But if I visit one of my wives at her rancho and she fails to kill a
> sheep from her own flocks to feast me, refuses me her person, neglects
> 671 to supply me with hammocks, saddle-bags, and other articles made
> 684 by women, or refuses me shelter, she will have broken a 'law'; that is, she will have broken the marriage contract. In this case I may demand from her and her family payment or a divorce. In the latter case her family would have to return to me the bride-price plus any increase in the herds but less an amount considered fair for my having exercised sexual privileges over her, though I may demand even this if she marries again. In case her family refuses to adjust
> [626] the matter in accordance with our law I may appeal to my family for help in obtaining my just rights. I should be justified in having recourse to violence. However, the law is so well understood that it would not be necessary to resort to such drastic measures generally.[5]

671 These informants were acquainted to some extent with
[115] Colombian and Venezuelan laws and were attempting, no
[177] doubt, to classify their own customs in accordance with European practices. Nevertheless it is an indication that in their minds there does exist a class of offenses for which one may seek composition even through violence, and a class that is in the category of merely moral obligations though investigators may not always draw an equally fine distinction. Simons, for example, in discussing Guajiro law speaks of injury
[114] to oneself as giving rise to a legal obligation for composition.
574 My informants, on the contrary, distinguished it from that class of wrongful acts. If a man cuts himself, his father and
626 father's relatives receive an expiatory offering. Had one of
672 my informants, the son of a rich cacique, cut himself he would
602 have given a small barrel of rum and five or more sheep to his

father's relatives who would eat the meat and drink the rum 574
immediately, a feast to which the mother's relatives might be 626
invited as a gesture of courtesy. The offering of rum and 602
meat is voluntary, and even a friend may ask for something as 672
an indication of deep personal interest in the welfare of the injured person. If the injured man makes no offering, no action is taken by anyone to make him do so, but he will acquire a 'bad name.' A Guajiro has a moral obligation to avoid shedding his own blood, but not a legal obligation. Since the father takes care of his son during his lifetime, this obligation is directed towards him and his relatives, but is extended to include any good friend.

Another example of the same distinction is the case where a 431
son asks his father for a particular horse or object possessed by 593
the latter, as a gift. The father is morally bound to grant the request, but there is no legal compulsion to do so. I gave a cacique a fine hunting knife which pleased him greatly. To my surprise his son was proudly wearing it the following day. On inquiring about it the cacique told me that his eldest son had asked for it. Had he refused to give it he would have [626] been considered a bad father. The son inherits nothing from [428] his father on the death of the latter, but while he is alive the son may beg anything within certain limits set by precedent. This moral obligation to give up a prized possession when [579] asked for by one's sons is extended to include close friends.

Allowing the Guajiro to make their own distinctions, let us 671
turn to a consideration of their 'laws.' The commission of certain acts, which in our society would give rise to criminal prosecution, in Guajiro society are considered matters to be settled by the parties concerned. Criminal law is practically non-existent. There is no body politic, properly speaking, that metes out punishment whether or not the injured party seeks redress, and social pressure can hardly be of any importance in a society that protects the individual through the instrument of family and caste membership. In only one case 629
does there seem to be an approach to concerted social action. 681
If an individual has caused his family much trouble and is in- 672
corrigible, if his family has been called upon to pay for his mis-

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
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628 deeds frequently, and fears that he may bring severe disaster
672 on his relatives, he may be killed. It is interesting to know
681 that the individual may not necessarily be evil-intentioned.

We are accustomed to think that for an act of trespass on
672 the person or property the injured party can recover only if the act is considered to have been intentional or negligent.[8] Among the Guajiro there is no such qualification of a tort in order to allow legal action and to recognize legal liability. The act and the injury ensuing from it are the only considerations which have any importance.

Case I: Three boys, A, B, and C, close friends, were seated
628 on a log in the order named. B held a knife in his hand. In
672 the spirit of play A and C attempted to take it away from him.
683 In the good-natured scuffle that ensued A was slashed across the thigh accidentally.

The families of A, the injured party, and of B were on friendly terms. B's family immediately offered payment for the hurt done to A. Each family chose an arbiter, men known for their knowledge of law and their fairness, who granted A's family payment commensurate with the social position of A and the ability of B's family to pay: 60 sheep, 1 bull, 1 ass, a gold necklace, a horse.

Case II: Cacique A killed Cacique B through the accidental
628 discharge of a firearm. Their families belonged to the same
672 caste, and both being anxious to avoid armed conflict B's
682 family agreed to accept a property composition for the tort: 100 cows, 100 horses, 7 mules, 1,000 sheep.

Case III: Cacique A killed Cacique B in a quarrel. Both families being desirous of keeping the peace and both being members of the same caste, property composition was arranged.

This case would obviously fall within the class of crimes in our society and A would have been punished irrespective of the attitude of B's family. As a matter of fact, had B's family
594 been low important or had it belonged to the peon or slave
628 class, A's family may not have paid anything. On the other
672 hand had A been a peon or slave, his family would have suf-
682 fered extermination at the hands of B's relatives. A's family

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could not have paid the price in the first place, and besides B's family would have little to fear from them. 554 628

The father and maternal uncle of the slain man take the initiative in seeking payment which goes to the mother's family. 672 682

If A and B had been workmen or retainers of C, a cacique, and A's family could not have paid the price of composition, then C would have paid B's family and in compensation would have enslaved A and his family. Payment for killing a peon is 10 asses, 50 to 100 sheep, and 10 steers. [466] [567]

Case IV: A was working for B. In the course of the work through no fault of B, A was hurt. B paid A's family for the injury. A's family took care of A. 466 672 683

Case V: A and B were working for C. Through accident B hurt A. B's family had to settle the injury with A's family. Had A been hurt in the course of the work without B acting as the instrument, then C, the employer, would have had to pay.

This case is similar to the one described by Simons. If A lends a horse to B and B is hurt through the instrumentality of the horse, A has to pay. If A gives rum to B and B injures C, A is held responsible.

Case VI: A wants to marry B. B or B's family reject his suit. A goes to B's rancho at night and commits suicide there B's family has to pay A's family for the death of A, B being considered as the direct instrument that caused A's death. 672 682 702

Case VII: A injures or kills B, caught *in flagrante delicto* with A's wife. A has to pay B's family a price minus an amount considered fair value for the sexual privilege that B exercised on A's wife. 672 682 684

These illustrations point to the absolute nature of Guajiro law. No extenuating circumstances are allowed to enter into settlement of cases of battery or other trespass on the rights of an individual. The case is different in so far as public sympathy and moral censure or approbation are concerned. Furthermore, society as a whole takes no action in righting wrongs. The family of the injured person must seek composition, and if it is not powerful enough to demand a high price it has to be satisfied with a smaller one. Conversely, there is 672 628 [626]

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672 628 family responsibility for the acts of one of its members. If there is no property composition for a tort committed and the injured family has recourse to arms, the revenge that it may take is limited by precedent. If the family is very powerful [626] it may dispense with that, but public moral reprobation is a strong barrier to excesses.

NOTES

121 1. J. Austin and T. E. Holland restrict the term Law to those rules which a fully organized state recognizes and enforces. I.e., T. E. Holland: 'A law, in the proper sense of the term, is a general rule of human action, taking cognizance only of external acts, enforced by a determinate authority, which authority is human, and among human authorities, is that which is paramount in a political society.' (See Bibliography.)

2. Rivet, Durkheim, Hertland, and Hobhouse express this position.

3. Radcliffe-Brown, 202.

4. See Malinowski in Hoghin.

114 5. From my field notes gathered in 1935. The Columbia University—University Museum Guajiro Expedition spent three months in the peninsula making an ethnological and archeological survey. The other members of the expedition were: Dr. Paul Kirchhoff; Mr. Lewis Korn and Mrs. Gwyneth Browne Harrington, archeologists; Miss Lydia C. du Pont, photographer; Señor Gregorio Hernandez de Alba, a Colombian student.

6. See Bohlen.

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5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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An Exploration of the Guajira Peninsula, U.S. of Colombia.

By F. A. J. Simons.

Map, p. 800.

Since the publication of my last paper on the Sierra Nevada in 1881,* I have been commissioned by the National Government of Colombia to survey the two Atlantic States of the Magdalena and Bolivar, and especially to write a report on the hitherto unexplored region of the Guajira Indians. A summary of this I have now the honour of laying before the Royal Geographical Society. [121] [122]

The north-easterly corner of the United States of Colombia (formerly New Granada) terminates in a large peninsula, that, projecting for some 120 miles out into the Caribbean Sea, forms the extensive Gulf of Maracaybo. This peninsula is known as the Guajira. It was ceded by the State of Magdalena in 1872, to form a National Territory, for the better civilization of its Indians. One half of it, however, is claimed by the Venezuelans, and a dispute that at one time threatened to culminate in war between the two nations, was amicably settled by submitting the question to the King of Spain as arbitrator. His decision has not yet been made public. [123] [125]

Physically speaking, the Guajira is on the land, or south-westerly, side separated from the State of the Magdalena by a natural boundary, formed partly by the Rio Ranchería, with the outlying hills of the Perija, variously called in old maps Cerro de Ahitada, de Tucuanes, &c., and partly by the Mouth of Gua. [131]

Very little or nothing is known of the history of these Indians. Although the peninsula played an important part in the first discoveries, none of the early chronicles seem to have paid much attention to the country. Juan de Castellanos, who resided some time at the Cabo de la Vela, dedicates a "vida santa" to the parish. The "Planeta de Santa Marta," written by José Elordia de la Rosa in 1799, gives many interesting data on the customs and manners of the Indians; this work must have supplied the more recent writings on the subject, for the more ancient ones through them all. Thus the present race are not the original inhabitants of the peninsula in certain. The Indians themselves have a legend that they came from a great distance, and are able to point out traces of villages belonging to the former inhabitants, whom they assert are the Arhuacos of the Sierra Nevada. Sometimes their old graves are accidentally come across, yielding to the finders rather a rich harvest of bones (pieces of polished stone with a hole drilled through), carefully shaped pieces of gold, and other ornaments (they), therefore, with them based in great profusion all over the Sierra Nevada. Now, [175] [176] [177] [178] [179] [180] [181] [182]

* Proceedings R. G. S. 1882, p. 500.

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172 these tumas are all made from carnelian, jasper, or other reddish varieties of silica, and the stone, according to the Indians, is not to be found in the Goajira. While ascending Macuira, several places were pointed out to me, especially near the top, in which I was entreated to look for treasure "of the Arhuaco." They themselves, although covering tumas above everything, are, curiously enough, afraid to look for them, not hesitating, [711] however, to appropriate any found by chance. This, combined with the fear of mentioning their dead, points to some sort of religion or belief in a superior Being. They evidently took possession by conquest, 174 driving the weaker "Arhuaco" out, and have managed to assert their rights to this day. It is rather an historical anomaly that such a small [161] tribe, which probably never exceeded 60,000, should have been able to conserve intact their absolute freedom, their manners and customs uncontaminated, in spite of the accessibility of their territory, surrounded as it is by the sea, and the continual commerce that has been going on for centuries.

Commencing with the topography of the country, the mountain 133 system attracts attention most—more so, as a remarkable error has been propagated, that the Goajira is one large fertile plain with only one or two isolated hills. At least one-half of the country is hilly. There are in fact two Goajiras; one known as the Lower Goajira is the broad level plain extending from the river Ranchoria to a little beyond the Tota. The other, or Upper, Goajira is the hilly sterile region between the Tota and Punta Espada. The Upper Goajira is simply a volcanic eruption, a conglomeration of low hills, conspicuous from the many cone-shaped forms, and the parallel ridges in which they have been thrown up. These parallel lines run chiefly north-west by south-east, and are separated by two large plains, thus forming three distinct groups of hills running from sea to sea. The first and most important of the three is the easterly or Macuira range. This fine, bold, interesting mountain mass rises in front of Chimare, about 12 miles from the sea-shore, and terminates at the most easterly point of the Goajira, forming the rocky headland known as the Punta Espada (Jurdin). Due to its elevation and position, it serves as a species of check-trap detaining the lower clouds that drive in from seawards impelled by the easterly or trade winds, that blow here with great force most part of the year. This is the only spot in all the Goajira that can really be called fertile. I ascended the two highest points. The north or Macuira proper lies in front of Puerto Estrella, and is composed of several peaks ranging between 2400 and 2600 feet above sea-level. 153 Some of them offer any difficulty in climbing, as the slopes are covered 241 with gardens to within 200 feet of the top. The vegetation is similar [137] to that of the Sierra Nevada at 6000 feet, and the temperature was very low, showing at midday 67° Fahr. The highest point at the southern extremity in front of Punta Espada is Ara-ara. Owing to the low dense

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bush I could only reach 1700 feet, the limit of the Indian gardens, where plantains, maguey, onions, coca, sugar-cane, &c., were growing; also a rivulet with running water. The ground about here is well cultivated, supplying most of the Goajira with grain food. Many small low castes of Indians dedicated to agriculture live here; they are all poor, as agriculture is not considered wealth among the Indians. 133 241 [556]

The second or central range, which for want of a better name I shall call Paraski Hills, are entirely separated from the Macuira range by a plain some nine miles broad. This plain gradually rising from both seas, reaches 350 feet towards the centre. These hills rise at Bahia Honda almost from the margin of the bay, and stretch as a narrow belt right across the peninsula. Formed of ridges of low hills seldom exceeding 1500 feet, covered with a scanty wood of brazilete, divi-divi, cacti, and other prickly bushes, interrupted by valleys, one mass of prickly pear, they present a desolate forlorn appearance two-thirds of the year, yielding, however, during the short rainy season abundant pasture. In this range, as with the former, there are two prominent peaks. The northerly one, a conspicuous object from Portete and Bahia Honda, is called Rasa. I ascended it with much difficulty, and found the height to be 1980 feet. Sierra Ipapa, marked on some maps, is probably Rasa. 133 [137]

Rasa 11 miles south of Rasa, Guajaraya rises well out of its surroundings. This, the highest point of the range, does not exceed 2000 feet, and must be the Cerro Acuite of the Spaniards, supposed to be the highest peak in the Goajira, but it is seen that Macuira dominates it by at least 400 feet. A portion of this range is also called Cerro de Jallerera from a ranche at the foot of Guajaraya. Between the highest peaks and towards the south is the extensive plain of Atalipa. We now come to the third or Cojoro range, separated by a rather narrow valley, varying much in breadth, about six miles at the narrowest place. These hills are more extensive than either of the two first, and show many peculiarities, being flanked on all sides by numerous isolated hills-like ridges, some running parallel to each other with broad valleys between, while others are complete segments of circles. Towards the Maracaybo shore are several large mountain masses. The highest, Yaripaiden, is a wonderful mass of igneous rock some 2000 feet in height. Close by, another mountain, Aniyaua, plays a prominent part in the landscape. All these hills, like Paraski, are destitute of vegetation, many so steep that the bare rock and stone-slides put all idea of growth out of the question, and with their varied shapes, fantastic buttress, and caves, form a fitting subject to the Cuchas or Rubber Indians. The celebrated Tuin Goajira may be considered as belonging to this range, for although entirely isolated and some also miles distant, it is indirectly attached by two small separate hills. The Tuin is certainly one of the most beautiful sights in the Goajira, and [137] [579]

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133 on a clear day can be seen from any point in it. On the west side a small hill attached spoils its beauty, seen from seaward, otherwise it is perfectly symmetrical in form. The Indians call it Jepita. It lies [103] in the Cocina district, and is the most dangerous portion of the Goajira. To visit it, I had to persuade Martin, one of the great chiefs, to ac- [115] company me with his three sons, uncles, nephews, &c. We started at daybreak, rode all day, and arrived in time to see the sunset from the [123] top. We only saw three Indians the whole day, yet Martin assured me that all our movements were watched, and pointed out to me two probable places where an ambuscade would be placed for our return. We returned by a different road, getting back at 4 A.M. tired, hungry, and thirsty. I found the height to be 1200 feet above sea-level, or 900 feet above the plain. The rock is composed chiefly of trachyte with large crystals of felspar, similar to those of the Drachenfels on the Rhine. As also belonging to this group may be considered the two isolated hills rising in front of Cerdon de los Remedios and Carrizal, close to the north spur of the Cojoro range, called Jallaca. They are both insignificant and do not exceed 400 feet in height. The Cerro de Carpintero, a small group of hills behind the Cabo de la Vela, are of more importance, they are about 700 feet above sea-level. From Cabo de la Vela to Puerto Estrella, between the hills and the sea, are innumerable cliffs and banks rising to 200 feet, usually with very abrupt edges, and covered with rolled stones.

Rivers properly speaking there are none in the Goajira. The country is cut up in all directions by shallow, dry, sandy beds of water-courses, that during the rainy season carry off the water as fast as it falls. Not even the Maraiva Hills are able to send a flowing stream to the sea during the summer, which here lasts at least eight months. It [562] will have been remarked that the Indians have no collective name for their mountains, each little projecting point rejoicing in its own name. With their rivers it is still worse, for not only every water-hole adds a new title to a river—and these are innumerable, the custom being to dig for water in the sand of the watercourses, and as these wells dry up others are dug further up stream—but every path that crosses the watercourse has its name. Even any prominent rock or large tree is enough to add to the interminable list of river nomenclature. On the plains below the Tata the drainage is effected by numerous small streams winding about in a most bewildering manner, and although perfectly dry, they usually have pools of muddy water at the bends. As the plain is little above sea-level, the water has cut deep sinuous channels, very different from the shallow sandy beds of the hills. The water remaining dammed up, instead of gravitating to the sea, causes the great fertility of the plains.

The principal source of water for the Indians are wells. These are 391 of two kinds; first, the most common, by digging, usually in the dry

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bed of a watercourse. As the season advances, and the water recedes, they either dig after it or search for a lower level. Wells of 30 to 40 feet are very common. The water is reached by a staircase cut in the sand with as easy incline. Wells are easily distinguishable from a distance, by the water-troughs, hollowed out of divi-divi trees, and called [illegible]. These are of the most distorted and grotesque shapes, and serve to water the herd. This is very hard work for the poor Indians during the summer months, and usually employs the whole day. Water from wells if taken early in the morning is always clear and cool. When bathing at a well the Indian uses a [illegible]; if he stops to drink, a bath invariably follows. Every well has a name, and the country is perforated by them like a mining camp. The wells of Chimare are phenomenal; dug out on the sea-shore, on a narrow strip of sand 100 yards in breadth, with the sea on one side and the salt-pans of Chimare, with layers of salt many feet thick, on the other, the water is, notwithstanding, perfectly fresh. There are seven holes about 10 feet deep. I may mention that Pitushi is the name of a celebrated well dug in the river that drains the eastern flank of Reme. It means "salt," probably because the water is brackish.

Second in importance are the water-tanks or aguadas. These are sometimes natural, as a small lake at the foot of Reme and the aguadas of Gujira, filtrations from the river Naiua, forming a large lake in the rainy season and many small dirty pools in summer, but nature aided by art in the rain. Some are immense undertakings, and large stretts of water, calculated to last a summer through if not too severe; such as Arinpi, the aguada of Puerto Estrella, a large crescent-shaped piece of water of about a quarter of a square mile. The water of these aguadas is always muddy and filthy for drinking purposes. The herds are driven in, and every Indian that passes is sure to bathe, so that in time almost a skin of grease forms on the top; and yet in places where they are it is the only water to be had, truly meat and drink combined.

The Goajira coast abounds in harbours and bays, but none of much importance. Between Rio Hacha and Cabo de la Vela, in the extensive bay formed by the latter, anchorage is found almost all along the coast. Numerous residuals have become known through the commerce with the Indians, and quite a large trade is carried on in the small coasting schooners. Further along the coast are three large bays. The first, or Portete, is a large bay, well protected from the easterly trades, and is certainly the best port along the coast. Unfortunately the entrance is narrow, landlocked, and with shoals. The next, Bahia Honda, is almost a complete oval, some eight miles long by three miles broad, and with an entrance of nearly three miles broad. It is separated from the sea by a spare wall from 60 to 80 feet at the highest, but not enough to prevent the bay from the strong easterly winds that blow with such force here. It makes but a poor harbour, the surf inside during the alternate pre-

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133 venting anything being landed dry. The Colombian Government
504 erected a guard-house at the entrance of this bay last year, but I am afraid it will have to be abandoned as untenable. Puerto Estrella makes a very bad port, the small trading schooners having to lie in under the breakers. This is the last recognised Colombian port, at least pending the arbitration question. The next good port is the Laguna de Tucacas, in the Gulf of Maracaybo. This place is much frequented by Venezuelans, and a trade has sprung up that if not checked will ruin the already drooping commerce of Rio Hacha. The last port on the coast is that of Cojoro, and spoken of as the future port of Maracaybo, with which it would have to be connected by rail, an engineering feat of not much difficulty. The *ensenada* or bay of Calabozo has an inaccessible, heavy, surf-beaten coast.

The peninsula is inhabited by only one tribe of Indians. These are
614 subdivided into many families or castes, bearing much analogy to the ancient "clans" of Scotland. Each caste or rather family circle is united against all comers, taking up the quarrel of any one of its members to make it general. The Goajiros are strictly conservative and aristocratic
556 in their ideas, wealth and interest are omnipotent. A poor man may be
[578] insulted with impunity, when the same to a rich man would cause certain bloodshed. They have no veritable rulers, but each community
[622] recognises the wealthiest of its members as the chief or corporal, as he has been dubbed by the Spaniards, and look to him for protection. An Indian born poor, cannot become wealthy and great. Whatever heirs he may accumulate, his humble origin would never be forgotten; he
[557] could, however, marry into a high caste family, having the *mozas*, and his children could become, through their mother's relations, great chiefs.
614 Besides the name, each caste or family represents some animal, and many of the minor castes, over and above their own symbol, adopt another of some more powerful denomination, to enjoy the privilege of a good protector. There are at present, altogether, some thirty odd castes among the Goajiros. Of these I was able to discover the names of twenty-two. The remainder are insignificant, little known castes, chiefly inhabiting the hills. There are about ten of importance, chief among these the "Urianas." This, the largest caste in the Goajiro, has subdivided or split up into many ramifications, such as Uriana tiger, Uriana rabbit, Uriana paulaste (a song bird), Uriana gecko (lizard). This family is at present not only by far the most numerous, but also the richest; due to its connections by marriage with the Pushaines, formerly the wealthiest of the land. The Pushaines are to-day still
[582] great holders of tenes and ornaments, but with the Indian, only cattle, mules, and horses are real estate. The Urianas on receiving the tenes, sold out for cattle. The second in numbers are the Epieyuns, as a rule they are poor. Under their protection are the Sumaus, again under these the small caste of the Gungurlyuns. A full list will be given

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in an Appendix. With the exception of the Jirnuas or Piesiu, a 614
small tribe of 200 souls all told living in the valley of Macuira between
Ava-ura and Itujuro, the Guariritos, a mere handful of Indians under
the protectorate of the Jirnu, the Sijuanas, Sorunas, Arapainayées,
Sáurinas, Arsurujunas, and the Arpusiatas, all small local tribes,
strictly confined to the upper country or east of Cabo de la Vela, the
other castes are distributed throughout the breadth and width of the
land in the greatest confusion. Living as the Goajiro does, in continual 361
strife and warfare, whole families would speedily become poor or extinct, 614
if they did not take the precaution to separate their wealth and herds,
and only keep a few in one place at a time. Scarcity of water and [342]
pasture compels them to lead a nomadic life, and makes house-building [233]
out of the question, for they are eternally changing abode, now in the [342]
upper Goajira and then in the lower or plains. Some branches among
the castes have, in spite of their roving propensities, predispositions
for certain spots. For example, the proud and wealthy Pushainas are
chiefly found round and about Parashi and Ataipa. Urianas tiger
frequent Tarua and Bahia Honda a great deal, while near Portete,
Ipuanas and Epinayuas abound. In the neighbourhood of Aulpana the
Ipuanas and Juanyuas are in great force; at the Tuta nearly all are
Juanyuas, and near Las Guardias at Guarero, Sapuanas; those three
latter are mostly all Cocinas Indians. With respect to these terrible 579
Cocinas, the word in Goajira signifies robber, highwayman, or outlaw.
They are neither a tribe nor even a separate caste as many have
supposed, but simply a band of freebooters—Indians that, for quarrels, [681]
murder, thefts, &c., have been expelled the family, and must needs take
to pillaging to earn a livelihood. For self-defence, and to better ply
their nefarious calling, they are banded together with recognised chiefs,
and so are able to go on their marauding expeditions in great force,
pounding on any less numerous or unprepared party, to strip them of
everything. One party of Cocinas will rob another if they can. Nearly
all the Goajiros have relations among them, but an Indian is only safe
with that band to which his relation belongs. They have commercial
intercourse with them, and often succeed in getting stolen cattle back.
The Cocinas' territory *par excellence* is the Cojoro range of hills, taking
in the Tuta, traversing the plains in a narrow band, and occupying the
Montes of Oro as a refuge while scouring the plains. The country as
far east as the Macuira range is not exempt from their depredations,
especially between Cisparra and the Laguna of Tamaca. The principal
Cocina chiefs are Alyeshipora or Yorujuna, as he frequently is called, and [43]
Uriana, and rules the country about Aulpana and Yurijoko—he is the
worst and most feared of the lot; Pacin, or Arpushaina, another devil—
he has appropriated the district of Cojoro; Mangaire, a Jouyet, holds
it all about the Tuta; and Morejiño, a Sapuana, is chief of the country [640]
about Las Guardias. Once the terror of the plains, this wild beast has

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579 been completely tamed by the Venezuelans. He, with of course his
648 followers, have found honesty the best policy after all, and are now reformed and peaceful members of society, returned to breeding and agriculture. This shows what can be done with firmness combined with a little judicious tact and management.

The Indians build no elaborate dwelling-houses. Their best ranchos
342 are simple, and constructed in a short time. The roof is covered with the split woody core of a tall euphorbia. This makes a good cool roof, impervious to water and easily removed when the family flits. The rancho is seldom used for sleeping purposes; for this numerous poles
[513] (tokopsi) are firmly fixed all over the place for swinging hammocks, often three and four to one pole, and crossing each other. Sometimes two and three sleep in a hammock. Further off other poles (pulémoir)
[417] are found, to tie animals up at, and a small corral or sheep-pen for the goats and sheep is also indispensable in every well-regulated family. The site of a rancho is always carefully chosen, much strategy being
361 displayed in locating the whole, so that each rancho covers the other
621 without itself being seen. Although villages are never attempted, yet a family rarely lives isolated. Everybody bolsters himself with that bugbear of Goajira society, his relations. Their ranchos are always within gunshot distance, so as mutually to defend each other. One is
[712] invariably on high ground to dominate the country, the rest are hidden away in nooks and corners where least expected. If one rancho is seen, others are close at hand. In case of attack, this system prevents a whole family being exterminated. One or two ranchos may be taken, but the rest escape or fly to the rancho, as the case may be. At all events the
[552] avenger, so dear to the Indian, survives. Each rancho has a distinct
[423] name. Besides, every Indian who is anybody has several ranchos spread over the country. To collect the names of the ranchos would be paramount to taking a census of the territory. The following are
103 well-known ranchos, with usually some half-caste from Riohacha
443 trading with the Indians. In the Macuira range, six miles from Punta
592 Espada, is Guaremé, at the foot of Aru-ura; chief, Caijuna, a Jirua. Westwards, close to the sea-shore, Chiuruao; chief, José Agustin, a
621 Jallerié, a half-caste speaking good Spanish. At the foot of Itujoro, Maguaipá, situated on a slight eminence eight miles from the sea, and is an important trading station. Paraliero, native name of Puerto Estrella, boasts twelve houses and three iron warehouses, with always two or three Riohachoros resident there. The chief, Pedro Quinto, is Epieyu, but his sister Maurisia is the virtual ruler. Inland, 16 miles from Bahia Honda or Turua is Moruaay, another large trading station, usually with two or three Riohachoros established there. The eight ranchos are well located on a plain between Macuira and Parashi. The chief, Saipa, is Epieyu. This is one of the most central stations in the Goajira, and is surrounded by several important places; it is probably

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the site of the old Spanish settlement San Juan de Ipapa. On the west 103
side of the Paraiki Hills in the plains is another well-known central 483
trading station Jorey; chief, Majuté, an Ipuana; probably near the old 592
site of the Spanish settlement Moscote. In the neighbourhood are: 621
Guariquanteri; chief, Comoin, an Ipuana. A Dutchman from Aruba [67]
has lived here many years, and has become quite an Indian. Alpiapé,
a few ranches on an eminence commanding the whole valley. The
Indians here are rather mixed, but the chief is a Pushaina. The well
Kapanlaiki at the base of the hill, is the finest I saw, and surrounded with
rich green vegetation similar to that of Maraira. Kotomaiñ, the most
inland station. It is generally the traders that make a ranche known, for
the Indians do everything they can to keep their abodes, if not secret, at
any rate as much in the dark as possible. The plains being more unsettled
than the mountain district, traders do not venture to establish them-
selves in the interior, as at Moreney or Jorey, so few ranches are known.
The most important place in the Lower Goajira is Guiaoca, midway 361
between Riohacha and the Venezuelan town of Las Guardias or Santa 698
Teresa. Paraguaipoa, the new Venezuelan military colony, founded in
1883, counts already 50 houses. It is situated in the plains 12 miles in
advance of Santa Teresa, which it completely covers. The garrison at
present consists of 30 men, well mounted and found in every respect,
under the orders of a commander, two secretaries, and two interpreters;
the latter for the purpose of taking statistics as to trade, &c. Altogether
it is a model establishment, and does honour to the Government of
Venezuela. The entire population of the Goajira may be about 20,000; 161
it does not exceed 25,000, and is not increasing.

As regards manners and customs and the way they enforce their old 672
peculiar laws, these Goajiros are particularly interesting. Of course, 681
like all Indians, they are singularly proficient in begging, stealing, and 628
drinking, but besides these capital vices they add a fourth, that is
demanding compensation, tear- or blood-money—principal cause of all
the strife and blood feuds between the castes, and an everlasting danger
to Indians and strangers alike. Whereas about one-quarter of the male
population die a violent death from its result, another quarter are killed
by drink and its effects. The laws that govern these compensation cases
are very intricate, their number is legion. First is the terrible law of
retribution, that makes a whole caste responsible for the acts of any
single member. As the Spaniards or white men are considered by the
Indians as belonging to one large family, the country is very unsafe for [609]
travelling, for every white man is a sort of hostage for the good be-
haviour of the others. If an Indian should be killed in a quarrel by a
white man, the life of another white man, living leagues away, depends
upon whether the kin (relations of the dead Indian) or a friend brings
the news first. Many an innocent venezuelan trader has been sacri-
ficed at one end of the peninsula for a foul murder committed at the
other end.

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611 In the following laws it must be borne in mind that it is not the
614 injured individual that demands compensation, but his relations, usually
628 on the mother's side as a rule. From this has arisen the common error
(629) that the father is ignored; as will be seen further on, this is not the case. In compensation it is the caste that vindicates, and the caste is always the mother's side. For example, a Pueblina man marries an Uriana girl; the children are Urianas. If one of these now should kill an Epieyu, for example, the whole caste of Uriana is at war with all the Epieyuas, unless the matter is amicably settled by paying blood-money.

Case No. 1. Personally inflicted wounds. If an Indian accidentally
672 cuts himself, say with his own knife, breaks a limb, or otherwise does himself an injury, his family on the mother's side immediately demands blood-
683 money. Being of their blood, he is not allowed to spill it without paying for it. The father's relations demand tear-money, not so much. Friends
[572] present demand compensation to repay their sorrow at seeing a friend in pain. If anybody present can seize the instrument that caused the accident it is appropriated. The pay is in ratio to the injury. A slightly cut finger is settled with a little Indian corn, a kid, or such trifle. A bad cut requires at least a goat or a sheep, with other medicine. In all cases of compensation where the Indian has not the wherewith to satisfy his creditors, he goes round begging until it is obtained.

Case No. 2. Damage done by animals. Suppose an Indian borrows a
628 mule or other animal, and is thrown by it, doing himself bodily injury,
672 then his relations demand compensation from the lender, the argument
683 being, had he not lent the animal the accident could not have happened. Should the beast belong to the thrown man himself, then he has to pay. Case of No. 1 in fact.

Case No. 3. General liability all round. This serves an enormous field. The most curious. Everybody selling rum or anything else is answerable for all the damage done by its instrumentality. Unfortunately this law is only, like many others, enforced when it is possible. As the traders know it very well, they never take rum into the interior for barter without being fully able to protect themselves. I was lent a servant as guide by a trader, who requested me not to let the man have any drink, for should anything happen to him he would be responsible to the family. Indians in employment causing any damage the em-
[966] ployer becomes liable; and so on. Whenever the Indian can only make the ghost of a claim he wants tear-money, blood-money, or some other money, and if not satisfied, helps himself with what he can lay his hands on.

Case No. 4. Mentioning names. This is very curious. The Indians
551 object to have their true names mentioned, and demand heavy com-
628 pensation in aggravated cases. They generally go by a Spanish name—
689 José Antonio, Agustin, Vicente, &c., for an Indian dearly loves to be baptised, that is, to have the ceremony feast and having god-fathers on

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whom to exercise his begging propensities. To murder the dead before the relatives is a dreadful offence, often punished by death; for if it happens in the dead person's vicinity, with anyone or more present, they will immediately kill the offender on the spot if possible. If not on the spur of the moment, it resolves itself into a heavy fine, usually two or more cows. Even if none of the dead person's relatives are present, any friend can carry the news to the relatives, and compensation is at once required. When not given it is forcibly taken, probably committed, and the two nations are at war. It is not wise to mention names of any sort in the Goajira in mixed company.

Another peculiar case: if a child dies in the custody of the mother or father, and they are living separate at the time of its death, then money has to be paid by the one, under whose care the child died, to the other. This is "Tagaira ambiwa tashia," "My cows on account of my child." To demand payment for debts, ordinary, is one thing, and to demand compensation, unique, is another. They are generally pretty punctual in paying debts; should the debtor die, the creditor is secure, for the relatives will suffer anything rather than allow the name of their dead to be abused. The following case of murder I witnessed in Aleipa. Some Pushiwaw drinking, one got on to a strange house, and was ordered off by the owner, on not complying he was shot dead. Both parties being poor and near relatives, it was arranged as follows: First payment, eight sheep, two cows, one horse, two machetes of cucuiliar beads, two sheepes of black beads (about 18 lbs.). Six months afterwards, second payment, similar to first. A few months after a third payment is asked, but is more an excuse than anything else. After second payment all animosity ceases, and the two families can look again at each other on meeting. Should an Indian in attempting to kill another be wounded or killed, his family demand the same as though no attempt were made.

Among domestic customs, the one that calls most attention is dressing up their young girls on arriving at womanhood. The custom is religiously carried out throughout the country. Each girl is confined in a separate little hut by herself. She is stripped of all her ornaments, even to her beads and sheepes, and all her clothing with the exception of the long loose cotton gown, nor is she allowed to cut her hair. For the first couple of days, drinking water is denied her, the only food being bananas, a composition of mashed barks. According to birth, a vigorous diet is observed the first month, no meat being allowed; this can be freely mentioned and is merely alluded to by her relatives as "carnica nove pawa," "she is shut up in her house." The term of confinement varies according to the wealth and rank of her family. Poor people cannot afford to keep right like more than a couple of weeks or a month; whereas the rich confine them for one, two, or even four years. It is while in this state that she learns all women's employments.

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weaving, making dresses, hammocks, mats, &c., sewing, and all the little bridal trousseau Indians love so well.

The confinement is not so isolated as it seems, generally several of her female relations are round the door with the enclosed, who of course becomes rather stout, much blanched, almost white, and some exceedingly beautiful. Strangers and men are not excluded from peeping in through the door, always with an eye to matrimony, and she can be sold and liberated at once, though her husband if rich prefers leaving her to complete her term of schooling. On re-entering to society again, a special festival, similar to bridal with dancing, &c. An ox is killed, and the girl is dressed in the clothes she has made; her hair is cut and she removes all her beads, necklaces, bracelets, and other ornaments.

Women are much respected by the Goajiros. In a quarrel or drunken brawl, women often save bloodshed by stepping in and tearing the weapons out of their husband's or brother's hand. Travelling with women is consequently perfectly safe, and in case of danger, if one undertakes to protect a stranger, he may rely upon coming out all right.

Matrimony is a mere case of barter. The girl is sold for a certain price, fixed by the father. This is paid by the intended husband, and divided by the father, who appropriates the best part for himself and his relations, the rest going to the wife's relations. As it is chiefly in cattle, these are killed and a kind of bridal festival held. There is no other ceremony. A wife is under obligation to support her husband, find him in food, clothes, &c. She does most of the trading, and a contract made with an Indian is worthless, should his better half object. An Indian cannot inflict bodily injury on his wife, for he becomes liable to her relations, and should she die during childbirth he has to repay the father what he gave for her. But if the wife is untrue (a rare occurrence) he demands from the father the price he paid for her, who if he cannot refund, helps him to recover from the seducer, plus tear or compensation from his mother-in-law. At the husband's death, the wife becomes a legacy to his brother, usually the youngest; if there are none, then his nephew inherits her. The daughter of a chief is worth, according to his wealth and power (i.e. the number of men he can dispose of in a fight) from 6 to 100 head of cattle (12*l.* to 200*l.*).

When a person dies, a grand drinking festival is given, that lasts as long as there is anything to drink—days, and even weeks, with the wailing. These latter are hired twice, and have two festivals. A rich person is always buried in the mountains, and on the spot where he was born; being often carried for that purpose immense distances. A fire is lighted every night from sunset to sunrise in front of the grave, for the sole use of the dead. Immense piles of wood are gathered for this purpose, as the body is kept two years in the house. Then all the relations are invited on a certain day, and the grand feast takes place, when the bones are carefully gathered, placed in a jar, and consigned to the

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demetery, a site chosen in some solitary arid spot, and surrounded by walls of cacti. At the death of Salvador, a Pushaina from Arroyo Carlon, 130 fat oxen were killed, and the hides did not pay for the liquor drunk. Two of the same family meeting for the first time after the death of a relation, must squat down on their hands in front of each other, and sob and weep, for at least a quarter of an hour, the louder the better.

The Indians are very punctilious in saluting. Calling at a rancho, visitors must wait until spoken to, if this is not done soon, it is evident they are not welcome, so ride away. The words used never seem to be the same. The most frequent are "Intishi-pin" (you have come), or "Eiguare pin" (so you have arrived). In eating and drinking the Indians are extremely cleanly. The principals all eat separately; receiving their allowance in an earthenware dish, pint, with a guard spoon, pushi. The remains, with an addition, serve for the lower members of the family. Water is invariably given after, to wash the mouth and fingers. Even if a drink of milk is taken, a little water is tendered after. As to their hospitality, it has, I believe, been rather exaggerated. There is no doubt that the Goajiro is more hospitable than the Arbauco of the Sierra Nevada, but then he is also far more cunning and diplomatic, and his hospitality is a mere question of self-interest. He will willingly give a sheep or a goat as a present, provided there is a chance of claiming an ox in return. He is chivalresque in his donations. When he does give a sheep, it is a fat one, his best, still given whole, without reserve, skin and all. If eating, on the arrival of a stranger, he may offer food to him, but certainly will give if requested, as is the custom, always begging. One thing a guest may rely upon receiving in a rancho is a hammock, even if the owner has to sleep on the ground. Lastly, among curious customs, is that of parents assuming the names of their children with the prefix uuki or auki if the father, and ai or ai if the mother. Thus the father of Juan would call himself "Nuahijuan," or if a daughter, "Suahijuana." The mother of Juan would be called "Nijuan," and if a daughter, "Sijuana."

The dress of the Goajiro is extremely simple, and probably similar to his savage luxury of three centuries ago, when Alfinger devastated the land, except that his own quiet blacks and browns—for he is amazing in the art of dyeing—have given way to the gorgeous blues, reds, and yellows of European wool. His every day working costume is simply a strip of cloth from three inches wide upwards, called cuisha. When paying visits, receiving company, or travelling, he does his best—a large kilmeloth with many folds, and the home-woven mantle ché, with a magnificent sash, ché-ra. The mantle is managed with wonderful elegance, now letting it fall about him in voluptuous folds, or dropping it from his shoulders, and tucking it into his luxurious sash, where his arrows are carried. The hair, which is jet black, thick, and cut short, is kept back in a very aesthetic style by a ring or crown,

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302 called pee if made of plaited straw, and *cupanee* if made of wood,
291 with large tassel (worn behind). The two can be combined and adorned with a couple of feathers in front. When made entirely of feathers, it becomes *tedem*. An Indian's toilet would not be complete without
[293] a *kepipite*, a piece of leather fastened round the left wrist by a twist of wool to receive the recoil of the bow-string when shooting. Paint is
302 common to both sexes, and in excess. They assert that it saves their complexions from the sun. The last thing an Indian does, on mounting horse for the day's journey, is to call for the powder-box, and plentifully besprinkle his face. The powders *napentepe* or *sarsat* are rotten wood;
[384] *gunaqui*, a black stain from a wild nut; and *pariet*, very popular among the fairer sex, is the colour extracted from a leaf and mixed with fat.

291 The woman's dress is invariably, at present, made from foreign cotton,
[177] and is a plain sack with a hole for the head and two others for the arms. With the wind it blows out and makes her look like a balloon. The white cotton is dyed black with *dirl-dirl*, or yellowish-brown with *mora*
[384] (yellow wood), or reddish-brown with the sachem of *tanguyed*. The Indians are exceptionally clean and nice in their dress, and, however
[515] poor, keep a reserve suit for state occasions. Women alone wear the *pées* and the *sleeps*. The *pées* are like a pair of leaves; long strings
301 of beads passing over each shoulder to cross each other on the breast and back, held in position at the waist by the *sleeps*, a sort of sash or belt made of beads likewise. Small strings a few ounces in weight are placed on the female child a few months after birth, and gradually increased, according to the strength of the child and the purse of the parents. *Pées* are made with any beads except black, a red variety with white eye (*hookie*) preferred, and weigh from 2 to 10 lbs. With *sleeps* any coloured bead will do, *pinto* or black once the rule, and they weigh from 1 to 10 lbs. A married woman may wear the *pées* until
[344] her first confinement, when it is laid aside. Poor Indians who cannot afford beads for the *pées* make it of cotton dyed black and beaded. Among the many necklaces, *tenuo* are the most valuable. These curious
[172] perforated stones are only found in the graves of prehistoric races, both in the peninsula itself and the Sierra Nevada. There are many varieties. The round ones varying in size from a large marble to a pea are *tinet* (a name generalised by the Spaniards); those in shape of small shuttlecocks are *sacuvet*; the pear-shaped, according as they are long or dumpy, *pariqu*, and *guaritinqu*; the bugle is *pavaria*, &c. Mineralogically they are bits of red jasper, carnelian, and reddish serbenya. Their value depends upon the intensity of red and size. A large one at
[435] present is worth a head of cattle; a necklace has from 12 to 20, varying in size. Bracelets are as varied and in as much profusion as necklaces; they are called *kipuse*, from *sleeps*, the band. On the feet they also wear strings of necklaces and beads. They have two names, the aristocratic *cuhlimuk* and the common *pasetlem*.

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In weapons the Guajiro uses the old-fashioned bow and arrow, along with the latest breech-loading rifle. He never strolls ten yards from the ranche without his arrows stuck in his sash and the inseparable bow in his hand. Arrows are of three classes: lata for killing birds and lizards, lata, having a nail or piece of hard wood for a head nearly covered with wax; arrows proper, for killing game and war, armed, with iron heads made from old knives filed and worked into shape; and thirdly the terrible poisoned rays, armed: these are an ordinary arrow-shaft, with two inches of the bony weapon of the sting-ray (pesquet) loosely fastened to the end, well covered with poison. To prevent accidents, each head is covered by a cane sheath. The poison is prepared [278] from animal matter—toads, snakes, and other reptiles allowed to putrify and boiled down. When newly done the poison is said to be weak, the [825] same when too old, so the arrows have to be re-dipped at stated intervals (about nine months). Death subsequent from three to twelve days afterwards, a sort of blood-poisoning, and is tolerably certain if the ray-bone has not been got out (a most difficult operation) and the wound well cauterized with a red-hot nail. The Guajiros of Yorijuba are reputed the best archers, and enjoy a sort of monopoly. A bunch of [152] twenty-four arrows is sold by them for a dress cut of cotton (eight yards. None of the arrows are feathered; the shafts are made from cane, reeds, and also solid wood. As to firearms the Indian prefers the [937] old "Crown" or "Tower" flintlock (percussion) to the Remington rifle, [77] on account of the uncertainty of getting cartridges. The American flintlock (percussion caps-pattern) is also much liked.

The principal industries among the Guajiros are collecting [illegible] dirt-dirt, and salt, and breeding horses, mules, donkeys, cattle, and [illegible] goats, with the accompanying sale of hides. Their animals are celebrated in the neighbouring provinces for being docile, having been all brought up as it were by hand, for the Indian spares neither time nor trouble on his flocks.

With regard to the language, a small grammar was published in [114] 1879 by Rafael Celedon. Unfortunately it was printed in Paris, while the author was in America, and is replete with errors in consequence. The language is a much richer one than is generally supposed, and taken [194] as a whole has a euphonious, pleasing effect on the ear, much more so than the neighbouring Arbacuan. I have no space here to dwell upon its beauties, but cannot dismiss the subject without giving the following three examples of much-used words:—

[192]

Aalinjan, a house.	Ee, a ray (pesquet).	Yoro, a headdress.
Yualinjan, my house.	Eeiuche, my ray.	Yoloyoro, my headdress.
Pualinjan, your house.	Eeiuche, your ray.	Pilojoro, your headdress.
Eialinjan, his house.	Eeiuche, his ray.	Eilojoro, his headdress.
Rualinjan, her house.	Eeiuche, her ray.	Eilojoro, her headdress.

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THE AN EXPLORATION OF THE OSAKA PENINSULA, CA. OF OSAKA.

As a last word I may say from personal experience that the Osaka is an interesting but not a beautiful country, nor is it a desirable place for travelling, either for pleasure or for economy. Not that there is any actual danger under ordinary circumstances, but what between drunken bloodthirsty Indians, blind and two-penny, with all the intricacies of their own peculiar laws, travelling among them is as bad as sitting on a keg of gunpowder before a big fire. It is impossible to foretell when a mere spark, accidentally or intentionally, may blow the whole thing up.

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APPENDIX.

List of Tribes or Gates, with their respective animals and favorite rendezvous.

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Tiger	=	Gondagner	Tiger	=	Alond Town and Sabin Ranch.
"	=	Aquasi	Rabbit	=	Alond Gate and Rumaylin creek.
"	=	Gulagbid	A singing bird	=	Everywhere.
"	=	Sikdeto	Snake (Dead)	=	Only in the plains.
Spiral	=	Unnamedin	A species of vulture	=	Sabin Ranch, Pierre Ranch, and plains.
Pelicin	=	Pelicin	A species of small pigeon	=	Pierre, Alaiya, and plains.
Spoon	=	Mashasi	A sort of lark	=	Pungin Jung, Chapera, &c.
Aquasi	=	Ki	Dog	=	Mamin and plain.
Jungi	=	Sadeado	Sadeado	=	Tula, Gapera.
Aquadulin	=	Sasar	Vulture	=	Gulaera and plains, Gilaera.
Sapiera	=	Gulas	Sun	=	Pulsa, Gaera.
"	=	Gaeal	A species of duck	=	(?)
Sipiera	=	Vipin	A small bird	=	Pulsin, Gapera.
Aiaia or Pied	=	Gaeis	Elk	=	Only in the Mamin valley.
Sarasa	=	Ulaqdin or Gaeisadin.	Species of vulture	=	Only in the Upper Osajin.
Unaiyi	=	Sisa	Sadeado	=	Everywhere.
Unaiyi	=	Sisdin	(?)		(?)
Sipiera	=	Ulad	Wasp	=	Upper Osajin only.
Gaeisin	=	Gaeis	Fox	=	Only in the hills of Mamin.
Gaeisin or Gaeisadin.		Tar	Partridge	=	Pierre and Upper Osajin.
Ankyalagi	=	Anaiyaia	Species of vulture	=	Upper Osajin only.
Pasaiki	=	Dagin	Owl	=	" "
Aqua-tata	=	Ustal	Red-headed bird	=	" "
Gilaeaid	=	Are all Osajin Indians		=	Gilaera hills only.
Anaiaiqiaia	=	A small, almost unknown tribe in the hills of Mamin.			
Gaeqiqalgi	=	Ulaqdin or Gaeisadin.	Species of vulture		Only in the hills of Upper Osajin.

N.B.—The Sasarsina, a very small mole, not bonafide and Osajin. This is considered by the other Indians to be very medicine, who, until lately, did not come out Mole. All Indians are, however, fond of a species of Sasarsi, "gambler," and ignorance.

[361]

[pages 777-840 do not pertain to SC13 Gonjiro]

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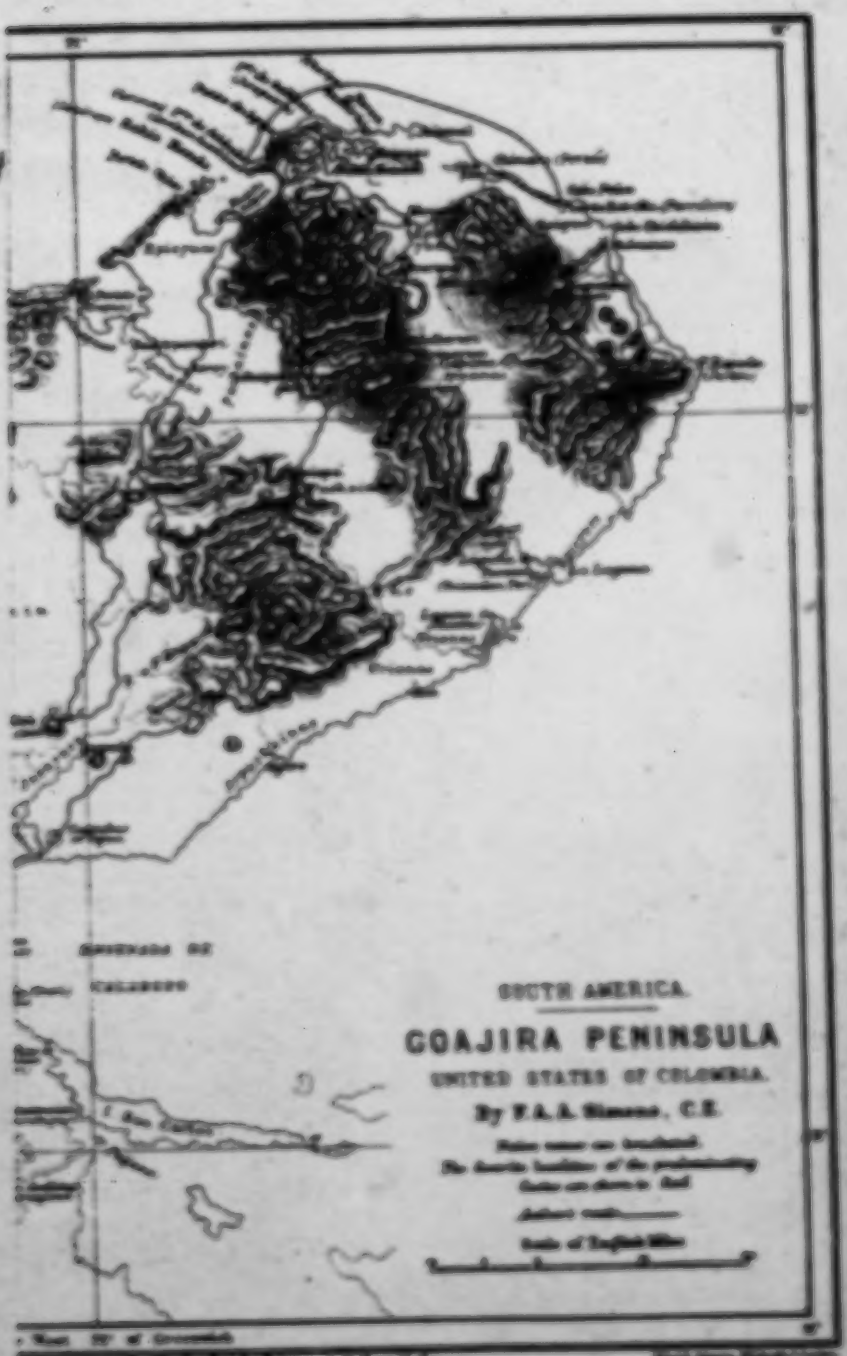

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ASPECTS OF THE AVUNCULATE IN THE GUAJIRO CULTURE

Antonio Santa Cruz
Catholic University of America

THE Guajiro peninsula is situated in the northwest corner of Colombia, South America, roughly between the 71° and 73° W. long., and 11° and 12° N. lat. It is rather flat in contour with only some hill ranges in the eastern part. Rainfall is scarce and the vegetation is of a semi-arid type. The region is inhabited by one tribe of Indians, the Arawak-speaking Guajiro. Both culturally and linguistically the Guajiro peninsula presents a uniform block.

The present writer visited the territory in the summer of 1940, but due to illness contracted there was forced to cut short his visit. Fairly full data were gathered on all phases of social culture. The present paper deals with certain aspects of one phase only, the avunculate.

The role of the maternal uncle is manifold in Guajiro culture, organized as the Guajiro are into maternal clans. Types of behavior, both prescribed and unformulated, vary, depending on the seniority of both uncle and nephew, but not on that of sisters. In this paper we shall be concerned for the most part with the prescribed and voluntary relations between the oldest brother of a given woman and her oldest son, and between this oldest brother and his sisters' daughters. Other relations not involving these specified kin will be touched upon only incidentally for illustrative purposes.

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Reciprocal Relations of Maternal Uncle and Nephew

609 The general attitude of the maternal uncle toward his nephew is one of giving; and that of the nephew, one of receiving.

929 Let us first deal with inheritance. Theoretically, the rule
609 is that the maternal uncle must leave all of his property, both
1E3 personal and in the form of cattle, to his oldest sister's oldest son.
931 All his other nephews,—other sons of the same sister or sons of other sisters,—are left out of the inheritance. This is the rule. However, in practice it seldom works, as the maternal uncle during his life continues to transfer his property in the form of gifts to his own male children, so that at the time of his death there is nothing, or very little, left of his property to be inherited by his nephew, unless the uncle is a very rich man. Only among the wealthy class has the uncle always something left to bequeath to his nephew. For this he does not need a will as it falls within the prescribed rule mentioned above. The following cases are illustrative.

938 Ilaro is the oldest son of a man named Richard Irving at Uribia,
931 and, like his mother, belongs to the Arpushana ala. Ilaro's
609 mother is the elder of the two sisters of Calleja, who in turn is the oldest of five siblings,—two sisters and three brothers. Thus Ilaro, his mother, and his uncle Calleja are all women. Calleja is not looked upon as a rich man, although he is well
(C4) fixed and belongs to the middle class. Ilaro, however, does not expect much, if any, inheritance from his uncle and is aware
(C5) that the latter has been transferring most of his cattle,—the most valuable possession in Guajiro eyes,—in the form of gifts to his own sons. The writer visited Ilaro's uncle who lives
(C7) nearby and saw the cattle already branded with his son's personal brand. Ilaro is not at all concerned about the property of his other uncles as their property will pass automatically to their own children.

This next case illustrates a different situation. Pachano is a very rich man who lives in Carraipia. He has a nephew,—the senior maternal nephew,—who lives there also. Pachano has a son of his own and the present writer observed that many of Pachano's cattle have already been branded for his son, but

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as his heirs are large there are quite a number still unbranded. Pachano informed me that at the time of his death, those left unbranded will automatically—following the inheritance rule—go to his nephew.

The attitudes of these two nephews, Tiero on one hand, and Paco, Pachano's nephew, on the other, are quite different. Tiero has very little to do with his uncle. He seldom visits him, although they live quite near each other, and their relations are somewhat detached. However, there is no animosity between them and the writer noticed that they speak of each other not badly, but with indifference. In the case of Pachano and his nephew the relationship is very close. They pay each other visits with regularity, and Pachano shows a paternalistic attitude toward his nephew and is always willing to help him in every way possible. On the other hand Paco never shows any hesitation in going to his uncle for whatever he needs regardless of whether his own father is able to help him or not.

Pachano has other nephews, brothers of Paco and others, but he has practically no relations with them. They never go to him for any assistance and he does not expect them to do so. Regarding inheritance they, of course, receive nothing whatever from Pachano at his death.

It appears that generally the attitude of a senior nephew toward his senior maternal uncle largely depends on what he expects from him in the way of inheritance. There are cases, however, where mutual understanding and regard and affection are strong ties regardless of what the nephew expects. Such is the following case. Candito is the only son of a poor man living at Cordon. He has a senior maternal uncle living at Manacure who is also poor. Although living at quite a distance, Candito often goes to pay a visit to his uncle, and is often visited by him. Candito shows great respect toward his uncle and speaks of him as being a very good man, who would do anything for him if he could, but he is aware that his uncle can do very little for him. The writer visited the uncle at Manacure and verified the impression of him given by Candito. He holds his nephew in high regard, is very much concerned in all that Candito does and in how he is getting along in life.

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604 Regarding the marriage of the senior nephew, the maternal
587 uncle plays no prescribed part, unless the prospective bride
comes from a very wealthy family and consequently the bride
price is quite high. In such cases the uncle is expected to help
(583) with a small donation to meet the price. Although this is ex-
pected from him he has no say whatsoever in the selection of
the bride. The bride price in its entirety, or certainly in major
part, is paid by the father of the bridegroom. The influence of
the uncle, even if he has happened to help pay part of the bride
price, is practically zero. This is the rule, but naturally in-
(583) dividual deviations from it are found. The case of Camilo
is again illustrative of this. Although he is not contemplating
marriage for the present, Camilo told the present writer that
once he had made up his mind to get married he would go to
his uncle for advice. No other such cases came to the attention
of the writer, but speaking with other informants on this subject
he was invariably told that such cases do often occur and that
they are not out of the ordinary. However, this is not pre-
scribed behavior and arises only from personal regard or affection.

604 There is a prescribed pattern of conduct that both the senior
maternal uncle and his senior nephew must observe when in
each other's company, regardless of what personal sentiments
they have for each other. If there are other people around the
nephew must always keep silence if his uncle is speaking and if
the nephew wants to say something he must first ask permission
of his uncle. This permission is asked by the nephew rising
from his seat or, if he is already standing, by tapping his uncle
on the arm. The uncle is at complete liberty to grant or refuse
the permission; however, a refusal was never witnessed by the
present writer. In all ways the nephew must show respect and
604 conduct himself with propriety. If he, in any way, should fail
626 to conform, he would be severely criticized, not only by his
uncle but also by the rest of the company, whether they were
relatives or not. On the other hand, the uncle must not laugh
at his nephew,—although he may laugh with him,—and if his
nephew says something wrong he must correct him in such a
way that his nephew would not feel hurt. Should the uncle do
otherwise he would be subjected to criticism, not by his nephew,
but by the rest of the company.

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The foregoing behavior pattern applies only in regard to a senior maternal uncle and his senior nephew. No such behavior is prescribed between father and son, nor between other uncles and nephews. There is no prescribed rule that either the father or the son must show respect for the other. They would not apparently be subjected to any public criticism at all should they be disrespectful, but in all cases where the present writer had occasion to see father and son together, there were always indications of respect to each other, especially by the son toward his father. That this behavior is not prescribed and that it is the result of regard or other factors is clear from the fact that the present writer was informed on several occasions while investigating this subject that there are cases in which father and sons who lack affection to each other would quarrel, even in public, without being criticized. The writer, however, did not personally witness any such cases. The same can be said regarding the conduct between an individual and his uncles other than his senior maternal uncle. Signs of respect are shown all along the line but this is not a prescribed rule. All information gathered on the subject by the writer points to the conclusion that the above pattern of conduct is prescribed between only senior maternal uncle and senior nephew; signs of respect toward the father or the other uncles are apparently shown only out of mutual affection or other personal motives. Public opinion resents any breach in the first case, while it disregards or is indifferent to any breach in the second case.

The following illustrative case throws some light on the situation. During one of the sessions held with Rafael, his son Ilaro was present and shortly afterward we were joined by Ilaro's senior maternal uncle. The moment the uncle stepped into the hut, Ilaro got up from his place and did not resume it until his uncle was well seated. All during the conversation prior to the coming of the uncle, Ilaro had been putting in remarks to the questions asked of his father and the latter did not seem to mind. After the uncle came in, although Ilaro's attention to what was going on did not falter, he restrained himself from making any further remarks and let his uncle make them instead. Only once did Ilaro make a remark; and this was only after

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603 having asked the permission of his uncle, and when he had
593 finished he asked his uncle's opinion on the subject, something he had not asked of his father prior to his uncle's arrival. In every way Ilaro showed respect toward his uncle, although as has been previously pointed out, contacts between the two are neither close nor numerous. At one time the uncle made a remark which apparently was not in agreement with Ilaro's opinion. However, Ilaro did not speak until his uncle was gone, which was a good two hours later. Ilaro remembered the remark, however, and reverting to it, gave his opinion, asking the present writer not to mentioned it to his uncle. The matter was of little importance, having to do with the proper selection of a bough for the manufacture of a bow. A breach of this prescribed pattern of behavior would have brought public criticism, and the guilty party would have had no excuse.

604 As regards the behavior between an individual and all his other uncles, data were secured on various occasions. One illustration will suffice. It again concerns Ilaro. The day before his departure the writer was given a feast by Ralard, to which the latter invited nearly all of his relatives by blood and by marriage who could come. Consequently there was plenty of opportunity to observe the behavior of Ilaro toward his uncles. Toward Calleja, Ilaro's behavior was exactly the same as on the occasion described above. Toward his other uncles a certain deference was shown, but not nearly as much as toward Calleja. For example, Ilaro showed no hesitation in interrupting his other uncles' speech, which he did on various occasions. This gave rise to no criticism of him.

So far we have been dealing with the behavior in public between the senior nephew and his senior maternal uncle. Naturally no such observation was possible in regard to the private relations between the two, that is, when nephew and uncle are together by themselves. However, judging from what informants said, it appears that the behavior of the nephew in private
605 is very much the same as in public. If he expects inheritance
606 from his uncle, because were he to depart from the conventional, the uncle would disinherit him. On the other hand, if the nephew expects no such inheritance, and the uncle is then

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unable to punish his nephew by disinherriting him, the nephew's behavior is very much dictated by the ties of regard or affection that exist or are lacking between the two. The private behavior of the uncle toward his nephew is almost wholly controlled by the same ties, as there would be no way for the nephew to retaliate if his uncle were to break the rule. There is one control, however, that both the nephew and the uncle have over each other. It has nothing to do with either regard or affection or with the possibility of inheritance. It is the fear that if either the nephew or the uncle break the rule the offended one may circulate the news in the community. If such news were circulated the reaction of the community would depend on the standing in the community of both parties concerned. If, for example, the offended had good standing while the offender had not, the reaction would be highly condemnatory. In the reverse situation, the news would be taken lightly.

From the evidence gathered, three primary factors condition the actual attitudes and behavior of a senior nephew and his senior maternal uncle. The first is the economic interest that the nephew may have in his uncle's property. The second is the fear of public opinion. The economic factor may or may not be operative; the fear of public opinion is always present. The third factor is regard or affection or similar personal sentiments. These three factors may go hand in hand and then it is very difficult to say which is the strongest. In some cases, as in that of Camilo and his uncle, mutual affection and regard are undoubtedly the dominant factor.

To sum up: when the senior maternal uncle is rich, he is the giver, and the senior nephew the receiver, of benefits. As to actual behavior, however, a nephew is obliged to show deference in a particular manner to his senior maternal uncle, and the uncle in turn must show a certain amount of respect for his nephew. Fear of public opinion makes for conformity in behavior regardless of economic interest or personal regard.

Reciprocal Relations of Mothers' Uncle and Niece

The relationship here is just the reverse of the uncle-nephew relationship. Here the uncle is the receiver of the benefits and

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604 the niece the giver. Another difference is that while the giving-receiving relation in the uncle-nephew situation is between the senior nephew and his senior maternal uncle, in the uncle-niece situation it is between the senior maternal uncle and all the daughters of all his sisters.

In the senior maternal uncle-niece relationship the whole
[928] question of inheritance is out of the picture, as in Guajiro culture the woman, regardless of her status, cannot inherit. The nieces never expect and never get anything from any of their uncles in the way of inheritance or otherwise. Consequently we can dismiss economic expectations on the part of the niece as a motivating factor. Their behavior toward their senior maternal uncle is the resultant of other factors. The senior maternal uncle being on his part the receiver of benefits may act from affection or regard, or from selfish or other motives, or combinations thereof.

604 The senior maternal uncle receives material profits from all
583 of his sisters' daughters through the bride price. The bride price, however big or small, must be paid to the senior maternal uncle of the bride, while he on the other hand does not contribute anything toward the dowry which the bride must present to the bridegroom. The bride price must always be paid in cattle, while the dowry usually consists of gifts of clothing, household goods, hammocks, etc. Consequently the senior maternal uncle is very much interested in the marriage of his nieces and sees that they marry advantageously. He may accept or reject
[584] a prospective bridegroom at will, and the girl has to conform
[193] and to say nothing in the matter. This is the theory and to a great extent the practice, although there are cases in which the uncle has given in on the insistence of the niece or of the prospective bridegroom or of both, and a few cases of elopement have also come to the notice of the present writer. As previously mentioned, all of this concerns only the senior maternal uncle and all the daughters of all his sisters: the other uncles, maternal or other, have no say in the matter.

604 The following cases will serve as illustrations. Estrella is
584 the daughter of Ramonsito's oldest sister. They all belong to the wealthy class. She is now of marriageable age—about 15

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
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or 16 years old—and it is entirely up to Ramoncito to find a suitable mate for her. As yet there is no prospective bridegroom but when he is found he will be entirely Ramoncito's choice. Ramoncito may seek the advice of Estrella's parents, but the final say rests with him. Even the girl has little or nothing to do with the selection. Ramoncito will settle the bride price and collect it all for himself. He will not share it with his other brothers nor will the girl's parents receive any part of it. Ramoncito concerns himself greatly about Estrella and seldom lets a day pass without paying her a visit. Estrella comes to visit her uncle quite frequently too, either alone—for they live close by—or with her mother, and she always brings a little gift for Ramoncito's only child. Ramoncito has another sister whose daughter is already married. In this case it was Ramoncito again who made all the arrangements for the marriage, selecting a wealthy bridegroom, settling the bride price, and collecting it. He kept all of it for himself as he is supposed to do. None of the other relatives had anything to say regarding the marriage.

The following is another case, one from a different level of society. Carmelina is the daughter of a poor man who lives at San Antonio. She has only one maternal uncle, who is also poor. About a year ago her uncle insisted upon her marrying the bridegroom whom he had already selected for her. The bride price was arranged and collected by her uncle, but he being a wasteful man—according to Carmelina—went to Venezuela, sold the cattle there and spent all of his money. Since that time this uncle has been trying to get some cattle from Carmelina's husband, but, as he has no further claim on his niece, they have refused him. Carmelina, apparently is happy in her marriage and glad to be out of her uncle's reach. He pays frequent visits to his niece, but as he is received with cool indifference his visits are less frequent than they used to be.

Now for the actual pattern of behavior. The present writer was able to observe personally the mode of behavior between Estrella and Ramoncito and between Carmelina and her uncle. Let us take Estrella's case first. Apart from the fact that in the Guajira whenever we find a mixed group the women in-

4: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
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[562] variably stay somewhat in the background, the attitude of
604 Estrella in the presence of her uncle is not marked by that stiff formality so obvious in the attitude of Ilaro and his uncle. She shows no signs of disrespect, but on the other hand she is perfectly free to interrupt her uncle whenever she feels like doing so and nobody can criticise her. This she does not do frequently, but during the course of the conversation which the present writer observed she interrupted him twice with no apparent annoyance or disapproval on the part of Ramonito. His attitude toward her was very much the same. Respect is shown by both, but that marked formality that is so apparent in the uncle-nephew relations is lacking. This may possibly be due to the fact that the nephew is of course the receiver of benefits — theoretically at least — and consequently must show great respect in the way of a stiff formality in order not to anger his uncle, while in the other case the uncle receives benefits through his niece, and although she cannot override her uncle altogether
[562] because of the general backwardness of women in the Guajira, rigid formality, at least, is absent. This interpretation was checked up with the native informants, to discover if possible their own views. The matter was found to be far from clear in their minds, but they were all of the opinion that the above economic considerations, may be a factor in explaining the presence of the rigid formality in one case and its absence in the other.

In the case of Carmelina the situation is somewhat different. Although there were no outward signs of disrespect shown by either Carmelina or her uncle, there was no sign at all of affection between them, especially on the part of Carmelina. She treated her uncle very coldly, seldom addressed him and paid little attention to what he said. The writer had been working with Carmelina and her husband all one morning and was to stay that day and night with them. Around midmorning the uncle
[594] joined the group but was not invited to stay for dinner, although on several occasions he tried to get himself invited. After he left both Carmelina and her husband spoke sharply about her uncle. The writer was unfortunately unable to contact the uncle and get his opinion on the matter. Nevertheless, it is apparently safe to conclude that while the relations between

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
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Estrella and her uncle may be controlled somewhat by personal 604
regard and affection, such appear not to exist in the relations between Carmelina and her uncle.

The behavior of the senior maternal uncle is uniformly the same toward all of his nieces so far as the prescribed conduct is concerned, although he may not personally feel exactly the same toward every one of them due to individual difference in character and personality.

The behavior described so far has been that of the uncle and niece in public. As to the private relations between them, the present writer was informed that the relations were no different in private than in public.

Cases in which the niece goes against her uncle's will in 583
marriage and elopes are very infrequent in the Guajira. When 584
they occur they are severely criticized and the girl gets the 604
reputation of being loose. Public opinion is so strong that in all 626
the cases except one, which came to the attention of the present writer, the couple has had to move to another community away from both her family and his. The case in which the uncle has at first been opposed to the marriage but finally consents on the insistence of the couple falls into a different category. Such a couple is not criticized and may live without fear in the community.

Summary

As regards the senior maternal uncle and senior nephew rela- 604
tionship: first, the nephew, at least theoretically, is the recipient of benefits, and conducts himself with extreme propriety. Regardless of the regard or affection, he may or may not have for his uncle, he behaves according to rule lest public opinion turn against him and curtail his chances for trade, marriage, etc. Toward his other uncles, there seems to be no prescribed pattern and he may behave toward them as he pleases. Second, the attitude of the uncle toward his nephew is again largely controlled by public opinion. It is true that he does not have to show such marked formality as his nephew shows toward him, but on the other hand he must do nothing detrimental to the character or respect-status of the nephew. His behavior toward

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
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604 his other nephews is largely controlled by the degree of regard or affection that he has toward them individually.

As regards relations between the senior maternal uncle and his nieces, first, the uncle is the recipient of benefits derived from his nieces, largely in the form of the bride price, and he takes care to make a show of regard and concern for all of his nieces. Naturally, this does not imply that real affection or regard is non-existent. Second, the attitudes of the nieces toward their senior maternal uncle, although not so rigidly formal, are, nevertheless, respectful and considerate. Toward their other uncles, degree of regard or lack of it seems to be the only factor that controls the behavior.

We appear to be on safe ground in concluding that in the relations between a senior maternal uncle and his senior nephew, public opinion is the dominant factor making for conformity with the behavior code. To this we may add regard, affection or other factors according to individual differences. The behavior between other uncles and nephews is largely controlled by personal regard or the lack of it.

In the relations between the senior maternal uncle and his nieces again we find that public opinion is the controlling element, with regard as an additional factor in individual cases. All other relations between other uncles and nephews are controlled seemingly by regard, affection and similar personal motivations.

Guajiro Terms of Relationship

605 We are appending here, not all Guajiro relationship terms, but only those that are directly or indirectly involved in the avunculate complex.

father ..... *ñañi*
mother ..... *ñi*
senior son ..... *ñarda-ulutsi-ñiro*
senior daughter ..... *ñarda-ulutsi-ñiha*
other sons ..... *ñarda-ñiro*
other daughters ..... *ñarda-ñiha*
senior maternal uncle ..... *ñirauda-ulutsi-ñi*
senior maternal aunt ..... *ñii-ulutsi-ñi*

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other maternal uncle	tíwudu-ñi
other maternal aunts	tíi-ñi
paternal uncle	tíru-ñeri
paternal aunts	tíi-ñeri
sister maternal nephew	tíwijó-ñíchi-ñeudru-íñu
sister maternal niece	ñeríte-ñeudru-íñu
other maternal nephews	tíwijó-ñeudru-íñu
other maternal nieces	ñeríte-ñeudru-íñu
paternal nephews	tíwijó-tíru
paternal nieces	ñeríu-íñu

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Indians on Horseback

[p. 1]

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SC13 Goejiro SC13

291
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516

Indian women in the national dress of today with large woollen pompons on their sandals

[P. 2]
[P. 1 contains no text which is not reproduced elsewhere]

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Indians On Horseback

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GUSTAF BOLINDER

[Title Page]

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BLACK AND WHITE

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Foreword

This book will take the reader to a peculiar corner of South America, the Guajira peninsula, the shores of which are washed by the warm Caribbean. It has a different climate and nature to those of other, adjacent, parts of the continent. Its inhabitants are Indians who differ largely from most of their fellows in our day, for they are warlike, proud and independent. They are the only people of mounted nomads among the natives of America and they are led by powerful chiefs. They have longest maintained their independence and their remarkable customs. They have been left in peace largely because their country is arid and unattractive, but also because they are not to be trifled with.

I have made three journeys among them. The first, in 1920, was the most exciting and fruitful. Three of us went, my wife, our photographer, Ottar Gladtvet, and I, and we remember it as though it were yesterday. It is that journey which provided the bulk of my material. I supplemented my observations of Indian life by a further short visit that my wife and I made to the peninsula in the 'thirties and by the results of some native researchers.

In 1955 I returned to Guajira, wanting to see how it was after the crisis caused by the recurrent droughts of the last decade. Almost all the cattle were said to have been killed and half the population to have perished or emigrated. When I got there, however, conditions had improved. Much was just as it always had been, and there is every indication that this fine and worth-while Indian people will overcome its difficulties and retain its individuality in many respects.

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Apart from a few old books and what I may have written myself almost nothing has been published about these Indians until recent years. A Colombian expedition, including Roberto Pineda Giraldo, Virginia Gutierrez de Pineda Giraldo and Milciades Chaves made interesting notes. Guajira has been described historically and geographically in papers by Gregorio Hernandez de Alba, Julio Londoño and Antonio Garcia; and a work by Father José de Barranquilla should also be mentioned.

Many of the photographs used to illustrate this book were taken by myself, others are the work of Oscar Gladwyn of Oslo, our companion and photographer on the first expedition.

G.B.

[pp. 11-46 not processed]

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BCII Genjiro BCII

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[BCII
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By the dam. Still by fisher and river, these were the only tribes we ever saw. The Genjiro lie twenty feet

Right: Indian girls

342
513
352

A simple Indian hut

[Facing p. 32]

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S16
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One men making fire

Indian salt workers, men and women, at Manaure

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View of the Gonjiro town at Marazalu

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CHAPTER 4

Towards a Mirage

Our donkey caravan tripped along between the sand dunes at a gentle trot. The sun poured what the Indians call its molten gold over us in fierce waves. The donkeys were slow, but our riding-mules were fresh and even tried a trick or two, throwing our photographer, who was no expert, into a cactus bush. That was a pity, for the spikes were as long as knitting needles and unpleasantly hard and sharp. The Indians laughed heartlessly. It was perhaps the only amusing thing that happened to them on the whole trip.

We had no idea what our men were called. As I have already mentioned, the Indians' first names are secret. They always say: 'I have no name' or 'Call me what you like'. Your name is part of your personality. You cannot surrender it to strangers. If you know another's name, you can acquire a certain hold over him, just as you can harm him, if you had some of his hairs or nail-clippings with which to work magic. The family name, that of the clan, is naturally public. White people usually give Spanish names to the Indians with whom they have to deal, and there are plenty of Juans and Josés in the peninsula now. Usually, however, you give a nickname to the Indians you have temporarily in your service, just as they give their employers nicknames. We discovered that they had christened our photographer 'The Red One'. He was not red-headed at all, but very fair, and because of that, his face was always highly coloured in the heat. I could not get out of them what they called my wife and me. I suppose they thought that we would be offended or regard it as insubordination. They had been

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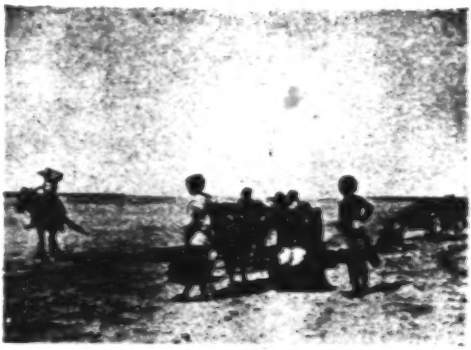
291 492 *Our caravan makes a temporary halt*



291 516 137 *Resting in the sparse shade of a divi-divi tree. My wife is stirring the pot. I am on the extreme right*

312 *A casimba, or water-hole, dug by the Indians*

[FACING p. 48]

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551 told that among my own people I was a sort of medicine-man and chief combined.

Nowadays most of the Indians in Guajira acquire three first names: a Spanish one that the white men give them, a nickname, and their true, Indian name, which is secret except to members of their immediate family. When a girl is born, her father names her after her mother or some near female relative, but for everyday use she has a pet name [553] which is only dropped when she reaches marriageable age. She then acquires a new name, which she keeps for the rest of her life.

563 The Creoles called those in the border areas who were not 101 Indians '*gente*', or just 'people'. They could scarcely be called white, for many were as good as pure black, being the descendants of former slaves. When they told us in Rio Hacha that there were not any 'people' living in this or that village, they meant that there were none but Indians there. Those who were not Indians, that is those who wore trousers, also called themselves '*civilisados*', while the Indians called them arijuna.

115 We called our two old Indians Gaffer and Gammer, and the youngest 'The Lad'. We liked The Lad especially. He was 124 strong, merry and did the work of two. The fourth, who, strangely enough, had a crew cut and was supposed to be our interpreter, we called 'Bristles', and he learned to answer to that. He knew a little Spanish, but as an interpreter he was no use. When the Gaffer had been talking to us for a long time and we asked Bristles what he had said, the answer always was: 'Nothing'. Perhaps that was what the other's talk amounted to, but we should have preferred to have judged that for ourselves. We noticed, too, that if we had to scold the Gaffer, Bristles did not dare repeat what we said. With gestures and the few Guajiro words we knew we could make Gaffer realize that we were annoyed with him, but not always why.

291 The men wore nothing but the usual piece of cloth and 386 belt, the *nárcte*, or, in Spanish, guayuco, which really means crupper, and sandals to protect their feet from the cactus spikes lying on the ground, but the Gammer was enveloped

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Left: *I help an old man, who had never seen matches, to light his cigar*

142
291

Chinca, a girl of simple family, (on the left) and a well-born maiden expensively perfumed in a white tunic

[516]

Indian camp and a mestizo

[Facing p. 49]

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 [386]

in a wide woman's tunic, dyed black with divi-divi. Her 291
face was painted black, too. At her age that could scarcely [302]
have been necessary to save her complexion, but such painting is also a protection against dangerous spirits. The Gaffer [751]
carried his ceremonial dress with him, tucked away somewhere. This consisted of an oblong piece of cloth sewn [292]
up along one side and with a hole for the head at the top. It is worn draped in such a way that the chest is bare.

Thus our caravan made its way along. The animals' 133
shadows contracted further and further. Soon the sun would be right overhead. The very air seemed to have melted in the heat, and the blue hills in the distance had begun to dissolve. Here and there grew a cactus, otherwise there was nothing but sand and salt to be seen. Slowly the caravan crept along. We spurred our mules and rode on ahead, but after a while we had to turn back in order not to go astray. We found the Gaffer riding and the Gammer walking. The Gaffer could hardly stick on. He swayed in the saddle, for he was as drunk as a lord, having smuggled with him a calabash containing spirits instead of water.

He was just about to take another pull as we came galloping up, and he was so frightened that he dropped the calabash, which smashed and the spirits ran out. At that we searched the old couple's baggage, despite their protests, and found another calabash of spirits. We gave the Gaffer a large coin for it. The two young ones were delighted at his misfortune, for his baggage had given them a lot of trouble. It was obvious that the Gaffer had started drinking early, for the loads on the donkeys in his charge were badly secured and danced about, so that one after the other had to be lashed on afresh.

We told the Gammer that she must restrain her old man, an order which the interpreter undoubtedly passed on, probably with some comments of his own. The Gammer was not popular with the two young ones, and Bristles would not lack the courage to tell a woman a few home truths. Gradually the Gafier sobered up, and a good thing he did, for we were approaching an Indian rancho, where he would have to act as spokesman for me.

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576 You always rein in before a rancho and wait for those inside to call to you. If no one comes, it is best to continue on your way, for either you are not welcome or your pros-
574 pective host is not at home. We halted outside this rancho and after a short wait a friendly voice called '*anshi pia*' 'You
262 have come?' and we answered '*aa*', yes. We were then invited to halt and entertained with sour goat's milk and boiled goat's meat. In exchange we gave them a little maize, which is an expensive article there and not easily come by. Vegetables and fruit are even greater rarities. Naturally
262 they eat the fruit of the fig-cactus during its season. It has a faint smell, but is refreshing. There is also a tree with fruit like olives, and which the whites call olives, and the Indians eat them, but they are said to be poisonous, at least in large quantities. This tree has the great advantage that, to all intents and purposes, it never withers. At that time we were not yet tired of goat's meat and could eat the fare they offered us. It is the staple food of Guajira, however, and in the end we got more than enough of it. Even at this place we thought that everything tasted or smelled of goat, not only the meat and milk, but the water, the huts and the surroundings as well.

We went with our animals when they were to be watered,
312 to see that they got enough. Many Indians and quite a number of cattle had gathered round the casimba, for it was to one of those we went. They had dug deep into the river bed, making a funnel-shaped hole several score feet in circumference and, as far as we could see, some thirty feet deep. During the rains this casimba overflowed and normally it was half full, they told us, but now there was only a little running in at the bottom.

The sand was firm enough there for them to have cut
[482] steps, and the Indians were climbing up and down the whole time with large jars which they emptied into troughs made of long, hollowed divi-divi trunks, from which the animals drank greedily.

[415] The women fetched their water there in calabashes or
312 earthenware vessels. An Indian who spoke a little Spanish
731 told us how desperate their plight had been a few years

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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before, when the casimba had dried up and the cattle had roamed round the troughs bellowing till they collapsed and died. The horses, on the other hand, had given up the ghost without complaint. 312 731

The water was already turgid; before long it would be as thick as gruel. The water we had been given by the bishop was now finished, and we had to boil the water from the casimba, which had a beastly taste and did not quench our thirst because of the salt in it. The best water is that near the coast. 312

The cattle and horses were thin, but the men at the well looked strong and well-nourished, as did the women. But how would they look by the time October came with its rain? It was then only July. And suppose no rain came? Or only a few showers? That had happened before. The threat of it always hung over the Indians. If the rain god Juvap turned his face from them, they were lost. There were still patches of grass here and there, but it was dry and scorched. If need be the cattle could make do with cactus, despite the long spikes that could pierce a stout leather shoe with ease. Very, very carefully the cow lets one of the oval leaves slide into her mouth, almost sucking it in, so that the spikes are bent backwards; she then starts chewing as hard as she can. Often cows have more cactus stuck in their hides than they get inside them. Horses and mules, on the other hand, apparently do not like cactus and will not do more than nibble at it. It is too slow a business to eat it. The goats seemed able to find something to eat everywhere, and are themselves eaten sooner or later. Cattle are not often slaughtered, but goat is the daily fare. Live goats are also taken as provisions on journeys, being easily led on a rope. 132 312 231 776

We had halted only in order to let the animals drink and for the Indians to fill their water containers. The Gaffer needed a lot of water now—his thirst was unbounded—but the calabashes were in his wife's charge and she only allowed him an occasional gulp. Also he was having to walk, for she was tired and had mounted the donkey again. The Lad tried to enliven the company by imitating the donkeys when they

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lost their loads and the mule throwing the photographer, but we were all tired and not easily amused.

I did not want to stay at that rancho. Their reception had been friendly, but they had something against the Gaffer. I thought they had hesitated to receive him, and caution suggested that we ought to camp by ourselves, as long as we had people on whom we could not rely. Evening came and with it a slight, cooling breeze. Travelling was pleasant then without the heat of the sun. Knowing that the moon would rise early, we decided to go on as long as we could.

At midnight we halted in bright moonlight, lit a fire and made coffee. A couple of Indians came uninvited and squatted nearby. The coastal Indians had become infected with the vices of civilization and stole like jackdaws. We had already lost a number of small things at Arema and the other places on the coast, and had no wish to lose more. In Guajira you must take the law into your own hands.

We produced our firearms and set about cleaning them. We each had a rifle and a pistol, and also I had a number of pistols that I had bought cheap at auctions after the war and intended to use as objects of barter. We put up our camp beds under the open sky, laid our weapons beside them and told our Indians to 'sleep with one eye open', a phrase they themselves used. We assured them that we should do the same, and that our open eyes would be fixed on our baggage.

We knew that the Indians would be constantly starting up and looking round. No sound escaped their trained ears. We were not suspicious of their being in a conspiracy with the other Indians; in fact, they were quite frightened.

When we woke at daybreak, all was well. We packed up and set off again at once. Now and again we met naked Indians armed with bows and arrows. We gave tobacco to them all, as custom dictates. It is almost a sort of tax which white people have to pay in order to be able to travel in peace in Guajira. If you happen to be smoking one of the country's thin cigars and meet an Indian, you can, if you are in a hurry, take the cigar from your mouth and stick it into his, mutter a greeting, receive an answer, and ride on.

Although I had a compass and a map, such as it was,

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neither was much help. Our route went in a zig-zag from 080
water hole to water hole. I did not feel altogether sure that the Gaffer would find the mission station. From what I could understand of the interpreter's inadequate Spanish and floods of Guajiro, it seemed that when the old man made his trip to the Macuira Hills, there was not yet a mission station there. I knew that it was of relatively recent date. If we could only get to Macuira, we could ask our way to the monks, I felt sure of that. Otherwise we should have to try and find our way to the little harbour of Puerto Estrella on the east coast of the peninsula. To go there involved a detour, but there would certainly be a white person or at least a mestizo there, who would be able to show us the way to Amúruru.

It seemed to us that our baquiano not only wandered round in search of water holes, but also avoided certain ranchos. What, we wondered, was the position with his clan? Was it engaged in a feud just then? I knew little of clan quarrels and blood-feuds, then.

The Gaffer now began asking everyone we met the way to 484
Macuira. It was obvious that he did not know where he 151
was and that we had a bad guide. The Guajiro have a 823
wonderful sense of direction. They find their way unerringly about their trackless cactus steppes, where every place looks alike. They know every depression in the ground, every eminence, and they all have names. Like the Arabs in the desert, they never forget a way they have once travelled, so it was obvious that the Gaffer had never before been where we were then, that he had simply gone astray. The Indians' ability to follow tracks is also amazing. [224]
They can see by the hoof prints when a strange horse has been in among a herd, and they can track down a strayed bullock, even if it has joined company with others. An Indian can see whether others belong to his clan or not from a long distance off, even when he does not know them personally. They have a clan mark tattooed, or sometimes [302
painted on their thighs, it is true, but an Indian seems to [304
know to which clan they belong, even when you cannot 614]
distinguish those marks through field glasses.

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Our provisions were at an end. We had been too generous and not rationed them strictly, the men having complained of hunger the whole time. Now we were suffering for it.

Away in the distance, well out of range, we saw a *venado*, a deer, making off through the cactus with graceful bounds. Where did the deer drink? Surely they would not dare approach the Indians' water-holes, which were either guarded or covered.

'Deer do not drink,' said the Indians. 'They are content with the dew they can lick out of the cactus flowers.'

We were thus without both food and water. We whites had tinned food, but the Indians only appreciated the empty tins. The Lad then offered to get us some food and water. He had not been away more than an hour, when he returned with a young girl carrying a live kid in her arms. She wore nothing but the remnants of a woman's loin cloth, and apparently knew that white people did not approve of nakedness, for she tried to hide her charms behind the kid. We therefore gave her a piece of white cloth in payment, although it was really a pity to let her cover herself, for she was the shapeliest Indian girl we had yet seen in the peninsula. The cloth would protect her from the sun and make her fair-skinned and beautiful, so she was overjoyed and offered to show us the way to what she said was a much better water hole.

This new water hole was shaded by some divi-divi trees—the trees were withered and their shade sparse—and surrounded by reddish hillocks. It was not very deep and a couple of women were bathing in it. They paid no attention to us, nakedness in the bath being considered decent. Our Indians and animals were able to drink as much as they liked there, and we also filled our water-containers. Then we moved on looking for a suitable place in which to eat our goat in peace.

Gladtvet, our photographer, put up the tent to give us a little shade, and meanwhile the Indians slaughtered the kid and cut it up. My wife cooked the pieces we had taken for ourselves, helped by the little girl who had come with us. She was now wearing the piece of cloth like a pinafore and

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hopnig for a taste of the kid. The Indians always share what they have. 000 609

When nothing remained of the kid but some well-gnawed bones, a wrinkled old man with a straggling beard approached. He looked famished and we gave him a couple of hooves, which he split and sucked at, while our men cracked the bones for themselves. The newcomer had to have tobacco too, so I gave him a cigar and a box of matches. He turned the matches this way and that in amazement, obviously never having seen such a thing before. He handed it back to me and I showed him how to strike a match, at which he gave a great jump. I had to light my own cigar before he dared let me put the match to his.

Then a group of Indians on horseback came galloping up. Just as they reached us a gust of wind bowled the tent over and a flying tent peg struck my wife on the mouth making it bleed. The newcomers were all young, unarmed men. They dismounted, flocked round my wife, examined her mouth rather roughly, but with the best intentions, bewailing the accident. They then tore Gladtvet's hat off his head and handed it to my wife as suitable compensation for the damage, appearing to be delighted with their judgment. I distributed tobacco and they and the thin old man gobbled up the water in which the kid had been cooked and which our Indians had somehow left in the pot. The young men then rode off, laughing gaily.

Our men did not seem to approve of their visit. They wanted us to move on again at once, as if they thought the young men were spies, so our little caravan moved off, leaving the wrinkled old man sitting there, smiling a wan old man's smile.

We travelled on across hillocks covered with dry scrub. 133
The ground was strewn with bleached bones. Then we came to sparse divi-divi woods, and towards evening we saw ahead of us a wide savanna covered with sparse short [233] grass, on which thin cows, bony horses and woolly sheep were grazing, and in the background rose the shadowy silhouette of hills. These, we felt, must be the Macuira Hills; and the Indians we met confirmed that they were.

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We had gone round Sierra Chimare to the north. Understandably enough, since it was the monks' name, nobody seemed to have heard of Nazaret, but they did not react to Amúruru either.

Macuira is quite a large complex of hills, and if the Indians were going to be unable to help us, it might prove quite difficult to find the mission station. Suddenly a man came up on a horse. He was wearing trousers. He was so astonished to see us that he nearly tumbled off and his horse became restive. We told him who we were and where we were going, and his face lit up.

'Let us camp together,' he suggested. 'I have a camp under a tree that is large enough for you as well. I have a herd of goats that I am driving home.'

We went with the man, who was a mestizo—and had two Indian wives, who helped my wife make goat stew.

In Guajira you can sleep in the open perfectly well during most of the year, but it is more pleasant to lie under a tree. The mestizo was able to tell us exactly how to get to Nazaret.

We broke camp at daybreak, before the sun had begun to send its shafts through the sparse leaves of the tree. We three whites started off at a good pace, and soon the mestizo with his goats and our own pack animals had dropped behind. Before long we came in among hillocks sparsely clad with divi-divi and other bushes and trees that did not mind drought. This sort of vegetation the Indians call a wood. The hours passed; the sun was unmercifully hot, as it always was. Our tongues were stuck to our gums by thirst, and a persistent breeze filled our ears with sand. We did not mind, however, for paradise was not far away.

The trees were all withered and leafless. Then we came to valleys filled with white sand, that in places formed terraces. The mules' hooves sank in deep. I realized why we came across sand so far from the sea: all that part of the hills had sunk into the sea during the quarternary period, and had then risen again carrying the sand with it.

Then a hill like a sugar-loaf emerged. That was Ituhor, about which we had been told, and we knew that we were

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not far from the mission station. Ituhor means 'roast corn' 133
and it does look like a dark golden brown giant corn-cob. [103]
Suddenly we were in a valley that was all green. We had to
rub our eyes. Not only grass grew there, but tall trees with [137]
fresh green leaves. The crests of coconut palms waved high
above them. We saw bananas, maize, and all sorts of fruit
trees. What a miracle! The cause of it was a little stream
that had water in it almost all the year round, though it
petered out in sand on its way to the sea. We enjoyed the
greenery, the smells and the bird song, and watched the
multi-coloured butterflies. The valley was not inhabited;
it was a field. After that we came to more white sand, where
everything was just as arid as before. 797

Nazaret lay in the middle of this sea of sand. Ahead of us
we saw some whitewashed buildings with grass roofs and
one larger building with a turret. A monk came walking
briskly to greet us, his white beard waving in the breeze.
This was Father Salvador, whom we knew from a trip we
had made farther south five years before. He had then been
stationed at the foot of the Andes and his flowing beard
had been brown. How old he had grown! The desert seemed
to have aged him by twenty years at least, we thought. Then
the other monks emerged and friendly nuns took charge of
my wife.

We had good, sweet water, decent food and black coffee.
The kindly fathers at once set about preparing a white-
washed hut for us. They wanted us to stay for some time,
make Nazaret our headquarters, from which we could go to
the Indian camps in the surrounding country, which we
would thus get to know. They would also find us good
guides.

Then our Indians arrived with our baggage. We paid 609
them and dismissed them. We could not help laughing when 673
Gaffer insisted that he could be of great use to us as a guide,
for he had neither been there before, nor even been able to
find his way there. His old wife had taken advantage of our
absence to appropriate a number of our things, including an
aluminium saucepan. This came to light because her pack
looked suspiciously bulky and had to be searched, to her

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609 great indignation. In those parts to which civilization had
673 penetrated, it was not considered shameful to steal, provided you were not discovered.

Why do all semi-civilized natives, whether Indians or negroes, steal like jackdaws, while primitive peoples in the jungle respect each other's property? Stealing had become a sport with the half-bred Guajiros, but the Indian law was still enforced: he who was discovered had to replace what he had stolen and pay compensation as well.

The old man took advantage of the confusion to make off. When we had finished with his wife, he and his donkeys had gone, and his spouse had to follow on foot, swearing and cursing as hard as she could.

115 The two younger Indians did not go with the old couple.
124 They received half a bag of maize and were delighted. It should have lasted them the whole way back and more, but I am sure that they cooked it all, as soon as they could borrow a pot, eating more than they had ever done before and treating everyone else, and probably going hungry for the rest of the way home.

We had wanted to give The Lad a hat, a thing for which he longed, as he had spent the last few days trying to explain to my wife, for whom he had a great admiration and for whose help he was hoping. He had been sure that there would be hats to be had at Nazaret. But of Nazaret both he and we had had exaggerated ideas. It was a mission station, not a trading post. The monks did not sell hats, and they possessed but one apiece. The Lad had earned a hat and would have had one, had it been possible; but he had to walk away as bare of head as he came.

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CHAPTER 5

Slaves and Slave-dealers

We had expected lush green valleys and thus the mission station lying on its terrace of sand was to some extent a disappointment. There was greenery in the area, as we knew from having passed it on the way, but it was quite far off and one had to wade laboriously through deep sand to reach it.

Those green valleys could be called oases. Nazaret, perhaps, was the one relatively peaceful place on the whole peninsula. The Indians respected the monks, who were kindly, understanding, civilized people. Nazaret was a fixed point and the only place where we could set up a headquarters from which to make excursions of varying length; otherwise we would have to travel and keep travelling all the time we were in Guajira. There were supplies of food there and drinking water. They had a rainwater cistern and also a casimba with clear water that never seemed to run dry. It had cost them a lot of labour and effort to erect the buildings there. All the materials had been brought by pack-donkey from Puerto Estrella, to which it was taken in schooners. Maize, sugar and other such provisions still had to be fetched the same way. They were not always able to get meat from the Indians. Once it was nearly three months before they could replenish their larder. They had great difficulty in protecting things from ants, which were as numerous there as everywhere in tropical South America, to say nothing of other noxious creatures.

The monks and nuns together looked after two hundred Indian children, and their support was not to be hazarded. The Capuchins always concentrate on the children, whom

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797 they take into boarding schools, so-called *erfelinatos*. It
736 was not difficult to get children for these schools there. Many poor families voluntarily hand their children over in hard times, when they cannot support them themselves. Others sell them for a quantity of maize. If the mission did not buy them, some well-to-do chief would, and they
[567] would become slaves. The monks did not always know whether a child offered them was stolen or not.

Well-to-do Indians also liked to send their children to Nazaret to learn Spanish and other useful things. These, however, often became more Indian than the Indians once they left the school. We met a few who refused to remember their Spanish and who appeared to be quite uninfluenced by the monks. This evident reaction against civilization was due, perhaps, to the strictly ordered life of the school.

The poor children had to stay there always. Some of them worked in a cotton plantation which the monks had started in order to help the mission's finances. There were already one or two married couples. They were not considered proper Indians, because the men wore trousers.

584 A Guajiro girl is normally not allowed to choose her
797 husband. Her family does that. Thus, if the monks and nuns decided which pupil was to marry which, it amounted to the same thing. The monks, of course, did not get a bride-price, nor did the bridegroom often receive his morning-gift that traditionally consists of ornaments and clothing.

797 Why had they built the mission station just at that spot, where it was so difficult to maintain it? The choice had been dictated mainly by the monks' desire to try and save children and others from being sold as slaves. Also there was water and it was near a harbour.

567 Do people really traffic in slaves in our day? Yes, slavery still exists. In Guajira, the traffic increases whenever there is a drought and times are bad. It has always gone through Castilletes on the south coast, which lies just where the frontier between Colombia and Venezuela reaches the sea. The slaves are sold to Venezuela, which is also more accessible for that part of the peninsula.

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One day we met three slave-workers. They were sitting on a hillside gnawing at roast goat's feet. Talking with them we discovered that they had to serve their master without wages. Must they do so all their lives? we asked. Perhaps not, but they were bound to work for him till certain debts and obligations had been paid off, and these seemed very complicated and vague. 567

The real slaves for life are the prisoners taken in war. Thus there are various forms of slavery in Guajira. It is, of course, an ancient phenomenon, of which the whites would seem to have taken advantage rather than to have combatted. [72?]

Slavery is a form of punishment. Formerly it was only conquered people and prisoners of war who were kept as slaves. This was usual among several Indian peoples, especially the Arusks, to which group the Guajiro belong. With them slavery has been systematized. [97]

Let us see how it is that someone becomes a slave. If an Indian has been insulted or killed, his clan demands compensation. If this is not paid, war breaks out between the two clans and those taken prisoner are treated as slaves without further ado. The Indians, however, never begin a war for the purpose of obtaining slaves. The slaves are reckoned as part of the damages, and they and the possessions of the conquered are divided among the victors according to certain principles. The eldest maternal uncle, mother, nephew, brothers and the leader of the fighting are entitled to damages; and if there is enough, the leader of the warriors will usually distribute some of the booty to his nearest relatives, mother, sisters, and maternal aunts. All the property of the enslaved prisoners-of-war passes into the hands of the victors: their pastures, water-holes, cattle, utensils, clothing, ornaments. 628 567

Slaves are the property of their masters, who can do with them as they see fit; sell them, give them away, kill them or use their labour and, if they are women, have intercourse with them as they may desire. The same goes for the men, if their master is a homosexual, as is not unusual in Guajira. The owner's unmarried sons or nephews also con- 567 [838]

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567 sider themselves entitled to the female slaves. The owner, however, is bound to give a slave enough food from his own kitchen or to provide maize or other raw ingredients for him or her to cook. He must also provide a male slave [435] with a wife, either giving him a female slave or buying a girl for him from some poor clan for ten goats. The state of [428] slavery is hereditary; thus the children of slaves belong to the owner of their parents. If the owner of a male slave should buy a poor free girl to make him a wife, her children [611] will be free, since relationship is reckoned on the female side. If a free man pays a bride-price for a slave, she becomes free; but if he merely buys her for a house-slave she remains a slave. Male slaves are set to work in the fields or with the herds. Female slaves perform domestic occupations. Sometimes a female slave becomes nurse to the owner's children. [574] The laws of Guajira hospitality require that the master of a 637 house place a female slave at his guests' disposal for the night.

The Indians, of course, have the right to punish their slaves, but the chastisement is seldom excessive. Slaves are treated as superior domestic animals, or perhaps I ought to say, as we treat domestic animals, for the Creoles, the Indians' neighbours, are not animal-lovers. Naturally there are cruel Indians too. The monks once came across a poor little slave girl out in the wilds. Her hands were so badly burned that she could not use them. She had been trying to keep herself alive by gnawing at cactus with her mouth. They took her back with them. It transpired that her mistress had lost her temper with her, thrust her hands into the fire and then driven her away.

The Indians make a distinction between slaves taken in war, who are their master's property, and dependent workers. These latter have to do what their master tells them, but he does not dispose of their persons. I called them slave-workers. They can be sold, but in theory it is only their labour that is transferred.

735 In times of distress the poor not infrequently have to get 567 rid of members of the family who are unable to contribute to their own support, and this they do by selling them. This

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applies mainly to children. These then become slave-workers and by right should be liberated once they have paid off with their work the sum for which they were bought, but that may not always be done. It is the mother, the uncle or the aunts who decide when a child is to be sold. This seems cruel to us now, yet it is not so long ago that children in the country were auctioned as workers in Sweden and elsewhere.

The owner of these slave-workers is bound to provide them with food and clothing as he must his slaves; thus children sold into slavery at least do not starve to death as they well might at home.

An Indian who has been unable to pay his debts must in certain circumstances go and serve his creditor. That is reminiscent of our own ancient slavery for debt. The obligation to work for another can also be a punishment laid upon a thief or a robber. As long as the slave-worker's clan is able to take action against the master if he goes beyond his entitlement, the position of the slave-worker is different from that of the slave; but if his clan is weak and unable to help him, he can be utterly in his master's power. At times a whole clan may become so weak that it has to seek the support of a stronger clan, and thereby becomes bound to work for the latter and is entirely dependent upon it.

While the master of a female slave may use her as he will, he has no right to have intercourse with a female slave-worker. Nor can he prevent others from entering into relations with her. If her clan has any voice in affairs, it will require damages of anyone who seduces her; but if her clan is powerless, then the female slave-worker is without support either of her clan or her master, and not infrequently ends as a prostitute. Prostitution is contrary to Indian law, but nowadays it does exist.

Even if a girl's clan is insignificant it will always demand damages, if someone has had relations with the girl and made her pregnant. Usually the man will pay up, that being the decent thing to do. Perhaps he wishes to marry the girl; in that case he must first pay her master the debt

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Above left: *Youth playing a flute*

Above right: *Little girl with beads*

Right: *Riders*

[facing p. 64]

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567 which occasioned her becoming a slave-worker, and then
614 pay a bride-price to her family. The girl becomes free and,
833 of course, her child is born free.

567 Real slaves are those taken in war. Nowadays they seldom take men or boys prisoner, but prefer to kill them instead. Otherwise there is always a risk that eventually they will try to avenge themselves. Women and girls are
628 mostly spared and made slaves. Civil strife is common, and
648 the Macuira Hills were no more peaceful than other areas, but the Indians were reluctant to harm the monks, though on occasion even they became involved.

One day a violent feud broke out between two clans. The chief of one clan himself led the fighting and had determined that the enemy was to be utterly exterminated. The battle raged quite close to the mission. To be anywhere near the Indians when they are fighting is dangerous, for those with rifles are seldom able to shoot and stray bullets fly everywhere. Poisoned arrows are also in the air, but they are better aimed and do not travel so far.

628 One day the monks heard that this chief had captured a
727 couple of boys of the enemy clan and had ordered that they
797 should be burned alive. The boys were reported to have been tied to a tree, round which a large fire had been lit,
648 after which the chief's men had gone away, leaving the boys to their fate. Two of the monks set off at once for the tree. As they hurried along rain began to fall and they hoped that that might put the fire out and so save the boys' lives. When they arrived, however, one of the boys was already dead, having been suffocated by the smoke. The other was still alive and the monks carried him back with them, though they scarcely expected him to survive, for he was very badly burned. It seems pointless and cruel to kill little boys, but the Indians were afraid that, if they spared them, they would take vengeance later; thus, when they heard what had happened, they sent a message saying that the monks must hand the boy over.

The monks replied that the boy was dead. That was the only way of saving his life—if it could be saved. He died during the night, however, and was buried in the mission's

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Majayura, the virgin confined in order to be prepared for marriage. Contrary to the rules, she was allowed out for a moment to be photographed

Old woman spinning

142
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301
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516

Children are not undernourished in Macuira

[facing p. 65]

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garden. In the morning the Indians came and demanded the 628
body. The monks refused, not wishing to lend themselves 727
to violation of the dead, and said that they would only 797
treat with the chief. He, however, was not in the vicinity. 648
The Indians threatened to burn the mission station. Fortunately the chief arrived at this juncture, and told his braves that they must not use violence against the monks.

'Never to kill and just to rescue those condemned to death as you do, does not fit in with our laws,' he said to the monks. 'You Capuchins lack any sense of reality. But I shall do you no harm, since you never harm others.'

It sometimes happens that the victor instead of killing 567
his male prisoners will sell them as slaves to the white 439
men, preferably to places at some distance from the peninsula, such as the Dutch islands of Aruba and Curaçao, Zulia in Venezuela, or the Magdalena department of Colombia. The Indians deal in slaves among themselves; they also sell them to the white men and these, too, traffic in them among themselves.

Legally, a slave sold to a white person should become free, but in reality the owner of the *hacienda* treats him as a serf, branding his own mark on him, depriving him of his clan name and giving him his own. To sell a prisoner into slavery is not always to hear the last of him; for some have escaped from the Dutch islands, stowing away on boats, and on their return have exacted vengeance. It is not easy for hacienda slaves to escape. They are often hunted like animals.

There was a considerable sale of young girls to the whites, 548
a scandalous traffic. In Indian territory this was mainly in 567
the hands of quasi-chiefs, generally mestizos and other half-breeds with no right to the title, who cleverly saw how to exploit the Guajiro laws to earn a lot of money. The Guajiro customary law was never intended to apply to export.

The monks were the chief opponents of the slave-traffic. 567
They received a special grant from the government of 648
Colombia to enable them to purchase the freedom of slave children. The white men made no distinction between slave

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567 and slave-worker, whichever they bought, they treated
alike. In times of famine, so-called recruiting-agents, usually
648 half-breeds, appeared on the scene and bought up workers for the haciendas. Even those Creoles who were not directly engaged in this shameful traffic considered slavery a phenomenon about which there was nothing to be done. After all it was an ancient institution. Slave-workers with Creoles never became free, unless they could manage to escape, for the Creoles did not respect the Guajiro law according to which a slave-worker's servitude ceases when he has paid his debt. Those white people, mestizos or mulattos who had bought slave-workers saw to it that they never got away once they had put their clan mark to a contract, the purport of which they did not understand.

The central chain of hills, Sierra de Jarará, and Maicao in
567 the western low country, were usually accounted the centre
797 of this slave traffic. If a poor man stole a bullock or a goat to feed himself and his family, he was often punished by being sold as a slave-worker—having nothing with which to pay the owner compensation.

The monks are needed there all right. They calculated that during the five years they had been working there, some
[563] three thousand slaves had been sold. In the old days the Guajiro also had negro slaves, as is apparent from Antonio Julian's description of the country written at the end of the eighteenth century. According to him, the Indians used to
[439] obtain firearms, spirits, wine and slaves in Rio Hacha, in exchange for their pearls. The pearl fishery was entirely in the Indians' hands. Elsewhere, negro slaves were bartered for pearls from boats lying off the coast. Antonio Julian expressed concern at the fact that with the addition of negroes and negresses not only would the Indians increase in numbers, but also that they would acquire an additional population of mulattos, mestizos and zambos, who would make common cause with them and make them 'even more terrible, insolent and difficult to conquer'.

When he visited the peninsula he was met by a chief who was attended by two negro slaves, splendidly got up, like lackeys, and that obviously impressed him greatly.

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The eldest monk at the station, Father Crispin, had a lot to tell us of the slave trade and of his travels on the peninsula. 567 797

The monks and nuns live in a state of constant nervous tension. That saps their strength, as does the constant anxiety about supplies, the heat and the monotonous diet: goat's meat, maize and dried fish.

'You age quickly here,' said Father Salvador, who was himself proof of that.

We attended mass in the primitive little church there. Father Salvador preached with true Spanish eloquence. He was said to have been an officer in a crack regiment, and sometimes when he gave orders to the Indian boys, you could see that that was so. There, in the dark little mud church, he preached a sermon that only a few understood, but a crowd of Indian children knelt and listened and some half-naked grown-ups watched inquisitively from the door, as did three heretics from the distant north. 797

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CHAPTER 6

Indiscreet Investigation

123 THAT heading really describes our activities during the next few weeks, while we travelled round among the Indians of Macuira, visiting them in their ranchos and questioning them about all sorts of things. The Indians were not at all self-conscious and gladly and frankly told us all [648] we wished to know. They had not been bullied by white people, as so many other Indians have, and we took care not to make fun of their customs. Because of that, they had no inhibitions. The monks assured us that on the whole we should be able to make the acquaintance of the Indians in more peaceful conditions in the Macuira Hills than elsewhere in the peninsula. They had put it about that we belonged to quite a different clan from the Creoles, which our appearance seemed to confirm, and they thought that it would never occur to the Indians to avenge themselves on us, if one of them had been insulted by a white person somewhere else. Of course, we ought to be careful, they added, and promised to give us a reliable servant. The snug little whitewashed hut in which we lived was to be at our disposal as long as we remained in Macuira. From it we could go off for trips of a few days, as it suited us, and so get to know the whole area.

115 We got our servant, an unusually nice Guajiro called Francisco who had often travelled with Father Crispin. Francisco was peace-loving, but not at all afraid of his fellow Indians. That was a great advantage. In dealing with primitive peoples you must always keep calm, especially when they appear aggressive.

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Francisco's blood was slightly mixed, but, of course, he followed his Indian mother's clan and bore the name Ipuana. This clan's symbol is the hawk. Francisco was married and his wife belonged to the Dog clan, Jayariyú Their children were thus called Jayariyú, and Francisco was not even of the same family, though no one doubted his paternity. 115 [614]

Francisco served us well on our journeys. He was not especially quick-witted, but he was certainly not a simpleton. He suited us well in Guajira, for he knew both the country and the people; later, when we came to parts that he did not know, he was a little out of his depth.

Francisco's wife, Anita—the nuns had called her that—used to help my wife in our hut, and glad we were to have her, for primitive housekeeping involves much hard labour. Anita had a sweet young sister, who had not yet acquired a christian name. She was called Chinca. She had no real business in our hut, but she used to come sometimes and lounge in the doorway, looking rather fetching. We noticed, however, that after each of Chinca's visits something was missing. These were not valuable things, it is true, for we did not leave those lying about, but match boxes used to disappear and occasional packets of oatmeal. Although we still had plenty of the latter and Chinca was good to look at and welcome to stand in our doorway—we thought we would teach her not to steal. We filled an empty oatmeal packet with hay and sand and laid it conveniently within reach. Chinca came and went again, and the packet went too. A few minutes later Chinca came rushing back, flung the packet on to the floor and cursed us up hill and down dale in her own expressive tongue. We could not help roaring with laughter; a thief who goes back to those he has robbed and curses them because the stolen goods have not been to his liking! Anita begged our forgiveness on her sister's behalf: 115 685

'After all, she is a heathen and does not know better.'

'And you, Anita, do you never steal?'

'Not now. I am Christian. But when I was a heathen, ah! then I stole such a lot.'

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115 And her eyes shone at the recollection of the now for-
685 bidden pleasures of her girlhood.

When I went on trips in the surrounding country I
124 usually had Francisco with me and often my wife. Anita had then to be ready to feed us when we came home, whether it were the same day, or the next, or three days later. In such things Indian women have patience. They know how to wait, and they are never surprised.

We began our exploration of the brown hills and green
124 valleys of Macuira with a long trip on foot. Laboriously
556 we waded through the fine sand. This is almost firm when it is damp, but it was then the dry season and the sand was loose. We were going to visit relatives of Francisco, simple people, but not actually poor. To us who had already had a certain amount to do with Indians, it was a surprise to find ourselves dealing in such categories as 'rich', 'poor', 'well-to-do', etc., just as though we were concerned with white people. Among all other Indians the difference in economic status between individuals had been relatively insignificant, as, presumably, it had been among the Guajiro before they took to herding cattle.

133 The Indians we were to visit lived in a beautiful place, just on the fringe of a watered valley between purple brown heights, with the peak of Ituhor dominating the landscape. The valley was like a green Bengal fire against its parched
342 background. There were two huts, built of cactus wood and with roofs of the same material. They were saddle-backed and linked by a wall, which acted as a shield against the wind, that there always blows in the same direction. In front of this wall, that is between the two houses, were the
[410] fires. Round about were shelves covered with grass and erected on four poles. The Creoles call these *trojas*. You can sit under them and be out of the sun, and cooking utensils and stores can be kept on them out of reach of animals.
[352] Here and there were hammocks stretched between poles stuck in the ground, and there were other poles used in the all but daily butchering of a goat or sheep. Round these there were dark patches on the ground.

123 Having Francisco with us we were naturally well re-
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ceived. They brought out stools carved with animals' heads and tails for us to sit on, and then four young men hastened to entertain us with music. I had happened to ask about musical instruments and it appeared that we had come to a musical family. They all played the flute, which there was usually small, of reed or wood, and ornamented with carved figures. There was also a larger flute which had a mouthpiece and reed, like a child's trumpet, and a calabash at the other end. This instrument buzzed and droned like a bumble-bee. It was extraordinary. It did not seem a South American instrument at all. In fact, it was quite simply an offshoot of the eastern snake-charmer's flute, which I had seen in Morocco. How had it got to America? Perhaps through the Moors. The early Spanish discoverers had Moorish slaves and servants with them, and, as we shall see, this flute was not the only indication of Moorish influence.

Guajira is often called the Arabia of South America, because it too is an arid peninsula with a population largely consisting of nomad herdsmen. In the distance a Guajiro caravan looks thoroughly eastern, and who knows from whom the Guajiros' forefathers acquired their knowledge of how to ride and to rear cattle?

Not wishing to spoil the concert, I said nothing of all this. I myself am quite unmusical, but my wife gave the performers full marks. The pieces had names that suited the setting: 'The Little Goat seeks its Mother', 'The Horses are driven Home', 'By the rippling Water'. The four also sang. To European ears their singing was considerably less attractive than the music, but the words were often poetical and lovely. 'The little goat laments and says: the water that I drink is salt and salt are the plants I have to eat. And just as it begins to drizzle, the little goat's salt tears fall along with the other drops upon the salt ground.' In that perhaps was a little too much salt, but it was typically Guajiran. Even a goat can get too much of what others seek so avidly elsewhere.

They showed us other musical instruments: a drum that was played for dancing and a whistle made of calabash, intended for signalling. One of the four also produced a

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123 musical bow. It was quite small. He held one end between
534 his lips and struck the strings with a stick. If the reed-flute was introduced by the Moors in those early days, the musical bow must have come with negro slaves. Stringed instruments were not known in South America before the arrival of the white man. The Indians knew nothing of all that, but neither of these two originally foreign instruments were used in their rites, which supports the conclusion that they were introduced late.

123 The concert was interrupted by the women announcing that a meal awaited us. This began with the oily, somewhat
262 nauseous berries which the Creoles call olives. We did not
264 like their taste and never did more than just sample them. We had also heard that they might be injurious. The main dish—one could almost say, naturally—consisted of boiled dried goat's meat, the standard fare in the peninsula, and we were given water that also tasted of goat—we preferred not to know why.

251 In Guajira it is possible to dry meat in the sun without salting it, providing you cut it in strips and remove all bone. In moister parts of the Caribbean countries meat has to be properly salted before it can be preserved by drying, but in the dry air of Guajira that can be dispensed with. Salt, too, is a thing of which they have more than enough.

123 Having four young men present, I thought I would arrange a competition for marksmanship with bow and
526 arrow and with a sling. The prizes were an empty biscuit tin, a handkerchief and a needle. These were all desirable things and the contestants did their best. The fourth received a Swedish ten öre piece as consolation prize.

411 I took the opportunity to take a closer look at their weapons. The bows were powerful and had round sections; the arrows had iron heads shaped like a lancet. An old man said that in the old days the heads used to be made of bamboo. Some of the arrows, those intended for smaller birds, had blunt points made of wood or wax. The quarry was meant to be stunned by the force of the impact. They showed us arrows equipped with cross-pieces to prevent them becoming lost when used in the scrub. The cross-

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piece made the arrow stick in a bush, instead of piercing through it. Other arrows were really harpoons. The head was fastened to the shaft by a string wound round it; it loosened on impact, and the shaft with its cross-piece stuck in the bush, preventing the wounded animal from escaping. One of the youths shot arrows that whistled when they flew through the air. The sound was made by a small hollow seed-case fixed to the shaft. I asked about poisoned arrows and after some hesitation, they produced one, the only one they had. They would not part with it. 411

Here, at last, was one of the notorious poisoned arrows for which both the Indians themselves and the white men entertained the greatest respect. As usual with South American arrows, this one was made of a light reed shaft, into which was stuck a plug of wood to which the actual head was fastened. This consisted of the tail-barb of a sting-ray. The early conquerors of this part of South America encountered Indians who used arrows with heads made of fish-spines. The point of these arrows is roughly four inches long; it is thin and narrow and has fine barbs. It is stuck into the wooden plug, which is split vertically, and secured with a binding of thread. The Indians showed us how easily it became detached. The barbs made it difficult to pull out, and they said that it often broke off, leaving a piece in the wound. [825]

Sting-rays are not uncommon in the lagoons of the border areas of Guajira, and during the rains they are to be found everywhere. They follow the rivers up from the sea and seem to like shallow water, where they lie treacherously buried in the mud of the bottom. If you tread on one, it gives you a very nasty sting. Are they poisonous? Some people say that they are. Some travel writers of the present day have tried to give their readers that impression, but it is not correct. The wound, however, is painful and difficult to heal. It becomes easily infected, which is due to the membranes adhering to the sting. That is what the well-known toxicologist who made an exhaustive examination of my Guajiro arrows when I returned home stated. He pointed out that the sting-ray is also found in the Mediterranean, 136 136 411

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136 and that one classic Greek author says that Odysseus him-
411 self died as the result of a thrust from a spear which had a ray's sting for a head. If that were the case, the head must have been poisoned, or else there was infection. The sting of the Mediterranean ray is not poisonous in itself. Guajiro arrows, however, are poisoned with a grey-yellow substance
411 adhering to the head. The Indians carefully removed the reed case protecting the head and showed me the poison. I asked what the stuff was made of, but they did not know. That, they said, was the secret of the piaches, the medicine men; and they also said that they did not even know where the arrows came from, nor who prepared the poison. Francisco later assured us that they were telling the truth. Poisoned arrows were rare nowadays, he said, and difficult to come by. I told him to inquire about such arrows everywhere, and that I should gladly pay well for them. This he did, and I had got quite a little collection before I left Guajira. It is now priceless. The manufacture of poisoned arrows seems to have ceased a few years later.

The accounts of the Indians and white people agreed that no effect of the poison was felt until some days later; the wounded person had violent attacks of cramp which quickly caused death. The wound made by the brittle point was not serious in itself and never mortal, which made the effects of it seem all the more mysterious and fateful.

Celedon, a priest who wrote a description of the arrows in the nineteenth century, and several later writers, have said that the poison is prepared by pounding poisonous creatures, snakes, frogs, spiders and ants to a pulp, which is allowed to lie and rot. Eventually the pulp is boiled, and all sorts of precautions are taken, the preparation of poison being generally considered a hazardous undertaking. The details these writers give of all the poisonous animals used would seem to be apocryphal. The Indians like telling fantastic stories about the arrows, and even the early conquerors were regaled with them. However, if a mass consisting of rotting animal remains is thoroughly boiled there cannot be any live bacteria left to cause an infection, and as long as there was an interval before the 'poison' took

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effect, it must have been a case of infection. The idea of animal pulp as poison for arrows dates back to the time of the conquistadores and the same tale has been repeated right up to our own day. 411

Examination of the substance on the poisoned arrows that I took back with me revealed that there were no animal remains to be seen under the microscope, despite all the talk of snakes and frogs, but there were vegetable fibres. Experiments on animals showed that frogs and mice reacted in the same way as people wounded by the arrows, dying after a while with symptoms similar to those of lock-jaw. Bacteriological examination resulted in the discovery of the spore and bacilli of tetanus. The astounding conclusion was that those wounded were simply infected with tetanus. The stuff on the arrow heads was dry and old, but the bacilli were evidently still active.

No other dangerous or poisonous components could be found; so it was obvious that the Indians somehow or other had managed to put something into the stuff that caused tetanus. This, it was considered, could not have been fortuitous, but must have been deliberate, since the effect was always the same. The Indians had told me, too, that lock-jaw was common in certain parts, and you had to be careful.

The Guajiros' bacteria-arrows, if we may call them that, were thus a weapon that did not have an immediate effect. The brittle arrowhead merely inflicted a painful wound, which normally would not incapacitate the person receiving it. These arrows were used, therefore, when a cruel revenge was to be exacted, the wounded person knowing that, inevitably, he would die in torment. That is the refinement of malice. A bullet is much more merciful. The expert who examined the arrows wrote: 'One must admit that the Guajiro arrows are made with satanic ingenuity.' The thin head with its delicate barbs easily breaks off and remains in the wound. It is mixed with a stuff that causes a disease which kills in a few days through painful attacks of cramp.

It would appear that the poisoned arrows came from the Cojoro Hills. At least several Indians stated that that was

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so. One writer says that an old woman from those hills claimed to know how the arrows were poisoned. Otherwise, she said, only the Cusina knew the secret. That seems most doubtful, for the Cusina brigands are neither a class nor a clan which might possess special secrets, but merely a collection of outlawed criminals. There were many indications that they made considerable use of poisoned arrows and that they were firmly convinced of their efficacy. Even if death had been inflicted already by other means, they usually shot their victims with poisoned arrows as well, as an additional safeguard against their escaping. The Cusina and Cojoro Hills belong to the same complex.

The old woman in the Cojoro Hills said that the secret in the Cusina's way of preparing the arrows was a human sacrifice. A small boy was taken to a lonely place, where he was killed and some of his blood taken. This was later cooked and the arrows dipped in it. The old woman's account made this ritual murder even more gruesome, in that it made the boy's father the executioner. Of course, in Guajira a father has quite a different relationship to his children to that we know, being scarcely accounted in the same family, yet even from the Indian point of view, that must seem cruel. It would be different if the child were one who had been captured in war or bought as a slave.

There is no confirmation of the old woman's statement and it may well have been invented. There are many legends about these poisoned arrows. The woman's account does not mean that the arrows were poisoned by means of the sacrifice, merely that their strength was increased. Blood is always a magical element. If such rites really took place, that would surely point to an African influence brought by runaway negro slaves. The old woman's story, however, scarcely explains how the poison contained tetanus germs. Simmons, the traveller to whom she gave that account of what happened, also said that the poisoned arrows, *imard*, were sold by the Cusina, who asked eight *varas*, or ten yards, of cotton cloth for twenty-four. How these tetanus arrows were made remains a mystery that, perhaps, may never be solved.

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I have had to anticipate to tell how the secret of the 574
arrows' effect was discovered. Let me now go back to
where we were sitting on our stools talking with the
Indians. It was late in the day and Francisco suggested that
we should stay the night and go on at daybreak to another
place where lived some prosperous Indians who had
many materials and earthenware vessels. They had ham-
mocks that we could borrow. It was a good suggestion
and our hosts were more than agreeable. They wanted to
vacate one of their huts, but we preferred to sleep in one
of their open sheds. It was cool and, being tired, we fell
asleep while the Indians were still sitting round the fire.

We were awakened by plaintive singing. It was still night. 765
The Guajiro are excessively early risers. In the tropics you
become accustomed to getting up at daybreak, but there 511
on the peninsula everybody woke at three o'clock, when 513
there were still a couple of hours of darkness left. Three
o'clock was even a suitable visiting-hour. They liked to take
advantage of the coolest part of the day, which was from
three to six in the morning. The singing came from the big 765
hut beside us. It was followed by a spoken rigmarole. The
whole was as dreary as a funeral mass, and the voice was an
old woman's. I discovered that it was a sort of pagan morn-
ing prayer for the children, used all over Guajira, in which
an old woman recalled the memory of departed relations.
If any of these had been killed and left unavenged, she
would not neglect to remind the children of the fact and
point out the guilty person. It ended with yet another
wailing song.

What the old woman told them about their ancestors
and injuries received was impressed upon the children's
minds by hearing it repeated every morning in this way. [628]
Thus is a blood feud perpetuated from generation to
generation.

We made ourselves porridge and took our departure as 123
day was breaking, Then we tramped on through the sand
to the next rancheria. There only the women were at home,
but as it is the women who make the things we wished to
see, that suited us quite well. The huts were larger than 342

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those we had left, but just as simple. Inside were hammocks slung this way and that. Along the walls were carrying-nets filled with things, and earthenware vessels lay scattered about the floor of hard-trodden sand. Some of these vessels were grey, others reddish-brown, some had necks and handles. One was an obvious imitation of a Dutch liqueur jar. It was not far to Puerto Estrella, to which schooners from the Dutch islands came.

Most of the earthenware vessels had red decoration. Some, with wavering lines, were obviously the work of the oldest of the women, who was frail and almost blind; but there was no fault in the shape of the vessel. The woven cloths were hung up in a special shelter. The warp hung vertical and ran like an endless belt over an upper and a lower pole. Several related tribes, members of the Aruak family, use the same method. When the cloth is finished, it forms a ring, and is then cut up.

They were working on a man's belt or sash. The everyday belt was only a couple of inches wide, but sashes intended for more solemn occasions were some eighteen inches broad and very colourful. They used red, yellow, black and white yarn and the pattern was most interesting. Ceremonial cloaks are also woven for the men, just as colourful as the sashes, but, to my sorrow, I was never able to acquire a really fine specimen. They were simply too expensive. The rich chiefs collected them, but custom decreed that they must be wrapped in all their cloaks when they died, which meant that none were inherited. The men's everyday cloaks I have already described; they pulled them on and then twisted them so that their chest was bared. The women's dress was considerably more Spartan: it was a wide tunic, made like a sack with holes for the head and arms, and dyed black with divi-divi or brown with stuff from some other plant. Their loin-cloth only became visible when they were working in the shade or indoors and removed their tunics. It too was black or undyed. They themselves thought that there was no call to use a nice patterned cloth for underclothes. Little girls often had patterned loin-cloths, but then they did not wear tunics

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until they reached marriageable age. Even when they were 291
little they wore belts of seed pearls which were added to
with the years, and other strings of beads were put round [301]
their shoulders and across their chests. A girl of eight or
ten might carry fifteen or twenty pounds weight of beads
and pearls. The string round the waist was made of black
beads, but those on the upper part of the body had to be of
different colours.

The rich used gold and coral. Necklaces of gold beads 301
were traditional, but every other bead had to be black and [556]
be either a seed-pearl or of glass. Poor girls used plaits of
cotton threads on their torsos instead of strings of beads.
All who could, wore sandals with pompoms to protect [241]
their feet against the thorns on the ground.

Women slaves and slave-workers were often not given 291
protective tunics by their masters and therefore went about 567
perpetually half-naked. Being unable to protect themselves
from the sun, they become darker skinned than the others.

The women's dress was thus colourless—unless they had 302
bought some coloured cloth from a white trader. To make
up for this, they painted their faces with patterns, mostly
using the violet dye of a fruit called *genipa*. The men [386]
painted themselves too, but restricted this to a few lines.
Only the women took real pains about painting themselves.
It was mainly their faces they painted, but on occasion their
arms and legs could also be covered with patterns. When on
a journey, the women painted their noses and cheeks all
over with black or red paint. This was not done for the [75]
sake of appearance, but to protect themselves against sun-
burn. We tried the method ourselves and found it excellent.
If one did not follow the Indians' example there, one easily
got badly burned. The Indians regard this protective effect [789]
as supernatural—all paint is magical and the pattern has
secret significance. The women showed my wife red and
brown powders that they had and advised her to try them.

All at once the women were in a hurry. They had 881
remembered that the men were due and hastened to the fires
and their pots. We roamed around and came across a small
hut, entirely closed, standing just behind the big houses.

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Chief Mauana

Mauana's daughter, ceremonially painted, beside her mule

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[facing p. 80]

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88 Francisco whispered to me that there was a girl in there. She had been shut up ever since the first signs of womanhood had appeared and would stay there a long time, emerging in due course pale and beautiful. While shut up she was called *majayura*.

The girl was not supposed to show herself to outsiders, but we dangled knives and glass beads and she was allowed out to be photographed. As long as a girl is confined, her family may not see her. She is guarded by an old woman, a near relative, and it was she we bribed—to let us take the picture.

When a girl first menstruates, she at once tells her mother or other close female relative. She is then given an emetic so that she rids herself of any food she ate before she became a woman. The implication being, one imagines, that she also rids herself of all childish ideas, vomiting them up. Then her hair is cut off, and she is rolled naked in a tunic and laid in a hammock that is hoisted up to the roof at the back of the hut. There she must lie, fasting, for three or four days, while an elderly woman relative keeps watch over her. [832] Often an amulet that will make men like her is placed beside her in the hammock. She has to lie motionless and neither scratch nor spit; these could have a deleterious effect.

News of the event has now gone out to relations and others, and everyone turns up wearing their finery, painted and ornamented. Cattle are butchered and they dance the so-called *chichamaya*. Sometimes there are horse-races as well. After some days the girl is allowed to leave her ham- [271] mock and is washed with water that has been put out in the dew, which is considered to give a light complexion. She may now begin eating small quantities of maize gruel and other prescribed foods. Then she is shut up in the little hut or in a separate part of the larger dwelling-house, but at all events hidden from the world. Not infrequently the little hut is built as part of the greater.

[832] The girl's guardian sees that she drinks certain decoctions of herbs intended to develop her physically, so that she is to the taste of Guajiro men.

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Work-hut with wary set up for a man's sash

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The thin Indian dogs licked the last out of the pot

Below: *Indian chiefs, in ceremonial clothes, on their way to a* purchi

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[Facing p.81]

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How must a girl look to find favour with them? She must 832
be tall, broad-hipped and have firm prominent breasts and well-rounded curves. Flabbiness the men do not like, but they do not seem to worry about the shape of their women's legs. These, of course, are hidden beneath the wide tunic, but the wind sweeps this against them, outlining them. It is fortunate for the Guajiro women that their men do not attach importance to the shape of their legs, for they are seldom lovely. To our eyes they seem too short and badly shaped. The men attach much importance to gentle, dignified behaviour. The Guajiro girl should have large eyes and good teeth, but the most important thing of all is that she should be light-skinned; that is the hall-mark of gentility. No girl ever neglects her beauty decoctions, not even when [302] she is in the charge of the nuns at the mission station and thus not isolated as the rule is at home. The rules she has to observe and the medicines she must take are of importance not only for her appearance, but also for her physique. If she follows her instructions, she will give birth without difficulty and there will be no risk of the baby being still- [845] born. Her mother and her family are held to be partially responsible if the first-born dies in or after birth, for that means that on some point the complicated rules governing the girl's period of incarceration have been neglected.

A girl is by no means idle while she is shut up; quite 881
the contrary. She spins and weaves industriously, under 868
supervision of the old woman, and learns the details of housekeeping and how to prepare different foods. Actually she will know most of this already, having taken a more or less active part in the work of the household ever since she was able to walk. She also receives instruction in how to behave, is initiated into the duties incumbent upon a housewife, what she must do as spouse and mother, in the various aspects of married life and in the mysteries of sex.

No man is allowed to enter the girl's little hut, and she 881
is not allowed to meet men, receive visitors or be with her 581
family, if visitors come. When the guardian considers that the girl can be let out, usually after a year or two—the news spreads quickly and guests start to come with or without

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881 invitation. Again cattle are butchered, and there is drinking
584 and dancing and horse-racing. Numbers of men come to see if they would like to put themselves forward as suitors. The more eminent guests are received in the house itself, and the girl is now present. Her shorn hair has grown and been trimmed to a page-boy cut, and she wears her best clothes
[754 and new ornaments. She hides her hair clippings carefully
826] in a bag, for she does not want to risk anyone getting hold of them and using them to acquire power over her by the arts of magic. Later, she will secretly bury them under a
[789 cow pat. That will help to increase her herds. The droppings
514] of various animals play a great part in the magic of the Guajiro, and it would seem that there is negro influence here as well.

881 The girl has now been born again—she is a new person, a woman. She knows all that an adult woman needs to know and can do everything that a wife and mother should be able to do. Pale and lovely, she steps out into life once more and inquisitive young men swarm round her. The rich give a big feast, the poor provide simpler fare, but it is always a great occasion.

[582] A Guajiro man will never marry a girl before she has undergone this period of confinement, which means that people seldom marry too early. It is said that in the old days
[595 rich old men with several wives sometimes bought little
831] poor girls as concubines, believing that that would enhance their virility.

The girl's long segregation is intended to protect her from the supernatural dangers that are thought to threaten her, especially during this sensitive period of transition from childhood to womanhood. The girl can also be dangerous to others through being exposed to attack by spirits. It is only practical that during this period she should practise handicrafts.

262 Going back to the house, we found the women at the fires, which there were protected by special small cactus
[354] screens. There was no need to have them under a roof at that time of the year, only to shelter them from the wind. The pots stood over the fire supported on three stones.

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They were of black earthenware ornamented with figures. 252
The women were making maize gruel. There, close to the green valleys, they ought to have been able to get any [262] vegetables or roots they liked, yet they clung to their diet of maize and goat's meat. They had obviously put the pots on because they expected the men, and sure enough a 492 couple of naked horsemen came galloping up, so at one with their horses that they looked like centaurs. The Guajiro Indians can be born on a horse in the literal sense, if their mothers have to be on a journey at the time. They look well on horseback, and even the old men rode well. [142] The younger men were muscular and well-made, and more pleasing to our eye than the women.

The men had been out enjoying themselves. They had 224 been hunting and their clan mark was painted in blue on 614 their thighs. They must have done that to amuse themselves 304 before they left, for normally both men and women have 302 their clan marks tattooed.

We asked the men what they had hunted with, for they 224 carried neither bows nor firearms, and also what they had 411 hunted, for they did not seem to have got anything. They laughed and explained that they had had no luck, and showed us slings of plaited bast. They had been out after doves or rabbits, but had seen nothing. (The Creoles call the animal in question a rabbit, but its Latin name is *Sylvilagus cunanicus*.) They showed us the short throwing clubs with which they hunted this and made some practice throws. They were expert at hitting the target with both club and sling, but only at distances of twenty to thirty yards.

A youth showed us a whistle that he said would unfail- 224 ingly entice a deer if you blew it—provided there was a deer nearby, as he hastened to add. Judging by the expression on the women's faces he was no famous hunter. A 439 couple of men also arrived and we were able to think of doing business. We had no difficulty in buying what we wanted, provided we paid well. Prices were our great difficulty, yet these men were less spoiled than elsewhere in the peninsula. The Guajiro not only trafficked with the

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The Guajiro not only trafficked with the
439 whites, but they did a lively trade with each other, using
436 cattle as their currency. Thanks to this there was a form of incipient specialization. Pottery and weapons were the main articles of trade. The rich bought those made by specially
556 skilled craftsmen, who made so much money that they con-
463 centrated largely on producing things to sell. The poor had to make all their own things. Everywhere there were people who could weave and spin, and make pottery, but those who could afford it liked to buy what was best and loveliest.

We wanted to buy articles in general use, but the irritating thing was that the rich did not need to sell and only did so if it amused them, or if they got an especially good price; while the poor had nothing to sell. Those who made these articles as a craft liked to use materials bought from the whites. In the old days they used to weave their textiles of homespun cotton thread dyed with vegetable dyes; now they not infrequently bought dyed woollen yarn from the whites, but in that remote part of the peninsula they had not yet begun to do so. We saw that they had plenty of hammocks made of bast and cotton yarn. These were larger and more comfortable than was usual and were made with a different technique. The hammock is the genuine Indian
513 bed, invented in the jungles of South America before the white man ever came there, and has the advantage of being easy to take about and cool to lie in, while the sleeper is protected from all the unpleasant and dangerous insects of the ground.

Throughout the journey we had slept in hammocks—you have to get used to them before you find them comfortable—as long as there was somewhere to hang them. We now told the Indians that we wanted proper hammocks, the kind they themselves used, for we had bought ours from the whites. That started the bargaining.

There was seldom any question of buying for cash—they
439 did not have much confidence in the white man's money—
436 so we had to barter for what we wanted. We soon discovered that apart from our knives, the Indians undervalued all our goods. If we had not had a large case of knives we would never have managed to assemble the collections

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we wanted to make. After knives, maize was the best 439
medium of exchange, and we could buy that from the monks 436
as long as we used the mission station as our headquarters, but once we went further afield we were not able to carry any to use for barter. Cloth was also in demand. We had a couple of bales of the white material the Indians usually bought. Unfortunately we had not been able to get the best barter commodity of all: tuma beads. These are large polished stone beads of different sizes made of cornelian and other stones, for all of which the Guajiro has special names. Tuma beads are found in old Indian graves, especially in and around Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, [172] though these graves are also said to exist in Guajira. However, it was not advisable, we were told, to try and prove that or to embark on archaeological excavations. To do so might easily lead to trouble.

Later we made a rich find of tuma beads in graves in Sierra Nevada, but then we were not able to go back to Guajira. The richer Indians especially valued tuma very highly and often paid as much as a horse for one bead. We could not have used anything as precious for our small deals, but they would have been useful for getting riding and pack-animals. As it was we bought a couple of hammocks and some earthenware vessels.

One must be careful not to do a Guajiro over a deal. That 439
can involve one in difficulties and a claim for damages. It goes without saying that, in the Indians' view, it was we who came off second best, and we would not have had it otherwise.

We took leave of our hosts feeling slightly guilty because 800
of that photograph which was a secret between us, the girl and her guardian, but also satisfied with our first expedition in Macuira. We loaded a donkey with our purchases which an Indian drove direct to Nazaret, for we were to make a detour in order to visit another rancho. The sand made very heavy going and we decided for the future we would ride, especially as we should be going further afield.

As soon as we drew near the next rancho, we realized that something was afoot. We could hear a buzz of voices

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and shrieks. Francisco put on a spurt and got there ahead of us; then he turned and called to us:

'Hurry, there's a child being born!'

He pointed to our camera, evidently thinking that that was an event to be filmed.

844 The Indians consider childbirth a natural function that does not need to be hidden. It often takes place in the presence of the entire household, even of children, and if neighbours arrive, they can be present too. Even intimate [833] marital acts take place quite openly, to the amazement and [834] embarrassment of a white person. We thought it best for my wife to go in to the woman in labour, while we sat and talked with the grandfather, who was sitting by himself by the fire. Soon some children came and joined us, having evidently been sent away from the scene of the birth, where something apparently had gone wrong. Now they could look their fill at two white men instead.

The old grandfather was talkative. He told us how the [591] eldest son must always come into the world with the wife's family. There, too, a newly married couple live for the first year. If they are staying elsewhere, the husband takes his wife to her parents' home when the child is expected. [843] For a long time she will have been taking various decoctions of herbs and observed certain precautionary measures and rules intended to influence the birth favourably. The wife's family is responsible that all will go well. Should the child or mother die, the man has the right to demand damages of his wife's family. On the other hand, said the old man, the second child is born in the father's family, and they must take the risk. Subsequent children can be born in the couple's own home.

843 A pregnant woman must keep away from funerals, graves and anything to do with death, and it is very important [825] that she takes care not to catch sight of a snake. Snakes have a bad influence on parturition. Under no circumstances may a husband kill a snake while his wife is pregnant. A child is a weak, defenceless being and exposed to attack by dangerous spirits. There is an intimate connection between the father and the child, and what the father does is of

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importance. Thus, while the child is on the way, he must not 843
hunt with firearms, but only with bow and arrow. If he [224]
goes on a journey of any length after the child has come into
the world, he must lay his saddle-girth round the babe or
put his foot on its chest before he leaves. If he forgets to
do that one can lay a pair of his old sandals on its breast.

If the first-born dies, it is feared that the others will do 766
the same. The baby is placed head down in an urn with a 844
lid and buried beneath a certain kind of tree. The mother
often has to undergo another period of confinement, it
being thought that all the rules had not been observed
during her real period of puberty, and that that had an un-
favourable effect on childbirth. If all the instructions are
not observed, there is danger that the other children will
also die.

My wife came back and told us that the child was born 844
and all had gone well. It was the third child. The woman had
lain on her back on the ground with legs straddled, and
they had strewn a thick layer of fine sand under her crotch,
so that the babe should land softly. An aunt of the woman's
helped her, and her husband was there and helped to lift
her and hold her during the final pains. The mother was
now to keep quiet for a few days and, above all, not expose
herself to the sun.

The old man explained that the rich let their women rest 846
for weeks after giving birth, living on maize gruel and [556]
light food, while poor mothers have to go out and work as
usual straight away. The child has the breast in the evening 853
when the mother goes to bed; at three in the morning when
everyone gets up, and occasionally during the day. In the
better families the child is weaned with the help of maize
gruel and goat's milk and a female slave takes charge of it,
the mother having so many other duties. There are even
some who keep wet-nurses, he said.

Then more men appeared and a woman who sat behind 854
my wife, just outside the circle. I distributed tobacco and
conversation became lively. My wife was surprised that
Indian babies were allowed to sit upright so early. She was
told that at first the mother supports it with her hand, and

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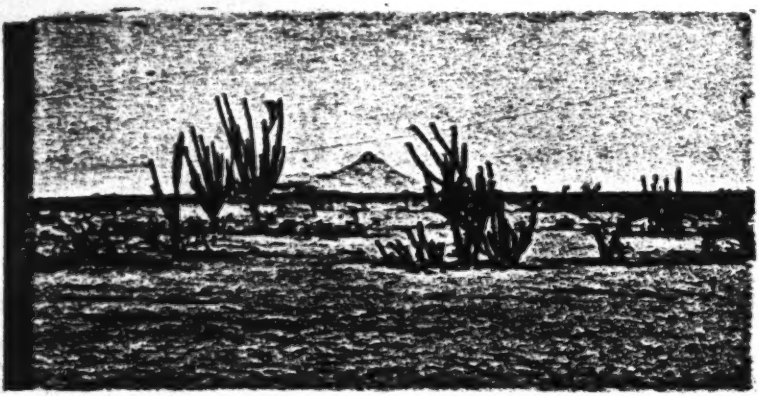

La Teta rising above the cactus steppe

Typical Guajira landscape with divi-divi trees

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854 also encourages it to crawl and walk. Indian babies can sit without help, when a white baby is still unable to raise itself. At six months the brown Indian baby is already a toddler.

868 The conversation turned on to the upbringing of children. Even in its earliest games the Indian babe imitates its parents' occupations, thus amusing itself and learning at the same time. The Indians are very careful to see that from the beginning the children learn to distinguish between the men's and women's spheres of work. An Indian father would be very indignant if he saw his baby son playing at cooking, which is not male work. Therefore the son accompanies his father to the herds even as quite an infant, while his sister will stay at home.

861 We had already noticed that children were sometimes chastized, which is not usual among other primitive Indians. The old women saw that they behaved themselves and were not disobedient. Food was rationed both for the [262] children and the grown-ups, and it was considered very shabby to pinch another's helping. To drop anything edible on to the ground was strictly punished, and the worst offence of all was for a child in anger to throw food on to the ground and trample it. Possibly this was yet another relic of Moorish custom, for in Morocco it is considered a serious crime to spill crumbs of bread. When the children became bigger they were merely scolded, but they were 604 then generally no longer under their parents' supervision, 855 but with relations with whom they spend long periods. The 868 first-born son usually grows up with his eldest maternal uncle, who is the boy's real guardian, and he teaches him cattle-rearing and agriculture and the queer laws of his people.

231 Girls also go to their mother's relations and help in the 857 household. We had already seen how a Guajiro boy had to [602] work. He had to be at it from the moment he stepped out of his hammock at three in the morning. First he and some others gathered the cattle to water them. If they were watered at a deep casimba, he had to run up and down with water-jars to fill the troughs of hollowed-out trunks. He

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milked the cows and then watched the herds, keeping a particular eye on the calves, kids and lambs, which a beast of prey might take. He also had to look out for two-legged thieves. He soon learned where pasture was best and most suitable. He could see to the cattle, knew what to do when they fell ill and how to break in horses. The older ones were expert at tracking animals that had strayed—they could do this at the age of ten. He would have made himself a bow and arrows almost as soon as he could walk and have practised with them. With these he shot edible lizards and small birds. He set snares for doves. He watched at the men's deer traps by night and he took part in the slaughter. During the rains he helped to weed his maternal uncle's plots and prepare them for sowing. If he belonged to a fisher family on the coast he had to take part in his father's trips out to sea and dive for pearls. When not otherwise occupied he made carrying-nets. 857 231 857 224 857

'Do you see those,' said the old man, pointing to some bottles and bowls of calabash rind lying on a roof drying in the sun. 'It is the young ones who make those. They scrape out the inside and then carve figures in the rind while it is fresh and soft. You want to buy them, you say? That's nothing to sell. The children will gladly give you them.' [322]

The children brought us their calabashes. They had to explain what the figures signified and naturally I gave them things in exchange.

It goes without saying that both boys and girls often have to run errands and sometimes act as nursemaid. Little girls have to learn to fetch water and look after the fire. Then they are shown how to make maize gruel and they have to practise baking maize cakes. They soon get to know all the wild and cultivated plants used in the Indian household. Then they take part in the harvest, which is the women's affair.

In those families which own many head of cattle, the sons, once they return from staying with their uncles, are often left much to themselves, for their fathers have no time for them. Their fathers neglect their upbringing and never administer physical punishment, since they risk being called 855

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855 upon to pay damages by their wives' clans if they do. They
[428] will give their sons cattle—sons do not inherit from their
[431] fathers—and these they have to look after themselves from the age of fifteen or sixteen. In the better families youths of this age are often rather wild, trying to imitate the older men, drinking more than they can take, being noisy and butting in when their elders are talking. The grown-ups take this quite calmly, pretending they are not there. 'They grow out of it,' they say.

885 The young men usually settle down when they marry. They must then stand on their own feet and assume family responsibilities.

We now had a much better idea of life in Guajira. As we
900 slowly waded through the sand back to the mission station, Gladtvet said:

'One ought to ride on camels here.'

Perhaps the Indians ought to have had camels. That would have made another reason to call the peninsula the Arabia of South America.

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CHAPTER 7

Laws with No Tablets

As we were riding through a parched and savage landscape we saw at a distance a number of mounted warriors divided into two groups, which were drawn up in semi-circles facing each other. We thought there must be some ceremony in progress and wanted to ride across. They were all magnificently got up and armed to the teeth with bows, arrows and guns. Our Indian guide stopped us. 628

'Be careful! Be careful! That is a *purchi!*'

We knew what that meant. A dispute had arisen between two clans, through someone having been offended, robbed or perhaps killed. The victim's family had asked for help and the matter was now to be settled at a meeting with the offender's clan. Damages would be demanded and paid, or there would be a fight—the start of a blood-feud. One should be careful not to get involved in that sort of thing.

These Indians have no police, no authority that dispenses justice; they have to judge and settle matters themselves with the help of their families, yet in accordance with their laws. These are curious, detailed and logical. They are, of course, unwritten, mere customary rights, but they are strictly observed and applied with the utmost consistence. Before we crossed into Indian territory, the Creoles had urged us to make ourselves acquainted with the Indians' laws, as otherwise we could get into trouble quite unwittingly. 671

Soon after seeing the purchi we met the region's most powerful chief, Mauana. We were on our way to a small rancho, when we caught sight of some Indians working on a cactus fence. We wanted to film them, and had just got 622

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our cameras up, when a plump, middle-aged Indian came rushing up and began giving the fencers orders in a stern voice. He had not noticed us.

'That's Mauana,' Francisco whispered respectfully.

Mauana was wearing only a guayuco and brow-band, which is the genuine Guajiro garb. When he saw us, he at once spoke to us in good Spanish, which not all the chiefs know, for the Guajiro cling stubbornly to their own tongue. Mauana, of course, had heard of us. He now invited us to go with him and see how he lived.

First, we came to his plantations, which many in the peninsula must have envied him. There was a green valley, one of the oases in the semi-desert, where manioc, sugar-cane and maize grew, shaded by coconut palms, mango trees and bananas. The plots were watered by narrow canals which all came from the one stream in Guajira that never ran dry.

Mauana was obviously a strict master and he ordered his slaves about like a sergeant-major, but his plantation was a model one and he was an efficient chief who maintained order in a most commendable way. Once or twice he had caught white criminals who had hidden in the hills there and sent them back to the authorities—to their great disappointment. He lived simply, as all Guajiro do, but he had an unusually well-built house that was completely roofed.

We told Mauana of the purchi we had seen, and he used this as an excuse to give us a lesson in Indian law. Such an account of the Indians' social order and laws was both amusing and interesting, and it showed how different from ours the primitive's conception of justice can be. One knows all too well what mistakes colonial authorities have made through misunderstanding the native conception of these matters, especially of the rights of ownership.

The Indians, as has already been said, are divided into clans in which relationship follows the female line. Children thus take their mothers' names. Their fathers belong to a different clan and strictly speaking are not related to them. It is their eldest maternal uncle who is their head and guardian, and it is from him, not from their father, that they

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inherit. They hold him in great respect. A man's chief heir 614
is thus his eldest nephew and he takes particular care of him. [604]
During his lifetime a well-to-do man will give his sons [428]
enough cattle to ensure that they will not be left destitute [431]
when he dies. Each clan has its name and its symbol: the jaguar, rattle-snake, king vulture, dog, etc., but this has no connection with totemism or magic. The Indians think no more of their name's meaning than we do, when people have animal names. They often joke about them.

A number of the clans are large and powerful, others small and weak, sometimes entirely dependent on one of the big clans. Those born into a big clan are fortunate, for they have power behind them and can count on support and help if they are insulted, threatened or robbed, for the members of a clan stick together whatever happens, united by the bond of blood. The same blood flows in all their veins. The Indians imagine that the human grows from a [843] drop of the mother's blood, and that the foetus feeds on the new vital fluid—for they know that menstruation ceases during pregnancy.

A man does not possess the right to dispose of his blood [752] or his life. They both belong to the clan. If he hurts himself so that blood flows he must pay damages to his clan for shedding their blood. Suicide is also punishable, though [762] not at all unusual. After an unsuccessful attempt at suicide, the clan will claim damages, even if no blood has been shed. An Indian wanting to take his own life hangs himself. Such importance is attached to the shedding of blood, that, 683
if someone strikes another and makes his nose bleed, this is 614
regarded as an aggravating circumstance and increases the compensation the victim demands. His whole clan will consider itself insulted. In fact, one can really say that an Indian only has the usufruct of his life and blood.

It is the same with the land. The land in the peninsula is 423
owned by the clans, each of which has its own defined terri- 614
tory. The cultivable areas are not large and lie round the few water-courses that are not dry during most of the year. These plantations are traditionally exploited by certain families in each clan and are inherited by the eldest nephews.

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423 614 It is, of course, only the usufruct that is inherited. The land can neither be sold nor given away, for it belongs to the clan. All members of a clan have the right to pasture their herds in the clan's territories, and every man also has the right to graze his beasts and to use wood and water in the lands belonging to his wife's clan. That is one of the advantages he acquires in return for the bride-price he has paid.

565 614 There has developed a class distinction unusual among Indians on the primitive level. A man of simple origins can sometimes marry into a high-born family, but he does not become any the better for that, though his children belong to their mother's aristocratic clan. It is, however, seldom that a man of humble family can get himself a girl from the upper classes—that could only happen if he had inherited or had relatives who could help him pay the bride-price.

583 614 This is so high that a young man almost always has to have the help of his clan to pay it. The relatives of a girl of really good family may demand £2000 worth of cattle, while a girl of humbler stock can be had for £50 worth. The amount can be paid in money, but that is only done in the south, in the areas belonging to Venezuela, where the Indians are more accustomed to coins and have confidence in gold.

It must not be imagined that this is a question of purchase like buying a donkey, a cow or a slave. It is a transaction that concerns both clans. One should not marry within one's [178] own clan. In the old days that was forbidden, but now they are not so strict, since the clans are often split into local sub-groups. The whole marriage transaction is well adapted to the social and economic system. (When, during the first oil rush, white workers from the Maracaibo oil fields bought poor girls, usually of half-breed parents, those were transactions whose legality under Guajiro law was merely fictitious.) The bridegroom's family helps him to pay the bride-price and contributes generously if the girl is of good family. The bride-price is to some extent regarded as compensation for what the family expended on the girl while she was growing up.

When a couple's first daughter marries, the father asks

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for her as much as will enable him to repay the cattle the clan laid out for him when he married. The amounts obtained for younger daughters are also distributed among the family in a certain way. Payment of the bride-price confers a number of benefits. During the first year the newly married couple usually live as the guests of the bride's family. As has been said, the husband has the right to use the land owned by his wife's clan. The bride always brings a dowry in the form of ornaments and household utensils, often of cattle as well. The husband must look after the cattle, unless, as happens, the girl's family sends its own herdsman to see to them. The bride usually provides all the furnishings of the huts, as well as materials, hammocks and other textiles. 583 614 [591]

These advantages offset the bride-price to a quite considerable extent. The husband knows, too, that his wife's relations will keep an eye on her when he is away, for if she betrays him, he can return her to her family and require refund of the bride-price and payment of compensation. Thus the bride-price also acts as a guarantee against a grass widow kicking over the traces.

If the husband does not fulfil his duties, or if he treats his wife badly, her family can take her back without returning the bride-price. After that the man will naturally get no help from his clan, if he wishes to get himself another wife. [586]

It is not always possible for the groom and his relations to pay all the bride-price immediately. In such cases it is possible to pay by instalments. The groom pays a large proportion of the price when the bride is handed over to him. If he is unable to pay the balance at the time fixed, he must give the girl back, losing what he has already paid. The girl is now less valuable in the marriage market, being second-hand, so to speak. The man is made to pay for the time he has had her and thereby makes up for the lower price she can command, if a new suitor turns up. According to this principle a seducer must pay compensation to the family of the girl he has seduced. It sometimes happens that a couple fall in love and the parents approve, but the young [684]

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292 342 796 *A chichamaya in full swing*

291 482 764 *First burial. The dead person's bier is being carried out from its shelter*

142 764 *The after-burial. A medicine man guarding the urns containing the dead person's bones*

[facing p. 96]

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583 man cannot immediately pay any worthwhile part of the
614 bride-price. The young man may then abduct the girl with the tacit consent of her parents, and thereby postpone having to pay the bride-price. After some time, the girl's relatives will require payment, but meantime his family will have been trying to scrape together at least a first instalment.

Genuine abduction does occur occasionally, but only when the man knows that the girl's clan is weak and that her relatives will thus have difficulty in claiming their rights. He will take the girl as far away as possible. If he is caught, her relatives will try to demand a bride-price. Perhaps he is already tired of the girl by then and wants to return her. She is the clan's property and is not being returned un-
583 damaged, so the man must pay damages for seduction and, if the girl is pregnant, also for childbirth.

565 In the lower classes that would dispose of the matter.
614 The baby would in any event be taken into the mother's
684 clan and have her name. In the upper classes a girl would be turned out if she had had such an accident and the considerable damages required had not been paid immediately. The clan's prestige cannot be allowed to suffer.

Indian girls never keep a seducer's name secret, but at once tell their family who he is.

Among the lower classes cases of wives eloping are said to occur. The man to whom they have gone can legalize the position by paying compensation to the husband. If the husband agrees to do a deal, he cannot ask as much as the bride-price he himself paid, for the girl is by then less valuable.

560 It follows from all this that a woman has not the right to
583 dispose of her own body. She belongs to her mother's family until she marries, and her closest relatives must be compensated for any injury done her. Once the man has paid the bride-price she becomes his property. If she is
[768] widowed, she is inherited along with the rest of his effects by his nephews (sister's sons) and she has to purchase her freedom from them, paying a sum equivalent to the bride-price less what she is held to have lost in value since mar-
riage.

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562 riage. A Guajiro woman has no right to sell her body. The [548] law does not recognize prostitution.

A married woman's relatives and clan do not leave her 562 entirely in her husband's hands. He may not do as he likes 614 with her, nor cause her suffering. Suffering and discomfort 844 she is bound to experience in childbirth, however, and of that he is the primary cause; thus whether as a result of legal or illegal relations, the man must compensate the [431] mother for her confinement by giving her family a few cattle. The woman herself may not eat their meat under any circumstances.

Originally the Guajiro clans were exogamous; members 582 were not allowed to marry within the clan. That is no 614 longer insisted upon, but not only brothers and sisters, but maternal males and cousins on the mother's side, are still reckoned among the forbidden degrees. It is unthinkable that an Indian girl should marry her maternal uncle; that would be like having her father for her husband. It once 835 happened that an uncle and niece had a secret relationship and the girl became pregnant. A monk married them, but the Indians regarded the relationship as a heinous crime and the whole district reacted so violently that the couple [626] had to leave the peninsula and go far away, where there was no risk of meeting members of their tribe.

There is nothing to prevent an Indian getting himself [595] several wives. Infrequently white men have married into 648 Guajiro families and they too have had to pay a bride-price. 582 A number of poor Creoles have contracted Guajiro marriages with poor girls. I have already mentioned how foreign oil workers made Guajiro marriages. In those early days there were no arrangements made for employees' families, and the Guajiro girls suited those primitive conditions very well, though as a rule such marriages with Indian girls were very short-lived, as those of the Creoles with them still are. The girl is soon abandoned, if that can be done without risk, the girl's family in such cases being powerless. So the Indians told me.

The monks had already told us that where Creoles had married Guajiro girls of good family, those marriages had

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A dance partner

Indian girls in their tunics

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Women on a journey, well wrapped up against the sun

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usually lasted. Here, of course, the girl's family had power and the means to check that all was well. In such marriages the husband was considered liable to provide the household equipment, as well as paying a bride-price.

If a Creole marries a Guajiro girl according to the Catholic rites there are all sorts of complications, even if he has paid the bride-price, for the European concept of the father's rights conflicts with the Indian matriarchal law. Problems of relationship and inheritance, the separation of the child from its clan and many other things all provide problems which cause the bride's family a lot of trouble. But that is enough about Indian marriage.

Since all members of a clan are of the same blood, the Indians consider themselves justified in wreaking vengeance on a near relative, if they are unable to lay hands on the actual culprit. This can give rise to a whole chain of acts of vengeance, a real vendetta. In the old days all white people were held to be of one clan, and so the Indians thought that they could avenge an injury inflicted by a white person on the first member of his clan they came across. 'To travel in Guajira is like sitting on a keg of gunpower beside a fire; you are afraid the whole time that a spark will cause a catastrophe', was what used to be said.

Guajiro law always tries to find a scapegoat, and one must remember that when having any dealings with the Indians. If I take a man into my service or merely send him on an errand, I am responsible if anything happens to him and for anything he himself may do to others all the time his mission lasts.

A mother sent her little girl on a donkey to fetch water. The girl took a playmate up on the saddle beside her. The other little girl fell off and hurt herself quite slightly, yet the family had to pay considerable damages.

A mestizo family, receiving unexpected visitors, took an Indian girl to help in the kitchen. The girl cut her finger and her family demanded compensation. After all blood had been shed. The girl was of humble family and thus no large sum could be claimed, yet according to our ideas what had to be paid was a very great deal for a mere cut:

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4 goats, 5 pigs, 15 hens, 25 skeins of yarn, 5 bars of soap (an expensive commodity) and some mirrors and handkerchiefs. 672
Employees are very well insured, it would seem. If an employee destroys anything belonging to a third party, the employer has to pay twice its value or more. One's responsibility is not confined to what persons in one's service may do, but extends to animals and inanimate objects if one lends them. If I let an Indian ride my horse and the horse throws him off, I have to pay; and if someone cuts himself on a knife belonging to me, I have to pay—for it was my knife that did it.

It can even be risky to give advice in Guajira: for if you suggest a course of action and things go wrong, you may have to pay compensation. That is why the Indians will seldom tell you the way when you ask it.

A host is responsible to his guests, even if they are self-invited. Hospitality is sacred and one cannot refuse to receive someone seeking shelter. If the guest is ill, the host looks after him as best he can, but immediately sends for one of his relations. As soon as a relative arrives the host's responsibilities cease, but if the guest should die before the relative gets there, the host is liable for damages, hard as it may seem. On the other hand, if a person suffering from an infectious disease goes to someone else's house, it is the guest who is responsible and must pay his host damages. 672 574

If two guests start fighting the host is considered jointly responsible, for if he had not invited them there would never have been a fight. If the others present do not try to avert the quarrel, they must pay up too.

Insults and calumny are contrary to the law, and it is especially serious if one reviles another's mother's family. Among themselves the Indians consider it disparaging to be addressed in Spanish, instead of in their mother tongue. 683 [578]

Every Indian has a personal name used only by his nearest and dearest. For an outsider to pronounce this calls for a heavy penalty, as it does to speak the name of someone dead. As soon as it is learned that someone has died, all those with the same name at once change it for another. The 551 683

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551 idea being that to speak the name renews the grief of the
683 dead person's relatives. An old man of the Uriana clan, who called himself Juan, died. Some time later some of his relatives were at an entertainment, at which too was a woman of the Jusuá clan with her little son. A Creole asked this woman what her little boy was called and without thinking, she replied: 'Juan'. The dead man's relatives then claimed damages because she had mentioned the dead man's name, and she had to pay them a bullock, even though it was a Spanish name. It was the reminder of their grief that had [564] to be compensated. It is also an offence to tread on an Indian's grave.

683 It is more expensive to strike a person than to insult him. One should not answer an insult with a blow, but a well-to-do Indian will not infrequently do so and gladly pay the damages. If an Indian strikes another without hurting him, he must pay nonetheless, because he has treated the other as a slave—it being only one's own slaves that one has the right to strike. If anyone tears a tunic, he must not only
685 replace it, but pay for the shame the other felt at going about in rags.

A thief, if caught, must repay several times the value of what he has stolen. Not infrequently he must pay with his life, especially if the person he has robbed is a powerful personage, as he usually is, and the thief belongs to a weak clan that cannot help his family to exact blood-money.

[567] A thief can be forced to pay by working for his victim. He
682 becomes a debtor-slave. Murder, manslaughter and being the cause of another's death are the most serious crimes. They do not have these actual categories. The penalty for manslaughter is very heavy; if agreement cannot be reached on it, it can sometimes lead to war, a war in which the enemy must either be exterminated or enslaved.

628 It is on such occasions that a purchi is held, at which you can see the groups of warriors drawn up facing each other, while a chief presides.

622 The chief is a mighty person and will have been chosen
623 for his excellent qualities, yet he is not a judge, but rather advocate and mediator. His role is as conciliator. He will

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already have talked with both parties and know their points 622
of view. One can imagine what takes place. The killer's 628
family wishing an amicable settlement: 'It is best that we do not begin a war, brothers,' says their leader. He offers reasonable compensation, paints a picture of the horrors of war, the continual fear of attack, the burning houses, the women violated and enslaved, the blood-feud continuing from generation to generation, and, by way of contrast, describes the calm of peaceful work.

The other side are spoiling for a fight. 'I am rich and need no damages. My men are brave and prepared for a fight. I wish that we measure our strength.'

If a settlement is not arrived at, a fresh meeting is arranged, and meanwhile there is a state of latent war. Even if a fine is agreed upon, peace is not restored until the fine has actually been paid. This is probably done in stages, and that is why the Creoles say that the Indians can kill each other on the instalment system.

To bring about another's death, whether intentionally or 682
unintentionally, has grave consequences for the person responsible. The fine that has to be paid is often ruinous. The homicide becomes indebted to his relatives who have to help him pay. Also, for magical reasons, he has to submit to a lengthy period of isolation and to certain restrictions which prevent him attending to his affairs and make him endure certain privations.

If a white man has killed an Indian, he should try to get 682
to safety outside the peninsula, because even if he pays a 648
fine for manslaughter, the Indians will seek his life. Three white men must die for each Indian killed, according to the old rule. They long insisted on regarding all white people [609]
as being of the one clan, though nowadays they know that they are split up into different peoples. They would now never dare extend vengeance for an injury inflicted by a native mulatto to, say, a fair-haired foreigner from the north.

The foregoing are but a few points of Guajiro law which 671
is really much more complicated than these would make it appear. The law ought really to be the same for all, but

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671 when it is a case of getting one's rights, the men of property and the members of the big clans are nowadays favoured. All this and much more Mauana and his friends told us, things it was useful and even necessary for us to know.

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CHAPTER 8

Innocence and the Fertility Dance

MAUANA invited us to visit him again, and we were glad to do so. We liked him and his oasis. Also he taught us a lot, for he was knowledgeable and intelligent, a proper chief who was not called *cacique* just out of politeness, as is the case with many rich mestizos near the border. 622

The Indians expect a great deal of their chief. He has to be an adroit negotiator, able to uphold the clan's rights and support its members. In war he is the leader who must be in the van and never yield. He must be ever hospitable, a good speaker and in every way a worthy representative. Mauana seemed to be such a chief.

Our only means of repaying his hospitality was to give a great porridge feast—we had a lot of oatmeal with us. The Indians loved our porridge, perhaps because it was reminiscent of their own maize gruel, which we ourselves far preferred. This feast took place on Mauana's next visit to Nazaret, and after it he was eager for us to pay him another visit, promising to show us dancing. 648 574

On our arrival we were introduced to the 'princess', his unmarried daughter. Mauana wanted us to photograph her. She was not pretty, but typically Indian in appearance. She had to put on all her finery and her paint, and her mule was saddled and decked out as for a ceremonial occasion. She had gold and coral at her neck, ankles and wrists, and large spiral patterns painted on her cheeks. Her mule had three tails: its own and two artificial ones, such being the fashion then. The girl was no film star: she was as stiff as a ram-rod and not to be thawed. Luckily, her skin looked light on the photograph, as every Guajiro girl desires it to be. Mauana 622 123 622 142

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would not have been pleased if we had not managed to get her looking nice and pale. In reality her complexion was perhaps a shade too dark. Mauana asked if everyone in our country was as fair-skinned as my wife, and when I assured him that they were, he wondered whether he should not send his daughter to Sweden for a time to let her become lighter. The girl did not appear to be so very young. Francisco told us that Mauana was not finding it easy to marry her off. Being the greatest and richest chief in the Macuira Hills, with plantations that were always watered, the price he must ask for her was considerable by Indian standards, and though there had been no lack of inquiries, no deal had yet been made. All this according to Francisco. The price could not be lowered. The girl's uncle insisted on that, as she did too. Every Indian girl is proud of commanding a high price. That not only shows that she is of good family, but also that her mother and grandmother cost a lot too, in other words that she is of an old, propertied family.

'You often hear people say,' Francisco added, 'that it is better to pay little for a wife from a poor family who has been taught to work well, than to give much for a rich girl who only wants to be waited upon. But the fact is that the rich girl's family will provide her with what she might need to live according to her status even after she has married. She will still be supported from home. That, of course, lightens the husband's duties: so it isn't so silly to marry a rich wife,' and he sighed heavily.

Mauana then joined us and he too began discussing marriage. We had heard a certain amount on this subject already, but listened nonetheless attentively. A suitor does not go in person to ask for a girl's hand; he sends a proxy, his eldest maternal uncle or, if possible, a chief on his mother's side. His mother usually goes as well, Sometimes a whole deputation arrives, to be given a ceremonial reception.

The delegates bring with them gifts in the form of necklaces of gold beads and tuma stones. A man like Mauana could expect several of these. If the gifts are accepted, as almost always they are, they at once start discussing the

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bride-price. (A refusal by the girl's family to accept the offerings can lead to a serious conflict between the two families.) The deputation then returns home and informs the suitor. He does not try to haggle. That is not done. Also he has a fairly good idea beforehand what he will be asked to pay. If his relatives can afford it, the price is paid in a lump sum in cows, which is the grandest method of payment. The cows are driven to the bride's house by slaves and followed by the bridegroom's maternal uncles, who are responsible for making settlement. They are given a festive reception and return with gifts of meat from a freshly slaughtered animal. The bridegroom does not go on this occasion either. He arrives later with some cows for his mother-in-law, which constitute a reward for the bridal bed, a beautiful hammock she has woven. This symbolizes his right of possession of the girl. 584

In the old days it was considered that a bride ought to be virgin, although now that manners are not so strict, this is not so strictly insisted upon. The white man usually explains the girl's period of confinement as being intended to protect her innocence; yet she would surely have more opportunity to kick over the traces when living by herself in a little hut, than if she were with her family and always under their eye. Among the better families at least, a husband can demand return of part of the bride-price if he discovers that he is not the first to enjoy the girl's favours. A bride who is not a virgin should thus command a lower price than a virgin. A girl with a child, or a wife another man has returned, commands even less, just as with the Moors, though that is not to say that the custom came from them. 585 836

Nowadays a sensible girl tells her intended husband if she has had an affaire, before the bride-price is settled, and thereby complications are avoided. A young man will seldom hesitate to marry a girl making such a confession.

A man's inmost thoughts often emerge under the influence of intoxication, when he sits in his hammock improvising a song, as the Indians do. Scornfully he may chant: 'Ah, ah, ah, ah, when I married my wife was not a maid.' If she was, he will sing: 'Ah, ah, ah, my bride was innocent.' [533]

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585 Mauana said that while she is in confinement a girl will
[881] have been taught, among other things, the attentions custom requires her to show her husband.

When he arrives home, she hastens to hang up his ham-
593 mock and offer him something to drink. She at once prepares a meal, if one is not yet ready. The master of the house has
[264] his own crockery, from which he alone eats, and his wife must see that he has his favourite dishes and that they are properly cooked. If he has returned from a journey or from hunting, she must see that he has water to wash in and a clean guayuco. Once he has taken his place in the hammock, she sits on the ground and tells him the day's events. If he falls asleep, she sits in silence.

When the husband's friends or other people come to see
[574] him, the wife's place is again on the ground beside his hammock. She does not butt in upon the men's conversation, but knows how to be amusing if she is spoken to. She must see that each guest has a hammock to rest in and offer everyone refreshments. Men are proud to have such a hostess for a wife.

[574] In the husband's absence a wife must receive visitors courteously, but observe caution, if they are men. She will hang a hammock under a roofed shelter close to the house, but will not let the visitor inside. She will then offer him refreshments and sit down beside his hammock with some handwork.

It goes without saying that she must take good care of her husband's belongings and property, for he is often forced to be away with his herds. She must also take care of her
[273] husband himself, when he is drunk, as he not infrequently is. When fights occur at feasts, the women, as we know,
[579] throw themselves between the men to avoid bloodshed. A wife is responsible for her husband, when he is drunk. If she has not bothered to keep an eye on him and he is beaten or killed, the fault is hers. Or he may take his own life
[762] while intoxicated—suicide for mere trifles is not unusual—and then too she can be held responsible, if she has not intervened. If he hurts her or destroys any of her things while he is drunk, she knows that he will make rich amends

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later, for he has been brought up always to try and make things right.

During her period of isolation a girl also learns how to satisfy her husband erotically and always to be ready, when he is excited. To retain his love she may employ magic as well as her own natural powers of attraction. Knowing that a woman loses some of her looks and attraction during pregnancy, wives often try, after having had several children, to hinder fertilization by taking certain herbal drugs and by magical means.

'Polygamy is permitted, is it not, Mauana?'

'Yes, a man can take several wives. As long as he pays the bride-price, no one can say anything, but her family would never allow a better-class girl to become the second wife of anyone. And you see, custom decrees that a Guajiro wife, whether the first or a concubine, must acquiesce if the husband takes a new wife. Similarly, it is considered that wives ought to live in peace and friendship. They must receive a new concubine cordially and all show their best side to the husband. They must help each other to watch the children and not display jealousy if the husband prefers one to the others.

'That is how it should be, but the reality is quite different. Very often the wives live in the same house, which naturally leads to conflict more easily than when each has her own hut. Jealousy or envy are common in these harems. Enmity and quarrelling are not infrequent, nor is actual fighting. The wives spy upon each other, destroy each other's things and make all sorts of scenes. One or other perhaps comes to hate the husband. It is said that a certain man, who shall be nameless, had noticed something of the sort and did not dare to be at home while a family feud lasted. An enemy could have bribed one of his wives to put poison in his maize beer.'

'That does not sound pleasant!'

'No, polygamy undoubtedly has its drawbacks!' Mauana agreed. 'I myself have only one wife, but several bed slaves,' he added with an artful look in his eye.

Even though all a man's marriages are considered legal,

595 the first wife retains a privileged position. She will be of the best family and the highest in rank. She is the hostess.

One day, when I was standing talking with Mauana, he 838 pointed to a couple walking past and said eagerly:

'You should picture those with your apparatus.'

[882] I photographed the two, who to me appeared very ordinary. The woman had her cheeks and nose painted red. Mauana whispered to me that the woman was not a woman, but that they were two men living together. Later we came across several Indian men who did women's work and wore women's dress. This was not considered really right, but it was looked upon with indulgence. In the early days of discovery gold coins were found on the coast by Santa Marta which depicted 'shameful acts contrary to Nature'. Among the Guajiros' relatives in the West Indies there were chiefs who had whole harems of boys.

'We were talking of bride-price and buying women 684 slaves,' said I, to revert to more normal things. 'What does a poor youth do, who possesses nothing?'

Everyone agreed that it was a pity about any such. The [833] law had definite regulations for intercourse between man and woman, and any infringement involved a claim for damages. If anyone seduced a woman, he must pay considerable compensation to her relatives, however willing she may have been; but if he took her against her will, it costs him considerably more. A poor man cannot pay and therefore risks losing his life as a punishment. The Indians admitted that here and there on the border there was prosti- [548] tution, but it was mostly mestizo women who lent themselves to that. In Guajira proper, there were no prostitutes. Both the chiefs and the monks told us that. Thus in the interior, a young man without means must live a life of abstinence. The time when the dances of the kid were performed would be his only opportunity of enjoying a [786] woman's favours, provided he could find a willing partner. At this time the otherwise strict code is suspended and free love permitted.

796 Mauana had promised to arrange a dance, but of another kind. The dances of the kid are performed during the rainy

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season, and it was then the dry season. The dance was the so-called chichimaya. This was arranged because Mauana had dreamed that he ought to spend several cattle and lots of maize beer on a performance of this kind. Otherwise dances are arranged in connection with a girl's being confined in her hut and on a number of other similar occasions. The medicine man, piache, often orders a dance when someone has fallen ill, when a casimba has run dry or when they want rain. They also dance when the herds are marked and castrated. Neighbours and relatives are invited to bring their young girls and these need never lack for partners, for the young men come of themselves, when they hear of it. It is not impolite to ask about the refreshments to be provided before accepting an invitation. The Indians prefer beef to goat's meat, and a beef-dance will be very well attended.

We reached Mauana's house a little too early. The maize beer was not quite ready. Maize beer, or chicha as it is now generally called by the Creoles, is simply a gruel made of ground maize, and it constitutes the Indians' daily fare, as it does in much of native South America. If this gruel is allowed to ferment, it becomes slightly alcoholic and the Guajiro then call it *ujor*. Fermentation is traditionally stimulated by the women chewing the maize, and this also is done in Guajira. The maize is sometimes mixed with manioc. The resultant brew, *ishiruna*, the Indians consider pleasant and strengthening. The ordinary, slightly sour unchewed maize gruel appeals more to the European both as regards taste and hygiene.

Mauana had intended to regale us with spirits, but fortunately we managed to persuade him to give ordinary maize gruel instead.

Gradually people began to assemble, all in their finery. Mauana explained that it was only a small performance. He really did not have time for such things just then, but the promptings of dreams had to be followed.

In the dusk we all went down to the feast-place outside a couple of huts, where an area had been well swept. Round this the guests had now begun to assemble. They stood in a

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796 great ring and several of them were wiping their mouths in evident satisfaction—presumably having just been regaled with some drink.

796 The drum thundered a long time in vain before a young
535 Indian stepped into the ring, removed his cloak and sandals and began to walk round in a circle—a challenge to the members of the fair sex.

Almost at once a girl appeared in the ring; removed her sandals and held her tunic spread wide with her hands. The two then began dancing: he in front, she a few yards behind. Suddenly the man gave a shout and the tempo increased. Turning swiftly the girl came sweeping down towards the man who danced away, moving backwards. She must try to get close enough to tramp on his feet and make him fall, but she must not barge him. If she managed to make her partner fall, there was great jubilation, and then a new couple took the stage. Otherwise, the girl would probably challenge her partner to a few more turns, while he answered contemptuously:

'Fetch your little sister.' (Inferring that she would manage better.)

In this way a dance continues without interruption, couple following couple. It could go on for weeks.

The well-bred Indian considers the chichamaya the only suitable dance. The monks also approved of it, since it was perfectly decent, the two dancers remaining apart the whole
[177] time. The dance is not genuinely Indian, containing both Spanish and African features, but even in its present form it retains its religious-magical significance and is part of the ritual used in certain family ceremonies and on other important occasions.

796 The dance of the kid is a pure folk dance. It is really a
786 whole complex of games, dances and typical fertility rites. The good families do not allow their daughters to attend them. The law's strict sexual prohibition does not apply to those taking part in the dance of the kid, who enjoy an otherwise forbidden erotic licence. This is not approved of
[585 184] by the well-to-do, who still hold by the rule that a bride should be a virgin, since it can have an effect on the bride-price.

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price. Thus the well-to-do send slaves or servants to the dances. 796 786

These dances also have a practical significance. They take place at the start of the rains when vegetation shoots up and help is needed in keeping weeds under. Those taking part in the dance must weed their host's ground during the day, as a return for their food and the dancing at night. They have to do something during the feast which lasts for weeks at a time. Naturally holding such a dance-feast is a costly business, but as a compensation the giver has work done for him. Therefore the feast moves from rancho to rancho, while there is work to be done. [474]

Actually all the dancers ought to be at home working during this time, for all plantations will become overgrown if they are neglected, but the young people are tempted by the feast, the dancing and love-making, and the opportunity to get free of the bonds of strict convention for a time. The fertility of the crops is promoted by different erotic performances, although the Indians no longer seem fully aware that this is their significance. These are typical magical fertility rites.

The actual dance of the kid is performed in different ways. Sometimes the couples are in lines one behind the other, the men holding the girl in front round the waist. First they all dance forwards, and then they turn. At each turn they change partners, the men singing: 'Lend me your partner for my travelling companion.' Another way of performing the dance is very like a long-dance in Sweden. Each group of dancers is led by a singer who always improvises his song, so that the words are always new. [535]

The dance begins at sunset and continues for several hours, after which the dancers all make off into the darkness, two by two, and spend the night with each other. Usually, a couple will stick together throughout the feast. Intercourse must be of the girl's own free will, but involves the man in no obligations, neither compensation for her lost virginity nor damages if a child should result. This is recognized by the girl's family, because it is a result of the freedom allowed during the dance of the kid. If, after the feast, a man wishes [833]

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A Guajiro man, dressed and painted as a woman. He lived with another man and performed all the tasks of the housewife

Little girl with gold beads round her neck and ankles

After-burial: woman weeping by the urn containing the dead man's bones

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796 to marry his partner, he must pay for her in the normal
786 way. Otherwise the young men and girls just give each other mementoes.

One of the games forming part of the dance of the kid is the so-called virginity test. The girls gather round a singer who improvises a variation of the theme: 'Let us see, pretty maid, if you have kept your innocence, if any man's hands have touched your body.' He then runs his hands over each girl in turn from the tip of her big toe, over her leg, knee, crotch, belly, chest and neck to the crown of her head, all the while trying to tickle her. Whoever neither laughs nor moves is declared a virgin and lauded by the singer. She goes and stands on one side, while those who cannot keep from laughing and so are not virgins, go to the other. Afterwards pretence presents are given to the 'virgins'.

796 When young people are gathered together as during the
842 dance of the kid festival, all sorts of dance-games and
524 pantomimes are performed. Some are connected with fertility rites, as those imitating the mating-play of turtles and goats. In the latter, the girl 'goats' are enclosed in a ring of men who try to prevent the male 'goats' from getting inside it. If any of the youths manage to leap in, they behave exactly like billy goats, pursuing the 'nannies', nosing at them and pretending to mount them. A number of the games have no erotic connection, but refer to all sorts of events in the lives of men and animals. Animals are imitated most faithfully.

796 One of the games depicts a meeting between the low-
524 landers and highlanders of Guajira. Each of the two sides has a singing leader. They exchange greetings and then each describes the situation in their homes: in the one plenty of rain, good harvests, plenty to eat and fat cattle; in the other drought, starvation and misery.

Those who are lucky with their climate then invite the others to their territory, and they all dance off in the same
[423] direction. The game is a reference to the fact that the low-
[231] landers have the right against payment to send their herds to upper Guajira at certain times of the year to graze.

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The medicine men liked to have a good drink before a seance

A piache, *or wise woman, curing a boy by burning him with a red-hot arrow head*

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In another game the dangerous spirit Yoruyá attacks 796
and kills Indian after Indian till he is set upon by them all 526
and killed; in yet another the Indians hide in a cloud made
of cloaks, when the spirit forces its way in, but it is captured [776]
by the cloud and vanquished.

Horse-racing is one of the Indians' greatest pleasures at [541]
their festivities, but they also indulge in it—without horses
—as a game in connection with the dances. Very amusing
and picturesque is a game in which they imitate hunting a
kind of bird that plunders the seed in their fields. The
Indians pretend to be trying to scare them and catch them
in nets. Here the seed is represented by some children, some
of the men are the birds, others the hunters who catch the
birds in their hammocks and then wring their necks!

Another game represents a fight between jaguars and
dogs. The strongest of the men are made the jaguars, for
these have to win. Then there is a snake game in which men
and women crawl along together, imitating the movements
of a snake and singing the snake song: 'I am the snake. I
creep along the ground. I do harm to none, but punish
those who try to trample me. Long must he suffer, who
tramps upon me because he thinks me defenceless since I
creep on the ground. He must suffer and die.' There are
endless variations; but a dance lasts so long that a little
variety is necessary.

Once the upper-class dance, the chichamaya, was over, [565]
Mauana's people gladly showed us all their games and
dances even though it was not the right time of year.

As we were riding home the next day we encountered 115
several companies of Indians returning from a burial-feast.
Among them was a young man in a beautifully woven
mantle, who joined up with us. He spoke good Spanish and
obviously belonged to the upper class. Francisco told him
about us, and he was eager that we should be his guests
that same day, since his rancho lay on our route. He said
that he had a few things that I might well find interesting
and he himself would like to see one of my pistols. (Fran-
cisco had evidently described how they smoked and made 273
a bang.) Some of the Indians accompanying us now became

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223 quarrelsome, the parting drink of spirits having had its effect. One old man after much swaying in the saddle was finally thrown off by his jibbing mule. He landed in a prickly bush and became frantic. He wanted to see blood. Luckily his weapons were on his saddle, but he managed to remove one of his spurs and began stabbing with it at those who were trying to help him up. Francisco received a jab, but he and a couple of others managed to overpower the old ruffian, whom they bound and tied to his saddle. Then his wife led him and his mount away.

609 574 One by one the groups went off in their various directions. We came to the rancho of the young Indian, our new [361] friend. He had several big huts, built on the sand, where there was no greenery or shade. He explained that when the rains came, it did not become swampy there, as in most other places, but the water ran through the sand and you could [286] walk dry-shod. There were looms in several of the open huts. At one sat our host's young, light-complexioned wife, [832] who undoubtedly was a great beauty by Guajiro standards, and in another his aged mother with a wrinkled clever face.

We were offered goat's milk as a refreshment. I was [272] always amazed at the care with which these Indians collected the small quantities of milk the goats yielded, for each gave a mere squirt. We took a gulp of goat's milk in order to avoid having to drink spirits.

The women were in a great bustle, evidently getting a spread ready. The Guajiro are hospitable, and when strangers or friends come they must have the best the house can provide. If need be, the host gives up his own hammock and lies on the ground.

Our host had plenty of hammocks. After resting a while, 439 my wife went inside to look at the weaving, while I pro- 778 duced one of the pistols I had bought at an auction and demonstrated it, shooting a couple of shots, the noise and smoke of which appeared highly satisfactory to our host. Hastily he drew me aside and whispered that he had something that ought to interest me. He had *uru* and was willing to part with this precious, sought-after article in exchange for my noisy pistol. After all I had a companion without a

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wife and he perhaps could do with it. I knew what unu was, but had never expected to be offered a secret magical object by an Indian who scarcely knew me. 439 778

Unu was one of the many *cóntra* or instruments of magic used by the Indians either to protect or help the possessor. Unu stimulated love. The Guajiro have not only their old Indian magic, but some of Spanish–Moorish and African negro origin. Where these cóntra are concerned, it would be most interesting, though difficult, to find out which were of red, black or white origin. They differ in character, but one and all can be lent or hired to a person of the same sex and can be used by that person with as much effect as when used by the owner himself. 778 [751 832]

A unu love magic was most difficult and expensive to acquire. The equivalent of £30 or £40 was the current price, while the owner will normally charge £10 or £15 if he hires it out. A cóntra must not be shown to any unauthorized person, as its power may then transfer itself to the person who happens to see it. 778 832 [435]

Love talismans were of different kinds. That considered to be of the best quality was a tiny pouch containing small pieces of what looked like the droppings of some sort of lizard. The magic stuffs of Guajira often imitate the excrement of various animals. Others consist of little stones in a glass bottle, or a decoction of herbs, which the person on whom the magic is to be worked has to take or wash in. One powerful and unfailing love specific is the hair clippings of the confined majayura girl, mixed with the blood of humming birds and other ingredients, but that can only be used on the girl in question. With her, however, it cannot fail.

The love magic the young Indian now said he would give me was one of those little pouches, thus very precious. He was willing to let it go because he liked my pistol so much. He had no further need of a love specific now that he had got himself a beautiful wife with its help—and, he might have added, thanks to a good supply of cattle. And if he ever wanted another cóntra, well, he knew where to get one. But he would not get any more wives. He was a

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778 Christian now and intended to have done with such things,
832 and the Father had said that it was better to turn to a saint. And, of course, I was asked to say nothing about the transaction—that was always done in such cases.

I, of course, was keen to do business.

[784] 'But remember now not to eat roast meat or maize, nothing that has been in direct contact with fire. Otherwise you may fare badly.'

One has to observe certain rules of diet and behaviour when using a cóntra, but not so long as it lies idle.

The little pouch with the love specific thus passed into my possession, and I gave it our photographer to keep in the pocket of his camera case, as I had done with other small objects.

After we returned to the mission I told Francisco of my acquisition. He did not seem at all surprised, so evidently he and the young Indian had been in touch before the offer was made. I also told Francisco that Gladtvet was looking after the talisman, and he nodded understandingly. Gladtvet had no wife with him and no doubt would like to captivate a nice young girl, if one came his way.

574 Our host, whom Francisco told me would one day be a
778 chief, asked us to stay the night. He was of course prepared
832 to place a slave at the disposal of the solitary white man as hospitality required, but, he added, the prettiest girl in the
[567] house was a debtor-slave, whom he could not order, so the white man would have to charm her, if he wished to have her. It would be a good opportunity to try the talisman I had just acquired. Francisco said afterwards that it would not have been a reliable test of the talisman's efficacy, since undoubtedly the girl would have been very easily conquered by a large silver coin. Altogether, he considered, it would have been more practical for me to have bought a slave for Gladtvet than that expensive love charm, since, as he pointed out, slaves were cheap now, at the height of the dry season, owing to the shortage of food.

It was no use trying to explain to Francisco that this magic talisman, like all the other things I had bought from the Indians, was to go into a museum. He would merely

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have got the impression that I intended to keep it in a safe place in order to exploit it commercially, that is to say, hire it out to applicants. He could never have understood what a museum was. 574 778 832

We declined our host's invitation as politely as we could. Gladtvet's interest in his female slaves—who now had their faces painted black into the bargain—was very lukewarm.

We were served a dish of goat's meat, from a goat that our friend had been given at the funeral. Unfortunately it was old and tough, and my wife had to leave almost her entire helping. That was not regarded impolite in Guajira. On the contrary our hostess looked delighted and hastily removing it and herself to a very short distance, set about engulfing it. One might have thought that she did not get enough to eat, but no Guajiro wife was underfed in a well-to-do household. Often they had more food than they wanted. Why, then, did she not leave the helping for her slaves? Because she wanted what had been left by the lightest-complexioned woman she had ever seen, since one can become fairer oneself by eating what such a being has touched. For that reason, my wife, as a gesture of politeness, often left some of her food when we ate in Indian houses, to the delight of the women of the household. What I left would have been of use only to the medicine man, and that because I was a learned man. 264 574 [189]

On our return to the mission, the monks gave us a large piece of beef, which we grilled. 778 832

'Ay, ay,' said Francisco after the feast, 'the photographer señor should not have eaten grilled meat. I forgot his cóntra.'

'His cóntra?'

'Yes, he has the cóntra now. He ought to have eaten something else. What will happen now?'

The next day Gladtvet had a pain in his stomach and Francisco became frightened. Francisco had been brought up at the mission and considered himself a good Catholic, but that did not prevent him believing in magic. However, our medicine chest relieved Gladtvet's pains more easily than Francisco expected.

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778 Francisco and I had several talks about the love cóntra.
832 He pointed out that it was important for the man or woman wishing to use such a talisman to powder certain parts of his or her body with red schiste powder. He gave me detailed instructions which I wrote down, as Francisco thought, in order to instruct Gladtvet, so that he should be ready, if he discovered a suitable object.

The women have love charms as well as the men. With a really effective one a woman can make sure of her husband's love for ever, or win back the love she has lost. When she intends to use such means, she must keep indoors and diet
[784] for four days and nights, not expose herself to the sun nor see another woman's face, and she must avoid all milk and anything roasted. She must bath indoors and powder herself. There is a talisman which the wise women of the Jarará Hills manufacture, a stuff of herbs wrapped in a piece of cloth, which prevents a husband from taking another woman.

778 Sometimes a woman will make a man fall in love with her
832 as an act of revenge. To do this she must get hold of one of
784 his old sandals or something he has worn. This she burns and resultant cóntra is introduced into the man's clothes or belongings. This often ends in the man becoming mad. A man can also avenge himself by making a girl fall in love with him, if he can manage to get some of her hair clippings. For that reason women hide these most carefully all their lives.

An Indian, when greatly attracted by a girl, will often
778 make the greatest sacrifices and undergo all sorts of diffi-
832 culties to get her. Having succeeded, he will often go off quite soon with his herds to some other part of the peninsula. After that he is not heard of again, and his wife is left to support herself as best she can. That shows that she had attracted him by means of a cóntra which had been very effective, but that she had then been incautious enough to let it go from her, or it may have lost its power.

There are cóntras for other things than love, e.g., for luck in hunting and in war, to acquire wealth and reputation and to protect oneself against certain spirts or dangers.

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On two occasions I went out with some hunters who had 778
hunting cóntras. Two had talismans for hares; these were 224
small pellets fastened to the leather shield that protects the 789
arm against the bow string. The pellets were shaped like rabbit's excrement and contained a herb the leaves of which resembled rabbit's ears and which the so-called rabbits were fond of! Another man had a deer cóntra prepared from a creeper. It resembled deer's droppings.

The hunters were quite convinced that the cóntra would give them good hunting, and that by its power their game would be unable to escape them. Thus those cóntra were doubly effective. On neither occasion, however, did we get anything, much to the consternation of the hunters. I think they assumed that my presence had prevented the charms working, and they were astounded when I bought them.

Of other talismans there was one intended to help its 778
owner win races. This consisted of some rattling fruits to 789
tie beside the horse's ear. There was a cóntra for warriors called *ranía*, which gave its bearer courage and made him invulnerable. Another, which was very expensive, was said to give the possessor luck in business and gradually make him rich. Having become rich, he could then purchase the most expensive charm of all, that which would bring him respect and power. This latter was strictly personal: an outsider could be harmed by seeing it, especially a thief, and it was not effective except in the hands of its rightful owner. It was contained inside several small bags, one within the other, and what was inside the inmost one was known only to the piache who prepared it. In the talisman that brought wealth there were supposed to be links of gold, the power of which lay in the spells spoken over them. Similarly pearls and little figures made of coconut over which the wise women had spoken spells served as amulets. Amongst other things they protect the wearer against the [754] evil eye, belief in which the Indians had evidently adopted [177] from the Spanish–Moorish superstitions of their conquerors. 532 You can find too the small carved hands that are so typically Moorish, and the most powerful means of averting the evil eye. Yet another is more in the negro style. The skulls of

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The skulls of
horses are placed round dwelling-places to repulse spirits, which are held to be very afraid of horses, whether alive or dead. When a caravan travels by night, the men with horses are in the lead, and the spirits flee at once. Once long ago the Indians themselves had an almost superstitious dread of horses; that was when for the first time they saw them used by their white conquerors.

It was said that some piaches had in their possession gold statuettes inherited from the 'ancients'. If that was so, they were presumably pre-Columbian objects found in some grave or kept for centuries by some succession of medicine men.

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CHAPTER 9

A Wake

One day we received an invitation to a rancho owned by well-to-do people. We knew them, but had not been there before. The messenger bade us welcome and told us that the old man there had gone. Francisco crossed himself and said that an old man, an uncle, had died and that there was to be a funeral feast. What the dead man's name was could not be mentioned. We wanted to witness a burial, so we accepted gratefully and set off at once with camera and guns—Francisco having told us that one fired off guns at the feast. 764

There were a lot of people already there when we arrived. Members of the family were often informed when illness took a dangerous turn and so arrived while the patient was still alive. On this occcasion they had already laid the dead man out. He had been washed: his best ornaments had been put on him and he had been wrapped in the cloths which the women weave specially for this purpose. After death a woman is painted to make her as lovely as possible, but not a man. The dead person is always left alone for a while, so that his soul can go round a last time and take farewell of the place. Having been shrouded, the old man had been laid in the fresh hide of a newly slaughtered bullock and placed in a hammock strung between two poles under a temporary roof covered with grass. [763] [765]

Numbers of people were standing round the dead man's last resting place, while his closest relatives sat in hammocks strung between other poles. All kept their faces covered, either by pulling their cloaks up over them or by draping clothes over their heads. Some were merely clasping their

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hands to their faces. From one and all rose the lugubrious, shrill lament that had to sound uninterruptedly as long as the dead man was above ground. (For some time after the funeral, the man's nearest relatives would begin the day with a song of lament.) After some time the wailers nearest to the bier began to make way for others, and then we too began lamenting, imitating the sound as best we could, as politeness required that every guest should.

One of the men now turned and pulled the cloak from his face. It was our host. He was very glad to see us and, above all, seemed to be flattered that my wife had come. He was already slightly under the weather, swaying a little on his feet, and in one hand he held an enamel chamberpot. He looked so comical that my wife had to hold her handkerchief over her mouth so that none should see what difficulty she was having in keeping a straight face. Our host thought she was very moved and at once ordered one of his fattest sheep to be given her to 'dry her tears', as it is called. He always called her majayura, maiden, remarking: 'She is far too young and lovely to be married.' This, of course, was meant as a compliment. He added that he knew very well what we usually ate. He knew that we were from the same part of the world as the monks and that these people lived on bread, sugar and potatoes. He had tasted them in Nazaret. But perhaps we also liked meat? We assured him that we did, and he promised us large pieces of beef and as much maize beer as we wished. Then he had to go and attend to his other guests.

Burials are big affairs. A good proportion of the dead person's livestock has to be slaughtered to accompany him into the hereafter. The guests feast on this meat, and afterwards each is given some to take home. We walked round to look at the many camps, some under cactus trees, others in the open. There were several hundred Indians assembled there. Everywhere sheep were being slaughtered, meat was being roasted and people were feasting. One old woman was stuffing congealed blood from a calabash with both hands. The whole place smelt of blood, maize beer and spirits. Here and there someone was galloping on a horse. Many of

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the men were already quite drunk. Everyone was chattering, 764
laughing and enjoying themselves. It was more like a fair than a funeral. The sun was in the zenith and there was no shade anywhere. Most of the men had removed their cloaks, only putting them on to go to the bier and lament; but the women kept their tunics on; there were no half-naked women to be seen there. Some of them had tunics of light bought material, and when the wind pressed the cloth against their bodies their forms stood out like reliefs and [832] their skins shone through the thin material. Many of the men devoured them with their eyes, but the women's interest seemed riveted to the steaming boiled meat.

We met a thin and obviously poor Indian who expressed satisfaction at the number of funerals that had lately taken place. He had been attending them uninterruptedly for almost a month, had had meat every day and was beginning to put on weight. Yet he was not high in the social scale. Each person was entertained in accordance with his social [554] rank.

There was not much sleep that night. Lamentation continued beside the bier all night, while sounds of singing, shouts and squabbling came from the Indian camp. We had been told that it would be a day or two before the dead man was buried. That is not done until all the cattle allotted for the funeral have been slaughtered. A number of beasts had been set aside to provide the meat the guests took away with them, and others were being saved for the subsequent funeral. We knew that in two years' time the dead man's bones would be dug up and another feast held.

In that climate a body should not remain above ground even two days, and yet the funerals of the rich lasted much longer. Thus they swathe the bodies of the rich in as many pieces of cloth as possible and in several cow-hides in an attempt to keep the stench from being too offensive. There 766
was a lot of talk about the funeral of a rich chief, José Dolores, that had taken place some years before. How many cattle were slaughtered on that occasion is not known for certain—the monks said about three thousand—but it is known that the feast lasted two and a half months. The body

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766 was wrapped in forty-eight beautifully woven cloaks each worth the equivalent of £20-£25. Despite this the atmosphere was not pleasant and during the feast they sent to Venezuela for so much eau de cologne that it was said to have cost thirty thousand bolivares. What we were attending was thus quite a simple funeral, but it must have cost several hundred pounds.

764 On the third day the body, wrapped in hides, was placed on a horse and taken out to the burial place, where one of [555] the closest male relatives had dug a grave—a great honour that. Everyone accompanied the body. The men drank copiously as they walked along. The dead man was laid in the grave, and some of the sand that had been dug out of it was carefully shovelled in; then they let down food and drink, including a large jar of spirits, and—to our amazement—the enamel pot followed. Indians who have had a lot to do with white people like to take such pots on their journeys, and apparently it was considered that one might be needed even on a man's last journey.

After this everyone fired their guns into the air, and those [775] who did not have firearms shot arrows. That was done in the hope of driving away any malevolent spirits who might be trying to worm their way back. A large fire was lit on the grave. This would burn every night for some time to come, in order to light the soul on its journey.

765 Later, the dead man's relatives would go out now and again to lament and take food and drink, which latter they would invite the dead man to share with them. Then, after a couple of years, the man's bones would be dug up and the after-funeral celebrated. We attended several of these; 765 this second ceremony is entrusted to a few female relatives, 767 who, swathed in tunics from head to foot, take hold of the bones with bits of cloth. The skull and skeleton are cleaned and laid on a cloth, in which they are tied up and lowered into a jar and this is taken to the house of grief, where another, though shorter funeral feast is held. After that the jar is buried again.

767 Those who have dug up the bones and all who have touched a dead person, must not eat with their hands for

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several days afterwards, but have to be fed. They also have 767
to keep to a diet for a while, a precaution that, like the
cloaks they are wrapped in while digging up the bones, is to
protect them against spirits.

In the old days the house in which a person died was 768
abandoned. Nowadays that is only done if the person has
been murdered.

I have come across this after-funeral among several 765
Indian tribes farther south, in particular the Motilon in the 171
Andes, neighbours of the Guajiro, and the Indians of the
Llanos plains around the Orinoco. It seems a peculiar
custom to us, but it is a sort of memorial ceremony, a feast
of remembrance devoted to the dead person, who is thus not
forgotten so quickly by the Indians, as is often the case with
us.

The animals killed at a man's funeral are to accompany 764
him into the hereafter and enable him to maintain his posi-
tion there. His immediate relatives must not eat of this meat,
which is all given to the guests, who cook it and feast on it.

Different in character is the sacrifice of some creature, a [751]
black sheep or a brown cow, which the piache recommends [782]
when he has dreamed that someone is in danger of being [787]
murdered. Here the animal is being killed in place of the
threatened man, the goat or cow acting as substitute so that
the human can escape his fate. Presumably, what used to
happen was that the person threatened had to go out and
kill some wild animal, a deer for example. The custom of
slaughtering cattle at a funeral originates from the change in [178]
the Indians' way of life that resulted from their making
cattle-rearing their main occupation. Earlier the dead person
was given other grave-goods to enable him to manage in
the life hereafter, including ornaments and that sort of
thing. In the pre-Columbian era quantities of polished stone
beads and tuma were placed in the graves. Then, when for-
tunes began to be reckoned in cattle and horses, it was
obvious that the dead person must have cattle to accompany
him. To the Guajiro, as to the general run of Indians, there 761
is no such thing as natural death. Were it not for the 776
dangerous world of the spirits and evil enchanters people

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761 would be able to live to all intents and purposes for ever.
776 The Guajiro word for illness, *wanuru*, is the same as that for the spirit of death, and actually means 'he within us'. As so often happens, they make no distinction between the spirits of the dead and other spirits.

775 The spirits of suicides are especially feared. As a safety measure the rope and tree used are burned, since death still
762 clings to them and is infectious. Round the scene of the suicide the dead man's ghost wanders head down, sometimes pursuing passers-by in the shape of a flame. Everybody avoids such places. It sometimes happens that Indians, both children and grown-ups, say that they have met dead relatives in human guise, but dumb. Such encounters bring misfortune. If a Guajiro Indian moves outside the peninsula, he will after death rest on the burial place of his fathers. After death he has a long journey ahead of him, and if he is to reach the realm of the dead he ought to start out from the burial place of his own people. Besides, and this perhaps is the most important point of all, the ritual prescribed in Guajira has to be observed.

775 The spirit of a murdered person follows his slayer everywhere and attacks him if he falls ill or becomes weak, appear-
682 ing in the hallucinations of fever. Its presence also constitutes a danger to the murderer's children. It can also appear in the form of a flame or of an animal, for example a bird. As I have already said, the house in which someone has been murdered is abandoned immediately, for the angry spirit of the dead man can appear there at any time.

To protect himself the slayer must submit to severe restrictions, which are prescribed by his maternal aunts and the elder women and which he follows in his own interest. He hides in the wilds, has nothing but maize gruel and water. He ought not to speak or have anything to do with anyone, and must be ever ready with weapons in his hand. An enemy may appear. The slayer cuts off his hair, wears a very short black cloak and must sleep on the ground with his face downwards and hidden, never on his back, otherwise the spirit of the man he killed could sit on his chest. It is best if he can sleep little and seldom, and have a dog with

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A professional mourner

Below: *The daily butchering*

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[Facing p. 128]

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him that can give the alarm. For a long time he has to refrain 775
from all association with his friends and keep away from
feasts. In the end, if agreement on compensation is not 682
reached with the dead man's family, he will have to leave the district for a period of years. This precaution is to protect the slayer from the spirit of the man he killed, which would look for him in his normal haunts and would not recognize him under the new conditions, but it is also a protection against the dead man's nearest relatives, who will thirst for vengeance as long as compensation has not been agreed and paid.

We mounted and rode away from our first burial feast. 775
On the fringe of the area stood six Indians armed, some with 765
guns, others with bows and arrows. Their task was to shoot 431
after all departing guests in order to scare off any dangerous spirits that might be intending to keep them company. Here, a deputy-host presented us with a live heifer. Every guest [554]
was to have a present of an animal according to his rank. We also had the meat that had been distributed that morning. It was considered quite all right either to eat it or to take it to eat on the way home. Several others were doing as we and there was a long line of departing guests, the men [492]
on horseback, the women mostly on donkeys. We all kept together for quite a distance.

Spirits rose as the heat increased, for drink had been 765
handed out along with the meat, the Indians believing, as 565
did the Creoles, that spirits were the best protection against the dangers of the hot sun.

A young Indian rode up to us. He wore a cloak with a beautiful pattern and was mounted on a splendid mare, which showed that he was of well-to-do family. He was in a [578]
bad mood, however, having been forgotten in the distribution of parting gifts and had not been given even a sheep. For that reason he was highly incensed with his neglectful hosts, whom he obviously scarcely knew.

We rode past an old man on foot dragging a calf behind him. The old man was obviously sober, but he kept mutter- [578]
ing imprecations to himself. He too had been forgotten

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765 The old man, however, was familiar with the customs of
565 olden days and had taken what they had forgotten to give him, calculating generously in his own favour. Strictly he was entitled to no more than a kid, if that, poor relation that he was; but he had appropriated one of his host's calves.

Our young Indian friend thought this an excellent idea, and as we happened to be riding past a herd of goats belonging to the house of mourning, he asked me to lend him my shot-gun, dismounted and shot two goats, which he then lashed on to his pack-animal. He paid no attention to the protests of the slave guarding the herd, who of course did not dare do anything to anyone so well dressed and so obviously a person of rank. He gruffly told the slave that he had the law on his side. This put the young Indian in a better humour, and he took a smiling leave of us.

765 We were invited to several other funeral feasts while we
579 were in Guajira. Both the actual burial and the after-funeral were in the same style. Often they were quite gay affairs—especially the repeat performance, when the grief was not so intense even with the immediate relatives. Often fights resulted. On the way home from Mauana's dance we had met people on their way back from a funeral who were quarrelsome. It sometimes happens that a person attending a funeral is killed. He is then taken home and most of the guests accompany him to continue celebrating in that new house of sorrow.

The funeral ritual is observed strictly and in detail. Children must learn it early and therefore are allowed to go to such feasts.

On the more important events the medicine man gives advice and directions, so let us now turn to him.

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Warrior with poisoned arrows

Below: *A chief's mother surrounded by female slaves*

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[Facing p. 129]

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CHAPTER 10

Conjuration of Spirits

How does one become a piache? Not of one's own volition. Those worthy are chosen by the spirits and receive their summons in a supernatural way. The wanuru spirit itself visits the chosen one, who may be a boy or a girl. Women are often sorcerers in Guajira. One of them gave us this account of how she received her summons.

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First she saw in front of her eyes a fall of shooting-stars, a rain of gold; then everything went dark and she sank to the ground. The first warning usually comes like that. Some days later she had violent attacks of shivering, cold sweats and vomiting. As she lay in her hammock more dead than alive, she heard a voice say: 'Eat manilla or you will die.' (Manilla is a kind of chewing tobacco which the Indians now obtain from white traders, but in default they have recourse to tobacco leaves. The spirit always orders the person to chew manilla.)

The woman's relations hastened to get some manilla and at the same time sent for a piache, who would have to decide whether the girl really had received a call or not.

Another woman told us that her first symptom was thoroughly prosaic: constipation. During the night she dreamed that the spirit came and led her by the hand to a big plantation. She awoke trembling, but then heard a voice ordering her to eat manilla. By chewing tobacco she recovered completely. Her mother, who was herself a piache, at once began instructing her in her profession.

After the summons comes the apprenticeship. The magical tobacco seems of great significance for the medicine man or woman to be, and even for the fully trained. The

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756 medicine men of South America make great use of tobacco,
787 and at first it was mostly reserved for them. The chewing of
276 tobacco can cause an intoxication, through which a magician can put himself into a state of ecstasy. Of course, the nicotine has a violent effect on the children whom the spirit orders to eat manilla, and it is not easy to say whether the symptoms accompanying the summons are due to abuse of tobacco or to other infirmity. It is said that those called to be piache always fall ill. The Indians are fully convinced that dreams have significance for their actions. While asleep they receive instructions which they seldom dare fail to carry out. The youth or girl who is summoned receives his or her revelation either in dreams or while in a hysterical state. The Indians consider them to be possessed by the spirit, and the piache for whom they send then has to decide whether the spirit really has visited the boy or girl, or not. If it is not possible to fetch a piache immediately, they will sometimes have to make do with a sooth-sayer, an *outschi*, who though not a proper medicine man, at least can 'smoke tobacco', that is to say, can foretell future happenings, find strayed animals, etc. They are often well patronized. The outschi swings a firebrand in the air while puffing at a cigar—magical tobacco again!—and the trails of smoke tell him what he wishes to know. He can merely confirm that there has been a true revelation, that the spirit visited the young person and entered into him or her. A sooth-sayer can go no further than that, but that gives the parents the comforting assurance that the piache, who has to be summoned in any event, will not come in vain. The piache has no objection to a sooth-sayer making a diagnosis.

The attacks from which the candidate suffers both at his selection and when he becomes fully qualified, lead to a
[766] trancelike state. It is characteristic that a dead piache may not be buried until after three days and nights, so that it is quite certain that he is dead and not just that his soul happens to be away. A cataleptic state and hallucinations are characteristic of future and practising medicine men alike.

There is no avoiding the call to be a piache once it has

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been confirmed by sooth-sayer and piache. The person selected must learn the profession and practise it. Otherwise, certain death awaits him, for the spirit will not suffer his decisions to be neglected. 756 787 276

Often parents cannot afford to send for a piache, for those who convey the request have to give him a necklace of gold beads. This may mean that the novice's family has to ask well-to-do relatives to pay the fee. When he arrives, the piache examines the candidate and stuffs some manilla into his or her mouth. When he sees that it is beginning to take effect, he intones a monotonous song. As soon as he stops, the novice must proclaim his desire to become a piache and have it granted. He is selected by the spirit, but he does not yet know anything. The apprenticeship then begins. [603]

The piache shuts himself into a suitable hut together with the novice, and there they must stay, hidden from the world, for a month or more. The apprentice is not supposed to be seen by anyone during this time. No one may go in and interrupt the seance. The piache sits on his stool of light wood shaped like an animal. He wears a head-dress made of wool and places a similar one on the novice's head. He then begins singing songs, swinging rattles and making all the gestures, movements and conjurations that he uses to call upon and move the spirits. His instruction continues day after day, sometimes by night as well. He has to keep to a certain diet. Roast maize in particular is usually prescribed. Now and again spirits appear and talk with the novice, encouraging him, not least by expounding how great are the advantages of being a piache, and how rich the presents he receives. 756 [352] [262]

One day the spirit announces that the first period of instruction is over and the novice ready for examination. This is an intermediary examination, for the instruction is not complete. So far it has only included spells and magical songs, and the novice has no knowledge of herbs and poisons. (Knowledge of medicinal herbs is common to all by family tradition.) The songs, gestures and spells have been repeated till the novice knows them all perfectly. [824]

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756 During this period of confinement the novice is always having to chew tobacco, and it is during periods of nicotine-
[776] intoxication that the spirits appear to him. After his first examination the novice is given a diadem and a rattle, *maraca*, as symbols of his new dignity.

The novice's family must now arrange a dance and sacri-
[535] fice sheep or goats. A chichamaya is performed during one or two days and nights. Those taking part are ceremoniously painted. The animals are slaughtered and offered to the spirits who partake of them during the night. After that the dancers can eat. No one, however, may touch the meat till
[782] it has lain, wrapped in leaves, at the spirits' disposition and thereafter been dedicated by the piache, who spits tobacco juice upon it and pronounces spells over it.

The apprenticeship, of course, is not over, and again the novice is shut away from the world. Now comes a period of instruction in the art of chewing tobacco, that is to say, how, where and when that is to be done and what are correct ways to summon spirits, cure illness, make rain, protect cattle, halt epidemics and much more that the medicine man may be called upon to do. The instructing piache transfers his spirit to the apprentice, and exhorts the former not to start by trying to cure adults, but to practise on children. The spirit also forbids erotic association.

After a few months the apprentice will be ready to qualify. Large quantities of maize beer are then prepared and invitations sent out.

756 While the guests are drinking and dancing the novice
787 sits, still isolated, practising. The spirit comes and orders him or her to send for a beast of certain colour and with specific markings, which is to be sacrificed to the spirit. When that has been done, and it must be done, the spirit demands some necklaces of gold beads—any number up to ten—which have to be hung up in the novice's hut. As soon as these have been collected with the help of relatives—often as a loan—the spirit pronounces himself satisfied and informs them that the novice's apprenticeship is over. He or
[535] she can now begin to practise. But, the spirit adds, there

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must be no intimate association with women, not even with a wife! 756 787

The spirit has not merely accepted the novice as a piache, [833] but has entered into him, possessed him and will accompany him during all his magical seances. As a person a piache is of no importance, but when the mighty spirit fills him he becomes the equal of the real spirits. He cures the sick [755] exclusively by supernatural means, with the help of the spirits. Of real medicine he knows nothing. According to the Indians' ideas there are no natural causes of ill- [753] ness and death, which are ascribed entirely to dangerous spirits.

When a piache is summoned to cure a sick person, he must be given a gold necklace or some other valuable gift. He brings with him two maraca rattles, the usual magical instrument of the South American Indians, and a stool shaped like an animal. If necessary, he can sit on some other stool. One of his magical instruments is small pellets made by someone with a great knowledge of herbs and formed like goat's excrement, which are intended to attract the spirits.

While the piache is in his trance everyone must remain silent, otherwise the spirit may take fright and leave the piache's body, at which he will fall to the ground in convulsions and be ill. The piache chews tobacco all the time, and with the resultant magical saliva he smears his patient's body and often the walls and roof of the hut as well. He sings a song, invoking the spirit and sucks the parts of his [755] patient's body that hurt, thereby drawing out the cause of the illness: poisoned spirit arrows that have been shot at the sick person's body.

Usually the piache is alone with his patient, but sometimes he will allow a near relative to be present and help. The songs the piache sings are about how his own spirit is seeking everywhere for the patient's. The demon of the illness has gone off with it and holds it prisoner. When the demon is found, it is forced to release the patient's spirit against a ransom. For this the piache demands cattle, goats or sheep with special markings or ornaments, cloaks, etc.

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756 If cattle, these are tethered beside the hut where the
787 seance is being held; if ornaments they are handed to the piache.

If the piache does not receive what he demands—or rather what the spirit demands—attacks compel him to stop treatment. If the patient recovers, the piache retains the gifts on behalf of the spirit; but if the patient dies, then he is not supposed to get anything. Sometimes, however, he apparently keeps his fee on various pretexts—threats that the spirit might be angry, etc.

The piache observes his patient closely during treatment. An experienced medicine man will perhaps see that the patient has scarcely any hope of recovery and will pronounce him doomed.

During these seances the spirits often speak with the piache about the life to come. They tell him that in another existence he will come to a land with many villages that he
[775] has never seen before, in a countryside well watered by blue rivers—a glorious prospect from the Guajiro point of view. It seems that the spirits are here speaking of the piaches' special heaven. Ordinary Indians, perhaps, have to be content with a less well-watered paradise. If the patient recovers, the piache orders a chichamaya dance. The maize beer for this is prepared either by chewing or by adding raw sugar,
[534] *panela*. Those taking part stream in as soon as the drum, the only instrument, begins to sound. Nobody is invited; people just come as they wish. In the houses of the well-to-do they will be regaled with beef, one or more cattle being slaughtered for this. All will be in their finery. The dance will last one day or more, as the piache orders. The piache then washes his patient, who must still keep indoors.

756 When a child falls ill, the parents will often consult some neighbour who dabbles in fortune-telling to find out what the cause is. It will be cheaper to let her try, than at once to call in a professional sooth-sayer or a piache. The old woman will often burn the child with a red-hot needle or arrow-head, which in certain abnormal mental states, perhaps could provide a beneficial shock. The woman will often

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accuse an animal of spreading the disease. A certain bird is considered dangerous, spreading, as it flies over the hut, bronchitis and coughs, which in the first place attack the children. A child's illness is often ascribed to something that happened to the mother during pregnancy. If a child gets a pain in its stomach, the wise woman may say that this is because a spirit ate some of the mother's food before the child was born. To deal with this, duck feathers are burned and the child's behind smeared with ash. In other circumstances it is because a fox has nosed at something the mother subsequently ate. In that case a fox has to be killed and the child given some of its grilled meat, at the same time as the child's behind is rubbed with burned fox-bone. The child will get quite better—if the old woman is right and it was a fox. These women are quacks even in the Indians' eyes, and yet they turn to them first.

If an animal is sick, the piache himself is at once sent for. The cattle are driven into an enclosure and the piache dances round and among them, wearing his head-dress, torso bare, and brandishing his maraca, singing song-spells and spitting tobacco juice upon the animals. After some days of this, the treatment is concluded with a chichamaya dance.

The Guajiro, of course, believe in dreams. During sleep the spirit frees itself and learns things of which it knows nothing while the individual is awake. Because of this it is considered risky to neglect warnings or things of which one has dreamed.

A piache attaches special importance to his dream-experiences and knows how to interpret them. If he dreams that a snake bites someone, it means that that person will be struck by a poisoned arrow. If he sees fire in his dream, that indicates fever, while violent rain denotes the death of some rich Indian. Blood in a dream also means death, and an animal being butchered means that a person of the same age or sex will die. If the piache dreams that an enemy intends to kill a specific individual, he hastens to visit the person to help him. An animal of a certain colour is killed and the threatened individual smeared with its blood—

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The Goajiro town at Maracaibo

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that prevents his own from being shed—and after this a chichamaya dance is arranged.

It is not only through dreams that future events can be foretold. There are special sooth-sayers: we have already mentioned the outschi, who deal in prophecy without being piaches. Many real piaches also deal in prognostication, but that is not really their province. The Indians believe in the piache, more than in the ordinary sooth-sayer. 'The piache is always right', they say.

In divination the sooth-sayer also uses a firebrand that he swings through the air, or a lighted cigarette or, sometimes, a knife-edge along which he stares. Whatever the method, the sooth-sayer's spirit has to free itself and go roaming. Let us say that he is to track down a stolen cow. The freed spirit follows its path till it finds it and can say whither it has been taken. As I said, a piache will not treat a patient if he is sure that he is incurable. He often finds out about this by using a firebrand. If it goes out, there is no hope. Sooth-sayers most carefully study the different shapes assumed by the coals, which, to the initiated, are significant.

As with us, there are many amateurs, especially elder women, who try to foretell the future or discover what others are about. Suppose such a woman wants to know where her husband, who is on a journey, is and how he is faring. She takes a cigar of the primitive kind they use there, lights it and pronounces an incantation, asking to be shown what she wishes to know. If the ash turns black, her husband has fallen seriously ill, if the red part splutters it means that he will get gold, that is money. Other signs will reveal that he has associated with some other woman. That can involve the husband in considerable trouble when he returns.

Medicine men have a number of guardian or assistant spirits who advise them, but who also require remuneration for their services. They also warn the medicine men against enemies. Every piache has seven or eight such spirits, each of which is invoked with a special song. The rain demon, Marciwa, is called in song under the name Fumayule, while

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the demon of illness and death, Wanuru, is called Jirarai 756
Wanuru is the name of all the spirits of the dead which are 776
many, thus we are obviously dealing here with groups of spirits; and where Wanuru acts as guardian or assistant spirits, they no doubt represent the souls of dead medicine men.

One piache, known as a clever rain-maker, told us that 756
when he needed advice over rain-making, he used to go to 776
the burial place to talk with his dead brother's spirit, the 789
brother having been cleverer at it than he. When a piache has to make rain, he seats himself on his stool as for other functions, chews tobacco, shakes his maraca and rhythmically moves his torso and head. He then begins to sing in a high voice, calling upon the spirits and demanding that they bring rain, for people need it, if they are not to die of hunger. Now and again he emerges and dances round the huts, driving away the spirits that are preventing the rain from coming.

The Indians often first try to make rain without the 789
piache's help, by drumming at night or by firing guns and 821
arrows at the clouds. The drumming imitates thunder and can thus, according to the laws of magic, cause storms. The shooting drives away the spirits that are preventing the cloud from dispensing its rain. This is also what they do at eclipses of the sun, when all burst into tears and shoot at the sky to drive away the evil spirit that is preventing the sun from shining. A piache's own spirit does not interfere in his magic-making, for which he uses none but auxiliary [775]
spirits. It is not till after his death that a piache's spirit can become active and help some other piache.

The piache has to submit to certain restrictions on diet 756
and love-life. He or she must never have extra-marital 834
intercourse and even marital intercourse must be restricted. A female piache must never spend the night with her husband, but merely pay him fleeting visits that should be as short as possible; she must never allow herself to be caressed by him, and must lie quite still and indifferent during [833]
coition. If this is not done, her guardian spirit will be jealous
and angry, and may cause trouble. And, preferably, she 756
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756 ought not to have children. The spirits can show her various magical tricks to avoid this, but if she should 842 become pregnant, she can count on the spirit's help in labour. Not even the male piache is allowed to partake of [831] love more than fleetingly, almost casually. There must be no real affection involved.

756 A woman piache cannot practice during menstruation. [841] No piache may eat meat from animals he has received in payment for his services. These, like other gifts, he does not enjoy, but he can give them to his sons. Nor is he allowed to eat meat from animals sacrificed at funerals or such feasts. While invoking or conjuring spirits he should restrict his diet to maize gruel.

A piache can cure all, but not himself. Sometimes, perhaps, a sympathetic spirit may give him a little advice, which will always help; but if he falls seriously ill, he summons a [766 colleague, who performs the usual sorcery. When a piache 768] dies, his rattle, diadem and other attributes are chopped up and buried in some remote and secret place. The dead [775] piache's soul roams like those of all mortals and often clings to the burial place, but it is never alone, being always in company with its guardian spirit. Both can later help a new piache.

The medicine man is thus called to his profession by revelation and no attention is paid to sex, social position or age. Women have been magicians in Guajira from of old, as is shown by their myths. The piache belongs to two worlds: those of man and of the spirits. He has not chosen to belong to them and must continue in both. He is the intermediary between these two worlds, but nowadays his influence is dwindling. As civilization penetrates the peninsula, the part he plays is becoming less and less important.

The first really great piache was Umaralá, of whom the 756 Indians relate the following: 173

In the olden days there were plenty of piaches who took big fees, but did little. Umaralá made his cures with secret remedies and with songs accompanied on his maraca rattle. He lost his mother early, but was adopted as her own by his maternal aunt, who also considered all her possessions his.

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She was a piache and she loved him dearly. He lived with her in the Jarará district, and he used to go with her when her profession took her on journeys, when he listened attentively to her incantations and songs. 756 173

One day Umaralá became very ill, and not only he. An epidemic spread all over Guajira, and raged worst in the Jarará Hills. He grew better at first under his aunt's cure, but then he had a relapse and grew worse and worse. He lost the power of speech, sometimes consciousness as well, and had convulsions, while his aunt perseveringly performed her magic in the hope of preventing his death. Wondering, he listened to the conversations his aunt had with a spirit during the incantations. The spirit answered her appeals with reproaches, and it was no less a spirit than Jirarai. Distinctly the lad heard him say:

'Either you or your boy shall die.'

The aunt realized that the situation was critical and now—unfortunately not before—she called upon Jumajule, one of the good spirits who used to help her. Unhappily Jumajule could do nothing. He was not able to drive the first spirit she had invoked from her presence. That left the aunt no choice but to deliver herself to Jirarai in order to save her dear foster-son. She laid her maraca on the boy's chest and fell down, dead.

Umaralá rose at once and, weeping, took her in his arms. With him wept the only slave to have survived the epidemic. Together they then wrapped the body in an ox-hide and took it to one of the clan's burial places, where their near relatives lay. Disillusioned and depressed by his dear aunt's death and the ravages of the epidemic among his people, Umaralá withdrew from the world, dwelling in a cabin near where his aunt lay buried and living on what wild roots and fruits he could gather. Occasionally he visited his faithful slave, whose services he had not required since his aunt's death. Each evening he went to the burial place and lit a votive fire on his aunt's grave. One evening the old woman appeared to him, looking just as she had when alive, and said to him:

'Go back to Jarará, fetch my maraca and my head-dress,

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'156 visit the sick and treat them as I did. Only thus will you find
173 the right way. And you must change your name. Hereafter you shall be called Umaralá.' (Before that he had been called Paurala.)

Umaralá obeyed her command. He began invoking the spirits and healing the sick and soon was renowned all over Guajira for his prowess. Once the mother of a rich family fell sick. They consulted several piaches, none of whom could cure her. In the end they decided to visit Umaralá in the Jarará Hills. Two days and two nights the emissaries had to travel till they came to the famous piache's house. There they found an old man busy spinning yarn of agave fibres. He asked them what they sought, and they replied that they had been sent to find the piache Umaralá and to ask him to look at a woman who had been very ill for a long time.

'We are to give him a necklace of gold beads so that he will not refuse to come and a splendid riding mule for the journey.'

'I am Umaralá,' the old man said, 'and I do not need a riding-mule, nor will I accept your necklace until I have seen and cured the sick woman. Do you ride on, I shall follow immediately. As soon as you get back home, tell them from me that everyone must leave the house where the sick woman lies and that she must be alone all night.'

The messengers returned with this message. The woman was just as ill as ever. Umaralá's instructions were carried out and the patient left by herself. At midnight the sound of horse's hooves was heard. Someone galloped up to the ill woman's house and then came the sound of singing and the rattle of a maracs. Towards morning the sound of horse's hooves was heard again. It grew fainter and fainter. The next day the woman was quite recovered and she lived on for many years.

One morning when the slave came to his master's hut he found him ready to ride off on a splendid mule. He was carefully dressed and had his maracs hanging at his saddle. The slave asked where he was going and his master replied

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that he was waiting for two men with whom he was going on a long journey. One of these was from Macuira and the other from Parashi. At that instant two horsemen appeared. Umaralá took farewell of his slave and told him that they would not meet again in this world, only in the next, and he enjoined the slave to tell no one of what he had seen or should see, otherwise he would die. The slave was left alone in the hut, sorrowful and wondering. He saw the riders disappear in the direction of the burial place that Umaralá so often visited. The slave then followed. He heard the death-lament, but saw no one. That was Umaralá bewailing his aunt with his friends. The slave returned home and soon became very ill. He told what he had heard and seen and died immediately afterwards.

The slave had noticed that the man from Parashi who had accompanied Umaralá, was dressed in deerskin. This man lived in a little hut and had the power to transform himself into a deer. Several Indians had seen and recognised him. He used to make and sell hammocks and other articles made of bast.

The man from Macuira who had been with Umaralá devoted himself to curing diseases. He used herbs and roots for some and cured others by burning the patient with a red-hot iron point. He was also a sooth-sayer and could make rain. His name was Jururiana.

Once there was a dreadful drought that made many people leave Macuira and go to the savannas. Famine came to the hills. Now people knew that Jururiana could make rain and when he came to a place called Chamaro they flocked round him. In the end, in order to compel him to make rain, they tied him to a post in the sun and told him that they would not loose him until he had brought rain. This he did. After two hours, there was a big shower. The chief Juanito Epiayá was a very good friend of Jururiana and often summoned him when there was a drought, arranging dancing with much drinking and races. Jururiana then made rain.

This rain-maker vanished, none could say how. Another pretended to be Jururiana rejuvenated, but the chief sent for

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him and found that he could not make rain at all, but was an impostor, so he was driven away with blows and was glad to escape with his life.

Even in the days when the reputation of the piache stood high, the Guajiro would not infrequently seek the help of the famous medicine men of Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, the so-called *mamás*, in whom many Creoles believed. A Guajiro who could manage to do so would take a sick person there or an article of clothing or some ornament that the invalid had worn. The medicine men of the mountain Indians would use this to diagnose the disease, and the messenger would return with a herbal medicine. The health-bringing plants were broken up and preserved in spirits. People liked to acquire such medicine especially before a child was born; it was then poured into the infant's bath water and the mother drank a gulp of it. The effect of it depended on the magical power of the plants.

The Guajiro themselves used certain plants as medicine. Sometimes these really were effective, but often it was just a question of sorcery. A plant with much milky sap, for example, was laid on a mother's breast if her milk failed. The powers possessed by the mountain Indians of Sierra Nevada were attributed to the circumstance that they possessed the secret of invoking specially powerful spirits, whose essence also permeated the herbal medicines people got from them. The effect of the herbs thus came from the spirits residing in them. Intoxicating drinks acted through the spirits liberated in the process of fermentation; that was a common belief among the Indians.

The Guajiro believed in omens and portents. Various animals foretold misfortune or death. A wild cat wailing round the house at night, a bat that persisted in following one through the darkness, in certain circumstances also a snake beside the house, all portended trouble or sorrow. The Indians paid special attention to the behaviour of a number of birds and interpreted this as indicating the approach of visitors, the imminence of something unpleasant, etc. When they thought they had observed such a

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portent, they would usually summon a piache or a soothsayer in order to find out for certain.

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Let us now leave medicine men, for it is time to go out on our travels again.

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Indians with a stolen goat near the Cusina Hills

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The white man's dangerous magic: the film-camera

Below: *Indian camp with cactus fence*

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CHAPTER 11

The Brigands of Cusina

000 LIFE is a restless, not to say nerve-racking, business in Guajira. We had to be continually on our guard to a greater or lesser extent, and we never had a minute to ourselves. We were continually surrounded by Indians coming and going, wanting to sell, to buy, to exchange, to grouse, to inspect us and all that was ours. We liked the Indians, yet we had a feeling of being in danger.

We were ready to go to the Macuira Hills and get to know the rest of Guajira. We had a better caravan now, thin though the animals were. Father Crispin had helped me to buy them. Francisco Ipuana was coming with us as body-servant, if I may call him that. He was neither shrewd nor bold, but at least he was reliable and loyal. The monks had told him to serve us well, and that was enough for him. On his recommendation we engaged another young Indian who spoke not a word of Spanish and whom we called [124] José. We had learned a little Guajiro and, besides, we had Francisco to interpret. We started off with two other Indians as well, but they were to come only as far as Castilletes on the coast to the south. From there we intended to travel along the coast, make an excursion into Venezuela, and then cross the peninsula from south to north and so return to Rio Hacha, from which we had started.

We were quite melancholy at saying good-bye to the friendly monks and nuns, and Father Salvador gave us his blessing, heretics though we were. We had quite a company of Indians going with us. There was a rich Indian on his way to a funeral, who had his family and household with him. Francisco whispered to me that there was nothing bad

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Guajiro women are sturdy and powerfully built

Below: Frontier guard—Paraguayan

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known of his clan. The road across the hills was bad, and at times we had to dismount and walk. Now and again we met Indians; the well-to-do leading their riding-mules, the poor followed by half-naked women carrying loads. The men carried lots of arrows. The road was reputed unsafe. The leader of each such company received a little tobacco. We heard that they were all coming from the funeral, which evidently was one of importance and would last quite a while yet. Our companion, the rich Indian, said that he expected to reach the house of mourning in six days. He thought that we ought to go there too, but the place lay a good distance off our route and we had had our fill of Indian feasts for the time being.

Francisco had travelled with Father Crispin and knew the district. He advised us to halt for the night early in an Indian rancho ringed with a stout cactus palisade, where friendly people lived. We could have gone farther, and the Indians with us who were going to the funeral carried on, but then, according to Francisco, they would not have been welcome at the rancho. We never learned the ins and outs of the Indians' friendships and enmities.

At the rancho we bartered a piece of raw sugar against a sheep. Both our pack and riding animals were already tired. They had had far too little fodder and the water was salt. The Indians were up before cock-crow, as always, and we let them get the mules ready. If we could just get to Castilletes, they should have fodder and decent water: we needed provisions ourselves. But what about the sheep, asks the attentive reader. That went the same evening we bought it, our hosts partaking of it as heartily as our own people. It went, offal, guts and all. When nothing but the bones were left, these were split and the marrow sucked out. Then the women gathered up the remains for broth. That sheep cost the equivalent of fourpence-halfpenny. Our means were limited, but at such prices we could at least afford to feed our men. The difficulty was in getting hold of things to eat. The Indians know how to tighten their belts and are prepared to starve for a while, if need be, but they must have a blow-out now and again.

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231 Later that day we reached the coast at Castilletes. It was desert country there, dreary, full of sand-dunes and furrowed with salt water channels. There we came across an emaciated horse, a poor brute that had obviously strayed and was now desperately looking for water and grazing that did not exist. It stopped and drank sea-water. It must have been dying, and the kindest thing would have been to shoot it, but that could have cost us dear. The owner would have demanded unreasonable compensation. Instead, the Indians went to see what clan mark it had, so that they could report to their fellows in Castilletes. News spreads quickly among the Indians. The owner would not have much joy of his horse, for the hide could not be worth much, but he would learn where it was to be found.

Francisco got us to Castilletes easily. He had been there often before, even once on our behalf—to fetch gold, literally, for we were expecting a transfer of money from Caracas and it came in the form of gold, American, Venezuelan and Colombian gold and silver coinage circulated in Guajira, but the Indians would have nothing to do with notes.

There was, of course, a certain risk in conveying several hundred gold coins through Guajira from a slave-port like Castilletes, where there were plenty of shady characters. The money, however, was packed in boxes made for photographic plates and the same schooner from Maracaibo brought some packages for the monks, to whom our money was also addressed. The boxes interested neither Customs nor others. Francisco rode a wretched horse and had dressed in his worst jacket and a pair of indecently ragged trousers, so that he did not look as though he were carrying large sums on him, while his horse would not have tempted any thief. Thus, all had gone well, Francisco had not been nervous, though we had.

Castilletes was the only place on the south coast where white people lived and to which whites frequently came. Schooners from Venezuela put in there. The frontier between Colombia and Venezuela ran between the houses, of which there were about a dozen in those days. The sur-

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rounding country was utterly sterile and nothing could be grown there, so that Castilletes was entirely dependent on supplies from Maracaibo. On the days when boats came in, the inhabitants often had to let the crews have their meagre dog's ration of water, for, if the voyage had been at all protracted, the boat's own supplies would have been exhausted. Why those schooners could not carry more water—of which there was no lack in Maracaibo—I do not know, but in that part of the world people are not provident, but take each day as it comes. Often they did not have enough water to make coffee, which is almost more important to the Creoles than to us.

We arrived during the siesta and went at once to the shop which was on the Venezuela side of the frontier—to avoid difficulties with the Customs, it was said. We never saw a Customs officer, but perhaps one came sometimes with a schooner. I had a letter from the monks to the owner of the shop and thinking, like all queer foreigners, that I was in a hurry, I dismounted outside the shop, gave the half-open door a push and strode in. The shopkeeper lay in his hammock asleep. He had a rifle beside him and a revolver in his belt. He started up like lightning, seized his rifle and gaped at me, and still more at my wife, who now appeared in the doorway. I told him who we were and gave greetings from the monks. He bade us welcome and excused himself for being armed.

'You always have to be on your guard here,' he said, 'not only against the Indians, but against everyone you do not know.'

The man was proud of being able to read and write. The monks were evidently good customers and because of that, he said, he would sell to us at the prices he asked of his friends. Everyone says that, but what he made us pay was so much more than we had expected, that we had to forego an additional donkey, which we really needed.

Venezuela is an expensive country and the shop had no competitors. We could do nothing. I tried to beat him down and told him that I must in order to buy a donkey, but then he just said that no animal I would find in Castil-

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lens was worth having. If he himself had had a donkey to sell, his tune no doubt would have been very different.

Francisco, however, whispered to me that he was sure we should be able to get a donkey en route in exchange for one of my barter pistols. It was not easy to hit anything with these, but they made a loud report and a lot of smoke, and it was to that that the Indians attached most importance.

The donkey I did not get was to have been loaded with maize for our animals. We had to take maize with us, for otherwise, on that route, the animals would have starved to death, leaving us in a fix. The Creoles always gave their horses maize, using it as we do oats; but many Guajiro animals from the areas where there was grazing had never tasted it, and that was the case with several of ours. In order to accustom them to it, we had to mix it with raw sugar, and then it went down.

When our business was done, the shopkeeper wanted to offer us refreshments. We had a choice between a red fruit drink that looked poisonous, and spirits which we knew were poisonous. We chose the fruit drink, when we saw that it was of American make and thus the water in it, presumably, not infected. It was lukewarm, tasted of chemicals and stained our mouths red.

We, naturally, had to pay our respects to the two countries' representatives in Castilletes. They received us courteously and made us listen to long warnings. It was their duty, they said, to warn us against continuing our travels in Guajira. They could take no responsibility for us, though neither had they the power to stop us. To pass Sierra de Cusina, where the ill-famed bandits lived, was all but certain death.

When we persisted, they said that they must do as Pilate and wash their hands of us, but only symbolically. People could not afford to wash in Castilletes, nor could one expect them to, when water was so expensive and difficult to get.

Then, not wanting to spend the night in Castilletes, we set off again, although it was well on in the day. We hoped to visit a chief who was with his herds somewhere in the

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neighbourhood. We did not know exactly where he was at the time, but hoped that our Indians with their tracker's sense would be able to find him.

We were unlucky, however. Our animals were tired, and had the maize sacks to carry as additional loads, and our progress was very slow. We had bought a pack mule, which Father Crispin had thought highly of. He was an expert on Guajiro animals, which are not quite like others, but this time he had evidently made a mistake for the mule was useless. We heard Francisco shouting at it alternately in Spanish and Guajiro ; the Indians hauled on its halter and kicked it from behind, but nothing helped. When we came to a place where there was a little grass, we decided to halt and sleep there among the ants on the ground. Mules never seem to sleep: they trot by day and graze by night. I asked Francisco when they slept. The question astounded him; he had never thought of mules as requiring sleep.

We were so tired that, as soon as the animals had been loosed on to the grass and our camp set up, we fell asleep without thought of ants or other creatures. Although we had not found the chief, he found us. He must have had his scouts out. Anyway, in the morning he rode into our camp and invited us to his temporary residence, which was quite close. The shortage of pasture had turned him into a nomad.

This chief, Antonio, was a mestizo. He had no Indian first name, but called himself Gonzales. Certain mestizos and mulattos had Indianized themselves and become rich men, not always in an exemplary manner. Once rich, owning slaves and cattle, they also acquired power and were called chiefs, at least by white people. They were not real chiefs of clans.

We were given a most friendly and hospitable reception. A cloth was put up to protect us from the sun, and refreshing chicha, the fermented maize brew, was served us all day long. The food was good: grilled beef, maize rolls, the black fruits called olives, boiled roots of some seed imported from moister regions, and cocoa figs, which the Indians called guayas. The chief and his family lived in the centre of the

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UCD camp, and round about in the sparse shade of cactus and divi-divi trees, were the slaves. Antonio was a decent fellow and himself doled out the food to his dependants: it was rationed, but ample.

He had two good-looking daughters, who never did a hand's turn with the food or the rough work, which is not considered suitable for a fine Guajiro girl. On the other hand, they wove industriously, either sitting, or even lying, in hammocks. The chief had many colourful cloaks. Francisco said that the girls' bride-price would be equivalent to several thousand pesos.

Of course, we had to go and admire our host's big herds of cattle and horses, which were thin, but well looked after by Guajiro standards. Antonio knew nothing of the world beyond the peninsula, but he was interested and full of questions.

When the time came to go on, we decided to leave our miserable pack mule there. Our host, the human chief, lent us two donkeys and came with us in person to introduce us to his neighbour who might have a mule to sell. This neighbour was also a *mestizo*, and, unusually enough, a ridiculous hypochondriac, most unfitting for a Guajiro big-wig. He said that his eyes hurt and wheedled himself a pair of dark glasses, in which he looked quite foolish. When he heard that we had a medicine chest, he began complaining of all sorts of ills in his throat, stomach and everywhere else. I wrapped his neck in cottonwool and poured our worst tasting medicines into him, but unfortunately I had no castor oil to give him. For all my treatment, he refused to sell me a mule. In the end I managed to persuade him to hire me two donkeys, though he insisted on sending one of his slave-workers with them to bring them back. Naturally he wanted to charge for the Indian too, though he paid him no wages. It was the same with the donkeys: what he charged was scandalous, but we were forced to pay, as he very well knew. We left him lying in his hammock, bathed in sweat and groaning with imagined pains.

We all liked the idea of having one extra for the next stage, when we were to pass between the sea and the Guaira

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Hills, the most dangerous part of the peninsula. There were no chiefs there, no cattle and no other Indians than chance travellers. The new member of our company, however, proved to be lazy and useless from the very first. Francisco had got it into his head that the mestizo had sent his slave with us in order to steal my double-barrelled gun—for which he had asked in return for hiring us the donkeys, an offer that I pretended to take as a jest, since such a gun was worth its weight in gold in Guajira. The mestizo's slave boasted to Francisco that he had killed an Indian, so Francisco went in fear that he would try to kill me in order to get the gun. It certainly was not as bad as that. The man was really quite timid and everybody had their eye on him.

Now began the exciting part of our journey. As we were to go quite close to the dreaded hills, I consulted the only reliable authority I had, the English engineer, Simmons's, account of them. 'As far as the terrible Cusina are concerned,' he wrote, 'it must be pointed out that their name in the Guajiro tongue means "thief", "brigand". They are not a distinct clan or sub-division, as is sometimes maintained. They have been accused of being cannibals—Reclus, the geographer, wrote that the Guajiro tremble at the thought of being roasted and eaten by them. This, however, is incorrect and there is no proof of any such thing. It is true that the Guajiro fear them and will not pass their haunt, unless they are numerous enough to defend themselves and their herds; but their fear is that which people always have of robbers and brigands, when they have property to protect. In actual fact, it is difficult to find a Guajiro who does not have a relation among the Cusina.' He then gives some examples of this, and continues: 'These Cusina are nothing but a band of robbers expelled from their clans as a result of quarrels, murder or theft, and thereby compelled to plunder in order to live. In order to be better able to defend themselves and to have more success in attack, they have joined together in larger and smaller bands under recognized leaders. Thus they can organize plundering expeditions. If they find themselves strong enough, they will surprise less

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numerous and worse armed companies and take what they have. The various bands, however, have no mutual respect or consideration, but will plunder each other if they can. Perhaps a Guajiro with a relation among the attackers can count on some consideration, unless his relative is inimical. However, the Guajiro do sometimes do business with the Cusina, and also can negotiate and secure the return of stolen animals. The Cusina's haunt is the Cojoro Hills and a narrow strip of the lowland is also accounted theirs.' He then named the leaders of that time and told where they and their men were. In those days the Cusina had a number of plantations in the lowland, and also cattle, though they could not be bothered to look after these, but preferred to live by banditry. Simmons also says that it was the Cusina who sold the poisoned arrows.

Nearly forty years had passed since Simmons had journeyed in those parts and it was obvious that the Cusina were no longer so numerous nor so dominant, though one still had to take heed of them and be on one's guard. We were to learn that they could still make daring raids to parts far from their haunts. All unattached Indians one met in the vicinity of the hills were held to be Cusina—it was safest so.

Attack and highway robbery was one thing, ordinary theft another. If a thief was caught, it cost him dear in compensation, but theft itself, as we heard in connection with Chinco, was almost regarded as a sport. It was thus common for poor Indians at least to pinch things from those who were better off. We, of course, were considered very rich.

It was not to be wondered at if an Indian, having nothing to eat during the worst of the drought, appropriated a bit of this and that from those who were better off. If he knew that he would be able to repay it, it became a sort of loan, without the owner's permission.

Once, some Indians got in ahead of the monks when the time came to harvest the manioc at the mission's plantation in Macuira. When the monks came there with the mission's children to carry it home, all had gone. In the hope of preventing this happening again, the monks decided to com-

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plain to the civil authorities; but the government inspector at the coast just smiled and shook his head when they asked if he could do anything about it. 685 674

'The only advice I can give you is that you double your plantation next year. Then perhaps the crop will suffice both for you and the Indians.'

When a monk once reproached an Indian who worked at the mission for pilfering sugar, the Indian replied: 'But, father, every Indian steals!'

As Simmons thought, the Cusina are made up of the bad elements, those outcast from their clans. In the long run no clan can shield a member who commits all sorts of crimes. Some flee to the hills because they cannot pay compensation for someone they have killed, nor count on help from their clan, which perhaps is also without resources. Such people are real outcasts, for anyone can kill them without risk of their clan's exacting vengeance. These outcasts once took refuge in the most desolate hills of the peninsula, Sierra de Cusina, and ever since others have come to replenish their ranks. It was said that they also had women, either captured or runaways. Grazing and water were said to be scarce there. It was a desolate part and none disputed it with the Cusina. They had to live largely by plunder and robbery. They could only [illegible]p goats in their hills, so what cattle they rustled, they ate. They were keen to get arms. We were told that none then alive had ever seen a Cusina. They attacked by night and killed everyone. That, of course, was the old Guajiro way: let no one live who might conceivably exact vengeance. 579 64 69 579 69

The old accounts from the days of the conquest also mention Cusina, but they must have meant ordinary Guajiro Indians from the area of the Cusina Hills.

The brigands were supposed to have scouts out on the roads, who signalled to their comrades when they scented prey. They very seldom dared attack a well-armed company, as ours was. We three white people each had a gun or rifle and a pistol; and in reserve we had some of my cheap barter pistols. We equipped Francisco with a saloon pistol which had a long barrel and looked impressive. Then we 579

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579 hit upon the idea of stuffing our two canvas gun covers with maize and other things and letting the other two Indians carry them. In that way, it looked as though we were all armed, at least from a distance.

Thus we began our march past the brigands' hills.

The Cusina were always active at night, when they would at least try to steal our animals. We decided to travel by night and camp and sleep during the day. As long as the sun was up, there was little danger of attack. Also it was cooler travelling at night, for the heat there was terrible by day, since the hills shut off the breeze, the eternal north-east trade wind, and there was no shade. Luckily Francisco and the Indian slave-worker knew where to look for water. The casimbas there were mostly covered over and intended only for the initiated. The water was everywhere bad, turbid and brackish.

We were not able to carry out our plan in its entirety. As long as there was moonlight, we could ride, but in the evenings we had to rest, water the animals and wait for the moon. When the animals were to be watered, they had to be unsaddled and their packs stacked.

By the water-hole to which we went the first evening was an abandoned, tumble-down ranch. This was apparently the scene of an incident of which we had heard in Castilletes and also from Antonio. Despite warnings, a young Indian of a chief's family had foolishly taken it into his head to ride alone past the Cusina Hills. He had a Winchester rifle and rode a very good, fast horse, and so thought that he could get away from any of the Cusina, who were seldom mounted. However, he had to water his horse in the evening, as we had, and the Cusina had fallen upon him then, killed him, cut out his heart and taken his horse and rifle. Thus we had no need to fear any lack of alertness or caution on our Indians' part at that spot. We went on as soon as the moon had risen.

We rested during the worst of the heat, using a tent cloth to shield us from the sun. The grazing was wretched. The animals could only find one blade here, another there, and we had already begun to ration their maize, since our

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Indians also had to have some of it. Fortunately, we had 579
plenty of oatmeal, and we got the Indians to eat porridge.

The Indians we met, almost all on foot, were well armed with lots of arrows and often a gun and a well-stuffed cartridge belt besides. Custom required that all we met [576]
should be given tobacco, but the Cusina being reputed expert at seizing an outstretched hand and pulling a rider off his horse, we did as the Indian chiefs do and without pulling up threw a cigar to those we met with a gay injunction to catch it.

The shadowy figures that slipped away among the cactus trees when we met them by night were most suspicious. Those were not pleasant encounters. Even by moonlight anyone could see that we were three white people, but whether the shadows were Cusina or others with bad consciences we could not tell. Our large packages must have looked desirable to Cusina eyes, but they largely consisted
looked desirable to Cusina eyes, but they largely consisted
of Indian things, that is to say, our collections. The brigands would have been disappointed if they had opened them!

The hills we now had to the north of us were quite different in character from the gentle Macuira Hills. Tall, [133]
menacing masses of stone rose up here and there flanked by razor-sharp ridges. In the naked, grim ravines among them dwelled the Cusina, spying out across the plain from the verges of secret precipices, like vultures looking for their prey. One evening, we came to another abandoned rancho beside a casimba. We had already unsaddled and stacked the packs, when we discovered that the casimba was empty. The Indians knew there was another water-hole not far away. The animals had to be watered, so despite the risk involved, we had to split up.

We three white people stayed with the baggage, while the Indians went off with the animals and our water-vessels. My wife had fever and had to lie down, which she did with her little pistol beside her. Gladvet and I kept watch, rifle in hand. We had piled the baggage on a slight eminence, so that even in the darkness we had a certain view of our surroundings. Meanwhile our men had vanished in thick divi-divi scrub, in which anyone but an Indian would have got

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5A helplessly lost. This scrub would also have permitted any Cusina to sneak up quite close to us without being seen.

Francisco had said that it was not far to the water-hole, but they did not come back. An hour passed, then another. The situation was becoming really unpleasant. Suddenly, two muffled shots sounded in the distance. What had happened?

We had not agreed on any shot signals, though we had given Francisco one of our guns. Was it he who had fired, or the Cusina? Whoever it was, it was best to show that we were prepared, so we fired one shot with my shot-gun, the rifle only making a sharp little crack. Then there was silence. The echo rolled away towards the grim, sterile hills, and before it had died away, we heard the rustling of small frightened little animals dashing away. Some night birds lifted on noiseless wings. Then both we and Nature round us held our breath. We heard no more shots. But *if* the first shots had meant that the Cusina were attacking, we could expect to hear from them too. If they had not seen us before, they now knew that there were people both in the scrub down by the water-hole and on the hillock. And if the Cusina had overwhelmed our men and taken our animals, what were we to do in the most barren, desolate and dangerous part of Guajira?

Ssh! What was that? Something was moving in the scrub, where our men had disappeared. The moon was just rising and we could see quite well. A little shape slipped out from the edge of the scrub and vanished with light, swift, silent bounds out on to the savanna. It was a deer. Presumably it was off to lick the dew from the cactus flowers. One could well understand that this lovely animal with its gentle, mournful eyes spent its life going from flower to flower.

The absence of our men was becoming really alarming. At last we heard voices. We listened intently. Yes, it was Francisco calling. We shouted back. Soon we could also hear the animals snorting. There was no doubt. All was well. Then they emerged from the scrub and we learned the explanation.

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The second water-hole had also proved to be dry, when they eventually found it. However, the chief's slave-worker, who was supposed to want to get my shot-gun, had known that there was a third water-hole some distance away. Francisco had never trusted the man, and no doubt had his reasons, but there was nothing to do but to follow him. It had been quite a long distance to this third water-hole and it had taken a lot of finding. The slave had not been sure of the way; but with their wonderful instinct they had reached it, and there was water in it. 579

Thus the slave had not deceived them, but Francisco had still felt uncomfortable. That was when he had fired the two shots. He wanted an answering signal so as to know that nothing had happened to us. I pointed out that the shots could have drawn the Cusina down on him. He had not thought of that, not being especially bright. However, we were no longer split up and the animals had had all the water they could drink. It was time to move on and we kept going till the heat of the coming day forced us to rest.

We flung ourselves down under a cactus and hung up a piece of canvas to protect us from the sun. The Indians made a fire with two pieces of stick and some dry horse-dung. This they fed with cactus branches and then put a pot of sea-water over the fire. Had they gone crazy, we asked.

No, Francisco told us, they were going to cure the animals of their tiredness. And hastily he added that the treatment was external.

When the water was hot the Indians took calabashes, filled them and poured the water over the animals' legs. The poor brutes leaped and jumped. The water was too hot and I pointed this out. Francisco explained that this was a recognized way of curing tired legs and pointed out that the animals had not been so lively for weeks. However, they cannot have liked the treatment much, for when the Indians approached with their 'medicine', they moved away. I forbade them to use scalding water; but when it had cooled somewhat they continued, expertly flinging calabash after 579 232

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579 [a32] calabash of salt water over the animals' legs. The fact remains that both riding and pack animals trotted along considerably more briskly that day.

The following day we could see Jepitz, solitary cone-shaped hill of the savannas, blue in the distance. The Cusina Hills had withdrawn. The worst of the danger from bandits must now be over, we thought. We were to learn, however, that the bandits made longer raids than we had imagined.

If we had now set course for Jepitz, or La Teta as the Creoles called it, we could have cut across western Guajira to Rio Hacha, a short cut that would have taken only a few days. We had other plans, however. We wanted to go into Venezuela, to which Southern Guajira and the coast up to Castilletes belongs, and visit the Sinamaica lagoons where, on the shores of Lake Maracaibo, live the Parauiano Indians, the Guajiro's nearest relatives. While the Guajiro's country is as dry as a desert, one could almost call the Parauiano water Indians, for they live in pile-dwellings out in the water. We knew that they did not retain as much of their original culture as did the Guajiro, though they still dwelt as their ancestors had, but even so we felt that it would be interesting to visit them. Also, as we had to admit to ourselves, the thought of all that water was tempting after going short for so long. There were still wide savannas ahead of us, but we knew that the worst was over.

594 We now came across a minor chief with his herds. He had camped under some trees and welcomed us with exaggerated friendliness, but then both he and his men had already had one over the eight. However, they were still at the merry stage, though fighting would inevitably come later. The chief had bought no small quantity of spirits. There was a whole row of kegs. When he heard that we intended to continue, which obviously grieved him considerably, he tried to press one of these kegs on us. We were to take it and drink his health on our way. We managed with considerable difficulty to decline the gifts and instead received a hammock, sandals and some arrows, which we valued much more. Then off we went.

The savanna was almost bare and we could not hang up

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our hammocks to sleep. When I was a student, one of the stock questions asked by our professor of geography was: 'Why don't the Indians of Patagonia sleep in hammocks?' The correct answer was: 'The trees are too few and far between.' The Indians of Guajira took stakes with them which they drove into the hard ground when they made camp; but we could not give our animals such an extra burden and so had to sleep on the ground where there were ants and giant millipedes. Cactus bushes could suddenly come to life and a branch stretch towards one with spikes jutting, ready to sting, so good was their camouflage when sitting on a cactus.

We now met some very friendly Indians. As they sat by their fire they began telling myths and legends, and when they noticed that we were interested they continued. We learned that some blocks of stone that we would see the next morning and which had human shape, were really white people who had been petrified. They had died of thirst. Arijuna, the white ones, cannot stand thirst. The Indians can go three days without water, but the white man will endure only one. Therefore Marriwa, the rain-spirit, said to the white people: 'You live for ever dying of thirst.'

We agreed with that.

We could hear the roar of surf. Calimanle, the old Bearded One, told us that the noise really came from wild cattle bellowing out there, having been hunted and finally driven out into the water where some were transformed into turtles, others into rocks.

'There are dangers, here,' the old man went on. 'There's a majayura, a maiden, lives in a cave in one rock, and lures man to their doom. No living person can enter the cave, but the siren—we can call her that—comes around in rich and beautiful clothes. (She shows similarities, like her Moorish counterpart, to our water- or wood-nymphs.) The majayura now and again emerges by day as well, shows herself to someone she likes, leads him astray and to her grotto, where she lets him taste of her mysteries. He is so enchanted by his experiences that he never returns. That

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Below: Idols carved
near the Indian border

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is why many men have been found dead or have disappeared without trace. If anyone has managed to return having known all her mysteries, he says not a word, for to do so would mean certain death.

Majayura also drowns men. They see a white rock and approach it inquisitively. It seems to be not far away, yet it keeps withdrawing, enticing the men into the sea where they drown.

Then the Indians began to tell about the hills of the peninsula and how they came into being. There are many of them and the stories became involved, sometimes contradictory. Each area and perhaps each clan obviously had its own version. Let me here give only, and very briefly, the story of the brothers, the three most important tops: Jepitz, the woman's breast, that we could see blue in the distance; Iruhor away in Macuira that we had just left, and Carmichi at Cabo de la Vela. The Bearded One had a short version. He said:

'Once upon a time there were three brothers, Jepitz, Iruhor and Carmichi, who roamed Guajira. They stopped at different places which they never wished to leave and where they still are as hill tops. The first wanted to live by that beautifully shaped breast because he liked cactus figs so much; the second wanted to be at Ituhor because he loved roasted maize as his name shows, and the third wanted fish from the sea and stopped at Cabo de la Vela.'

One of the other Indians had a longer story about the three. Originally the brothers lived in western Guajira, near the river, where there was good grazing and maize could be grown. All three dreamed that they ought to go and roam. This worried them, because they were reluctant to leave their uncle for whom they had great respect and whose heirs they were. When they went to him and told him of their dream, he advised them to go, because dreams ought to be obeyed. So they went away and stayed for some time on the savannas of the central part of the peninsula. There Jepitz said to his brothers: 'Dear brothers, I have fallen in love with a girl here and shall stay with her for ever. Continue your journey.' The others went on and came

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Goajiro Indians in the leafy south. One is painted

Below: *The Indians' Venice*

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to Cabo de la Vela. There Camaichi said one day: 'I am sorry to part from you, my brother, but I have fallen in love with the sea and shall stay here for ever. Do you continue your journey.' The third brother travelled on and came to the uttermost edge of the peninsula, and there he settled and lived for the rest of his days, delighted by the fertile soil. (That is where there is running water.)

773

But when their lives were drawing to a close, they all dreamed the same dream at the same time. The great Marciwa appeared to them and said: 'All must die and be transformed, but you shall be transformed into hill tops, as memorials to your love. You, Jepitz, for a woman; you, Camaichi, for the sea, and you, Ituhor, for the soil and its crops.'

Transformation into stone is a usual myth in the Andean civilizations and in nearby Sierra Nevada, and I thought it interesting to hear similar myths even here. Next came something that really made me prick my ears, for the old Bearded One now began to tell the story of the flood. The short tales he told were genuinely Indian.

In the olden days, he said, the sea was small and narrow like a lagoon. There lived a bird, a hen pelican, which laid an egg on the shore. Then came the first Indian. He was still young and dark-complexioned, being burned by the sun. He was curious when he saw the egg and asked the hen pelican what it was doing lying there. The pelican replied that the egg contained a secret that only she knew. The Indian had to be content with that and went to a dance. In the morning he again passed the egg, but then the pelican was not there. Seizing the chance, the Indian broke the egg to see what was inside. But the sea was enclosed in the egg and it at once spread all over the land so that only the tops of Jepitz and Ituhor rose above the water. The Indian and the pelican took refuge on Jepitz, and all the other animals on Ituhor. The pelican managed all right, because she could catch small fish by the shore. She was disgruntled, however, because her egg had been broken. She had shut the sea up there, so that she alone could enjoy the fish. The Indian found the space confined. He began peevishly throwing

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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7773 stones into the water. The stones grew into cliffs and the sea had to withdraw gradually and the land became as it is now.

That then was the Guajiro version of the story of the flood. We know that it is based on reality. Apart from the subsidences and raisings of the land that have taken place there during the various geological periods, the whole lowland is flooded almost every year during the period of the rains.

In the myths men associate with all sorts of animals and speak with them. According to the primitive conception animals are people too, though of different tribes and with different languages.

The old man continued with the tale of events after the flood.

The dance the Indian had visited continued. There bat, hen, cock, vulture, woodpecker and other creatures met, danced and had a good time—all except the pelican which still grieved over the sea it had lost. During this dance the hen fell in love with the bat. Everyone at the dance became hungry, but there was nothing to eat. Only the woodpecker was well-fed. When the Indian asked him where he had managed to find anything edible, he replied that he had a little plot where he had sown cactus and he harvested and ate its fruits.

After a while the woodpecker became hungry again and left the company. The Indian sneaked after him and found the plot which the woodpecker had hidden away, yet had boasted of because he was drunk with much maize beer. The Indian took his sling and with it strewed ripe fruits all over the peninsula, so that cactus should grow everywhere for the benefit of all. There were a number of fruits left and he took these back to feed the dancers.

Towards morning the dancers began to complain that they had nothing to rest in after the exertions of the dance. There were not even trees with branches on which the birds could perch. The Indian went off again to see if he could find anything suitable. He came across a lame old man who was sitting making hammocks of bast. The Indian wanted

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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to buy them, but the old man refused to sell. The Indian pretended to go away, but hid behind a cactus to see where the old man got the bast from. So he saw that the old man did not have agaves from which he could make bast, but that he took the fibres from his nose. At that the Indian rushed up, wrenched off the man's nose and flung its contents to east and west, so as to sow agave for everybody. When he looked round, the old man had been transformed into a tree-stump. The Indian returned with all the hammocks and the dancers were able to rest.

Here the Indian played the part of the civilizer bringing the others various benefits, to the discomfort of those who wished to keep everything for themselves. The old man who turned into a tree-stump would seem to have been a plant-demon, the spirit of the agave.

That was not quite the end of the tale of the first Indian.

That night the Indian saw that the bat was sleeping with the hen in the same hammock and he became angry, thinking them an ill-assorted pair. The bat is an ugly animal and so that the hen should not see him by daylight, he used to get up very early, when the cock crew, and go off. The Indian discovered this and persuaded the cock not to crow the next morning till it was light. Then the bat overslept and all the animals saw him and the hen together and jeered at them. The hen refused to have anything more to do with him. The next night the bat returned to avenge himself and bit the hen so many times that she was on the point of bleeding to death. Ever since her movements have been ungainly and she cannot dance nearly as well as the vulture.

The birds decided to hold a competition: who could sing first in the morning. The cock crowed earliest—the others having overslept. The Indian praised him and gave him the prize. In gratitude the cock presented him with two feathers from his tail. The Indians wear such feathers in their headbands when they are on journeys. They are good, because the cock is up early and a very alert bird. Then they drank a lot of maize beer.

There was silence for a while, as the audience pondered this tale. Then another old man began speaking and all

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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773 listened attentively, for he was very old and knew more than most.

'Arijuna, the white man, is made of earth and his wife of his rib, you say that yourselves. But we, and the Indians, originated differently. When the first spirit divided the earth among his descendants he gave Guajira to a daughter, but forgot that the sea washed over half the peninsula. When he noticed his mistake, he made the land raise itself out of the water, whereupon his daughter married Mma, Time, he who has always existed. Their daughter married Pata, the Sea, and by him she had two children, a boy Juyap, the Rain Season, and a girl, Iguu, the Spring. And hear now what happened: Spring married the Trade Wind, Jepirech, and from them came the Guajiro. Therefore Juyap, the Rain Season, is the esteemed uncle of all Guajiro.'

We continued our journey. Nearer Venezuela we came to a regular park landscape with cactus trees. The lakes marked on our map had dried up entirely, as was to be expected at the height of the drought. We decided to make for a place called Paraguaipoa, where there was supposed to be a fort and a Venezuelan garrison. The animals were very tired and our progress slow. Then a grove of palms appeared in the distance, real coconut palms; it was fantastic! It was evidently Paraguaipoa. The sight of the waving green crowns seemed to revive our animals, but the pack donkeys' heads still drooped. We left the caravan under command of Gladwyn and rode on ahead towards the palms.

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Pile-dwellings with a kitchen garden

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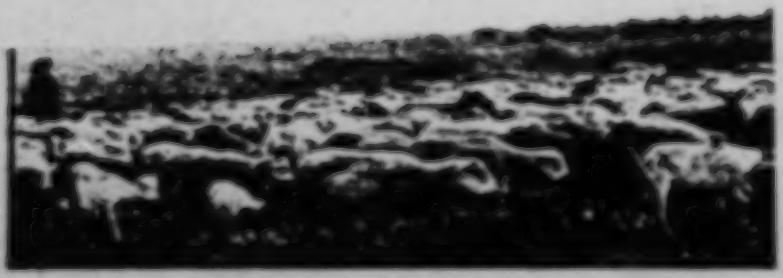
Indians wait patiently while the leader of the expedition sleeps in his hammock

Below: Flash being driven over the steppe

231



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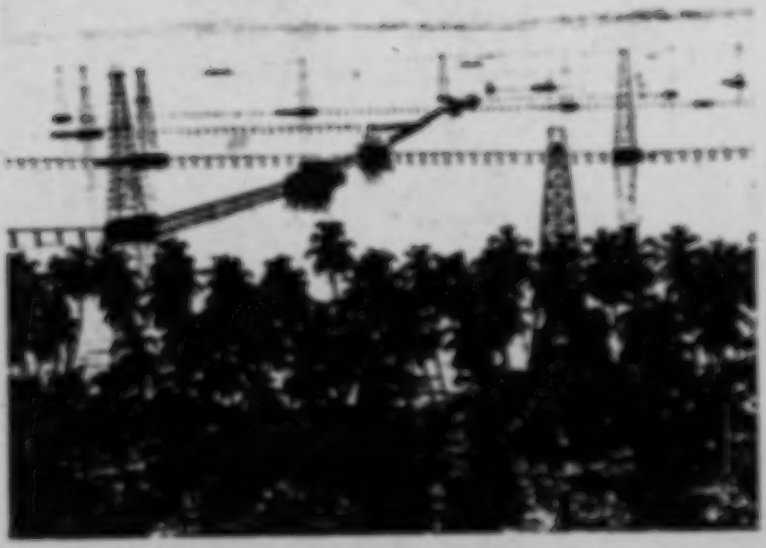
The ferry-man on the Colorado River

Derricks in Lake Maracaibo

730



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Aroma Ahmed, who represents the Indians at Congress in Geneva

[Facing p. 184]

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THE GOAJIRO

By John M. Armstrong and Alfred Métraux

THE REGION

The Goajira Peninsula, projecting as part of Colombia northward into the Caribbean Sea, contains an area of about 5,000 square miles, bordered on the east by the Gulf of Venezuela. The broad level plain known as Lower Goajira occupies the base of the peninsula, while the northern extremity is known as Upper Goajira and is characterized by three distinct ranges of hills. These hills have a maximum height of 2,600 feet (about 780 m.) and are separated from each other by two broad plains which run from sea to sea. The country is dry and infertile, the vegetation consisting of divi-divi, cactus, prickly-pear, and other xerophilic plants. Even these are absent where bare rock and stone slides preclude vegetation. Rivers are almost nonexistent, the country being cut in all directions by shallow, dry, sandy water courses which drain off rain as it falls. In the south and west, on the treeless prairies or savannas, the land is more hospitable. Here the Indians do most of their stock raising.

LOCATION AND HISTORY

The pastoral *Goajira* who inhabit this peninsula (map 6) differ profoundly from the agricultural forest-dwelling *Motilones* and *Arhuacos* to the south. Juan de Castellanos, in his "Elegías de los Varones Ilustres" (1874), is the first to allude to these Indians, though he calls them *Caribes*. He states that in his time, about 1550, cattle were already abundant in the area. It seems that the adoption of pastoral life by the *Goajira* took place soon after the Spanish settlement of that part of the continent. The name *Goajira* was, however, already known in the 16th century and was applied first by Pedro Simón (1882-92). The first reliable ethnographic information about the *Goajira* goes back to José Nicolás de la Rosa (Nicholls, 1901) and Antonio Julián, who both visited these Indians in the 18th century. Jahn (1927, pp. 119-136) has gathered the few data concerning the *Goajira* which he found in the early literature. A short summary of the first description of these Indians is given by Hernández de Alba (1936, pp. 8-12).

175 During the Colonial Period, the *Goajiro* were hostile toward the Span-
644 iards. After 1830, however, as a result of better treatment from the Whites, thanks in part to the efforts of Juan MacPherson, they became more friendly. Present authorities in the *Goajiro* region merely regulate frontier traffic.

797 The attempts by the Capuchin Fathers to alter their ways of life have
177 been unsuccessful. Except for the thin Catholic veneer, noticeable in baptismal rites and Spanish names, *Goajiro* social life seems to have been little affected by centuries of contact with Hispanic culture. Foreign influence is more apparent materially in iron implements, utensils, guns, textiles, and ornaments. All the domestic animals are of Spanish origin.

161 As a result of tuberculosis, smallpox, and venereal disease, the *Goajiro*
164 are gradually dying out, and the population estimates found in the literature have become smaller and smaller, the most recent indicating a scant 10,000.

PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

162 The *Goajiro* are usually described as aggressive and untrustworthy, of
[163] medium or small stature (cf. J. A. Mason, 1926, pp. 39, 52), copper colored, with jet-black hair, dark eyes rather obliquely set, a broad and blunt nose, and a large mouth (pl. 72, *bottom, right*). Within the tribes there are physical differences which seem to correspond with social status,
[165] the lower classes being smaller and more Indian in appearance, while those of higher rank are more often of a greater stature, with curlier hair and larger noses.

LANGUAGE

167 The *Goajiro* language belongs to the *Arawakan* family. There is, however, no good analysis of it. A grammar, "replete with errors" according to Simons, was published by Rafael Calcedo in 1878. Various word lists have been published from time to time.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

20/ **Farming.**—The *Goajiro* have a poor opinion of agriculture, and only
[168] the poorer also practice it. The one fertile part of the peninsula is near Punta Espada. Here the land is well cultivated, and plantains, sugarcane, onions, corn, sugarcane, and grain are grown. Tobacco, bananas, melons, gourds, manioc, sweetpotatoes, millet, beans, and watermelons also are raised. Those who own cattle grow only small patches of quick-maturing corn for the purpose of making chicha beer.

22 **Hunting, fishing, and gathering.**—Hunting, fishing, and gathering occupy a minor place. Deer, armadillos, land tortoises, and rabbits are

the chief game. The *Goajiro* who live near the coast sometimes catch 22
fish (with hook and line), lobsters, mollusks, and crabs.

Cattle raising.—The *Goajiro* are primarily nomadic cattle raisers and, 231
consequently, depend upon the water supply. In the rainy season they 221
seek natural depressions, which they sometimes enlarge artificially, where [512]
the water may gather. In case of drought they wander toward the sea, where wells 30 to 40 feet (9 to 12 m.) deep are dug.

Besides cattle the *Goajiro* keep sheep, goats, horses (pl. 72, *bottom, left*), mules, pigs, and domestic fowls, which they take with them wherever 231
they go. An estimate gives them 100,000 cattle, 200,000 sheep and goats, 30,000 horses and mules, and 30,000 donkeys. As cattle are a measure [54]
of wealth, the Indians are reluctant to kill them for food, but they utilize [431]
the milk or export the animals to Curaçao and Aruba in exchange for textiles and corn. Each tribe has its own cattle brand, and the annual [522]
round-up and branding is an occasion for great festivities. Horse races and other sports take place, and large quantities of food and drink are [527]
consumed.

Food preparation.—*Goajiro* diet consists almost entirely of meat and 262
milk products. Goats and sheep are killed every day or two for meat, 252
and the milk of the cows is made into butter and cheese. This diet is supplemented by yuca, cactus fruit, sugar, rice, and plantains, the last three obtained from Colombian and Venezuelan traders in exchange for skins. Meat that is not immediately consumed is suspended from tall poles, and skins are pegged to the ground and salted in preparation for sale. Butter is made by stirring the cream with a fluted stick in a calabash or wooden bucket. To make cheese, rennet is added to skimmed milk in a trough, and the curds are put in a primitive wooden cheese press, which is weighted with a heavy rock.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Although the *Goajiro* are of a common origin, they are divided into 614
ulu ("castes" or "tribes"), each living within a rather limited area 361
(Simons, 1885, p. 796). The *ulu* are split into local groups, which occupy extended villages or rancherías, each with 2 to 50 houses (ranchos) and 10 to 250 or more Indians. Houses are always within gunshot distance of one another and so disposed that surprise attacks would be difficult. If a village is at all permanent, a protective cactus hedge surrounds it.

Goajiro nomadism makes elaborate houses unnecessary. Dwellings 342
are mere lean-tos, arbors, and temporary gabled roofs supported on poles. Thatch is made from the core of the cactus, split lengthwise. Rough [352]
tables, chairs with rawhide seats, and benches are often used. The hammock is always present. House walls are often lacking, but a corner [38]
of the hut may be closed off for a girl's puberty seclusion. When mi-

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SC13 Goajiro SC13

When mi-
grating from one locality to another the *Goajiro* generally dismantle their houses and take them along, piling the poles and thatch on the backs of burros. Sometimes, however, they leave them for their own or someone else's use in the future.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Goajiro dress has changed little since the time of Nicolás de la Rosa (18th century). Men normally wear only a breechcloth, a necklace, and a head band with feather attached (pl. 72, *top*); but when traveling, paying visits, or receiving company they wear a large loincloth with many folds, a mantle (nowadays of bright colors), and an immense sash, in which they carry their arrows. A knitted string bag is hung from the waistband. In towns trousers and shirts are worn. The women wear a cotton dress, sometimes made like a simple sack with holes cut for the head and arms. The puna—long strings of beads passing over both shoulders, crossing each other on the breast and back and held in place by a sash or belt of beads (the sirapo)—is placed on a female child a few months after birth and gradually augmented according to the parents' wealth and the child's age. Black beads are generally used for the sirapo, colored ones for the puna. A married woman wears the puna until her first confinement. After her seclusion at puberty, a robe, sometimes containing 8 or 10 yards of embroidered material, is also worn by a *Goajiro* woman, but the loosely folded cloth which was her sole covering before puberty is still worn beneath it. Women, unlike men, are modest and avoid being seen naked.

Some young girls have as many as 100 turns of beads around their waists, as well as many around their wrists and ankles. Red coral is preferred, but most beads are made from seeds or coconut shell and are cut out by means of a hollow metal reamer twirled rapidly between the palms. The perforated shell may then be used as a colander. Glass and porcelain beads and earrings are also worn. The most prized ornaments are the *tumas*—polished and perforated stone ornaments found in some of the old graves. On dress occasions necklaces of beads and gold ornaments are worn. These, found in *Tairona* graves, are fashioned in the form of tiny animals, frogs, turtles, etc.

The men, except the medicine men, wear their hair short, kept back by a ring or crown made of plaited straw, or of wool with a tassel behind. Often the two are combined and adorned with a couple of feathers in front; or the whole may be made of feathers. For protection against mosquitos and sun both sexes paint their skin with powders made from rotten wood, a black stain made from a wild nut, and another color extracted from leaves and mixed with fat. After puberty women cut their hair short, keeping the shorn tresses in a bag hung from the roof; henceforth they never let it grow beyond the neck. They make designs on

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They make designs on
their skin with black stain and tattoo themselves, especially on the arms 302
and legs, with charcoal dust pigment. At least one of the marks is 304
the same as the tribal brand. [19]

MANUFACTURES

Women have a rather definite daily routine. They arise before day- 512
break, milk the cows, and prepare the morning meal for the men, who 462
then go off to fish, hunt, fight, or merely loaf and drink chicha. They fill their jugs at the water hole and then spend the rest of the day collecting wild cotton, spinning, weaving, making ropes, grinding corn, making butter, cheese, and chicha, and performing other household duties. They milk again in the evening.

Textiles are probably the best *Goajiro* manufactures. Their other 286
products are pottery (which is the virtual monopoly of a few sils), bows 32
and arrows, and saddles and harnesses.

Spinning and weaving.—Wild cotton is collected, the seeds removed 283
by hand, and small wads are rolled around a thin stick to form small tubes about half an inch (12.5 mm.) in diameter and 6 inches (15 cm.) long. These tubes are then spun into thread with the use of a spindle, one end of which rests in a calabash bowl on the ground. Yarns are [584]
colored with vegetable dyes, especially divi-divi.

Almost every household owns a loom, before which the women sit for 286
hours weaving hammocks and bright-colored belts for men and horses. The warp is made from one long continuous thread wound around two thick horizontal poles, the upper one firmly attached to two uprights, the lower one hanging loose and maintaining the tension. As the work progresses, the cloth is moved forward around the poles, so that an endless strip of cloth is produced, which is then cut. Shuttles are passed through by hand, the warp being shifted by means of a threading arrangement which takes hold of alternate strands. On a piece of cloth about 2 yards wide an inch of weave every three hours is considered very fast work.

Containers.—Most cooking utensils are made of crude earthenware by 323
a few tribes in the vicinity of the Teta, a peak near the middle of the 415
peninsula. Spoons and forks are cut out of calabashes. Some Indians 439
possess enameled mugs and pots obtained from itinerant traders.

Weapons.—Almost every man possesses a good rifle. Cartridges are 411
scarce and expensive and must be smuggled in. Firearms are consequently reserved mainly for warfare, and the bow and arrow is the everyday weapon.

The bow is made from the hard, springy wood of the black palm. It is almost round in cross section, 5 to 6 feet (1.7 to 2 m.) long, and strung with a special sisal cord. The end which rests on the ground is protected

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411 by an empty cartridge case, to which a metal ring is sometimes attached, giving a musical note with every shot.

Feathered arrows show many designs. Bird arrows may be tipped with cartridge cases or with large, rounded, wooden knobs about 1 inch (2.5 cm.) in diameter. Heads made from nails are used for small game. Serrated metal-tipped arrows are used in warfare; but the most dangerous arrow is pointed with a sting ray tail, sharpened to a fine needlelike point and fitted into the hollow end of a light cane shaft about 4 feet (1.2 m.) long and three-eighth inch (9 mm.) thick.

[278] To prepare arrow poison, scorpions, centipedes, and poisonous spiders are mashed, snake venom is added, and the mixture is allowed to putrefy for several days. The poison will retain its potency for six months. It is kept in a short section of bamboo, which is carried around the waist, together with the arrow points, each in a hollow reed. Before shooting, an Indian dips the point into the poison and inserts it in the shaft.

[282] A decorated leather wrist strap is worn as a bowstring guard.

372 **Fire making.**—Fire is made by twirling an arrow on a cactus hearth; the spark is caught in dry grass.

TRADE

439 There is considerable trade between the *Goajiro* and foreigners. Firearms and ammunition, cloth, beads, blankets, rum, cutlery, corn, crude sugar, rice, plantains, and tobacco are imported in exchange for salt, cattle, cheese, milk, hides, pearls and pearl shells, logwood (*Haematoxylon campechianum*), and divi-divi (*Caesalpinia coriaria*).

464 During the salt season the Indians of the interior flock to Manaure, where they are paid for loading sacks of salt into the warehouse and onto ships. Both men and women take part in the work, the men filling the sacks and the women carrying them.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

614 The *Goajiro* are subdivided into 30 odd matrilineal sibs ("castes" or "tribes"), each identified with an animal. Some of the larger and more important sibs are split into smaller groups, each with a special totem. (See Simons, 1885, p. 796, and Weston, 1937, p. 139, for a list of the various sibs, together with the totem animals and the locality which they inhabit.) The members of any sib are more widely spread throughout the peninsula than previously thought, although in some localities, one sib may be found to the exclusion of all others. Each "caste," according to Petrullo (1937, p. 155), "holds sovereignty over a well-defined territory." The sib which is largest and wealthiest in livestock is that of the Uriana. It has many subdivisions, such as Uriana jaguar, Uriana rabbit, Uriana paulsrate (a song bird), and Uriana gecko (a lizard). The

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Urbana are connected by marriage with the Pushaina, another wealthy "tribe" of the Goajiro.

Each extended village (section or ranchería) consists of related sib members who are bound by close ties and who unite against outsiders if one of them is wronged. Intermarriage among the sibs is common.

The role of the maternal uncle in Goajiro culture is of great importance. Santa Cruz's detailed study of it (1941) will be summarized here. Types of behavior, both prescribed and understood, vary, not only according to the seniority of either uncle or nephew but also according to that of the sisters. The maternal uncle must leave all his property to his oldest sister's oldest son, the other nephews receiving nothing. In practice the maternal uncle transfers most of his property to his own children, and after his death little if anything remains for the nephew. The attitude of a senior nephew toward his senior maternal uncle largely depends on what inheritance he expects from him. If the nephew marries a girl from a wealthy family and has, therefore, to pay a high bride price, the senior maternal uncle is expected to make a donation to meet the price. The uncle has no authority, however, in the selection of the bride.

Etiquette requires that in company the nephew must always remain silent if his senior maternal uncle is speaking; if the nephew wishes to speak he must first ask his uncle's permission. The nephew must always show respect and conduct himself with propriety. On the other hand, a senior uncle should not criticize or laugh at his senior nephew. No such behavior is prescribed between father and son or between other uncles and nephews. Public opinion castigates any deviation from this behavior between uncle and nephew.

The relationship between a maternal uncle and his niece is just the reverse of this, for the uncle is the recipient of benefits. He receives the bride price paid for the niece, and he contributes nothing toward the dowry for the bridegroom. The maternal uncle, however, is empowered to accept or reject a prospective bridegroom, and the girl has no recourse in the matter. A girl is respectful and considerate, although less rigidly formal, toward her senior maternal uncle. Her behavior toward her other uncles depends solely on her regard for them.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

There is no central government uniting all the sibs, but each sib or subdivision thereof has its chiefs who inherit their position matrilineally. The oldest chief has greatest authority and may carry a knobbed stick as symbol of his authority. He is generally the wealthiest and has most retainers. Hereditary status is very important, and a man born poor may never achieve a high position, even though he acquires much wealth. He may, however, marry a woman of high rank and his children will inherit her rank. Chiefs are polygynous and have many daughters, for

622 Chiefs are polygynous and have many daughters, for
595 whom very high bride prices are paid—sometimes thousands of animals,
548 worth $6,000 to $10,000. Such rich chiefs take great pride in their
556 daughters, dressing them in fine silken robes and necklaces of gold and pearls and providing them with personal servants.

567 There is a class of slaves who are beneath the chiefs' retainers in the social hierarchy. It consists of people born into this status and of captives.

PROPERTY

622 All cattle, though individually owned, belong in theory to the local group as a whole and are worked for the common benefit of all. For example, the cattle paid as a bride price when a girl marries within her own ala go to a new owner, but the milk, butter, cheese, and hides from them continue to be shared by everyone in the ala. When a woman receives cattle as a bride price for her daughter any new stock born to them belongs to the daughter's husband and his sons, and when the animals are rounded up for the annual branding each son is allowed to brand a certain number of them.

ETIQUETTE

576 The *Guajiro* are in general unfriendly to strangers but have a well-
579 established code of hospitality. Strangers calling at a house must wait until invited in. Inside a house a bowl of chicha or rum (coffee when available) is the first gift offered the visitor, who is thereafter given a hammock and treated as a member of the family. A special feast may
645 be arranged if there are many guests. A guest of high rank is feasted, and some of the young girls of the house may be placed at his disposal.

LAW AND ORDER

627 The chiefs have little power outside their own local group, where they settle minor disputes. The solution of many disputes and transgressions of customs are left to the parties concerned. The laws of group respon-
628 sibility and group retaliation lead to frequent interclinal feuds. A person
619 without a strong ala to protect him is helpless, for others may use any act which may conceivably be interpreted as harmful as pretext for demanding indemnity. For example, a person injured while intoxicated may demand payment from the person who sold him the rum, or a person injured by a borrowed animal may demand payment from the owner of the animal; a thief who hurts himself when trespassing on the property of his intended victim will demand compensation of him; and anyone aiding a sick or wounded person who subsequently dies incurs a liability.

672 If a person injures himself he must make an expiatory gift to the members of his own ala and a lesser gift to his father's relatives. If a child dies when under the care of one parent, this parent must reimburse

the other. Many other cases indicate the absolute nature of *Goajiro* law 672
and the refusal to recognize extenuating circumstances.

Murder is a very serious crime, and the victim's family immediately 682
demands blood money to the amount of 200 or more cattle. For failure 628
to pay, a member of the murderer's sib of the same rank as the victim must forfeit his life. If payment is not forthcoming retaliatory raids are made. As the defenders generally lose more people than the attackers, the feud may continue indefinitely until all the members of one sib will consider themselves at war with the members of the other, thereby spreading the war throughout the peninsula. If a feud should develop between the sib of the husband and that of the wife, the latter, with her children, will return to her own group until the trouble is over.

A person who has received a deadly insult from another is baited and 683
chided until he takes revenge by killing the offender, in proof of which he removes the victim's viscera and takes them home. This act also prevents the victim's soul from bothering him. If unable to accomplish this he may commit suicide. Suicide is also sometimes a means of venge- 762
ance, a person feeling that he will suffer less than those who caused him to commit the act. Thus a wife who is not allowed enough freedom may hang herself.

Next to murder, one of the most serious offenses is to mention a per- 689
son's true name (given at birth?) or to mention a person's name after his death. This has caused many tribal conflicts.

The value of the compensation demanded in disputes varies directly 631
with the social rank of the offended party. In some cases a repeated 565
offender may be killed by his own sib members. Sometimes, rather than 728
to continue the warfare, hostile sibs may confer under the auspices of an outsider, such as a Capuchin monk, and draw up peace terms. In personal quarrels or minor brawls women often step in and enforce peace.

WARFARE

Wars between the *Goajiro* and outsiders are rare, but any White man 721
may be held liable for the offense done by another, as all Whites are thought 609
to belong to the same sib. Sometimes the few civilized people living in the peninsula take vengeance on the Indians, which leads to further reprisals by the latter.

At the time of De la Rosa, war was declared by sending to the other 721
tribe an ambassador who, in a public speech, asked indemnities for damage previously done. If these were not conceded war was declared, but a brief truce was observed in order that preparations might be made. In battle each group of opposing warriors formed a semicircle and tried to surround and destroy the other. In individual encounters a *Goajiro* rode 726
out on a horse, but, upon seeing the enemy, he dismounted and shot his own horse with an arrow to show his confidence and willingness to fight

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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726 on equal terms. He then approached the enemy from the left while making quick movements, jumps, and turns, with his legs apart and his knees bent. More recently, according to Ernst (1887 c), war is not declared, attempts being made to take the enemy by surprise.

[791] Wars last indefinitely, sometimes being broken by a peace brought about by an influential "civilizado" or the Capuchin monks, the latter sometimes paying the retribution demanded out of their own pockets.
579 Some tribes, such as the *Cosina* of Serrania Cosina (actually a conglomeration of outcastes rather than a sib), make their living almost entirely by robbery and pillage, destroying houses, stealing cattle, and killing or enslaving their enemies.

LIFE CYCLE

843 **Birth and childhood.**—During pregnancy a woman continues to do her heavy work up to the very hour of delivery. At childbirth, the shaman
844 pronounces various spells over the patient and applies poultices made of
[156] dried flowers, roots, etc. A large, heavy stone placed over the womb and vigorous massaging bring about the birth. If the placenta is not soon expelled, the woman drinks a medicine concocted by the medicine man. As soon as the child is safely delivered the father serves rum and chicha
[884] to all his relatives. If the pains of childbirth appear when the sib is on the march, the woman mounts and rides ahead so that when the sib catches up the event is practically over. The husband cuts the cord with his machete and cauterizes its ends with a glowing ember. The woman
[159] then continues on the march with the child in a sling on her back. When the permanent camp is reached she washes herself and the child.

85 Baptism is a Christian ceremony which the *Goajiro* have adopted, and
551 most of the Indians are called by Spanish names, as their real names may
177 not be mentioned. Teknonymy is practiced; a parent is addressed by its child's name plus a prefix, nushi or sushi for the father, ni or si for the mother. Thus, a father may be called Nushijuan after a son or Sushijuana after a daughter.

857 At 6 or 7, girls learn to grind salt, pick cotton, and tend the smaller
869 animals; the boys imitate their fathers.

855 Parents are said to show little affection for their children, sometimes
[856] selling them at Sinamaica. They receive $10 or $15 for a child of 8 or 9 years. The purchaser becomes the child's guardian, teaches him the Catholic faith, and keeps him until he is 17 years old. These children
[936] rarely return home. Abandoned children are taken to the San Antonio
791 orphanage, where the girls continue to wear their *Goajiro* dress, but the boys are put into jackets and pants.

881 **Girls' puberty.**—At her first menstruation a girl is isolated in a small dark hut and stripped of all her ornaments. She lies in a hammock, sometimes hoisted near the roof. For the first 2 days she drinks no

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water but is given an herbal purgative. Her hair is cut short. Generally 531
several of her relatives stay around the door of the hut, and strangers
and men with an eye to matrimony may look in. During this period the
girl is taught the duties of married life and such skills as weaving,
sewing, and making hammocks. When she emerges, stout and bleached,
a special festival is held, when she resumes her ornaments and puts on
the adult clothes that she has made during her confinement. She is now
considered marriageable. The length of her confinement depends on
her status, though theoretically it lasts until her hair again reaches the 554
nape of her neck. Poor girls are secluded only a few weeks, rich girls 556
up to 2 years.

Sexual life and marriage.—Little is known about the sexual life of 536
the *Goajiro*. A certain amount of promiscuous love making occurs among
the young people at the biweekly festivals. Dances also provide an op-
portunity for sexual advances.

There are some male transvestites who carry on only female activities 538
and are ridiculed by the men.

When a man desires to marry he sends his father or uncle as inter- 534
mediary, then pays a bride price which has been set by the girl's relatives. 583
The payment is usually in cattle, but goats, pearls, liquor, cotton cloth, 602
and gold ornaments also are used. The father retains the purchase price
only when his first daughter marries; the income of subsequent marriages
goes to the girl's senior maternal uncles. The mother also receives part
of the income. A son obtains the cattle for the bride payment from
the increase of his father's herds.

Intermarriage between the sibs is frequent, and many of the *Goajiro* 582
give their daughters to "civilizados" from Maracaibo and Rio Hacha,
who pay higher prices and find such a tie with the Indians useful in their
trading relations.

The marriage ceremony consists of a series of feasts and exchanges of 585
presents between the two families. The wedding night is spent at the 601
rancheria of the bride's mother, but the nuptial hammock (specially
woven by the female relatives of the bride) is hung from a tree some dis-
tance away from the house. For a period of days and even months the
bridegroom leaves his bride at dawn and returns only after sunset. In 604
this way the groom shows respect to his mother-in-law.

Polygyny is general. The number of wives depends on the economic 595
status of the husband, some men having as many as 20. Each wife lives
in her own house, where her husband occasionally visits her. The man,
as head of the polygynous household, supervises the daily slaughter of 592
animals and the distribution of meat and corn to each household accord-
ing to the number of its members.

If a wife shirks her domestic duties she may be divorced and her hus- 586
band may claim the return of the bride price cattle, plus their increase and

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536 minus an amount considered equivalent for the sexual right he had exer-
[744] cised. If a woman dies in her first childbirth the husband may demand
585 the full return of the bride price (Simons, 1885, p. 792, however, states that the wife's relatives demand compensation from the husband).
536 Adultery entails divorce with full return of the bride price. It rarely
857 occurs, however, as the wife will be treated badly by her own relatives.
At his death a man's wives are inherited by his brother, and next by his
587 sister's sons; the women may avoid this by making a payment equivalent
768 to their bride price. If he is of the Catholic faith his children may claim
184 to be his legal heirs, which leads to conflict with the maternal nephews. (See Social Organization, p. 374.)

562 The influence of women in political affairs is sometimes noticeable.
692 There are cases of female chiefs, and women are respected enough so as to be able to intervene and stop brawls.

764 Death.—Funerals are accompanied by festivities which last days or even
[765] weeks, according to the wealth of the family. There are some differences
[766] in the funeral ceremonies which are apparently associated with the particular sibs. These funeral feasts afford the best opportunity for display of wealth, and more than 1,000 head of livestock may be butchered. Every mourner who comes to the feast contributes animals for slaughter and continues to do so as long as he cares to remain. After the mourning period, marked by weeping and lamenting interspersed with drinking and feasting, the corpse, which has lain in a hammock slung from the rafters,
[767] is sewn up in hides by the women (men may not touch a dead body) and carried to the cemetery of the tribe. For a year or so, the body may be temporarily consigned to a shallow grave marked by a pile of stones. Food and drink are often placed in the grave, and, if the deceased had been a warrior, his bows and arrows are put in. A year or two later the bones
764 are exhumed and reburied in a large urn. The exhumation is generally
765 done at night and is accompanied by a feast. The remains are carried in a funeral procession to the dead person's birthplace, where they are buried in the family's own cemetery. The funeral urn is placed in a vertical position with the narrow neck of the jar protruding above ground to permit the free entry and exit of the spirit and to allow the remains of other members of the family to be added from time to time. A cactus hedge surrounds the cemetery, and in wet weather half a calabash is placed over the opening of each jar to keep out the rain. Whenever two relatives of a recently deceased person meet, they bow to the ground, shouting and groaning, for several minutes. (For a slightly different account of the burial of a rich man, see Simons, 1885, p. 792.)

761 If a person is stricken with smallpox the whole tribe moves away, only
766 the family of the sick person remaining. When the death occurs they bury the body below the floor and burn the hut over the grave.

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PLATE 72.—Guajiro Indians. (Courtesy American Museum of Natural History.)

[Facing p. 380]

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The *Guajiro* believe that after death the deceased in ethereal form 775
wander about the country, their favorite meeting place being in the vicinity
of Bahía Honda in the extreme north of the peninsula. There is some
evidence that the Indians look forward to a happier existence after death.
From this belief in the afterlife stems the practice of scattering the body
of a slain enemy, for once his body is broken and scattered it is not possible
to reassemble his soul, and the slayer is prevented from a vengeance-seeking
spirit.

The dead are highly respected or feared; consequently, it is a serious 769
offense to mention a dead person by name. 551

SPORTING AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Games.—The *Guajiro* have various athletic sports, such as horse racing, 526
wrestling, and archery. Contestants shoot at a skin ball or a fruit tossed
into the air or at targets; they are very accurate up to 133 yards. Tourna-
ments are held in which the contestants pair off, the victor of each round
winning an arrow and continuing to compete.

Feasts and dances.—The *Guajiro* are fond of feasts and hold them 574
whenever opportunity offers—at funerals, when they have received their 756
pay for hauling salt, at baptisms, or when a person completes his training
as a medicine man. Wenios (1937) describes a festival held on the last-
mentioned occasion. For 2 days the big drum was sounded by relays of
players, spreading the news. The dance, practiced beforehand, took place
in a circle some 25 feet (7.5 m.) in diameter around which some 200
Indians gathered. A man, nude except for his wallet cloth and head band 542
with ornamental plume, with his face painted red in a crisscross pattern, 535
danced backward from a girl dressed in a voluminous robe and wearing
a large red handkerchief on her head. The girl attempted to overtake
and head off the man, who retreated before her in a circle with a peculiar
double step, almost a hop and a skip. As one pair tired another took its
place, the dance continuing indefinitely.

Musical instruments.—*Guajiro* musical instruments are few. A 534
calabash filled with stones or peas serves as a rattle for dance accom-
paniment. The clarinet is about 2 feet (0.6 m.) long, made of telescoped
(?) sections of reed with a bell consisting of calabash and a vibrating reed
in the mouthpiece. It is side blown. The large drum is carved from a
hollow section of tree, 15 inches (38 cm.) in diameter and 24 inches
(60 cm.) long, and has both ends covered with sharpskin. It is slung
from the rafters, a branch, or from the player's neck. Singing among the
Guajiro is virtually nonexistent.

Narcotics and stimulants.—To make chicha beer, maize may be mas- 273
ticated by the women and spat into a large earthenware bowl, with water
and crude sugar added. After 3 days it is strained and drunk. By another

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273 method the maize is finely pulverized by hammering on a flat stone, instead of being masticated. Beer is drunk in large quantities, as is rum received by trade.

276 Both sexes commonly smoke long narrow cigarettes, which the women make of bundles of 8 or 10 leaves. Formerly, at least in the western portion of the country, the *Goajiro* chewed coca (hayo) with lime, which stained their teeth black. Coca is still grown, but there is no mention of this custom in recent times.

RELIGION

776 *Goajiro* religion is imperfectly known. Mareigua (Maleiwa) seems to have been the Creator and Culture Hero. He caused the first *Goajiro* to emerge from the ground and taught the tribe how to produce fire with a drill. He saved them during the flood by raising the Cerro Pueuro where they had taken refuge and by driving the jaguars away. As a Supreme Being he shows some moral preoccupation, in the past having punished those who lived in incest. He sends rain and all the good things which the *Goajiro* expect from nature (Hernández de Alba, 1936, p. 44).

Yoluba (Yorja) has been thought to signify the god of thunder, lightning, and drought, but the term probably does not designate a single deity but bad spirits or ghosts in general. These are feared at night when
776 the sky is clouded; to prevent their inroads the *Goajiro* stretch a thin cord
789 between two poles reaching above the roof. They attach to this cord, at regular intervals, fishhooks which serve to entangle the Yoluba and make their stay unpleasant. Sometimes when sounds coming from the bush are thought to have been made by spirits, the Indians light embers and throw stones at them.

787 The *Goajiro* give considerable importance to dreams. A dream may
438 cause the desertion of a camp, a war, or a consultation with a shaman. The *Goajiro* carry charms which they buy from shamans.

SHAMANISM

756 *Goajiro* shamans (piache) are of both sexes. Aside from their long hair shamans differ little in external appearance from ordinary persons, but their power is reputed to be considerable and people avoid offending them. They are said to cause the heart of a person to stop beating unless they are paid enough.

A shaman keeps his cures secret and divulges them only to a successor, who undergoes a long period of training and who pays his instructor a certain number of cattle. When the training is complete, there is a public initiation with dancing and drinking, at which the novice is seized by fits as demonstration of his new power. The instructor chants spells

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over the novice as he (or she) lies in the hammock twisting and groaning 756
as his spirit takes possession of him, imparting knowledge and power.

In attempting to cure, a shaman often causes greater injuries to the 755
patient; permanent blindness may result from his effort to cure eye injuries with caustic powders or to remove foreign substances with horsehairs or cactus spines. Tuberculosis is treated by inducing expectoration and prescribing a meaty diet. Dysentery is cured with herbal medicines. Well-chewed tobacco or tobacco-laden spittle rubbed over a painful area is a common method of therapy. If the medicine man effects a cure, which he frequently does, he is rewarded with gifts of cattle, rum, etc. No attempt is made to treat smallpox, the victim often being abandoned to his fate.

Some practitioners who are not exactly shamans divine by burning 757
a bundle at the end of a stick or by examining the bottom of a bottle, 757
i.e., by crystal gazing (Hernández de Alba, 1936, p. 42).

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ACQUIRING STATUS IN GUAJIRO SOCIETY

Antonio Sierra Cruz
Havana, Cuba

[1] The present paper is based upon field research carried out during a 26-day trip in the months of August and September 1958.[1] The writer had previously visited the Colombian part of the Guajira Peninsula in 1940 as a graduate student of anthropology.

[3] The Guajira Peninsula occupies the north-central part of South America and lies between the countries of Colombia and Venezuela. Roughly speaking, about three-fourths of the peninsula belong to Colombia, while only one-fourth is within the [01] boundaries of Venezuela. Ecologically and ethnographically, however, the peninsula is an unbroken block, occupied mainly by the Arawak-speaking Guajiro Indians. There are no attempts on the part of either Government to hold the Indians within the national territory and so, the frontier is practically unwatched, the natives go back and forth across the boundary much as they please.

[2] The primary aim of the 1958 field trip was to find, if possible, a proper locale in which to establish, for the first time in Venezuela, a Pilot Center of Fundamental Education following the patterns—with the necessary modifications for local adaptation—already in practice in countries such as India, Mexico, Peru, etc. The Comisión Indigenista, a branch of the Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Venezuela, of which the present writer was a member of its technical staff at the time of the field trip, has, at present, elaborate and extensive plans to develop Fundamental Education in Venezuela, thanks to the untiring efforts of its Technical Adviser, Dr. Walter Dupouy. The aim is to bring, ultimately, all of the 100,000 indigenous inhabitants of the country into its national life.

Although major attention was given to the primary aim of the field trip, some time was left for pure research. This was aided by the fact that the present writer was in constant company of

[1] Although no direct quotations have been made from the literature, earlier works have been consulted for both historical and present-day ethnographical data.

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the individual who was to provide the raw material for this article. This is more or less a biography of the man who was at the same time guide, interpreter, and driver for the author and with whom extensive conversations, both formal and informal, took place.[2]

Guajiro culture, like most native cultures in the New World, has suffered great acculturation due to the impact with European ways of life. Some of these cultures have been more resistant to change than others; and within one culture, certain aspects have remained closer to the traditional forms than have others. In Guajiro culture, it is perhaps the social organization, with all of its ramifications, that has resisted recent acculturation more than the other aspects of the culture. We know very little of the pre-cattle culture of the Guajiro and even Juan de Castellanos, writing at the beginning of the seventeenth century, describes them as having numerous herds of domestic animals. Nowhere in the literature on the Guajiros is there an example of status having been acquired outside the traditional way and the present writer, in his two field trips to the region, has found only the case here described.

As it is not the purpose of this article to give a full description of the social organization of the Guajiro, it will be sufficient to state that the tribe is divided into some twenty-five matrilineal clans, of which about eleven are large and rather powerful in their socio-economic aspects, and the rest—due mainly to the fact of having a small number of members—are weak, and relatively unimportant. Inheritance is along the mother's line, an individual acquiring property from his maternal uncle. The avunculate in all its social and economic aspects, is a very important institution (Santa Cruz, 1941).

Traditionally the clans are exogamous with incest taboos and punishments for those who break them. This exogamic characteristic of the clan is apparently disappearing, as several cases of endogamous unions were found among the Guajiro living in the outskirts of the city of Maracaibo. No endogamous marriages, however, were found in the Guajiro proper by the present writer, although Gregorio Hernandez de Alba (1936) has

[2] Proper names, especially of the subject, have all been disguised in some way, so as to spare personal feelings.

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reported several in the vicinity of the town of Riohacha in Colombia. 614 582

Residence is normally matrilocal, although, at present, there is a tendency towards neo-locality. The author has found no case of patrilocality either in the field or in the literature. 591

The names of the five more important clans in Guajiro society, and those with which we are concerned in this article are: Uriana, Epinayú, Pushaina, Guajariyú, and Epieyú. These designations have lost meaning in Guajiro and not even the oldest members questioned by the writer remember what they mean. The clans also have an animal or plant totem closely attached to food and hunting taboos. How deep this totemic aspect of the clan goes the writer does not know and the two references found in the literature, A. Ernst (1887) and A. Jahn (1927), simply mention the fact without going into details. 614 [illegible]

Today the clans have no distinct geographic distribution. Members of the different clans are found scattered more or less at random over the whole peninsula, and in both Colombia and Venezuela. This may be due perhaps to the extensive migrations of families within the region in their quest for water for themselves and their domestic animals. This necessity has also probably contributed to the gradual breakdown of the matrilocal residence. The earlier literature suggests that the clans may have had, at one time, certain regional characteristics. Juan de Castellanos cites that the Guajiros living near what is now the town of Riohacha all belonged to the Uriana clan. A. Ernst goes as far as showing a distribution map of the clans. A. Jahn and G. Hernandez de Alba draw their conclusion of geographic distribution for the clans based on the earlier sources but definitely state that today the clans present the scattered distribution the present writer found. [164] [illegible]

The Guajiro culture may be described in brief as pastoral, with a small-scale supplementary agriculture, especially in the southern part of the peninsula where water and more fertile lands are available. Domestic animals, cattle in particular, represent the foundation of wealth to the Guajiro. His economic position, and likewise his social status, is measured in the number of cattle, sheep, goats, asses and horses he owns. This pastoral complex permeates practically every aspect of the culture. 233 241 [illegible] 556

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231 The whole judiciary structure with its elaborate system of torts
556 is based on the payment of a given number of domestic animals.
681 There is no crime, including murder, that cannot be amiably settled by such payments (Petrullo, 1937). The acquisition of
[585] a bride is also reduced to the payment of a stipulated price, in terms of domestic animals, to be given to the maternal uncle of the girl.

231 Social, economic, and political status in the Guajiro society
554 is intimately connected with the cattle complex. To have a high status an individual needs, primarily, two assets: he must possess a large number of domestic animals, in other words, he must be considered rich; and he must be an older man. If he lacks either of these requisites, he is not a leader, as he will not be sufficiently respected nor will members of his clan come to him to seek his advice. Consequently, leaders are not numerous in the Guajiro peninsula. The present writer knows only two individuals, both in Venezuela, who are today the unquestionable
159 leaders of their respective clans. These men are Panchito Silva,
554 of the Pushaina clan, and José de la Rosa Fernandez of the
556 Uriana clan.
622 An analysis of the lives of these two men will be illustrative of the traditional methods of acquiring status among the Guajiro.

Panchito Silva, a man of about 80 years of age, lives in the
[595] native village of Sishipes in Venezuela. During his life-time he has had eight wives (two or three at a time) and now lives with his surviving two, one about 35 years old and the other about 50. He is a full-blooded Indian as has been the case of his wives. There is no trace of race mixture in his family. He has no clear idea of how many children he has had, apart from those living with him now (two men and five women). Yet he knows definitely that he has four younger brothers—who will inherit his wealth and position before these are passed on to his nephews—three sisters and twenty-five nephews and nieces (all
[604] sons and daughters of his sisters). His lack of concern towards his own children coupled with his keen interest in his nephews and nieces seems to be a clear indication of how strong the avunculate is in traditional Guajiro society. His holdings in cattle and other domestic animals are very large. Roughly he owns around 1,000 head of cattle and about 3,000 of sheep,

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goats, mules, asses, and horses. Approximately 60% of this total he acquired through inheritance, as his maternal uncle was a wealthy man and, in his time, the leader of the Pushaina clan. The rest of his property, Panchito has acquired through the payment of bride-prices received for his nieces. Unquestionably, Panchito Silva has become wealthy and the leader of his clan through inheritance, although, through the years, as he has aged and his nieces have married he has become more firmly established in his position. 159 554 556 622

Members of the Pushaina clan come to Panchito from the most remote places of the peninsula (both from Colombia and Venezuela), to seek his advice; to ask him to settle disputes among families within the clan; to tell him about injuries received by a clan member so he can establish the amount of compensation to be paid and exact payment from the offending clan; to fix the bride-price of a given girl member of the clan; to establish how much each male member must contribute in order to pay compensation due to another clan; and for many other minor details of clan organization and function. The writer was a guest at Panchito's home for two days and, during that period, Panchito received the visit of no less than 63 clan members, who, in all, brought about 25 or 30 different clan problems to be settled. 159 554 622 627

The story of José de la Rosa Fernandez, although different from that of Panchito Silva, represents a second method of acquiring status following the traditional law of the tribe. José de la Rosa Fernandez is also a full-blooded Indian, about 65 years old. He has had seven wives, but always one at the time, except now when he has two. One of them is an old woman with whom he lives most of the time, and just recently he married a very young girl (who remains living with her mother) whom he visits once or twice a week. Fernandez's position in the Uriana clan is very similar to that of Silva in the Pushaina. The writer was not able to hold private conversations with Fernandez and, consequently, exact data regarding his property are lacking. Although he did not inherit too much property nor the clan leadership as in Silva's case, he was fortunate to have many nieces whom he has managed to marry off very well and to get large bride-prices for them. Thus he began to accumulate property and at present he is probably the richest man in the 159 554 556 622

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159 Venezuelan Guajiro. As his wealth grew so did his prestige.
554 About twenty years ago the then leader of the Uriana clan died
556 leaving no heirs, as he had no brothers and no direct nephews.
622 Guajiro tradition establishes that, if upon the death of a clan leader and wealthy man there are no close heirs, even though
[428] there be distant ones, a council of elders (informally chosen
[623] among the oldest and more respected men of the clan) will meet and select the individual who shall take over not only the leadership of the clan but the wealth of the deceased as well. These cases are very infrequent (actually the writer could only find, in the memory of the oldest men, two instances of a council of elders meeting to select a leader; one is the case mentioned in this article, and the other occurred among the Epieyú clan, in Colombia, about fifty or sixty years ago). Fernandez
[557] now confesses, quite candidly, that at the time of the meeting of the council of elders, he distributed a number of gifts among them, thus succeeding in having them select him as clan leader and heir to the wealth of the dead chief.

179 It is interesting to note—and it shows how much acculturation
192 Guajiro culture has undergone with the assimilation of the cattle complex—that the true Guajiro term for leader or chief (which also means "old man") *alat'laa* is almost all but forgotten and practically never used, having been substituted by the word *to'olo* a corruption of the Spanish word *toro* meaning BULL.
[194] (Stops are not glottal, but simple stoppage of the sound to be renewed with the coming vowel. Phonetic transcription have followed those given by Dr. Martha Hilderbrand's work on the Guajiro language published by the Comisión Indigenista, Venezuela, in 1958).

622 The role of Fernandez as leader of the Uriana clan is an
627 exact replica of Silva's. He acts as advisor, settles disputes, makes arrangements for the payments of torts, bride-prices, etc. His day is fully as busy as that of Silva and he attends to all these matters besides his personal affairs.

554 Here we have, then, the two traditional ways of acquiring status in Guajiro society that the present writer has been able to investigate; one through inheritance, as in the case of Panchito Silva; and the other, through selection by a council of elders, as in the case of José de la Rosa Fernandez. It is doubtful that

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there may be other traditional ways of acquiring status. The 554
literature mentions none, although Ernst (1887), Jahn (1927),
and Hernandez de Alba (1936) make detailed comments on the
two traditional ways described here.

Incidentally, these two leaders are never called by their first 551
names, not even by their closest relatives, and are referred to as 622
To'olito Silva and To'olito Fernandez.

To illustrate the new way of acquiring status in Guajiro 159
society it is best to describe quite fully how one individual, and 554
as far as the writer knows, the only one, whom we shall name
José Perez, has reached a certain status though employing none
of the traditional methods. As guide and interpreter of the present writer during the recent field trip, José Perez was in constant personal contact with the author, who was able to obtain valuable first hand information and observe reactions to personal and intimate questions.

First let us give a brief biographical sketch of José Perez. Perez is now 46 years old. He was born in the village of Castilletes, Venezuela, in the extreme north-eastern part of the Guajiro peninsula. His father (still living, now in the town of Paraguaipoa, Venezuela) has no trace of Indian blood and is considered in Paraguaipoa as pure white, while his mother (deceased) was a pure Indian belonging to the Uriana Clan. Perez's father took him, while still a child, to Maracaibo for schooling which included three years of high school. At that time Perez's father was quite influential in local politics in Maracaibo and was able to get the Governor of the State of Zulia interested in the youth. Perez was given a small position in the State's government, where he was employed for about ten years. During this period he married a local white girl with whom he had a child (now in his fifth year of medical college, State University of Zulia) and apparently had all but forgotten the Indian half of his heritage settling into the whites' ways of life.

Perez went into politics and was elected Prefect (an office similar to the County Sheriff in the United States) of the Paez district, Sinamaica, in the threshold of the Guajira, so to speak. He moved north to his district leaving his family in Maracaibo. This return to a semi-Indian district apparently had some influence in Perez's outlook for the future, for as soon as his term of

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159 554 office expired (in two years time) he sought and obtained a position in the Federal Ministry of Public Works in a project which was seeking the best places to drill water wells all over the Guajira peninsula. He held this job for about a year and half. He is now employed in the Guajira office, in Paraguaipoa, of the Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry and is "ad honorem" agent of the Comisión Indigenista in the Guajira. In these two jobs he gets paid only when he performs certain work, such as when he recently acted as guide and interpreter for the present writer.

159 554 583 619 585 During his term as Prefect of Paez (Sinamaica) he married, according to the Guajira tradition and law, one of the daughters of To'olito Fernandez, for whom he had to pay a very high price, as the girl was the daughter of an important chief. Following Guajira law the price for the bride was gathered among the members of the Uriana clan to which Perez belongs due to his mother's heritage. Incidentally, as Fernandez also belongs to the Uriana clan he had to contribute in the collection of the bride-price of his own daughter although, of course, the amount collected did not go to him but to the girl's maternal uncle. This was a typical exogamous marriage as the girl belongs to the [595] Guajariyú clan, that being her mother's clan. At present, Perez keeps two households, one in Maracaibo with his white wife and son, whom he visits once or twice a week, if he is not doing any special work for the ministries; the other, is his native household at the Laguna del Pajaro, Guajira, where he remains most of his time. He has had no children with his Indian wife. His two simultaneous marriages have brought him no trouble with the law, as according to Guajiro tradition polygyny is perfectly acceptable, and according to Venezuelan law he has only one legitimate wife.

159 595 It is interesting to note at this point that Perez denies having a white wife in Maracaibo, although he does not deny having the son and shows pride in saying that his son is in medical school. The present writer was not able to fathom the reasons behind this denial. Data regarding his Maracaibo marriage was obtained from Perez's father who was also unable to furnish good motives for the fact that Perez tries to hide that he has a household in that city. To test this point the writer, after the

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two days' visit at the home of Panchito Silva and while returning 159
to Paraguaipoa, asked Perez how many wives he had had. Perez 595
was obviously quite upset by the question, but did not hesitate in answering: "Oh, no, Mr. Santa Cruz! I have and only have had one wife, Anita!" (Ahita is his Indian wife). Whether the motives for the denial are of a personal nature or involve some cultural complex is unknown to the writer.

Nevertheless Perez leads a perfectly discernable dual life. He has two homes, as described, dividing his time between them, devoting about 40% of the time (when he is not working) to his Maracaibo home, and about 60% to his Guajira home. He has two sets of friends which he is very careful not to mix. His plans for the future of his son are entirely along white cultural lines. At this point we find contradictory thoughts in Perez's mind. The present writer has heard him repeatedly criticize the attitude of certain Guajiros, both full-blooded and half-breeds, who, having gone to Maracaibo for formal education (especially to Teachers' College) have then sought, and in many cases obtained, positions in Maracaibo instead of returning to the Guajira to practice their professions. Yet when it comes to his own son, Perez's plans are for a permanent residence in Maracaibo or, if possible, Caracas, where he could go into practice in an entirely white cultural background.

The problem now is to define Perez's status in the Guajira. 622
Undoubtedly his personality has some importance in Guajiro 557
social stratification, especially among his own generation. This 658
importance he has attained by granting favors, which his semi-official government positions enables him to do, to those whom he thinks will, in the future, be of help to him. Perhaps this is best illustrated by an example. The Ministry of Justice, through the Comisión Indigenista, grants ten scholarships annually to Guajiros who meet certain educational requirements. These scholarships are for the State of Zulia Teachers' College in Maracaibo. Perez has been given, more or less, a free hand in the selection of the candidates for these scholarships. About 65% of the candidates chosen by Perez, in the four years that the plan has been in operation, have been admitted to the College. The writer was able to look briefly into the family back-

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622 557 658

ground of the candidates selected by Perez so far, and he has found that only one among all the boys and girls recommended by him actually came from a Guajiro family that could not afford to pay for higher education. All the rest came from families, both pure Indian and with white mixture, belonging to the upper economic and social strata of the Guajiro society, who could easily pay for the education of their children.

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These and other favors that Perez has granted to the upper social class have, undoubtedly, given him a unique status in the social structure. Perez is not respected in the same sense as Fernandez and Silva are respected, but his advice is sought and no favor he asks is ever denied. The older men, especially those enjoying certain leadership, look upon Perez with certain scorn as an upstart. For instance, on several occasions, when the present writer with Perez visited his father-in-law, Fernandez, the old leader, in a half-humorous and half-serious way, would repeatedly say: "This is To'lito; I am the To'olo," meaning that Perez was just a "little bull," while he was the big, the important "bull." Nevertheless, regardless of this general attitude of the older men, even they come to him whenever they want some favor from the Government. The writer has never heard Perez deny such requests to individuals of the upper stratum, while on several occasions it was noted that he refused to do anything on behalf of those who are economically and socially below him.

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As far as the younger generation is concerned, Perez unquestionably has many friends and individuals who look upon him as the possible means of bettering their position. His bitter enemies are also to be found among the younger generation. These will stop at nothing in the hope of having him completely discredited in general and in particular they aim to have him lose his semi-official position. Just recently, this group went so far as to accuse him of having been a collaborator of the deposed dictatorial regime of Perez Jimenez and an enemy of the democratic government now in power in Venezuela. This landed Perez in jail but, as these accusations could not be substantiated, he was released in 24 hours. This incident is referred to here for the sole purpose of illustrating to what measures his enemies

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will go to have him fall in disgrace. Whether these accusations are true or false is not our concern in this article.

Summing up Perez's position in Guajiro society we find the following facts: Among the older and more influential men, Perez is not considered as one of them and their attitude towards him is not a respectful one. He on the contrary is quite respectful towards them. No one, however, among this group can be classified as his enemy, and they do seek him out for advice in their dealings with Government officials. Among his contemporaries he enjoys a very influential position and practically everyone seeks his friendship. His true friends are to be found, without question, among this group, and, as far as it could be investigated, he has no real enemies among them, although there may be a few who envy his position. The younger generations are clearly divided into two groups—one group which truly respects and looks up to him, and another which is composed of his bitter enemies.

From the many formal and informal conversations the present writer has had with Perez—at his home, while traveling, when visiting some one else, etc.—the following analysis may be made of his behavior and position. While in Maracaibo, Perez soon became aware that he could attain no high status within a white culture where competition is always very keen. As Prefect of Sinamaica he clearly saw the possibilities of climbing up the ladder in Guajiro society and the first step he took towards that goal was to marry a full-blooded Indian girl from an important family, and to marry her in accordance with the traditional Guajiro law. There was very little chance for him to obtain the necessary wealth and to attain leadership status through property, but he saw the opportunity his semi-official position gave him to become the point of contact between the Guajiro and white cultures, cultivating both and becoming an almost indispensable person in the dealings the true natives had with the authorities. Whether his marriage to the Guajiro girl was purely for interest or whether there was any love involved is, of course, very difficult to say. As the writer made his headquarters in Perez's household at the Laguna del Pajaro, during his stay in the Guajira, he was able to observe, at first hand, the relationship between Perez and his native wife. These were always

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620 cordial, no fights or even harsh words between them was ever
557 noticed, and when Perez was arrested, as mentioned before, his
593 wife showed great concern and distress and did everything possible to have him released from jail and brought home. Still the question of how much real affection, especially on Perez's part, is involved in this marriage cannot be answered with certainty.
622 As regards the grantings of favors to the Guajiro, it is obvious
557 that he makes a careful selection and never or hardly ever grants them to indivduals who could not, in the future, be of some help to him.

Whether or not Perez will attain a position of respect and leadership such as Panchito Silva and José de la Rosa Fernandez enjoy is hard to say, but the writer will try to make an analysis of the situation and draw certain tentative conclusions.

620 There is no doubt that clan leadership with all its privileges
614 and responsibilities is slowly dying out in the Guajira. Among the 25 odd clans existing at present the writer has met only two individuals who have all the earmarks of a true economic, political, and social leader, namely, Panchito Silva and José de la Rosa Fernandez. Informants have told him that there are two others, the heads of the Epinayú and the Epieyú clans living in the upper Guajira and in Colombia respectively. From what information was gathered these two other leaders fit closely to the pattern described for Silva and Fernandez. The remainder of the clans have no true, powerful leaders, although they do have elder members who are more or less respected and consulted in certain clan matters. Around the turn of the century, however, according to the information gathered first hand from old men like Silva and Fernandez, and from the literature, there were at least twenty powerful leaders among the clans.

182 Undoubtedly one of the contributing factors to the breakdown
178 of clan leadership has been the great horizontal movement in population among the Guajiro in the last fifty years. Such
[161] spread would tend, naturally, to break down the regional characteristics of the clan and ultimately help to bring about a loss of personal contact between a leader and the rest of his clan and hence the loss of control. Whether there are other economic, social, or political factors in operation favoring this breakdown is not fully known. The writer suspects that there may be but this problem would need further intensive investigation. The

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writer hopes in future researches to complete the picture of leadership among the Guajiro and the present breakdown in their social organization.

As mentioned above, traditional form clan leadership is obtained either through inheritance or by selection made by a council of elders. Perez's case is entirely different and he has followed white culture means and ways, more or less, in obtaining leadership in Guajiro society irrespective of clan organization. In other words, he has become, in certain aspects, a leader of the Guajiro as a whole and not of a particular clan. It is to be expected that as more and more Guajiro individuals go to Maracaibo for higher education, these new methods, such as those utilized by Perez, of attaining status will become stronger and will also be a contributing factor in the final breakdown of the traditional clan leadership. Some years must pass, however, to determine conclusively whether this is the path that leadership in the Guajira will take. At the moment four important clans still have their traditional leaders—the Pushiana, Uriana, Epinayú, and Epieyú—with strong and well definied heirs to their present leaders; and as long as the inheritance lines remain firm, clan leadership among these four clans will cling to the traditional. The rest of the clans, having lost their lines of inheritance and lacking men of strong personality to become their unquestioned leaders, will tend, we predict, to fall in step with new leaders of the Perez type. Such leaders will, undoubtedly, become more numerous as the acculturation processes go forward.

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10:Gusinde E-5 (1954) 1961 SC13 Goajiro SC13

Totemistic Property Marks of the Goajiro Indians
/Totemistische Eigentumsmarken der Guajiro-Indianer/

by Martin Gusinde

Posieux (Freiburg): 19..
Anthropos
Vol. 56, pp. 531-542

Translated from the German for the Human
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Human Relations Area Files
1964

/Title page/

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3. Concluding Remarks

121 In the middle of 1954 I set out from Caracas via Maracaibo
[114] to make anthropological observations in the settlement area of
[131] the Yupa Indians (1). In the narrow stretch of Venezuelan

[113] 1. M. Gusinde, "The Yupa Indians in Western Venezuela," Proceed. Americ. Philos. Soc., 100, 1956, pp. 197-222.

territory along the western shore of the Gulf of Maracaibo /Gulf of Venezuela/ I occasionally saw representatives of the Guajiro /Goajiro/ people (2) of every age and both sexes. It

[101] 2. The spelling Guajiro is preferred to Goajiro. Cf. "Etimología de la palabra 'Guajira /Etymology of the word Guajiro'/" in Vegamian, pp. 11-33.

was my wish to see personally the astonishingly favorable adaptation of these Indians to their unusually dry and vegetation-poor surroundings, in order to compare their ecological con-
[114] ditions with those of the Bushmen in the Kalahari of South Africa (3). Already from Bogotá on, Professor Adolf Staffe of

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121 114 3. M. Gusinde. "Bericht über meine südafrikanische Forschungreise 1950/51 /Report on My South African Field Trip, 1950-51/." Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 388-404.

Vienna, who at that time was with the Internat. F.A.O. for Colombia, had been very helpful to me. Soon after our auto journey together through that dried-up peninsula, he died unexpectedly. My thanks to him are thus expressed here posthumously.

128 Only a selection from my ethnographic observations among the Guajiro people are presented here. They are preceded by what has already been ascertained on the same subjects by other authors.

1. Earlier Reports

105 105 At the time of the discovery of the New World, the Guajiro were the /532/ branch of the Aruak /Arawak/ group that had pushed farthest to the northwest on South American soil. Before the Conquest they obtained their livelihood from hunting and fishing, together with some agriculture. Animal husbandry, however, acquired considerable ascendancy through the introduction of domestic animals at the time of the Spanish colonization. Juan de Castellanos reported that as early as the period of his sojourn there (around 1550) quite a large quantity of livestock was present. Since then, and up to our day, this economic activity has undergone no structural change worth mentioning; at present, however, far-reaching efforts at accommodation to the so-called Western manner of thinking and way of life are seen (4).

4. Cf. Vegamian, Crist (1958 and 1959), José Augustín de Barranquilla, and others.

/532 cont./

185 Only a few accounts concerning the social order and po-
186 litical organization of the Guajiro are available from that
604 period. It cannot be ascertained when the Spanish conquistadors first found clues to the family groups existing there, true sibs /Sippen/ in the sense of modern ethnology. Father Álvarez José Nicolás de la Rosa (5) in 1739 described certain burial

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5. Under "Álvarez" I am citing in the following the rare work, Florecta de la Santa Iglesia Catedral de la Ciudad de Santa Marta /Anthology of the Santa Iglesia Cathedral of the City of Santa Marta/, compiled by Father Álvarez Don José Nicolás de la Rosa in 1739 and printed in Valencia in 1833. Francis C. Nicholas translated significant sections from this work into English and supplied supplementary notes which a trip through Guajira induced him to make. According to his judgment, "the book forms a stepping-stone to a study of the history and antiquities of the Indians of northern South America" /cited in English/ (p. 606). This translation, with the title, "The Aborigines of the Province of Santa Marta, Colombia," is to be found in American Anthropologist, 3, 1901, pp. 606-649. Pages 625-636 are devoted to the Guajiro.

ceremonies and in this connection made the incidental remark that they were held "according to the castes /clans/ by which they are distinguished" /cited in English/ (p. 634). He enumerated six, "thus: Casta de Guacamaya /macaw/ (this is the

105 /532 cont./
175 highest), Casta de Paguil, Casta de Guacharaca, Casta de
614 Mono, Casta de Machin, Casta de Gallinazo (this is the poorest)" /cited in English/ (ibid.). Explanatory additions are lacking. In the light of later successful inquiries, however, these few statements are given their full meaning.

Not until 1870 did A. Ernst publish an extended list of these totem groups (p. 329). He enumerated twelve of them and called them "tribes /Stämme/," which "have definite dwelling sites." He correctly separated from them the so-
101 called Cocinas, which "perhaps are a different tribe than the
175 rest of the populace and a vagabond gang of robbers that makes
574 all paths unsafe" (6).

6. Father Álvarez had already referred to them as "more barbarous than any of the Guagiros, and consequently less tractable and more dangerous, horrible and proud" /cited in English/ (p. 635). In the same sense Stutzer (p. 136) describes them as "dregs of all castes. They murder in order to rob. It is regarded as dangerous to pass through their area alone or in small groups..." They do not merit further mention.

175 A few years later the British engineer, F. Simons,
614 traveled through Guajira. He related in his excellent report to the Royal Geographical Society (1885): "The Guajiros are subdivided into many families or castes, bearing much analogy to the ancient clans of Scotland. Each caste or rather family circle is united against all comers... Besides the name, each caste or family represents some animal, and many of the minor castes, over and above /533/ /a table appears here/ /534/ their

[text continues on p. 6]

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Distinctive Marks of the Guajiro Castes

Mark	Caste	Place	Totem	Mark	Caste	Place	Totem
	Epieyu	Alta Guajira	Macaw		Hayariyú	Alta Guajira	Dog
	"	"	"		"	Castilletes	"
	"	Portete	"		"	Nazareth	"
	"	"	"		Uraliyú		Rattlesnake
	"	Jarare	"		Sapuana	Alta Guajira	Galay or stone curlew
	"	"	"		Pushaina	Jarare	Peccary
	"	Alta Guajira	"		Goujirú	Pto. Estrella	Partridge
	Uriana	San José	Jaquar		Arpushana	Alta y Baja Guajira	Turkey buzzard
	"	"	"		Hunayú	Jarare	Rabbit
	"	Buenos Aires	"		Epinayú		Burro
	"	Pto. Lopez	"		Ulúguana	Alta Guajira	Machorro
	"	Cosina	"		Hirnú	"	Fox
	"	Alta Guajira	"		Paunayú		Black wasp
	"	"	"		Sijuana	Yimaré	Bee
	Ipuana	"	Mushale		"	Pto. Espada	"
	"	Jarare	"		"	Alta Guajira	"
	Hayariyú	Alta Guajira	Dog		Guaririyú		Partridge

/The heading, the column headings, and the column entries under "Totem" have been translated from the Spanish./

/534 cont./

175 619 own symbol, adopt another of some more powerful denomination, to enjoy the privilege of a good protector. There are at present, altogether, some thirty odd castes among the Goajiros... There are about ten of importance, chief among these the Urianas. This, the largest caste in the Goajira, has subdivided or split up into many ramifications, such as Uriana tiger, Uriana rabbit, Uriana paulaxaw (a song bird), Uriana gecko (lizard). This family is at present not only by far the most numerous, but also the richest; due to its connections by marriage with the Pushainas, formerly the wealthiest of the land" /cited in English/. In an "Appendix" (p. 796) at the end of his report, Simons gives a "List of Tribes or Castes, with their respective animals and favourite resting-places" /cited in English/; each of the twenty-two names is found in its proper region on the map provided by him (7).

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7. Frazer (Vol. 3, p. 560) reproduced this table in full and clearly expressed his conviction that "the Guajiros have a totemic system of the normal pattern" /cited in English/. In connection with this, he discussed in detail the mother-right customs of this tribe. — Kirchhoff (p. 154) analyzed only the relationship between paternal and maternal relatives, so far as it was then possible when "the description of the kinship organization" was" /still/ most incomplete and unsatisfactory." He also clearly made the distinction between the extended family /Grossfamilie/ and sib and

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distinctly stressed that the sib "need not necessarily be a local unit... The bond that holds together the members of a sib is the idea that they descend from the same ancestor and are therefore brothers and sisters..." (p. 90). Actually, the clan members /Klanmitgliedern/ of any sib are allowed to move in complete freedom over all of Guajira.— Vegamian (pp. 38, 347), too, explained: "The Guajiro Indians are divided into castes /castas/ of totemic denomination" /translated from the Spanish/. He discusses in detail their local placement and explained the somewhat variable spelling of the clan names among the authors as follows: "Among the same Indians, perfectly expert in their tongue, there is no uniformity in the pronunciation of one and the same word" /translated from the Spanish/.

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A. Ernst in his second report (1887) used the reliable details furnished by Simons and declared concerning them: "One gains from his presentation a clear picture of the peculiar social relations in which the inhabitants of the peninsula live. What the Spanish writers in their meager reports designated with the vague name 'parcialidades /factions, parties/,' Simons recognized quite rightly as family /familie/ in the ethnological sense (clan, gens) and gave for several of them the habitual place of residence and the totem

/534 cont./

104 concerned..." (p. 408). "Most are no longer explicable
105 from the present language of the Guajiro..." According to
104 Simons, "there is no doubt that the Guajiro believe in their descent from such an animal... How far the use of the totem extends among the Guajiro is not said either by Simons or by any other reporter" (pp. 440f.). For such an animal, Ernst (1887, p. 442) regarded the valuation "totem" as proper and promised a linguistic analysis of the names for the twenty-two totem-animals noted by Simons.

104 Individual clans /Kiane/ exceed others in economic influence and social significance. The ones smaller in number of persons attach themselves to one or several others. The belief in the kindred solidarity of the clan members is grounded in the traditionally transmitted conviction /535/ /map appears here/ /536/ of actual descent from the same totem-animal. Ernst further states: "Since the individual families /& clan groups/ live, if not exactly in hostility, nevertheless separated from one another, marriages between members of different families /kiaq/ place only in rare cases" (p. 442); which is synonymous with clan-endogamy as the prevailing rule.

104 A series of names given by other reporters are found in
104 part in A. Jahn (p. 142), Armstrong-Méfraux (p. 383), and R. Crist (1959, p. 481). Occasionally one has the impression that these authors drew on Simons and Ernst as their sole sources. The statements that the journalist J. Weston makes are false.

2. Most Recent Reports

What Virginia Gutiérrez has put down in her article, "Organización Social en la Guajira" (1948) comes from personal field research. Her article became known to me only after my crossing of the peninsula. The myth recorded by her, in which she still living in Guajira are mentioned by name, follows here in free translation. The same account was repeated to me, with a few insignificant variations, by

Text continues on p. 10

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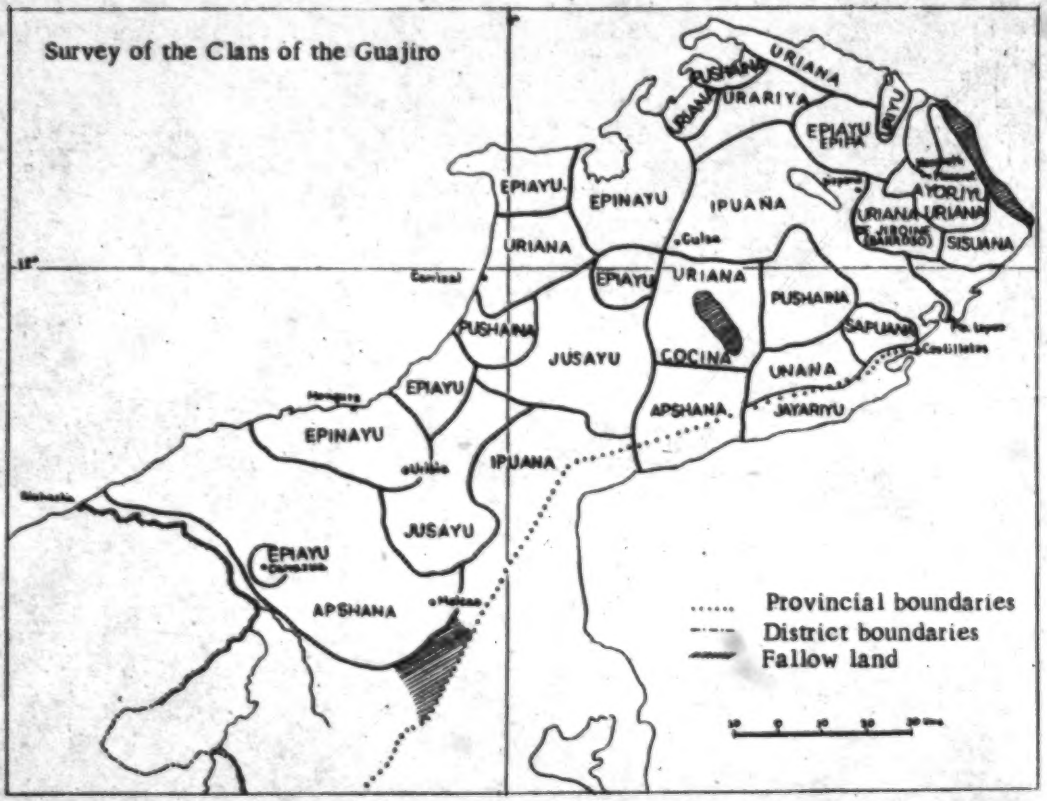

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114 two wives of the influential and intelligent Cacique Briscol
614 (alias Antonio Juan López); from both I was given the assur-
ance that it is known to nearly all of their people. In a subse-
178 quent conversation with still other women it became clear
614 that the social and juristic role of the clan system had become
simplified and dulled in the course of the centuries up to the
present, and above all that the original rigor of its demands
had become milder and in part even lost. Certain practices
still maintained and various fragments of tradition permit
one to piece together an adequately clear picture of the
totemistic organization in Guajira, despite many manifestations
of mother-right.

614 Our Indians have a mythological explanation of how the
whole Guajiro people was originally divided into many clans
[212] (8). Each totem-clan has its individual symbol, comparable

8. Petrullo (p. 155) supplements this by confirming: "Casta [is] the major social grouping in Guajiro society. Each casta claims a mythological origin and holds sovereignty over a well-defined territory" /cited in English/.

to a monogram. Every clan-member marks himself and his
614 personal goods, predominately domestic animals, with it.
212 The Indians paint this symbol with ordinary watercolor on a
422 stone, carve it in wooden objects (plates, style of a mattock,
221 house posts), tattoo it on their arms, etc., all in plain fun
and without any serious intention of demonstrating their right
of ownership. On the other hand, the same symbol, which is
peculiar to a clan, is branded without exception on every
domestic animal that the individual clan-member owns.
Obviously it is the same sign for all the animals of all the
members of a particular clan; yet the animals remain /537/
the personal property of their owner, and the latter himself

/537 cont./

614 knows precisely which animals belong to him and which
212 property belongs to other clan-members.
231 In a way also customary among us (for example, the
422 burning on of the steed-brand for foals), the clan-symbol in Guajira is pressed into the skin of the domestic animal with a branding iron, usually on the rear leg, sometimes on
[413] the lower neck. The branding iron is a rod as thick as a finger and about a meter long, on whose lower end the brand, made in iron, is fixed. This is highly heated and briefly set on the skin of the animal with moderate pressure (9).

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9. Everyone knows that many livestock-raising primitive peoples use the method described here for "branding" their domestic animals, and, to be sure, do it primarily with the intention of indicating the individual possessor or a group consisting of several men as the owner. M. Merker (p. 163) reports this for the Masai. H. Field collected more than a thousand such markings (Figs. 24-43) among the Bedouin and related tribes in the Near East. It might seem surprising that individual ones among them are very similar to the brands of the Guajiro. This correspondence, however, can easily be traced back to the mentality of the natives and their undeveloped technical skill, as well as to the brittle wrought-iron itself. The "branding iron" probably goes back to an earlier period of mankind; from its place of invention, it went on its way

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171 231 422 around the world simultaneously with the domestic animals themselves.

614 212 231 422 177 614 212 773 The branding described was probably learned by the Indians from the Spaniards themselves, simultaneously with the adoption of the first European domestic animals, and has been retained since then. It is all the more surprising that the branding iron (hierro) appears in an old myth which for its part clearly states where the customary individual clan-signs came from. The following version (according to V. Gutiérrez, p. 168) is common in the northern part of the peninsula:

Not far from Nazareth (10) a hill rises behind Itojoro.

[797] [131] 10. This post lies only several kilometers south of Puerto Estrella and is actually a small Catholic mission station. Cf. Stutzer, pp. 131 ff., and Barranquilla, pp. 151 ff.

Here, under an oil tree, Mareiwa (11) came into the world.

776 114 11. That is the spelling of this mythological name that I felt to be correct, as did V. Gutiérrez (p. 168). Chaves (1946, p. 307) explains in the myth concerning "Las Serranías de la Guajira," among other things: "Mareigua [is] one of the principal deities of the Guajiro people, who with his supernatural power converts persons into hills, separates the

/537 cont./

776
114

sea from the land and the planting of trees and animals to benefit man" /translated from the Spanish/. The original figure of Mareiwa is probably that of a culture-hero. Chaves (1953, p. 183) makes the same assumption, but adds that this personality is "at the present time like God for many mestizos" /translated from the Spanish/. Jahn (p. 183) declares "that the Spanish have identified [Maleiwa] with the true God or Supreme Being" /translated from the Spanish/. In Torrano (p. 188) one reads "Maréigua = God, Supreme Being" /translated from the Spanish/. Unfortunately even today it is still true that the "Goajiro religion is imperfectly known" /cited in English/ (Armstrong-Métraux, p. 382).

614 He was found as an infant, who grew rapidly like any Indian
812 child. He ate tuuma (12) and dressed like the Guajiro.
773

[262]

12. It was identified for me as tuna, which is the fruit of the Opuntia (Indian fig) and very well-known in South America. Cf. Vegamian, p. 214.

The mother was an old woman; her hut stood in the north. The father, a certain Saramai, was also said to be a god.
[824] Because Mareiwa was born under an oil tree, this tree does
[821]

/537 cont./

614 not lose its green leaves, even in the dry season. The Indians
212 seek shelter under its branches during storms, because lightning
773 will not strike there.
[824]
[821]

/538/ Mareiwa created an Indian woman named Borunka; she became the mother of all the Guajiro people (13).

[114]

13. Chaves (1953, p. 181) reports another myth of the "Origen de los Guajiros," in which, however, the totem clans are not mentioned; therefore, no contradiction of the myth presented here can be brought forward from there.

He also gave her a companion, by whom she became pregnant. When the time of her delivery came, however, she felt incapable of giving birth. The pains lasted for three days without delivery. Her vagina was set with teeth. Mareiwa removed them. At the same time he took two ribs, the lowest one from each side, from her mate. He inserted them in Borunka so that she could later give birth without hindrance, though not without pain.

614 Since loss of blood was connected with delivery since
212 then, Mareiwa summoned all the birds. He commanded the
773 sangre de toro, or pincwait, to wash itself where the birth
825 took place. He gave the same order to the troupials (weaver
844 birds of the family Icteridae), as well as to the icó [ishu, Phoenicotraupis rubra] with the black wings, whose breast feathers and head-tuft are red in color, and finally to the macaws. The woodpecker [Ceophloeus lineatus] arrived late for this bath. Mareiwa said to him, "You came late, to be sure, but I shall paint your tuft anyway," and he painted it red. Thus, the birds mentioned have red spots in their plumage.

614 Borunka bore several children, and the Guajiro pro-
212 ceeded to multiply. When there were many of them, Mareiwa
773

/538 cont./

614 returned to them. He distributed among them the seeds of
212 the watermelon (Citrullus vulgaris), maize (Zea), squash,
773 and all the other vegetables with which the Guajiro nourish
[212] themselves. Until that time no Guajiro had laid out a seeded field; before that anyone who wished to eat had reached for the fruit that grew by itself. Mareiwa gathered all the
614 zancalargas (thin-legged grallatores) and weaver birds; he
212 commanded a flock of them to go far away and feed on
773 iguarayas (cereals) and the fruit of the Indian fig (Opuntia).
825 He likewise summoned a flock of rock pigeons; they brought hepechi cherries. Then he distributed the birds over all of Guajira. With their excrement they were to make the simultaneously eliminated seeds germinate; the latter were to grow and cover the whole land with a blanket of plants on which fruit would ripen and serve the people for food.

614 Mareiwa handed over to each native man a pair of goats,
212 donkeys, cattle, horses, and pigs. Then he assembled all
773 the people with their animals in the district of Arachi near
[231] Siapana. There, on a cliff, he engraved the symbols, one of which he intended to assign to each of the family groups, the children of Borunka. They are still visible today on that cliff.

Thus he established there the sign-patterns for the Epiayú, Ipuana, Uriana, Sapuana, Jayariyú, Apshana, Sijuana, Urariyú, Epinayú, Jitnú, Soriyú, Pausayú, Uriyú, Woriyú, Urenanaka, Matpishana, Uyarayú, Wariruyú, Jusayú, Woruboruyú, and others. Mareiwa handed over these property
[422] marks to the people in order that the movable property of one group would not be mistaken for that of the others.

614 Each group has its animal-sign by means of which it
212 distinguishes its property from that of the other groups. This
773 happened for the following reason: these animals were to
825 have become Indians. But they ate the herds that Mareiwa
422 had assigned to each group. As punishment he left them in their animal state as symbols of the individual groups which

/538 cont./

614 had been insulted or harmed by them. Thus, the leader of
212 the black vultures /Coragyps atratus foetens/ had eaten a
773 head of cattle of the Epiayú, and he therefore remained the
825 symbol for this group. The caricari /Brazilian falcon/ de-
427 voured an animal of the Ipuana group. The Uriana people now have as their totem-animal the jaguar (Felis onca). The Sapuana group claims for itself the alcaraván /stone curlew/ (Burhinus bistriatus vocifer), the Jayariyú people the dog, the Apshana the kite, the Sijuana the wasp, the Urariyú the rattlesnake (Crotalus terrificius), the Jitnú people the fox (Canis azarae), the Soriyú people the cataneja (macaw, Ara), the Pausayú the black wasp, the Uyarayú the deer (Cervus alaphus), etc.

614 /539/ V. Gutiérrez (p. 170) then presents another myth.
773 This describes how the individual totem-clans were assigned their names and definite districts of residence after a fateful, tragic scene of disobedience of the creatures against their creator took place. This report, too, emphatically brings out the fact that Mareiwa personally, by his will and authority, introduced a totemistic way of life for the first living beings in Guajira. The myth has the dramatic conclusion: "For the last time Mareiwa spoke with them [the totem groups] in order to take his leave. He therefore addressed them: It was my will that you should live here! I am leaving now; I shall be watching you from heaven."

614 The individual totem-districts with the thirty-four clan
101 names are noted on the map (14).[1] The appropriate clan-

193 14. The spelling and pronunciation
194 of the clan designations favored here
614 by and large resemble the Spanish sounds. Young Indians today feel a marked uncertainty in using the correct Spanish names for individual totem-animals; even in the pronunciation of the Guajiro designations

[1] [see p.9.-Analyst]

/539 cont./

193 a foreign observer encounters
194 slight variations — as has just
614 been mentioned. For this reason,
in the table (p. 5) I put in the
[128] names corresponding with precisely the sounds that I heard most frequently; I have taken the map (p. 9) unchanged from the original.

614 marks are found in the table. Every Guajiro knows them.
101 As an established tradition, every generation has taken over the details from the others, either as clan property or as a
178 duty. But as a result of so many hostile encounters of the
101 clans with one another — the Guajiro even in early times
578 made themselves known as very quarrelsome — the boundaries
614 of the individual clan-districts have shifted. Some clans have actually disappeared, either because their members were entirely destroyed or because individuals from them were incorporated into other clans. Therefore, the number and boundaries of the individual clan-districts were and are subject to insignificant fluctuations. I was unable to ascertain when the map provided — taken from a Colombian authority — was drawn; it appears to have come out around 1935. It is also found in V. Gutiérrez (p. xvi).

3. Concluding Remarks

614 Spanish writers have reported on "castas" in Guajira from the early colonial period; the designation corresponds to actual totemistic clans. Recently it could be demonstrated that some thirty of them have existed since antiquity. The members of any one clan were entitled by common law to move freely over the whole peninsula without being hindered
[423] by the boundaries. When Petrullo (p. 155) states unmistakably,

/539 cont./

614 "Each caste holds sovereignty over a well-defined territory"
423 /cited in English/, he correctly presents each clan area as common property. Earlier observers must have already been aware of such circumstances, for they /540/ have represented them with desirable clarity. Such a definite clan-localization is based on the mythology.

614 In Guajira only well-known animals, toward which no reverent veneration is shown, are known as totems; also, avoidance rules do not exist. Clan membership is determined
611] by the mother. Many matriarchal laws and customs are observed strictly and conscientiously by the Indians; they have been described in detail by Sinons, Ernst, Petrullo, Santa Cruz, Armstrong-Métraux, Gutiérrez, Crist (1959), and others.

601 It should be added here that particular kinship-terms
614 were first gathered and published recently by J. Wilbert (p. 59). There are twenty-six basic terms and "most terms are applied to more than one relative so that the system is classificatory in type" /cited in English/.

614 Finally, the question as to whether the Guajiro feel themselves connected by kinship to their totem-animal is still to be answered. As the first, Jahn (p. 145) expressed himself on this: "Each faction regards some animal as its 'totem' or coat-of-arms. It has not been possible to find out whether they believe that they are descended from it; rather it appears to be a symbolic or heraldic emblem" /translated from the Spanish/. V. Gutiérrez (p. 173) expresses herself more decisively and informatively: "Actually there is no belief that they [the Guajiro] descended from it [= totem], nor is there any special prohibition against harming or killing it. The idea that in the representative animal is found the genesis does not seem to have existed even in the remote past. The origins that are come across in the legends do not include this idea. At present they laugh when one asks about the animal of his 'casta'; many confide... that they belong to the jaguar, to the bee, to the rattlesnake... They claim to be as brave as that animal..." /translated from the Spanish/.

/540 cont./

614 The continued influencing through a series of generations,
614 even though nevertheless brief, by Spanish culture and the
177 spirit of modern times has finally also altered the primitive
178 judgment and feeling of these Indians and has strengthened in
them the pride to assert themselves now as "enlightened."
It therefore need not be surprising that today they laugh in
the face of a foreign visitor when the latter poses his questions
as though he himself regarded a blood descent of the clan
members from their totem animal as established and factual.
[123] The above-mentioned Cacique Briscol (15) even whispered

15. This pure-blooded, intelligent, and experienced Indian refers several times to the clans of his Guajiro people in his well-written story.

disrespectfully in my ear: "You must not suppose that we
think of an animal when we present the totem as our ancestor.
Every ancestor was as human as we are; only at the very be-
ginning was he just like the totem that each clan has had
since then. Our forefathers respected their totem animal more
than we do today; they neither persecuted it nor ate its flesh.
Now the habits of our ancestors are disappearing among us,
one after another. There are now only sixteen independent
614 'castas'; their number was formerly double that." V. Gutiérrez
173 herself agreed with Briscol's interpretation when she presented
114 the introductory words to another myth, "The Distribution
/541/ of the Clan Districts" (p. 170): Mareiwa "then told
the birds they were Indians" /translated from the Spanish/.
Such words make it clear: the myth knows no distinction be-
tween totem animal and Indian in their mode of being and
acting! Therefore one does not get anywhere in the analysis
of myths with a knife-sharp dialectic lacking any imagination.
614 Thus, I may indeed, along with the reporters from former
times up to our day, regard the social division of the Guajiro
people as properly totemistic in style. Two years ago (1959),

/541 cont./

614 Crist (p. 485) wrote: "The Indians of the Guajira are divided into various clans or blood groups, castas, each with its distinguishing totem representing the animal with whose traits, according to legend, the clan was originally imbued" /cited in English/.

614 212 The thought complex that has solidified around the totem of our Indians — to mention it once more in conclusion — gets significant confirmation of its truely totemistic character by the visible symbol for each one of the three dozen of them. None of these totem signs — whether one calls them clan signs, symbols, monograms, emblems, property marks, or something else — is revealed as typically [286] Christian or Spanish in design. The Indian women of olden times wove them into their pieces of weaving, and, as has already been mentioned above (p. 10), the men put their clan-signs on other objects. According to the myth, the [173] original ancestor of a given clan was assigned it in an individual presentation by Mareiwa himself, and it has been retained down to the present day. /See the foreign text for the list of "Sources Mentioned," pp. 541-542./

/542/ Supplement:

114 614 As a consequence of a long stay in East Asia, which I concluded a short time ago, two pertinent articles first came to my attention when the article presented here was already in printing:

[113] Santa Cruz, Antonio, "Acquiring Status in Guajiro Society," Anthropological Quarterly, 33, 1960, pp. 115-127.

Wilbert, Johannes, "Identificación Etno-Lingüística de Tribus Indígenas del Occidente de Venezuela," Mem. Soc. de Ciencias Natur. La Salle, 21, 1961, pp. 5-14.

Both articles refer to the clan-division among the Guajiro described by me. The almost completed printing of my article, however, does not permit me to discuss them in detail; therefore this brief reference must suffice.

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634

[Information on clan-districts will be found in category 614.]

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10: Gusinde SC13 Goajiro

[p. 531]

Totemistische Eigentumsmarken der Guajiro-Indianer

Von Martin Gusinde

Inhalt:
1. Frühere Berichte
2. Neueste Berichte
3. Abschließende Bemerkungen

Mitte 1954 hatte ich mich von Caracas über Maracaibo in das Siedlungsgebiet der Yupa-Indianer zu anthropologischen Beobachtungen begeben [1]. Im engen venezolanischen Landstreifen entlang dem Westufer des Golfes von Maracaibo sind mir gelegentlich Vertreter des Guajiro-Volkes [2] jeglichen Alters und beiderlei Geschlechts zu Gesicht gekommen. Es war mein Wunsch, die erstaunlich vorteilhafte Anpassung dieser Indianer an ihre außergewöhnlich trockene, vegetationsarme Umwelt persönlich zu erleben, um einen Vergleich ihrer ökologischen Lebensverhältnisse mit denen der Buschmänner in der Kalahari Südafrikas anzustellen [3]. Bereits von Bogotá aus ist mir Prof. Adolf Staffe aus Wien, der damals im Dienste der Internat. F. A. O. für Kolumbien stand, weitgehend behilflich gewesen. Bald nach unserer gemeinsamen Autofahrt durch jene ausgedörrte Halbinsel starb er unerwartet. Mein Dank sei ihm hier noch über das Grab hinaus gesagt.

Aus meinen ethnographischen Beobachtungen bei den Guajiro-Leuten sei vorläufig bloß eine Auswahl vorgelegt. Ihnen wird vorangestellt, was von anderen Autoren bereits zum gleichen Gegenstande erkundet worden ist.

1. Frühere Berichte

Zur Zeit der Entdeckung der Neuen Welt waren die Guajiro auf südamerikanischem Boden der am weitesten nach Nordwesten vorgedrungene

[1] M. Gusinde, The Yupa Indians in Western Venezuela. Proceed. Americ. Philos. Soc. 100. 1956, pp. 197-222.

[2] Der Schreibweise *Guajiro* gebührt der Vorrang vor *Goajiro*. Cf. Etimologia de la palabra „Guajira" in Vegamian, pp. 11-23.

[3] M. Gusinde, Bericht über meine südafrikanische Forschungsreise 1950/51. Anthropos 47. 1952, pp. 388-404.

Zweig der Aruak-Gruppe. Vor der Konquista haben sie ihren Lebensunterhalt aus Fischfang und Jagd, verbunden mit etwas Ackerbau, bestritten. Beträchtliches Übergewicht hat jedoch die Viehzucht durch die Einführung von Haustieren zur Zeit der spanischen Kolonisation erlangt. Juan de Castellanos berichtet, daß bereits in der Periode seines dortigen Aufenthaltes (um 1550) eine ziemlich reichliche Menge Vieh vorhanden war. Seitdem hat, bis auf unsere Tage, dieser Wirtschaftsbetrieb keine nennenswerte strukturelle Umwandlung erfahren; gegenwärtig zeigen sich allerdings tiefgreifende Akkomodationsbestrebungen an die sogenannte westliche Denkweise und Daseinsart [4].

Über die gesellschaftliche Ordnung und politische Organisation der Guajiro liegen aus jener Zeit nur wenige Mitteilungen vor. Wann spanische Konquistadoren den dort bestehenden Familiengruppen, echten Sippen im Sinne der neuzeitlichen Ethnologie, erstmals auf die Spur gekommen sind, läßt sich nicht ermitteln. Padre Álvarez José Nicolás de la Rosa [5] beschreibt 1739 einige Begräbniszeremonien und macht dabei die gelegentliche Bemerkung, sie würden abgehalten „according to the castes [clans] by which they are distinguished" (p. 634). Er zählt sechs auf, „thus: Casta de Guacamaya [macaw] (this is the highest), Casta de Paguil, Casta de Guacharaca, Casta de Mono, Casta de Machin, Casta de Gallinazo (this is the poorest)" (ibd). Erklärende Zusätze fehlen. Jedoch im Lichte der später gelungenen Erhebungen erhalten diese wenigen Angaben ihren vollen Sinn.

Erst 1870 hat A. Ernst eine verlängerte Liste dieser Totemgruppen veröffentlicht (p. 329). Er zählt deren zwölf auf und nennt sie „Stämme", die „bestimmte Wohnsitze haben". Hiervon sondert er richtig die sogenannten *Cocinas* ab, die „vielleicht andern Stammes als der Rest der Bevölkerung und ein vagabundierendes Raubgesindel sind, das alle Wege unsicher macht" [6].

Wenige Jahre später hat der britische Ingenieur F. Simons die Guajira bereist. Er erzählt in seinem vorzüglichen Bericht an die Royal Geographical Society (1885): „The Guajiros are subdivided into many families or castes, bearing much analogy to the ancient clans of Scotland. Each caste or rather family circle is united against all comers ... Besides the name, each caste or family represents some animal, and many of the minor castes, over and above

[4] Cf. Vegamian, Christ (1958 und 1959), José Augustín de Barranquilla u. a. m.

[5] Unter „Álvarez" zitiere ich im Folgenden das seltene Werk „Floresta de la Santa Iglesia Catedral de la Ciudad de Santa Marta", zusammengestellt von Padre Álvarez Don José Nicolás de la Rosa i. J. 1739 und gedruckt 1833 in Valencia. Francis C. Nicholas hat bedeutsame Abschnitte aus diesem Werk ins Englische übersetzt und Ergänzungen beigefügt, zu welchen ihn eine Reise durch die Guajira veranlaßt hatte. Seiner Beurteilung nach „the book forms a stepping-stone to a study of the history and antiquities of the Indians of northern South America" (p. 606). Man findet diese Übersetzung mit dem Titel „The Aborigines of the Province of Santa Marta, Colombia" in American Anthropologist 3, 1901, pp. 606-649. Den Guajiro sind die pp. 625-634 gewidmet.

[6] Bereits Padre Álvarez hat auf sie hingewiesen als „more barbarous than any of the Guagiros, and consequently less tractable and more dangerous, horrible and proud" (p. 635). Im gleichen Sinne beschrieb Stützer (p. 136) sie als „Auswurf aller Kasten. Sie morden, um zu rauben. Es gilt als gefährlich, allein oder in kleinem Trupp durch ihr Gebiet zu ziehen ...", Weitere Erwähnung verdienen sie nicht.

Marcas Distintivas de las Castas Guajiras

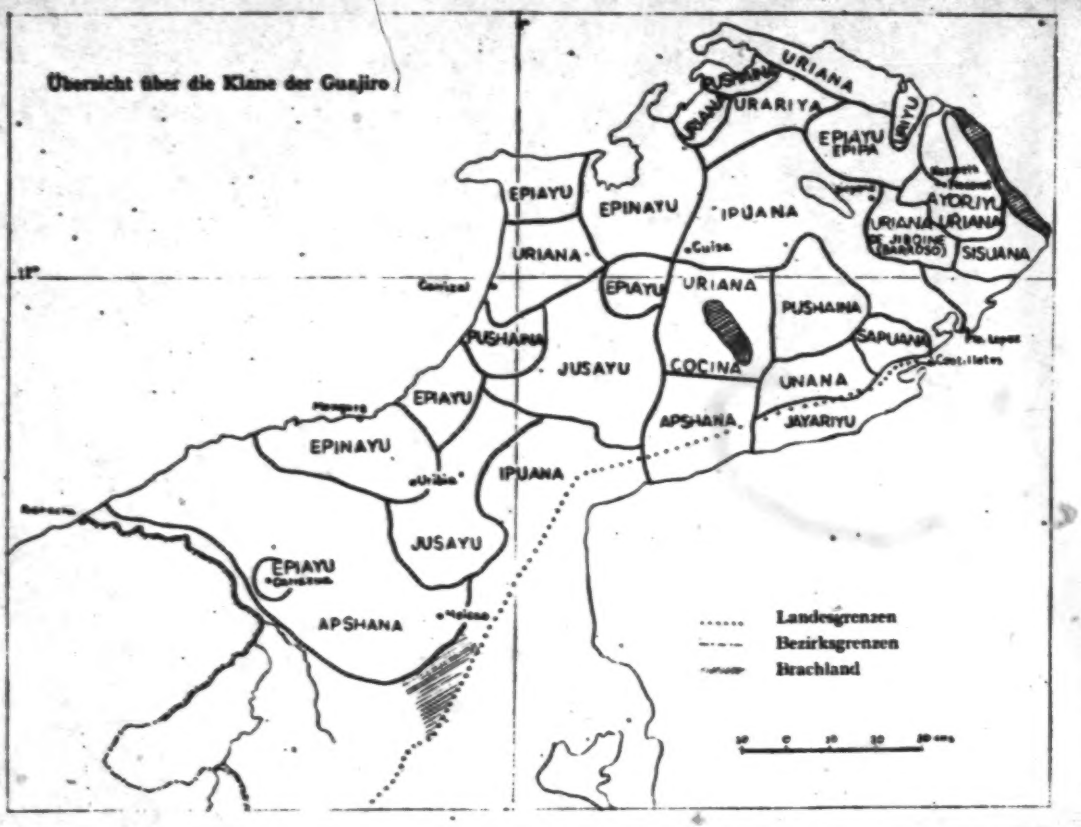
Marcas	Castas	Lugares	Totem	Marcas	Castas	Lugares	Totem
	Epieyu	Alta Guajira	Cucaracha		Hayariyú	Alta Guajira	Perro
	•	•	•		•	Casti-Betes	•
	•	Portete	•		•	Nazareth	•
	•	•	•		Uraliyú		Culebra Cascabel
	•	Jarare	•		Napuana	Alta Guajira	Garzy o Alzaverja
	•	•	•		Pushaina	Jarare	Cerdo de Monte
	•	Alta Guajira	•		Guajirú	Pto. Estrella	Perdiz
	Uriana	San José	Tigre		Arpe-shana	Alta y Baja Guajira	Gallinazo
	•	•	•		Hanayú	Jarare	Conejo
	•	Buenos Aires	•		Epinayú		Burro
	•	Pto. Lopez	•		Ulúguana	Alta Guajira	Machorro
	•	Cosina	•		Hirnú	•	Zorro
	•	Alta Guajira	•		Pannayú		Avispa Negra
	•	•	•		Sijuana	Yimará	Abeja
	Ipuana	•	Mushale		•	Pto. Espada	•
	•	Jarare	•		•	Alta Guajira	•
	Hayariyú	Alta Guajira	Perro		Guaririyú		Perdiz

their own symbol, adopt another of some more powerful denomination, to enjoy the privilege of a good protector. There are at present, altogether, some thirty odd castes among the Goajiros ... There are about ten of importance, chief among these the Uriana. This, the largest caste in the Goajira, has subdivided or split up into many ramifications, such as Uriana tiger, Uriana rabbit, Uriana pauderate (a wang bird), Uriana gecko (lizard). This family is at present not only by far the most numerous, but also the richest; due to its connections by marriage with the Pushainas, formerly the wealthiest of the land." Am Schluß seines Berichtes gibt SIMONS in einem „Appendix" (p. 790) eine „List of Tribes or Castes, with their respective animals and favourite resting-places"; die zweiundzwanzig Namen findet man je in der zugehörigen Gegend auf der von ihm beigegebenen Landkarte eingetragen [1].

A. ERNST verwendet in seinem zweiten Referat (1887) die von SIMONS zuverlässig erbrachten Einzelheiten und erklärt dazu: „Man gewinnt aus seiner Darstellung ein klares Bild der eigenthümlichen socialen Verhältnisse, in denen die Bewohner der Halbinsel leben. Was die spanischen Schriftsteller in ihren mageren Berichten mit dem unbestimmten Namen ‚parcialidades' bezeichnen, erkannte Simons vollkommen richtig als Familie im ethnologischen Sinne (Clan, gens) und von mehreren derselben giebt er den gewöhnlichen Aufenthaltsort und das betreffende Totem an ..." (p. 420). „Die meisten sind aus der heutigen Sprache der Guajiros nicht mehr erklärlich ..." Nach SIMONS „sei kein Zweifel darüber, daß die Guajiros glauben, von einem solchen Thiere abzustammen ... Wie weit der Gebrauch des Totems sich bei den Guajiros erstreckt, wird weder von Simons, noch von irgend einem anderen Berichterstatter gesagt" (p. 440 f.). Für ein solches Tier erachtet ERNST (1887, p. 442) die Bewertung „Totem" als gerechtfertigt und verspricht eine linguistische Analyse der Namen für die zweiundzwanzig von SIMONS aufgezeichneten Totemtiere.

Einzelne Klane übertreffen manche andere an wirtschaftlichem Einfluß und gesellschaftlicher Bedeutung. Kopfzahlmäßig kleinere schließen sich einem oder mehreren andern an. Der Glaube an verwandtschaftliche Zusammengehörigkeit der Klan-Mitglieder ist in der traditionell überlieferten Überzeugung

[1] FRAZER (Vol. 2, p. 560) hat diese Tabelle vollständig nachgedruckt und seiner Überzeugung klaren Ausdruck verliehen, daß „the Goajiros have a totemic system of the normal pattern". In Verbindung damit erörtert er die mutterrechtlichen Gebräuche dieses Volksstammes. – KOSCHNOOV (p. 154) analysiert nur das Verhältnis der väterlichen und mütterlichen Verwandten, so weit es damals sich ermöglichen ließ, als „die Schilderung der Verwandtschaftsorganisation [noch] im höchsten Maße lückenhaft und unbefriedigend" war. Er macht auch den Unterschied zwischen Großfamilie und Sippe deutlich und hebt bestimmt heraus, daß die Sippe „nicht notwendig eine lokale Einheit zu sein braucht ... Das Band, das die Glieder einer Sippe zusammenhält, ist die Idee, daß sie von demselben Ahnen abstammen und infolgedessen Brüder und Schwestern sind ..." (p. 90). Tatsächlich ist es den Klanmitgliedern einer jeden Sippe gestattet, sich über die ganze Guajira hinweg in voller Freiheit zu bewegen. – Auch VERGARAY (pp. 26, 347) erklärte: „Los indios guajiros se dividen en castas, de denominación totémica". Ausführlich erörtert er deren örtliche Lagerung und begründet die bei den Autoren ein wenig wechselnde Schreibweise der Klannamen folgendermaßen: „Entre los nombres indios, perfectos conocedores de su lengua, no hay uniformidad en la pronunciación de unas mismas palabras".



Totemistische Eigentumsmarken der Guajiro-Indianer 535

von einer wirklichen Abstammung von demselben Totemtier begründet. ERNST sagt weiter: „Da die einzelnen Familien [= Klangruppen], wenn auch nicht gerade in Feindschaft, so doch getrennt von einander leben; [finden] Heirathen nur in seltenen Fällen zwischen Gliedern verschiedener Familien statt" (p. 442); was gleichbedeutend ist mit Klan-Endogamie als herrschender Regel.

Eine Reihe von Namen anderer Berichterstatter findet sich teilweise bei A. JAHN (p. 142), ARMSTRONG-MÉTRAUX (p. 383) und R. CRIST (1959, p. 485). Da und dort erhält man den Eindruck, jene Autoren hätten aus SIMONS und ERNST als einziger Quelle geschöpft. Falsch sind die Angaben, die der Journalist J. WESTON macht.

2. Neueste Berichte

Aus persönlicher Feldforschung stammt, was VIRGINIA GUTIÉRREZ in ihrer Abhandlung „Organización Social en la Guajira" (1948) niedergelegt hat. Ihre Abhandlung wurde mir erst nach meiner Durchquerung der Halbinsel bekannt. V. GUTIÉRREZ gab ihre Beobachtungen bereits 1948 heraus. In freier Übersetzung folgt hier die von ihr aufgenommene Mythe, in der die sich noch immer auf Guajira behauptenden Sippen namentlich vorgeführt werden. Die gleiche Erzählung ist mir, mit wenigen unbedeutenden Abänderungen, von zwei Frauen des einflußreichen und intelligenten Caçique BRISCOL (alias ANTONIO JUAN LÓPEZ) wiederholt worden; von beiden erhielt ich auch die Zusicherung, daß sie nahezu sämtlichen Volksgenossen geläufig sei. In einer sich anschließenden Aussprache mit noch anderen Frauen wurde klar, daß die soziale und juristische Betätigung des Klanwesens sich im Ablauf der Jahrhunderte bis in die Gegenwart vereinfacht und abgestumpft, vor allem die ursprüngliche Strenge ihrer Forderungen gemildert und teilweise sogar verloren hat. Gewisse, noch immer aufrecht erhaltene Praktiken und mancherlei Traditionssplitter lassen sich zu einem ausreichend klaren Bilde von der totemistischen Gliederung auf Guajira, trotz reichlicher mutterrechtlicher Erscheinungen, zusammenfügen.

Wie das ganze Guajiro-Volk ursprünglich in viele Klane aufgeteilt worden ist, dafür besitzen unsere Indianer eine mythologische Erklärung [*]. Ein jeder Totemklan besitzt sein individuelles Symbol, vergleichbar einem Monogramm. Damit kennzeichnet jedes Klanmitglied sich und seine persönlichen Besitzgüter, vorwiegend die Haustiere. Dieses Symbol malen die Indianer mit gewöhnlicher Wasserfarbe auf einen Stein, schnitzen es in Gegenstände aus Holz (Teller, Stil einer Hacke, Hauspfosten), tatauieren es in die Arme u. ä. m. Das alles aus purer Spielerei und ohne ernste Absicht, ihr Eigentumsrecht herauszustellen. Hingegen wird dasselbe Symbol, welches einem Klan zu eigen ist, ausnahmslos jedwedem Haustier eingebrannt, das das einzelne Klanmitglied besitzt. Offensichtlich ist es jeweils das gleiche Zeichen für alle Tiere aller Mitglieder eines bestimmten Klans; nichtsdestoweniger bleiben die Tiere per-

* Diese bestätigend ergänzte PETRULLO (p. 155): „Casta [is] the major social grouping in Guajiro society. Each casta claims a mythological origin and holds sovereignty over a well-defined territory".

sönliches Eigentum ihres Besitzers, und dieser selbst weiß genau, welche Tiere ihm gehören und welche Besitzgut anderer Klanmitglieder sind.

Auf eine auch bei uns übliche Weise (z. B. das Brennen des Gestützeichens für Fohlen) wird das Klansymbol auf Guajira dem Haustier mit einem Brandeisen in seine Haut eingepreßt, meistens auf den Hinterschenkel, zuweilen am unteren Hals. Das Brandeisen ist eine fingerdicke, etwa ein Meter lange Stange, an deren unterem Ende die in Eisen geformte Marke festsitzt. Dieses wird hoch erhitzt und mit mäßigem Druck dem Tiere kurzfristig auf die Haut gesetzt [9].

Das geschilderte Markenbrennen werden die Indianer wohl von den Spaniern selbst, zugleich mit der Übernahme der ersten europäischen Haustiere, gelernt und seitdem beibehalten haben. Um so mehr überrascht, daß das Brandeisen (*hierro*) in einer alten Mythe aufscheint, die ihrerseits klar ausspricht, woher die gebräuchlichen individuellen Klanzeichen stammen. Die folgende Version (nach V. Gutiérrez, p. 168) ist im nördlichen Teile der Halbinsel geläufig:

Unweit Nazareth [10] erhebt sich ein Hügel hinter dem Itojoro. Hier kam, unter einem Ölbaum, *Mareiwa* [11] zur Welt. Man fand ihn als Kleinkind, das rasch aufwuchs, wie jedes Indianerkind. Er aß *tuuma* [12] und kleidete sich gleich den Guajiro. Die Mutter war eine bejahrte Frau; im Norden stand ihre Hütte. Vom Vater, einem gewissen *Saramai*, heißt es, auch er sei Gott. Weil *Mareiwa* unter einem Ölbaum geboren wurde, verliert dieser Baum seine grünen Blätter selbst zur Trockenzeit nicht. Bei Gewittern suchen die Indianer Deckung unter seinen Ästen; denn kein Blitz wird hier einschlagen.

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[9] Jedermann weiß, daß manche viehzüchterischen Naturvölker sich der hier geschilderten Methode zur „Brandzeichnung" ihrer Haustiere bedienen; und zwar geschieht es vornehmlich in der Absicht, den individuellen Besitzer oder eine aus mehreren Männern bestehende Gruppe als Eigentümer herauszustellen. M. Merker (p. 163) berichtet dies von den Masai. Bei den Beduinen und verwandten Volksstämmen im Nahen Osten hat H. Field mehr als tausend solcher Zeichen zusammengestellt (Fig. 24-43). Überraschen könnte, daß einzelne von ihnen den Brandzeichen der Guajiro sehr ähnlich sind. Diese Übereinstimmung läßt sich aber zwanglos aus der Mentalität der Eingeborenen und ihrer unentwickelten technischen Fertigkeit sowie aus dem spröden Schmiedeeisen selbst ableiten. Wahrscheinlich reicht das „Brandeisen" in eine frühere Menschheitsperiode zurück; von seinem Erfindungsort nahm es seinen Weg über die Erde zugleich mit den Haustieren selbst.

[10] Dieser Posten liegt nur mehrere Kilometer südlich von Puerto Estrella und ist eigentlich eine kleine katholische Missionsstation. Cf. Stutzer, pp. 131 ff. und Barranquilla, pp. 151 ff.

[11] Das ist die Schreibweise dieses mythologischen Namens, die ich als richtig empfunden habe, so auch V. Gutiérrez (p. 168). Chaves (1946, p. 307) erläutert in der Mythe über: „Las Serranías de la Guajira" u. a.: „*Mareigua* [es] una de las principales divinidades del pueblo guajiro, quien con su poder sobrenatural convierte en cerros a las personas, aparta el mar de la tierra y la puebla de árboles y animales, en beneficio del hombre." Die ursprüngliche Gestalt des *Mareiwa* ist wohl die eines Kulturheros. Zur gleichen Annahme bekennt sich Chaves (1953, p. 183); doch ergänzt er, diese Persönlichkeit sei „en el momento actual para muchos mestizos como Dios". Jahn (p. 183) spricht bestimmt aus, „que los españoles han identificado [*Maleiwa*] con el propio Dios o Ser Supremo". In Torrano (p. 188) liest man „*Mariguo* = Dios, Ser Supremo". Leider gilt auch heute noch, daß die „Goajiro religion is imperfectly known" (Armstrong-Métraux, p. 382).

[12] Mir nannte man *tuna*; das ist die in Südamerika sehr bekannte Frucht der Opuntia (Feigenkaktus). Cf. Vegamian, p. 214.

Mareiwa machte eine Indianerin namens *Boruuka*; sie wurde zur Mutter aller Guajiro-Leute [13]. Er gab ihr auch einen Gefährten, von dem diese schwanger wurde. Als jedoch der Zeitpunkt ihrer Niederkunft herangekommen war, fühlte sie sich außerstande zu gebären. Drei Tage hielten die Wehen an, ohne daß die Entbindung eintrat. Ihre Scheide war nämlich mit Zähnen besetzt. *Mareiwa* entfernte sie. Gleichzeitig entnahm er dem Gatten zwei Rippen, und zwar die untersten von jeder Seite. Er setzte sie *Boruuka* ein, damit sie später ohne Behinderung, wenngleich nicht ohne Schmerzen, gebären könne.

Da seitdem mit jeder Entbindung ein Blutverlust verbunden ist, rief *Mareiwa* alle Vögel herbei. Den Sangre de Toro oder Pinewait hieß er sich dort waschen, wo die Niederkunft erfolgt war. Dasselbe befahl er den Troupialen (Webervögeln aus der Familie der Icteridae), auch dem Icó (*ishú*, Phoenicotraupis rubra), mit den schwarzen Flügeln, dessen Bauchfedern samt Kopfschopf rot gefärbt sind, schließlich den Guacamayos. Der Specht (Ceophloeus lineatus) traf zu diesem Bade verspätet ein. *Mareiwa* redete ihn an: „Du bist zwar spät gekommen, aber trotzdem will ich deinen Schopf anstreichen", und er bemalte ihn rot. So haben die genannten Vögel rotgefleckte Stellen in ihrem Gefieder.

Boruuka gebar mehrere Kinder, und die Guajiro fuhren fort, sich zu vermehren. Als es ihrer in Menge gab, kehrte *Mareiwa* zu ihnen zurück. Er verteilte unter sie die Samen von Wassermelonen (Citrullus vulgaris), Mais (Zea), Kürbis und allen anderen Vegetabilien, von denen die Guajiro sich nähren. Bis zu jenem Zeitpunkt hatte kein Guajiro ein Saatfeld bestellt; wer vordem zu essen wünschte, griff nach Früchten, die von selbst gewachsen waren. *Mareiwa* versammelte alle Zancalargas (dünnbeinige Stelzvögel) und Webervögel; einem Schwarm von ihnen befahl er, sich sehr weit abseits zu begeben und sich dort von Iguarayas (Körnerfrucht) und den Früchten des Feigenkaktus (Opuntia) zu nähren. Einen Schwarm Feldtauben rief er ebenfalls herbei, sie brachten *hepechi*-Kirschen mit. Danach verteilte er die Vögel über ganz Guajira hinweg. Sie sollten mit ihrem Kot die zugleich ausgeschiedenen Samenkörner zum Keimen bringen; letztere sollten aufsprossen und das ganze Land mit einer Pflanzendecke überziehen, auf daß Früchte heranreiften und den Leuten zur Nahrung dienten.

Jedem eingeborenen Manne übergab *Mareiwa* ein Pärchen von Ziege, Esel, Rind, Pferd und Schwein. Dann versammelte er alle Leute mit ihren Tieren im Bezirk von Arachi nahe bei Siapana. In einen Felsen dort grub er die Symbole ein, die er einer jeden Familiengruppe, Kindern der *Boruuka*, zuweisen wollte. Sie sind heute noch an jener Felswand erkennbar.

Dort also legte er die Zeichenmuster fest für die Epiayú, Ipuana, Uriana, Sapuana, Jayariyú, Apshana, Sijuana, Urariyú, Epinayú, Jitnú, Soriyú, Pausayú, Uriyú, Woriyú, Urenanaka, Matpishana, Uyarayú, Wariruyú, Jusayú, Woruforuyú, und weitere mehr. *Mareiwa* übergab den Leuten diese Eigentumsmarken, damit bewegliche Besitzgüter der einen Gruppe nicht mit denen der andern verwechselt würden.

Jede Gruppe besitzt ihr Tierzeichen, wodurch sie ihren Besitz von dem der anderen Gruppen unterscheidet. Das geschah aus folgendem Anlaß: jene Tiere sollten zu Indianern werden. Aber sie haben die Herden, die *Mareiwa* einer jeden Gruppe zugewiesen hatte, gefressen. Zur Strafe beließ er sie in ihrem tierischen Zustande als Symbol der einzelnen Gruppen, die von ihnen beleidigt, bzw. geschädigt worden waren. So hat der Anführer der Riesengeier [Coragyps atratus foetens] ein Stück Rind der Epiayú aufgefressen, und deshalb verblieb er das Kennzeichen für diese Gruppe. Der Caricari verschlang ein Tier der Ipuana-Gruppe. Die Uriana-Leute besitzen jetzt als Totemtier den Jaguar (Felis onca). Die Sapuana-Gruppe beansprucht für sich den *alcaravan* (Burhinus bistriatus vocifer), die Jayariyú-Leute den Hund, die Apshana den Hühnergeier, die Sijuana die Wespe, die Urariyú die Klapperschlange (Crotalus terrificius), die Jitnú-Leute den Fuchs (Canis azarae), die Soriyú-Leute die Cataneja (Stinkgeier, Ara), die Pausayú die schwarze Wespe die Uyarayú den Hirsch (Cervus alaphus), u. a. m.

[13] CHAVES (1953, p. 181) berichtet eine andere Mythe vom „Origen de los Guajiros", in welcher jedoch die Totemklane nicht erwähnt werden; deswegen kann von dorther kein Widerspruch zu der hier vorgelegten Mythe geltend gemacht werden.

Anschließend legt V. GUTIÉRREZ (p. 170) eine andere Mythe vor. Diese schildert, wie den einzelnen Totemklanen ihre Namen und bestimmte Wohnbezirke zugewiesen wurden, nachdem sich eine verhängnisvolle, tragische Szene des Ungehorsams der Geschöpfe gegenüber ihrem Schöpfer abgespielt hatte. Nachdrücklich stellt auch dieser Bericht die Tatsache heraus, daß *Maceiwa* persönlich mit seinem Willen und seinem Machtwort eine totemistische Daseinsweise für die ersten Lebewesen auf Guajira eingeführt hat. Die Mythe hat den dramatischen Schluß: „Zum letzten Mal sprach *Maceiwa* mit ihnen [den Totemgruppen], um sich zu verabschieden. Er redete sie also an: Das war mein Wille, hier sollt ihr leben! Ich gehe jetzt fort; vom Himmel aus blicke ich auf euch herab."

Auf der Karte sind die einzelnen Totembezirke mit den vierunddreißig Klannamen eingezeichnet [14]. Die zugehörigen Klanmarken finden sich in der Tabelle. Jeder Guajiro kennt sie. Als eine festliegende Tradition hat jede Generation von der anderen die Einzelheiten übernommen, sei es als Klanbesitz oder sei es als Verpflichtung. Aber im Gefolge gar mancher kämpferischer Auseinandersetzungen der Klane miteinander – die Guajiro haben sich nämlich schon frühzeitig als sehr streitlustig bekannt gemacht – haben sich die Grenzen einzelner Klanbezirke verschoben; der eine und andere Klan ist überhaupt verschwunden, sei es, daß seine Mitglieder gänzlich vernichtet worden sind, sei es, daß einzelne von ihnen in andere Klane eingegliedert wurden. Demzufolge waren und sind Anzahl und Grenzen der einzelnen Klanbezirke belanglosen Schwankungen unterworfen. Wann die beigegebene – von einer kolumbianischen Behörde aufgenommene – Karte gezeichnet worden ist, konnte ich nicht ermitteln; wie es scheint, wurde sie um 1935 herausgegeben. Sie findet sich auch bei V. GUTIÉRREZ (p. XVI).

3. Abschließende Bemerkungen

Spanische Schriftsteller haben von der frühen Kolonialzeit an über „castas" auf Guajira berichtet; die Bezeichnung entspricht eigentlichen totemistischen Klanen. Neuestens ließ sich erweisen, daß es deren seit altersher etwa dreißig gibt. Den Mitgliedern eines jeden Klans stand es gemeinrechtlich zu, über die ganze Halbinsel hinweg sich frei zu bewegen, ohne an den Grenzen behindert zu werden. Wenn PETRULLO (p. 155) unmißverständlich erklärt: „Each caste holds sovereignty over a well-defined territory", so gibt er richtig jeden Klanbereich als ein Gemeinschaftseigentum aus. Bereits früheren Beobachtern muß ein solcher Sachverhalt zum Bewußtsein gekommen sein, weil sie

[14] Die hier bevorzugte Schreibweise und Aussprache der Klanbezeichnungen gleicht im großen und ganzen den spanischen Lauten. Jüngere Indianer befällt heutzutage eine merkliche Unsicherheit bei Anwendung der richtigen spanischen Benennung einzelner Totemtiere; auch in deren Aussprache der Guajiro-Bezeichnungen begegnet ein fremder Beobachter leichten Variationen – was soeben erwähnt wurde. Deshalb stellte ich in die Tabelle (p. 532) die Namen übereinstimmend mit eben der Lautgebung ein, die ich selbst am häufigsten gehört habe; die Karte (p. 535) habe ich unverändert vom Original übernommen.

ihn mit erwünschter Deutlichkeit dargestellt haben. Eine solche festgelegte Klanlokalisation wird aus der Mythologie begründet.

Als Totem kennt man auf Guajira nur bekannte Tiere, denen keine reverentielle Verehrung gezollt wird; auch Meidungsvorschriften bestehen nicht. Die Klanzugehörigkeit richtet sich nach der Mutter. Mancherlei matriarchale Gesetze und Gepflogenheiten werden von den Indianern ebenso streng wie gewissenhaft gehandhabt; von SIMONS, ERNST, PETRULLO, SANTA CRUZ, ARMSTRONG-MÉTRAUX, GUTIÉRREZ, CRIST (1959) u. a. m. wurden sie ausführlich geschildert.

Eingefügt sei hier, daß eigentliche Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen erst neuerdings von J. WILBERT (p. 59) gesammelt und veröffentlicht wurden. Es sind deren 26 Grundbegriffe, und „most terms are applied to more than one relative so that the system is classificatory in type".

Schließlich will noch die Frage beantwortet werden, ob sich die Guajiro verwandtschaftlich mit ihrem Totemtier verbunden fühlen. Als erster hat sich JAHN (p. 145) hierzu geäußert: „Cada parcialidad tiene como su ‚totem' o blasón, algún animal. No se ha podido averiguar si ellos creen descender de él; parece que más bien sea éste un signo simbólico o heráldico". Entschiedener und aufschlußreich spricht sich V. GUTIÉRREZ aus (p. 173): „No existe actualmente la creencia de que [los Guajiro] descenden de él [= Totem], ni la prohibición especial de hacerle daño o de matarlo. La idea de que en el animal representativo se encuentra la génesis no parece hallarse ni en un pasado remoto. Los orígenes que encontramos en las narraciones no incluyen esta idea. Hoy día, rien cuando uno pregunta por el animal de su ‚casta'; muchos confiesan ... que pertenecen al tigre, a la abeja, a la culebra cascabel'... Ellos dicen que son valientes como ese animal ..." Die durch eine, obgleich noch so kurze, Generationsreihe fortgesetzte Beeinflussung vonseiten spanischer Kultur und modernem Zeitgeist hat schließlich auch das primitive Urteilen und Fühlen dieser Indianer abgeändert und in ihnen den Stolz bestärkt, sich jetzt als „aufgeklärt" zu behaupten. Nicht zu überraschen braucht deshalb, daß sie einem fremden Besucher heute ins Gesicht lachen, falls dieser seine Fragen so stellt, als hielte er selbst eine bluthafte Abstammung der Klanmitglieder von ihrem Totemtier für ausgemacht und tatsächlich. Der oben erwähnte Cacique BRISCOL [18] hat auch mir despektierlich ins Ohr geflüstert: „Du darfst nicht meinen, wir denken an ein Tier, wenn wir das Totem als unsern Ahnen ausgeben. Jener Ahne war ebenso ein Mensch wie wir; nur ganz zu Anfang war er eben dem Totem gleich, das seitdem jeder Klan besitzt. Unsere Vorfahren haben ihr Totemtier mehr respektiert als wir es heute tun; sie haben es weder verfolgt noch dessen Fleisch gegessen. Gegenwärtig lösen sich bei uns die Gewohnheiten unserer Vorfahren, eine nach der andern, auf. Es gibt eigentlich bloß noch sechzehn für sich selbständige ‚Castas'; ihre Anzahl war früher doppelt so hoch." V. GUTIÉRREZ selbst stimmte mit dieser Interpretation BRISCOLS überein, als sie die einleitenden Worte zu einer andern Mythe „Die Verteilung

[18] In seiner flüssig geschriebenen Novelle kommt dieser blutreine, intelligente und erfahrungsreiche Indianer mehrmals auf die Klane seines Guajiro-Volkes zu sprechen.

der Klanbezirke" (p. 170), vorlegte: *Mareiwa* „dijo entonces a los pájaros que eran indios". Solche Worte machen es deutlich: die Mythe kennt keinen Unterschied zwischen Totemtier und Indianer in deren Seins- und Handlungsweise! Also kommt man in der Mythenanalyse nicht vom Fleck mit einer phantasieleeren, messerscharfen Dialektik. So darf ich wohl, mit den Berichterstattern von früherer Zeit bis in unsere Tage, die gesellschaftliche Aufteilung des Guajiro-Volkes als stilgerecht totemistisch ansehen. Noch vor zwei Jahren (1959) schrieb CRIST (p. 485): „The Indians of the Guajira are divided into various clans or blood groups, castas, each with its distinguishing totem representing the animal with whose traits, according to legend, the clan was originally imbued."

Der Gedankenkomplex, der sich um das Totem unserer Indianer verdichtet hat – um ihn abschließend nochmals zu erwähnen – erfährt eine beachtliche Bestätigung seiner echten totemistischen Natur durch das sichtbare Symbol für ein jedes der drei Dutzend von ihnen. Keines dieser Totemzeichen – mag man es Klanzeichen, Symbol, Monogramm, Emblem, Eigentumsmarke oder sonstwie nennen – verrät sich als typisch christlicher oder spanischer Entwurf. Die Indianerinnen alter Zeit flochten es selbst ihren Gewebestücken ein; und, wie bereits oben erwähnt wurde (p. 536), lassen Männer ihr Klanzeichen in andere Gegenstände ein. Der Mythe zufolge hat es der Urahne jedweden Klans in einer individuellen Ausführung von *Mareiwa* selbst zugewiesen bekommen, und diese ist bis auf den heutigen Tag beibehalten worden.

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Nachtrag:

Infolge eines längeren Aufenthaltes in Ost-Asien, den ich vor kurzem abgeschlossen habe, sind mir zwei einschlägige Artikel erst zu Gesicht gekommen, als die hier vorliegende Abhandlung sich bereits in der Druckerei befand:

SANTA CRUZ ANTONIO, Acquiring Status in Guajiro Society. Anthropological Quarterly 33. 1960, pp. 115-127.
WILBERT JOHANNES, Identificación Etno-Lingüística de las Tribus Indígenas del Occidente de Venezuela. Mem. Soc. de Ciencias Natur. La Salle 21. 1961, pp. 5-14.

Beide Artikel nehmen Bezug auf die von mir geschilderte Clan-Einteilung bei den Guajiro. Die nahezu abgeschlossene Drucklegung meines Aufsatzes erlaubt es jedoch nicht mehr, mich ausführlich dazu zu äußern; so muß dieser kurze Hinweis genügen.

1:Gutierrez de Pineda--i E-5 (1947) 1950 SC13 Goajiro SC13

INTRODUCTION

121 In accordance with the plan drawn up by the Instituto Etnológico Nacional de Colombia /National Institute of Ethnology of Colombia/ to present a complete monograph on some aspect of indigenous culture in each number of this review, and in order to continue the study presented in the previous issue on the Guajiro community which we visited in 1947 with the licentiates Roberto Pineda Giraldo and Milcíades Chaves Ch. and Mrs. María Rose de Recasens, we here present the Organización Social en la Guajira /Social Organization in La Guajira/, a title which embraces some aspects of the manner in which the individual and his institutions function in this community.

We have wished to present not merely an interpretative study but rather a series of facts, as trustworthy as it was possible for them to be, arranged in the way we consider to be best, that is, starting with the individual as the primary cell in the social organization, from the moment of birth on through the most important stages of his life within the group, up to sickness and death, and ending with reference to law, that is, the institutions which govern life in society.

This plan, then, tends to give an objective view of the interrelations between the individual and his group and of the way in which each complement the other in making possible the communal life of the individuals as components of the family cells, the small social groups, and the total collectivity. We have therefore subdivided our work into the two essential parts mentioned above, taking the individual, that is, the average man in the community, as a basis, with his manner of living, his ways of thinking, feeling, and reacting when faced with the various problems and institutions which society has established. In brief, we have wished to present the individual as he confronts his environment. /xiv/

124 The research on which this treatise is based was carried out directly in the field, data being obtained from different

[7 cont.]

132 Consequently at this time, the Indian faces a situation of misery
731 that has brought him to seek monetary income either as a worker in the maritime saltworks or as a herdsman in the neighboring haciendas of Venezuela and Colombia; or if he is obstinate in his attachment to his native soil, he has to put up with conditions of hunger, bond service, and even slavery in his own territory.

166 The lack of water has been the main factor leading to the
464 mass emigration of entire native families to the nearest centers of trade and work; there they enroll themselves as paid farm workers; or simply beg for charity, which is frequently seen in the streets and plazas of Maracaibo; or apply themselves to some other trade such as the making of charcoal to be sold in Ríohacha; or work in the loading and unloading of ships in neighboring ports.

• • •

121 All these facts that we have been describing and the little
114 that was known of this interesting Colombian aboriginal community led the Institute of Ethnology and Archaeology of the Ministry of National Education of Colombia to organize an expedition to study for a reasonable period of time the greater part of the characteristic social phenomena of this group of people, the actual social situation of the natives confronted by the new conditions of life, the anthropological aspect, the language, etc. This decision was put into effect with the ethnographic expedition of 1947, which, during the months of July, August, and September, traveled over a great part of the territory making the corresponding studies. [8] This expedition was composed of: the investigators, Licentiate Milcíades Chaves, Licentiate Virginia Gutiérrez de Pineda Giraldo, Señora María Rosa de Recasens, and the author.

The result of these investigations is the work we now present, the first of a series of publications which will cover the major part of the aspects of the material and spiritual life of the Guajiro.

The work to which these few lines serve as an introduction is based on facts carefully gathered by us in the field, especially by my wife Licentiate Virginia Gutiérrez de Pineda Giraldo, who kindly handed over data to be studied and added to ours, and we

[8 cont.]
114 now present it embodied under this title Aspectos de la Magia en
121 la Guajira, a title which not only covers what has been known as magic to the Indian but also many of his mental and sentimental attitudes, the classification of which would be difficult in any other way. [9] [Maps of La Guajira Comisaría on p. 9. Page 10 is blank.]

[11] II

Life Cycle of the Guajiro Shaman

*756 Symptomatology. A woman shaman [piache], referring to
787 the bodily symptoms which presented themselves as an indication of her calling, mentioned the following: She began to see before her eyes a kind of little star which fell upon her in the manner of a golden rain, the first sign, according to her, of her person being possessed by a spirit. Her sight became clouded, and she fell to the ground in a faint; she remained stretched out there for some time. Then she very slowly regained consciousness. After this first attack of possession, she felt quite well for two or three days, after which she woke up one morning with a sensation of intense cold such as one feels at the beginning of an attack of malaria; she also broke out in a sticky sweat all over her body; then she was overcome, vomited blood, and remained unconscious until afternoon, lying like one dead in her hammock. She began to recover again, and the spirit came down to her, for she
[276 439] seemed to hear a voice that ordered her, "Eat manilla (2), for if

2. A tobacco paste imported by the natives from Ríohacha (Colombia) or from Maracaibo (Venezuela).

*756 you do not, you will die." On receiving this order, she immediately told her relatives to bring her manilla, and one of them went with a gold necklace of hers to look for an old woman shaman that she might come to see if our informant had a spirit and, if it were true,

[115 cont.]

813 to a faith or a creed. And only the presence of distinct elements in his civilization and contact with other human groups more advanced and rational (in our sense) is undermining the power of this force which, in great part, constitutes, regulates, and governs his way of life.

●121 787 In this study which we present we are not interested in dreams as events tied to the psychic life of the individual, nor are we going to try to interpret them. [116] This is part of another work which will be presented later by other investigators. The phenomenon as such interests us, especially the interpretation the native gives his dreams as revelations of future events, of forthcoming happenings related to his own life, to that of his fellow beings in particular, or to the community in general. In other words, the magic act that denotes, as Thorndike states, "a mental state," a way of feeling and thinking, a method of explaining effects whose causes are unknown. We will, therefore, simply describe a series of dreams and their meaning to the native, without comments except in cases where we consider it strictly necessary in order to clarify certain situations or special institutions to which they refer.

787 But before dealing with this matter, we shall first make a subdivision of dreams into two categories, in accordance with their content, which we may describe as the real and the symbolic. The first would appear to be the work of special spirits who reveal themselves through the medium of dreams to give their assistance and protection to an individual in an almost direct manner: These dreams are so clear, so explicit, that they require no interpretation. They are like a conversation between the individual and the spirit in which the latter tells the former all the things he must do; for example, the herbs that he must take to cure a certain illness from which he is suffering. On the other hand, the other dreams do not have this direct relation but are detached from active reality. Their interpretation — usually made by the shaman — demonstrates phenomena of a socially determined character which should be prevented or hastened. These dreams are those that give rise to the series of ceremonies or rites leading to a conjuration, as we saw in the corresponding chapter.

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
SC13 Goajiro SC13

COMPOSITION OF 'TORTS' IN GUAJIRO SOCIETY

By

Vincenzo Petrullo

A DISCUSSION of the laws of a primitive society has first to surmount the difficulties of definition. How shall we differentiate law from custom, moral from legal duties and obligations in a society that has not codified its laws, that lacks an easily recognized agency for making and enforcing them, and that cannot put forward a juristic philosophy? Are we justified in selecting certain acts which in our society fall subject to legal actions, and constructing a system of 'laws' out of them? In the literature on jurisprudence there is the tendency either to exclude law from primitive society altogether, to recognize in a vast array of reciprocal obligations and social censures law in the raw, or to set up criteria which allow for the existence of law in some societies and exclude it from others. For instance, analytical jurisprudence practically limits law to those rules which a fully organized state recognizes and enforces.[1] Obviously many primitive societies cannot satisfy such a strict concept of law for lack of the required social mechanism. Even Stammler, who rejects the concept that there can be no law without a state and who seeks law in custom, approaches the problem by asking: Is there an agency to make and enforce laws; is its purpose to ensure justice; does it determine in sovereign fashion who shall be subject to it; does it claim inviolability as long as it is in force? Likewise the historical and sociological schools would exclude law from some of the primitive societies.[2] Radcliffe-Brown, writing from an anthropological point of view, accepts Roscoe Pound's definition of law as 'social control through the systematic application of force of politically organized society,' and goes on to say that

121 the field of law is 'coterminous with that of organized legal sanctions.' If there are no 'legal sanctions,' obligations are considered as matters of custom and conventions. He further suggests the use of 'public delicts' and 'private delicts' to classify violations of law which in our society would fall into the criminal and civil classes respectively.[3] Malinowski, justly calling attention to the fact that the field of law does not limit itself to prohibitions but also enjoins duties, extends the term to include binding obligations governing the intercourse of daily life and enforced by a 'specific mechanism inherent in the structure of society.'[4]

While it is not within the scope of this paper to examine critically the various concepts of what constitutes law, we may well ask if its existence in primitive society is dependent upon what one accepts as its definition. We are given the choice of admitting either that certain societies do not know law, or that law is present in all societies in the form of reciprocal obligations which include many phases of behavior which we are accustomed to call either custom or moral obligation. Still it may be granted that in any society there occur breaches of custom, which are recognized as trespass on the recognized rights of the individual and perhaps on the entire community, for the composition and rectification of which there are known and accepted acts whose nature is set and limited by precedent. These are in contrast to those breaches which may bring on the offender only social reprobation in a mild form through giving him a 'bad name.' The former ought to fall within the province of law as generally understood in our society, while the latter may properly be included in the field of morals.

105 Before proceeding with a description of Guajiro concepts of law and of custom it may be well to outline briefly the structure of their society. It is estimated that there are between ten and [161] twenty thousand Guajiro inhabiting the peninsula that takes its name from them. Though most of the territory belongs to Colombia and a narrow coastal strip is within Venezuelan borders, the Guajiro live almost independently of both [133] governments. The land is arid, lacking running water except in the hills of Macuire, where there are some springs. Most of

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
SC13 Goajiro SC13

672 family responsibility for the acts of one of its members. If
628 there is no property composition for a tort committed and the injured family has recourse to arms, the revenge that it may take is limited by precedent. If the family is very powerful
[626] it may dispense with that, but public moral reprobation is a strong barrier to excesses.

NOTES

●121 1. J. Austin and T. E. Holland restrict the term Law to those rules which a fully organized state recognizes and enforces. I.e., T. E. Holland: 'A law, in the proper sense of the term, is a general rule of human action, taking cognizance only of external acts, enforced by a determinate authority, which authority is human, and among human authorities, is that which is paramount in a political society.' (See Bibliography.)

2. Rivet, Durkheim, Hartland, and Hobhouse express this position.

3. Radcliffe-Brown, 202.

4. See Malinowski in Hogbin.

5. From my field notes gathered in 1935. The Columbia University—
114 University Museum Guajiro Expedition spent three months in the peninsula making an ethnological and archæological survey. The other members of the expedition were: Dr. Paul Kirchhoff; Mr. Lewis Korn and Mrs. Gwyneth Browne Harrington, archæologists; Miss Lydia C. du Pont, photographer; Señor Gregorio Hernandez de Alba, a Colombian student.

6. See Bohlen.

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5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

An Exploration of the Goajira Peninsula, U.S. of Colombia.

By F. A. A. Simons.

Map, p. 840.

Since the publication of my last paper on the Sierra Nevada in 1881,* I have been commissioned by the National Government of Colombia to survey the two Atlantic States of the Magdalena and Bolivar, and especially to write a report on the hitherto unexplored region of the Goajira Indians. A summary of this I have now the honour of laying before the Royal Geographical Society.

The north-easterly corner of the United States of Colombia (formerly New Granada) terminates in a large peninsula, that, projecting for some 120 miles out into the Caribbean Sea, forms the extensive Gulf of Maracaybo. This peninsula is known as the Goajira. It was ceded by the State of Magdalena in 1872, to form a National Territory, for the better civilisation of its Indians. One half of it, however, is claimed by the Venezuelans, and a dispute that at one time threatened to culminate in war between the two nations, was amicably settled by referring the question to the King of Spain as arbitrator. His decision has not yet been made public. Three-fourths surrounded by sea, the Goajira is on the land, or south-westerly, side separated from the State of the Magdalena by a natural boundary, formed partly by the Rio Ranchoria, with the outlying hills of the Nevada, variously called in old maps Cerros de Soldado, de Barrancas, &c., and partly by the Montes of Oca.

Very little or nothing is known of the history of these Indians. Although the peninsula played an important part in the first discoveries, none of the early chroniclers seem to have paid much attention to the country. Juan de Castellanos, who resided some time at the Cabo de la Vela, dedicates a "solo canto" to the pearls. The "Floresta de Santa Marta," written by José Nicolas de la Rosa in 1739, gives many interesting data on the customs and manners of the Indians; this work must have supplied the more recent writings on the subject, for the same errors run through them all. That the present race are not the original inhabitants of the peninsula is certain. The Indians themselves have a legend that they came from a great distance, and are able to point out traces of villages belonging to the former inhabitants, whom they assert are the Arhuacos of the Sierra Nevada. Sometimes their old graves are accidentally come across, yielding to the fortunate finder a rich harvest of *tumas* (pieces of polished stone with a hole drilled through), curiously shaped pieces of gold, and other ornaments (clay), identical with those found in great profusion all over the Sierra Nevada. Now,

* 'Proceedings R. G. S.,' 1881, p. 705.

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
SC13 Goajiro SC13

PRIMITIVE MAN
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ASPECTS OF THE AVUNCULATE IN THE GUAJIRO CULTURE

ANTONIO SANTA CRUZ
Catholic University of America

THE Guajira peninsula is situated in the northwest corner of Colombia, South America, roughly between the 71° and 73° W. long., and 11° and 12° N. lat. It is rather flat in contour with only some hill ranges in the eastern part. Rainfall is scarce and the vegetation is of a semi-arid type. The region is inhabited by one tribe of Indians, the Arawak-speaking Guajiro. Both culturally and linguistically the Guajira peninsula presents a uniform block.

The present writer visited the territory in the summer of 1940, but due to illness contracted there was forced to cut short his visit. Fairly full data were gathered on all phases of social culture. The present paper deals with certain aspects of one phase only, the avunculate.

The rôle of the maternal uncle is manifold in Guajiro culture, organized as the Guajiro are into maternal sibs. Types of behavior, both prescribed and unformalized, vary, depending on the seniority of both uncle and nephew, but not on that of niece. In this paper we shall be concerned for the most part with the prescribed and voluntary relations between the oldest brother of a given woman and her eldest son, and between this oldest brother and his sisters' daughters. Other relations not involving these specified kin will be touched upon only incidentally for illustrative purposes.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

Foreword

THIS book will take the reader to a peculiar corner of South America, the Guajira peninsula, the shores of which are washed by the warm Caribbean. It has a different climate and nature to those of other, adjacent, parts of the continent. Its inhabitants are Indians who differ largely from most of their fellows in our day, for they are warlike, proud and independent. They are the only people of mounted nomads among the natives of America and they are led by powerful chiefs. They have longest maintained their independence and their remarkable customs. They have been left in peace largely because their country is arid and unattractive, but also because they are not to be trifled with.

I have made three journeys among them. The first, in 1920, was the most exciting and fruitful. Three of us went, my wife, our photographer, Ottar Gladtvet, and I, and we remember it as though it were yesterday. It is that journey which provided the bulk of my material. I supplemented my observations of Indian life by a further short visit that my wife and I made to the peninsula in the 'thirties and by the results of some native researchers.

In 1955 I returned to Guajira, wanting to see how it was after the crisis caused by the recurrent droughts of the last decade. Almost all the cattle were said to have been killed and half the population to have perished or emigrated. When I got there, however, conditions had improved. Much was just as it always had been, and there is every indication that this fine and worth-while Indian people will overcome its difficulties and retain its individuality in many respects.

9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
SC13 Goajiro SC13

ACQUIRING STATUS IN GUAJIRO SOCIETY

ANTONIO SANTA CRUZ
Havana, Cuba

114 The present paper is based upon field research carried out
121 during a 26-day trip in the months of August and September 1958.[1] The writer had previously visited the Colombia part of the Guajira Peninsula in 1940 as a graduate student of anthropology.

131 The Guajira Peninsula occupies the north-central part of South America and lies between the countries of Colombia and Venezuela. Roughly speaking, about three-fourths of the peninsula belong to Colombia, while only one-fourth is within the
[101] boundaries of Venezuela. Ecologically and ethnographically, however, the peninsula is an unbroken block, occupied mainly by the Arawak-speaking Guajiro Indians. There are no attempts on the part of either Government to hold the Indians within the national territory and as, the frontier is practically unwatched, the natives go back and forth across the boundary much as they please.

121 The primary aim of the 1958 field trip was to find, if possible, a proper locale in which to establish, for the first time in Venezuela, a Pilot Center of Fundamental Education following the patterns—with the necessary modifications for local adaptation—already in practice in countries such as India, Mexico, Peru, etc. The Comisión Indigenista, a branch of the Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Venezuela, of which the present writer was a member of its technical staff at the time of the field trip, has, at present, elaborate and extensive plans to develop Fundamental Education in Venezuela, thanks to the untiring efforts of its Technical Advisor, Dr. Walter Dupouy. The aim is to bring, ultimately, all of the 100,000 indigenous inhabitants of the country into its national life.

Although major attention was given to the primary aim of the field trip, some time was left for pure research. This was aided by the fact that the present writer was in constant company of

[1] Although no direct quotations have been made from the literature, earlier works have been consulted for both historical and present-day ethnographical data.

9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
SC13 Goajiro SC13

the individual who was to provide the raw material for this article. This is more or less a biography of the man who was at the same time guide, interpreter, and driver for the author and with whom extensive conversations, both formal and informal, took place.[2]

Guajiro culture, like most native cultures in the New World, has suffered great acculturation due to the impact with European ways of life. Some of these cultures have been more resistant to change than others; and within one culture, certain aspects have remained closer to the traditional forms than have others. In Guajiro culture, it is perhaps the social organization, with all of its ramifications, that has resisted recent acculturation more than the other aspects of the culture. We know very little of the pre-cattle culture of the Guajiro and even Juan de Castellanos, writing at the beginning of the seventeenth century, describes them as having numerous herds of domestic animals. Nowhere in the literature on the Guajiros is there an example of status having been acquired outside the traditional way and the present writer, in his two field trips to the region, has found only the case here described.

As it is not the purpose of this article to give a full description of the social organization of the Guajiro, it will be sufficient to state that the tribe is divided into some twenty-five matrilineal clans, of which about eleven are large and rather powerful in their socio-economic aspects, and the rest—due mainly to the fact of having a small number of members—are weak, and relatively unimportant. Inheritance is along the mother's line, an individual acquiring property from his maternal uncle. The avunculate in all its social and economic aspects, is a very important institution (Santa Cruz, 1941).

Traditionally the clans are exogamous with incest taboos and punishments for those who break them. This exogamic characteristic of the clan is apparently disappearing, as several cases of endogamous unions were found among the Guajiro living in the outskirts of the city of Maracaibo. No endogamous marriages, however, were found in the Guajiro proper by the present writer, although Gregorio Hernandez de Alba (1936) has

[2] Proper names, especially of the subject, have all been disguised in some way, so as to spare personal feelings.

/531/

Contents:

1. Earlier Reports

2. Most Recent Reports

3. Concluding Remarks

[121] [114] [131] In the middle of 1954 I set out from Caracas via Maracaibo to make anthropological observations in the settlement area of the Yupa Indians (1). In the narrow stretch of Venezuelan

[113] 1. M. Gusinde, "The Yupa Indians in Western Venezuela," Proceed. Americ. Philos. Soc., 100, 1956, pp. 197-222.

territory along the western shore of the Gulf of Maracaibo /Gulf of Venezuela/ I occasionally saw representatives of the Guajiro /Goajiro/ people (2) of every age and both sexes. It

[101] 2. The spelling Guajiro is preferred to Goajiro. Cf. "Etimología de la palabra 'Guajira /Etymology of the word Guajiro'/" in Vegamian, pp. 11-33.

was my wish to see personally the astonishingly favorable adaptation of these Indians to their unusually dry and vegetation-poor surroundings, in order to compare their ecological conditions with those of the Bushmen in the Kalahari of South [114] Africa (3). Already from Bogotá on, Professor Adolf Staffe of

/531 cont./

121 114 3. M. Gusinde. "Bericht über meine südafrikanische Forschungsreise 1950/51 /Report on My South African Field Trip, 1950-51/, " Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 388-404.

Vienna, who at that time was with the Internat. F.A.O. for Colombia, had been very helpful to me. Soon after our auto journey together through that dried-up peninsula, he died unexpectedly. My thanks to him are thus expressed here posthumously.

128 Only a selection from my ethnographic observations among the Guajiro people are presented here. They are preceded by what has already been ascertained on the same subjects by other authors.

1. Earlier Reports

105 175 At the time of the discovery of the New World, the Guajiro were the /532/ branch of the Aruak /Arawak/ group that had pushed farthest to the northwest on South American soil. Before the Conquest they obtained their livelihood from hunting and fishing, together with some agriculture. Animal husbandry, however, acquired considerable ascendancy through the introduction of domestic animals at the time of the Spanish colonization. Juan de Castellanos reported that as early as the period of his sojourn there (around 1550) quite a large quantity of livestock was present. Since then, and up to our day, this economic activity has undergone no structural change worth mentioning; at present, however, far-reaching efforts at accommodation to the so-called Western manner of thinking and way of life are seen (4).

4. Cf. Vegamian, Crist (1958 and 1959), José Augustín de Barranquilla, and others.

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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The north-easterly corner of the United States of Colombia (formerly New Granada) terminates in a large peninsula, that, projecting for some 120 miles out into the Caribbean Sea, forms the extensive Gulf of Maracaybo. This peninsula is known as the Goajira. It was ceded by the State of Magdalena in 1872, to form a National Territory, for the better civilisation of its Indians. One half of it, however, is claimed by the Venezuelans, and a dispute that at one time threatened to culminate in war between the two nations, was amicably settled by referring the question to the King of Spain as arbitrator. His decision has not yet been made public. Three-fourths surrounded by sea, the Goajira is on the land, or south-westerly, side separated from the State of the Magdalena by a natural boundary, formed partly by the Rio Ranchoria, with the outlying hills of the Nevada, variously called in old maps Cerros de Sobiado, de Barrancas, &c., and partly by the Montes of Oca. 131 175 131

Very little or nothing is known of the history of these Indians. Although the peninsula played an important part in the first discoveries, none of the early chroniclers seem to have paid much attention to the country. Juan de Castellanos, who resided some time at the Cabo de la Vela, dedicates a "solo canto" to the pearls. The "Floresta de Santa Marta," written by José Nicolas de la Rosa in 1739, gives many interesting data on the customs and manners of the Indians; this work must have supplied the more recent writings on the subject, for the same errors run through them all. That the present race are not the original inhabitants of the peninsula is certain. The Indians themselves have a legend that they came from a great distance, and are able to point out traces of villages belonging to the former inhabitants, whom they assert are the Arhuacos of the Sierra Nevada. Sometimes their old graves are accidentally come across, yielding to the fortunate finder a rich harvest of *tumas* (pieces of polished stone with a hole drilled through), curiously shaped pieces of gold, and other ornaments (clay), identical with those found in great profusion all over the Sierra Nevada. Now, 175 [114] 174 [173] 172

* 'Proceedings R. G. S.,' 1881, p. 705.

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

/22 As a last word I may say from personal experience that the Goajira is an interesting but not a beautiful country, nor is it a desirable place for travelling, either for pleasure or for commerce. Not that there is any actual danger under ordinary circumstances, but what between drunken bloodthirsty Indians, blood- and tear-money, with all the intricacies of their own peculiar laws, travelling among them is as bad as sitting on a keg of gunpowder before a big fire. It is impossible to foretell when a mere spark, accidentally or intentionally, may blow the whole thing up.

APPENDIX.

List of Tribes or Castes, with their respective animals and favourite resting-places.

Uriana ..	Canahapur	Tiger	About Tarra and Bahia Honda.
" ..	Arpané	Rabbit	About Cuco and Maracaybo coast.
" ..	Guiupiral	A singing bird ..	Everywhere.
" ..	Hokóritu	Gecko (lizard) ..	Only in the plains.
Epéyé ..	Guaruscho	A species of vulture	Bahia Honda, Puerto Estrella, and plains.
Pushaina ..	Pulcho ..	A species of small peccary.	Pensahi, Atalpa, and plains.
Ipuana ..	Mushard ..	A sort of hawk ..	Portete Joroy, Clapana, &c.
Jayarid ..	Er ..	Dog	Macuira and plains.
Jusayé ..	Kasiaurie	Rat-snake	Tota, Hayaro.
Arpushaina ..	Samur ..	Vulture	Guincua and plains, Cohoro.
Sapuana ..	Garina ..	Hen	Plains, Guarero.
" ..	Cárral ..	A species of stork ..	(?)
Epinayu ..	Uyára ..	A small buck ..	Portete, Hayarure.
Juan or Pinal	Guarir ..	Fox	Only in the Macuira valley.
Sarauna ..	Gliorgllor or Guaruscho.	Species of vulture ..	Only in the Upper Goajira.
Umriyé ..	Mára ..	Rattlesnake	Everywhere.
Pamayé ..	Hucho ..	(?)	(?)
Sijuana ..	Cóori ..	Wasp	Upper Goajira only.
Gumririn ..	Guarir ..	Fox	Only in the hills of Macuira.
Gumárin or Guarurin.	Per ..	Partridge	Tarra and Upper Goajira.
Amayinayé ..	Anuwana ..	Species of vulture ..	Upper Goajira only.
Pamarid ..	Hepéja ..	Owl	" "
Arpu-lein ..	Ichú ..	Red cardinal bird ..	" "
Urhaiaid ..	Are all Coeina Indians	.. ..	Cohoro hills only.
Aramajana ..	A small, almost unknown tribe in the hills of Macuira.		
Gliorgaarlyé	Gliorgllor or Guaruscho.	Species of vulture	Only in the hills of Upper Goajira.

[262] N.B.—The Samurides, a very small caste, eat horseflesh and donkeys. This is considered by the other Indians to be very unclean, who, until lately, did not even eat fowls. All Indians are, however, fond of a species of lizard, "gunsher," and iguanas.

[pages 797-840 do not pertain to SC13 Goajiro]

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

133 on a clear day can be seen from any point in it. On the west side a small hill attached spoils its beauty, seen from seawards, otherwise it is perfectly symmetrical in form. The Indians call it Jopitz. It lies [103] in the Cocina district, and is the most dangerous portion of the Goajira. To visit it, I had to persuade Martin, one of the great chiefs, to ac- [115] company me with his three sons, uncles, nephews, &c. We started at daybreak, rode all day, and arrived in time to see the sunset from the [123] top. We only saw three Indians the whole day, yet Martin assured me that all our movements were watched, and pointed out to me two probable places where an ambuscade would be planned for our return. We returned by a different road, getting back at 4 A.M. tired, hungry, and thirsty. I found the height to be 1200 feet above sea-level, or 900 feet above the plain. The rock is composed chiefly of trachyte with large crystals of felspar, similar to those of the Drachenfels on the Rhine. As also belonging to this group may be considered the two isolated hills rising in front of Cardon de los Remedios and Carrisal, close to the north spur of the Cojoro range, called Jallare. They are both insignificant and do not exceed 400 feet in height. The Cerros de Carpintero, a small group of hills behind the Cabo de la Vela, are of more importance, they are about 700 feet above sea-level. From Cabo de la Vela to Puerto Estrella, between the hills and the sea, are innumerable cliffs and banks rising to 200 feet, usually with very abrupt edges, and covered with rolled stones.

Rivers properly speaking there are none in the Goajira. The country is cut up in all directions by shallow, dry, sandy beds of water-courses, that during the rainy season carry off the water as fast as it falls. Not even the Macuira Hills are able to send a flowing stream to the sea during the summer, which here lasts at least eight months. It will have been remarked that the Indians have no collective name for [552] their mountains, each little projecting point rejoicing in its own name. With their rivers it is still worse, for not only every water-hole adds a new title to a river—and these are innumerable, the custom being to dig for water in the sand of the watercourses, and as these wells dry up others are dug farther up stream—but every path that crosses the watercourse has its name. Even any prominent rock or large tree is enough to add to the interminable list of river nomenclature. On the plains below the Teta the drainage is effected by numerous small streams winding about in a most bewildering manner, and although perfectly dry, they usually have pools of muddy water at the bends. As the plain is little above sea-level, the water has cut deep zigzag channels, very different from the shallow sandy beds of the hills. The water remaining dammed up, instead of gravitating to the sea, causes the great fertility of the plains.

342 The principal source of water for the Indians are wells. These are of two kinds; first, the most common, by digging, usually in the dry

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

CHAPTER 4

Towards a Mirage

Our donkey caravan tripped along between the sand 821
dunes at a gentle trot. The sun poured what the Indians call its molten gold over us in fierce waves. The donkeys were slow, but our riding-mules were fresh and even tried a trick or two, throwing our photographer, who was no expert, into a cactus bush. That was a pity, for the 522
spikes were as long as knitting needles and unpleasantly hard and sharp. The Indians laughed heartlessly. It was perhaps the only amusing thing that happened to them on the whole trip.

We had no idea what our men were called. As I have 551
already mentioned, the Indians' first names are secret. They always say: 'I have no name' or 'Call me what you like'. Your name is part of your personality. You cannot surrender it to strangers. If you know another's name, you can acquire a certain hold over him, just as you can harm him, [754]
if you had some of his hairs or nail-clippings with which to work magic. The family name, that of the clan, is naturally public. White people usually give Spanish names to the Indians with whom they have to deal, and there are plenty of Juans and Josés in the peninsula now. Usually, however, you give a nickname to the Indians you have temporarily in your service, just as they give their employers nicknames. We discovered that they had christened our photographer [123]
'The Red One'. He was not red-headed at all, but very fair, and because of that, his face was always highly coloured in the heat. I could not get out of them what they called my wife and me. I suppose they thought that we would be offended or regard it as insubordination. They had been

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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Left: *I help an old man, who had never seen matches, to light his cigar*

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Chinca, a girl of simple family, (on the left) and a well-born maiden expensively perfumed in a white tunic

[516]

Indian camp and a mestizo

[Facing p. 49]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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CHAPTER 6

Indiscreet Investigation

123 THAT heading really describes our activities during the next few weeks, while we travelled round among the Indians of Macuira, visiting them in their ranchos and questioning them about all sorts of things. The Indians were not at all self-conscious and gladly and frankly told us all [6.48] we wished to know. They had not been bullied by white people, as so many other Indians have, and we took care not to make fun of their customs. Because of that, they had no inhibitions. The monks assured us that on the whole we should be able to make the acquaintance of the Indians in more peaceful conditions in the Macuira Hills than elsewhere in the peninsula. They had put it about that we belonged to quite a different clan from the Creoles, which our appearance seemed to confirm, and they thought that it would never occur to the Indians to avenge themselves on us, if one of them had been insulted by a white person somewhere else. Of course, we ought to be careful, they added, and promised to give us a reliable servant. The snug little whitewashed hut in which we lived was to be at our disposal as long as we remained in Maculra. From it we could go off for trips of a few days, as it suited us, and so get to know the whole area.

115 We got our servant, an unusually nice Guajiro called Francisco who had often travelled with Father Crispin. Francisco was peace-loving, but not at all afraid of his fellow Indians. That was a great advantage. In dealing with primitive peoples you must always keep calm, especially when they appear aggressive.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

115 And her eyes shone at the recollection of the now for-
685 bidden pleasures of her girlhood.

When I went on trips in the surrounding country I
124 usually had Francisco with me and often my wife. Anita had then to be ready to feed us when we came home, whether it were the same day, or the next, or three days later. In such things Indian women have patience. They know how to wait, and they are never surprised.

We began our exploration of the brown hills and green
124 valleys of Macuira with a long trip on foot. Laboriously
556 we waded through the fine sand. This is almost firm when it is damp, but it was then the dry season and the sand was loose. We were going to visit relatives of Francisco, simple people, but not actually poor. To us who had already had a certain amount to do with Indians, it was a surprise to find ourselves dealing in such categories as 'rich', 'poor', 'well-to-do', etc., just as though we were concerned with white people. Among all other Indians the difference in economic status between individuals had been relatively insignificant, as, presumably, it had been among the Guajiro before they took to herding cattle.

133 The Indians we were to visit lived in a beautiful place, just on the fringe of a watered valley between purple brown heights, with the peak of Ituhor dominating the landscape. The valley was like a green Bengal fire against its parched
342 background. There were two huts, built of cactus wood and with roofs of the same material. They were saddle-backed and linked by a wall, which acted as a shield against the wind, that there always blows in the same direction. In front of this wall, that is between the two houses, were the
[41] fires. Round about were shelves covered with grass and erected on four poles. The Creoles call these *trojas*. You can sit under them and be out of the sun, and cooking utensils and stores can be kept on them out of reach of animals.
[352] Here and there were hammocks stretched between poles stuck in the ground, and there were other poles used in the all but daily butchering of a goat or sheep. Round these there were dark patches on the ground.

123 Having Francisco with us we were naturally well re-
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7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Guajiro SC13

ceived. They brought out stools carved with animals' heads and tails for us to sit on, and then four young men hastened to entertain us with music. I had happened to ask about musical instruments and it appeared that we had come to a musical family. They all played the flute, which there was usually small, of reed or wood, and ornamented with carved figures. There was also a larger flute which had a mouthpiece and reed, like a child's trumpet, and a calabash at the other end. This instrument buzzed and droned like a bumble-bee. It was extraordinary. It did not seem a South American instrument at all. In fact, it was quite simply an offshoot of the eastern snake-charmer's flute, which I had seen in Morocco. How had it got to America? Perhaps through the Moors. The early Spanish discoverers had Moorish slaves and servants with them, and, as we shall see, this flute was not the only indication of Moorish influence.

Guajira is often called the Arabia of South America, because it too is an arid peninsula with a population largely consisting of nomad herdsmen. In the distance a Guajiro caravan looks thoroughly eastern, and who knows from whom the Guajiros' forefathers acquired their knowledge of how to ride and to rear cattle?

Not wishing to spoil the concert, I said nothing of all this. I myself am quite unmusical, but my wife gave the performers full marks. The pieces had names that suited the setting: 'The Little Goat seeks its Mother', 'The Horses are driven Home', 'By the rippling Water'. The four also sang. To European ears their singing was considerably less attractive than the music, but the words were often poetical and lovely. 'The little goat laments and says: the water that I drink is salt and salt are the plants I have to eat. And just as it begins to drizzle, the little goat's salt tears fall along with the other drops upon the salt ground.' In that perhaps was a little too much salt, but it was typically Guajiran. Even a goat can get too much of what others seek so avidly elsewhere.

They showed us other musical instruments: a drum that was played for dancing and a whistle made of calabash, intended for signalling. One of the four also produced a

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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123 534 musical bow. It was quite small. He held one end between his lips and struck the strings with a stick. If the reed-flute was introduced by the Moors in those early days, the musical bow must have come with negro slaves. Stringed instruments were not known in South America before the arrival of the white man. The Indians knew nothing of all that, but neither of these two originally foreign instruments were used in their rites, which supports the conclusion that they were introduced late.

123 262 264 The concert was interrupted by the women announcing that a meal awaited us. This began with the oily, somewhat nauseous berries which the Creoles call olives. We did not like their taste and never did more than just sample them. We had also heard that they might be injurious. The main dish—one could almost say, naturally—consisted of boiled dried goat's meat, the standard fare in the peninsula, and we were given water that also tasted of goat—we preferred not to know why.

251 In Guajira it is possible to dry meat in the sun without salting it, providing you cut it in strips and remove all bone. In moister parts of the Caribbean countries meat has to be properly salted before it can be preserved by drying, but in the dry air of Guajira that can be dispensed with. Salt, too, is a thing of which they have more than enough.

123 526 Having four young men present, I thought I would arrange a competition for marksmanship with bow and arrow and with a sling. The prizes were an empty biscuit tin, a handkerchief and a needle. These were all desirable things and the contestants did their best. The fourth received a Swedish ten öre piece as consolation prize.

411 I took the opportunity to take a closer look at their weapons. The bows were powerful and had round sections; the arrows had iron heads shaped like a lancet. An old man said that in the old days the heads used to be made of bamboo. Some of the arrows, those intended for smaller birds, had blunt points made of wood or wax. The quarry was meant to be stunned by the force of the impact. They showed us arrows equipped with cross-pieces to prevent them becoming lost when used in the scrub. The cross-

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I have had to anticipate to tell how the secret of the arrows' effect was discovered. Let me now go back to where we were sitting on our stools talking with the Indians. It was late in the day and Francisco suggested that we should stay the night and go on at daybreak to another place where lived some prosperous Indians who had many materials and earthenware vessels. They had hammocks that we could borrow. It was a good suggestion and our hosts were more than agreeable. They wanted to vacate one of their huts, but we preferred to sleep in one of their open sheds. It was cool and, being tired, we fell asleep while the Indians were still sitting round the fire. 574

We were awakened by plaintive singing. It was still night. The Guajiro are excessively early risers. In the tropics you become accustomed to getting up at daybreak, but there on the peninsula everybody woke at three o'clock, when there were still a couple of hours of darkness left. Three o'clock was even a suitable visiting-hour. They liked to take advantage of the coolest part of the day, which was from three to six in the morning. The singing came from the big hut beside us. It was followed by a spoken rigmarole. The whole was as dreary as a funeral mass, and the voice was an old woman's. I discovered that it was a sort of pagan morning prayer for the children, used all over Guajira, in which an old woman recalled the memory of departed relations. If any of these had been killed and left unavenged, she would not neglect to remind the children of the fact and point out the guilty person. It ended with yet another wailing song. 765 511 513 765

What the old woman told them about their ancestors and injuries received was impressed upon the children's minds by hearing it repeated every morning in this way. Thus is a blood feud perpetuated from generation to generation. [628]

We made ourselves porridge and took our departure as day was breaking. Then we tramped on through the sand to the next rancheria. There only the women were at home, but as it is the women who make the things we wished to see, that suited us quite well. The huts were larger than 123 342

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CHAPTER 8

Innocence and the Fertility Dance

MAUANA invited us to visit him again, and we were glad to do so. We liked him and his oasis. Also he taught us a lot, for he was knowledgeable and intelligent, a proper chief who was not called *cacique* just out of politeness, as is the case with many rich mestizos near the border. 622

The Indians expect a great deal of their chief. He has to be an adroit negotiator, able to uphold the clan's rights and support its members. In war he is the leader who must be in the van and never yield. He must be ever hospitable, a good speaker and in every way a worthy representative. Mauana seemed to be such a chief.

Our only means of repaying his hospitality was to give a great porridge feast—we had a lot of oatmeal with us. The Indians loved our porridge, perhaps because it was reminiscent of their own maize gruel, which we ourselves far preferred. This feast took place on Mauana's next visit to Nazaret, and after it he was eager for us to pay him another visit, promising to show us dancing. 648 574

On our arrival we were introduced to the 'princess', his unmarried daughter. Mauana wanted us to photograph her. She was not pretty, but typically Indian in appearance. She had to put on all her finery and her paint, and her mule was saddled and decked out as for a ceremonial occasion. She had gold and coral at her neck, ankles and wrists, and large spiral patterns painted on her cheeks. Her mule had three tails: its own and two artificial ones, such being the fashion then. The girl was no film star: she was as stiff as a ram-rod and not to be thawed. Luckily, her skin looked light on the photograph, as every Guajiro girl desires it to be. Mauana 622 123 622 142

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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Indians with a stolen goat near the Cusina Hills

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The white man's dangerous magic: the film-camera

Below: *Indian camp with cactus fence*

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[facing p. 144]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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known of his clan. The road across the hills was bad, and at times we had to dismount and walk. Now and again we met Indians; the well-to-do leading their riding-mules, the poor followed by half-naked women carrying loads. The men carried lots of arrows. The road was reputed unsafe. The leader of each such company received a little tobacco. We heard that they were all coming from the funeral, which evidently was one of importance and would last quite a while yet. Our companion, the rich Indian, said that he expected to reach the house of mourning in six days. He thought that we ought to go there too, but the place lay a good distance off our route and we had had our fill of Indian feasts for the time being.

Francisco had travelled with Father Crispin and knew the district. He advised us to halt for the night early in an Indian rancho ringed with a stout cactus palisade, where friendly people lived. We could have gone farther, and the Indians with us who were going to the funeral carried on, but then, according to Francisco, they would not have been welcome at the rancho. We never learned the ins and outs of the Indians' friendships and enmities.

At the rancho we bartered a piece of raw sugar against a sheep. Both our pack and riding animals were already tired. They had had far too little fodder and the water was salt. The Indians were up before cock-crow, as always, and we let them get the mules ready. If we could just get to Castilletes, they should have fodder and decent water: we needed provisions ourselves. But what about the sheep, asks the attentive reader. That went the same evening we bought it, our hosts partaking of it as heartily as our own people. It went, offal, guts and all. When nothing but the bones were left, these were split and the marrow sucked out. Then the women gathered up the remains for broth. That sheep cost the equivalent of fourpence-halfpenny. Our means were limited, but at such prices we could at least afford to feed our men. The difficulty was in getting hold of things to eat. The Indians know how to tighten their belts and are prepared to starve for a while, if need be, but they must have a blow-out now and again.

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Pile-dwellings with a kitchen garden

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Indians wait patiently while the leader of the expedition sleeps in his hammock

Below: *Flock being driven over the steppe*

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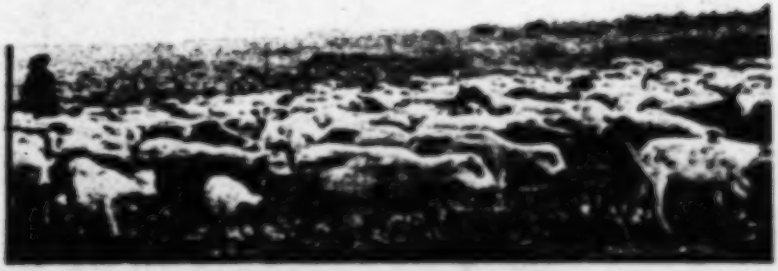

[facing p. 176]

/540 cont./

614 The continued influencing through a series of generations, even though nevertheless brief, by Spanish culture and the
614 177 178 spirit of modern times has finally also altered the primitive judgment and feeling of these Indians and has strengthened in them the pride to assert themselves now as "enlightened." It therefore need not be surprising that today they laugh in the face of a foreign visitor when the latter poses his questions as though he himself regarded a blood descent of the clan members from their totem animal as established and factual.
[123] The above-mentioned Cacique Briscol (15) even whispered

15. This pure-blooded, intelligent, and experienced Indian refers several times to the clans of his Guajiro people in his well-written story.

disrespectfully in my ear: "You must not suppose that we think of an animal when we present the totem as our ancestor. Every ancestor was as human as we are; only at the very beginning was he just like the totem that each clan has had since then. Our forefathers respected their totem animal more than we do today; they neither persecuted it nor ate its flesh. Now the habits of our ancestors are disappearing among us, one after another. There are now only sixteen independent
614 'castas'; their number was formerly double that." V. Gutiérrez
773 herself agreed with Briscol's interpretation when she presented
114 the introductory words to another myth, "The Distribution /541/ of the Clan Districts" (p. 170): Mareiwa "then told the birds they were Indians" /translated from the Spanish/. Such words make it clear: the myth knows no distinction between totem animal and Indian in their mode of being and acting! Therefore one does not get anywhere in the analysis of myths with a knife-sharp dialectic lacking any imagination.
614 Thus, I may indeed, along with the reporters from former times up to our day, regard the social division of the Guajiro people as properly totemistic in style. Two years ago (1959),

INTRODUCTION

121 In accordance with the plan drawn up by the Instituto Etnológico Nacional de Colombia /National Institute of Ethnology of Colombia/ to present a complete monograph on some aspect of indigenous culture in each number of this review, and in order to continue the study presented in the previous issue on the Guajiro community which we visited in 1947 with the licentiates Roberto Pineda Giraldo and Milcíades Chaves Ch. and Mrs. María Rose de Recasens, we here present the Organización Social en la Guajira /Social Organization in La Guajira/, a title which embraces some aspects of the manner in which the individual and his institutions function in this community.

We have wished to present not merely an interpretative study but rather a series of facts, as trustworthy as it was possible for them to be, arranged in the way we consider to be best, that is, starting with the individual as the primary cell in the social organization, from the moment of birth on through the most important stages of his life within the group, up to sickness and death, and ending with reference to law, that is, the institutions which govern life in society.

This plan, then, tends to give an objective view of the interrelations between the individual and his group and of the way in which each complement the other in making possible the communal life of the individuals as components of the family cells, the small social groups, and the total collectivity. We have therefore subdivided our work into the two essential parts mentioned above, taking the individual, that is, the average man in the community, as a basis, with his manner of living, his ways of thinking, feeling, and reacting when faced with the various problems and institutions which society has established. In brief, we have wished to present the individual as he confronts his environment. /xiv/

124 The research on which this treatise is based was carried out directly in the field, data being obtained from different

/xiv cont./

124 individuals as informants, both men and women, in various parts of La Guajira Peninsula, the natural habitat of the Indians to whom we refer. They have, consequently, at least a margin of sufficiently high reliability, as the check thus obtained allowed for the clarification, confirmation, and correction of all data which were taken down in the preliminary study.

114 We would have liked to start this monograph with a description however brief of the geographical surroundings in which the Indians of La Guajira live, but on this subject we would refer the reader to the previous number of this review in which he will find an article written by my husband, licentiate Roberto Pineda Giraldo, entitled Aspects de la Magía en la Guajira /Aspects of Magic in La Guajira/, in which there is a brief summary of the geography of the peninsula. However, in some of the chapters of this treatise certain references to the geography of the peninsula will be found, as we have considered them to be indispensable for clearing up certain social and economic phenomena which otherwise would have remained obscure, because the economy, as will be gathered from reading this present work, plays a very important part in the functioning of Guajiro institutions.

128 The reader, furthermore, will find certain repetitions in the different aspects treated herein, but this is also due to our desire to leave nothing ambiguous or unclear. Many of the conflicting situations faced by the individual, occurring at different times and in regard to various legal institutions, have given rise to different reactions and phenomena which we felt needed clarification, and consequently we have been obliged to repeat them on the different occasions when they have had to be considered.

56 It may also be observed that the chapter on marriage is the
162 longest of all, and it is in that very chapter that most repetitions and references to past and future reported situations will be found. Marriage in La Guajira may be considered to be the basis of all social organization, for it is via marriage /xv/

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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551 told that among my own people I was a sort of medicine-man and chief combined.

Nowadays most of the Indians in Guajira acquire three first names: a Spanish one that the white men give them, a nickname, and their true, Indian name, which is secret except to members of their immediate family. When a girl is born, her father names her after her mother or some near female relative, but for everyday use she has a pet name [553] which is only dropped when she reaches marriageable age. She then acquires a new name, which she keeps for the rest of her life.

563 The Creoles called those in the border areas who were not 101 Indians '*gente*', or just 'people'. They could scarcely be called white, for many were as good as pure black, being the descendants of former slaves. When they told us in Rio Hacha that there were not any 'people' living in this or that village, they meant that there were none but Indians there. Those who were not Indians, that is those who wore trousers, also called themselves '*civilisados*', while the Indians called them arijuna.

We called our two old Indians Gaffer and Gammer, and 115 the youngest 'The Lad'. We liked The Lad especially. He was ●124 strong, merry and did the work of two. The fourth, who, strangely enough, had a crew cut and was supposed to be our interpreter, we called 'Bristles', and he learned to answer to that. He knew a little Spanish, but as an interpreter he was no use. When the Gaffer had been talking to us for a long time and we asked Bristles what he had said, the answer always was: 'Nothing'. Perhaps that was what the other's talk amounted to, but we should have preferred to have judged that for ourselves. We noticed, too, that if we had to scold the Gaffer, Bristles did not dare repeat what we said. With gestures and the few Guajiro words we knew we could make Gaffer realize that we were annoyed with him, but not always why.

291 The men wore nothing but the usual piece of cloth and 386 belt, the *máreta*, or, in Spanish, guayuco, which really means crupper, and sandals to protect their feet from the cactus spikes lying on the ground, but the Gammer was enveloped

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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609 great indignation. In those parts to which civilization had
673 penetrated, it was not considered shameful to steal, provided you were not discovered.

Why do all semi-civilized natives, whether Indians or negroes, steal like jackdaws, while primitive peoples in the jungle respect each other's property? Stealing had become a sport with the half-bred Guajiros, but the Indian law was still enforced: he who was discovered had to replace what he had stolen and pay compensation as well.

The old man took advantage of the confusion to make off. When we had finished with his wife, he and his donkeys had gone, and his spouse had to follow on foot, swearing and cursing as hard as she could.

115 The two younger Indians did not go with the old couple.
124 They received half a bag of maize and were delighted. It should have lasted them the whole way back and more, but I am sure that they cooked it all, as soon as they could borrow a pot, eating more than they had ever done before and treating everyone else, and probably going hungry for the rest of the way home.

We had wanted to give The Lad a hat, a thing for which he longed, as he had spent the last few days trying to explain to my wife, for whom he had a great admiration and for whose help he was hoping. He had been sure that there would be hats to be had at Nazaret. But of Nazaret both he and we had had exaggerated ideas. It was a mission station, not a trading post. The monks did not sell hats, and they possessed but one apiece. The Lad had earned a hat and would have had one, had it been possible; but he had to walk away as bare of head as he came.

7:Belinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

115 And her eyes shone at the recollection of the now for-
685 bidden pleasures of her girlhood.

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556 we waded through the fine sand. This is almost firm when it is damp, but it was then the dry season and the sand was loose. We were going to visit relatives of Francisco, simple people, but not actually poor. To us who had already had a certain amount to do with Indians, it was a surprise to find ourselves dealing in such categories as 'rich', 'poor', 'well-to-do', etc., just as though we were concerned with white people. Among all other Indians the difference in economic status between individuals had been relatively insignificant, as, presumably, it had been among the Guajiro before they took to herding cattle.

133 The Indians we were to visit lived in a beautiful place, just on the fringe of a watered valley between purple brown heights, with the peak of Ituhor dominating the landscape. The valley was like a green Bengal fire against its parched
342 background. There were two huts, built of cactus wood and with roofs of the same material. They were saddle-backed and linked by a wall, which acted as a shield against the wind, that there always blows in the same direction. In front of this wall, that is between the two houses, were the
[411] fires. Round about were shelves covered with grass and erected on four poles. The Creoles call these *trojas*. You can sit under them and be out of the sun, and cooking utensils and stores can be kept on them out of reach of animals.
[362] Here and there were hammocks stretched between poles stuck in the ground, and there were other poles used in the all but daily butchering of a goat or sheep. Round these there were dark patches on the ground.

123 Having Francisco with us we were naturally well re-
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7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

CHAPTER 11

The Brigands of Cusina

LIFE is a restless, not to say nerve-racking, business in Guajira. We had to be continually on our guard to a greater or lesser extent, and we never had a minute to ourselves. We were continually surrounded by Indians coming and going, wanting to sell, to buy, to exchange, to grouse, to inspect us and all that was ours. We liked the Indians, yet we had a feeling of being in danger.

We were ready to go to the Macuira Hills and get to know the rest of Guajira. We had a better caravan now, thin though the animals were. Father Crispin had helped me to buy them. Francisco Ipuana was coming with us as body-servant, if I may call him that. He was neither shrewd nor bold, but at least he was reliable and loyal. The monks had told him to serve us well, and that was enough for him. On his recommendation we engaged another young Indian who spoke not a word of Spanish and whom we called [124] José. We had learned a little Guajiro and, besides, we had Francisco to interpret. We started off with two other Indians as well, but they were to come only as far as Castilletes on the coast to the south. From there we intended to travel along the coast, make an excursion into Venezuela, and then cross the peninsula from south to north and so return to Rio Hacha, from which we had started.

We were quite melancholy at saying good-bye to the friendly monks and nuns, and Father Salvador gave us his blessing, heretics though we were. We had quite a company of Indians going with us. There was a rich Indian on his way to a funeral, who had his family and household with him. Francisco whispered to me that there was nothing bad

[131 cont.]

796 summer and over sicknesses, pestilences, and deaths which occur
821 as a consequence of it. But we have no work to sustain this affirmation. Also one must take into account the fact that the
[609] natives are not willing that strangers be present at their Fiesta of the Kid; and when they are, the play is much repressed in its natural expression and becomes a pale copy, artificial, almost we might say a special product for exportation. Missionaries
[797] have contributed greatly to this since they are opposed to the fiesta, considering it amoral or immoral because of the sexual freedom which is shown during its performance and the representation of natural scenes of the procreative life of animals. All the
[114 data that we have are not the product of our own personal observation
129] of the fiesta but are reports collected from different sources in diverse parts of La Guajira. They have, at the very least, the value of data verified several times over.

All this leads us to think that even though the Dance of the Kid is directly related to the rains since it always starts when the rains begin even though it is specially dedicated to Mareiwa, the divinity of the rains, as we shall prove in the coming chapter, even though its name [132] appears to be derived from the stellar constellation of the Seven Kids, iwa, whose association with rain we shall also note in the following chapter, it is primarily a ceremony dedicated to fecundity, fecundity of the soil shown by the sprouting of plant life brought about by the rains. Fecundity and rain are seen, then, as two inseparable factors, two terms in the same equation: life.

526 We spoke of the aspect of demonstration of ability in
796 theatrical representations when we delimited the areas of study of the ceremonial of the Kid. In effect, according to narrations we have at our disposal about the representative games, which we shall describe in detail in the latter part of this chapter, at the end of each one, out of the two sides which have taken part in the development, one side is seen to triumph over the other due to its greater skill or ability in movement or to the physical strength of those taking part when it is a matter of representations of struggles, as we saw in the game of the hawksbill turtle, and as we shall see in the representation of scenes introducing animals,

/xiv cont./

124 individuals as informants, both men and women, in various parts of La Guajira Peninsula, the natural habitat of the Indians to whom we refer. They have, consequently, at least a margin of sufficiently high reliability, as the check thus obtained allowed for the clarification, confirmation, and correction of all data which were taken down in the preliminary study.

114 We would have liked to start this monograph with a description however brief of the geographical surroundings in which the Indians of La Guajira live, but on this subject we would refer the reader to the previous number of this review in which he will find an article written by my husband, licentiate Roberto Pineda Giraldo, entitled Aspects de la Magía en la Guajira /Aspects of Magic in La Guajira/, in which there is a brief summary of the geography of the peninsula. However, in some of the chapters of this treatise certain references to the geography of the peninsula will be found, as we have considered them to be indispensable for clearing up certain social and economic phenomena which otherwise would have remained obscure, because the economy, as will be gathered from reading this present work, plays a very important part in the functioning of Guajiro institutions.

128 The reader, furthermore, will find certain repetitions in the different aspects treated herein, but this is also due to our desire to leave nothing ambiguous or unclear. Many of the conflicting situations faced by the individual, occurring at different times and in regard to various legal institutions, have given rise to different reactions and phenomena which we felt needed clarification, and consequently we have been obliged to repeat them on the different occasions when they have had to be considered.

58 It may also be observed that the chapter on marriage is the
182 longest of all, and it is in that very chapter that most repetitions and references to past and future reported situations will be found. Marriage in La Guajira may be considered to be the basis of all social organization, for it is via marriage /xv/

[120 cont.]

843 There is another series of magic acts related to those recently enumerated, which also share the qualities of another individual but which differ from them in two aspects: first because they are indirect, that is, because the child receives them through his mother during the period of gestation; second because they are not so directly related with the notion of mana but could be included in what we might call phenomena of autosuggestion because they only consist of one sudden impression or a strong unsatisfied desire which causes anguish. Some of these are the following.

When a woman is pregnant and she gets a strong shock through the sudden apparition of someone, the child when born will have the same skin color as the person who has startled her.

On the other hand, if during her pregnancy, especially [845] during the early months, the mother should be greatly frightened, twins will be born to her. In this aspect regarding twins, there is also the belief that these are born when the woman has been [853] asked and has refused to give the breast to a twin child whose own mother was unable to feed it.

Finally, when during the time of her pregnancy a woman has a very strong desire to possess something, as for instance a dress, a necklace, any special or particular kind of ornament, and she searches anxiously for it but does not find it and so does not satisfy her wish, her child will be born under the influence of her unfulfilled desire and will carry on its face the dissatisfied look of its mother: He will have his mouth half open, an anxious look, and will be continually crying and upset. [121]

VIII

Magic as the Origin of the Theater in La Guajira
(The Dance of the Kid)

128 It may perhaps be overbold to use the title which heads this chapter, and this may even apply to the contents and the statements which we make in it, because here some concepts will be confused which could be treated separately, such as the

[121 cont.]

128 differentiation between magic and religion, and between play as such and drama. But these four things are so interlaced that it is not possible to take each one of these aspects separately for analysis or even for presentation. If the whole appears clear we shall be satisfied. Our intention in this study has been to present facts in the most objective manner possible without neglecting, obviously, to interpret at times when it has seemed necessary or when we have felt capable of doing so.

536 As we have said, whether what is presented in the Dance of the Kid is magic or religion, it is a matter that might lend itself to Byzantine discussions by which nothing of the subject would be cleared up. On the contrary, they would further confuse it and take away opportunities to make known one of the most interesting aspects of the spiritual life of the Guajiro, in which are broken many of their social traditions, or rather their everyday cultural patterns, and in which they have an opportunity to show their dexterity more than their capacity as actors, since it must not be thought that what we have described as theater is such in the true sense of the word but rather corresponds to the beginnings of that art, the beginning of representations, without finality in themselves but as propitiation of rain and good harvests, as integral parts of a complete ritual which includes dances, songs, and representations of natural scenes or incidents taken from mythology.

536 What has given us occasion to call this theater or, if one prefers, drama is the concurrence in the representation of scenes 796 of a small number of the participants at the Fiesta, or Dance, of the Kid and the presence of a great number of the other participants who fill the role of spectators. [122]

It also frequently occurs that each group that takes part in the play is headed by a minstrel, or singer, who narrates each event as it occurs; the language he employs is dramatic, and he uses the most attractive turns of speech. The verbal music is added to the drama though not in the form of massed choirs but is expressed by each of the leaders who guide the actions of the par-
[533] ticipants in the scene that is being represented. Unfortunately, these songs have not been traditionally preserved but are rather improvised for the occasion. Only the music has endured

/531 cont./

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3. M. Gusinde. "Bericht über meine südafrikanische Forschungsreise 1950/51 /Report on My South African Field Trip, 1950-51/." Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 388-404.

Vienna, who at that time was with the Internat. F.A.O. for Colombia, had been very helpful to me. Soon after our auto journey together through that dried-up peninsula, he died unexpectedly. My thanks to him are thus expressed here posthumously.

128 Only a selection from my ethnographic observations among the Guajiro people are presented here. They are preceded by what has already been ascertained on the same subjects by other authors.

1. Earlier Reports

105
175 At the time of the discovery of the New World, the Guajiro were the /532/ branch of the Aruak /Arawak/ group that had pushed farthest to the northwest on South American soil. Before the Conquest they obtained their livelihood from hunting and fishing, together with some agriculture. Animal husbandry, however, acquired considerable ascendancy through the introduction of domestic animals at the time of the Spanish colonization. Juan de Castellanos reported that as early as the period of his sojourn there (around 1550) quite a large quantity of livestock was present. Since then, and up to our day, this economic activity has undergone no structural change worth mentioning; at present, however, far-reaching efforts at accommodation to the so-called Western manner of thinking and way of life are seen (4).

4. Cf. Vegamian, Crist (1958 and 1959), José Augustín de Barranquilla, and others.

/539 cont./

193 a foreign observer encounters
194 slight variations — as has just
614 been mentioned. For this reason,
in the table (p. 5) I put in the
[128] names corresponding with pre-
cisely the sounds that I heard
most frequently; I have taken
the map (p. 9) unchanged from
the original.

614 marks are found in the table. Every Guajiro knows them.
101 As an established tradition, every generation has taken over the details from the others, either as clan property or as a
178 duty. But as a result of so many hostile encounters of the
101 clans with one another — the Guajiro even in early times
578 made themselves known as very quarrelsome—the boundaries
614 of the individual clan-districts have shifted. Some clans have actually disappeared, either because their members were entirely destroyed or because individuals from them were incorporated into other clans. Therefore, the number and boundaries of the individual clan-districts were and are subject to insignificant fluctuations. I was unable to ascertain when the map provided — taken from a Colombian authority —was drawn; it appears to have come out around 1935. It is also found in V. Gutiérrez (p. xvi).

3. Concluding Remarks

614 Spanish writers have reported on "castas" in Guajira from the early colonial period; the designation corresponds to actual totemistic clans. Recently it could be demonstrated that some thirty of them have existed since antiquity. The members of any one clan were entitled by common law to move freely over the whole peninsula without being hindered
[423] by the boundaries. When Petrullo (p. 155) states unmistakably,

[1] Introduction

131 La Guajira Peninsula is situated between 12°-28'-30" and 10°-56' north latitude and 1°-11' and 3° east longitude, taking as a base the meridian of Bogotá. It occupies the northeastern part of Colombia and the most northernmost part of the South American continent. Its boundaries can be defined as follows: on the north and west the Caribbean Sea, on the east Lake Maracaibo, and on the south the department of Magdalena and the neighboring republic of Venezuela. In other words, the Caribbean Sea, Lake Maracaibo, the Río Hacha, and the arroyo Paraguaichón serve as natural boundaries. Part of this peninsula belongs to the republic of Colombia and part, the smaller area, to Venezuela.

133 Its general geological formation appears to be due to the elevation of marine strata, since fossils of sea fauna are found in the subsoil. Its soil is composed of clay, sand, and calcareous strata on the plains, the higher parts belonging to a more ancient formation composed of volcanic rocks, crystalline slate, granite, marble, and jasper, covered by layers of limestone. The predominating minerals are: gypsum, carbonate of lime, argonite, mica, iron ores, and some outcroppings of lignite which have not been exploited up to the present time.

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133 La Guajira proper, as a natural geographical region, starts in the west with the last spurs of the Montes de Oca, a continuation of the Cordillera Oriental in Colombia which crosses the Sierra de Perijá and Serrania de los Motilones, mountains whose beneficial influence is felt in the zones of Carraipía and Paraguaichón. But the characteristic relief starts in the southwestern neck and is composed of isolated ridges of mountains whose general orientation is northwest-southeast, running from west to east and known by the names of Cojoro, Jarara, and Macuira. The last has the [2] highest altitude in La Guajira, 857 meters above sea level, according to Ernst (1), and runs out between Jiguaipolu and Parajimaní on the

[113]

1. Cited by Pichón in Geografía de la Península Guajira [Geography of La Guajira Peninsula].

eastern coast of the peninsula.

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

An Exploration of the Goajira Peninsula, U.S. of Colombia.

By F. A. Simons.

Map, p. 840.

Since the publication of my last paper on the Sierra Nevada in 1881,* I have been commissioned by the National Government of Colombia to survey the two Atlantic States of the Magdalena and Bolivar, and especially to write a report on the hitherto unexplored region of the Goajira Indians. A summary of this I have now the honour of laying before the Royal Geographical Society. 121 122

The north-easterly corner of the United States of Colombia (formerly New Granada) terminates in a large peninsula, that, projecting for some 120 miles out into the Caribbean Sea, forms the extensive Gulf of Maracaybo. This peninsula is known as the Goajira. It was ceded by the State of Magdalena in 1872, to form a National Territory, for the better civilisation of its Indians. One half of it, however, is claimed by the Venezuelans, and a dispute that at one time threatened to culminate in war between the two nations, was amicably settled by referring the question to the King of Spain as arbitrator. His decision has not yet been made public. Three-fourths surrounded by sea, the Goajira is on the land, or south-westerly, side separated from the State of the Magdalena by a natural boundary, formed partly by the Rio Rancheria, with the outlying hills of the Nevada, variously called in old maps Cerros de Soldado, de Barranca, &c., and partly by the Montes of Oca. 131 175 131

Very little or nothing is known of the history of these Indians. Although the peninsula played an important part in the first discoveries, none of the early chroniclers seem to have paid much attention to the country. Juan de Castellanos, who resided some time at the Cabo de la Vela, dedicates a "solo canto" to the pearls. The "Floresta de Santa Marta," written by José Nicolas de la Rosa in 1739, gives many interesting data on the customs and manners of the Indians; this work must have supplied the more recent writings on the subject, for the same errors run through them all. That the present race are not the original inhabitants of the peninsula is certain. The Indians themselves have a legend that they came from a great distance, and are able to point out traces of villages belonging to the former inhabitants, whom they assert are the Arhuacos of the Sierra Nevada. Sometimes their old graves are accidentally come across, yielding to the fortunate finder a rich harvest of tumas (pieces of polished stone with a hole drilled through), curiously shaped pieces of gold, and other ornaments (clay), identical with those found in great profusion all over the Sierra Nevada. Now, 175 [114] 174 [173] 172

* 'Proceedings R. G. S.,' 1881, p. 703.

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
SC13 Goajiro SC13

PRIMITIVE MAN
Quarterly Bulletin
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ASPECTS OF THE AVUNCULATE IN THE GUAJIRO CULTURE

ANTONIO SANTA CRUZ
Catholic University of America

THE Guajira peninsula is situated in the northwest corner 131
of Colombia, South America, roughly between the 71° and 133
73° W. long., and 11° and 12° N. lat. It is rather flat in
contour with only some hill ranges in the eastern part. Rain- [132]
fall is scarce and the vegetation is of a semi-arid type. The 101
region is inhabited by one tribe of Indians, the Arawak-speak- 197
ing Guajiro. Both culturally and linguistically the Guajira
peninsula presents a uniform block.

The present writer visited the territory in the summer of 1940, 114
but due to illness contracted there was forced to cut short his
visit. Fairly full data were gathered on all phases of social
culture. The present paper deals with certain aspects of one
phase only, the avunculate.

The rôle of the maternal uncle is manifold in Guajiro culture, 604
organized as the Guajiro are into maternal sibs. Types of be- [604]
havior, both prescribed and unformalized, vary, depending on
the seniority of both uncle and nephew, but not on that of
niece. In this paper we shall be concerned for the most part 121
with the prescribed and voluntary relations between the oldest
brother of a given woman and her eldest son, and between this
oldest brother and his sisters' daughters. Other relations not
involving those specified kin will be touched upon only inciden-
tally for illustrative purposes.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

579 numerous and worse armed companies and take what they
619 have. The various bands, however, have no mutual respect or consideration, but will plunder each other if they can. Perhaps a Guajiro with a relation among the attackers can count on some consideration, unless his relative is inimical. However, the Guajiro do sometimes do business with the Cusina, and also can negotiate and secure the return of [131] stolen animals. The Cusina's haunt is the Cojoro Hills and a narrow strip of the lowland is also accounted theirs.' He then named the leaders of that time and told where they and their men were. In those days the Cusina had a number of plantations in the lowland, and also cattle, though they could not be bothered to look after these, but preferred to live by banditry. Simmons also says that it was the Cusina who sold the poisoned arrows.

Nearly forty years had passed since Simmons had journeyed in those parts and it was obvious that the Cusina were no longer so numerous nor so dominant, though one still had to take heed of them and be on one's guard. We were to learn that they could still make daring raids to parts far from their haunts. All unattached Indians one met in the vicinity of the hills were held to be Cusina—it was safest so.

Attack and highway robbery was one thing, ordinary [655] theft another. If a thief was caught, it cost him dear in compensation, but theft itself, as we heard in connection with Chinca, was almost regarded as a sport. It was thus common for poor Indians at least to pinch things from those who were better off. We, of course, were considered very rich.

685 It was not to be wondered at if an Indian, having nothing
674 to eat during the worst of the drought, appropriated a bit of this and that from those who were better off. If he knew that he would be able to repay it, it became a sort of loan, without the owner's permission.

Once, some Indians got in ahead of the monks when the time came to harvest the manioc at the mission's plantation in Macuira. When the monks came there with the mission's children to carry it home, all had gone. In the hope of preventing this happening again, the monks decided to com-

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ATLANTIC OCEAN
CARIBBEAN SEA
VENEZUELA
BRASIL
PERU
Santa Marta
Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta
COLOMBIA
[Eud Map(A)]
MAGDALENA
SCALE

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

THE GOAJIRO

By John M. Armstrong and Alfred Métraux

THE REGION

The Goajira Peninsula, projecting as part of Colombia northward into the Caribbean Sea, contains an area of about 5,000 square miles, bordered on the east by the Gulf of Venezuela. The broad level plain known as Lower Goajira occupies the base of the peninsula, while the northern extremity is known as Upper Goajira and is characterized by three distinct ranges of hills. These hills have a maximum height of 2,600 feet (about 780 m.) and are separated from each other by two broad plains which run from sea to sea. The country is dry and infertile, the vegetation consisting of divi-divi, cactus, pricklypear, and other xerophitic plants. Even these are absent where bare rock and stone slides preclude vegetation. Rivers are almost nonexistent, the country being cut in all directions by shallow, dry, sandy water courses which drain off rain as it falls. In the south and west, on the treeless prairies or savannas, the land is more hospitable. Here the Indians do most of their stock raising. [13] 133 [137] [231]

LOCATION AND HISTORY

The pastoral *Goajiro* who inhabit this peninsula (map 6) differ profoundly from the agricultural forest-dwelling *Motilones* and *Arhuaco* to the south. Juan de Castellanos, in his "Elegias de los Varones Ilustres" (1874), is the first to allude to these Indians, though he calls them *Cosina*. He states that in his time, about 1550, cattle were already abundant in the area. It seems that the adoption of pastoral life by the *Goajiro* took place soon after the Spanish settlement of that part of the continent. The name *Goajiro* was, however, already known in the 16th century and was applied first by Pedro Simón (1882–92). The first reliable ethnographic information about the *Goajiro* goes back to José Nicolás de la Rosa (Nicholás, 1901) and Antonio Julián, who both visited these Indians in the 18th century. Jahn (1927, pp. 119–136) has gathered the few data concerning the *Goajiro* which he found in the early literature. A short summary of the first description of these Indians is given by Hernández de Alba (1936, pp. 8–12). 101 531 171 114

9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
SC13 Goajiro SC13

ACQUIRING STATUS IN GUAJIRO SOCIETY

ANTONIO SANTA CRUZ
Havana, Cuba

114 121 The present paper is based upon field research carried out during a 26-day trip in the months of August and September 1958.[1] The writer had previously visited the Colombia part of the Guajira Peninsula in 1940 as a graduate student of anthropology.

•131 The Guajira Peninsula occupies the north-central part of South America and lies between the countries of Colombia and Venezuela. Roughly speaking, about three-fourths of the peninsula belong to Colombia, while only one-fourth is within the [[01] boundaries of Venezuela. Ecologically and ethnographically, however, the peninsula is an unbroken block, occupied mainly by the Arawak-speaking Guajiro Indians. There are no attempts on the part of either Government to hold the Indians within the national territory and as, the frontier is practically unwatched, the natives go back and forth across the boundary much as they please.

121 The primary aim of the 1958 field trip was to find, if possible, a proper locale in which to establish, for the first time in Venezuela, a Pilot Center of Fundamental Education following the patterns—with the necessary modifications for local adaptation—already in practice in countries such as India, Mexico, Peru, etc. The Comisión Indigenista, a branch of the Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Venezuela, of which the present writer was a member of its technical staff at the time of the field trip, has, at present, elaborate and extensive plans to develop Fundamental Education in Venezuela, thanks to the untiring efforts of its Technical Advisor, Dr. Walter Dupouy. The aim is to bring, ultimately, all of the 100,000 indigenous inhabitants of the country into its national life.

Although major attention was given to the primary aim of the field trip, some time was left for pure research. This was aided by the fact that the present writer was in constant company of

[1] Although no direct quotations have been made from the literature, earlier works have been consulted for both historical and present-day ethnographical data.

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Contents:

1. Earlier Reports

2. Most Recent Reports

3. Concluding Remarks

In the middle of 1954 I set out from Caracas via Maracaibo to make anthropological observations in the settlement area of the Yupa Indians (1). In the narrow stretch of Venezuelan

1. M. Gusinde, "The Yupa Indians in Western Venezuela," Proceed. Americ. Philos. Soc., 100, 1956, pp. 197-222.

territory along the western shore of the Gulf of Maracaibo /Gulf of Venezuela/ I occasionally saw representatives of the Guajiro /Goajiro/ people (2) of every age and both sexes. It

2. The spelling Guajiro is preferred to Goajiro. Cf. "Etimología de la palabra 'Guajira /Etymology of the word Guajiro'/" in Vegamian, pp. 11-33.

was my wish to see personally the astonishingly favorable adaptation of these Indians to their unusually dry and vegetation-poor surroundings, in order to compare their ecological conditions with those of the Bushmen in the Kalahari of South Africa (3). Already from Bogotá on, Professor Adolf Staffe of

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around the world simultaneously with the domestic animals themselves.

The branding described was probably learned by the Indians from the Spaniards themselves, simultaneously with the adoption of the first European domestic animals, and has been retained since then. It is all the more surprising that the branding iron (hierro) appears in an old myth which for its part clearly states where the customary individual clan-sign came from. The following version (according to V. Gutiérrez, p. 168) is common in the northern part of the peninsula:

Not far from Nazareth (10) a hill rises behind Itojoro.

10. This post lies only several kilometers south of Puerto Estrella and is actually a small Catholic mission station. Cf. Stutzer, pp. 131 ff., and Barranquilla, pp. 151 ff.

Here, under an oil tree, Mareiwa (11) came into the world.

11. That is the spelling of this mythological name that I felt to be correct, as did V. Gutiérrez (p. 168). Chaves (1946, p. 307) explains in the myth concerning "Las Serranías de la Guajira," among other things: "Mareigua [is] one of the principal deities of the Guajiro people, who with his supernatural power converts persons into hills, separates the

132 [3] La Guajira is a semidesert region, a condition to which
133 four essential factors contribute, in our opinion: 1) the presence of sandy soil which absorbs the water of the small arroyos which flow from the mountain ridges; 2) the constant trade winds which blow strongly from the northeast over the peninsula and tend to temper the climate somewhat; 3) the lack of any real relief with elevations of importance which could act as a barrier to the clouds laden with moisture which are blown by the force of the winds toward the interior regions of the continent; 4) the high atmospheric temperatures which reach 42°C. in the shade at noon and are only slightly tempered by the trade winds and sea breezes.

These factors largely determine the hydrography of the peninsula in which, it may be said, there are only two permanent rivers, the Río Hacha, which forms the boundary with the neighboring department of Magdalena, and the arroyo Paraguichón, which marks the boundary with the republic of Venezuela. Beyond this the region is subject to the seasonal cycle of rainfall, which divides itself into a completely dry summer season with only rare light showers in what might be called spring (approximately in April) and a winter season with violent rains. This last season covers approximately the months of September to December/January, while the first, with the exception of the occasional rains in spring already mentioned, covers the remaining months of the year.

All these facts convert the peninsula during the summer
133 season into a true desert without vegetation, with the earth
134 covered with loose sand, particles of which are blown into the
[164] air by the prevailing winds, causing considerable trouble to travelers and even giving rise to eye infections among the natives. But in winter, when the abundant and copious rains have fallen, the soil, which in parts is below sea level, becomes so flooded that at times all land communications are totally obstructed even on improved [herradura] roads; the dry beds of currents of water are converted into true arroyos, water holes into ponds, and everything is an immense sea of fresh water.

One must also take into account the presence of some few
133 lakes, such as Guaraguarao, near Marañamana; Soledad, 20
312 kilometers south of Pájaro; Carazña, approximately 30 kilometers west of Ríohacha; Sararapa, near Puerto López; and Cuisa,

[6 cont.]

105 177 However, at the beginning the fundamental change in their economy did not affect their most characteristic social institutions. They preserved, almost to the present, their family organization based on the uterine line of kinship and all the other institutions which derive from, or are directly or indirectly related, to it. Only now with the presence of an ever increasing number of foreign elements who are attracted to La Guajira territory by different circumstances is the Indian gradually losing these fundamental ideas of his organization and beginning to change them, forced to do so by events, to the point that today it is becoming difficult to decide up to what point a social phenomenon is autochthonous and to what point it is impregnated with new ideas brought in by evangelism, government and military officials, and traders.

174 175 In the racial aspect the phenomenon shows up less strongly, although, as in other aspects, it has been gradually accelerating as means of communication develop and the contraband between the islands of Aruba and Curaçao, the department of Magdalena, and the port of Maracaibo increase. Racial mixing [mestizaje] began in the colony not only between Spaniards and Indians, as happened in the greater part of Latin America, but also with the Negroes who were acquired as slaves from the Dutch and British slave traders in exchange for pearls. Naturally, this mixture was *of insignificant proportions, but [?] at the present time it is developing* more rapidly, stemming from the element, also Negroid, of the coastal areas of Colombia and Lake Maracaibo. In spite of all this, at the present time one can still find a large percentage of the pure element in La Guajira, especially in the regions distant from the traffic with Maracaibo or with the interior of Colombia, or relatively isolated from civilizado centers of La Guajira such as Urihia, Puerto Estrella, Puerto López, etc.

* * *

132 [illegible] In the past five to six years La Guajira has suffered extremely severe summers which have almost completely crushed its economic bases, stock grazing and agriculture, for scarcely enough rainfall has fallen to save their pastures or their harvests.

[7 cont.]

Consequently at this time, the Indian faces a situation of misery that has brought him to seek monetary income either as a worker in the maritime saltworks or as a herdsman in the neighboring haciendas of Venezuela and Colombia; or if he is obstinate in his attachment to his native soil, he has to put up with conditions of hunger, bond service, and even slavery in his own territory.

The lack of water has been the main factor leading to the mass emigration of entire native families to the nearest centers of trade and work; there they enroll themselves as paid farm workers; or simply beg for charity, which is frequently seen in the streets and plazas of Maracaibo; or apply themselves to some other trade such as the making of charcoal to be sold in Riohacha; or work in the loading and unloading of ships in neighboring ports.

• • •

All these facts that we have been describing and the little that was known of this interesting Colombian aboriginal community led the Institute of Ethnology and Archaeology of the Ministry of National Education of Colombia to organize an expedition to study for a reasonable period of time the greater part of the characteristic social phenomena of this group of people, the actual social situation of the natives confronted by the new *conditions of life, the anthropological aspect, the language*, etc. This decision was put into effect with the ethnographic expedition of 1947, which, during the months of July, August, and September, traveled over a great part of the territory making the corresponding studies. [8] This expedition was composed of: the investigator, Licenciate Milciades Chaves, Licenciate Virginia Gutiérrez de Pineda Giraldo, Señora María Rosa de Recamán, and the author.

The result of these investigations is the work we now present, the first of a series of publications which will cover the major part of the aspects of the material and spiritual life of the Guajiro.

The work to which these few lines serve as an introduction is based on facts carefully gathered by us in the field, especially by my wife Licenciate Virginia Gutiérrez de Pineda Giraldo, who kindly handed over data to be studied and added to ours, and we

[112 cont.]

787 Another bird of bad augury is the red owl. If a person
825 who is traveling by night along the road sees one and hears its
hoot, this is a signal that a misfortune is about to happen at the
spot the walker met the bird or that something will happen to
upset him on the road.

If at nightfall the long-drawn outsong of the waimpirai
is heard, it is an indication that there will be a war between
two important clans, or extended families. They say in La
Guajira that on a certain occasion, after this omen had
occurred, a struggle between two families broke out and 20
[797 members of the Uriyú clan had to take refuge in the convent
628] of Nazaret, defeated by their adversaries who were hunting them
down wishing to kill them.

When a hen cackles at daybreak there will surely be a
death in the house, particularly when the cackling is repeated
on three consecutive days.

312 Natural phenomena in magic. The most important natural
• 134 phenomenon for the Guajiro is rain, the essential fount for his
193 agriculture and much grazing and the basis of his present-day
economic organization. It is not strange that this is so because
if for every community and for living beings in general water
is an indispensable element and if many of the divinities and
spirits of the primitive American center around it, for the
Guajiro it is infinitely more essential if we take into considera-
tion the geographical milieu in which he lives and to which
we have referred, perhaps imminently, in this work as we con-
sider it of vital importance (cf. "Introduction"). In the whole
area there is no river or stream of importance. The soil has a
maximum permeability and has to withstand high temperatures;
[113] and as the Guajiro have no practical knowledge of the
conservation and distribution of rain water, they always live
dependent on the winter season for sowing their crops. For
789 this reason many acts of magic have this end in view, but as
this aspect will be better understood in the chapter on "Mareiwa
and Wanorí," or various of good and evil, we will confine our-
selves in this section to sowing some magic acts related to rain-
fall and to other natural phenomena.

789 The intervention of the shaman, which we have lost
• 790 sight of since the second chapter when we described at length
his personality and attributes, returns again to participate in

[146 cont.]

174 If we accept the idea that the Guajiro are descended from
192 the Arawak of the Guianas, with whom they are intimately con-
776 nected both by their language and culture, there is nothing
821 strange to be found in the formation of the name Mareiwa from
mali, male (the l and the r do not exist in the Guajiro language),
and fwa, words that are used to name stars and in consequence
must be related to the general Arawak cosmogony. In any case,
776 the linguistic association of star-rain-god-divinity confirms the
821 statement which we have made that Mareiwa [147] is none other
than the propitiatory spirit of the rains, and by the same token,
that of good harvests, of abundance, and of well-being.

132 The harsh geographical conditions of La Guajira and the
182 technical incapacity of the native to dominate and put them
776 in his service without incurring the great inconveniences which
are above all occasioned by the climate, have caused this
being (Mareiwa) to be raised to first position in the category of
[233 protector spirits of the community. Also, the changes brought
178] about in their economy during past centuries have contributed to
this advance in status, because since the introduction of stock
grazing, winter has become more and more indispensable for
the maintenance of pasture, without which the stock would
suffer serious losses. We have no data relating to the myths or
178 religion of these Indians at the time of the Conquest but what
776 we have unearthed and the fact that there is a veritable confu-
sion with respect to the origin and functions of Mareiwa point
to the fact that, in a certain way, the Guajiro are living in a
state of transition with regard to their divinities, we might al-
most say a moment of true creation of their gods which has not
yet been definitively achieved, and for which contact with
western civilization has created difficulties which by now are
practically insurmountable.

775 Wanurú. As we referred extensively to the wanurú when
we were speaking of sickness and the shaman, we shall add only
a few details here and systematize the knowledge we have ac-
quired about this matter up to now.

1. The wanurú can harm the Guajiro bodily and spiritu-
ally, bodily by means of such sicknesses as attack men, animals,

[151] Conclusions

177 Magic shows itself to be one of the strongest institutions
771 of Guajiro culture despite the fact that, as we have shown
789 throughout this study, it is gradually losing its importance in proportion to the lowering of the shaman's prestige as the spiritual leader of the group. This is due to the already mentioned factors of proseletyzing and acculturation on a rising scale, brought about by the influence of a continually increasing number of civilizado elements in the peninsula, as well as by the consequences of the acculturation experienced by the members of the society. However, it is magic that still dominates many of the aspects of the native's daily life, not to say the greater part, and it is this that we are trying to synthesize and briefly explain in this chapter.

132 1. Economy. The Guajiro's life, as we saw in the Intro-
182 duction is strictly dependent on the tyrannically dominating cli-
771 mate, given the conditions of the peninsula where this commun-
789 ity lives, relying as they do on the seasonal fluctuations of rain to which they have adapted their system of agriculture and stock grazing, essential sources of their economy. As the people's livelihood directly depends on these, the Guajiro, lacking the higher techniques of irrigation and water conservation, puts his hope of survival in methods of magic, whether they be personal, collective, or directly exercised by the curer-magician of the community. These are no other than the exorcisms carried out by the latter to attract the rains in the long summers by invoking his protector spirits and especially Mareiwa, the personification of good and of rain; or the adoration and ceremonies in honor of the iguana carried out by private individuals with the same end in view; or, in short, all the methods of magic we have enumerated in connection with the natural phenomenon of rain.

[341 Also in respect to the economy we must remember the
460 presence of women when the sowing of crops is done, which establishes a division of work by sex based on the magic association of the transmission of feminine fecundity to the seeds.

177 [152] Moreover, faced with the new phenomenon of stock
288 grazing, the native has adapted his magic methods to this, im-
789 posing the same or similar treatments used for the members of the

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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ASPECTS OF THE AVUNCULATE IN THE GUAJIRO CULTURE

ANTONIO SANTA CRUZ
Catholic University of America

THE Guajira peninsula is situated in the northwest corner of Colombia, South America, roughly between the 71° and 73° W. long., and 11° and 12° N. lat. It is rather flat in contour with only some hill ranges in the eastern part. Rainfall is scarce and the vegetation is of a semi-arid type. The region is inhabited by one tribe of Indians, the Arawak-speaking Guajiro. Both culturally and linguistically the Guajira peninsula presents a uniform block.

The present writer visited the territory in the summer of 1940, but due to illness contracted there was forced to cut short his visit. Fairly full data were gathered on all phases of social culture. The present paper deals with certain aspects of one phase only, the avunculate.

The role of the maternal uncle is manifold in Guajiro culture, organized as the Guajiro are into maternal sibs. Types of behavior, both prescribed and informalized, vary, depending on the seniority of both uncle and nephew, but not on that of sisters. In this paper we shall be concerned for the most part with the prescribed and voluntary relations between the oldest brother of a given woman and her oldest son, and between this oldest brother and his sisters' daughters. Other relations not involving these specified kin will be touched upon only incidentally for illustrative purposes.

7:Bellinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

before, when the casimba had dried up and the cattle had roamed round the troughs bellowing till they collapsed and died. The horses, on the other hand, had given up the ghost without complaint.

The water was already turgid; before long it would be as thick as gruel. The water we had been given by the bishop was now finished, and we had to boil the water from the casimba, which had a beastly taste and did not quench our thirst because of the salt in it. The best water is that near the coast.

The cattle and horses were thin, but the men at the well looked strong and well-nourished, as did the women. But how would they look by the time October came with its rain? It was then only July. And suppose no rain came? Or only a few showers? That had happened before. The threat of it always hung over the Indians. If the rain god Juvap turned his face from them, they were lost. There were still patches of grass here and there, but it was dry and scorched. If need be the cattle could make do with cactus, *despite the long spikes that could pierce a stout* leather shoe with ease. Very, very carefully the cow lets one of the oval leaves slide into her mouth, almost sucking it in, so that the spikes are bent backwards; she then starts chewing as hard as she can. Often cows have more cactus stuck in their hides than they get inside them. Horses and mules, on the other hand, apparently do not like cactus and will not do more than nibble at it. It is too slow a business to eat it. The goats seemed able to find something to eat everywhere, and are themselves eaten sooner or later. Cattle are not often slaughtered, but goat is the daily fare. Live goats are also taken as provisions on journeys, being easily led on a rope.

We had halted only in order to let the animals drink and for the Indians to fill their water containers. The Gaffer needed a lot of water now—his thirst was unbounded—but the calabashes were in his wife's charge and she only allowed him an occasional gulp. Also he was having to walk, for she was tired and had mounted the donkey again. The Lad tried to enliven the company by imitating the donkeys when they

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajira SC13

lost their loads and the mule throwing the photographer, but we were all tired and not easily amused.

I did not want to stay at that rancho. Their reception had been friendly, but they had something against the Gaffer. I thought they had hesitated to receive him, and caution suggested that we ought to camp by ourselves, as long as we had people on whom we could not rely. Evening came and with it a slight, cooling breeze. Travelling was pleasant then without the heat of the sun. Knowing that the moon would rise early, we decided to go on as long as we could.

At midnight we halted in bright moonlight, lit a fire and made coffee. A couple of Indians came uninvited and squatted nearby. The coastal Indians had become infected with the vices of civilization and stole like jackdaws. We had already lost a number of small things at Arenas and the other places on the coast, and had no wish to lose more. In Guajira you must take the law into your own hands.

We produced our firearms and set about cleaning them. We each had a rifle and a pistol, and also I had a number of pistols that I had bought cheap at auctions after the war and intended to use as objects of barter. We put up our camp beds under the open sky, laid our weapons beside them and told our Indians to 'sleep with one eye open', a phrase they themselves used. We assured them that we should do the same, and that our open eyes would be fixed on our baggage.

We knew that the Indians would be constantly starting up and looking round. No sound escaped their trained ears. We were not suspicious of their being in a conspiracy with the other Indians; in fact, they were quite frightened.

When we woke at daybreak, all was well. We packed up and set off again at once. Now and again we met naked Indians armed with bows and arrows. We gave tobacco to them all, as custom dictates. It is almost a sort of tax which white people have to pay in order to be able to travel in peace in Guajira. If you happen to be smoking one of the country's thin cigars and meet an Indian, you can, if you are in a hurry, take the cigar from your mouth and stick it into his, mutter a greeting, receive an answer, and ride on.

Although I had a compass and a map, such as it was,

1:Gutierrez de Pinoda ñ.o. E-5 (1947) 1950 SC13 Goajiro SC13

Commitary of La Guajira

102
133

This map was made using that of Major Alberto Lara Samps in the Diccionario Geogr[illegible]ico de la Guajira /Geographical Dictionary of La Guajira/

[pacing p. 22]

(1) Introduction

[31] La Guajira Peninsula is situated between 12°-28'-30" and 10°-58' north latitude and 1°-11' and 3° east longitude, taking as a base the meridian of Bogotá. It occupies the northeastern part of Colombia and the most northernmost part of the South American continent. Its boundaries can be defined as follows: on the north and west the Caribbean Sea, on the east Lake Maracaibo, and on the south the department of Magdalena and the neighboring republic of Venezuela. In other words, the Caribbean Sea, Lake Maracaibo, the Río Hacha, and the arroyo Paraguaichón serve as natural boundaries. Part of this peninsula belongs to the republic of Colombia and part, the smaller area, to Venezuela.

[33] Its general geological formation appears to be due to the elevation of marine strata, since fossils of sea fauna are found in the subsoil. Its soil is composed of clay, sand, and calcareous strata on the plains, the higher parts belonging to a more ancient formation composed of volcanic rocks, crystalline slate, granite, [35] marble, and jasper, covered by layers of limestone. The predominating minerals are: gypsum, carbonate of lime, argonite, mica, iron ores, and some outcroppings of lignite which have not been exploited up to the present time.

[33] La Guajira proper, as a natural geographical region, starts in the west with the last spur of the Montes de Oca, a continuation of the Cordillera Oriental in Colombia which crosses the Sierra de Perijá and Serranía de los Motilones, mountains whose beneficial influence is felt in the zones of Carraipía and Paraguaichón. But the characteristic relief starts in the southwestern neck and is composed of isolated ridges of mountains whose general orientation is northwest-southeast, running from west to east and known by the names of Cojoro, Jarara, and Macuira. The last has the [32] highest altitude in La Guajira, 857 meters above sea level, according to Brüt (1), and runs out between Jiguaipolo and Parajimaní on the

[115]

1. Cited by Pichón in Geografía de la Península Guajira [Geography of La Guajira Peninsula].

eastern coast of the peninsula.

[2 cont.]

133 The greater part of the coast of La Guajira, which measures in all some 350 kilometers, belongs to Colombia. It starts from the Río Hacha in the west and extends to Lake Maracaibo in the east. It may be divided into two general parts, one low and liable to flooding, the other highland rising sheer from the coast. The low part starts from Pajaina Channel, which flows into Lake Maracaibo in front of San Carlos Island and continues approximately to the port of Cojuro. From there onward the land rises from the sea in the form of cliffs roughly to the level of Castilletes, a point where the coast level descends slightly to rise again near Punta Espada due to the eastern spurs from the Sierra de Macuira, which, as we have noted in previous paragraphs, then lose themselves in the sea. From this point, going always toward the west, the coast is rocky and inaccessible because of its continental structure.

In the far western part of the La Guajira coast we find the [195 W7] most important saltworks that are being exploited in the country, such as those of Pájaro, Manaure, and Bahía Honda which supply salt to the major part of the coastal departments and even to those *in the interior of the republic. The coast of this part has numer-* ous beautiful and deep bays among which Bahía Honda is out-[54] standing. Along the coast rich fishing grounds are found, such as Bahía Honda, Cabo de la Vela, Cardón, and Carrizal, centers of fishing and pearl exploitation. Unfortunately, it has not been [212] found practicable to make use of all the commercial navigation and fishing possibilities of this coast due to the absence of potable water in the vicinity. This we were well able to appreciate when we found that the water required for drinking in Carrizal and San José de Bahía Honda, during our stay in these regions, was transported distances greater than ten kilometers.

364 504 The most important ports of the coast of La Guajira, from west to east, are Alvoyama; Manaure, center of the salt industry; Cardón and Carrizal, pearl fishing centers; San José de Bahía Honda, on the bay of the same name, also engaged in the salt industry, and Puerto Estrella, center of the maritime traffic of motorized sailing boats plying between the islands of Aruba and Curaçao, and Puerto López.

132 133 [3] La Guajira is a semidesert region, a condition to which four essential factors contribute, in our opinion: 1) the presence of sandy soil which absorbs the water of the small arroyos which flow from the mountain ridges; 2) the constant trade winds which blow strongly from the northeast over the peninsula and tend to temper the climate somewhat; 3) the lack of any real relief with elevations of importance which could act as a barrier to the clouds laden with moisture which are blown by the force of the winds toward the interior regions of the continent; 4) the high atmospheric temperatures which reach 42°C. in the shade at noon and are only slightly tempered by the trade winds and sea breezes.

These factors largely determine the hydrography of the peninsula in which, it may be said, there are only two permanent rivers, the Río Hacha, which forms the boundary with the neighboring department of Magdalena, and the arroyo Paraguichón, which marks the boundary with the republic of Venezuela. Beyond this the region is subject to the seasonal cycle of rainfall, which divides itself into a completely dry summer season with only rare light showers in what might be called spring (approximately in April) and a winter season with violent rains. This last season covers approximately the months of September to December/January, while the first, with the exception of the occasional rains in spring already mentioned, covers the remaining months of the year.

All these facts convert the peninsula during the summer season into a true desert without vegetation, with the earth covered with loose sand, particles of which are blown into the air by the prevailing winds, causing considerable trouble to travelers and even giving rise to eye infections among the natives. But in winter, when the abundant and copious rains have fallen, the soil, which in parts is below sea level, becomes so flooded that at times all land communications are totally obstructed even on improved [herradura] roads; the dry beds of currents of water are converted into true arroyos, water holes into ponds, and everything is an immense sea of fresh water.

133 134 [164]

One must also take into account the presence of some few lakes, such as Guaraguarao, near Maraňamana; Soledad, 20 kilometers south of Pájaro; Carazía, approximately 30 kilometers west of Ríohacha; Sarapa, near Puerto López; and Cuisa,

133 132

[3 cont.]

●133 adjacent to the hamlet of Roble; also one must consider the
312 water holes, shallow depressions in the ground which store rain water for some time and are utilized as watering places for livestock. Besides these sources of water, [4] the Guajiro digs wells [casimbas] in the dry beds of arroyos, generally, having to excavate to depths of 30 vara at times to reach the underground water. Windmills, which the Water Department of the Ministry of Na-
[653] tional Economy has been constructing for some years past, have helped to solve the water problem as have at a few dams, such as those in Ipanarú and Garrapatamana.

137 The factors which we have been describing determine vegetation in La Guajira, which is mainly comprised of thorny creepers, small thickets, cactus, thorn trees, and some wooded areas, especially in the mountain ridges and their spurs, where one finds an abundance of divi-divi, the totumo, indigo, the carano, [a resinous gum tree], guayacan, the cedar, oak, cherry, and olive, the last two being fruit trees. On the banks of the coves and bays the mangrove grows abundantly.

During the rainy season in the peninsula, the sandy soil is covered with grass and brambles and briars and the woods [montes] become green again, giving a splendid background of color to the whole countryside, but in the summer season all the trees lose their foliage and look like burned logs; the smaller plants disappear, leaving the surface bare to the mercies of the burning sand and showing as characteristic patches the tall cacti with arms raised like great candelabra. The only different shades of color are provided by the olive trees, which never dry out and always show their fresh green foliage and darker fruit, and by some small oases of vegetation on the shores of ponds and water holes.

221 For this same reason the economy of La Guajira and the people's life in general swings like a great pendulum between two extremes — summer and winter. Their principal activity, stock grazing, requires rainfall to maintain pasture and to provide water in the water holes and wells. Agriculture, their other occupation, requires sufficient humidity for the germination of the seed and for maintaining the life of the plants. Winter in La Guajira means good living, abundance, satisfaction. Summer,

[112 cont.]

787 Another bird of bad augury is the red owl. If a person
825 who is traveling by night along the road sees one and hears its hoot, this is a signal that a misfortune is about to happen at the spot the walker met the bird or that something will happen to upset him on the road.

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789 this reason many acts of magic have this end in view, but as this aspect will be better understood in the chapter on "Mareiwa and Wamurú," or notions of good and evil, we will confine ourselves in this section to noting some magic acts related to rainfall and to other natural phenomena.

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756 sight of since the second chapter when we described at length his personality and attributes, returns again to participate in

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
SC13 Goajiro SC13

121 the field of law is 'coterminous with that of organized legal sanctions.' If there are no 'legal sanctions,' obligations are considered as matters of custom and conventions. He further suggests the use of 'public delicts' and 'private delicts' to classify violations of law which in our society would fall into the criminal and civil classes respectively.[3] Malinowski, justly calling attention to the fact that the field of law does not limit itself to prohibitions but also enjoins duties, extends the term to include binding obligations governing the intercourse of daily life and enforced by a 'specific mechanism inherent in the structure of society.'[4]

While it is not within the scope of this paper to examine critically the various concepts of what constitutes law, we may well ask if its existence in primitive society is dependent upon what one accepts as its definition. We are given the choice of admitting either that certain societies do not know law, or that law is present in all societies in the form of reciprocal obligations which include many phases of behavior which we are accustomed to call either custom or moral obligation. Still it may be granted that in any society there occur breaches of custom, which are recognized as trespass on the recognized rights of the individual and perhaps on the entire community, for the composition and rectification of which there are known and accepted acts whose nature is set and limited by precedent. These are in contrast to those breaches which may bring on the offender only social reprobation in a mild form through giving him a 'bad name.' The former ought to fall within the province of law as generally understood in our society, while the latter may properly be included in the field of morals.

105 Before proceeding with a description of Guajiro concepts of law and of custom it may be well to outline briefly the structure of their society. It is estimated that there are between ten and [161] twenty thousand Guajiro inhabiting the peninsula that takes its name from them. Though most of the territory belongs to Colombia and a narrow coastal strip is within Venezuelan borders, the Guajiro live almost independently of both governments. The land is arid, lacking running water except [133] in the hills of Macuire, where there are some springs. Most of

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

172 these tombs are all made from carnelian, jasper, or other reddish variation of silica, and the stone, according to the Indians, is not to be found in the Goajira. While ascending Macuira, several places were pointed out to me, especially near the top, in which I was entreated to look for treasure "of the Arhuacos." They themselves, although covering tombs above everything, are, curiously enough, afraid to look for them, not hesitating, [171] however, to appropriate any found by chance. This, combined with the fear of mentioning their dead, points to some sort of religion or belief in a superior Being. They evidently took possession by conquest, 174 driving the weaker "Arhuacos" out, and have managed to assert their rights to this day. It is rather an historical anomaly that such a small [161] tribe, which probably never exceeded 80,000, should have been able to conserve intact their absolute freedom, their manners and customs uncontaminated, in spite of the accessibility of their territory, surrounded as it is by the sea, and the continual commerce that has been going on for centuries.

Commencing with the topography of the country, the mountain ● 183 system attracts attention most—more so, as a remarkable error has been propagated, that the Goajira is one large fertile plain with only one or two isolated hills. At least one-half of the country is hilly. There are in fact two Goajiras; one known as the Lower Goajira is the broad level plain extending from the river Ranchoria to a little beyond the Tota. The other, or Upper, Goajira is the hilly sterile region between the Tota and Punta Espada. The Upper Goajira is simply a volcanic eruption, a conglomeration of low hills, conspicuous from the many cone-shaped forms, and the parallel ridges in which they have been thrown up. These parallel lines run chiefly north-west by south-east, and are separated by two large plains, thus forming three distinct groups of hills running from sea to sea. The first and most important of the three is the easterly or Macuira range. This fine, bold, interesting mountain mass rises in front of Chimare, about 12 miles from the sea-shore, and terminates at the most easterly point of the Goajira, forming the rocky headland known as the Punta Espada (Jurido). Due to its elevation and position, it serves as a species of cloud-trap detaining the lower clouds that drive in from seaward impelled by the easterly or trade winds, that blow here with great force most part of the year. This is the only spot in all the Goajira that can really be called fertile. I ascended the two highest points. The north or Macuira proper lies in front of Puerto Estrella, and is composed of several peaks ranging between 2000 and 2500 feet above sea-level. 153 Some of them offer very difficulty in climbing, as the slopes are covered 241 with gardens to within 500 feet of the top. The vegetation is similar [187] to that of the Sierra Nevada at 6000 feet, and the temperature was very low, showing at midday 62° Fahr. The highest point at the southern extremity in front of Punta Espada is 1700 feet. Owing to the low dense

5: Simons K.-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajira SC13

Gonh I could only reach 1700 feet, the limit of the Indian gardens, where plantains, magney, onions, corn, sugar-cane, &c., were growing: also a rivulet with running water. The ground about here is well cultivated, supplying most of the Guajiros with grain food. Many small low cactus of Indians dedicated to agriculture live here; they are all poor, as agriculture is not considered wealth among the Indians.

The second or central range, which for want of a better name I shall call Porashi Hills, are entirely separated from the Macuira range by a plain some nine miles broad. This plain gradually rising from both ends, reaches 300 feet towards the centre. These hills rise at Bahia Honda almost from the margin of the bay, and stretch as a narrow belt right across the peninsula. Formed of ridges of low hills seldom exceeding 1500 feet, covered with a scanty wood of breallete, dividivi, cacti, and other prickly bushes, interrupted by valleys, one mass of prickly pear, they present a desolate forbidding appearance two-thirds of the year, yielding, however, during the short rainy season abundant pasturage. In this range, as with the former, there are two prominent peaks. The northerly one, a conspicuous object from Portete and Bahia Honda, is called Bruna. I ascended it with much difficulty, and found the height to be 1050 feet. Sierra Ipapa, marked on some maps, is probably Bruna.

Some 15 miles south of Bruna, Guajarapa rises well out of its surroundings. This, the highest point of the range, does not exceed 2300 feet, and must be the Cerro Azulio of the Spaniards, supposed to be the highest peak in the Guajira, but it is seen that Macuira dominates it by at least 600 feet. A portion of this range is also called Cerros de Jallaruna from a rancho at the foot of Guajarapa. Between the highest peaks and towards the south is the extensive plain of Atalaya. We now come to the third or Cojoro range, separated by a rather narrow valley, varying much in breadth, about six miles at the narrowest place. These hills are more extensive than either of the two first, and show many peculiarities, being flanked on all sides by numerous isolated hill-like ridges, some running parallel to each other with broad valleys between, while others are complete segments of circles. Towards the Maracaybo shore are several large mountain masses. The highest, Tariyaba, is a wonderful mass of igneous rock some 2000 feet in height. Close by, another mountain, Aripana, plays a prominent part in the landscape. All these hills, like Porashi, are destitute of vegetation, many so steep that the bare rock and stone-slides put all idea of growth out of the question, and with their varied shapes, immense boulders, and caves, form a fitting retreat to the Cocinas or Rubber Indians. The celebrated Tota Guajira may be considered as belonging to this range, for although entirely isolated and some nine miles distant, it is intimately attached by two small separate hills. The Tota is certainly one of the most beautiful sights in the Guajira, and

S: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

[113] on a clear day can be seen from any point in it. On the west side a small hill attached spoils its beauty, seen from seawards, otherwise it is perfectly symmetrical in form. The Indians call it Jepita. It lies [103] in the Cardon district, and is the most dangerous portion of the Goajira. To visit it, I had to persuade Martin, one of the great chiefs, to ac- [115] company me with his three sons, uncles, nephews, &c. We started at daybreak, [illegible] all day, and arrived in time to see the sunset from the [129] top. We only saw three Indians the whole day, yet Martin assured me that all our movements were watched, and pointed out to me two probable places where an ambuscade would be planned for our return. We returned by a different road, getting back at 4 A.M. tired, hungry, and thirsty. I found the height to be 1200 feet above sea-level, or 900 feet above the plain. The rock is composed chiefly of trachyte with large crystals of felspar, similar to those of the Drachenfels on the Rhine. An also belonging to this group may be considered the two isolated hills rising in front of Cardon de los Remedios and Carrizal, close to the north spur of the Cojoro range, called Jallare. They are both insignificant and do not exceed 400 feet in height. The Cerros de Carpintero, a small group of hills behind the Cabo de la Vela, are of more importance, they are about 700 feet above sea-level. From Cabo de la Vela to Puerto Estrella, between the hills and the sea, are innumerable cliffs and banks rising to 200 feet, usually with very abrupt edges, and covered with rolled stones.

Rivers properly speaking there are none in the Goajira. The country is cut up in all directions by shallow, dry, sandy beds of water-courses, that during the rainy season carry off the water as fast as it falls. Not even the Macuira Hills are able to send a flowing stream to the sea during the summer, which here lasts at least eight months. It [562] will have been remarked that the Indians have no collective name for their mountains, each little projecting point rejoicing in its own name. With their streams it is still worse, for not only every water-hole adds a new title to a river—and these are innumerable, the custom being to dig for water in the sand of the watercourses, and as these wells dry up others are dug farther up stream—but every path that crosses the watercourse has its name. Even any prominent rock or large tree is enough to add to the interminable list of river nomenclature. On the plains below the Teta the drainage is effected by numerous small streams winding about in a most bewildering manner, and although perfectly dry, they usually have pools of muddy water at the bends. As the plain is little above sea-level, the water has cut deep zigzag channels, very different from the shallow sandy beds of the hills. The water remaining dammed up, instead of gravitating to the sea, causes the great fertility of the plains.

[97] The principal source of water for the Indians are wells. These are of two kinds; first, the most common, by digging, usually in the dry

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

bed of a watercourse. As the season advances, and the water recedes, they either dig after it or search for a lower level. Wells of 30 to 40 feet are very common. The water is reached by a staircase cut in the sand with an easy incline. Wells are easily distinguishable from a distance by the water-troughs, hollowed out of divi-divi trees, and called canoes. These are of the most distorted and grotesque shapes, and serve to water the herd. This is very hard work for the poor Indians during the summer months, and usually employs the whole day. Water from wells if taken early in the morning is always clear and cool. When bathing at a well the Indian uses a canoe; if he stops to drink, a bath invariably follows. Every well has a name, and the country is perforated by them like a mining camp. The wells of Chimare are phenomenal; dug out on the sea-shore, on a narrow strip of sand 100 yards in breadth, with the sea on one side and the salt-pans of Chimare, with layers of salt many feet thick, on the other, the water is, notwithstanding, perfectly fresh. There are seven holes about 10 feet deep. I may mention that Fairabi is the name of a celebrated well dug in the river that drains the eastern flank of Itsma. It means "salt," probably because the water is brackish.

Second in importance are the water-tanks or cuimbas. These are sometimes natural, as a small lake at the foot of Itsma and the cuimbas of Cojua, filtrations from the river Nalua, forming a large lake in the rainy season and many small dirty pools in summer, but nature aided by art is the rule. Some are immense undertakings, and large sheets of water, calculated to last a summer through if not too severe; such as Ariapé, the cuimba of Puerto Estrella, a large crescent-shaped piece of water of about a quarter of a square mile. The water of these cuimbas is always muddy and filthy for drinking purposes. The herds are driven in, and every Indian that passes is sure to bathe, so that in time almost a skin of grease forms on the top; and yet in places where they are it is the only water to be had, truly meat and drink combined.

The Goajira coast abounds in harbours and bays, but none of much importance. Between Rio Hacha and Cabo de la Vela, in the extensive bay formed by the latter, anchorage is found almost all along the coast. Numerous residents have become known through the commerce with the Indians, and quite a large trade is carried on in the small coasting schooners. Further along the coast are three large bays. The first, or Portete, is a large bay, well protected from the easterly trades, and is certainly the best port along the coast. Unfortunately the entrance is narrow, intricate, and with shoals. The next, Bahia Honda, is almost a complete oval, some eight miles long by three miles broad, and with an entrance of nearly three miles broad. It is separated from the sea by a stone wall from 60 to 80 feet at the highest, but not enough to protect the bay from the strong easterly winds that blow with such force here. It makes but a poor harbour, the surf inside during the afternoons pro-

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

133 504 venting anything being landed dry. The Columbian Government erected a guard-house at the entrance of this bay last year, but I am afraid it will have to be abandoned as untenable. Puerto Estrella makes a very bad port, the small trading schooners having to lie in under the breakers. This is the last recognized Columbian port, at least pending the arbitration question. The next good port is the Laguna de Tucacas, in the Gulf of Maracaybo. This place is much frequented by Venezuelans, and a trade has sprung up that if not checked will ruin the already drooping commerce of Rio Hacha. The last port on the coast is that of Uijoro, and spoken of as the future port of Maracaybo, with which it would have to be connected by rail, an engineering feat of not much difficulty. The ensenada or bay of Cabalonia has an innavigable, heavy, surf-beaten coast.

614 The peninsula is inhabited by only one tribe of Indians. These are subdivided into many families or castes, bearing much analogy to the ancient "clans" of Scotland. Each caste or rather family circle is united against all comers, taking up the quarrel of any one of its members to make it general. The Goajiros are strictly conservative and aristocratic 556 in their ideas, wealth and interest are omnipotent. A poor man may be [578] insulted with impunity, when the same to a rich man would cause certain bloodshed. They have no veritable rulers, but each community [622] recognizes the wealthiest of its members as the chief or cacique, as he has been dubbed by the Spaniards, and look to him for protection. An Indian born poor, cannot become wealthy and great. Whatever heads he may accumulate, his humble origin would never be forgotten; he could, however, marry into a high caste family, having the tocuna, and [557] his children would become, through their mother's relations, great chiefs. 614 Besides the tocuna, each caste or family represents some animal, and many of the minor castes, over and above their own symbol, adopt another of some more powerful denomination, to enjoy the privilege of a good protector. There are at present, altogether, some thirty odd castes among the Goajiros. Of these I was able to discover the names of twenty-two. The remainder are insignificant, little known castes, chiefly inhabiting the hills. There are about ten of importance, chief among them the "Uriaoas." This, the largest caste in the Goajiro, has subdivided or split up into many ramifications, such as Uriaoa tiger, Uriaoa rabbit, Uriaoa pointerie (a song bird), Uriaoa gecko (lizard). This family is at present not only by far the most numerous, but also the richest; due to its connections by marriage with the Pushaines, formerly the wealthiest of the land. The Pushaines are to-day still [558] great holders of tocuna and ornaments, but with the Indian, only cattle, mules, and horses are real estate. The Uriaoas on receiving the tocuna, sold out for cattle. The second in numbers are the Epinayas, as a rule they are poor. Under their protection are the Sarouas, again under these the small caste of the Guaquaiyuas. A full list will be given

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6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
SC13 Guajro SC13

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ASPECTS OF THE AVUNCULATE IN THE GUAJIRO CULTURE

Antonino Santa Cruz
Catholic University of America

THE Guajira peninsula is situated in the northwest corner 131
of Colombia, South America, roughly between the 71° and 133
72° W. long., and 11° and 12° N. lat. It is rather flat in
contour with only some hill ranges in the eastern part. Rain- [132]
fall is scarce and the vegetation is of a semi-arid type. The 101
region is inhabited by one tribe of Indians, the Arawak-speak- 197
ing Guajiros. Both culturally and linguistically the Guajira
peninsula presents a uniform block.

The present writer visited the territory in the summer of 1940, 114
but due to illness contracted there was forced to cut short his
visit. Fairly full data were gathered on all phases of social
culture. The present paper deals with certain aspects of one
phase only, the avunculate.

The role of the maternal uncle is manifold in Guajiro culture, 604
organized as the Guajiro are into maternal clans. Types of be- [604]
havior, both prescribed and informalized, vary, depending on
the seniority of both uncle and nephew, but so on that of
sisters. In this paper we shall be concerned for the most part 121
with the prescribed and voluntary relations between the oldest
brother of a given woman and her oldest son, and between this
oldest brother and his sisters' daughters. Other relations not
involving these specified kin will be touched upon only inciden-
tally for illustrative purposes.

[p. 1]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

in a wide woman's tunic, dyed black with divi-divi. Her face was painted black, too. At her age that could scarcely have been necessary to save her complexion, but such painting is also a protection against dangerous spirits. The Gaffer carried his ceremonial dress with him, tucked away somewhere. This consisted of an oblong piece of cloth sewn up along one side and with a hole for the head at the top. It is worn draped in such a way that the chest is bare.

Thus our caravan made its way along. The animals' shadows contracted further and further. Soon the sun would be right overhead. The very air seemed to have melted in the heat, and the blue hills in the distance had begun to dissolve. Here and there grew a cactus, otherwise there was nothing but sand and salt to be seen. Slowly the caravan crept along. We spurred our mules and rode on ahead, but after a while we had to turn back in order not to go astray. We found the Gaffer riding and the Gammer walking. The Gaffer could hardly stick on. He swayed in the saddle, for he was as drunk as a lord, having smuggled with him a calabash containing spirits instead of water.

He was just about to take another pull as we came galloping up, and he was so frightened that he dropped the calabash, which smashed and the spirits ran out. At that we searched the old couple's baggage, despite their protests, and found another calabash of spirits. We gave the Gaffer a large coin for it. The two young ones were delighted at his misfortune, for his baggage had given them a lot of trouble. It was obvious that the Gaffer had started drinking early, for the loads on the donkeys in his charge were badly secured and danced about, so that one after the other had to be lashed on afresh.

We told the Gammer that she must restrain her old man, an order which the interpreter undoubtedly passed on, probably with some comments of his own. The Gammer was not popular with the two young ones, and Bristles would not lack the courage to tell a woman a few home truths. Gradually the Gaffer sobered up, and a good thing he did, for we were approaching an Indian rancho, where he would have to act as spokesman for me.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

hopnig for a taste of the kid. The Indians always share what they have.

When nothing remained of the kid but some well-gnawed bones, a wrinkled old man with a straggling beard approached. He looked famished and we gave him a couple of hooves, which he split and sucked at, while our men cracked the bones for themselves. The newcomer had to have tobacco too, so I gave him a cigar and a box of matches. He turned the matches this way and that in amazement, obviously never having seen such a thing before. He handed it back to me and I showed him how to strike a match, at which he gave a great jump. I had to light my own cigar before he dared let me put the match to his.

Then a group of Indians on horseback came galloping up. Just as they reached us a gust of wind bowled the tent over and a flying tent peg struck my wife on the mouth making it bleed. The newcomers were all young, unarmed men. They dismounted, flocked round my wife, examined her mouth rather roughly, but with the best intentions, bewailing the accident. They then tore Gladrvet's hat off his head and handed it to my wife as suitable compensation for the damage, appearing to be delighted with their judgment. I distributed tobacco and they and the thin old man gobbled up the water in which the kid had been cooked and which our Indians had somehow left in the pot. The young men then rode off, laughing gaily.

Our men did not seem to approve of their visit. They wanted us to move on again at once, as if they thought the young men were spies, so our little caravan moved off, leaving the wrinkled old man sitting there, smiling a wan old man's smile.

We travelled on across hillocks covered with dry scrub. The ground was strewn with bleached bones. Then we came to sparse divi-divi woods, and towards evening we saw ahead of us a wide savanna covered with sparse short grass, on which thin cows, bony horses and woolly sheep were grazing, and in the background rose the shadowy silhouette of hills. These, we felt, must be the Macuira Hills; and the Indians we met confirmed that they were.

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

We had gone round Sierra Chimare to the north. Understandably enough, since it was the monks' name, nobody seemed to have heard of Nazaret, but they did not react to Ambururu either.

Macuira is quite a large complex of hills, and if the Indians were going to be unable to help us, it might prove quite difficult to find the mission station. Suddenly a man came up on a horse. He was wearing trousers. He was so astonished to see us that he nearly tumbled off and his horse became restive. We told him who we were and where we were going, and his face lit up.

'Let us camp together,' he suggested. 'I have a camp under a tree that is large enough for you as well. I have a herd of goats that I am driving home.'

We went with the man, who was a mestizo—and had two Indian wives, who helped my wife make goat stew.

In Goajira you can sleep in the open perfectly well during most of the year, but it is more pleasant to lie under a tree. The mestizo was able to tell us exactly how to get to Nazaret.

We broke camp at daybreak, before the sun had begun to send its shafts through the sparse leaves of the tree. We three whites started off at a good pace, and soon the mestizo with his goats and our own pack animals had dropped behind. Before long we came in among hillocks sparsely clad with divi-divi and other bushes and trees that did not mind drought. This sort of vegetation the Indians call a wood. The hours passed; the sun was unmercifully hot, as it always was. Our tongues were stuck to our gums by thirst, and a persistent breeze filled our ears with sand. We did not mind, however, for paradise was not far away.

The trees were all withered and leafless. Then we came to valleys filled with white sand, that in places formed terraces. The mules' hoofs sank in deep. I realized why we came across sand so far from the sea: all that part of the hills had sunk into the sea during the quaternary period, and had then risen again carrying the sand with it.

Then a hill like a sugar-loaf emerged. That was Irabiet, about which we had been told, and we knew that we were

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Guajiro SC13

not far from the mission station. Indoor means 'roast corn' and it does look like a dark golden brown giant corn-cob. Suddenly we were in a valley that was all green. We had to rub our eyes. Not only grass grew there, but tall trees with fresh green leaves. The crown of coconut palms waved high above them. We saw bananas, maize, and all sorts of fruit trees. What a miracle! The cause of it was a little stream that had water in it almost all the year round, though it petered out in sand on its way to the sea. We enjoyed the greenery, the smells and the bird song, and watched the multi-coloured butterflies. The valley was not inhabited; it was a field. After that we came to more white sand, where everything was just as arid as before.

Nazaret lay in the middle of this sea of sand. Ahead of us we saw some whitewashed buildings with green roofs and one larger building with a turret. A monk came walking briskly to greet us, his white beard waving in the breeze. This was Father Salvador, whom we knew from a trip we had made farther south five years before. He had then been stationed at the foot of the Andes and his flowing beard had been brown. How old he had grown! The desert seemed to have aged him by twenty years at least, we thought. Then the other monks emerged and friendly men took charge of my wife.

We had good, sweet water, decent food and black coffee. The kindly fathers at once set about preparing a whitewashed hut for us. They wanted us to stay for some time, make Nazaret our headquarters, from which we could go to the Indian camps in the surrounding country, which we would then get to know. They would also find us good guides.

Then our Indians arrived with our baggage. We paid them and dismissed them. We could not help laughing when Gaffer insisted that he could be of great use to us as a guide, for he had neither been there before, nor even been able to find his way there. His old wife had taken advantage of our absence to appropriate a number of our things, including an aluminium saucepan. This came to light because her pack looked suspiciously bulky and had to be searched, so her

7:Bolinder T-5 (1928, 1955) 1957
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CHAPTER 5

Slaves and Slave-dealers

We had expected lush green valleys and then the mission station lying on its terrace of sand was to some extent a disappointment. There was greenery in the area, as we knew from having passed it on the way, but it was quite far off and one had to wade laboriously through deep sand to reach it.

These green valleys could be called oases. Nazaret, perhaps, was the one relatively peaceful place on the whole peninsula. The Indians respected the monks, who were kindly, understanding, civilized people. Nazaret was a fixed point and the only place where we could set up a headquarters from which to make excursions of varying length; otherwise we would have to travel and keep travelling all the time we were in Guajira. There were supplies of food there and drinking water. They had a rainwater cistern and also a cuatiche with clear water that never seemed to run dry. It had cost them a lot of labour and effort to erect the buildings there. All the materials had been brought by pack-donkey from Puerto Estrella, to which it was taken in schooners. Maize, sugar and other such provisions still had to be fetched the same way. They were not always able to get some from the Indians. Once it was nearly three months before they could replenish their larder. They had great difficulty in preserving things from ants, which were as numerous there as everywhere in tropical South America, to say nothing of other noxious creatures.

The monks and nuns together looked after two hundred Indian children, and their support was not to be hazarded. The Capuchins always concentrate on the children, whom

7:Bellinder T-5 (1920, 1933) 1937
SC13 Guajiro SC13

And her eyes shone at the recollection of the now forbidden pleasures of her girlhood.

When I went on trips in the surrounding country I usually had Francisco with me and often my wife. Anita had then to be ready to feed us when we came home, whether it were the same day, or the next, or three days later. In such things Indian women have patience. They know how to wait, and they are never surprised.

We began our exploration of the brown hills and green valleys of Macuira with a long trip on foot. Laboriously we waded through the fine sand. This is almost firm when it is damp, but it was then the dry season and the sand was loose. We were going to visit relatives of Francisco, simple people, but not actually poor. To us who had already had a certain amount to do with Indians, it was a surprise to find ourselves dealing in such categories as 'rich', 'poor', 'well-to-do', etc., just as though we were concerned with white people. Among all other Indians the difference in economic status between individuals had been relatively insignificant, as, presumably, it had been among the Guajiro before they took to herding cattle.

The Indians we were to visit lived in a beautiful place, just on the fringe of a watered valley between purple brown heights, with the peak of Inuhor dominating the landscape. The valley was like a green Bengal fire against its parched background. There were two huts, built of cactus wood and with roofs of the same material. They were saddle-backed and linked by a wall, which acted as a shield against the wind, that there always blows in the same direction. In front of this wall, that is between the two houses, were the fires. Round about were shelves covered with grass and erected on four poles. The Creoles call these *trojas*. You can sit under them and be out of the sun, and cooking utensils and stores can be kept on them out of reach of animals. Here and there were hammocks stretched between poles stuck in the ground, and there were other poles used in the all but daily butchering of a goat or sheep. Round these there were dark patches on the ground.

Having Francisco with us we were naturally well re-

T:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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La Tina rising above the cactus steppe

Typical Guajira landscape with dust-dust trees

[Facing p. 88]

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

231 Later that day we reached the coast at Castilletes. It was
222 desert country there, dreary, full of sand-dunes and fur-
[159] rowed with salt water channels. There we came across an emaciated horse, a poor beast that had obviously strayed and was now desperately looking for water and grazing that did not exist. It stopped and drank sea-water. It must have been dying, and the kindest thing would have been to shoot it, but that could have cost us dear. The owner would have demanded unreasonable compensation. Instead, the Indians went to see what clan mark it had, so that they could report to their fellows in Castilletes. News spreads quickly among the Indians. The owner would not have much joy of his horse, for the hide could not be worth much, but he would learn where it was to be found.

Francisco got us to Castilletes easily. He had been there often before, even once on our behalf—to fetch gold, literally, for we were expecting a transfer of money from Caracas and it came in the form of gold. American, Venezuelan and Colombian gold and silver coinage circulated in Guajira, but the Indians would have nothing to do with notes.

69 There was, of course, a certain risk in conveying several hundred gold coins through Guajira from a slave-port like Castilletes, where there were plenty of shady characters. The money, however, was packed in boxes made for photographic plates and the same schooner from Maracaibo brought some packages for the monks, to whom our money was also addressed. The boxes interested neither Caracas nor others. Francisco rode a wretched horse and had dressed in his worst jacket and a pair of indecently ragged trousers, so that he did not look as though he were carrying large sums on him, while his horse would not have tempted any thief. Thus, all had gone well, Francisco had not been nervous, though we had.

070 Castilletes was the only place on the south coast where white people lived and to which whites frequently came. Schooners from Venezuela put in there. The frontier between Colombia and Venezuela ran between the houses, of which there were about a dozen in those days. The sur-

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

Indians also had to have some of it. Fortunately, we had plenty of oatmeal, and we got the Indians to eat porridge. 579

The Indians we met, almost all on foot, were well armed with lots of arrows and often a gun and a well-stuffed cartridge belt besides. Custom required that all we met should be given tobacco, but the Cusina being reputed expert at seizing an outstretched hand and pulling a rider off his horse, we did as the Indian chiefs do and without pulling up threw a cigar to those we met with a gay injunction to catch it. 576

The shadowy figures that slipped away among the cactus trees when we met them by night were most suspicious. These were not pleasant encounters. Even by moonlight anyone could see that we were three white people, but whether the shadows were Cusina or others with bad consciences we could not tell. Our large packages must have looked desirable to Cusina eyes, but they largely consisted of Indian things, that is to say, our collections. The brigands would have been disappointed if they had opened them!

The hills we now had to the north of us were quite different in character from the gentle Macuira Hills. Tall, menacing masses of stone rose up here and there flanked by razor-sharp ridges. In the naked, grim ravines among them dwelled the Cusina, spying out across the plain from the verges of sheer precipices, like vultures looking for their prey. One evening, we came to another abandoned rancho beside a cuimbe. We had already unsaddled and stacked the packs, when we discovered that the cuimbe was empty. The Indians knew there was another water-hole not far away. The animals had to be watered, so despite the risk involved, we had to split up. 133

We three white people stayed with the baggage, while the Indians went off with the animals and our water-vessels. My wife had fever and had to lie down, which she did with her little pistol beside her. Gladwyn and I kept watch, rifle in hand. We had piled the baggage on a slight eminence, so that even in the darkness we had a certain view of our surroundings. Meanwhile our men had vanished in thick divi-divi scrub, in which anyone but an Indian would have got

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7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957

SC13 Goajiro SC13

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8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

THE GOAJIRO

By John M. Armstrong and Alfred Métraux

THE REGION

The Goajira Peninsula, projecting as part of Colombia northward into the Caribbean Sea, contains an area of about 5,000 square miles, bordered on the east by the Gulf of Venezuela. The broad level plain known as Lower Goajira occupies the base of the peninsula, while the northern extremity is known as Upper Goajira and is characterized by three distinct ranges of hills. These hills have a maximum height of 2,600 feet (about 780 m.) and are separated from each other by two broad plains which run from sea to sea. The country is dry and infertile, the vegetation consisting of divi-divi, cactus, pricklypear, and other xerophitic plants. Even these are absent where bare rock and stone slides preclude vegetation. Rivers are almost nonexistent, the country being cut in all directions by shallow, dry, sandy water courses which drain off rain as it falls. In the south and west, on the treeless prairies or savannas, the land is more hospitable. Here the Indians do most of their stock raising. [131] 133 [137] [231]

LOCATION AND HISTORY

The pastoral *Goajiro* who inhabit this peninsula (map 6) differ profoundly from the agricultural forest-dwelling *Motilones* and *Arhuaco* to the south. Juan de Castellanos, in his "Elegías de los Varones Ilustres" (1874), is the first to allude to these Indians, though he calls them *Cosina*. He states that in his time, about 1550, cattle were already abundant in the area. It seems that the adoption of pastoral life by the *Goajiro* took place soon after the Spanish settlement of that part of the continent. The name *Goajiro* was, however, already known in the 16th century and was applied first by Pedro Simón (1882–92). The first reliable ethnographic information about the *Goajiro* goes back to José Nicolás de la Rosa (Nicholás, 1901) and Antonio Julián, who both visited these Indians in the 18th century. Jahn (1927, pp. 119–136) has gathered the few data concerning the *Goajiro* which he found in the early literature. A short summary of the first description of these Indians is given by Hernández de Alba (1936, pp. 8–12). 101 [231] 171 114

132 133 [3] La Guajira is a semidesert region, a condition to which four essential factors contribute, in our opinion: 1) the presence of sandy soil which absorbs the water of the small arroyos which flow from the mountain ridges; 2) the constant trade winds which blow strongly from the northeast over the peninsula and tend to temper the climate somewhat; 3) the lack of any real relief with elevations of importance which could act as a barrier to the clouds laden with moisture which are blown by the force of the winds toward the interior regions of the continent; 4) the high atmospheric temperatures which reach 42°C. in the shade at noon and are only slightly tempered by the trade winds and sea breezes.

These factors largely determine the hydrography of the peninsula in which, it may be said, there are only two permanent rivers, the Río Hacha, which forms the boundary with the neighboring department of Magdalena, and the arroyo Paraguichón, which marks the boundary with the republic of Venezuela. Beyond this the region is subject to the seasonal cycle of rainfall, which divides itself into a completely dry summer season with only rare light showers in what might be called spring (approximately in April) and a winter season with violent rains. This last season covers approximately the months of September to December/January, while the first, with the exception of the occasional rains in spring already mentioned, covers the remaining months of the year.

133 134 [164] All these facts convert the peninsula during the summer season into a true desert without vegetation, with the earth covered with loose sand, particles of which are blown into the air by the prevailing winds, causing considerable trouble to travelers and even giving rise to eye infections among the natives. But in winter, when the abundant and copious rains have fallen, the soil, which in parts is below sea level, becomes so flooded that at times all land communications are totally obstructed even on improved [barradura] roads; the dry beds of currents of water are converted into true arroyos, water holes into ponds, and everything is an immense sea of fresh water.

133 312 One must also take into account the presence of some few lakes, such as Guaraguarao, near Marañamana; Soledad, 20 kilometers south of Pájaro; Caranía, approximately 30 kilometers west of Ríohacha; Sararapa, near Puerto López; and Cuina,

[1] Introduction

[3] La Guajira Peninsula is situated between 12°-28'-30" and 10°-56" north latitude and 1°-11' and 3° east longitude, taking as a base the meridian of Bogotá. It occupies the northeastern part of Colombia and the most northernmost part of the South American continent. Its boundaries can be defined as follows: on the north and west the Caribbean Sea, on the east Lake Maracaibo, and on the south the department of Magdalena and the neighboring republic of Venezuela. In other words, the Caribbean Sea, Lake Maracaibo, the Río Hacha, and the arroyo Paraguaichón serve as natural boundaries. Part of this peninsula belongs to the republic of Colombia and part, the smaller area, to Venezuela.

[33] Its general geological formation appears to be due to the elevation of marine strata, since fossils of sea fauna are found in the subsoil. Its soil is composed of clay, sand, and calcareous strata on the plains, the higher parts belonging to a more ancient formation composed of volcanic rocks, crystalline slate, granite, [35] marble, and jasper, covered by layers of limestone. The predominating minerals are: gypsum, carbonate of lime, argonite, mica, iron oxes, and some outcroppings of lignite which have not been exploited up to the present time.

[33] La Guajira proper, as a natural geographical region, starts in the west with the last spurs of the Montes de Oca, a continuation of the Cordillera Oriental in Colombia which crosses the Sierra de Perijá and Serranía de los Motilones, mountains whose beneficial influence is felt in the zones of Carraipía and Paraguaichón. But the characteristic relief starts in the southwestern neck and is composed of isolated ridges of mountains whose general orientation is northwest-southeast, running from west to east and known by the names of Cojoro, Jarara, and Macuira. The last has the [2] highest altitude in La Guajira, 857 meters above sea level, according to Brun (1), and runs out between Jiguaipolu and Parajimarú on the

[113]

1. Cited by Pichón in Geografía de la Península Guajira [Geography of La Guajira Peninsula].

eastern coast of the peninsula.

[2 cont.]

133 The greater part of the coast of La Guajira, which measures in all some 350 kilometers, belongs to Colombia. It starts from the Río Hacha in the west and extends to Lake Maracaibo in the east. It may be divided into two general parts, one low and liable to flooding, the other highland rising sheer from the coast. The low part starts from Pajaina Channel, which flows into Lake Maracaibo in front of San Carlos Island and continues approximately to the port of Cojoro. From there onward the land rises from the sea in the form of cliffs roughly to the level of Castilletes, a point where the coast level descends slightly to rise again near Punta Espada due to the eastern spurs from the Sierra de Macuira, which, as we have noted in previous paragraphs, then lose themselves in the sea. From this point, going always toward the west, the coast is rocky and inaccessible because of its continental structure.

[195 317] In the far western part of the La Guajira coast we find the most important saltworks that are being exploited in the country, such as those of Pájaro, Manaure, and Bahía Honda which supply salt to the major part of the coastal departments and even to those in the interior of the republic. The coast of this part has numerous beautiful and deep bays among which Bahía Honda is outstanding. [136] Along the coast rich fishing grounds are found, such as Bahía Honda, Cabo de la Vela, Cardón, and Carrizal, centers of fishing and pearl exploitation. Unfortunately, it has not been found practicable to make use of all the commercial navigation [31a] and fishing possibilities of this coast due to the absence of potable water in the vicinity. This we were well able to appreciate when we found that the water required for drinking in Carrizal and San José de Bahía Honda, during our stay in these regions, was transported distances greater than ten kilometers.

361 504 The most important ports of the coast of La Guajira, from west to east, are Ahuyama; Manaure, center of the salt industry; Cardón and Carrizal, pearl fishing centers; San José de Bahía Honda, on the bay of the same name, also engaged in the salt industry, and Puerto Estrella, center of the maritime traffic of motorized sailing boats plying between the islands of Aruba and Curaçao, and Puerto López.

/15 cont./

/ajuar/ for the coming child. Many times the mother is forced to improvise items by using old robes to wrap him in or a bag made of agave fiber for his hammock to protect him from the cold at night.

The Guajiro woman who is in contact with civilization and is comfortably off economically prepares a hammock for the arrival of the child, or weaves it or has it made afterward, using the hanks of cotton thread she has received as gifts. Children wear clothes only when they go on trips. If they are baptized in the Catholic faith, they receive their outfit /ajuar/ from their godmother, who is also expected to present a dress to the mother. As the child usually goes about naked, they do not make any clothes to wear. Some rather long cloths useful as swaddling clothes and coverlets are prepared and serve various purposes. Wherever possible the mothers try to avoid the child's dirtying them with his excretions, in order to lighten the problem of cleanliness, since water is scarce. /16/

Neither are the Guajiro mothers in the habit of wrapping bellybands round their infants. The navel is left exposed even when it is not completely healed. For this reason ruptures are frequent as well as the death of the newly born due to infection of the navel. But they do use a kind of awning fixed over the child's hammock to protect him from falling centipedes, snakes, and scorpions that abound in the roofs of the huts, which are covered with plant materials.

• • •

Care, training, and treatment of young children. From birth the child is looked after by people other than his mother, as she is obliged to seek such assistance to be able to attend to her other domestic obligations or to rest and have someone to whom she can delegate this care. When she goes to a place relatively near by, the mother does not take the child but leaves it in the care of his older brothers and sisters or her relatives, when they

[9 cont.]

(33) The greater part of the coast of La Guajira, which measures in all some 300 kilometers, belongs to Colombia. It starts from the Río Hacha in the west and extends to Lake Maracaibo in the east. It may be divided into two general parts, one low and liable to flooding, the other highland rising sheer from the coast. The low part starts from Pajaina Channel, which flows into Lake Maracaibo in front of San Carlos Island and continues approximately to the port of Cojoro. From there onward the land rises from the sea in the form of cliffs roughly to the level of Castillete, a point where the coast level descends slightly to rise again near Punta Espada due to the eastern spur from the Sierra de Macuira, which, as we have noted in previous paragraphs, then lose themselves in the sea. From this point, going always toward the west, the coast is rocky and inaccessible because of its continental structure.

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?:Bollinder T-5 (1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

Our provisions were at an end. We had been too generous and not rationed them strictly, the men having complained of hunger the whole time. Now we were suffering for it.

Away in the distance, well out of range, we saw a *venado*, a deer, making off through the cactus with graceful bounds. Where did the deer drink? Surely they would not dare approach the Indians' water-holes, which were either guarded or covered.

'Deer do not drink,' said the Indians. 'They are content with the dew they can lick out of the cactus flowers.'

We were thus without both food and water. We whites had tinned food, but the Indians only appreciated the empty tins. The Lad then offered to get us some food and water. He had not been away more than an hour, when he returned with a young girl carrying a live kid in her arms. She wore nothing but the remnants of a woman's loin cloth, and apparently knew that white people did not approve of nakedness, for she tried to hide her charms behind the kid. We therefore gave her a piece of white cloth in payment, although it was really a pity to let her cover herself, for she was the shapeliest Indian girl we had yet seen in the peninsula. The cloth would protect her from the sun and make her fair-skinned and beautiful, so she was overjoyed and offered to show us the way to what she said was a much better water hole.

This new water hole was shaded by some divi-divi trees—the trees were withered and their shade sparse—and surrounded by reddish hillocks. It was not very deep and a couple of women were bathing in it. They paid no attention to us, nakedness in the bath being considered decent. Our Indians and animals were able to drink as much as they liked there, and we also filled our water-containers. Then we moved on looking for a suitable place in which to eat our goat in peace.

Gladkvet, our photographer, put up the tent to give us a little shade, and meanwhile the Indians slaughtered the kid and cut it up. My wife cooked the pieces we had taken for ourselves, helped by the little girl who had come with us. She was now wearing the piece of cloth like a pinafore and

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

piece made the arrow stick in a bush, instead of piercing through it. Other arrows were really harpoons. The head was fastened to the shaft by a string wound round it; it loosened on impact, and the shaft with its cross-piece stuck in the bush, preventing the wounded animal from escaping. One of the youths shot arrows that whistled when they flew through the air. The sound was made by a small hollow seed-case fixed to the shaft. I asked about poisoned arrows and after some hesitation, they produced one, the only one they had. They would not part with it. 411

Here, at last, was one of the notorious poisoned arrows for which both the Indians themselves and the white men entertained the greatest respect. As usual with South American arrows, this one was made of a light reed shaft, into which was stuck a plug of wood to which the actual head was fastened. This consisted of the tail-barb of a sting-ray. The early conquerors of this part of South America encountered Indians who used arrows with heads made of fish-spines. The point of these arrows is roughly four inches long; it is thin and narrow and has fine barbs. It is stuck into the wooden plug, which is split vertically, and secured with a binding of thread. The Indians showed us how easily it became detached. The barbs made it difficult to pull out, and they said that it often broke off, leaving a piece in the wound. [825]

Sting-rays are not uncommon in the lagoons of the border areas of Guajira, and during the rains they are to be found everywhere. They follow the rivers up from the sea and seem to like shallow water, where they lie treacherously buried in the mud of the bottom. If you tread on one, it gives you a very nasty sting. Are they poisonous? Some people say that they are. Some travel writers of the present day have tried to give their readers that impression, but it is not correct. The wound, however, is painful and difficult to heal. It becomes easily infected, which is due to the membranes adhering to the sting. That is what the well-known toxicologist who made an exhaustive examination of my Guajiro arrows when I returned home stated. He pointed out that the sting-ray is also found in the Mediterranean, 136 136 411

7:Bollnder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

136 and that one classic Greek author says that Odysseus himself died as the result of a thrust from a spear which had a ray's sting for a head. If that were the case, the head must have been poisoned, or else there was infection. The sting of the Mediterranean ray is not poisonous in itself. Guajiro arrows, however, are poisoned with a grey-yellow substance adhering to the head. The Indians carefully removed the reed case protecting the head and showed me the poison. I asked what the stuff was made of, but they did not know. That, they said, was the secret of the piaches, the medicine men; and they also said that they did not even know where the arrows came from, nor who prepared the poison. Francisco later assured us that they were telling the truth. Poisoned arrows were rare nowadays, he said, and difficult to come by. I told him to inquire about such arrows everywhere, and that I should gladly pay well for them. This he did, and I had got quite a little collection before I left Guajira. It is now priceless. The manufacture of poisoned arrows seems to have ceased a few years later.

The accounts of the Indians and white people agreed that no effect of the poison was felt until some days later; the wounded person had violent attacks of cramp which quickly caused death. The wound made by the brittle point was not serious in itself and never mortal, which made the effects of it seem all the more mysterious and fateful.

Celedon, a priest who wrote a description of the arrows in the nineteenth century, and several later writers, have said that the poison is prepared by pounding poisonous creatures, snakes, frogs, spiders and ants to a pulp, which is allowed to lie and rot. Eventually the pulp is boiled, and all sorts of precautions are taken, the preparation of poison being generally considered a hazardous undertaking. The details these writers give of all the poisonous animals used would seem to be apocryphal. The Indians like telling fantastic stories about the arrows, and even the early conquerors were regaled with them. However, if a mass consisting of rotting animal remains is thoroughly boiled there cannot be any live bacteria left to cause an infection, and as long as there was an interval before the 'poison' took

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajira SC13

our hammocks to sleep. When I was a student, one of the very stock questions asked by our professor of geography was: 'Why don't the Indians of Patagonia sleep in hammocks?' The correct answer was: 'The trees are too few and far between.' The Indians of Guajira took stakes with them, which they drove into the hard ground when they made camp; but we could not give our animals such an extra burden and so had to sleep on the ground where there were ants and giant millipedes. Cactus bushes could suddenly come to life and a branch stretch towards one with spikes jutting, ready to sting, so good was their camouflage when sitting on a cactus.

We now met some very friendly Indians. As they sat by their fire they began telling myths and legends, and when they noticed that we were interested they continued. We learned that some blocks of stone that we would see the next morning and which had human shape, were really white people who had been petrified. They had died of thirst. Arijuna, the white ones, cannot stand thirst. The Indians can go three days without water, but the white man will endure only one. Therefore Mareiwa, the rain-spirit, said to the white people: 'You live for ever dying of thirst.'

We agreed with that.

We could hear the roar of surf. Calimaule, the old Bearded One, told us that the noise really came from wild cattle bellowing out there, having been hunted and finally driven out into the water where some were transformed into turtles, others into rocks.

'There are dangers, here,' the old man went on. There's a majayura, a maiden, lives in a cave in one rock, and lures men to their doom. No living person can enter the cave, but the siren—we can call her that—roams around in rich and beautiful clothes. (She shows similarities, like her Moorish counterpart, to our water- or wood-nymphs.) The majayura now and again emerges by day as well, shows herself to someone she likes, leads him astray and to her grotto, where she lets him taste of her mysteries. He is so enchanted by his experiences that he never returns. That

[9 cont.]

[33] adjacent to the barrios of Sabia, also one must consider the
362 water holes, shallow depressions in the ground which store rain water for some time and are utilized as watering places for livestock. Besides these sources of water, [6] the Guajiro digs wells [cacimbas] in the dry beds of arroyos, generally, having to excavate to depths of 30 vara at times to reach the underground water. Windmills, which the Water Department of the Ministry of Ba-
[653] tional Economy has been constructing for some years past, have helped to solve the water problem so here or a few dams, such as those in Ipatarú and Carraperamana.

[37] The factors which we have been describing determine vegetation in La Guajira, which is mainly comprised of thorny creepers, small thickets, cactus, thorn trees, and some wooded areas, especially in the mountain ridges and their spurs, where one finds an abundance of divi-divi, the [illegible], indigo, the [illegible], [a resinous gum tree], guayacan, the cedar, oak, cherry, and olive, the last two being fruit trees. On the banks of the coves and bays the mangroves grows abundantly.

During the rainy season in the peninsula, the sandy soil is covered with grass and bamboos and briars and the woods [montes] become green again, giving a splendid background of color to the whole countryside, but in the summer season all the trees lose their foliage and look like burned logs; the smaller plants disappear, leaving the surface bare to the mercies of the burning sand and showing as characteristic patches the tall cacti with arms raised like great candelabra. The only different shades of color are provided by the olive trees, which never dry out and always show their fresh green foliage and darker fruit, and by some small oases of vegetation on the shores of ponds and water holes.

221 For this same reason the economy of La Guajira and the people's life in general swings like a great pendulum between two extremes -- summer and winter. Their principal activity, stock grazing, requires rainfall to maintain pasture and to provide water in the water holes and wells. Agriculture, their other occupation, requires sufficient humidity for the germination of the seed and for maintaining the life of the plants. Winter in La Guajira means good living, abundance, satisfaction. Summer,

[145 cont.]

776 2. According to data collected in the field among the peo-
773 ple, the son of God (Mareiwa) exists. He was born from the union of the waves and the clouds in a place called Pulówi, in certain "sacred" lakes where human beings may not go, situated in the Sierra Nevada, where there are a number of both fresh- and salt-water lakes surrounded by medicinal plants. Mareiwa
[821] on occasion descends to these places, and it is at these times that heavy rainfall occurs in La Guajira, that is, during the seasons which in the peninsula are called autumn, spring, and winter. Then all the vegetation sprouts, and all the trees, pasture, and plants are green.

3. Another legend states that Mareiwa was born of a woman who became pregnant when, being in her monthly period, she was greatly frightened by the spectacle of a tremendous storm. Without having sexual relations with any mortal, she afterward gave birth in the same way as other women.

4. Guajiro legends relating to Mareiwa also assert that he was born under an olive tree (77) in some place in La Guajira.

[137]

77. The olive tree we refer to in these paragraphs is not the same as that of temperate zones but is an autochthonous tree, whose similarity to the former justifies its name.

The importance of this legend stems from the peculiar character of the tree, which is the only one belonging to the Guajiro flora that escapes the effects of long summers and is always fresh and green, keeping its leaves and bearing fruit throughout the year.

787 5. In his propitiation of the rains when summer lasts too
776 long, the shaman invokes his protector spirits, spirits of good,
821 and especially Fumayule, the name by which curers [curanderos] know Mareiwa.

776 6. In the work and paragraphs already quoted from the
821 work of Professor Hernández de Alba, we find a new relation between Mareiwa and rain; he says: "Mareigua. Everything that is good for the Guajiro: rain, abundance... and He saved

S:Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajira SC13

172 these tresses are all made from cornelian, jasper, or other reddish varieties of silica, and the stone, according to the Indians, is not to be found in the Goajira. While ascending Macuira, several places were pointed out to me, especially near the top, in which I was entreated to look for treasure "of the Arhuacos." They themselves, although covering tresses above everything, are, curiously enough, afraid to look for them, not hesitating, [171] however, to appropriate any found by chance. This, combined with the fear of mutilating their dead, points to some sort of religion or belief in a superior Being. They evidently took possession by conquest, 174 driving the weaker "Arhuacos" out, and have managed to assert their rights to this day. It is rather an historical anomaly that such a small [161] tribe, which probably never exceeded 60,000, should have been able to preserve intact their absolute freedom, their manners and customs uncontaminated, in spite of the accessibility of their territory, surrounded as it is by the sea, and the continual commerce that has been going on for centuries.

133 Commencing with the topography of the country, the mountain system attracts attention most—more so, as a remarkable error has been propagated, that the Goajira is one large fertile plain with only one or two isolated hills. At least one-half of the country is hilly. There are in fact two Goajiras; one known as the Lower Goajira is the broad level plain extending from the river Rancheria to a little beyond the Tota. The other, or Upper, Goajira is the hilly sterile region between the Tota and Punta Espada. The Upper Goajira is simply a volcanic eruption, a conglomeration of low hills, conspicuous from the many cone-shaped forms, and the parallel ridges in which they have been thrown up. These parallel lines run chiefly north-west by south-east, and are separated by two large plains, thus forming three distinct groups of hills running from sea to sea. The first and most important of the three is the easterly or Macuira range. This fine, bold, interesting mountain mass rises in front of Chimare, about 12 miles from the sea-shore, and terminates at the most easterly point of the Goajira, forming the rocky headland known as the Punta Espada (Juridn). Due to its elevation and position, it serves as a species of cloud-trap detaining the lower clouds that drive in from seawards impelled by the easterly or trade winds, that blow here with great force most part of the year. This is the only spot in all the Goajira that can really be called fertile. I ascended the two highest points. The north or Macuira proper lies in front of Puerto Estrella, and is composed of several peaks ranging between 2400 and 2600 feet above sea-level. 133 241 None of them offer any difficulty in climbing, as the slopes are covered with gardens to within 500 feet of the top. The vegetation is similar ● [137] to that of the Sierra Nevada at 6000 feet, and the temperature was very low, showing at midday 65° Fahr. The highest point at the southern extremity in front of Punto Espada is Ara-ura. Owing to the low dense

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

bush I could only reach 1700 feet, the limit of the Indian gardens, where 133
plantains, maguey, onions, coca, sugar-cane, &c., were growing; also a 241
rivulet with running water. The ground about here is well cultivated, supplying most of the Goajira with grain food. Many small low castes [556]
of Indians dedicated to agriculture live here; they are all poor, as agriculture is not considered wealth among the Indians.

The second or central range, which for want of a better name I shall 133
call Parashi Hills, are entirely separated from the Macuira range by a plain some nine miles broad. This plain gradually rising from both seas, reaches 350 feet towards the centre. These hills rise at Bahia Honda almost from the margin of the bay, and stretch as a narrow belt right across the peninsula. Formed of ridges of low hills seldom exceeding 1500 feet, covered with a scanty wood of brazilete, divi-divi, [137]
cacti, and other prickly bushes, intersected by valleys, one mass of prickly pear, they present a desolate forlorn appearance two-thirds of the year, yielding, however, during the short rainy season abundant pasture. In this range, as with the former, there are two prominent peaks. The northerly one, a conspicuous object from Porteto and Bahia Honda, is called Ruma. I ascended it with much difficulty, and found the height to be 1950 feet. Sierra Ipapa, marked on some maps, is probably Ruma.

Some 15 miles south of Ruma, Guajarepa rises well out of its surroundings. This, the highest point of the range, does not exceed 2200 feet, and must be the Cerro Aceite of the Spaniards, supposed to be the highest peak in the Goajira, but it is seen that Macuira dominates it by at least 400 feet. A portion of this range is also called Cerros de Jallarure from a rancho at the foot of Guajarepa. Between the highest peaks and towards the south is the extensive plain of Ataipa. We now come to the third or Cojoro range, separated by a rather tortuous valley, varying much in breadth, about six miles at the narrowest place. These hills are more extensive than either of the two first, and show many peculiarities, being flanked on all sides by numerous isolated knife-like ridges, some running parallel to each other with broad valleys between, while others are complete segments of circles. Towards the Maracaybo shore are several large mountain masses. The highest, Yuripiche, is a wonderful mass of igneous rock some 2800 feet in height. Close by, another mountain, Anipana, plays a prominent part in the landscape. All these hills, like Parashi, are [137]
destitute of vegetation, many so steep that the bare rock and stone-slides put all idea of growth out of the question, and with their weird shapes, immense boulders, and caves, form a fitting retreat to the Cocinas or [579]
Robber Indians. The celebrated Tota Goajira may be considered as belonging to this range, (for although entirely isolated and some nine miles distant, it is indirectly attached by two small separate hills. The Tota is certainly one of the most beautiful sights in the Goajira, and

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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291
492 *Our caravan makes a temporary halt*

291
516
137 *Resting in the sparse shade of a divi-divi tree. My wife is stirring the pot. I am on the extreme right*

312 *A casimba, or water-hole, dug by the Indians*

[FACING p. 48]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

133 We had gone round Sierra Chimare to the north. Understandably enough, since it was the monks' name, nobody seemed to have heard of Nazaret, but they did not react to Amúruru either.

Macuira is quite a large complex of hills, and if the Indians were going to be unable to help us, it might prove quite difficult to find the mission station. Suddenly a man came up on a horse. He was wearing trousers. He was so 080 astonished to see us that he nearly tumbled off and his horse became restive. We told him who we were and where we were going, and his face lit up.

'Let us camp together,' he suggested. 'I have a camp under a tree that is large enough for you as well. I have a herd of goats that I am driving home.'

We went with the man, who was a mestizo—and had two Indian wives, who helped my wife make goat stew.

[513] In Guajira you can sleep in the open perfectly well during most of the year, but it is more pleasant to lie under a tree. The mestizo was able to tell us exactly how to get to Nazaret.

●137 We broke camp at daybreak, before the sun had begun to send its shafts through the sparse leaves of the tree. We three whites started off at a good pace, and soon the mestizo with his goats and our own pack animals had dropped behind. Before long we came in among hillocks sparsely clad with divi-divi and other bushes and trees that did not mind drought. This sort of vegetation the Indians call a wood. The hours passed; the sun was unmercifully hot, as it always was. Our tongues were stuck to our gums by thirst, and a persistent breeze filled our ears with sand. We did not mind, however, for paradise was not far away.

The trees were all withered and leafless. Then we came 133 to valleys filled with white sand, that in places formed terraces. The mules' hooves sank in deep. I realized why we came across sand so far from the sea: all that part of the hills had sunk into the sea during the quarternary period, and had then risen again carrying the sand with it.

Then a hill like a sugar-loaf emerged. That was Ituhor, [103] about which we had been told, and we knew that we were

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

not far from the mission station. Ituhor means 'roast corn' and it does look like a dark golden brown giant corn-cob. Suddenly we were in a valley that was all green. We had to rub our eyes. Not only grass grew there, but tall trees with fresh green leaves. The crests of coconut palms waved high above them. We saw bananas, maize, and all sorts of fruit trees. What a miracle! The cause of it was a little stream that had water in it almost all the year round, though it petered out in sand on its way to the sea. We enjoyed the greenery, the smells and the bird song, and watched the multi-coloured butterflies. The valley was not inhabited; it was a field. After that we came to more white sand, where everything was just as arid as before.

Nazaret lay in the middle of this sea of sand. Ahead of us we saw some whitewashed buildings with grass roofs and one larger building with a turret. A monk came walking briskly to greet us, his white beard waving in the breeze. This was Father Salvador, whom we knew from a trip we had made farther south five years before. He had then been stationed at the foot of the Andes and his flowing beard had been brown. How old he had grown! The desert seemed to have aged him by twenty years at least, we thought. Then the other monks emerged and friendly nuns took charge of my wife.

We had good, sweet water, decent food and black coffee. The kindly fathers at once set about preparing a white-washed hut for us. They wanted us to stay for some time, make Nazaret our headquarters, from which we could go to the Indian camps in the surrounding country, which we would thus get to know. They would also find us good guides.

Then our Indians arrived with our baggage. We paid them and dismissed them. We could not help laughing when Gaffer insisted that he could be of great use to us as a guide, for he had neither been there before, nor even been able to find his way there. His old wife had taken advantage of our absence to appropriate a number of our things, including an aluminium saucepan. This came to light because her pack looked suspiciously bulky and had to be searched, to her

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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La Teta rising above the cactus steppe

Typical Guajira landscape with divi-divi trees

[Facing p. 88]

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

THE GOAJIRO

By John M. Armstrong and Alfred Métraux

THE REGION

The Goajira Peninsula, projecting as part of Colombia northward into the Caribbean Sea, contains an area of about 5,000 square miles, bordered on the east by the Gulf of Venezuela. The broad level plain known as Lower Goajira occupies the base of the peninsula, while the northern extremity is known as Upper Goajira and is characterized by three distinct ranges of hills. These hills have a maximum height of 2,600 feet (about 780 m.) and are separated from each other by two broad plains which run from sea to sea. The country is dry and infertile, the vegetation consisting of divi-divi, cactus, pricklypear, and other xerophitic plants. Even these are absent where bare rock and stone slides preclude vegetation. Rivers are almost nonexistent, the country being cut in all directions by shallow, dry, sandy water courses which drain off rain as it falls. In the south and west, on the treeless prairies or savannas, the land is more hospitable. Here the Indians do most of their stock raising. [131] 133 [137] [231]

LOCATION AND HISTORY

The pastoral *Goajiro* who inhabit this peninsula (map 6) differ profoundly from the agricultural forest-dwelling *Motilones* and *Arhuaco* to the south. Juan de Castellanos, in his "Elegías de los Varones Ilustres" (1874), is the first to allude to these Indians, though he calls them *Cosina*. He states that in his time, about 1550, cattle were already abundant in the area. It seems that the adoption of pastoral life by the *Goajiro* took place soon after the Spanish settlement of that part of the continent. The name *Goajiro* was, however, already known in the 16th century and was applied first by Pedro Simón (1882–92). The first reliable ethnographic information about the *Goajiro* goes back to José Nicolás de la Rosa (Nicholás, 1901) and Antonio Julián, who both visited these Indians in the 18th century. Jahn (1927, pp. 119–136) has gathered the few data concerning the *Goajiro* which he found in the early literature. A short summary of the first description of these Indians is given by Hernández de Alba (1936, pp. 8–12). 101 [231] 171 114

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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By the shore. Held by father and sister, these were the only twins we ever saw. The Guajiro let twins live

Right: *Indian girls*

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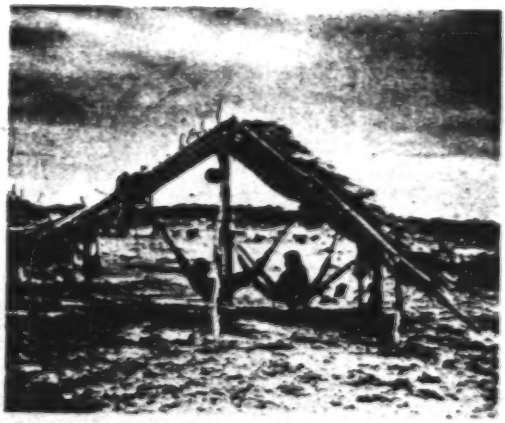
352 *A simple Indian hut*



[Facing p. 32]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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Our men making fire

Indian salt workers, men and women, at Manaure

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[facing p. 33]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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Left: *I help an old man, who had never seen matches, to light his cigar*

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Chinca, a girl of simple family, (on the left) and a well-born maiden expensively perfumed in a white tunic

[516]

Indian camp and a mestizo

[facing p. 49]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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Above left: *Youth playing a flute*

Above right: *Little girl with beads*

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Right: *Riders*

[Facing p. 64]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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Majayura, the virgin confined in order to be prepared for marriage. Contrary to the rules, she was allowed out for a moment to be photographed

Old woman spinning

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Children are not undernourished in Macuira

[facing p. 65]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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Chief Mauana

Mauana's daughter, ceremonially painted, beside her mule

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[facing p. 80]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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Work-hut with warp set up for a man's sash

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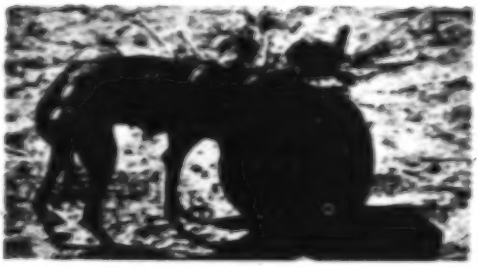

The thin Indian dogs licked the last out of the pot

Below: *Indian chiefs, in ceremonial clothes, on their way to a* purchi

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[Facing p.81]

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

They were of black earthenware ornamented with figures. 252
The women were making maize gruel. There, close to the
green valleys, they ought to have been able to get any [262]
vegetables or roots they liked, yet they clung to their diet
of maize and goat's meat. They had obviously put the pots
on because they expected the men, and sure enough a 412
couple of naked horsemen came galloping up, so at one
with their horses that they looked like centaurs. The
Guajiro Indians can be born on a horse in the literal sense,
if their mothers have to be on a journey at the time. They
look well on horseback, and even the old men rode well. [412]
The younger men were muscular and well-made, and more
pleasing to our eye than the women.

The men had been out enjoying themselves. They had 224
been hunting and their clan mark was painted in blue on 614
their thighs. They must have done that to amuse themselves 304
before they left, for normally both men and women have 302
their clan marks tattooed.

We asked the men what they had hunted with, for they 224
carried neither bows nor firearms, and also what they had 411
hunted, for they did not seem to have got anything. They
laughed and explained that they had had no luck, and
showed us slings of plaited bast. They had been out after
doves or rabbits, but had seen nothing. (The Creoles call
the animal in question a rabbit, but its Latin name is
Sylvilagus cunicus.) They showed us the short throwing
clubs with which they hunted this and made some practice
throws. They were expert at hitting the target with both
club and sling, but only at distances of twenty to thirty
yards.

A youth showed us a whistle that he said would unfail- 224
ingly entice a deer if you blew it—provided there was a
deer nearby, as he hastened to add. Judging by the expres-
sion on the women's faces he was no famous hunter. A 439
couple of men also arrived and we were able to think of
doing business. We had no difficulty in buying what we
wanted, provided we paid well. Prices were our great
difficulty, yet these men were less spoiled than elsewhere in
the peninsula. The Guajiro not only trafficked with the

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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A chichamaya in full swing

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First burial. The dead person's bier is being carried out from its shelter

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The after-burial. A medicine man guarding the urns containing the dead person's bones

[Facing p. 96]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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A dance partner

Indian girls in their tunics

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Women on a journey, well wrapped up against the sun

[Facing p. 97]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

CHAPTER 8

Innocence and the Fertility Dance

MAUANA invited us to visit him again, and we were glad to do so. We liked him and his oasis. Also he taught us a lot, for he was knowledgeable and intelligent, a proper chief who was not called *cacique* just out of politeness, as is the case with many rich mestizos near the border. 622

The Indians expect a great deal of their chief. He has to be an adroit negotiator, able to uphold the clan's rights and support its members. In war he is the leader who must be in the van and never yield. He must be ever hospitable, a good speaker and in every way a worthy representative. Mauana seemed to be such a chief.

Our only means of repaying his hospitality was to give a great porridge feast—we had a lot of oatmeal with us. The Indians loved our porridge, perhaps because it was reminiscent of their own maize gruel, which we ourselves far preferred. This feast took place on Mauana's next visit to Nazaret, and after it he was eager for us to pay him another visit, promising to show us dancing. 648 574

On our arrival we were introduced to the 'princess', his unmarried daughter. Mauana wanted us to photograph her. She was not pretty, but typically Indian in appearance. She had to put on all her finery and her paint, and her mule was saddled and decked out as for a ceremonial occasion. She had gold and coral at her neck, ankles and wrists, and large spiral patterns painted on her cheeks. Her mule had three tails: its own and two artificial ones, such being the fashion then. The girl was no film star: she was as stiff as a ram-rod and not to be thawed. Luckily, her skin looked light on the photograph, as every Guajiro girl desires it to be. Mauana 622 123 622 142

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

would not have been pleased if we had not managed to get her looking nice and pale. In reality her complexion was perhaps a shade too dark. Mauana asked if everyone in our country was as fair-skinned as my wife, and when I assured him that they were, he wondered whether he should not send his daughter to Sweden for a time to let her become lighter. The girl did not appear to be so very young. Francisco told us that Mauana was not finding it easy to marry her off. Being the greatest and richest chief in the Macuira Hills, with plantations that were always watered, the price he must ask for her was considerable by Indian standards, and though there had been no lack of inquiries, no deal had yet been made. All this according to Francisco. The price could not be lowered. The girl's uncle insisted on that, as she did too. Every Indian girl is proud of commanding a high price. That not only shows that she is of good family, but also that her mother and grandmother cost a lot too, in other words that she is of an old, propertied family.

'You often hear people say,' Francisco added, 'that it is better to pay little for a wife from a poor family who has been taught to work well, than to give much for a rich girl who only wants to be waited upon. But the fact is that the rich girl's family will provide her with what she might need to live according to her status even after she has married. She will still be supported from home. That, of course, lightens the husband's duties: so it isn't so silly to marry a rich wife,' and he sighed heavily.

Mauana then joined us and he too began discussing marriage. We had heard a certain amount on this subject already, but listened nonetheless attentively. A suitor does not go in person to ask for a girl's hand; he sends a proxy, his eldest maternal uncle or, if possible, a chief on his mother's side. His mother usually goes as well. Sometimes a whole deputation arrives, to be given a ceremonial reception.

The delegates bring with them gifts in the form of necklaces of gold beads and tuma stones. A man like Mauana could expect several of these. If the gifts are accepted, as almost always they are, they at once start discussing the

T:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Conjiro SC13

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A Conjiro man, dressed and painted as a woman. He lived with another man and performed all the tasks of the housewife

Little girl with gold beads round her neck and ankles

After-burial: woman weeping by the urn containing the dead man's bones

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[Facing p. 112]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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The medicine men liked to have a good drink before a seance

A piache, or wise woman, curing a boy by burning him with a red-hot arrow head

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[Facing p. 113]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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A professional mourner

Below: *The daily butchering*

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[Facing p. 128]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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Guajiro women are stocky and powerfully built

Below: *Frontier guard—Paraguaipoa*

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[facing p. 145]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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Below: *Mule caravan near the Indian border*

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[facing p. 160]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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Guajiro Indians in the leafy south. One is painted

Below: *The Indians' Venice*

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[Facing p. 161]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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The ferry-man on the Calancala River

Derricks in Lake Maracaibo

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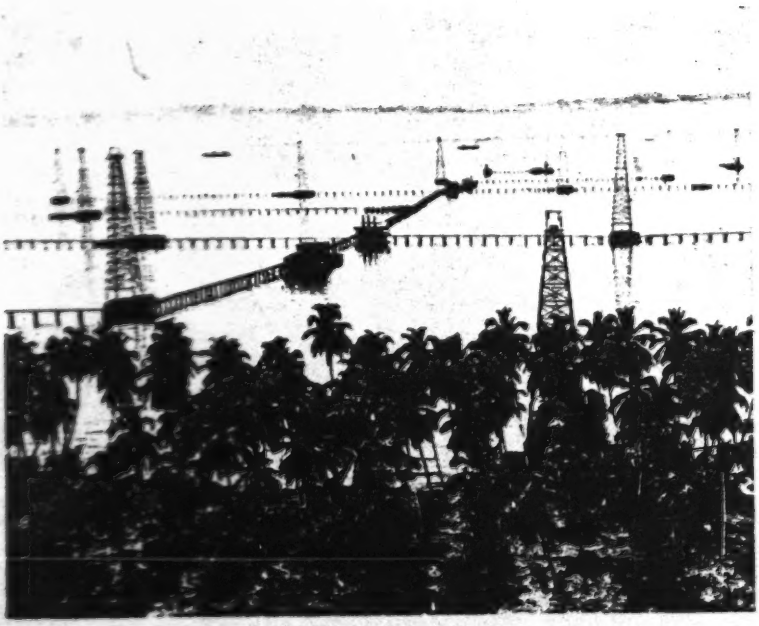

[Facing p. 177]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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Aurora Montiel, who represents the Indians at Congress in Caracas

[Facing p. 184]

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

175 During the Colonial Period, the *Goajiro* were hostile toward the Span-
648 iards. After 1830, however, as a result of better treatment from the Whites, thanks in part to the efforts of Juan MacPherson, they become more friendly. Present authorities in the *Goajiro* region merely regulate frontier traffic.

797 The attempts by the Capuchin Fathers to alter their ways of life have
177 been unsuccessful. Except for the thin Catholic veneer, noticeable in baptismal rites and Spanish names, *Goajiro* social life seems to have been little affected by centuries of contact with Hispanic culture. Foreign influence is more apparent materially in iron implements, utensils, guns, textiles, and ornaments. All the domestic animals are of Spanish origin.

161 As a result of tuberculosis, smallpox, and venereal disease, the *Goajiro*
164 are gradually dying out, and the population estimates found in the literature have become smaller and smaller, the most recent indicating a scant 18,000.

PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

142 The *Goajiro* are usually described as aggressive and untrustworthy, of
[18] medium or small stature (cf. J. A. Mason, 1926, pp. 39, 52), copper colored, with jet-black hair, dark eyes rather obliquely set, a broad and blunt nose, and a large mouth (pl. 72, *bottom, right*). Within the tribes there are physical differences which seem to correspond with social status,
[565] the lower classes being smaller and more Indian in appearance, while those of higher rank are more often of a greater stature, with curlier hair and larger noses.

LANGUAGE

197 The *Goajiro* language belongs to the *Arawakan* family. There is, however, no good analysis of it. A grammar, "replete with errors" according to Simons, was published by Rafael Caledon in 1878. Various word lists have been published from time to time.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.**—The *Goajiro* have a poor opinion of agriculture, and only
[554] the poorer sibs practice it. The one fertile part of the peninsula is near Punta Espada. Here the land is well cultivated, and plantains, maguey, onions, coca, sugarcane, and grain are grown. Tobacco, bananas, maize, gourds, manioc, sweetpotatoes, millet, beans, and watermelons also are raised. Those who own cattle grow only small patches of quick-maturing corn for the purpose of making chicha beer.

22 **Hunting, fishing, and gathering.**—Hunting, fishing, and gathering occupy a minor place. Deer, armadillos, land tortoises, and rabbits are

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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PLATE 72.—Goajiro Indians. (Courtesy American Museum of Natural History.)

[Facing p. 380]

4: Preuss--203 E-5 (1914-1915) 1926 SC7 Cagaba SC7
Goajiro SC13

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Ill. 1. My traveling companion, Telesforo Gutierrez, with a headdress (Sánkale), which, for dancing, has feathers stuck in it and is wound with a colored belt, from the temple of Takina.

Ill. 2. Goajiro man.

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Ill. 3a, b. Goajiro woman, from the front and from the side.

/240 cont./

177 the races, as well as of cultures started in the colonial period, according to the records of the chroniclers of those times, not only with the whites who penetrated the territory on expeditions of conquest or trade but also with the Negroes whom the natives had taken as slaves in exchange for pearls each time that the slave ships dropped anchor off their coast. This mixing continued sporadically, giving the characteristics of indomitable ferocity of La Guajira throughout the colonial period, and has accelerated as has cultural contact during recent years for reasons already noted.

This does not mean, naturally, that the racial composition
● 144 of the La Guajira Peninsula is exclusively mestizo -- a mixture
177 of Indians with whites, mestizos, Negroes, or mulattos -- be-
563 cause the greatest percentage of inhabitants is still pure Indian, especially so in the districts where they have had less contact with the civilized world, as happens in the Sierra de Jarara, for whose inhabitants there is a term very common in the whole territory, cerreros, that is, pure Indians in the widest sense of the word: Indians who preserve not only their physical characteristics but their unalterable psychic and cultural traits.

This crossing, as has happened in all the cases which we have been able to observe in societies dominated by other cultures, has been effected by the combination of the feminine element in the dominated race and the masculine element on the dominating side. The cases where the opposite has occurred are very rare. It may be added that this appears to be a general law, at least among the South American communities which had to submit to the invasion of Europeans, brought about in various ways and according to the period of penetration. /241/

177 Guajiro traditional institutions were so strong that the changes
563 in social composition did not at first essentially affect their cultural patterns. The newcomers adapted themselves perfectly to the norms of native life and made common cause with them, only differing in their physical type resulting from cross-breeding /mestizaje/ and possibly some cultural manifestations

[6 cont.]

105 177 However, at the beginning the fundamental change in their economy did not affect their most characteristic social institutions. They preserved, almost to the present, their family organization based on the uterine line of kinship and all the other institutions which derive from, or are directly or indirectly related, to it. Only now with the presence of an ever increasing number of foreign elements who are attracted to La Guajira territory by different circumstances is the Indian gradually losing these fundamental ideas of his organization and beginning to change them, forced to do so by events, to the point that today it is becoming difficult to decide up to what point a social phenomenon is autochthonous and to what point it is impregnated with new ideas brought in by evangelists, government and military officials, and traders.

● 144 175 In the racial aspect the phenomenon shows up less strongly, although, as in other aspects, it has been gradually accelerating as means of communication develop and the contraband between the islands of Aruba and Curaçao, the department of Magdalena, and the port of Maracaibo increase. Racial mixing [mestizaje] began in the colony not only between Spaniards and Indians, as happened in the greater part of Latin America, but also with the Negroes who were acquired as slaves from the Dutch and British slave traders in exchange for pearls. Naturally, this mixture was of insignificant proportions, but [7] at the present time it is developing more rapidly, stemming from the element, also Negroid, of the coastal areas of Colombia and Lake Maracaibo. In spite of all this, at the present time one can still find a large percentage of the pure element in La Guajira, especially in the regions distant from the traffic with Maracaibo or with the interior of Colombia, or relatively isolated from civilizado centers of La Guajira such as Uribia, Puerto Estrella, Puerto López, etc.

* * *

132 031 In the past five to six years La Guajira has suffered extremely severe summers which have almost completely crushed its economic bases, stock grazing and agriculture, for scarcely enough rainfall has fallen to save their pastures or their harvests.

/16 cont./

854 live together, or her mother if she lives near by. If the mother does not return in time to feed the child, the relatives who are taking care of him will try to initiate him into taking some new food. When the trips are for a long time, the mother takes her little ones along seated on the burro which serves as their transport, in order to avoid the problem of starting them off on a new kind of food when they are very small or when she has no one in whose care she can leave them.

Frequently, the child will attach himself to a relative who shows him kindnesses or small attentions, but he prefers the care and company of his mother above all others and shows his happiness in her presence. This situation can change when the child passes his third year, an age when he begins to lose his devotion to his mother and to show it for a maternal uncle or aunt to whom he becomes attached and whom he follows as they carry out their various duties, even leaving his mother for long periods.

If the mother is poor and has no assistance in bringing up her child -- because she lives far away from her relatives and cannot afford the services of a female slave or bond servant -- she has to take care of him by herself. When the child is very small she [482] carries him in her arms except when he is sleeping, although at times he sleeps in her lap. When he has grown bigger and can sit up, his hammock is tied at the top to prevent his falling out when he wakes up.

The fourth month, when he starts to sit up, she carries him [482] during the day astride her hip and held by her arm. /17/ It must be noted that during the first month he is carried on her shoulder in an upright position, and he is seated on her legs, recumbent on her lap. At two months she does not give him this support for his back, and it is not unusual at four months for her to seat him [145] on the ground. From this time onward he begins to crawl, and it is then that the mother starts giving him slightly less personal attention as she lets him crawl about without worrying about what [165] he picks up to eat or drink, so that it is at this age that the greatest number of stomach troubles and an increase in infantile mortality occur.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

neither was much help. Our route went in a zig-zag from 000
water hole to water hole. I did not feel altogether sure that the Gaffer would find the mission station. From what I could understand of the interpreter's inadequate Spanish and floods of Guajiro, it seemed that when the old man made his trip to the Macuira Hills, there was not yet a mission station there. I knew that it was of relatively recent date. If we could only get to Macuira, we could ask our way to the monks, I felt sure of that. Otherwise we should have to try and find our way to the little harbour of Puerto Estrella on the east coast of the peninsula. To go there involved a detour, but there would certainly be a white person or at least a mestizo there, who would be able to show us the way to Amúruru.

It seemed to us that our baquiano not only wandered round in search of water holes, but also avoided certain ranchos. What, we wondered, was the position with his clan? Was it engaged in a feud just then? I knew little of clan quarrels and blood-feuds, then.

The Gaffer now began asking everyone we met the way to 484
Macuira. It was obvious that he did not know where he 151
was and that we had a bad guide. The Guajiro have a 823
wonderful sense of direction. They find their way unerringly about their trackless cactus steppes, where every place looks alike. They know every depression in the ground, every eminence, and they all have names. Like the Arabs in the desert, they never forget a way they have once travelled, so it was obvious that the Gaffer had never before been where we were then, that he had simply gone astray. The Indians' ability to follow tracks is also amazing. [224]
They can see by the hoof prints when a strange horse has been in among a herd, and they can track down a strayed bullock, even if it has joined company with others. An Indian can see whether others belong to his clan or not from a long distance off, even when he does not know them personally. They have a clan mark tattooed, or sometimes [302
painted on their thighs, it is true, but an Indian seems to 304
know to which clan they belong, even when you cannot 614
distinguish those marks through field glasses.

/31 cont./

865 693 Nevertheless, there are cases where the elder brother attempts to impose his authority and oblige a younger brother to obey his orders, building up his part. From ten years of age onward the relation between brothers and sisters becomes rougher and occasionally quarrelsome, but after passing puberty and initiation, when the girl has become a woman and the boy an adult, their relationship takes on a definite shape, to be reflected in the future friendship between the two and in the ties that will exist between the brothers and the children of the sisters, over whom they will exercise their authority and protection.

We have already described one of the aggressive acts between brothers on the part of the older toward the younger, in the theft of food behind the back of the mother or whoever represents authority /in the home/. There is another form of aggression which the younger child adopts in order to get what he wants from his elders and from his siblings: He throws himself on the ground, where he rolls and kicks, screaming and crying inconsolably. His mother punishes him to stop him from giving way to his bad temper, considering his action harmful because when big he might continue with his rages and while in that mood cause grave injury to his people and to himself. For in reality when the Guajiro becomes furious, he goes completely out of his mind and commits deeds he would not dream of doing in his proper senses. If he cannot get his way he becomes so angry /32/ that often he will hang himself, doing this in such a rage that he loses his instinct of self-preservation and even when he is half dead will insist on finishing himself off, so throwing the responsibility of his death onto the person who caused his bad temper. If his mother is unable to control these exhibitions of childish rage, it will continue with him during his youth and as a man will become increasingly worse, often causing him to leave home in the excess of his fury and giving rise to suicide when he is thwarted or opposed.

152 865 [762]

6. Delinquent acts that may appear among children about ten years old are the sexual relations between girls and their brothers when the latter are busy with their pastoral tasks and

864 835

/36 cont./

884 Toward the prepubertal age the boy begins to show his reaction to family punishments and controls, a liberating phase which culminates after puberty with the handing over of his animals when he marries, or before if his pastoral ability allows his taking full charge of them. Then, with his economic independence assured, he is freed from the discipline of the small family. He wants to figure as an adult and take an active part in the life of the community. For the male there is a difficulty as regards the coming of age because they have no initiation rite so that the time of his independence is subject to his economic circumstances and is in consequence elastic. On the other hand, in the case of women the biological phenomenon of menstruation marks the end of their childhood and their transformation to womanhood with all its privileges, rights, and duties.

• • •

861 The mother and the persons charged with the care and training of the child not only make use of punishment to obtain his obedience and submission to traditional norms of conduct but also have recourse to other kinds of stimuli which we might call positive. For example, when the boy tends to cry overmuch and is cowardly when faced by some slight problem, he is told: "Don't cry so much. Are you a girl that you go about crying so much? We should send you to take part in a wake /veloriar/ (1)."

[764]
[152]

1. Veloriar is used to indicate attendance and participation in the wake for a dead person, during which those present weep mournfully over the corpse.

If the crying is caused by an injury which the mother had foreseen, she says to him: "I told you so; you alone are to blame; no one did you any harm so you need not cry as it is all

/66 cont./

583 836 the man feels satisfied, because the price paid included, tacitly, her virginity. If the woman's relatives do not handle the situation prudently, reprisals and hostilities may take place between the two groups. Also in these cases the man will claim the necklace which he gave the woman as a sign of their betrothal the day the marriage was arranged. But he does not do this with an eye to gain but to make the woman suffer some part of the humiliation /67/ he himself felt on learning of the deception. Furthermore, as the necklace is a sign of engagement, asking for its return resembles an act of breaking it, although, in point of fact, the woman continues to be tied to the man with matrimonial obligations.

At times the man will follow another norm of conduct, especially at the present time when this state of affairs occurs more frequently and the claims for compensation payment for this condition are losing importance: He himself assumes the punishment for the deception. He roughly inquires of the woman: "Why are you not a virgin when I bought you believing that you were? Why don't you say who possessed you before I did?" He goes from insult to action and beats the woman, who, recognizing her inferior situation does not dare to protest.

It is possible that the Indian will not at first go beyond insulting the woman in private, but under the influence of alcohol the [152] resentment grows out of hand, and it is then that, in the presence of his friends, he will recount his problem and complain. Not content with this, he makes up songs referring to the subject which contain insulting commentaries and will sing them to his wife when with his friends to humiliate her in front of them and so obtain some satisfaction for what he personally suffers. In this [578] state of drunkenness it is not uncommon that he will beat his wife, shielding himself from reproach by the fact that as he has not been repaid the part of the marriage payment due him, her relatives are not in a position to protest.

Often with time the matter gets forgotten, and it only crops up on certain occasions when they quarrelsomely bring up all the past with its emotional content, due to some disobedience on the

/156 cont./

764 the name of the dead man in front of anyone, again for fear of
551 offending his relatives, /157/ who, although they may not be present, might be informed by someone looking for payment for talebearing.

764 One by one as the persons notified arrive, they express their sympathy. The form of doing so is as follows: The /dead
● 152 man's/ kinsmen are seated on the ground, or nowadays more
[178] generally in the interior of the house (the new customs require the female relatives to remain inside the house seated on the floor, with their faces covered with a large cloth black like the robe they wear). When the outsider arrives he sits down beside them. Then begins the lamentation of the mourner, who mourns with his head bent forward, covered, as is his face. He cries for a more or less prolonged time, interspersing his weeping with short phrases which refer to his sorrow and his loss. He ends his lament, which is taken up by the visitor, and once he has finished they give the traditional Guajiro salutation, initiated by the mourner. They all begin to cry again in chorus, which they suspend to recount the process of the man's death in all its details.

Around the corpse are slung a series of hammocks at graded heights, which are occupied by the closest women relatives as they take turns in the weeping or by a newly arrived one, who, after expressing her sorrow to the family, must weep near the corpse, bending forward over the coffin and placing a hand on it, a magic action which will help her to dream of the deceased. In this position, the visitor, whether outsider or consanguineous relative, weeps in that tone and manner characteristic of the culture, which rather than weeping is like an intoned, melancholy complaint. The Guajiro men weep in a different manner, giving shouts of despair at intervals, without any definite timing. They do this standing up, bending over the coffin and covering their faces with a cloth, a hat, or a hand. On asking some outsiders, participants at a wake, how they were able to cry so intensely and realistically, they explained

/157 cont./

764 that it was not really for the dead man that they kept vigil,
152 because many times he might be unknown to them, but for the evocation before the corpse of the total sufferings of their group and their personal sorrows.

While visitors and part of the maternal and closest paternal relatives take their places around the deceased in order to take their turn in keeping up continual wailing, the remaining relatives of the dead man comply with the norms of hospitality and courtesy customary on such occasions, which are to receive the sympathy of those who arrive, to serve drink to the men, and to constantly maintain the funeral spirit. The maternal relatives must attend to the distribution of the /158/ livestock of the dead man, a part of which it is customary to give to the visitors who come to offer their condolences.

764 A wake can and should be prolonged as long as the live-
554 stock of the deceased lasts, and in the event that these are too few to maintain the prestige of the status of the dead man's consanguineous relatives, recourse must be had to contributions from the latter. From their point of view, the veritable economic-social status of the dead man is shown by the slaughter and distribution of animals which is made at this moment; also, this has its effect on his life beyond the grave, as the livestock slaughtered and the funeral outfit form the basis of the deceased's status in his other life.

In La Guajira the deaths of some of the most outstanding clan chiefs are long remembered. It is recounted, for example, that the wake of the cacique José Dolores lasted two and a half months until the animals he owned were completely slaughtered and distributed among those who came to show their sympathy. The whole /population of the/ peninsula was mobilized to accompany his kinsmen. They say that no less than 30, 000 bolivars (Venezuelan money) were spent on eau de cologne to overcome the putrefaction and the bad odors given off by the corpse during such a long time in the hot climate.

[80 cont.]
775 the following: "Because there are going to be more deaths in
787 the house."

In this story we can appreciate three very clear facts in relation to the dead: 1) that these can return to the bodily form they had when living ; 2) that their presence is an omen of coming misfortune as it announces the death of some member of the family, especially of the closest relatives; 3) that, as we have already noted, the spirit is incapable of communicating with the living by word of mouth.

158 The blind belief that the Guajiro have in the apparition
775 of the dead in bodily form is due, according to the investiga-
787 tions that we were able to make in part, to a psychological phenomenon: It is clearly seen in La Guajira, and the natives so recognize it, that people do not want to look at a dead person's face. This is owing to the fact that this face will be engraved very deeply on their memory, to the point that when the individual who has looked at it is traveling by road at night, or when it is getting dark, or when he is alone at night in his dwelling and worried, on opening his eyes he will clearly see the dead man in the form he had when alive. We therefore believe that what happens in this case is that the individual is obsessed with and has firmly strongly impressed on his mind the decomposing face of the dead person that, as we have said, stays strongly impressed on his memory through this same act. This observation of ours does not apply exclusively to Guajiro
[171] Indians or to other primitives. It is also very common among the town people of practically all the regions of Colombia which we have visited. The psychic phenomenon of obsession and then the almost perfect reconstruction of the image engraved on the memory is a common occurrence among them. But if [81] we add to this the Guajiro's collection of beliefs related to the dead and the fear of the apparition of spirits, which are always harbingers of misfortune (death, sickness, misfortune in general), we can understand how a person so obsessed reconstructs in his nervous state the previously impressed image and, in his imagination, gives it a body. The effects of fear are then translated into a seemingly real image of the dead person, and the

[81 cont.]

158 individual is not capable of distinguishing between the merely
775 fictitious, the imaginary and the real. To him, the image so
787 faithfully rebuilt in his imagination is as real as the living image of the deceased. The explanation of the phenomenon, then, according to his mentality, is that the dead man has appeared before him for some reason or other.

775 This fact is complicated in addition by the belief that every dead person "retraces his steps," that is, he treads again all the paths he traveled during his life; he returns to places where he had been at different times; this is why he is "felt" very often. Many times the individual feels the presence of the dead, even if he does not see it. This Guajiro belief is
[171 also found to be very prevalent in all Colombian folklore. The
538] phenomenon that the Colombian people call "retracing his steps" corresponds exactly to the Guajiro version which we have just transcribed. Of course, according to popular legends, the dead "retrace their steps" when they are dying or a few
[787] moments or even days before their death. To hear strange noises without apparent logical explanation, to see shadows, etc., are for the people evident signs that one of their relatives or friends, or even some person who in the past has lived in these parts, is dying or will die from one moment to the next. For the same reason they avoid walking alone along certain places when they know that someone who has lived there is close to death's door.

Degrees of danger in spirits. The Guajiro murderer suffers
682 a double punishment; first, the claim for compensation payment
775 for blood presented by the dead man's relatives, which involves his own death if he does not pay the sum agreed on; and second, the constant presence of the dead man's spirit, which never leaves him. For this reason, the murderer cannot enter a home where there are small children because the spirit of the dead man follows him, will climb over them, squeeze them, and make them
[753] cry. If the children are sick, the murderer's presence is even more dangerous because the spirit will rapidly cause their death. If they are well they usually become ill. [82]

The death of a fellow being becomes a tremendous obsession with the Guajiro; the murderer is convinced that the
[753] dead man's spirit follows him everywhere. When he is ill he has

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The whole judiciary structure with its elaborate system of torts is based on the payment of a given number of domestic animals. There is no crime, including murder, that cannot be amiably settled by such payments (Petrullo, 1937). The acquisition of a bride is also reduced to the payment of a stipulated price, in terms of domestic animals, to be given to the maternal uncle of the girl.

Social, economic, and political status in the Guajiro society is intimately connected with the cattle complex. To have a high status an individual needs, primarily, two assets: he must possess a large number of domestic animals, in other words, he must be considered rich; and he must be an older man. If he lacks either of these requisites, he is not a leader, as he will not be sufficiently respected nor will members of his clan come to him to seek his advice. Consequently, leaders are not numerous in the Guajiro peninsula. The present writer knows only two individuals, both in Venezuela, who are today the unquestionable leaders of their respective clans. These men are Panchito Silva, of the Pushaina clan, and José de la Rosa Fernandez of the Uriana clan.

An analysis of the lives of these two men will be illustrative of the traditional methods of acquiring status among the Guajiro.

Panchito Silva, a man of about 80 years of age, lives in the native village of Sishipes in Venezuela. During his life-time he has had eight wives (two or three at a time) and now lives with his surviving two, one about 35 years old and the other about 50. He is a full-blooded Indian as has been the case of his wives. There is no trace of race mixture in his family. He has no clear idea of how many children he has had, apart from those living with him now (two men and five women). Yet he knows definitely that he has four younger brothers—who will inherit his wealth and position before these are passed on to his nephews—three sisters and twenty-five nephews and nieces (all sons and daughters of his sisters). His lack of concern towards his own children coupled with his keen interest in his nephews and nieces seems to be a clear indication of how strong the avunculate is in traditional Guajiro society. His holdings in cattle and other domestic animals are very large. Roughly he owns around 1,000 head of cattle and about 3,000 of sheep,

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goats, mules, asses, and horses. Approximately 60% of this total he acquired through inheritance, as his maternal uncle was a wealthy man and, in his time, the leader of the Pushaina clan. The rest of his property, Panchito has acquired through the payment of bride-prices received for his nieces. Unquestionably, Panchito Silva has become wealthy and the leader of his clan through inheritance, although, through the years, as he has aged and his nieces have married he has become more firmly established in his position. 159 554 556 622

Members of the Pushaina clan come to Panchito from the most remote places of the peninsula (both from Colombia and Venezuela), to seek his advice; to ask him to settle disputes among families within the clan; to tell him about injuries received by a clan member so he can establish the amount of compensation to be paid and exact payment from the offending clan; to fix the bride-price of a given girl member of the clan; to establish how much each male member must contribute in order to pay compensation due to another clan; and for many other minor details of clan organization and function. The writer was a guest at Panchito's home for two days and, during that period, Panchito received the visit of no less than 63 clan members, who, in all, brought about 25 or 30 different clan problems to be settled. 159 554 622 627

The story of José de la Rosa Fernandez, although different from that of Panchito Silva, represents a second method of acquiring status following the traditional law of the tribe. José de la Rosa Fernandez is also a full-blooded Indian, about 65 years old. He has had seven wives, but always one at the time, except now when he has two. One of them is an old woman with whom he lives most of the time, and just recently he married a very young girl (who remains living with her mother) whom he visits once or twice a week. Fernandez's position in the Uriana clan is very similar to that of Silva in the Pushaina. The writer was not able to hold private conversations with Fernandez and, consequently, exact data regarding his property are lacking. Although he did not inherit too much property nor the clan leadership as in Silva's case, he was fortunate to have many nieces whom he has managed to marry off very well and to get large bride-prices for them. Thus he began to accumulate property and at present he is probably the richest man in the 159 554 556 622

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159 Venezuelan Guajiro. As his wealth grew so did his prestige.
554 About twenty years ago the then leader of the Uriana clan died
556 leaving no heirs, as he had no brothers and no direct nephews.
622 Guajiro tradition establishes that, if upon the death of a clan leader and wealthy man there are no close heirs, even though
[623] there be distant ones, a council of elders (informally chosen
[623] among the oldest and more respected men of the clan) will meet and select the individual who shall take over not only the leadership of the clan but the wealth of the deceased as well. These cases are very infrequent (actually the writer could only find, in the memory of the oldest men, two instances of a council of elders meeting to select a leader; one is the case mentioned in this article, and the other occurred among the Epieyú clan, in Colombia, about fifty or sixty years ago). Fernandez
[557] now confesses, quite candidly, that at the time of the meeting of the council of elders, he distributed a number of gifts among them, thus succeeding in having them select him as clan leader and heir to the wealth of the dead chief.

177 It is interesting to note—and it shows how much acculturation
192 Guajiro culture has undergone with the assimilation of the cattle complex—that the true Guajiro term for leader or chief (which also means "old man") *alat'laa* is almost all but forgotten and practically never used, having been substituted by the word *to'olo* a corruption of the Spanish word *toro* meaning BULL.
[194] (Stops are not glottal, but simple stoppage of the sound to be renewed with the coming vowel. Phonetic transcription have followed those given by Dr. Martha Hilderbrand's work on the Guajiro language published by the Comisión Indigenista, Venezuela, in 1958).

622 The role of Fernandez as leader of the Uriana clan is an
627 exact replica of Silva's. He acts as advisor, settles disputes, makes arrangements for the payments of torts, bride-prices, etc. His day is fully as busy as that of Silva and he attends to all these matters besides his personal affairs.

554 Here we have, then, the two traditional ways of acquiring status in Guajiro society that the present writer has been able to investigate; one through inheritance, as in the case of Panchito Silva; and the other, through selection by a council of elders, as in the case of José de la Rosa Fernandez. It is doubtful that

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there may be other traditional ways of acquiring status. The 554
literature mentions none, although Ernst (1887), Jahn (1927), and Hernandez de Alba (1936) make detailed comments on the two traditional ways described here.

Incidentally, these two leaders are never called by their first 551
names, not even by their closest relatives, and are referred to as 622
To'olito Silva and To'olito Fernandez.

To illustrate the new way of acquiring status in Guajiro 159
society it is best to describe quite fully how one individual, and 554
as far as the writer knows, the only one, whom we shall name José Perez, has reached a certain status though employing none of the traditional methods. As guide and interpreter of the present writer during the recent field trip, José Perez was in constant personal contact with the author, who was able to obtain valuable first hand information and observe reactions to personal and intimate questions.

First let us give a brief biographical sketch of José Perez. Perez is now 46 years old. He was born in the village of Castilletes, Venezuela, in the extreme north-eastern part of the Guajiro peninsula. His father (still living, now in the town of Paraguaipoa, Venezuela) has no trace of Indian blood and is considered in Paraguaipoa as pure white, while his mother (deceased) was a pure Indian belonging to the Uriana Clan. Perez's father took him, while still a child, to Maracaibo for schooling which included three years of high school. At that time Perez's father was quite influential in local politics in Maracaibo and was able to get the Governor of the State of Zulia interested in the youth. Perez was given a small position in the State's government, where he was employed for about ten years. During this period he married a local white girl with whom he had a child (now in his fifth year of medical college, State University of Zulia) and apparently had all but forgotten the Indian half of his heritage settling into the whites' ways of life.

Perez went into politics and was elected Prefect (an office similar to the County Sheriff in the United States) of the Paez district, Sinamaica, in the threshold of the Guajira, so to speak. He moved north to his district leaving his family in Maracaibo. This return to a semi-Indian district apparently had some influence in Perez's outlook for the future, for as soon as his term of

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159 554 office expired (in two years time) he sought and obtained a position in the Federal Ministry of Public Works in a project which was seeking the best places to drill water wells all over the Guajira peninsula. He held this job for about a year and half. He is now employed in the Guajira office, in Paraguaipoa, of the Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry and is "ad honorem" agent of the Comisión Indigenista in the Guajira. In these two jobs he gets paid only when he performs certain work, such as when he recently acted as guide and interpreter for the present writer.

159 554 583 614 585 During his term as Prefect of Paez (Sinamaica) he married, according to the Guajira tradition and law, one of the daughters of To'olito Fernandez, for whom he had to pay a very high price, as the girl was the daughter of an important chief. Following Guajira law the price for the bride was gathered among the members of the Uriana clan to which Perez belongs due to his mother's heritage. Incidentally, as Fernandez also belongs to the Uriana clan he had to contribute in the collection of the bride-price of his own daughter although, of course, the amount collected did not go to him but to the girl's maternal uncle. This was a typical exogamous marriage as the girl belongs to the [595] Guajariyú clan, that being her mother's clan. At present, Perez keeps two households, one in Maracaibo with his white wife and son, whom he visits once or twice a week, if he is not doing any special work for the ministries; the other, is his native household at the Laguna del Pajaro, Guajira, where he remains most of his time. He has had no children with his Indian wife. His two simultaneous marriages have brought him no trouble with the law, as according to Guajiro tradition polygyny is perfectly acceptable, and according to Venezuelan law he has only one legitimate wife.

159 595 It is interesting to note at this point that Perez denies having a white wife in Maracaibo, although he does not deny having the son and shows pride in saying that his son is in medical school. The present writer was not able to fathom the reasons behind this denial. Data regarding his Maracaibo marriage was obtained from Perez's father who was also unable to furnish good motives for the fact that Perez tries to hide that he has a household in that city. To test this point the writer, after the

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two days' visit at the home of Panchito Silva and while returning to Paraguaipoa, asked Perez how many wives he had had. Perez was obviously quite upset by the question, but did not hesitate in answering: "Oh, no, Mr. Santa Cruz! I have and only have had one wife, Anita!" (Anita is his Indian wife). Whether the motives for the denial are of a personal nature or involve some cultural complex is unknown to the writer.

Nevertheless Perez leads a perfectly discernable dual life. He has two homes, as described, dividing his time between them, devoting about 40% of the time (when he is not working) to his Maracaibo home, and about 60% to his Guajira home. He has two sets of friends which he is very careful not to mix. His plans for the future of his son are entirely along white cultural lines. At this point we find contradictory thoughts in Perez's mind. The present writer has heard him repeatedly criticize the attitude of certain Guajiros, both full-blooded and half-breeds, who, having gone to Maracaibo for formal education (especially to Teachers' College) have then sought, and in many cases obtained, positions in Maracaibo instead of returning to the Guajira to practice their professions. Yet when it comes to his own son, Perez's plans are for a permanent residence in Maracaibo or, if possible, Caracas, where he could go into practice in an entirely white cultural background.

The problem now is to define Perez's status in the Guajira. Undoubtedly his personality has some importance in Guajiro social stratification, especially among his own generation. This importance he has attained by granting favors, which his semi-official government positions enables him to do, to those whom he thinks will, in the future, be of help to him. Perhaps this is best illustrated by an example. The Ministry of Justice, through the Comisión Indigenista, grants ten scholarships annually to Guajiros who meet certain educational requirements. These scholarships are for the State of Zulia Teachers' College in Maracaibo. Perez has been given, more or less, a free hand in the selection of the candidates for these scholarships. About 65% of the candidates chosen by Perez, in the four years that the plan has been in operation, have been admitted to the College. The writer was able to look briefly into the family back-

121 the field of law is 'coterminous with that of organized legal sanctions.' If there are no 'legal sanctions,' obligations are considered as matters of custom and conventions. He further suggests the use of 'public delicts' and 'private delicts' to classify violations of law which in our society would fall into the criminal and civil classes respectively.[3] Malinowski, justly calling attention to the fact that the field of law does not limit itself to prohibitions but also enjoins duties, extends the term to include binding obligations governing the intercourse of daily life and enforced by a 'specific mechanism inherent in the structure of society.'[4]

While it is not within the scope of this paper to examine critically the various concepts of what constitutes law, we may well ask if its existence in primitive society is dependent upon what one accepts as its definition. We are given the choice of admitting either that certain societies do not know law, or that law is present in all societies in the form of reciprocal obligations which include many phases of behavior which we are accustomed to call either custom or moral obligation. Still it may be granted that in any society there occur breaches of custom, which are recognized as trespass on the recognized rights of the individual and perhaps on the entire community, for the composition and rectification of which there are known and accepted acts whose nature is set and limited by precedent. These are in contrast to those breaches which may bring on the offender only social reprobation in a mild form through giving him a 'bad name.' The former ought to fall within the province of law as generally understood in our society, while the latter may properly be included in the field of morals.

105 Before proceeding with a description of Guajiro concepts of law and of custom it may be well to outline briefly the structure of their society. It is estimated that there are between ten and [161] twenty thousand Guajiro inhabiting the peninsula that takes its name from them. Though most of the territory belongs to Colombia and a narrow coastal strip is within Venezuelan borders, the Guajiro live almost independently of both [133] governments. The land is arid, lacking running water except in the hills of Macuire, where there are some springs. Most of

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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172 these tumas are all made from carnelian, jasper, or other reddish varieties of silica, and the stone, according to the Indians, is not to be found in the Goajira. While ascending Macuira, several places were pointed out to me, especially near the top, in which I was entreated to look for treasure "of the Arhuaco." They themselves, although coveting tumas above everything, are, curiously enough, afraid to look for them, not hesitating, [771] however, to appropriate any found by chance. This, combined with the fear of mentioning their dead, points to some sort of religion or belief in a superior Being. They evidently took possession by conquest, 174 driving the weaker "Arhuaco" out, and have managed to assert their rights to this day. It is rather an historical anomaly that such a small tribe, which probably never exceeded 80,000, should have been able [161] to conserve intact their absolute freedom, their manners and customs uncontaminated, in spite of the accessibility of their territory, surrounded as it is by the sea, and the continual commerce that has been going on for centuries.

133 Commencing with the topography of the country, the mountain system attracts attention most—more so, as a remarkable error has been propagated, that the Goajira is one large fertile plain with only one or two isolated hills. At least one-half of the country is hilly. There are in fact two Goajiras; one known as the Lower Goajira is the broad level plain extending from the river Rancheria to a little beyond the Teta. The other, or Upper, Goajira is the hilly sterile region between the Teta and Punta Espada. The Upper Goajira is simply a volcanic eruption, a conglomeration of low hills, conspicuous from the many cone-shaped forms, and the parallel ridges in which they have been thrown up. These parallel lines run chiefly north-west by south-east, and are separated by two large plains, thus forming three distinct groups of hills running from sea to sea. The first and most important of the three is the easterly or Macuira range. This fine, bold, interesting mountain mass rises in front of Chimare, about 12 miles from the sea-shore, and terminates at the most easterly point of the Goajira, forming the rocky headland known as the Punta Espada (Jurién). Due to its elevation and position, it serves as a species of cloud-trap detaining the lower clouds that drive in from seawards impelled by the easterly or trade winds, that blow here with great force most part of the year. This is the only spot in all the Goajira that can really be called fertile. I ascended the two highest points. The north or Macuira proper lies in front of Puerto Estrella, and is composed of several peaks ranging between 2400 and 2600 feet above sea-level. 133 241 None of them offer any difficulty in climbing, as the slopes are covered with gardens to within 500 feet of the top. The vegetation is similar [137] to that of the Sierra Nevada at 6000 feet, and the temperature was very low, showing at midday 65° Fahr. The highest point at the southern extremity in front of Punto Espada is Ara-ura. Owing to the low dense

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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the site of the old Spanish settlement San Juan de Ipapa. On the west 103
side of the Parashi Hills in the plains is another well-known central 443
trading station Joroy; chief, Majuté, an Ipuana; probably near the old 592
site of the Spanish settlement Moscote. In the neighbourhood are: 621
Guarirpanturi; chief, Concón, an Ipuana. A Dutchman from Aruba [167]
has lived here many years, and has become quite an Indian. Alpiapá,
a few ranchos on an eminence commanding the whole valley. The
Indians here are rather mixed, but the chief is a Pushaina. The well
Kapaulera, at the base of the hill, is the finest I saw, and surrounded with
rich green vegetation similar to that of Macuira. Katunasió, the most
inland station. It is generally the traders that make a rancho known, for
the Indians do everything they can to keep their abodes, if not secret, at
any rate as much in the dark as possible. The plains being more unsettled
than the mountain district, traders do not venture to establish them-
selves in the interior, as at Morunay or Joroy, so few ranchos are known.
The most important place in the Lower Goajira is Guincua, midway 361
between Riohacha and the Venezuelan town of Las Guardias or Santa 648
Teresa. Paraguaipoa, the new Venezuelan military colony, founded in
1882, counts already 50 houses. It is situated in the plains 12 miles in
advance of Santa Teresa, which it completely covers. The garrison at
present consists of 30 men, well mounted and found in every respect,
under the orders of a commander, two secretaries, and two interpreters;
the latter for the purpose of taking statistics as to trade, &c. Altogether
it is a model establishment, and does honour to the Government of
Venezuela. The entire population of the Goajira may be about 20,000; 161
it does not exceed 25,000, and is not increasing.

As regards manners and customs and the way they enforce their old 672
peculiar laws, these Goajiros are particularly interesting. Of course, 681
like all Indians, they are singularly proficient in begging, stealing, and 628
drinking, but besides these capital vices they add a fourth, that is
demanding compensation, tear- or blood-money—principal cause of all
the strife and blood feuds between the castes, and an everlasting danger
to Indians and strangers alike. Whereas about one-quarter of the male
population die a violent death from its result, another quarter are killed
by drink and its effects. The laws that govern these compensation cases
are very intricate, their number is legion. First is the terrible law of
retribution, that makes a whole caste responsible for the acts of any
single member. As the Spaniards or white men are considered by the [609]
Indians as belonging to one large family, the country is very unsafe for
travelling, for every white man is a sort of hostage for the good be-
haviour of the others. If an Indian should be killed in a quarrel by a
white man, the life of another white man, living leagues away, depends
upon whether the foe (relations of the dead Indian) or a friend brings
the news first. Many an innocent unconscious trader has been sacri-
ficed at one end of the peninsula for a foul murder committed at the
other end.

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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648 iards. After 1830, however, as a result of better treatment from the Whites, thanks in part to the efforts of Juan MacPherson, they become more friendly. Present authorities in the *Goajiro* region merely regulate frontier traffic.

797 The attempts by the Capuchin Fathers to alter their ways of life have
177 been unsuccessful. Except for the thin Catholic veneer, noticeable in baptismal rites and Spanish names, *Goajiro* social life seems to have been little affected by centuries of contact with Hispanic culture. Foreign influence is more apparent materially in iron implements, utensils, guns, textiles, and ornaments. All the domestic animals are of Spanish origin.

161 As a result of tuberculosis, smallpox, and venereal disease, the *Goajiro*
164 are gradually dying out, and the population estimates found in the literature have become smaller and smaller, the most recent indicating a scant 18,000.

PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

142 The *Goajiro* are usually described as aggressive and untrustworthy, of
[18] medium or small stature (cf. J. A. Mason, 1926, pp. 39, 52), copper colored, with jet-black hair, dark eyes rather obliquely set, a broad and blunt nose, and a large mouth (pl. 72, *bottom, right*). Within the tribes there are physical differences which seem to correspond with social status,
[565] the lower classes being smaller and more Indian in appearance, while those of higher rank are more often of a greater stature, with curlier hair and larger noses.

LANGUAGE

197 The *Goajiro* language belongs to the *Arawakan* family. There is, however, no good analysis of it. A grammar, "replete with errors" according to Simons, was published by Rafael Caledon in 1878. Various word lists have been published from time to time.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.**—The *Goajiro* have a poor opinion of agriculture, and only
[55] the poorer sibs practice it. The one fertile part of the peninsula is near Punta Espada. Here the land is well cultivated, and plantains, maguey, onions, coca, sugarcane, and grain are grown. Tobacco, bananas, maize, gourds, manioc, sweetpotatoes, millet, beans, and watermelons also are raised. Those who own cattle grow only small patches of quick-maturing corn for the purpose of making chicha beer.

22 **Hunting, fishing, and gathering.**—Hunting, fishing, and gathering occupy a minor place. Deer, armadillos, land tortoises, and rabbits are

9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
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cordial, no fights or even harsh words between them was ever noticed, and when Perez was arrested, as mentioned before, his wife showed great concern and distress and did everything possible to have him released from jail and brought home. Still the question of how much real affection, especially on Perez's part, is involved in this marriage cannot be answered with certainty. As regards the grantings of favors to the Guajiro, it is obvious that he makes a careful selection and never or hardly ever grants them to indivduals who could not, in the future, be of some help to him.

Whether or not Perez will attain a position of respect and leadership such as Panchito Silva and José de la Rosa Fernandez enjoy is hard to say, but the writer will try to make an analysis of the situation and draw certain tentative conclusions.

There is no doubt that clan leadership with all its privileges and responsibilities is slowly dying out in the Guajira. Among the 25 odd clans existing at present the writer has met only two individuals who have all the earmarks of a true economic, political, and social leader, namely, Panchito Silva and José de la Rosa Fernandez. Informants have told him that there are two others, the heads of the Epinayú and the Epieyú clans living in the upper Guajira and in Colombia respectively. From what information was gathered these two other leaders fit closely to the pattern described for Silva and Fernandez. The remainder of the clans have no true, powerful leaders, although they do have elder members who are more or less respected and consulted in certain clan matters. Around the turn of the century, however, according to the information gathered first hand from old men like Silva and Fernandez, and from the literature, there were at least twenty powerful leaders among the clans.

Undoubtedly one of the contributing factors to the breakdown of clan leadership has been the great horizontal movement in population among the Guajiro in the last fifty years. Such spread would tend, naturally, to break down the regional characteristics of the clan and ultimately help to bring about a loss of personal contact between a leader and the rest of his clan and hence the loss of control. Whether there are other economic, social, or political factors in operation favoring this breakdown is not fully known. The writer suspects that there may be but this problem would need further intensive investigation. The

/15 cont./

854 /ajuar/ for the coming child. Many times the mother is forced to improvise items by using old robes to wrap him in or a bag made of agave fiber for his hammock to protect him from the cold at night.

The Guajiro woman who is in contact with civilization and is comfortably off economically prepares a hammock for the arrival of the child, or weaves it or has it made afterward, using the hanks of cotton thread she has received as gifts. Children 854 wear clothes only when they go on trips. If they are baptized 291 in the Catholic faith, they receive their outfit /ajuar/ from their [608 godmother, who is also expected to present a dress to the mother. 431] As the child usually goes about naked, they do not make any clothes to wear. Some rather long cloths useful as swaddling clothes and coverlets are prepared and serve various purposes. Wherever possible the mothers try to avoid the child's dirtying them with his excretions, in order to lighten the problem of cleanliness, since water is scarce. /16/

854 Neither are the Guajiro mothers in the habit of wrapping bellybands round their infants. The navel is left exposed even [164] when it is not completely healed. For this reason ruptures are frequent as well as the death of the newly born due to infection of the navel. But they do use a kind of awning fixed over the [136] child's hammock to protect him from falling centipedes, snakes, and scorpions that abound in the roofs of the huts, which are covered with plant materials.

* * *

Care, training, and treatment of young children. From birth the child is looked after by people other than his mother, as she is obliged to seek such assistance to be able to attend to her other domestic obligations or to rest and have someone to whom she can delegate this care. When she goes to a place relatively near by, the mother does not take the child but leaves it in the care of his older brothers and sisters or her relatives, when they

/79/

548 177 Furthermore, doing away with marriage by payment destroys with it the family backing which, in the economic sense, means as much to the woman, the man, and the children as to the maternal relatives through the system of payments, repayments, and compensations that are consequent on it. Above all, the woman loses the social and economic backing of her group, and the man the guarantee of her fidelity.

The woman who has migrated and has taken to this way of life while outside her native land, or who has accepted it in her own homeland, usually will not return to the country, or if she does it is only to live there while she spends the money she has earned, to return later and resume her trade. Today prostitution is a menace to all La Guajira. Young Indians who have not been able to obtain a wife or simply anyone who wants sexual satisfaction will find it with a Guajiro woman by means of a casual payment, and with prostitution has come a new scourge for the Guajiro: [164] venereal diseases, brought and spread by those who have acquired it in their relations with the civilizados. Ignorance on the part of the prostitute of hygienic precepts which would free her from these ills has resulted in the disease increasing dangerously. [757] Moreover, there exists in the peninsula no clinic where the native can go for treatment, and there is only one doctor and a poorly equipped hospital in Uribia. Hence, prostitution has aided, and still aids, not only social bankruptcy by the wreck of the institution of the family but also physical degeneration by the unrestricted spreading of venereal diseases among the youth of the country.

583 Outfit and dowry of the woman. When a Guajiro woman is bought the family gives her the inheritance, in livestock, which is hers by right. These gifts go to her in accordance with her social standing and with the amount of the marriage payment, because this establishes the prestige of the maternal relatives. They know that a man who has paid dearly for his wife expects that she has not cost so much just for the sake of the marital satisfactions she may give him, or for her known high social status, but that in her price there will be included an inheritance handed over to the bride for life and at this time. He could not

132 [3] La Guajira is a semidesert region, a condition to which
133 four essential factors contribute, in our opinion: 1) the presence of sandy soil which absorbs the water of the small arroyos which flow from the mountain ridges; 2) the constant trade winds which blow strongly from the northeast over the peninsula and tend to temper the climate somewhat; 3) the lack of any real relief with elevations of importance which could act as a barrier to the clouds laden with moisture which are blown by the force of the winds toward the interior regions of the continent; 4) the high atmospheric temperatures which reach 42°C. in the shade at noon and are only slightly tempered by the trade winds and sea breezes.

These factors largely determine the hydrography of the peninsula in which, it may be said, there are only two permanent rivers, the Río Hacha, which forms the boundary with the neighboring department of Magdalena, and the arroyo Paraguichón, which marks the boundary with the republic of Venezuela. Beyond this the region is subject to the seasonal cycle of rainfall, which divides itself into a completely dry summer season with only rare light showers in what might be called spring (approximately in April) and a winter season with violent rains. This last season covers approximately the months of September to December/January, while the first, with the exception of the occasional rains in spring already mentioned, covers the remaining months of the year.

All these facts convert the peninsula during the summer
133 season into a true desert without vegetation, with the earth
134 covered with loose sand, particles of which are blown into the
[164] air by the prevailing winds, causing considerable trouble to travelers and even giving rise to eye infections among the natives. But in winter, when the abundant and copious rains have fallen, the soil, which in parts is below sea level, becomes so flooded that at times all land communications are totally obstructed even on improved [herradura] roads; the dry beds of currents of water are converted into true arroyos, water holes into ponds, and everything is an immense sea of fresh water.

One must also take into account the presence of some few
133 lakes, such as Guaraguarao, near Marañamana; Soledad, 20
312 kilometers south of Pájaro; Carazúa, approximately 30 kilometers west of Ríohacha; Sararapa, near Puerto López; and Cuisa,

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/16 cont./

854 live together, or her mother if she lives near by. If the mother does not return in time to feed the child, the relatives who are taking care of him will try to initiate him into taking some new food. When the trips are for a long time, the mother takes her little ones along seated on the burro which serves as their transport, in order to avoid the problem of starting them off on a new kind of food when they are very small or when she has no one in whose care she can leave them.

Frequently, the child will attach himself to a relative who shows him kindnesses or small attentions, but he prefers the care and company of his mother above all others and shows his happiness in her presence. This situation can change when the child passes his third year, an age when he begins to lose his devotion to his mother and to show it for a maternal uncle or aunt to whom he becomes attached and whom he follows as they carry out their various duties, even leaving his mother for long periods.

If the mother is poor and has no assistance in bringing up her child -- because she lives far away from her relatives and cannot afford the services of a female slave or bond servant -- she has to take care of him by herself. When the child is very small she [482] carries him in her arms except when he is sleeping, although at times he sleeps in her lap. When he has grown bigger and can sit up, his hammock is tied at the top to prevent his falling out when he wakes up.

The fourth month, when he starts to sit up, she carries him [482] during the day astride her hip and held by her arm. /17/ It must be noted that during the first month he is carried on her shoulder in an upright position, and he is seated on her legs, recumbent on her lap. At two months she does not give him this support for his back, and it is not unusual at four months for her to seat him [145] on the ground. From this time onward he begins to crawl, and it is then that the mother starts giving him slightly less personal attention as she lets him crawl about without worrying about what he picks up to eat or drink, so that it is at this age that the [145] greatest number of stomach troubles and an increase in infantile mortality occur.

[69 cont.]

of self-defense. If we take into account the high infant mortality among the Guajiro population, which reaches a very high rate (32.97%) according to the data collected by the investigators Virginia de Pineda Giraldo and María Rosa de Recasens, whose findings were published in the Boletín de Anqueología (47), we

47. Pineda Giraldo Roberto. "Informe preliminar sobre aspectos sociales y económicos de la Guajira [Preliminary Report on Social and Economic Aspects of La Guajira]."

can even better explain the series of prohibitions, of patterns established to protect the future mothers and unborn children from the malevolent influence of the spirits, whether of humans, animals, etc.

On the other hand, we can deduce from this study the following points: 1) Medicine practiced by shamans, intermediaries between the two worlds, is carried out almost exclusively on adults, for whom they prescribe the curative methods they deem essential in accord with the patient's illness. 2) On the other hand, curing by [70] divination, which we have called household curing, using a common term, has its field of action among newborn babies and mothers-to-be. 3) In this last type we encounter an extremely interesting fact, the ambivalence of certain animals, represented by their double capacity to cause illness and at the same time to cure it. 4) In the application of household preventative medicine, magic called sympathetic is frequently practiced. 5) In one of the accounts we find the occurrence of the magic action of a plant. This deals with the plant used to make the mammary glands secrete their milk after a mother had lost it and the child still requires to be breast fed. As the plant is able to produce milk, the mother by contact with it will inevitably be able to do the same, according to native belief. This aspect has been fully treated by Castiglione in one of the chapters of his work Encantamiento y Magia [Enchantment and Magic]. We wish to quote only a few paragraphs which will better clarify

[7 cont.]

132 Consequently at this time, the Indian faces a situation of misery
731 that has brought him to seek monetary income either as a worker in the maritime saltworks or as a herdsman in the neighboring haciendas of Venezuela and Colombia; or if he is obstinate in his attachment to his native soil, he has to put up with conditions of hunger, bond service, and even slavery in his own territory.

● 166 The lack of water has been the main factor leading to the
464 mass emigration of entire native families to the nearest centers of trade and work; there they enroll themselves as paid farm workers; or simply beg for charity, which is frequently seen in the streets and plazas of Maracaibo; or apply themselves to some other trade such as the making of charcoal to be sold in Ríohacha; or work in the loading and unloading of ships in neighboring ports.

* * *

121 All these facts that we have been describing and the little
114 that was known of this interesting Colombian aboriginal community led the Institute of Ethnology and Archaeology of the Ministry of National Education of Colombia to organize an expedition to study for a reasonable period of time the greater part of the characteristic social phenomena of this group of people, the actual social situation of the natives confronted by the new conditions of life, the anthropological aspect, the language, etc. This decision was put into effect with the ethnographic expedition of 1947, which, during the months of July, August, and September, traveled over a great part of the territory making the corresponding studies. [8] This expedition was composed of: the investigators, Licentiate Milcíades Chaves, Licentiate Virginia Gutiérrez de Pineda Giraldo, Señora María Rosa de Recasens, and the author.

The result of these investigations is the work we now present, the first of a series of publications which will cover the major part of the aspects of the material and spiritual life of the Guajiro.

The work to which these few lines serve as an introduction is based on facts carefully gathered by us in the field, especially by my wife Licentiate Virginia Gutiérrez de Pineda Giraldo, who kindly handed over data to be studied and added to ours, and we

9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
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reported several in the vicinity of the town of Riohacha in Colombia.

Residence is normally matrilocal, although, at present, there is a tendency towards neo-locality. The author has found no case of patrilocality either in the field or in the literature.

The names of the five more important clans in Guajiro society, and those with which we are concerned in this article are: Uriana, Epinayú, Pushaina, Guajariyú, and Epieyú. These designations have lost meaning in Guajiro and not even the oldest members questioned by the writer remember what they mean. The clans also have an animal or plant totem closely attached to food and hunting taboos. How deep this totemic aspect of the clan goes the writer does not know and the two references found in the literature, A. Ernst (1887) and A. Jahn (1927), simply mention the fact without going into details.

Today the clans have no distinct geographic distribution. Members of the different clans are found scattered more or less at random over the whole peninsula, and in both Colombia and Venezuela. This may be due perhaps to the extensive migrations of families within the region in their quest for water for themselves and their domestic animals. This necessity has also probably contributed to the gradual breakdown of the matrilocal residence. The earlier literature suggests that the clans may have had, at one time, certain regional characteristics. Juan de Castellanos cites that the Guajiros living near what is now the town of Riohacha all belonged to the Uriana clan. A. Ernst goes as far as showing a distribution map of the clans. A. Jahn and G. Hernandez de Alba draw their conclusion of geographic distribution for the clans based on the earlier sources but definitely state that today the clans present the scattered distribution the present writer found.

The Guajiro culture may be described in brief as pastoral, with a small-scale supplementary agriculture, especially in the southern part of the peninsula where water and more fertile lands are available. Domestic animals, cattle in particular, represent the foundation of wealth to the Guajiro. His economic position, and likewise his social status, is measured in the number of cattle, sheep, goats, asses and horses he owns. This pastoral complex permeates practically every aspect of the culture.

/42 cont./

593 With respect to the training of girls, the mother and the maternal relatives play an overwhelming part. When the family lives an isolated life, the influence of the maternal relatives diminishes, as we previously had occasion to see, but as the girl approaches puberty, she may be sent to the home of her grandmother or maternal aunts with whom she will live and whose influence will surround her at this period. We should moreover consider the occupations of a girl as she passes through different phases. When she is very young, in the poorer Guajiro
868 home, she is counted on as a helpmate to assist and replace the mother in her domestic duties so that with her and the other adult women of the family she learns to take her part in household activities: care of the children, drawing water and fetching firewood, cooking food, keeping up the fire, cleaning house, washing clothes, etc.

868 Later comes the time for her to help in the agricultural
462 work. As emigration has reduced the population of La Guajira in the past few years, women have found themselves obliged to
167 carry out work traditionally done by men. Thus there is a need to employ all hands available, and the girls of prepubertal age must contribute their help in the work. Although clearing away trees and underbrush and plowing are men's work, these are now being done by women in addition to the traditional jobs usually expected of them, such as sowing and harvesting, in which latter activity they are more effective than the men. The girls are trained in all these operations alongside the older women until they become completely expert.

Another angle of feminine economic life is weaving.
868 Only when she is at the prepubertal age, do the mother and
883 her female uterine relatives take charge of training the girl, as they consider that at this age her babyhood is over and it is necessary that she should give up the freedom she has so far enjoyed in order to take an interest in weaving. If there is an aunt skilled /at weaving/ at home, she will teach the girl; if not, she goes to the home of some kinswomen and stays with

/75 cont./

548 177 limitations. We have said that this applies to the lower classes because the mestizo woman of the upper-class groups are as modest and conservative, or more so, than the pure Indians. The mestizo woman of lower class is not under the control of her maternal relatives, and for this reason there is no repressive power capable of making her submit to that which is right.

548 167 Geographic conditions. A natural phenomenon is basically the cause of prostitution in La Guajira: the long summers /dry season/ that the peninsula has suffered during the past five years, a period in which the winter seasons /rainy season/ have been nonexistent, so that neither stock breeding nor agriculture have been able to subsist and have dwindled to a minimum, so ruining the traditional economy of the population. The result is that the native, seeing himself without resources to live, migrates or succumbs through inanition, as we were able to observe during our stay in that region. In this state of affairs the native will go to Venezuela where he finds paid work which alleviates his situation and that of his relatives in the peninsula. Sometimes the women also migrate with their families.

When the men emigrate, the family groups lose their elements of support in difficult situations, and the women and children are left with diminished protection and control, that is to say, they depend on themselves. When the assistance from the men is limited, the families must live by any means they can, and they then feel the attraction of the /urban/ centers where they expect to be able to find the solution to their problem of making a living. They migrate, and their only opportunity is in prostitution. There the women begin a way of life foreign to their social organization, made easier by the absence of male relatives who would put a stop to that way of life, since by being absent they cannot present their claims for compensation payment, and, furthermore, they are, generally, unaware of this state of affairs. The married woman whose husband is absent over long periods, impelled by this same situation and her own sexual need, turns to prostitution without anyone /76/ to make the corresponding claim. Married

/76 cont./

548 and unmarried women come for periods from the country to the
167 urban centers; they settle in shacks on the outskirts, live by easy virtue for a time to procure enough to purchase new robes and food, and return home until these provisions have been used up, when they again return to the centers and to the sex market.

In addition to the summers which have made the traditional
548 economic life impossible, the situation is made more acute by
434 the fact that provisions have to be brought in from the neighbor-
167 ing department of Magdalena, since of all that is consumed in the peninsula nothing can be grown there. But the contraband agricultural produce smuggled from this area to Maracaibo, where for various reasons they pay a higher price for these products, encourages the export of these from the country, so increasing the problem of hunger in La Guajira, as the cost of provisions rises and the trader, on his part, increases his price to cover what he considers his due as middleman. In this way the basic things required by the Guajiro, corn and panela, reach an exorbitant price, especially in the more remote places where the source of supply is in the hands of one trader.

Furthermore, the woman finds few sources of income in the
548 centers. Only those women of upper La Guajira /La Alta Guajira/
167 who have been educated in the Capuchin mission can work different kinds of woven cloth which find acceptance in the markets of Maracaibo and in the department of Magdalena. Practically no one wants to work in domestic service because their natural independence unsuits them to accommodate themselves to the demands. Some collect divi-divi in season, others help their husbands in the saltworks, but there the wages paid are so low that they are almost worthless and not encouraging.

Having little to occupy themselves with, their domestic work being reduced to a minimum, they pass the time in incredible idleness, gossiping among themselves, lying in their hammocks, and in the evenings going into the urban centers, if they live near by, to offer themselves to the natives of the civilizados /nonnatives, see below/ who at that hour are leaving their work.

/76 cont./

548 Another of the aspects in which emigration influences
167 prostitution among the Guajiro women is that when they, alone or with their husbands and their relatives, go to Venezuela, they usually settle in Maracaibo and other centers in the state of Zulia, where the civilizado element looks on the Guajiro woman as a coveted solution to their sex problems. Various causes influence this outlook: The women have no effective protection, they are healthy and easily seduced with cheap presents which they overvalue in their poverty; also, they are nearly always looked down on as inferior, as belonging to the lowest social level. This pursuit of the women for sexual purposes is so intense that the story is told of /77/ girls arriving in Maracaibo in the morning who have by afternoon received attractive offers before which they have succumbed. The missionaries endeavor to intervene, but it is useless; the cajolery and promises are more attractive than good advice and the training of their childhood and youth. When they are not public prostitutes they are bought, according to Guajiro law, by married Venezuelan men and are thus partially introduced into that society in the role of concubines until they are repudiated at the whim of their masters.

548 In addition to these reasons, the women see the apparently advantageous situation that their friends and relatives have acquired for themselves, and they think that what they have to lose is not so much when compared with the resulting benefits. The poverty they have suffered at home in their own country and the promise of an easy solution overcomes the resistance of the most reluctant. Furthermore, their friends are the first to advise them to take the step. Guajiro law is so far away it seems they are beyond its reach, and they cannot weigh the disastrous consequences of this life except from their own and immediate point of view. All these combined causes lead the Guajiro woman who migrates on the road to prostitution, which unavoidably happens sooner or later, and she will not afterward return to the normal life of her /family/ group.

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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the site of the old Spanish settlement San Juan de Ipapa. On the west 103
side of the Parashi Hills in the plains is another well-known central 443
trading station Joroy; chief, Majuté, an Ipuana; probably near the old 592
site of the Spanish settlement Moscote. In the neighbourhood are: 621
Guarirpanturi; chief, Conocón, an Ipuana. A Dutchman from Aruba [167]
has lived here many years, and has become quite an Indian. Alpiapá,
a few ranchos on an eminence commanding the whole valley. The
Indians here are rather mixed, but the chief is a Pushaina. The well
Kapaulera, at the base of the hill, is the finest I saw, and surrounded with
rich green vegetation similar to that of Macuira. Katunasió, the most
inland station. It is generally the traders that make a rancho known, for
the Indians do everything they can to keep their abodes, if not secret, at
any rate as much in the dark as possible. The plains being more unsettled
than the mountain district, traders do not venture to establish them-
selves in the interior, as at Morunay or Joroy, so few ranchos are known.
The most important place in the Lower Goajira is Guincua, midway
between Riohacha and the Venezuelan town of Las Guardias or Santa 361
Teresa. Paraguaipoa, the new Venezuelan military colony, founded in 648
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under the orders of a commander, two secretaries, and two interpreters;
the latter for the purpose of taking statistics as to trade, &c. Altogether
it is a model establishment, and does honour to the Government of
Venezuela. The entire population of the Goajira may be about 20,000; 161
it does not exceed 25,000, and is not increasing.

As regards manners and customs and the way they enforce their old 672
peculiar laws, these Goajiros are particularly interesting. Of course, 681
like all Indians, they are singularly proficient in begging, stealing, and 628
drinking, but besides these capital vices they add a fourth, that is
demanding compensation, tear- or blood-money—principal cause of all
the strife and blood feuds between the castes, and an everlasting danger
to Indians and strangers alike. Whereas about one-quarter of the male
population die a violent death from its result, another quarter are killed
by drink and its effects. The laws that govern these compensation cases
are very intricate, their number is legion. First is the terrible law of
retribution, that makes a whole caste responsible for the acts of any
single member. As the Spaniards or white men are considered by the
Indians as belonging to one large family, the country is very unsafe for [609]
travelling, for every white man is a sort of hostage for the good be-
haviour of the others. If an Indian should be killed in a quarrel by a
white man, the life of another white man, living leagues away, depends
upon whether the foe (relations of the dead Indian) or a friend brings
the news first. Many an innocent unconscious trader has been sacri-
ficed at one end of the peninsula for a foul murder committed at the
other end.

[11 cont.]

*756 might dedicate herself to her teaching. The woman shaman called for the purpose recognized at once that our informant had the spirit appropriate to her calling and began the tutelage of the new curer [curandera].

Another woman shaman narrated the first symptoms of her vocation in this way. When she had reached the age of reason, [881] that is, about ten or eleven years of age (the time of the initiation for the change from girl to young woman: the beginning of puberty), she felt one day a need to perform a bodily function. She went into the woods to do this, but no matter how much she tried she was unable to do it. This situation repeated itself several times. At night she dreamed that a spirit descended and, [787] taking her by the hand, led her to a stream where there was a big field of plantain and ahuyama. At sunrise the next day [12] she woke up depressed and trembling. She heard a voice in her ear saying, "Eat manilla and macuira (3)." She frequently lost [226]

3. A plant with a leaf similar to that of tobacco.

consciousness and when she came to again was weak and trembling. When she ate what was ordered, the shivering and feeling of illness disappeared as if by enchantment, and she remained in perfect health. She was going to be a shaman. Her mother, who was already one, announced this fact and prepared to begin her training according to the rules.

*756 From the personal statements of these two shamans which we have just reported and from other relative data that we have 787 been able to obtain by word of mouth from other informants, we 171 can deduce the following: 1) The graduations to the rank of shaman (the illumination, we might better call it) are revelations of the wanurú ("spirit of death") which enters the body of certain persons chosen by it, that they may exercise the office of curer magicians. As a proof of the presence of the spirit in new shamans through manifestations of revelation, we may see among the Bororó tribe of Brazil, for example, how the spirit appears in the shape of a monkey or water hog (4), and among the

4. Métraux, Alfred. Le Chamanisme chez les Indiens de l'Amérique du Sud Tropicale

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[12 cont.]

[Shamanism Among the Indians of Tropical South America], I, p. 203.

Apinagé [Apinaye] shamans are designated "by the soul of some close relative who puts them in communication with the world of the spirits, from whom they obtain their medical science." (5)

5. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 203.

Hubert and Mauss, referring to this same matter, state the following: "Magic virtue is acquired by revelation in the majority of Australian tribes. Normally, this revelation is produced in the course of a dream or in an ecstatic or semiecstatic state. This revelation is generally the work of spirits, spirits of the dead, pure spirits, and probably very frequently the work of spirits less clearly classified, whose qualities are not defined and whose mythical figure floats between the shades of mankind, the animal, and the divinity of nature (6)." And with respect to revelation

6. Origen de los poderes mágicos en las sociedades australianas [Origin of Magic Powers in Australian Societies] by Hubert and Mauss, III, 235.

they tell us again: "It is possible and even probable that the theme of the revelation by the spirits of the dead is at least confounded in one and the same complex myth with the theme of the revelation by pure spirits." (7)

7. Ibid. [13]

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2) This spirit reveals its presence by means of a sudden illness, as we have just seen in previously mentioned incidents, or by other variable symptoms, but they are usually actual hysterical attacks, in which the spirit manifests itself by strong convulsions and by loss of consciousness to signify it has entered into possession of the person destined to become a shaman.

[13 cont.]

*756 764 With respect to the hysterical attacks so characteristic of shamans, there exists considerable confirmation of this in a fact which is connected with the death of these curers. Custom demands that when one of them dies, it is essential that their wake be kept for three consecutive days and nights, because as these attacks oocur frequently and at times last for a considerable time, there is a fear that the shaman may not be really dead and that consequently he may be buried alive if the mourners do not wait for a reasonable time to see if he recovers.

*756 276 3) A magic plant, tobacco, is involved in the making of a new shaman in two ways: (a) The aspiring shaman must chew it for several consecutive days in order to enter into a state of ecstasy and so provoke the absorption of the spirit by his person. One must remember that at the moment the initiate has an attack, a piece of tobacco or manilla is put into his mouth. When [827] he recovers consciousness, he belches loudly because of the action of the tobacco, and these belches are considered to be canticles of praise and gratitude to the spirit which desires to reside in him. The establishment of relations between the spirit and the medicine-man aspirant by means of a magic plant, such as the tobacco we have referred to, is found also among the Conibo: "The apprentice shaman of the Conibo of the Ucayali receives his medical [171] science from a spirit. To enter into communication with the latter, the shaman drinks a decoction of tobacco and smokes as much as he can in a hermetically sealed hut." (8) [Cited in French.]

8. Métraux. Op. cit., 204.

*756 787 (b) The diviner must see in the different changes in the embers of the tobacco whether the individual whose future he foretells after an attack of illumination will become a true shaman or not. His verdict is final.

4) Dreams, or at least hallucinations, are decisive factors in the determination of the quality of shaman.

*756 5) The vocation of shaman cannot be renounced. Better said, it does not depend upon the individual himself; once the symptoms have appeared and the diviner has given a favorable

*756 [13 cont.]
verdict, the decision must be accepted; otherwise he will die for having disobeyed the orders of the spirit. [14]

*756 114 171 Métraux, referring to the abnormal physical and psychic characteristics of the medicine man says: "Im Thurn" (Among the Indians of Guiana. London, 1883, p. 334) "declares that among the Indians of British Guiana shamans are recruited from among epileptics, but this affirmation, which no other authority confirms, could well have been inspired by the behavior of the piai in the course of his trances." (9) [Cited in French.]

9. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 201.

On our part, we can say that we also were tempted to classify as epileptic the attacks which the shaman suffers at the beginning of what we have called his vocation, since the symptoms described make one easily believe that they are such. But when we learned of the curious and interesting aspect of sexual taboo, possibly more severe for the woman than the man, which we shall describe fully in future chapters, we were then inclined to think of them as a form of hysteria, and for this reason we have called them hysterical attacks.

It might be thought that the effect of the tobacco or some other narcotic is what brings about this state of trance or ecstasy, but one must bear in mind that one of the clear signs of the illumination is the attack which occurs before taking the narcotic or stupefying drug. This makes us disagree with Professor Métraux when he states: "No anomaly or physical or physiological particularity seems to have been chosen as the symptom of a special predisposition for the practice of shamanism." (10) [Cited in French.]

10. Ibid., I, 202.

Furthermore, the visions and loss of consciousness are confirmed by Kurt Nimuendajú, cited by Professor Métraux when referring to the Bororó:"... a spirit appears before him in the form of a monkey or water hog and demands of him his submission. His head whirls, a thousand colors dance before his eyes: he has

*756 [14 cont.]
114 become a bari." (11) [Cited in French.]
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11. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 203.

We find another proof of the sick personality of the shaman, which would appear to be an almost indispensable requisite of the profession, among the Yaruro of the plains of Venezuela. "Every community has its own priest or musician. This is a shaman or piache. He is a more or less retarded being from the psycho-physiological point of view and one whose soul — he says — journeys to the land of the gods during religious ceremonies." (12) [15]

12. Le Besnerais, Henry. Algunos aspectos del río Capanaporo y de sus indios Yaruros [Some aspects of the Capanaporo River and of its Yaruro Indians], p. 18.

*756 Period of training. Continuing with the story of the woman shaman with which we began this chapter about magic in La Guajira, we shall now see how the older shaman called in for the purpose carried out the training of the aspirant. She transmitted all her knowledge in a long period of training. She took hold of the apprentice, sat her on her knees, made her take up the ceremonial maraca, and with her own hand showed and directed her in all the required movements. She proceeded to invoke the spirits and to make her pupil repeat all the motions, positions, prayers, and canticles. This operation was carried out several times during the day and at times during the night. Furthermore, the old shaman was always on the alert for the various orders and indications which the spirit imparted to the pupil. After some time had elapsed in this training, the spirit said to the instructress: "Withdraw. Now the young woman can be a shaman." Afterward it gave instructions regarding the fiesta of culmination about which we shall learn in the corresponding section.

During the period of training the teacher shaman demanded from the initiate some proofs of her knowledge [ciencia]. On one occasion she said, "Take a firebrand and make an attempt at divination." The girl obeyed and proceeded to divine as she had

[18 cont.]
*756 to bring on lactation, to gain weight, etc., are partly public
755 knowledge and partly privately known by a few families who tra-
[208 ditionally preserve the secret of their use for their personal benefit.
847] By what has been previously stated we see how the cere-
mony of healing is a perpetual invocation of the spirit, a con-
tinual fear that it might withdraw its aid for whatever motive,
and a perennial anxiety to satisfy its slightest wish in order to
obtain the success sought. To give evidence for this we shall
see how the Guajiro shaman effects a cure when he has been
called in to handle one.

First of all, before he initiates such activities, he demands
[431] a gift. For this reason whenever a native needs the services of
the shaman for magico-medical attention for some relative, he
goes to present himself to the shaman with a gold necklace or
some other valuable present.

•171 Each time the shaman goes to cure a sick person he takes
*756 with him two maracas. This custom is rather widespread in
755 South America, where the magic power of the maraca appears
to be extraordinary and is commonly accepted, although with
some variations from tribe to tribe whether in the [19] quality
of its different parts, in the artifacts adornment, in the manner
of using it, etc. To corroborate this it is sufficient to quote
Professor Métraux again, who says, in reference to the apprentice
shaman: "During his initiation the novice learns to make use of
the accessories indispensable to the magic art. The most im-
portant of all, that which in some manner symbolizes the profes-
sion is the maraca or rattle made from a calabash containing some
seeds or pebbles and provided with a handle." (15) [Cited in
French.]

15. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 217.

[352] The medicine man accommodates himself in a seat especially
reserved for such occasions and carved in wood in the form of an
animal, but if such an artifact is lacking, he will use any con-
venient seat. The custom of using a seat of this type is also found
in the Guianas. "The wooden seat is an equally indispensable
accessory for the shaman of the Guianas. It is often carved in the
form of a jaguar, an animal that plays an important part in the

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[19 cont.]
invocations of the spirits and in the metamorphosis of the shaman." (16) [Cited in French.] The shaman moves his torso in gyra-

16. Ibid., I, 218.

tion. When he is in trance and effecting a cure which requires the invocation of the spirit, no noise must be made as this will cause the spirit to become frightened and to flee; and being left without his protector spirit, the shaman will suffer violent fits and fall to the ground in severe convulsions. The shaman [276] always carries a piece of manilla in these cases; he chews it and becomes intoxicated with the juice, which induces him to sing with greater verve. The juice of the manilla also serves to spray [824] the body of the patient as well as the walls and all around the house to frighten away the malignant spirit. This custom of the magic use of tobacco is also very common in America; not to overexpand the subject we limit ourselves to giving a simple example cited by Pauly with reference to the Araona Indians of Bolivia: "They use tobacco dust mixed with coca to cure their sick and ward off the evil spirits, chewing it and spitting the juice on the body of the sick person. They also spit it at the heavens to calm the storms and at the river when it is in flood." (17)

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17. Pauly, Antonio. Ensayo de Etnografía Americana. Viajes y Exploraciones [Essay on American Ethnology. Voyages and Explorations], VI, 128.

755 The treatment really begins with a chant of invocation to the spirits. While the ceremony is performed the shaman continually chews tobacco and he rubs the juice formed by the saliva and the juice of the plant over the body of the patient; and immediately after this, he energetically sucks several consecutive times at the affected parts of the body of the sick man to draw [753] out [20] the malignancy. (The sickness that the native has, no matter what may be its special characteristics or from whence it may have arisen, is derived from the malevolent action of the

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[25 cont.]

> universal god of the Guajiro Indians is none other than the protector divinity of rainfall and the propitiator of the harvests.

is invoked by a singular chant known by the name of fumayule, and wanurú, the spirit of sickness and of death by that of jiraíray. The latter is the spirit that demands [26] offerings, the one that interposes himself in cases of sickness, impeding their cure, for it never wants to lose its hold on the sick person's soul it has imprisoned, so causing the illness. It is also the one which discusses with the shaman's protector spirits and the shaman himself the handing back of the patient's soul so that he can recover his lost health. We deem it necessary to make it clear that all the [775] spirits of the dead are named wanurú; for this reason their number is immense. The only difference that we have been able to establish between the wanurú and the shaman's protector spirits lies, in our opinion, in the fact that the latter are the spirits of • 171 shamans who have died but who wish to keep on carrying out *756 their functions through others after death. Our statement is con- 775 firmed by Professor Métraux, who, quoting Tessman, affirms: 776 "The Campa and Amahuaca medicine men claim to receive their knowledge from some shaman, living or dead. Either the soul makes the advances and visits its pupil in a dream, or the novice, intoxicated with ayahuasca, sends his other self among the spirits to receive teaching. (19) [Cited in French.]

19. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 203.

And further along he states: "The auxiliary spirits can be of different kinds. Among the Tauripáng and the Roucouyenne [Rucuyen]" — according to Koch Grünberg — "they are the souls of former shamans, or spirits of plants or animals." And later: "The distinction between the two types of Bororo shamans is mainly based on the different origin of the spirits from which they derive their power. The shamans called bari are possessed by bope, ... which are either spirits of nature or souls of dead

[26 cont.]

colleagues. On the other hand, the aroettawaraare are mediums chosen by the souls of ancestors and their main function is to serve as intermediaries between the world of the living and that of the dead," according to Colbacchini. (20) [Cited in French.]

20. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 211.

Hubert and Mauss, speaking of magic revelations by the dead among Australian tribes, state as follows: "The simplest manner in which the authors describe this revelation consists in stating that the parents' spirits are those that give magic power to their children. The precision is even greater when the author expressly states, as does Howitt, with respect to the Kulin on the Wimmera River that only young men who have seen their mother's spirit seated on her grave are capable of becoming wizards." (21) And specifically in one of the stories narrated

21. Hubert and Mauss. Op. cit.

to our colleague Chaves in La Guajira with relation to the shaman Umaralá, [27] we find the following statement: "Every afternoon Umaralá set out to walk to the cemetery to visit the grave of his aunt and to light fires to her memory — she having been a very wise shaman — but on one occasion he had a clear vision of his aunt for whom he was grieving, and she said to him: "Go, my son, to the region of Jarara, take my cloak and my maraca, visit the sick and "shamanize" them, and only thus will you find the true path." (22)

22. Chaves, Micfades. Mitos, legendas, etc. [Myths, Legends, etc.], p. 322.

With respect to the number of each shaman's protector spirits, we can state that Josefina, one of our personal informants, had eight, three male and the rest female. The names by which these spirits were known were the following: benawa,

[30 cont.]

*756 for his services as a curer; the flesh of animals sacrificed during
262 anyone's wake or during the ceremony of the second burial, especially if it is the remains of a shaman which are to be exhumed; ordinary food during the days on which he is carrying out his profession when he should limit himself to a small portion of corn mazamorro [cooked crushed corn] and water. Hence, the cattle
[423] he receives at his spirit's request in exchange for his cures are used in an indirect manner, being kept for breeding purposes.

● 171 We also find that the food taboo among shamans is characteristic among the Cashinawa Indians, according to the text
262 published by Capistrano de Abreu and cited by Métraux. Accord-
*756 ing to them the souls (spirits) say to the initiate: "I have innoculated you with the magic substance. Do not, therefore, eat carelessly any sort of nourishment or you will lose your magic power (feitico). Eat sparingly. Drink soup, eat cooked bananas and fish. Eat nothing but that!"

They say: "When you do not eat [sic]. Do not eat the tapir, do not eat the deer, do not eat the peccary, do not eat jaguar, do not eat nambú, do not eat the jaeau, do not eat the cujubin, do not eat the coati, do not eat the guariba, do not eat the monkey. These are the foods that you may not eat. If you do eat them [31] we will kill you, say the spirits. Among vegetables do not eat sweet potatoes, sweet manioc, or the innames." (25) [Cited in French.]

25. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 204.

*756 So far as the other objects that the shaman receives as pay-
422 ment for his work, neither may he use these directly. He simply keeps them, or he gives them to his children [hijos] as he does
[428] with the cattle. These objects, if they are not handed over while he is alive, will be divided up after his death among his heirs in accordance with Guajiro customary law....

*756 Death of a shaman. When a shaman becomes ill he has to
765 call in a colleague to practice on him all the ceremonies and rites indispensable for fending off the illness, since curers have the power to cure others but are not able to cure themselves.

[32 cont.]

*756 various spirits by one person. They are several spirits associated
775 by this post-mortem relationship which act inseparably in their
787 function as counselors.

It is also very probable that the protector spirits invoked by the shamans may not be anything other than the spirits of famous deceased shamans of times past to whom they turn for aid. In this case they would only have to make a change of name due to the taboo relating to the use of the name of dead persons, which we shall explain in the corresponding chapter.

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114 Before continuing with our subject, we wish to make cer-
•171 tain clarifying statements with respect to the presence of women
SC2 in the science of magic in La Guajira and in general among
*756 primitive Americans. We have already seen that among the Guajiro Indians the only basic condition required to become a shaman is what we have called the "revelation," accompanied by the symptoms described earlier. The sex, age, or economic and social position of the person is not taken into account in any way. It is, as we have stated, only necessary to be of a hysterical nature. However, Métraux in his work which we have repeatedly quoted states:

"In tropical South America the profession of shaman appears to be as a general rule reserved for the masculine sex. One does find, however, among many writers reference to women shamans." (26) [Cited in French.] According to these authors

26. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 198.

quoted by Métraux, (Rochefort, Roth, Koch, Grünberg, and Ives d'Evreux), women shamans are to be found in the Antilles and among the Tupinamba, Taulipang, Arekuna [Arekena], and Macushi [Macusi].

With reference especially to women shamans in La Guajira, Métraux maintains the following, based on Petrullo's The Yaruros of the Capanaparo River: "Among the Arawak tribe of the Guajiro

[32 cont.]

114 the number of women shamans is greater than that of the men
●171 piai. At the suggestion of these latter, women will enter the
562 profession following a call from the spirit world and [33] are
*756 initiated into the secrets of their art by an experienced shaman who at night teaches them to handle the rattle and sing their magic songs." (27) [Cited in French.] He likewise quotes cases

27. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 199.

of women shamans among the ancient Mojo Indians of eastern Bolivia and the Itonama, neighbors of those previously mentioned (28), as well as among the Apapocuva (Guaraní), the

28. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 199.

Cobeuo, the Palikur, and the Carajá (29).

29. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 200.

Further on, speaking of the role of women in witchcraft, he says: "With the exception of the passage in Ives d'Evreux..." (relative to the Tupinamba) "there does not exist any description of a shamanistic seance of the current type being directed by a female piai. This hiatus is perhaps due to the poverty of our sources, but it is also revelatory of the real position of women in shamanism. The profession is open to them, but the role they play in it is modest. It appears they limit themselves to simple and easy cures, to various remedies, and to the recital of charms. Women do not usually take part in the invocation of spectacular spirits before the extraction of pathogenic substances. It is certainly not through the effect of simple coincidence that women shamans appear especially in the cultures that have come strongly under European influence (Guajiro, Yaruro, Palikur, Warrau, Itonama, and Guaraní, etc." (30) [Cited in French.]

30. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 200.

[35 cont.]

*756 their protection to him. When he is performing the ceremonial
775 indispensable for freeing the body and soul of a patient from the clutches of the wanurú, he represents nothing but the role of intermediary between two worlds and especially between two classes of spirits — that of his protector who wishes to save the sick person and that of others now dead who desire above all
[753] that the evil they have caused the person of the sick man should continue until it ends with his death, so that in this way they can avenge an offense received, or simply satisfy some capricious wish of their own, as beings capable — because of their position as inhabitants of another world, a position superior to everything we can imagine in this mortal universe — of doing any harm they wish.

755 This position of intermediary is clearly shown in the cere-
*756 mony of curing. The communication must be made through definite material objects which take on in their turn the character of untouchables: the maraca, the crown, the tassels which contain a representation of goat dung, and the tobacco or manilla, objects which cannot be used by others but only by shamans during their moments of trance or invocation; the solitude to which the curer submits himself during his invocations, with only his patient present, for fear that the protector spirit might disappear and refuse to give aid in the cure which the shaman is trying to effect; his protector spirit's demands for certain objects to satisfy the voracity of harmful spirits or its own, demands which must be complied with to the letter; the ritual chants which relate the different moments of agreement between the harmful spirits and that of the shaman; the sacrifice of an animal determined by the spirit — male goat, sheep, etc. — as recompense for the spirit's favors; and lastly, the expressed prohibition that rests on the shaman not to eat or use the [36] animals or objects that he receives in payment for his cures. All these are facts which clearly indicate that the shaman is no more than an intermediary or an earthly representative of the spirits of good, or even of evil, and above all of the dead shamans who wish to continue exerting their beneficial influence on the group to which they belonged in life.

171 This function of communication with the spirits, annexed
*756 to, and inseparable from, the personality of the medicine man,
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[36 cont.]

171 is universal. It is, so to speak, the ultimate end of his mission
*756 in the community. Professor Pinto reaffirms it when, speaking
787 of the Tupinambá pagé, he writes as follows. "Another of the functions or callings of the pagé was to communicate with the spirits or with the devil.... Frequently, as Nóbrega gives us to understand, by means of the maraca ...." And further on: "Naturally, the power to communicate with the spirits raised the pagé to the category of xamá. The xamá in Herbert König's exact definition is characterized by his faculty of speaking with the spirits, especially, in his moments of trance or ecstasy. Or, as Robert H. Lowie explains, the xamá is a kind of "medium" who possesses the gift of relating himself with the supernatural and serving as its interpreter." (31) [Cited in French.]

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31. Pinto Recife, Esteban. La extraña figura del Pagé Tupinambá [The Strange Figure of the Tupinambá Pagé], pp. 323-324.

171 Our contention regarding the involuntary nature of the pro-
*756 fession of shaman, and by the same token its irrenouncibility, is sustained by this report which Métraux has taken from Nimuendajú with reference to the Bororó: "The Bororó who is called upon to become a bari (medicine man) receives a mysterious order to deliver himself up in the bush, where the spirit will manifest itself to him in the form of a monkey or a water hog and will demand his submission. As a sign of acquiescence, he will give up his bow and arrows. His head will whirl; a thousand colors will dance before his eyes; he has become a bari." (32) [Cited in French.]

32. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 203.
Italics are ours.

*756 Apart from this domination to which the spirits subject the
828 shaman, converting him into a creature at the service of their wishes, there is another factor, perhaps more important in its external form than the previous ones and one that makes us think more of the double life of the shaman: This is his frequent attacks,

[48 cont.]

682 murderer's family after the crime were extremely cruel, as was to be expected given the Guajiro social organization. Their homes were burned down, their sources of water supply demol-
[567] ished, three men and four women were killed, and their children enslaved.

782 The interesting part of the subject we are now dealing with
751 lies in the sacrifice of animals. These apparently serve as
761 substitutes for the individuals whose sentence has been revealed in a dream. They take their place and are sacrificed in their stead. As a death has taken place, the evil spirit which had enslaved the future criminal in order to carry out its determination to harm him is now mollified by this act of propitiation. Moreover, as the animal (the black male goat in this case) shares the qualities of its owner by reason of such ownership, a part of the personality of the person sentenced to be punished in the dream is also sacrificed. The individual thus suffers two processes, death in part through the sacrifice of the animal and participation in the sacrifice by bathing in its blood.

● 171 Possible vestiges of this native belief still persist in
761 Colombian folklore in some parts of the departments of Antioquia,
825 Boyacá, Nariño, and Santander. There the people hold the be-
538 lief that when a domestic animal dies, especially if it is an animal that has been much loved by the people of the house, it is a sign that some member of the household had been about to die. The sentence of death which lay on that person, according to the explanation given in all cases, was transferred to the animal by a special concession from God, [49] thus avoiding a greater calamity to the family. In Nariño this belief, according to information from the Licentiate Chaves, appears in popular oral literature. There is in reality a story which tells of a recently married couple who felt or knew (we cannot say how) that they would die very shortly. To avoid this, the wife dedicated herself to breeding cuyes (curíes) [conejillo de Indias, a mammal of the order of rodents], which one by one died off; then she hastened to breed chickens, which also successively died; she then devoted herself to dogs, which also died. With the successive deaths of the animals, they were able to elude their own fate and lived happily together for a long time, free

971 [49 cont.]
538 from the menace of death that had weighed on them, and later
761 they were able to raise their domestic animals with greater
825 success than up to then.

000 Propitiation of the shaman's protector spirit. The sacrifice of animals as propitiation or thanksgiving offering to the spirit or spirits that have taken over the protection of the shaman is fully explained in the previous chapter, for which reason we abstain from making further reference to it.

782 Conclusions. We have the following facts regarding the
174 place of such sacrifices within Guajiro social organization: (a) Sacrifice of animals, of two kinds: one of a ritual funeral character and the other as a prevention of the fulfillment of dreams. (b) Human sacrifice, which may now be considered to have disappeared due to various circumstances which have already been described. (c) The first two exist at times in their original form, and at other times as mere survivals disguised in social rather than ritualistic forms, as happens for example in the sacrifice of animals during the secondary burial or the wake in the ceremony of the first burial. (d) But in any case the three show a distinct magic nature. (e) With respect to the sacrifice of animals we may suppose that in ancient times the animal sacrificed must have been a wild one from the forest obtained by hunting, as the Guajiro Indians, the same as all Colombian Indians and American Indians in general, were completely without, or almost without, any domestic animals, which were acquired only after the Conquest when the colonizing Spaniards imported them from the [Iberian] Peninsula to set up their ranches; (f) Based on this same socio-economic fact, we may presuppose quite an appreciable change in the content and form of certain types of ceremony, because the passing from one economy to another, particularly when it is so radical as [50] that of the
782 Guajiro, who changed his character of nomad hunter to that of herdsman and stock grazer, implies a very appreciable transformation in the general social organization. (g) In the sacrifice of children, and in that of animals in order to ward off the evils foreseen in dreams, we have to admit the contaminating effect of spilled blood — a very important taboo in La Guajira — which increases the malevolent effect of the magic

753 [73] In the Guajiro mentality sickness, as we were able to see
751 in the corresponding sections ("Medicine and Sickness" and "Life Cycle of the Shaman"), is not something provoked by natural causes but is the consequence of the malevolent action of some special being, above all, of a spirit. So a series of beliefs, magic preventatives, have been established in order to avoid or ward off the hostile action of these spirits on the individual, as we were able to note in the chapter "Sickness and Medicine." We also saw in the matter relating to magic and sickness how certain animals, plants, and objects could be agents by contamination or participation in the cause and development of
[775] sickness. But it is particularly the spirit of the dead, offended and malevolent, that causes major disasters among the Guajiro, as is shown by their beliefs and their own preventative systems.

We can get aid from linguistics to clarify this concept.
192 The word that the Guajiro uses for illness in general is wanurú,
753 and the same word is the one that is used for the spirit of the
775 dead — the devil, according to all writers and even to the na-
[797] tives themselves, due to the effects of religious acculturation provoked by the Capuchin fathers. Still further, if we break
[196] down the word we find that it is formed of three special particles, wa, num ru, which separately correspond to three different concepts: Wa is derived from the first person plural of the personal pronoun wayá, which means "we"; nu, or simply n, is nothing more than the general contraction of the third person singular of the personal pronoun niá, "he," and rú is a relative particle derived from surú or hurú (s or h according to which dialectal zone the word is taken from), which signifies "inside," "inside of," or "within." In view of the idiomatic composition of the Guajiro dialect, we can with all safety translate the word wanurú as follows: "he, inside of us." The linguistic construction therefore corresponds to a social reality: sickness, wanurú, is nothing more than that: the spirit of the dead that has entered an individual in order to cause him a particular illness for some disrespect or other that he has shown toward the spirit, or simply just because it is a malignant and vindictive spirit.

● 171 The relation sickness — death — spirit, which will later be
753 the object of a special study on our part, can be proved through
775 linguistics in many of the aboriginal Colombian and even American
*756

[73 cont.]

171 groups, as far as we have been able to discover personally or by
753 bibliographical inquiry. To give no more than a small sample of
775 this, let us see [74] two quotations which corroborate our previ-
*756 ous statement, but for clarity before doing this we have to recall a little about the place of the magician, sorcerer, medicine man, or shaman in aboriginal communities as an intermediary between two worlds, or as the sole means of communication with the spirits through which he successfully obtains his magic effects. This clarification is necessary because on many occasions the word used for sickness or death might be confused with the word used for shaman, or medicine man, for this very condition.

171 For example, Mother Laura, referring to the Katío [Catio]
*756 Indians (51) says: "Among the many peculiarities which study

51. The Katío Indians belong linguistically and culturally to the Chokó group of the Karib [Carib] linguistic family (Rivet, op. cit.). They lived and still live in a great part of the northeast of Antioquia department in the republic of Colombia.

of the customs, usages, and beliefs of the Catío tribe reveals, the most noticeable is jaibanism.

"The etymology of the word jaibaná is as follows: jai = sickness, pana = gathering (derived from capaná, flock or herd). Consequently, this word may be translated: a collection or gathering of sicknesses. The general acceptance is "doctor." (52)

52. Montoya, Laura (Rev. Mother). Nociones sobre usos y costumbres de los Catíos en el departamento de Antioquia [Notes on Usages and Customs of the Catío Indians in the Department of Antioquia], p. 148.

This word jaibaná to which Mother Laura refers corresponds to what ethnographically we might denominate medicine man as

[74 cont.]

171 756 he is the witch and curer of the tribe, as we learn from the Mother Superior's writings, a wizard whose supernatural powers place him at the peak of the social pyramid. This jaibaná is none other than an individual who has by himself and for himself absorbed the power of the spirits — of the dead — and who by this is able to carry out the same functions as they are capable of, that is, he can do evil or good as the fancy takes him. For this reason "when some illness suddenly attacks the Indians they say they are bewitched, and they point to the person from whom they have received the injury. They dream persistently of a certain jaibaná and that he observes them with a grim, severe look or that he lies in ambush for them armed with spears or guns, and from this they assume that the doctor of whom they dream is he who has bewitched them." (53) In this case it is

53. Ibid., p. 151.

therefore the jaibaná, ("collection of sicknesses," according to the etymology) who, taking advantage of his power both to absorb and dominate the spirits, goes about among the Indians causing them harm and also [75] curing them when sick people go to him in search of help. Again we meet with this duality which we have already pointed out regarding the spirits of the dead (friends — enemies) and which we showed in the previous chapter, "Sickness and Medicine," in regard to spirits in general, as well as animals.

171 776 797 775 Among the Chibcha Colombian Indians of the savannas of Cundinamarca, we also find a linguistic and conceptual correspondence between devil and death. In our opinion, among primitives there does not exist, or did not exist among the American aborigines before the Conquest, the concept of devil as such, but only of a spirit of evil which, although it may possess some similarity to the devil of our Catholic religion differs in many aspects from it. From all that we have been able to observe, the idea of the devil among the American primitives, introduced no doubt after the Conquest by Catholic missionaries, corresponds more to an entity, spiritual it is true and capable of

[75 cont.]

171 776 777 775 doing good or evil, but always a physical evil, not a spiritual one as done by the devil as conceived in the Catholic religion. Also, according to our observations, this same spirit of the primitives is none other than the spirit of the dead, of their ancestors, inhabitants of the "other world," an unreal world that is not directly tangible, or at least not completely so, to the senses but real in the conception, in the faith and beliefs of the primitives. This last characteristic of the American aborigines' demonic spirits, confused with the dead, separates them formally and conceptually from the idea of the devil as understood in Catholicism.

171 775 776 Returning to the Chibcha tribe of the savannas, we find that one of the words that their dialect uses to describe a dead person is guajaia (we retain the author's spelling), and the word for "devil" is guaioque. We can attempt to split up the second word in the following way: guaia, que. This last particle that we have split off has the sense of "strong," "vigorous." Thus, by splitting up guaioque — translated as "devil" by the different writers on the Chibcha language of Cundinamarca — would really have the meaning of "powerful dead one." (54) We could

54. The linguistic notes have been taken from two works: El Idioma Chibcha o aborigen de Cundinamarca [The Chibcha or Aboriginal Language of Cundinamarca] by J. Acosta Ortegoñ and Gramática, Vocabulario, Catecismo i Confesionario de la lengua Chibcha [Grammar, Vocabulary, Catechism, and Confessional of the Chibcha Language] by Ezequiel Uricoechea.

include many other quotations to corroborate our statement, but, as we have mentioned, we reserve [76] these for a separate work. We only wish to expound our general theory for the better understanding of this study. It is sufficient then for us once again to affirm that death, sickness, spirit (devil), and even medicine man are all concepts that belong to one and the same ideological circle, totally imbued with the spiritualistic content of magic related to the soul of the dead.

[80 cont.]

775 the following: "Because there are going to be more deaths in
787 the house."

In this story we can appreciate three very clear facts in relation to the dead: 1) that these can return to the bodily form they had when living ; 2) that their presence is an omen of coming misfortune as it announces the death of some member of the family, especially of the closest relatives; 3) that, as we have already noted, the spirit is incapable of communicating with the living by word of mouth.

158 The blind belief that the Guajiro have in the apparition
775 of the dead in bodily form is due, according to the investiga-
787 tions that we were able to make in part, to a psychological phenomenon: It is clearly seen in La Guajira, and the natives so recognize it, that people do not want to look at a dead person's face. This is owing to the fact that this face will be engraved very deeply on their memory, to the point that when the individual who has looked at it is traveling by road at night, or when it is getting dark, or when he is alone at night in his dwelling and worried, on opening his eyes he will clearly see the dead man in the form he had when alive. We therefore believe that what happens in this case is that the individual is obsessed with and has firmly strongly impressed on his mind the decomposing face of the dead person that, as we have said, stays strongly impressed on his memory through this same act. This observation of ours does not apply exclusively to Guajiro
[171] Indians or to other primitives. It is also very common among the town people of practically all the regions of Colombia which we have visited. The psychic phenomenon of obsession and then the almost perfect reconstruction of the image engraved on the memory is a common occurrence among them. But if [81] we add to this the Guajiro's collection of beliefs related to the dead and the fear of the apparition of spirits, which are always harbingers of misfortune (death, sickness, misfortune in general), we can understand how a person so obsessed reconstructs in his nervous state the previously impressed image and, in his imagination, gives it a body. The effects of fear are then translated into a seemingly real image of the dead person, and the

[81 cont.]

158 individual is not capable of distinguishing between the merely
775 fictitious, the imaginary and the real. To him, the image so
787 faithfully rebuilt in his imagination is as real as the living image of the deceased. The explanation of the phenomenon, then, according to his mentality, is that the dead man has appeared before him for some reason or other.

775 This fact is complicated in addition by the belief that every dead person "retraces his steps," that is, he treads again all the paths he traveled during his life; he returns to places where he had been at different times; this is why he is "felt" very often. Many times the individual feels the presence of the dead, even if he does not see it. This Guajiro belief is
[171 also found to be very prevalent in all Colombian folklore. The
538] phenomenon that the Colombian people call "retracing his steps" corresponds exactly to the Guajiro version which we have just transcribed. Of course, according to popular legends, the dead "retrace their steps" when they are dying or a few
[787] moments or even days before their death. To hear strange noises without apparent logical explanation, to see shadows, etc., are for the people evident signs that one of their relatives or friends, or even some person who in the past has lived in these parts, is dying or will die from one moment to the next. For the same reason they avoid walking alone along certain places when they know that someone who has lived there is close to death's door.

Degrees of danger in spirits. The Guajiro murderer suffers
682 a double punishment; first, the claim for compensation payment
775 for blood presented by the dead man's relatives, which involves his own death if he does not pay the sum agreed on; and second, the constant presence of the dead man's spirit, which never leaves him. For this reason, the murderer cannot enter a home where there are small children because the spirit of the dead man follows him, will climb over them, squeeze them, and make them
[753] cry. If the children are sick, the murderer's presence is even more dangerous because the spirit will rapidly cause their death. If they are well they usually become ill. [82]

The death of a fellow being becomes a tremendous obsession with the Guajiro; the murderer is convinced that the
[753] dead man's spirit follows him everywhere. When he is ill he has

[84 cont.]

682 family groups — that of the murderer and that of the victim —
775 is it considered necessary for the murderer to flee to distant parts to avoid the vengeance of his enemies falling on him. We have here, then, a repetition, different in form but essentially the same, of a disguise to avoid the presence of the spirits, [171] which the Witoto practice either in the father, the mother, or the child, with the object of protecting the child from the malevolent action of the spirits (Cf. "Sickness and Medicine").

787 Presence of the dead in dreams. The dead person can also
769 reappear through the medium of dreams. He is then as real, as alive, to the Indian as in his apparition during the day or night in a corporeal or other form, such as we have shown throughout this chapter. For this reason, when an Indian dreams of one of his dead relatives on any occasion, he believes that this relative is in need of something in his other world and requires [85] special help from his relatives. He therefore assembles the dead man's closest relatives, and they all go as soon as possible to the grave of the person who appeared in the dream and take a little food with them. After some time passed in lamentation over the tomb, they unwrap the meat expressly taken there for the occasion and seat themselves on the grave, prepared to eat, saying as they begin eating, "Come then, let us all eat together." To avoid the appearance of spirits through dreams, it is a general custom to visit the graves of the dead at times of full moon [luna clara], at night, and on the anniversary of the person's death.

The explanation of the spirit's appearance in a dream can be found very clearly expressed in the words we quote from Dr. Born and according to which "... from experiences in the world of dreams he derived the belief in the soul as a clear explanation of the consciousness of "ego," which is opposed to the destiny of death." According to this, in the dream communication is established between two spirits, between two souls, as Dr. Born says: that of the dead, already definitively free of its human wrapping; and that of the living, momentarily free of its body by the effects of the dream.

766 Burial and children. When the first-born of a Guajiro marriage dies before other children are born, they place it in an urn

[87 cont.]

858 greater protection than the adult as, owing to his limited defensive capacity, illnesses can readily take possession of his body. We made reference in that section to the malevolent action of certain animals as well as the influence of the dead, the contamination exercised by their spirits on conception and on small children. And now we return to refer especially to this last aspect. We also saw how the harmful effects of animals centered especially on unborn infants due to carelessness on the part of pregnant mothers or of the husbands, and this is repeated equally with regard to funerals.

[764] When the grave destined for a dead person is opened, small children who go to the funeral, relatives of the deceased, must pass in file over it with the object that death will be delayed and will not overcome them while very young.

843 When speaking of sacrifice (cf. Chapter III) as well as 753 when speaking of medicine among the Guajiro Indians in its magic aspect, we quoted the general belief in La Guajira, which [171] is known also as an aspect of folklore in various parts of Colombia, among them Santander and Nariño, that if during pregnancy, the father or the mother of the child to be born has been present at the exhumation of any human remains, the child will be born sickly, will suffer from diarrhea, night sweating, paleness, and loss of weight. The characteristic of something touched by death which the corpse has makes it contagious and, so to speak, contaminates the mother of the infant, who because of his weakness is incapable of resisting its influence. If in this case one considers the folklore aspect, the explanation which is given is that the cold of death has affected the child through the person of its mother or its father in the presence of the corpse. The explanation in the case of Guajiro appears to 755 us to be somewhat more complicated, as we had occasion to show above, although the curing processes tend in reality to extract the cold of death from the body of the child after it is born. The method of curing considered infallible by them is to bury the child in the still warm carcass of an animal sacrificed [88] during a wake, and only when there is no such possibility do they make use of the substitute, the bone, or of burying

[99 cont.]

751 the charm. He has two aims in view, to render himself immune
726 from harm from his enemies' weapons, and to acquire courage
579 and coolness in the coming fight. This type of charm is called ranía in Guajiro.

The evil eye. This is one of the beliefs which seems to us to
754 have been acquired by the Guajiro Indians through acculturation,
[177] as we have not found it in any purely native group but, on the contrary, have found it very widely spread in all parts of Colombia, especially among the mestizos. We have personally en-
[171] countered it in the departments of Cauca, Valle del Cauca, Tolima, Antioquia, Santander, and Magdalena. Without being exclusive to Negro or Negroid groups, it is among them that this belief is found with the greatest intensity and frequency.

175 The presence of Negroes in La Guajira is not due only to
563 racial mixing with the groups of mulattos of the coast but was initiated in the centuries of the Colony as can be seen from these notes taken from Father Julián: "Two evident and palpable reasons came to me: practical reasons which because of my zeal for the welfare of the Guajiro Nation and for the Monarchy I now express. The first is their provision and use of [100] firearms through their continual trade with foreigners; secondly, these same foreigners have brought in Negroes and Negresses, and these
[567] have mixed with the Indian men and women who have bought and kept them as slaves. The result is that not only is the number of people in La Guajira increased but so also is the number of terrible races of Mestizos, Mulattos, Zambos, etc., who united with the Guajiro will make this nation even more formidable and everyday more difficult to conquer." (59)

59. Julián, Antonio. La Perla de la América [The Pearl of America], 2nd, XIV, 195.

754 Referring to this popular Santander belief, Juan de Dios Arias affirms: "In our territory, for example, there is a very general belief that certain persons have the evil eye, and if they should look fixedly and with evil intention at a child, in the course of a few days the latter will be covered with pimples and sore places which are difficult to cure. This evil influence is

[100 cont.]

754 also effective on birds, which die in a short time when they have the evil eye put on them. To protect the children they are [751] made to wear rings or bracelets made of jet beads, buzzard [chulo] bones, guache [a certain serpent] teeth, or male and female coral stones. They also avert the evil eye by singing three hymns over the sufferer.

"We also find this superstition in Spain. The physician 171 Rodríguez López, referring to Galician superstitions, writes: 754 'Here, where the belief in the evil eye is so strongly held, it 751 is exceptional for a mother not to hang round her child's neck certain relics, herbs, horns, or other objects of all shapes and sizes, or at other times to sew them on to their children's clothes, or tie them to their wrists to protect them from the contagious effects of the evil eye.'" (60)

60. Arias, Juan de Dios. Supersticiones Populares [Popular Superstitions], pp. 265-266.

Besides this, in the study made by the Licentiate Panesso Robledo on Antiochian folklore we find the following:

"Not only country people but also city dwellers wear opals, nearly all imitation, to protect themselves from evil actions, and on their children's wrists they tie black beads, called jet but rarely genuine, to keep them safe from the evil eye, a universal superstition whose effects if they really occur are to be imputed to the phenomena of auto-suggestion or hypnotism." (61)

61. Panesso R., Antonio. Del Folklore Antioqueño [Antioquian Folklore], p. 25.

751 Leaving Colombian folklore and limiting ourselves to that 754 of La Guajira, we find there that jet is the best charm to protect 823 one from the evil eye, [101] which especially affects children. 865 This evil effect is not obtained if the person on whom it is practiced carries jet on his person, since it has the property of counteracting the evil. According to the belief, when the evil eye has been cast upon a person carrying a piece of jet, this

751 [102]
825 head the party, and these insist that the rest of the caravan who
[984] are riding on burros or are on foot follow them closely.

If the wanurú fears the neighing of horses, it is also afraid in the presence of its skull. The important element in this belief is that its appearance must date from the Post-conquest period, since the natives did not have horses before that event. It is thus a belief acquired through acculturation. Our hypothesis is
171 that it was introduced by the Negroes, as similar beliefs are
175 found in the mining regions of Antioquia, as we can show by
751 quoting Tomas Carrasquilla in his work La Marquesa de Yolombó
825 [The Marchioness of Yolombó], the plot of which is unfolded in colonial times in these regions. He speaks of the popular belief in demonic monsters, especially by the Negro slaves who worked the mines, and refers particularly to a special being whom the simple people named the pate-tarro [pata de tarro, "can foot"], "a giant who had only one foot of flesh and bone. If it were not that this great scoundrel was scared to death by skulls of cows, there would not have remained alive a single pawpaw tree in these mountainous cultivated lands."

The similarity is obvious: A cow's skull keeps away evil spirits and averts their wickedness. The difference lies in something of minor importance — one is the skull of a cow, the other that of a horse. The beings against whom they direct their evil are different by reason of mere accommodation to the cultural atmosphere in which the belief is implanted.

777 Charms for becoming rich. This charm is acquired, as are all others, by purchase from a Guajiro woman experienced in the matter. Almost always the owner of such a charm is a man who by means of its power has acquired considerable wealth, because his charm will not allow him to do any bad business; it counsels him on what operations he must accomplish, it points out to him the profits that he could obtain from certain financial operations, and, above all, it guarantees him success in whatever business he undertakes.

The charm is kept inside a small wool bag, and with it he keeps a gold bead and at times a gold necklace. The part of the charm that we might call nonmaterial is produced by the various

7:Bolinder T-S (1920, 1933) 1937
SC13 Guajiro SC13

ceived. They brought out stools carved with animals' heads and tails for us to sit on, and then four young men hastened to entertain us with music. I had happened to ask about musical instruments and it appeared that we had come to a musical family. They all played the flute, which there was usually small, of reed or wood, and ornamented with carved figures. There was also a larger flute which had a mouthpiece and reed, like a child's trumpet, and a calabash at the other end. This instrument buzzed and droned like a bumble-bee. It was extraordinary. It did not seem a South American instrument at all. In fact, it was quite simply an offshoot of the eastern snake-charmer's flute, which I had seen in Morocco. How had it got to America? Perhaps through the Moors. The early Spanish discoverers had Moorish slaves and servants with them, and, as we shall see, this flute was not the only indication of Moorish influence. 123 352 534 [171]

Guajira is often called the Arabia of South America, because it too is an arid peninsula with a population largely consisting of nomad herdsmen. In the distance a Guajiro caravan looks thoroughly eastern, and who knows from whom the Guajiros' forefathers acquired their knowledge of how to ride and to rear cattle?

Not wishing to spoil the concert, I said nothing of all this. I myself am quite unmusical, but my wife gave the performers full marks. The pieces had names that suited the setting: 'The Little Goat seeks its Mother', 'The Horses are driven Home', 'By the rippling Water'. The four also sang. To European ears their singing was considerably less attractive than the music, but the words were often poetical and lovely. 'The little goat laments and says: the water that I drink is salt and salt are the plants I have to eat. And just as it begins to drizzle, the little goat's salt tears fall along with the other drops upon the salt ground.' In that perhaps was a little too much salt, but it was typically Guajiran. Even a goat can get too much of what others seek so avidly elsewhere. 123 533

They showed us other musical instruments: a drum that was played for dancing and a whistle made of calabash, intended for signalling. One of the four also produced a 123 534

7;Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

those we had left, but just as simple. Inside were hammocks slung this way and that. Along the walls were carrying-nets filled with things, and earthenware vessels lay scattered about the floor of hard-trodden sand. Some of these vessels were grey, others reddish-brown, some had necks and handles. One was an obvious imitation of a Dutch liqueur jar. It was not far to Puerto Estrella, to which schooners from the Dutch islands came.

Most of the earthenware vessels had red decoration. Some, with wavering lines, were obviously the work of the oldest of the women, who was frail and almost blind; but there was no fault in the shape of the vessel. The woven cloths were hung up in a special shelter. The warp hung vertical and ran like an endless belt over an upper and a lower pole. Several related tribes, members of the Aruak family, use the same method. When the cloth is finished, it forms a ring, and is then cut up.

They were working on a man's belt or sash. The everyday belt was only a couple of inches wide, but sashes intended for more solemn occasions were some eighteen inches broad and very colourful. They used red, yellow, black and white yarn and the pattern was most interesting. Ceremonial cloaks are also woven for the men, just as colourful as the sashes, but, to my sorrow, I was never able to acquire a really fine specimen. They were simply too expensive. The rich chiefs collected them, but custom decreed that they must be wrapped in all their cloaks when they died, which meant that none were inherited. The men's everyday cloaks I have already described; they pulled them on and then twisted them so that their chest was bared. The women's dress was considerably more Spartan: it was a wide tunic, made like a sack with holes for the head and arms, and dyed black with divi-divi or brown with stuff from some other plant. Their loin-cloth only became visible when they were working in the shade or indoors and removed their tunics. It too was black or undyed. They themselves thought that there was no call to use a nice patterned cloth for underclothes. Little girls often had patterned loin-cloths, but then they did not wear tunics

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

several days afterwards, but have to be fed. They also have to keep to a diet for a while, a precaution that, like the cloaks they are wrapped in while digging up the bones, is to protect them against spirits. 767

In the old days the house in which a person died was abandoned. Nowadays that is only done if the person has been murdered. 768

I have come across this after-funeral among several Indian tribes farther south, in particular the Motilon in the Andes, neighbours of the Guajiro, and the Indians of the Llanos plains around the Orinoco. It seems a peculiar custom to us, but it is a sort of memorial ceremony, a feast of remembrance devoted to the dead person, who is thus not forgotten so quickly by the Indians, as is often the case with us. 765 171

The animals killed at a man's funeral are to accompany him into the hereafter and enable him to maintain his position there. His immediate relatives must not eat of this meat, which is all given to the guests, who cook it and feast on it. 764

Different in character is the sacrifice of some creature, a black sheep or a brown cow, which the piache recommends when he has dreamed that someone is in danger of being murdered. Here the animal is being killed in place of the threatened man, the goat or cow acting as substitute so that the human can escape his fate. Presumably, what used to happen was that the person threatened had to go out and kill some wild animal, a deer for example. The custom of slaughtering cattle at a funeral originates from the change in the Indians' way of life that resulted from their making cattle-rearing their main occupation. Earlier the dead person was given other grave-goods to enable him to manage in the life hereafter, including ornaments and that sort of thing. In the pre-Columbian era quantities of polished stone beads and tuma were placed in the graves. Then, when fortunes began to be reckoned in cattle and horses, it was obvious that the dead person must have cattle to accompany him. To the Guajiro, as to the general run of Indians, there is no such thing as natural death. Were it not for the dangerous world of the spirits and evil enchanters people [751] [182] [187] [178] 761 776

THE GOAJIRO

By John M. Armstrong and Alfred Métraux

THE REGION

The Goajira Peninsula, projecting as part of Colombia northward into the Caribbean Sea, contains an area of about 5,000 square miles, bordered on the east by the Gulf of Venezuela. The broad level plain known as Lower Goajira occupies the base of the peninsula, while the northern extremity is known as Upper Goajira and is characterized by three distinct ranges of hills. These hills have a maximum height of 2,600 feet (about 780 m.) and are separated from each other by two broad plains which run from sea to sea. The country is dry and infertile, the vegetation consisting of divi-divi, cactus, pricklypear, and other xerophitic plants. Even these are absent where bare rock and stone slides preclude vegetation. Rivers are almost nonexistent, the country being cut in all directions by shallow, dry, sandy water courses which drain off rain as it falls. In the south and west, on the treeless prairies or savannas, the land is more hospitable. Here the Indians do most of their stock raising. [131] 153 [137] [231]

LOCATION AND HISTORY

The pastoral *Goajiro* who inhabit this peninsula (map 6) differ profoundly from the agricultural forest-dwelling *Motilones* and *Arhuaco* to the south. Juan de Castellanos, in his "Elegias de los Varones Ilustres" (1874), is the first to allude to these Indians, though he calls them *Cosina*. He states that in his time, about 1550, cattle were already abundant in the area. It seems that the adoption of pastoral life by the *Goajiro* took place soon after the Spanish settlement of that part of the continent. The name *Goajiro* was, however, already known in the 16th century and was applied first by Pedro Simón (1882–92). The first reliable ethnographic information about the *Goajiro* goes back to José Nicolás de la Rosa (Nicholls, 1901) and Antonio Julián, who both visited these Indians in the 18th century. Jahn (1927, pp. 119–136) has gathered the few data concerning the *Goajiro* which he found in the early literature. A short summary of the first description of these Indians is given by Hernández de Alba (1936, pp. 8–12). 181 [231] 171 114

/537 cont./

614 knows precisely which animals belong to him and which
212 property belongs to other clan-members.
231 In a way also customary among us (for example, the
422 burning on of the steed-brand for foals), the clan-symbol
in Guajira is pressed into the skin of the domestic animal
with a branding iron, usually on the rear leg, sometimes on
[413] the lower neck. The branding iron is a rod as thick as a
finger and about a meter long, on whose lower end the brand,
made in iron, is fixed. This is highly heated and briefly
set on the skin of the animal with moderate pressure (9).

● 171
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422

9. Everyone knows that many livestock-raising primitive peoples use the method described here for "branding" their domestic animals, and, to be sure, do it primarily with the intention of indicating the individual possessor or a group consisting of several men as the owner. M. Merker (p. 163) reports this for the Masai. H. Field collected more than a thousand such markings (Figs. 24-43) among the Bedouin and related tribes in the Near East. It might seem surprising that individual ones among them are very similar to the brands of the Guajiro. This correspondence, however, can easily be traced back to the mentality of the natives and their undeveloped technical skill, as well as to the brittle wrought-iron itself. The "branding iron" probably goes back to an earlier period of mankind; from its place of invention, it went on its way

/337 cont./

177 231 422 around the world simultaneously with the domestic animals themselves.

614 212 231 422 177 614 212 The branding described was probably learned by the Indians from the Spaniards themselves, simultaneously with the adoption of the first European domestic animals, and has been retained since then. It is all the more surprising that the branding iron (hierro) appears in an old myth which for its part clearly states where the customary individual clan-signs came from. The following version (according to V. Gutiérrez, p. 168) is common in the northern part of the peninsula:

Not far from Nazareth (10) a hill rises behind Itojoro.

[949] [131] 10. This post lies only several kilometers south of Puerto Estrella and is actually a small Catholic mission station. Cf. Stutzer, pp. 121 ff., and Barranquilla, pp. 151 ff.

Here, under an oil tree, Mareiwa (11) came into the world.

996 114 11. That is the spelling of this mythological name that I felt to be correct, as did V. Gutiérrez (p. 168). Chaves (1946, p. 307) explains in the myth concerning "Las Serranías de la Guajira," among other things: "Mareigua [is] one of the principal deities of the Guajiro people, who with his supernatural power converts persons into hills, separates the

C /193 cont./
534
171 Finally, it remains to be discovered whether a people neighboring the Busintana is familiar with the musical bow. I have already said that this was not the case among the rest of the Arhuaco.

G Among the Goajiro Indians, along with the "trompa," a
534 musical bow with horsehair string is used. One end of the bow is put in the mouth, and a narrow, uneven stick is drawn over
G the string. The strange material of the string already /194/
[177] points to late influence; there are various African traits in the
G Goajiro culture, as I shall try to show in a future monograph.
[852] Moreover, the musical bow here is small, poorly made, and is
[171] used mostly by boys. Among the Motilon Indians on the Maraca,
G too, boys play it (see below /untranslated/). Here one must
534 likewise assume that the Indians learned how to use it only in
177 post-Columbian times, probably from the mulattoes living in the flat country.

C As far as the Chimila are concerned, De Brettes says that
411 he saw hanging at the entrance of a hut a small bow 30 centi-
184 meters long, with accompanying arrows. He does not know what
[114] this is used for (192). I myself, during my brief visit among these
[553]
[101]

192 /from p. 257 of the foreign text/. De Brettes, p. 462.

Indians, did not see such a bow, but they told me that in connection with the naming of boys they use a bow decorated with
C feathers. Among the Ijca, the "sponsor" presents the little child
[553] with a tiny bow of palm wood. Naturally, this is no more in-
C tended as a musical instrument than the Chimila bow. Since the
796 bow was already used in former times at religious ceremonies, which
441 is not uncommon in South America, one can at least imagine that
534 a musical bow, which even in size comes close to the symbolic
174 bow, might easily find some use at these. The ceremonial must be observed, one must not forget anything, but an addition is easily achieved. The argument of Lumholtz is therefore not
eee conclusive, as I have noted earlier. An instrument named marimba

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

An Exploration of the Goajira Peninsula, U.S. of Colombia.

By F. A. A. Simons.

Map, p. 840.

Since the publication of my last paper on the Sierra Nevada in 1881,* I 121
have been commissioned by the National Government of Colombia to 122
survey the two Atlantic States of the Magdalena and Bolivar, and especially to write a report on the hitherto unexplored region of the Goajira Indians. A summary of this I have now the honour of laying before the Royal Geographical Society.

The north-easterly corner of the United States of Colombia (formerly 131
New Granada) terminates in a large peninsula, that, projecting for 175
some 120 miles out into the Caribbean Sea, forms the extensive Gulf of Maracaybo. This peninsula is known as the Goajira. It was ceded by the State of Magdalena in 1872, to form a National Territory, for the better civilisation of its Indians. One half of it, however, is claimed by the Venezuelans, and a dispute that at one time threatened to culminate in war between the two nations, was amicably settled by referring the question to the King of Spain as arbitrator. His decision *has not yet been made public.* Three-fourths surrounded by sea, the 131
Goajira is on the land, or south-westerly, side separated from the State of the Magdalena by a natural boundary, formed partly by the Rio Ranchería, with the outlying hills of the Nevada, variously called in old maps Cerros de Sabiaslo, de Barranca, &c., and partly by the Montes of Oca.

Very little or nothing is known of the history of these Indians. 175
Although the peninsula played an important part in the first discoveries, none of the early chroniclers seem to have paid much attention to the country. Juan de Castellanos, who resided some time at the Cabo de la Vela, dedicates a "solo canto" to the peoples. The "Floresta de Santa [184]
Maria," written by José Nicolas de la Rosa in 1739, gives many interesting data on the customs and manners of the Indians; this work must have supplied the more recent writings on the subject, for the same errors run through them all. That the present race are not the original 174
inhabitants of the peninsula is certain. The Indians themselves have a legend that they came from a great distance, and are able to point out [173]
traces of villages belonging to the former inhabitants, whom they assert are the Arhuacos of the Sierra Nevada. Sometimes their old graves are 172
accidentally come across, yielding to the fortunate finder a rich harvest of *tumas* (pieces of polished stone with a hole drilled through), curiously shaped pieces of gold, and other ornaments (*clay*), identical with those found in great profusion all over the Sierra Nevada. Now,

* 'Proceedings R. G. S.,' 1881, p. 702.

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

172 those tumas are all made from carnelian, jasper, or other reddish varieties of silica, and the stone, according to the Indians, is not to be found in the Goajira. While ascending Macuira, several places were pointed out to me, especially near the top, in which I was entrusted to look for treasure "of the Arhuaco." They themselves, although covetting tumas above
[171] everything, are, curiously enough, afraid to look for them, not hesitating, however, to appropriate any found by chance. This, combined with the fear of mentioning their dead, points to some sort of religion or belief in a superior Being. They evidently took possession by conquest,
174 driving the weaker "Arhuaco" out, and have managed to assert their rights to this day. It is rather an historical anomaly that such a small
[161] tribe, which probably never exceeded 80,000, should have been able to conserve intact their absolute freedom, their manners and customs uncontaminated, in spite of the accessibility of their territory, surrounded as it is by the sea, and the continual commerce that has been going on for centuries.

133 Commencing with the topography of the country, the mountain system attracts attention most—more so, as a remarkable error has been propagated, that the Goajira is one large fertile plain with only one or two isolated hills. At least one-half of the country is hilly. There are in fact two Goajiras; one known as the Lower Goajira is the broad level plain extending from the river Rancheria to a little beyond the Tota. The other, or Upper, Goajira is the hilly sterile region between the Tota and Punta Espada. The Upper Goajira is simply a volcanic eruption, a conglomeration of low hills, conspicuous from the many cone-shaped forms, and the parallel ridges in which they have been thrown up. These parallel lines run chiefly north-west by south-east, and are separated by two large plains, thus forming three distinct groups of hills running from sea to sea. The first and most important of the three is the easterly or Macuira range. This fine, bold, interesting mountain mass rises in front of Chimare, about 12 miles from the sea-shore, and terminates at the most easterly point of the Goajira, forming the rocky headland known as the Punta Espada (Juriño). Due to its elevation and position, it serves as a species of cloud-trap detaining the lower clouds that drive in from seaward impelled by the easterly or trade winds, that blow here with great force most part of the year. This is the only spot in all the Goajira that can really be called fertile. I ascended the two highest points. The north or Macuira proper lies in front of Puerto Estrella, and is composed
133 of several peaks ranging between 2400 and 2600 feet above sea-level.
241 None of them offer any difficulty in climbing, as the slopes are covered
[137] with gardens to within 500 feet of the top. The vegetation is similar to that of the Sierra Nevada at 6000 feet, and the temperature was very low, showing at noonday 65° Fahr. The highest point at the southern extremity in front of Punta Espada is Ara-ara. Owing to the low dense

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1815
SC13 Goajiro SC13

302 called *pem* if made of plaited straw, and *capanas* if made of wool,
291 with large tassel (worn behind). The two can be combined and adorned with a couple of feathers in front. When made entirely of feathers, it becomes *tedna*. An Indian's toilet would not be complete without
[293] a *kapipito*, a piece of leather fastened round the left wrist by a twist of wool to receive the recoil of the bow-string when shooting. Paint is
302 common to both sexes, and in excess. They assert that it saves their complexions from the sun. The last thing an Indian does, on mounting horse for the day's journey, is to call for the powder-box, and plentifully besprinkle his face. The powders *mapatepo* or *marna* are rotten wood;
[384] *guanapai*, a black stain from a wild nut; and *parisa*, very popular among the fairer sex, is the colour extracted from a leaf and mixed with fat.

The woman's dress is invariably, at present, made from foreign cotton,
291 and is a plain sack with a hole for the head and two others for the arms.
[177] With the wind it blows out and makes her look like a balloon. The white cotton is dyed black with divi-divi, or yellowish-brown with mora
[384] (yellow wood), or reddish-brown with the suckers of mangroves. The Indians are exceptionally clean and nice in their dress, and, however
[515] poor, keep a reserve suit for state occasions. Women alone wear the *pina* and the *sirapo*. The *pina* are like a pair of braces; long strings
301 of beads passing over each shoulder to cross each other on the breast and back, held in position at the waist by the *sirapo*, a sort of sash or belt made of beads likewise. Small strings a few ounces in weight are placed on the *pina* while a few months after birth, and gradually increased, according to the strength of the child and the purse of the parents. *Pinas* are made with any beads except black, a red variety with white eye (*lechita*) preferred, and weigh from 2 to 10 lbs. With *sirapos* any coloured bead will do, *pinas* or black ones the rule, and they weigh from 1 to 10 lbs. A married woman may wear the *pina* until
[344] her first confinement, when it is laid aside. Poor Indians who cannot afford beads for the *pina* make it of cotton dyed black and beaded. Among the many necklaces, turses are the most valuable. These curious
[172] perforated stones are only found in the graves of prehistoric races, both in the peninsula itself and the Sierra Nevada. There are many varieties. The round ones varying in size from a large marble to a pea are *tinas* (a name generalised by the Spaniards); those in shape of small charm-barrels are *asarcal*; the pear-shaped, according as they are long or dumpy, *peringa*, and *paciringa*; the bugle is *paraura*, &c. Mineralogically they are bits of red jasper, carnelian, and reddish sardonyx. Their value depends upon the intensity of red and size. A large one at
[435] present is worth a head of cattle; a necklace has from 15 to 30, varying in size. Bracelets are as varied and in as much profusion as necklaces; they are called *kipaas*, from *sirapo*, the hand. On the foot they also wear strings of necklaces and beads. They have two names, the aristocratic *cuchiando* and the common *pacrilous*.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

we wanted to make. After knives, maize was the best 439
medium of exchange, and we could buy that from the monks 436
as long as we used the mission station as our headquarters, but once we went further afield we were not able to carry any to use for barter. Cloth was also in demand. We had a couple of bales of the white material the Indians usually bought. Unfortunately we had not been able to get the best barter commodity of all: tuma beads. These are large polished stone beads of different sizes made of cornelian and other stones, for all of which the Guajiro has special names. Tuma beads are found in old Indian graves, especially in and around Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, [72] though these graves are also said to exist in Guajira. However, it was not advisable, we were told, to try and prove that or to embark on archaeological excavations. To do so might easily lead to trouble.

Later we made a rich find of tuma beads in graves in Sierra Nevada, but then we were not able to go back to Guajira. The richer Indians especially valued tuma very highly and often paid as much as a horse for one bead. We could not have used anything as precious for our small deals, but they would have been useful for getting riding and pack-animals. As it was we bought a couple of hammocks and some earthenware vessels.

One must be careful not to do a Guajiro over a deal. That 439
can involve one in difficulties and a claim for damages. It goes without saying that, in the Indians' view, it was we who came off second best, and we would not have had it otherwise.

We took leave of our hosts feeling slightly guilty because 440
of that photograph which was a secret between us, the girl and her guardian, but also satisfied with our first expedition in Macuira. We loaded a donkey with our purchases which an Indian drove direct to Nazaret, for we were to make a detour in order to visit another rancho. The sand made very heavy going and we decided for the future we would ride, especially as we should be going further afield.

As soon as we drew near the next rancho, we realized that something was afoot. We could hear a buzz of voices

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

When mi-
grating from one locality to another the *Goajiro* generally dismantle their houses and take them along, piling the poles and thatch on the backs of burros. Sometimes, however, they leave them for their own or someone else's use in the future.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Goajiro dress has changed little since the time of Nicolás de la Rosa (18th century). Men normally wear only a breechcloth, a necklace, and a head band with feather attached (pl. 72, *top*); but when traveling, paying visits, or receiving company they wear a large loincloth with many folds, a mantle (nowadays of bright colors), and an immense sash, in which they carry their arrows. A knitted string bag is hung from the waistband. In towns trousers and shirts are worn. The women wear a cotton dress, sometimes made like a simple sack with holes cut for the head and arms. The puna—long strings of beads passing over both shoulders, crossing each other on the breast and back and held in place by a sash or belt of beads (the sirapo)—is placed on a female child a few months after birth and gradually augmented according to the parents' wealth and the child's age. Black beads are generally used for the sirapo, colored ones for the puna. A married woman wears the puna until her first confinement. After her seclusion at puberty, a robe, sometimes containing 8 or 10 yards of embroidered material, is also worn by a *Goajiro* woman, but the loosely folded cloth which was her sole covering before puberty is still worn beneath it. Women, unlike men, are modest and avoid being seen naked.

Some young girls have as many as 100 turns of beads around their waists, as well as many around their wrists and ankles. Red coral is preferred, but most beads are made from seeds or coconut shell and are cut out by means of a hollow metal reamer twirled rapidly between the palms. The perforated shell may then be used as a colander. Glass and porcelain beads and earrings are also worn. The most prized ornaments are the tumas—polished and perforated stone ornaments found in some of the old graves. On dress occasions necklaces of beads and gold ornaments are worn. These, found in *Tairona* graves, are fashioned in the form of tiny animals, frogs, turtles, etc.

The men, except the medicine men, wear their hair short, kept back by a ring or crown made of plaited straw, or of wool with a tassel behind. Often the two are combined and adorned with a couple of feathers in front; or the whole may be made of feathers. For protection against mosquitos and sun both sexes paint their skin with powders made from rotten wood, a black stain made from a wild nut, and another color extracted from leaves and mixed with fat. After puberty women cut their hair short, keeping the shorn tresses in a bag hung from the roof; henceforth they never let it grow beyond the neck. They make designs on

[104 cont.]

226 751 [177 184] Never again during our visit did we come across this type of magic object, which leads us to believe that it does not belong to the Guajiro cultural whole, but that it is due rather to the influence of the mulattoes of the coast who, as is well known, are extremely superstitious.

Charms used to call spirits. The use of these charms, to which we have referred on other occasions, is limited to shamans. They use them to facilitate the arrival of their protector spirits when they are in a curing trance or are carrying out any of the functions related to their status. Up to the present we have not arrived at a satisfactory explanation of their influence on the spirits, but we might now bring together the few data we do have. One of the female shamans who served us as informant and who came from the Sierra [de] Jarara possessed charms to attract her spirits. She explained to us that as those spirits are assistants, some to young shamans, some to old ones, the charms to facilitate the arrival of their spirits are also of two classes: for young shamans and the other for old ones.

The charm is made from the leaf of a plant called in Guajiro morfino, which is found in abundance on Itojoro Hill. A woman expert in such articles makes them there [105] by grinding the leaves of the plant to a paste and shaping this into a rounded form which she keeps in a small bag of red thread. The larger ones are reserved for the older shamans, and the others, combined with some of the former, are for the younger.

The guarí or guale. The guarí or guale, difficult to find at present, is a kind of idol made from solid gold or silver and of which only a few examples exist as they are no longer made. This small idol is an anthropomorphic representation in fetal position, and it does not seem to be an autochthonous product of the Guajiro as they themselves assert that these idols come from their distant ancestors, by which they mean the Arhuaco of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta.

This fetish is known sometimes by the name Mareiwa, a divinity or spirit similar to the idea of God but which appears to be nothing else than the spirit of Rain, as we shall see further ahead (cf. "Mareiwa and Wanud").

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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Very little or nothing is known of the history of these Indians. Although the peninsula played an important part in the first discoveries, none of the early chronicles seem to have paid much attention to the country. Juan de Castellanos, who resided some time at the Cabo de la Vela, dedicates a "solo canto" to the people. The "Planeta de Santa Marta," written by José Fischer de la Hera in 1739, gives many interesting data on the customs and manners of the Indians; this work must have supplied the more recent writings on the subject, for the same errors run through them all. That the present race are not the original inhabitants of the peninsula is certain. The Indians themselves have a legend that they came from a great distance, and are able to point out traces of villages belonging to the former inhabitants, whom they assert are the Arhuacos of the Sierra Nevada. Sometimes their old graves are accidentally some across, yielding to the fortunate finder a rich harvest of *mucar* (pieces of polished stone with a hole drilled through), curiously shaped pieces of gold, and other ornaments (*chy*), identical with those found in great profusion all over the Sierra Nevada. Now, 175 174 173 172

* Proceedings R. G. S., 1882, p. 766.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

756 ought not to have children. The spirits can show her
various magical tricks to avoid this, but if she should
842 become pregnant, she can count on the spirit's help in
labour. Not even the male piache is allowed to partake of
[831] love more than fleetingly, almost casually. There must be
no real affection involved.

756 A woman piache cannot practice during menstruation.
[841] No piache may eat meat from animals he has received in
payment for his services. These, like other gifts, he does not
enjoy, but he can give them to his sons. Nor is he allowed
to eat meat from animals sacrificed at funerals or such feasts.
While invoking or conjuring spirits he should restrict his
diet to maize gruel.

A piache can cure all, but not himself. Sometimes, perhaps, a sympathetic spirit may give him a little advice, which will always help; but if he falls seriously ill, he summons a
[766 colleague, who performs the usual sorcery. When a piache
768] dies, his rattle, diadem and other attributes are chopped up
and buried in some remote and secret place. The dead
[775] piache's soul roams like those of all mortals and often clings
to the burial place, but it is never alone, being always in
company with its guardian spirit. Both can later help a new
piache.

The medicine man is thus called to his profession by revelation and no attention is paid to sex, social position or age. Women have been magicians in Guajira from of old, as is shown by their myths. The piache belongs to two worlds: those of man and of the spirits. He has not chosen to belong to them and must continue in both. He is the intermediary between these two worlds, but nowadays his influence is dwindling. As civilization penetrates the peninsula, the part he plays is becoming less and less important.

The first really great piache was Umaralá, of whom the
756 Indians relate the following:
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In the olden days there were plenty of piaches who took big fees, but did little. Umaralá made his cures with secret remedies and with songs accompanied on his maraca rattle. He lost his mother early, but was adopted as her own by his maternal aunt, who also considered all her possessions his.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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She was a piache and she loved him dearly. He lived with her in the Jarará district, and he used to go with her when her profession took her on journeys, when he listened attentively to her incantations and songs.

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One day Umaralá became very ill, and not only he. An epidemic spread all over Guajira, and raged worst in the Jarará Hills. He grew better at first under his aunt's cure, but then he had a relapse and grew worse and worse. He lost the power of speech, sometimes consciousness as well, and had convulsions, while his aunt perseveringly performed her magic in the hope of preventing his death. Wondering, he listened to the conversations his aunt had with a spirit during the incantations. The spirit answered her appeals with reproaches, and it was no less a spirit than Jirarai. Distinctly the lad heard him say:

'*Either you or your boy shall die.*'

The aunt realized that the situation was critical and now—unfortunately not before—she called upon Jumajule, one of the good spirits who used to help her. Unhappily Jumajule could do nothing. He was not able to drive the first spirit she had invoked from her presence. That left the aunt no choice but to deliver herself to Jirarai in order to save her dear foster-son. She laid her maraca on the boy's chest and fell down, dead.

Umaralá rose at once and, weeping, took her in his arms. With him wept the only slave to have survived the epidemic. Together they then wrapped the body in an ox-hide and took it to one of the clan's burial places, where their near relatives lay. Disillusioned and depressed by his dear aunt's death and the ravages of the epidemic among his people, Umaralá withdrew from the world, dwelling in a cabin near where his aunt lay buried and living on what wild roots and fruits he could gather. Occasionally he visited his faithful slave, whose services he had not required since his aunt's death. Each evening he went to the burial place and lit a votive fire on his aunt's grave. One evening the old woman appeared to him, looking just as she had when alive, and said to him:

'Go back to Jarará, fetch my maraca and my head-dress,

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

visit the sick and treat them as I did. Only thus will you find the right way. And you must change your name. Hereafter you shall be called Umaralá.' (Before that he had been called Paurala.)

Umaralá obeyed her command. He began invoking the spirits and healing the sick and soon was renowned all over Guajira for his prowess. Once the mother of a rich family fell sick. They consulted several piaches, none of whom could cure her. In the end they decided to visit Umaralá in the Jarará Hills. Two days and two nights the emissaries had to travel till they came to the famous piache's house. There they found an old man busy spinning yarn of agave fibres. He asked them what they sought, and they replied that they had been sent to find the piache Umaralá and to ask him to look at a woman who had been very ill for a long time.

'*We are to give him a necklace of gold beads so that he* will not refuse to come and a splendid riding mule for the journey.'

'I am Umaralá,' the old man said, 'and I do not need a riding-mule, nor will I accept your necklace until I have seen and cured the sick woman. Do you ride on, I shall follow immediately. As soon as you get back home, tell them from me that everyone must leave the house where the sick woman lies and that she must be alone all night.'

The messengers returned with this message. The woman was just as ill as ever. Umaralá's instructions were carried out and the patient left by herself. At midnight the sound of horse's hooves was heard. Someone galloped up to the ill woman's house and then came the sound of singing and the rattle of a maracas. Towards morning the sound of horse's hooves was heard again. It grew fainter and fainter. The next day the woman was quite recovered and she lived on for many years.

One morning when the slave came to his master's hut he found him ready to ride off on a splendid mule. He was carefully dressed and had his maracas hanging at his saddle. The slave asked where he was going and his master replied

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

that he was waiting for two men with whom he was going on a long journey. One of these was from Macuira and the other from Parashi. At that instant two horsemen appeared. Umaralá took farewell of his slave and told him that they would not meet again in this world, only in the next, and he enjoined the slave to tell no one of what he had seen or should see, otherwise he would die. The slave was left alone in the hut, sorrowful and wondering. He saw the riders disappear in the direction of the burial place that Umaralá so often visited. The slave then followed. He heard the death-lament, but saw no one. That was Umaralá bewailing his aunt with his friends. The slave returned home and soon became very ill. He told what he had heard and seen and died immediately afterwards.

The slave had noticed that the man from Parashi who had accompanied Umaralá was dressed in deerskin. This man lived in a little hut and had the power to transform himself into a deer. Several Indians had seen and recognised him. He used to make and sell hammocks and other articles made of bast.

The man from Macuira who had been with Umaralá devoted himself to curing diseases. He used herbs and roots for some and cured others by burning the patient with a red-hot iron point. He was also a sooth-sayer and could make rain. His name was Jururiana.

Once there was a dreadful drought that made many people leave Macuira and go to the savannas. Famine came to the hills. Now people knew that Jururiana could make rain and when he came to a place called Chamato they flocked round him. In the end, in order to compel him to make rain, they tied him to a post in the sun and told him that they would not loose him until he had brought rain. This he did. After two hours, there was a big shower. The chief Juanito Epiayú was a very good friend of Jururiana and often summoned him when there was a drought, arranging dancing with much drinking and races. Jururiana then made rain.

This rain-maker vanished, none could say how. Another pretended to be Jururiana rejuvenated, but the chief sent for

[33 cont.]

114 We do not wish to question Professor Métraux's statement
177 about the influence of White contact in relation to medicine-
562 women in the other groups cited by him, as we are not objec-
*756 tively acquainted with them. But with regard to the Guajiro, we have to make the clarification that in the descriptions collected by us in the field, it is precisely the woman who really initiates magic, or better said shamanism, among the Indians, when she obliges her nephew to follow her own career. This aspect can be better understood when the reader comes to the section of this chapter entitled "The shaman in oral literature." [174] The fact that women appear as shamans in oral literature demonstrates the antiquity of the institution, as this literature faithfully preserves the most remote traditions of the group.

*756 The shaman, man of two worlds. All that we have seen in connection with the life cycle of the Guajiro shaman makes us think that he is what we have called him in the subtitle that heads these paragraphs: a man of two worlds — the world of the living and the world of the spirits of the dead. [34]

*756 The communication which he establishes after all the
554 preparatory ceremonies with one or several protector spirits who lavish on him every kind of counsel and instruction and even protect him against evil in all its manifestations: illness, enemies, public calamities, etc., make of him a man distinct from all the rest. His status is superior to that of other mortals because in his hands he has power over both good and evil. It is this duality that binds with his science a man who is both sacred and human, a being respected by all but feared at the same time, a good man, able to cure illnesses, but also a malignant being, liable to let loose the fury of the spirits beyond the grave. He is respected, loved, feared, and even, we might dare to say, profoundly hated.

[783] What predominates in him above all is the characteristic of impurity due to contamination from death. Sacred and impure become confounded in him; he is sacred because he is untouchable, and he is untouchable because of his participation with death through his protector spirits.

*756 His dual position as inhabitant of two worlds, involuntary it is true, depends on two fundamentally simple facts: first, his

[38 cont.]

538 medicine man, after his death, and it is only then that he can
*756 himself exercise his profession by himself, having at his service a terrestial intermediary, to whom he communicates by various means his methods of curing, events of the future, etc. This equally confirms our thesis, fully expounded previously, that the shaman is a man of two worlds: the world of the living and the world inhabited by the spirits of the dead. Lastly, it reaffirms what we have said in reply to Métraux's statement, that the feminine institution of shamanism in La Guajira is not due to the influence of European culture (which is only now beginning to be strongly felt) but is as ancient as their oral literature.

● 174 Present position of the shaman. If we consider socio-
565 economic conditions in La Guajira in the Pre-conquest epoch, which placed the natives in a position of a people engaged essentially in hunting and in fishing on the coasts (36), we have to

36. Restrepo Tirado says: "The Guajiro and Cocina [Kusina] Indians occupy La Guajira Peninsula. They were nomads and lived by hunting and fishing in improvised encampments, which they moved from one site to another." (Historia de la Provincia de Santa Marta [History of the Province of Santa Marta], 1st, I, 15.)

accept as a fact a virtual equality between the different clans which composed the community. The superiority of one or various clans over the rest was possibly due to their greater aptitudes for war or the greater number of fighting men they had at their command. Riches would be represented by valuable adornments, necklaces of gold or of tuma, pearls, etc. [39]

174 In such a state of affairs under the primitiveness which we
554 can presume existed in the Guajiro community of that time, the
*756 shaman must have occupied the first place in the social hierarchy. His undiminished supernatural powers, his position as intermediary between the community and the world of the dead, the fears which his powers provoked were all sufficient reasons for him to be respected and feared above all and by all.

171 [49 cont.]
538 from the menace of death that had weighed on them, and later
761 they were able to raise their domestic animals with greater
825 success than up to then.

Propitiation of the shaman's protector spirit. The sacrifice
000 of animals as propitiation or thanksgiving offering to the spirit or spirits that have taken over the protection of the shaman is fully explained in the previous chapter, for which reason we abstain from making further reference to it.

Conclusions. We have the following facts regarding the
782 place of such sacrifices within Guajiro social organization:
174 (a) Sacrifice of animals, of two kinds: one of a ritual funeral character and the other as a prevention of the fulfillment of dreams. (b) Human sacrifice, which may now be considered to have disappeared due to various circumstances which have already been described. (c) The first two exist at times in their original form, and at other times as mere survivals disguised in social rather than ritualistic forms, as happens for example in the sacrifice of animals during the secondary burial or the wake in the ceremony of the first burial. (d) But in any case the three show a distinct magic nature. (e) With respect to the sacrifice of animals we may suppose that in ancient times the animal sacrificed must have been a wild one from the forest obtained by hunting, as the Guajiro Indians, the same as all Colombian Indians and American Indians in general, were completely without, or almost without, any domestic animals, which were acquired only after the Conquest when the colonizing Spaniards imported them from the [Iberian] Peninsula to set up their ranches; (f) Based on this same socio-economic fact, we may presuppose quite an appreciable change in the content and form of certain types of ceremony, because the passing from one economy to another, particularly when it is so radical as [50] that of the
782 Guajiro, who changed his character of nomad hunter to that of herdsman and stock grazer, implies a very appreciable transformation in the general social organization. (g) In the sacrifice of children, and in that of animals in order to ward off the evils foreseen in dreams, we have to admit the contaminating effect of spilled blood — a very important taboo in La Guajira — which increases the malevolent effect of the magic

[52 cont.]

753 lacking this support, certain practices of a magic character
755 which place him – always respecting due proportions – on a
756 plane of equality with the spirit or at least give him the possibility of warding off its harmful effects from him or his fellows. In the methods of healing, as will be seen as we progress in this chapter, the individual makes use, either directly or indirectly through an intermediary – the medicine man in this case, of the benevolent powers of the instrument causing the sickness, or else those of another spirit – under whatsoever materialization – as strong or stronger than the original cause of the sickness, in order to banish the illness.

755 The value of the Guajiro shaman, or medicine man, as
756 a curer, as we were able to observe in Chapter II, lies in the superiority conceded to him through his constant communication with the world of the spirits, which places him, so to speak, on a plane of equality with them. Nevertheless, in the aspect of Guajiro medicine four different factors intervene, which we can define in general as follows:

1) Medicine practiced directly by the shaman through his communication with benevolent spirits.

2) Medicine by divination, dependent or independent of the shaman, which creates another social group, not so clearly defined: that of the diviner.

757 3) Medicine which might be called household, independent of the shaman and of the diviner, which is applied through pragmatic knowledge of the curative value of certain plants, or through the observation of particular customs related to taboo, which as we shall see later, are of a preventative type.

● 174 4) Medicine practiced by foreigners. This last factor must
648 have its origins in ethnographic history, and it appears to us
756 quite difficult to clarify. It deals with the medical intervention of curers from the [53] Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, whom the Guajiro consult in certain cases. These inhabitants of the Sierra belong to native groups included by Professor Rivet in the large Chibcha linguistic family (38). Our supposition of contacts between

38. Rivet, Paul. Conferencias dictadas en el Instituto Etnológico Nacional

[53 cont.]

[Lectures given at the National Ethnological Institute]. Bogotá, 1942.

the two groups at some period of their history, — we cannot say if before or after the Conquest, is based on the presence of certain material cultural techniques of the Arwako [Arhuaco] Indians in the Guajira group.

Let us now analyze carefully and separately each one of these factors:

Medicine practiced by the shaman. In chapter II of this study, we referred to the shaman's curative methods which are effected through their magic communication with the spirits. These spirits supply the instructions required for the ceremonies and processes that are to be practiced to effect the cures of illnesses caused by the wamurú which have a sick person in their power. We again refer the reader then to chapter II.

Medicine by divination. Before entering fully into this subject, we feel obliged to clarify somewhat the diviner's position in La Guajira and to learn something more, if only superficially, of the processes of divination.

There are certain men and women capable of seeing secret events that have occurred or foreseeing those that will occur. For this they employ different objects; some use a machete (an item of acculturation), and by closely studying its edge they divine, for example, what has happened at the site of a robbery and where the stolen objects will be found. Others make use of burning tobacco and others, finally, of a burning firebrand.

In this aspect of divination the world of the spirits plays as great a role as it does in general in all the themes of magic, since the chain of events in the case of the divination of a robbery, for example, is that the spirit of the diviner disengages itself from his body and goes in search of the lost articles, following the track of the thief until it finds the hiding place and consequently the stolen goods, returning then to the body of the diviner to communicate the result to him so that he can, on his part, transmit the information to the party who has come to consult him. [54]

[105 cont.]

The owners of this idol — that no one is allowed to look at — keep it jealously guarded in a coffer, from which no one can withdraw it. With it they carry out on certain occasions some curious rituals such as carefully washing it and then exposing it to the sun's rays. When the summers are harsh and long, they bathe the idol, which they say makes it happy, and they then can ask it to send rain.

The small number of these little idols and the ignorance of the natives regarding their origin makes us believe that they are a foreign element, at least with regard to formal representation, which we consider to be the product of acculturation. The possibility that these objects have come from the ancient Arhuaco is also very remote, as we have found no trace in the literature dealing with this group of anything similar to such small idols.

Moreover, objects of gold are so few that at present they are restricted to necklaces, which are highly esteemed and inherited through the maternal line. But it appears that previously there were other golden ornaments other than the necklaces, as Ensign José Nicolás de la Rosa affirms that on a certain occasion "all the population of Río de la Hacha went to war against them, and the struggle was so fierce and bloody that the Guajiro asked for a truce, offering never again to act so treacherously toward the subjects of the King of Spain, and as a sign of this intention and as compensation for the death of Tomás (Quintero), they delivered to his Majesty [106] a two-headed golden eagle, the jewel being deposited as a hostage to assure the keeping of the peace in the Royal Treasury." (62)

62. De la Rosa, José Nicolás. Floresta de la Santa Iglesia Catedral de Santa Marta [Treasures of the St. Marta Cathedral], 2d., IV, 213.

Up to now we have not been able to discover the historic value of the small idol called guará or guale, and we continue to incline toward our first opinion that it is a product of acculturation.

[146 cont.]

174 192 776 821 If we accept the idea that the Guajiro are descended from the Arawak of the Guianas, with whom they are intimately connected both by their language and culture, there is nothing strange to be found in the formation of the name Mareiwa from mali, male (the l and the r do not exist in the Guajiro language), and fwa, words that are used to name stars and in consequence must be related to the general Arawak cosmogony. In any case, 776 821 the linguistic association of star-rain-god-divinity confirms the statement which we have made that Mareiwa [147] is none other than the propitiatory spirit of the rains, and by the same token, that of good harvests, of abundance, and of well-being.

132 182 776 The harsh geographical conditions of La Guajira and the technical incapacity of the native to dominate and put them in his service without incurring the great inconveniences which are above all occasioned by the climate, have caused this being (Mareiwa) to be raised to first position in the category of [833 178] protector spirits of the community. Also, the changes brought about in their economy during past centuries have contributed to this advance in status, because since the introduction of stock grazing, winter has become more and more indispensable for the maintenance of pasture, without which the stock would suffer serious losses. We have no data relating to the myths or 178 776 religion of these Indians at the time of the Conquest but what we have unearthed and the fact that there is a veritable confusion with respect to the origin and functions of Mareiwa point to the fact that, in a certain way, the Guajiro are living in a state of transition with regard to their divinities, we might almost say a moment of true creation of their gods which has not yet been definitively achieved, and for which contact with western civilization has created difficulties which by now are practically insurmountable.

775 Wanurú. As we referred extensively to the wanurú when we were speaking of sickness and the shaman, we shall add only a few details here and systematize the knowledge we have acquired about this matter up to now.

1. The wanurú can harm the Guajiro bodily and spiritually, bodily by means of such sicknesses as attack men, animals,

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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An Exploration of the Goajira Peninsula, U.S. of Colombia.

By F. A. A. Simons.

Map, p. 805.

Since the publication of my last paper on the Sierra Nevada in 1881,* I have been commissioned by the National Government of Colombia to survey the two Atlantic States of the Magdalena and Bolivar, and especially to write a report on the hitherto unexplored region of the Goajira Indians. A summary of this I have now the honour of laying before the Royal Geographical Society. 121 122

The north-easterly corner of the United States of Colombia (formerly New Granada) terminates in a large peninsula, that, projecting for some 120 miles out into the Caribbean Sea, forms the extensive Gulf of Maracaybo. This peninsula is known as the Goajira. It was ceded by the State of Magdalena in 1872, to form a National Territory, for the better civilisation of its Indians. One half of it, however, is claimed by the Venezuelans, and a dispute that at one time threatened to culminate in war between the two nations, was amicably settled by referring the question to the King of Spain as arbitrator. His decision has not yet been made public. Three-fourths surrounded by sea, the Goajira is on the land, or south-westerly, side separated from the State of the Magdalena by a natural boundary, formed partly by the Rio Ranchería, with the outlying hills of the Nevada, variously called in old maps Cerros de Sobladó, de Barranca, &c., and partly by the Montes of Oca. 131 175 131

Very little or nothing is known of the history of these Indians. Although the peninsula played an important part in the first discoveries, none of the early chroniclers seem to have paid much attention to the country. Juan de Castellanos, who resided some time at the Cabo de la Vela, dedicates a "solo canto" to the people. The "Phrasata de Santa Marta," written by José Nicolas de la Rosa in 1787, gives many interesting data on the customs and manners of the Indians; this work must have supplied the more recent writings on the subject, for the same errors run through them all. That the present race are not the original inhabitants of the peninsula is certain. The Indians themselves have a legend that they came from a great distance, and are able to point out traces of villages belonging to the former inhabitants, whom they assert are the Arhuacos of the Sierra Nevada. Sometimes their old graves are accidentally come across, yielding to the fortunate finder a rich harvest of *tumas* (pieces of polished stone with a hole drilled through), curiously shaped pieces of gold, and other ornaments (clay), identical with those found in great profusion all over the Sierra Nevada. Now, 175 [174] 174 [173] 172

* "Proceedings R. G. S.," 1881, p. 705.

5:Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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172 these tenas are all made from carnelian, jasper, or other reddish varieties of silica, and the stone, according to the Indians, is not to be found in the Gonjira. While ascending Maceira, several places were pointed out to me, especially near the top, in which I was entreated to look for tenaxes "of the Arkanes." They themselves, although covetting tenaxes above everything, are, curiously enough, afraid to look for them, not hesitating, [711] however, to appropriate any found by chance. This, combined with the fear of mentioning their dead, points to some sort of religion or belief in a superior Being. They evidently took possession by conquest, driving the weaker "Arkanes" out, and have managed to assert their 174 rights to this day. It is rather an historical anomaly that such a small tribe, which probably never exceeded 80,000, should have been able [161] to conserve intact their absolute freedom, their manners and customs uncontaminated, in spite of the accessibility of their territory, surrounded as it is by the sea, and the continual commerce that has been going on for centuries.

Commencing with the topography of the country, the mountain 183 system attracts attention most—more so, as a remarkable error has been propagated, that the Gonjira is one large fertile plain with only one or two isolated hills. At least one-half of the country is hilly. There are in fact two Gonjiras; one known as the Lower Gonjira is the level level plain extending from the river Ranchoria to a little beyond the Tota. The other, or Upper, Gonjira is the hilly sterile region between the Tota and Punta Espada. The Upper Gonjira is simply a volcanic eruption, a conglomeration of low hills, conspicuous from the many cone-shaped forms, and the parallel ridges in which they have been thrown up. These parallel lines run chiefly north-west by south-east, and are separated by two large plains, thus forming three distinct groups of hills running from sea to sea. The first and most important of the three is the easterly or Maceira range. This fine, bold, interesting mountain mass rises in front of Chimaro, about 12 miles from the sea-shore, and terminates at the most easterly point of the Gonjira, forming the rocky headland known as the Punta Espada (Jurido). Due to its elevation and position, it serves as a species of cloud-trap detaining the lower clouds that drive in from seaward impelled by the easterly or trade winds, that blow here with great force most part of the year. This is the only spot in all the Gonjira that can really be called fertile. I ascended the two highest points. The north or Maceira proper lies in front of Puerto Estrella, and is composed of several peaks ranging between 2400 and 2600 feet above sea-level. 183 241 None of them offer any difficulty in climbing, as the slopes are covered [187] with gardens to within 500 feet of the top. The vegetation is similar to that of the Sierra Nevada at 6000 feet, and the temperature was very low, showing at midday 62° Fahr. The highest point at the southern extremity in front of Punta Espada is Ara-ura. Owing to the low dense

9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
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the individual who was to provide the raw material for this article. This is more or less a biography of the man who was at the same time guide, interpreter, and driver for the author and with whom extensive conversations, both formal and informal, took place.[1]

Goajiro culture, like most native cultures in the New World, has suffered great acculturation due to the impact with European ways of life. Some of these cultures have been more resistant to change than others; and within one culture, certain aspects have remained closer to the traditional forms than have others. In Goajiro culture, it is perhaps the social organization, with all of its ramifications, that has resisted recent acculturation more than the other aspects of the culture. We know very little of the pre-cattle culture of the Goajiro and even Juan de Castellanos, writing at the beginning of the seventeenth century, describes them as having numerous herds of domestic animals. Nowhere in the literature on the Goajiro is there an example of status having been acquired outside the traditional way and the present writer, in his two field trips to the region, has found only the case here described.

As it is not the purpose of this article to give a full description of the social organization of the Goajiro, it will be sufficient to state that the tribe is divided into some twenty-five matrilineal clans, of which about eleven are large and rather powerful in their socio-economic aspects, and the rest—due mainly to the fact of having a small number of members—are weak, and relatively unimportant. Inheritance is along the mother's line, an individual acquiring property from his maternal uncle. The avunculate in all its social and economic aspects, is a very important institution (Santa Cruz, 1941).

Traditionally the clans are exogamous with incest taboos and punishments for those who break them. This exogamic characteristic of the clan is apparently disappearing, as several cases of endogamous unions were found among the Goajiro living in the outskirts of the city of Maracaibo. No endogamous marriages, however, were found in the Goajiro proper by the present writer, although Gregorio Hernandez de Alba (1936) has

[1] Proper names, especially of the subject, have all been disguised in some way, so as to spare personal feelings.

/145 cont./

567 the death of his aunt, Umaralá dedicated himself to living in
538 a hut in the near-by woods where his aunt lay buried. There he fed on roots and wild fruit picked in the woods and only received a visit from time to time from his male slave, from whom he had also parted. /146/

175 Negro slavery in the eighteenth century. A most interest-
567 ing aspect of slavery in La Guajira is that related to Negro
648 slavery among these natives, which was at its height during the period of colonization, especially during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and was due to Negro commerce and to pearl fishing. Unfortunately, there remain only a few notes about these happenings, written by Father Julián in the
[114] eighteenth century, which have aided us in writing this last section regarding slavery. In the following lines we transcribe these notes which confirm the first case known up to the present in the history of all American Indians regarding the presence of Negro slaves among them. Father Julián says: "The fishermen of such pearls are the Guajiro Indians, who are in control of all this coast from the Río de la Hacha almost up to the famous lake of Maracaybo. These are the fishermen and owners of the pearls. It is they who sell them, who carry them to the Río de la Hacha, who trade them with foreigners who come in their brigs to these waters or anchor in the Bahía Honda. For the pearls they bring in, these Indians receive firearms, alcohol, wines, and even slaves, all of which they procure, becoming richer and ever more insolent and less conquerable." (1)

1. Julián, Antonio:
La Perla de América, Provincia de Santa Marta, reconocida, observada y expuesta en discursos históricos /The Pearl of America: Province of Santa Marta, checked, observed, and explained in historical

1:Gutierrez de Pineda--180 E-5 (1947) 1950 SC13 Goajiro SC13

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/146 cont./

discourses/. Madrid, by don Antonio de Sancha. 1787. 1st III, 12. NOTE: all italics are ours.

Further on, he repeats the reference in these terms: "The value given them by the buyers is represented by three kinds of things. For the pearls, the foreigners give them: firearms, nails, and even slaves, in addition to cloth brought from Europe...." (2)

2. Ibid., 1st V, 19.

More explicit in relation to the problem is the following paragraph: "The Guajiro are fishers of pearls which they sell to the dealers, who in turn sell them to certain brigs and packetboats in exchange for spirits, Negro slaves, and firearms." (3)

3. Ibid., 2nd XII, 187.

And finally he ends by outlining the duties that these Negro slaves carried out and the recial mixing that resulted between them and the Indians in the paragraph which we transcribe as follows: "...He then gave me two rather useful pieces of information which I, impelled by zeal for the good of the Guajiro Nation and of the Monarchy, now retell. /147/ The first is the provision of arms and knowledge of their use which they get from constant trade and contact with foreigners, and the second is that through these /foreigners/ have now been introduced male and female Negroes and intermarriage with the same Indians who buy them and keep them as slaves, and this leads not only to an increase in the number of people among the Guajiro but also to an increase in a diversity of fearsome races of Mestizos, Mulattos, Zambos, etc., who, united with the Guajiro, will make this Nation formidable

/147 cont./

175 567 648 ever more and more difficult to conquer. In fact, when we came into the lands of the Guajiro the Cacique came to meet us with two Negroes as lackeys, dressed in bright red uniforms with all the corresponding facings and braid, something which was quite a novelty to me and made a deep impression." (1)

1. Ibid., 2nd XIV, 150.

BOND SERVICE

56 There is a fundamental difference between the concepts of slavery and bond service in La Guajira. While it is certainly true that in both cases the liberty of the individual is restricted, it is also true that it is restricted in different degrees. Similarly, we can state that while in slavery the owner has absolute rights over the person of the slave, in the case of bond service he has power only over his working potential.

Bond service includes certain groups whose economic, social, and numerical situation has weakened; they are class which, to a certain point, are without effective male backing and who for this reason attach themselves, if not by law at least by act, to a family of superior position belonging to a strong group, in exchange for the use of their services.

Origin. Bond service has three causes. First, the voluntary sale of men and women, and particularly of children /en la edad infantile/, by their immediate owners, the mother, the maternal uncle of most authority, the grandmother, and the maternal aunts being considered as such; second, when a group cannot comply satisfactorily with its economic-social commitments, such as the payment of debts, indemnity for an offense, etc.; and, third, in cases of social inferiority in which the application of the law is up to the offended party, and certain members are taken from the lower social group as bond servants, especially when the offense committed is robbery.

[4 cont.]

on the other hand, is a synonym of hunger, misery, and of death.

The conditions of their geographical situation and the occupation of stock grazing, to which the Indians have devoted themselves since the Conquest, have accentuated their nomadic character because of the need to bring their herds to places where the indispensable pasture and water are available. Furthermore, this need has held back the formation of towns in the true sense of the word, as what is called a rancherías ["hamlet"] in La Guajira is nothing more than two or three huts of wood and thatch, inhabited by people related to each other and which may be several kilometers away from other rancherías. The presence of water at minimum distances greatly influences the location [5] of these habitations, so that the occupants are not obliged to walk long distances.

Only in those localities where the influences of civilization [generally, westernized] are greatly felt do we find what we may call urban centers, but in those the foreign element is more in evidence than the aboriginal. Such for example is the case of Uribia, capital of the Comisaría; Riohacha, a mission center; Maicao, Puerto Estrella, and Carraipía, points of trade with Venezuela, Aruba, Curaçao, and the interior of the country; and Manaure and Bahía Honda, centers of the salt industry.

• • •

The Guajiro Indian was never completely conquered. Throughout the Conquest and the colonization, he kept up a series of wars with the Spanish authorities, whom he learned always to resist, thus maintaining his independence. But he kept up his trade relations with the whites, not only Spaniards but Europeans in general, who reached his shores where they established stations for fishing and the pearl trade, as well as with the group of Spaniards resident in Riohacha, the western limit of the peninsula.

These contacts with European civilization were slowly changing their ways of life in the major part of its aspects, whenever the Guajiro incorporated a series of relatively new elements

[5 cont.]

into his culture, especially into the economy, some of their social institutions, and even in the aspect of their racial composition. Acculturation has been greatly accelerated in recent years due to the ever increasing presence of foreign elements in Le Guajira Peninsula, facilitated by the intervention of the government in this administrative section, by the development of communication, and by the commercial possibilities that dealing with the natives possess.

The fundamental change in the Guajiro's life occurred in their economy. Until the arrival of the conquistadors, according to the data available, the Guajiro were a hunting and fishing people who lived in a constant state of nomadism to the point of having no true habitations, as has been stated by different chroniclers of Conquest times. They also practiced a rudimentary agriculture, mainly the cultivation of corn and yucca, the bases of their vegetable food and of their principal drinks.

With the establishment of stock raising centers by the Spaniards in the regions bordering on Le Guajira, the native found a new source of subsistence. They started a series [6] of thefts from the haciendas which enabled them to obtain animals suited for raising, which adapted wonderfully to the normal conditions of their territory, where during the winter season pasture grows spontaneously, pasture which previously had served only to feed the deer and other herbivorous animals which form part of the fauna of Le Guajira.

With the introduction of this new economic element the native began, step by step, to change his economy of fishing, hunting, and rudimentary agriculture into a new system based principally on stock grazing. His state at a nomadic hunter was transformed to that of herdsman, also nomadic because of the geographic conditions we have just described in previous paragraphs. They also changed their mode of transport by learning to use horses and asses, and even their tactics of war were appreciably changed once they could make use of horses in their battles, placing them thereby on an equal footing with the Spanish conquistador, as in addition to this decisive element, they could also count on firearms obtained in the pearl trade with foreign ships which came up their coast.

[6 cont.]

105 177 However, at the beginning the fundamental change in their economy did not affect their most characteristic social institution. They preserved, almost to the present, their family organization based on the uterine line of kinship and all the other institutions which derive from, or are directly or indirectly related, to it. Only now with the presence of an ever increasing number of foreign elements who are attracted to La Guajira territory by different circumstances is the Indian gradually losing these fundamental ideas of his organization and beginning to change them, forced to do so by events, to the point that today it is becoming difficult to decide up to what point a social phenomenon is autochthonous and to what point it is impregnated with new ideas brought in by evangelism, government and military officials, and traders.

194 195 In the racial aspect the phenomenon shows up less strongly, although, as in other aspects, it has been gradually accelerating as means of communication develop and the contraband between the islands of Aruba and Curaçao, the department of Magdalena, and the port of Maracaibo increase. Racial mixing [mestizaje] began in the colony not only between Spaniards and Indians, as happened in the greater part of Latin America, but also with the Negroes who were acquired as slaves from the Dutch and British slave traders in exchange for pearls. Naturally, this mixture was of insignificant proportions, but [7] at the present time it is developing more rapidly, stemming from the element, also Negroid, of the coastal areas of Colombia and Lake Maracaibo. In spite of all this, at the present time one can still find a large percentage of the pure element in La Guajira, especially in the regions distant from the traffic with Maracaibo or with the interior of Colombia, or relatively isolated from civilizado centers of La Guajira such as Uribia, Puerto Estrella, Puerto López, etc.

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132 134 In the past five to six years La Guajira has suffered extremely severe summers which have almost completely crushed its economic bases, stock grazing and agriculture, for scarcely enough rainfall has fallen to save their pastures or their harvests.

[39 cont.]

But the Conquest came. The Guajiro Indian kept his independence by means of wars and raids and maintained his personality intact as far as possible. His internal organization endured and continued manifesting itself without changes for a time; family organization, bond service, slavery, interclan wars, the laws of inheritance and compensation payment, all the social structure, including marriage, continued in the traditional forms. However, the theft of livestock from the neighboring Spanish ranches began, and the Guajiro Indians learned to master the art of stock grazing until they became converted into a group of herders with occasional agriculture, hunting, and fishing.

The situation was thus undergoing a change apparently gentle in the form it took, but violent in the results it produced on marriage, inheritance, the status of the clan as a collectivity and of the individual in particular, which we attribute to the cause just noted and also to the acculturation provoked by the ever increasing number of civilizado elements in the peninsula: missionaries, military men, employees, traders, and adventurers, who have managed to introduce, as we have said in the introduction, a number of customs from their places of origin, still small [in number] but which slowly are beginning to undermine the social organization of the natives.

All this has clashed with the strongest institution of primitive La Guajira, the shaman, who has had to withstand the challenge of the missionaries, who inculcate in the Indians' minds Catholic beliefs or Christian beliefs in general, absolutely opposed to the primary animism and the magic laws which determined, and still determine, in part the acts, lives, and deaths in general of all and each one of the members of the Guajira community.

The new concept of wealth based on stock grazing, the presence of civilizado elements, the network of communications that now crosses the peninsula, the decisive action of the missionaries and schools have all combined to reduce the shaman to his minimum proportions. Of course, there still remain elements in the native which allow one to classify him as framed by a magic mentality, but external influences are carrying him

[99 cont.]

the charm. He has two aims in view, to render himself immune from harm from his enemies' weapons, and to acquire courage and coolness in the coming fight. This type of charm is called ranfa in Guajiro.

The evil eye. This is one of the beliefs which seems to us to have been acquired by the Guajiro Indians through acculturation, as we have not found it in any purely native group but, on the contrary, have found it very widely spread in all parts of Colombia, especially among the mestizos. We have personally encountered it in the departments of Cauca, Valle del Cauca, Tolima, Antioquia, Santander, and Magdalena. Without being exclusive to Negro or Negroid groups, it is among them that this belief is found with the greatest intensity and frequency.

The presence of Negroes in La Guajira is not due only to racial mixing with the groups of mulattos of the coast but was initiated in the centuries of the Colony as can be seen from these notes taken from Father Julián: "Two evident and palpable reasons came to me: practical reasons which because of my zeal for the welfare of the Guajiro Nation and for the Monarchy I now express. The first is their provision and use of [100] firearms through their continual trade with foreigners; secondly, these same foreigners have brought in Negroes and Negresses, and these have mixed with the Indian men and women who have bought and kept them as slaves. The result is that not only is the number of people in La Guajira increased but so also is the number of terrible races of Mestizos, Mulattos, Zambos, etc., who united with the Guajiro will make this nation even more formidable and everyday more difficult to conquer." (50)

50. Julián, Antonio. La Perla de la América [The Pearl of America], 2nd, XIV, 186.

Referring to this popular Santander belief, Juan de Dios Arias affirms: "In our territory, for example, there is a very general belief that certain persons have the evil eye, and if they should look fixedly and with evil intention at a child, in the course of a few days the latter will be covered with pimples and sore places which are difficult to cure. This evil influence is

[102]

head the party, and these insist that the rest of the caravan who are riding on burros or are on foot follow them closely.

If the wanurú fears the neighing of horses, it is also afraid in the presence of its skull. The important element in this belief is that its appearance must date from the Post-conquest period, since the natives did not have horses before that event. It is thus a belief acquired through acculturation. Our hypothesis is that it was introduced by the Negroes, as similar beliefs are found in the mining regions of Antioquia, as we can show by quoting Tomas Carrasquilla in his work La Marquesa de Yolombó [The Marchioness of Yolombó], the plot of which is unfolded in colonial times in these regions. He speaks of the popular belief in demonic monsters, especially by the Negro slaves who worked the mines, and refers particularly to a special being whom the simple people named the pate-tarro [pata de tarro, "can foot"], "a giant who had only one foot of flesh and bone. If it were not that this great scoundrel was scared to death by skulls of cows, there would not have remained alive a single pawpaw tree in thise mountainous cultivated lands."

The similarity is obvious: A cow's skull keeps away evil spirits and avers their wickedness. The difference lies in something of minor importance -- one is the skull of a cow, the other that of a horse. The beings against whom they direct their evil are different by reason of mere accommodation to the cultural atmosphere in which the belief is implanted.

Charms for becoming rich. This charm is acquired, as are all others, by purchase from a Guajiro woman experienced in the matter. Almost always the owner of such a charm is a man who by means of its power has acquired considerable wealth, because his charm will not allow him to do any bad business. It counsels him on what operations he must accomplish, it points out to him the profits that he could obtain from certain financial operations, and, above all, it guarantees him success in whatever business he undertakes.

The charm is kept inside a small wool bag, and with it he keeps a gold bead and at times a gold necklace. The part of the charm that we might call immaterial is produced by the various

[105 cont.]

718 [422] The owners of this idol — that no one is allowed to look at — keep it jealously guarded in a coffer, from which no one can withdraw it. With it they carry out on certain occasions some curious rituals such as carefully washing it and then exposing it to the sun's rays. When the summers are harsh and long, they bathe the idol, which they say makes it happy, and they then can ask it to send rain.

• 175 174 The small number of these little idols and the ignorance of the natives regarding their origin makes us believe that they are a foreign element, at least with regard to formal representation, which we consider to be the product of acculturation. The possibility that these objects have come from the ancient Arhuaco is also very remote, as we have found no trace in the literature dealing with this group of anything similar to such small idols.

175 325 [428] Moreover, objects of gold are so few that at present they are restricted to necklaces, which are highly esteemed and inherited through the maternal line. But it appears that previously there were other golden ornaments other than the necklaces, as Ensign José Nicolás de la Rosa affirms that on a certain occasion "all the population of Río de la Hacha went to war against them, and the struggle was so fierce and bloody that the Guajiro asked for a truce, offering never again to act so treacherously toward the subjects of the King of Spain, and as a sign of this intention and as compensation for the death of Tomás (Quintero), they delivered to his Majesty [106] a two-headed golden eagle, the jewel being deposited as a hostage to assure the keeping of the peace in the Royal Treasury." (62)

62. De la Rosa, José Nicolás. Floresta de la Santa Iglesia Catedral de Santa Marta [Treasures of the St. Marta Cathedral], 2d., IV, 213.

174 178 Up to now we have not been able to discover the historic value of the small idol called guará or guale, and we continue to incline toward our first opinion that it is a product of acculturation.

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

An Exploration of the Goajira Peninsula, U.S. of Colombia.

By F. A. A. Simons.

Map, p. 848.

Since the publication of my last paper on the Sierra Nevada in 1881,* I have been commissioned by the National Government of Colombia to survey the two Atlantic States of the Magdalena and Bolivar, and especially to write a report on the hitherto unexplored region of the Goajira Indians. A summary of this I have now the honour of laying before the Royal Geographical Society. 121 122

The north-easterly corner of the United States of Colombia (formerly New Granada) terminates in a large peninsula, that, projecting for some 120 miles out into the Caribbean Sea, forms the extensive Gulf of Maracaybo. This peninsula is known as the Goajira. It was ceded by the State of Magdalena in 1872, to form a National Territory, for the better civilization of its Indians. One half of it, however, is claimed by the Venezuelans, and a dispute that at one time threatened to culminate in war between the two nations, was amicably settled by referring the question to the King of Spain as arbitrator. His decision has not yet been made public. Three-fourths surrounded by sea, the Goajira is on the land, or south-westerly, side separated from the State of the Magdalena by a natural boundary, formed partly by the Rio Ranchería, with the outlying hills of the Novada, variously called in old maps Cerros de Soldado, de Barrancas, &c., and partly by the Montes of Oca. 131 175 131

Very little or nothing is known of the history of these Indians. Although the peninsula played an important part in the first discoveries, none of the early chroniclers seem to have paid much attention to the country. Juan de Castellanos, who resided some time at the Cabo de la Vela, dedicates a "solo canto" to the pearls. The "Floresta de Santa Marta," written by José Nicolas de la Rosa in 1789, gives many interesting data on the customs and manners of the Indians; this work must have supplied the more recent writings on the subject, for the same errors run through them all. That the present race are not the original inhabitants of the peninsula is certain. The Indians themselves have a legend that they came from a great distance, and are able to point out traces of villages belonging to the former inhabitants, whom they assert are the Arhuacos of the Sierra Nevada. Sometimes their old graves are accidentally come across, yielding to the fortunate finder a rich harvest of tumas (pieces of polished stone with a hole drilled through), curiously shaped pieces of gold, and other ornaments (clay), identical with those found in great profusion all over the Sierra Nevada. Now, 175 [114] 174 [173] 172

* 'Proceedings R. G. S.,' 1881, p. 705.

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

175 During the Colonial Period, the *Goajiro* were hostile toward the Span-
644 iards. After 1830, however, as a result of better treatment from the Whites, thanks in part to the efforts of Juan MacPherson, they become more friendly. Present authorities in the *Goajiro* region merely regulate frontier traffic.

797 The attempts by the Capuchin Fathers to alter their ways of life have
177 been unsuccessful. Except for the thin Catholic veneer, noticeable in baptismal rites and Spanish names, *Goajiro* social life seems to have been little affected by centuries of contact with Hispanic culture. Foreign influence is more apparent materially in iron implements, utensils, guns, textiles, and ornaments. All the domestic animals are of Spanish origin.

161 As a result of tuberculosis, smallpox, and venereal disease, the *Goajiro*
164 are gradually dying out, and the population estimates found in the literature have become smaller and smaller, the most recent indicating a scant 18,000.

PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

142 The *Goajiro* are usually described as aggressive and untrustworthy, of
[18] medium or small stature (cf. J. A. Mason, 1926, pp. 39, 52), copper colored, with jet-black hair, dark eyes rather obliquely set, a broad and blunt nose, and a large mouth (pl. 72, *bottom, right*). Within the tribes there are physical differences which seem to correspond with social status,
[565] the lower classes being smaller and more Indian in appearance, while those of higher rank are more often of a greater stature, with curlier hair and larger noses.

LANGUAGE

197 The *Goajiro* language belongs to the *Arawakan* family. There is, however, no good analysis of it. A grammar, "replete with errors" according to Simons, was published by Rafael Calcdon in 1878. Various word lists have been published from time to time.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.**—The *Goajiro* have a poor opinion of agriculture, and only
[558] the poorer sibs practice it. The one fertile part of the peninsula is near Punta Espada. Here the land is well cultivated, and plantains, maguey, onions, coca, sugarcane, and grain are grown. Tobacco, bananas, maize, gourds, manioc, sweetpotatoes, millet, beans, and watermelons also are raised. Those who own cattle grow only small patches of quick-maturing corn for the purpose of making chicha beer.

22 **Hunting, fishing, and gathering.**—Hunting, fishing, and gathering occupy a minor place. Deer, armadillos, land tortoises, and rabbits are

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121 114 3. M. Gusinde. "Bericht über meine südafrikanische Forschungsreise 1950/51 /Report on My South African Field Trip, 1950-51/." Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 388-404.

Vienna, who at that time was with the Internat. F.A.O. for Colombia, had been very helpful to me. Soon after our auto journey together through that dried-up peninsula, he died unexpectedly. My thanks to him are thus expressed here posthumously.

128 Only a selection from my ethnographic observations among the Guajiro people are presented here. They are preceded by what has already been ascertained on the same subjects by other authors.

1. Earlier Reports

105 At the time of the discovery of the New World, the 115 Guajiro were the /532/ branch of the Aruak /Arawak/ group that had pushed farthest to the northwest on South American soil. Before the Conquest they obtained their livelihood from hunting and fishing, together with some agriculture. Animal husbandry, however, acquired considerable ascendancy through the introduction of domestic animals at the time of the Spanish colonization. Juan de Castellanos reported that as early as the period of his sojourn there (around 1550) quite a large quantity of livestock was present. Since then, and up to our day, this economic activity has undergone no structural change worth mentioning; at present, however, far-reaching efforts at accommodation to the so-called Western manner of thinking and way of life are seen (4).

4. Cf. Vegamian, Crist (1958 and 1959), José Augustín de Barranquilla, and others.

/532 cont./

105 Only a few accounts concerning the social order and po-
ORB litical organization of the Guajiro are available from that
6rd period. It cannot be ascertained when the Spanish conquistadors first found clues to the family groups existing there, true sibs /Sippen/ in the sense of modern ethnology. Father Álvarez José Nicolás de la Rosa (5) in 1739 described certain burial

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5. Under "Álvarez" I am citing in the following the rare work, Floresta de la Santa Iglesia Catedral de la Ciudad de Santa Marta /Anthology of the Santa Iglesia Cathedral of the City of Santa Marta/, compiled by Father Álvarez Don José Nicolás de la Rosa in 1739 and printed in Valencia in 1833. Francis C. Nicholas translated significant sections from this work into English and supplied supplementary notes which a trip through Guajira induced him to make. According to his judgment, "the book forms a stepping-stone to a study of the history and antiquities of the Indians of northern South America" /cited in English/ (p. 606). This translation, with the title, "The Aborigines of the Province of Santa Marta, Colombia," is to be found in American Anthropologist, 3, 1901, pp. 606-649. Pages 625-636 are devoted to the Guajiro.

ceremonies and in this connection made the incidental remark that they were held "according to the castes [clans] by which they are distinguished" /cited in English/ (p. 634). He enumerated six, "thus: Casta de Guacamaya [macaw] (this is the

/532 cont./
highest), Casta de Pagoil, Casta de Goucharaca, Casta de Moss, Casta de Machin, Casta de Gallinaso (this is the poorest)" /cited in English/ (ibid.). Explanatory additions are lacking. In the light of later successful inquiries, however, these few statements are given their full meaning.

Not until 1870 did A. Ernst publish an extended list of these sneem groups (p. 329). He enumerated twelve of them and called them "tribes /Stämme/," which "have definite dwelling sites." He correctly separated from them the so-called Cocinas, which "perhaps are a different tribe than the rest of the populace and a vagabond gang of robbers that makes all paths unsafe" (6).

6. Father Álvares had already referred to them as "more barbarous than any of the Guajiros, and consequently less tractable and more dangerous, horrible and proud" /cited in English/ (p. 630). In the same sense Stutzer (p. 136) describes them as "dregs of all castes. They murder in order to rob. It is regarded as dangerous to pass through their area alone or in small groups...." They do not merit further mention.

A few years later the British engineer, F. Simons, traveled through Guajira. He related in his excellent report to the Royal Geographical Society (1886): "The Guajiros are subdivided into many families or castes, bearing much analogy to the ancient clans of Scotland. Each caste or rather family circle is united against all comers... Besides the name, each caste or family represents some animal, and many of the minor castes, over and above /535/ /a table appears here/ /534/ their

[text continues on p. 6]

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own symbol, adopt another of some more powerful denomination, to enjoy the privilege of a good protector. There are at present, altogether, some thirty odd castes among the Goajiros... There are about ten of importance, chief among these the Urianas. This, the largest caste in the Guajira, has subdivided or split up into many ramifications, such as Uriana tiger, Uriana rabbit, Uriana paularate (a song bird), Uriana gecko (lizard). This family is at present not only by far the most numerous, but also the richest; due to its connections by marriage with the Pushaimas, formerly the wealthiest of the land" /cited in English/. In an "Appendix" (p. 196) at the end of his report, Simons gives a "List of Tribes or Castes, with their respective animals and favourite resting-places" /cited in English/; each of the twenty-two castes is found in its proper region on the map provided by him (?).

7. Frazer (Vol. 3, p. 560) reproduced this table in full and clearly expressed his conviction that "the Guajiros have a totemic system of the normal pattern" /cited in English/. In connection with this, he discussed in detail the mother-right customs of this tribe. — Kirchhoff (p. 154) analysed only the relationship between paternal and maternal relatives, so far as it was then possible when "the description of the kinship organization" was" /sic/ most incomplete and unsatisfactory." He also clearly made the distinction between the extended family /Grossfamilie/ and sib and

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distinctly stressed that the sib "need not necessarily be a local unit... The bond that holds together the members of a sib is the idea that they descend from the same ancestor and are therefore brothers and sisters..." (p. 90). Actually, the clan members /Klanmitgliedern/ of any sib are allowed to move in complete freedom over all of Guajira.— Vegamian (pp. 36, 347), too, explained: "The Guajiro Indians are divided into castes /castas/ of totemic denomination" /translated from the Spanish/. He discussed in detail their local placement and explained the somewhat variable spelling of the clan names among the authors as follows: "Among the same Indians, perfectly expert in their tongue, there is no uniformity in the pronunciation of one and the same word" /translated from the Spanish/.

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A. Ernst in his second report (1887) used the reliable details furnished by Simons and declared concerning them: "One gains from his presentation a clear picture of the peculiar social relations in which the inhabitants of the peninsula live. What the Spanish writers in their meager reports designated with the vague name 'parcialidades /factions, parties/,' Simons recognized quite rightly as family /Familie/ in the ethnological sense (clan, gens) and gave for several of them the habitual place of residence and the totem

/534 cont./

114 concerned..." (p. 426). "Most are no longer explicable
•175 from the present language of the Guajiro..." According to
64 Simons, "there is no doubt that the Guajiro believe in their descent from such an animal... How far the use of the totem extends among the Guajiro is not said either by Simons or by any other reporter" (pp. 440f.). For such an animal, Ernst (1887, p. 442) regarded the valuation "totem" as proper and promised a linguistic analysis of the names for the twenty-two totem-animals noted by Simons.

64 Individual clans /Klane/ exceed others in economic influence and social significance. The ones smaller in number of persons attach themselves to one or several others. The belief in the kindred solidarity of the clan members is grounded in the traditionally transmitted conviction /535/ /map appears here/ /536/ of actual descent from the same totem-animal. Ernst further states: "Since the individual families [= clan groups] live, if not exactly in hostility, nevertheless separated from one another, marriages between members of different families [take] place only in rare cases" (p. 442); which is synonomous with clan-endogamy as the prevailing rule.

114 A series of names given by other reporters are found in
64 part in A. Jahn (p. 142), Armstrong-Métraux (p. 383), and R. Crist (1959, p. 485). Occasionally one has the impression that these authors drew on Simons and Ernst as their sole sources. The statements that the journalist J. Weston makes are false.

2. Most Recent Reports

What Virginia Gutiérrez has put down in her article, "Organización Social en la Guajira" (1948) comes from personal field research. Her article became known to me only after my crossing of the peninsula. The myth recorded by her, in which sibs still living in Guajira are mentioned by name, follows here in free translation. The same account was repeated to me, with a few insignificant variations, by

[text continues on p. 10]

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At the present time the family concept of the woman is changing because of the conduct of mestizo and even pure Indian women brought about by changes in their economic situation and by contact with whites. Gradually, the traditional organization of the marriage payment and fidelity based on the payment is being broken down, because it is the women themselves and not their relatives who receive the payment, and for their activities as prostitutes. The phenomenon is noted not only in the centers of the interior which have contacts with whites and Negroes -- principally traders and civil authorities -- but also and especially in Maracaibo and some of the towns of the department of Magdalena, to which they have been obliged to emigrate. However, they maintain the family concept of mutual assistance and share their income with their close relatives, not as before in the form of the marriage payment but as income earned in the sex market.

Prenatal care and birth. A woman learns that she is pregnant when she feels a loss of appetite and repugnance for food. The later disappearance of the menstrual period confirms the suspicion, and she immediately sees to it that her husband is informed of the event, so that he may know of his coming fatherhood. Also, in the case where she has had extramarital relations in the absence of the husband, the woman, when she feels these early symptoms of pregnancy, goes in search of him, cohabits with him, and later can tell him of her condition, thus avoiding possible later suspicions. From the time of the ending of the first menstrual period, she begins to count the months, and she expects delivery after the eighth month.

Before the arrival of a child, the woman complies with established rules intended to avoid a lengthy and difficult delivery as well as to safeguard the new arrival from sickness which would affect his normal mental and physical well-being. Included in these prescriptions are to be found some of useful and practical value and others with a marked magic aspect. These magic observances generally affect both parents, although some only refer to the woman, /5/ others exclusively to the man (1).

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[62] In this way the replacement is gradual without organic or other complications for the child. c) When breast feeding is kept on overlong and the child is already eating normally and assimilating adult food, the breast is then simply a diversion that is, at times, voluntarily abandoned by the child. In this category may be included the younger children, or *sharé*, who considerably prolong the period of breast feeding. d) Very exceptionally it may happen that the mother gets annoyed with her child for biting her nipple and as punishment takes it away, but this punishment occurs only when the child is big, as logically, when the child is small, he cannot so bite.

When the mother is not able to travel, in order to deprive the child she wants to wean, or when it will not take a refusal, [62A] she rubs her nipple with the sour juice of a plant called *wawá* and offers her breast to the child, who /13/ on tasting it cries and rejects it. This practice is repeated several times until the child refuses to respond when the breast is offered. This step is taken when the child is two or three years old and it is considered shameful to continue breast feeding so long, or when the child is small and special circumstances oblige the mother to act in this way.

When the child starts to take other food as a substitute for [65] his mother's milk, she feeds him liquids from a vessel made [77] from a gourd /*tumma*/ (1) which she holds, at the same time

1. At present, some use moving bottles.

training him to hold it also so that he can learn to feed himself; she gives him soup from a spoon, and she puts solid food into his hand. When he is very small she gives him lukewarm food, but later she gives it to him at the temperature it comes from the hearth, warning him to be careful. At two years the child is self-sufficient in these matters.

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548 566 Bond service. Bond service is different from slavery in that it is not the result of a conquest in war of one group by another, but rather the consequence of economic decline, since when a group cannot support its members, they sell them. Years ago large numbers were sold to Venezuela as farm hands to the Caribbean Islands, etc., and although the investment was never very safe, due to the escaping of the Indians, the sales were numerous, and even today they are very frequent. Furthermore, it is common practice at the present time in the Jarara region, short of resources in summer, to take the nephews and nieces of an individual who has been forced by necessity to commit robbery as bond servants to repay by their own labor what was stolen.

Women in this situation, separated from their group and unable to be helped by them, are coveted by the men. Those who are sent away, on their return, find themselves in a situation similar to that of slaves who have come back. They settle in the cities and turn to prostitution, as the whites find in them a simple solution of their problems, and they find a means of subsistence.

548 177 The mestizo. Cross breeding /mestizaje/ has not affected Guajiro culture in respect to the tradition regarding magic, language, organization, etc., but has had an effect on social morality, which /75/ is readily forsaken by the mestizo woman of lower class, commonly called cabeza loca ("madcap"), by the general run of Indians, owing to her sexual promiscuity, her easily becoming a prostitute and giving herself and living for certain periods of time with a man, (mestizo or white as a general rule) to leave him later to follow an endless chain. The pure-blooded Guajiro woman, even if she takes to prostitution, never abandons, from any motive, the established norms of modesty, [578] such as never to show herself naked, never to behave rowdily, etc., as there is no greater insult than that a man should affirm such things about her. The mestizo woman, however, does not respect these concepts. For this reason she is sought after more and more, and she freely and openly throws over the traditional

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548 177 limitations. We have said that this applies to the lower classes because the mestizo woman of the upper-class groups are as modest and conservative, or more so, than the pure Indians. The mestizo woman of lower class is not under the control of her maternal relatives, and for this reason there is no repressive power capable of making her submit to that which is right.

548 167 Geographic conditions. A natural phenomenon is basically the cause of prostitution in La Guajira: the long summers /dry season/ that the peninsula has suffered during the past five years, a period in which the winter seasons /rainy season/ have been nonexistent, so that neither stock breeding nor agriculture have been able to subsist and have dwindled to a minimum, so ruining the traditional economy of the population. The result is that the native, seeing himself without resources to live, migrates or succumbs through inanition, as we were able to observe during our stay in that region. In this state of affairs the native will go to Venezuela where he finds paid work which alleviates his situation and that of his relatives in the peninsula. Sometimes the women also migrate with their families.

When the men emigrate, the family groups lose their elements of support in difficult situations, and the women and children are left with diminished protection and control, that is to say, they depend on themselves. When the assistance from the men is limited, the families must live by any means they can, and they then feel the attraction of the /urban/ centers where they expect to be able to find the solution to their problem of making a living. They migrate, and their only opportunity is in prostitution. There the women begin a way of life foreign to their social organization, made easier by the absence of male relatives who would put a stop to that way of life, since by being absent they cannot present their claims for compensation payment, and, furthermore, they are, generally, unaware of this state of affairs. The married woman whose husband is absent over long periods, impelled by this same situation and her own sexual need, turns to prostitution without anyone /76/ to make the corresponding claim. Married

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548 Consequences. The consequences that prostitution has brought
177 to Guajiro society are various. The first and decisive one is the almost absolute wreck of the social organization due to the destruction of marriage, the mainstay of social life based on the purchase of a woman, who by this transaction becomes the private property of the man in the matrimonial sense. If she is unfaithful there arise the claim for compensation payment and the whole series of consequences which we have seen previously, all tending to preserve conjugal fidelity. On the woman's turning to prostitution, the legal norms which establish that marriage payment and the very constitution of the family become useless and it erases the essential character of the family, i.e., procreation. There is an end to the principle of the establishment of new social cells and fecundation takes second place. It is the biological satisfaction that is sought, not the procreation of children, a phenomenon which constitutes a grave social problem for, although many people accept contraceptives, others through ignorance or thoughtlessness on the part of the man do not use them, and the natural consequences of pregnancy are not long
[847] delayed. Then they have recourse to all the abortives they know of empirically, using the herbs whose active qualities are claimed by the old women of the Sierra de Macuira, or those they have traditionally learned from their ancestors, or they ask the assistance of a woman practiced in these matters, who for a fee provokes the abortion by traumatic massage on the abdomen of the pregnant woman and keeps the secret.

848 Besides abortives, the Guajiro woman uses potions of herbs which sterilize her for a time, up to three years, without stopping menstruation, and others which interrupt the menstrual cycle for long periods with the result that her sexual relations do not lead to pregnancy. She even appeals to magic to get this result, for example, by drinking, while fasting, a potion made from mule's
[237] excrement left to soak overnight and then decanted. They believe that as this animal is sterile so will the woman who imbibes the preparation.

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Furthermore, doing away with marriage by payment destroys with it the family backing which, in the economic sense, means as much to the woman, the man, and the children as to the maternal relatives through the system of payments, repayments, and compensations that are consequent on it. Above all, the woman loses the social and economic backing of her group, and the man the guarantee of her fidelity.

The woman who has migrated and has taken to this way of life while outside her native land, or who has accepted it in her own homeland, usually will not return to the country, or if she does it is only to live there while she spends the money she has earned, to return later and resume her trade. Today prostitution is a menace to all La Guajira. Young Indians who have not been able to obtain a wife or simply anyone who wants sexual satisfaction will find it with a Guajiro woman by means of a casual payment, and with prostitution has come a new scourge for the Guajiro: venereal diseases, brought and spread by those who have acquired it in their relations with the civilizados. Ignorance on the part of the prostitute of hygienic precepts which would free her from these ills has resulted in the disease increasing dangerously. Moreover, there exists in the peninsula no clinic where the native can go for treatment, and there is only one doctor and a poorly equipped hospital in Uribia. Hence, prostitution has aided, and still aids, not only social bankruptcy by the wreck of the institution of the family but also physical degeneration by the unrestricted spreading of venereal diseases among the youth of the country.

Outfit and dowry of the woman. When a Guajiro woman is bought the family gives her the inheritance, in livestock, which is hers by right. These gifts go to her in accordance with her social standing and with the amount of the marriage payment, because this establishes the prestige of the maternal relatives. They know that a man who has paid dearly for his wife expects that she has not cost so much just for the sake of the marital satisfactions she may give him, or for her known high social status, but that in her price there will be included an inheritance handed over to the bride for life and at this time. He could not

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583 thread or spinning and dyeing cotton. They bring in logs, which serve as seats, they make the harness for the horses and horses. In other words, in some places the woman tries to become self-sufficient, and in other places, according to the established division of labor, she sells whatever she makes and with the proceeds buys the food, clothes, and utensils she may need in the home; or more simply she relies on barter to gain her object.

583 The problem is different in the case of mestizos, if the marriage is not carried out under Guajiro law, and in that of whites who have married Guajiro women in accordance with the rite established for the community. In both cases the man provides, besides the house, all that is essential for the home such as furniture and domestic utensils according to the custom of civilization /nonnatives/, and later, as they wear out, he substitutes new ones. With respect to the dowry, we may say that the man may take charge of his wife's animals, if she so wishes, but he may not arbitrarily dispose /91/ of them. The capital acquired between them is the inheritance of their children, as we have seen. It does not devolve, as in Guajiro practice, to its original source (the wife's maternal relatives). Since he did not make a marriage payment, it is up to the man to shoulder the responsibility and provide for all the necessities of the home. /93/ /page 92 is blank/

V

MARRIAGE

583 43b Purchase procedure. The traditional Guajiro marriage is brought into being through the purchase of the woman from her maternal relatives, payment being made in animals and ornaments and, at the present time, in bolivars because of the influence of trade with Venezuela.

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583 satisfies the girl's parents, who, attracted by the economic possi-
582 bilities of their future son-in-law, arrange the marriage without consulting the wishes of the impuberal child, although they sometimes try to persuade her, making her see the advantageous situation such a marriage may ensure. The girl in many cases has a child before her first menstruation appears.

It is said in La Guajira that old men practice this custom because they derive more sexual incentive from young and undeveloped feminine figures, and this prolongs their masculine potency.

583 Marriage of Guajiro women with civilizados. With very few
177 exceptions intermarriage is carried out between Indians and civilizados /nonnatives/. It is of two kinds, temporary and permanent, in accordance with the length of stay of the civilizado man in the peninsula and is nearly always limited to the Guajiro law of marriage by purchase of the woman.

The temporary marriages consist of unions established between traders or civil or military authorities who must stay some time in the peninsula, having come alone and finding in the purchase of a native woman the solution of their personal problems. They live with the woman they have bought, adapting themselves to the norms of life in La Guajira, and have children who, according to legal tradition, do not belong to them. As their obligation to their family is so limited and the maternal relatives have continued to give backing to the woman, they can go away at any moment, as indeed they do, without altering the life of the home that they founded, because the woman has not been uprooted, as in the case of a Catholic marriage, from her social institutions nor her relatives, who, once the marriage is dissolved /92/ by the definite absence of the white element, take her back again into their midst. The woman continues to sustain the family and bring it up under the protection and counsel of her maternal relatives, since very frequently nothing is ever again heard of the father. Sometimes they marry again or live with another man.

Permanent marriages are effected with civilizado men who, having definitely settled in the country, sometimes decide to get

1:Gutierrez de Pineda--115 E-5 (1947) 1950 SC13 Guajiro SC13

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married in the Catholic church or to buy a woman (usually one with standing) and found a home, which in the first case shows signs of the predominance of the father's culture and in the second is much nearer the customs and usages of themother, by whom it is much more directly influenced due to the form of marriage. The children conceived /in the marriage/ are legally recognized in the case of the Catholic marriage and very frequently are sent to the interior of the country to be educated. In the case of the Guajiro form of marriage, the children belong to the mother and her consanguineous relatives, whose surname they take.

Temporary marriages may be due to the fact that the women belong to a group of low status and are sold by their parents because they are in a desperate economic situation. For this reason it is not unusual for a white man to have several wives, as many as he can buy and support. We know that the woman who has been bought must furnish the home, but this is not the custom when she marries a white man, for in spite of the payment the civilizado man must make himself responsible for the proper maintenance of his wife and children in shelter, food, and clothes.

These material advantages make it possible and frequent for one to find young Guajiro women married to decrepit old men who can give them a comparatively comfortable home, which they share with their relatives, who find a solution for their economic difficulties in unions of this kind.

The problem of these marriages lies in the fact that the woman consents only because of hunger, and when the opportunity presents itself for her to give way to her affection for someone else or to satisfy her instincts, she easily abandons her civilizado husband and runs away with her lover, far away from any action her husband may try to take, whose claims are usually ignored by her consanguineous relatives, to whom he has made the marriage payment, because they know that the white man has neither a powerful group nor the Colombian law to back him. Once the civilizado leaves La Guajira, the runaway pair legitimize their union, contracting marriage through a payment which the man can make anew to the girl's parents.

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583 177 Permanent marriages take place generally between women of standing and whites of recognized influence, and they are more stable. The conduct of the woman and her relatives is in accord with the rank of her husband, and he on his part maintains toward his wife a certain courtesy and gives her the good treatment she deserves as a person of high status. In these cases it is not unusual that the woman has been bought in accord with Guajiro legal tradition and that the marriage lasts; but frequently it is ratified later in the Catholic church, or both forms were used from the first moment.

177 595 848 It is possible, also, that the white man, following Guajiro custom and in spite of his Catholic marriage, has other wives of lower status than the first, who always keeps the rank of legitimate wife in our sense and on whom depends the social representation of the children, the only heirs of the father and of the home, legal center of the family. The other women, although bought according to Guajiro law, acquire more or less the rank of concubines in our culture, and their children, the position of illegitimate ones. Catholic missionary influence and relations with whites have made the Indian come to regard his form of marriage as a little immoral. For this reason they now say when speaking of a Guajiro woman married with the rites of their culture: "She is So-and-so's woman," and the woman who has been married by Catholic rite says: "I am So-and-so's wife." Thus when one asks a Guajiro woman, for example, "Where is your husband?", one must be careful to use the right word for husband /marido/ or spouse /esposo/, using the first word in the case of a marriage according to peninsula rites and the second in the case of a Catholic marriage, the word "marido" being considered offensive when improperly used. As a consequence of this fact, the concept of legitimate and illegitimate children has sprung up, a concept which has no place in primitive Guajiro law. A child even though born as the result of illicit relations is a child without adjectives, either of scorn or contempt. In such cases the mother has received by force through her relatives the payment for her abuse and the

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177 birth in such a way that they are never placed outside the pale of
595 the law. This may be due to the uterine line of kinship in which
848 the father does not count in the recognition of children.

In these cases of marriage between whites and Guajiro women there also occurs a union of these two ideas. The white man refuses to buy the woman or legitimize their union through the [583] necessary traditional proceedings demanded by her culture. The refusal to comply with the main traditional requisite makes the man unacceptable, and he is considered an intruder.

The children, illegitimate /94/ according to the paternal mentality, meet a natural reluctance among their mother's relatives, who however in the long run have to accept them.

Consanguineous marriage. Although the Guajiro community
582 is in an obvious process of disintegration, there is a characteristic which is strongly maintained: exogamy, which, at the present time, does not mean the prohibition of marriage within the same clan group, but within a limited circle of close consanguineous kin: brothers /and sisters, hermanos/, uncles /and aunts, tíos/, and ascendants in the female line. Thus today in La Guajira we find marriages between individuals of the same clan, since the tie has weakened so much that although they belong to the same clan group, they do not consider themselves relatives.

If the marriage takes place within the small family circle, the opinion of society and of the relatives is never favorable. They cannot explain why nor wish to accept that an individual should marry a consanguineal kin included among those just mentioned. Their magical beliefs reinforce this, because these beliefs establish the prohibition that a man must not marry a relative, or he will be come bald.

582 Guajiro mentality cannot accept as natural the marriage of
588 a woman to her maternal uncle. This would be incest at its worst, because the maternal uncle has the position that a father has with us. There was a case, and a similar attitude has always been observed in like cases, of a Guajiro girl who had sexual relations with her maternal uncle. After pregnancy became

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583 which legally belonged to her consanguineous relatives. With this refusal to pay, he has destroyed the standing of the woman, since it is the size of the payment which fixes this, and this denominator of her family now does not exist. This lowers her consanguineous relatives, the bitterest insult to the Indian, for whom the conservation of prestige, its strengthening and increase, is a permanent concern and a rule of life. It puts them in the position of a weak group in which their daughter has been abducted without having received the corresponding payment. They await a similar situation for the descendants of the couple since they, with only the backing of their father and mother, must face all hazards that present themselves, without counting on the economic and social help of their relatives.

[595] Furthermore, although the man may marry in the Catholic church, this does not mean for the woman that her husband is going to be monogamous, because he will live as suits him best, buying all the other wives he wants according to the peninsula system, without taking into account that the first marriage prohibits him from having other women.

583 177 Catholic marriage, which presents itself as one of the best ways to achieve the acculturation of the Indians, his passage to civilization, and his definitive incorporation into Colombian life is now beginning to be gradually accepted and in this way is breaking down the old matrilineal clan organization. It contains various outstanding facts which radically transform the traditional customs. We shall see some of these:

a) The preparation of the home, which in the traditional Guajiro marriage is the woman's responsibility, in the Catholic marriage is entirely the man's, even to the house itself. We know that the payment which the man gives for his wife is made so that the wife and her maternal relatives can take over these /domestic/ obligations. There being no such payment in many Catholic marriages, the man must necessarily, and in fact does, build his own house as soon as possible and must have it adequately furnished with all the household goods necessary for domestic life.

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583 177 b) The responsibility for the support of the home also falls to the man, not only in regard to food for himself, his wife, and the children, but also for clothing for them all.

c) The Guajiro marriage, as the base of all social organization, necessarily holds sway over inheritance laws. If a couple marry in the Catholic church, they break with this law, and Colombian law is substituted for the laws of the peninsula which no longer cover them. In this way, on the death of the father, his goods are not inherited by his maternal nephews, but rather, in accordance with the Colombian law in force, by his wife and children, obligatory heirs. The custom of gifts to the sons from the father during his lifetime may go on, but these never constitute the whole of the inheritance.

583 177 423 d) Traditional Guajiro organization in respect to land makes of it communal property divided among the various family groups, who are permitted use and usufruct, but with alienation expressly forbidden. These rights to settle, to cultivate arable land, to pasture, to use the sources of water supply, to take advantage of the products of the woods, etc., are all denied to the couple who have married in accordance with the Catholic church.

583 177 e) There are also appreciable changes in residence of the newly married pair, which will be seen in the paragraph about it in this chapter.

f) Catholic marriage, as is known, gives primacy among us to the transmission of the father's surname, but a marriage consecrated with the Guajiro rite does not, since in this case the children belong to the mother, are of her blood, and use her name exclusively. This fact shows clearly how, by accepting the Catholic bond, the woman isolates her children from the group to which she belonged, because from then onward they do not bear her name, the expression of her family offiliation, and for this reason her maternal relatives do not have to give them economic aid or social backing when they need it. On their part, the maternal relatives of the father have difficulty accepting the children of one of their menfolk as their children in place of their

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583 nephews and nieces, and the fact that they bear their surname
177 when they are children of a union with a woman of a different family group is hard for them to take. In a certain way, the children, although nominally belonging to the father, find themselves in an abnormal situation among their paternal relatives and have a feeling of being rejected, and among their maternal relatives they find a similar attitude and hurt feelings because they have been separated violently from them by their mother's /98/ Catholic marriage, which has completely broken the traditional blood relationship, giving them another surname.

g) If Guajiro custom gives the woman the right to give her name to her children, Catholic marriage transfers this right to the man. She generally gives the child the name of an ancestor, a brother /or sister/ or an uncle /or aunt/; and the man, having been conceded this right, does likewise. If the marriage is Catholic, the children are also baptized. This does not mean that children born to a typical couple married by Guajiro rites are not also baptized, but this is rarer.

h) With the breaking of the consanguineous bonds which bind the child to his maternal relatives, his education is influenced more directly by the father, since he definitely respects his wishes and consults him, the father, in this way, taking the place of the mother's brothers, who in the traditional marriage assume these responsibilities. The children respect and obey their father, and the duality of authority which one observes in the Guajiro home is not felt here because the man, from the first moment, establishes the predominance of his will over his wife and children. In this way, the sons identify with their progenitor and defend him because he is their real father and not somebody who has no consanguineous tie and no interests in common with them.

The fact that the father assumes the responsibility for the actions of his sons does not mean that, as in the case of a Guajiro marriage, the mother then obtains the right to claim compensation payment from her husband for anything that may happen to them in any circumstance, or vice versa, but that both assume the total responsibility, without giving rise to any compensation claims

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583 177 from one or the other when the blame for any particular act falls directly on one of the parents. Each one is free to punish the children, without asking the approval of the other; neither feels inhibited about giving an order, nor is it necessary to consult the relatives of either before making a decision. In this way, authority makes itself felt in the home, is more closely linked with the parents, less liable to interference from consanguineous relatives, and less limited, making the education of the children easier for this reason and ensuring a unity of authority in the home.

Marriage through sexual relations between the unmarried.

636 583 Sexual relations before marriage are strictly forbidden in the Guajiro community except during the celebration of the Dance of the Kid (ceremony of propitiation of the rain and the harvest) when it is permitted without /99/ entailing social punishment for those guilty. When times are normal a compensation claim for abuse or usufruct is presented, or a mutual pact made for marriage, legalizing in this way the antisocial act committed. The varieties that may appear in this regard are the following:

583 For abduction, which may have two aspects, sham abduction and real abduction.

Sham abduction is looked upon with favor by the woman's maternal relatives, who, knowing about the affectionate relations between her and an individual belonging to an important family group with whom it would be very convenient to be linked by marriage even without an offer for her hand or the stipulation of payment, let the girl go with her lover without offering any opposition. After a time they present their compensation claim, and the man sends his relatives who are acting as his sponsors /padrinas familiares/ to make an arrangement with the woman's maternal relatives. They then come to a reasonable agreement, and the man hurries to pay the price arranged. This proceeding is carried through peacefully, always counting on the good faith and acquiescence of the two families, although it does have the appearance of an abduction.

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VI

MATERNITY

844 Care of the mother at childbirth. The responsibility for the life and well-being of the children is shared by the father and the mother, but it falls directly on the mother when the father is absent from home during her pregnancy or delivery; she must give him a full account of his children, since otherwise he will put in a claim against her for any supposed neglect, making her pay for the death of the child. This is why the woman during the delivery of her child submits to all the customary prescriptions covering these cases and seeks the help of her relatives and their backing, because the responsibility in the last instance will fall on them, since it is they who must pay the corresponding indemnity.

The first child is born in the maternal home. If the mother is not already there, the husband should take her to her maternal home before the event, with the careful attention necessary so that no ill-effects are caused by her traveling. At the moment of delivery she is preferably attended by her mother, or if she is not available, by her eldest aunt or by the most important and knowledgeable aunt in preference to the others, should the first be unavailable. The grandmother may also assist if she is still capable. In the absence of the relatives just mentioned, the sisters are asked to help. The married ones are preferred to the unmarried, but in the event of special urgency one of these will [177] be called in. It would seem that these preferences are due to white influence because in localities less in contact with the said /white/ culture there is less concern in this regard.

For some time now they have been making use of Indian women expert in midwifery, who give their services for a fee. The midwife may be accompanied and aided by the mother of the pregnant woman in the first place or successively by the others just enumerated if they wish to be present and co-operate in the delivery.

/153 cont./

755 him with a series of magic remedies and medicinal plants which have been fully described in the article /154/ previously cited. Also at the present time it is not uncommon for them to call in the services of a white doctor, either in Uribia, the capital of the peninsula, or in the near-by cities of Venezuela, such as Maracaibo, or in the neighboring Colombian department of Magdalena.

But their culture possesses a traditional institution that
756 answers these requirements: the shaman, whose essential
755 activity has been fully treated in the work which we cited at
177 the beginning of this chapter and to which we refer the reader. This institution, perhaps the most powerful in Guajiro culture, has been losing value for various reasons already studied in the article we have cited, but it still occupies an outstanding place within the social and cultural whole, to the point that when an Indian is gravely ill, his relatives think immediately of the shaman as the most advisable means of curing the sick man, as this functionary (the shaman) possesses considerable magic powers due to his having been selected by the benevolent spirits to be their intermediary in their frequent contacts with the community. For this reason, to obtain the aid of the shaman is to have in one's favor the friendship and co-operation of the well-wishing spirits who can save the patient from death,
[763] because for the Guajiro, illness is caused by the action of pernicious spirits who want to cause harm and to avenge themselves.

755 The first necessary condition for the shaman to take charge of the cure is the gift to him of a piece of jewelry, an orna-
[431] ment of gold, generally a necklace, /the value of/ which should be in relation to the family status of the patient as well as the standing of the shaman. A second condition is the tacit submission to the shaman's demands and instructions.

The shaman, once he has decided to take charge of the cure of the patient, goes to his house and submits the sick man to the customary ritual. His practices, which last several

/156 cont./

764 fixed in her ears suspended in a chain, starting with those of her greatest preference; all her necklaces, bracelets, anklets, and rings must be placed on the corresponding part of her body. If the deceased is a man, they also put on his jewelry, as his spirit
764 will need them in the other life to maintain his status beyond the grave. If he belonged to the rich class, he is shrouded in the
554 following manner: First, they cover his head with a special cloth woven by his wives; the bottom of the cloth covers his face, and the ends are fixed behind his head. Over this is placed a second cloth which reaches down to the belt and pins the arms laterally along the body. A third cloth covers the legs, and a fourth may be added to wrap the whole body, but the use of this latter has been gradually disappearing. Thus enshrouded, he is put in the enramada /bough-covered shelter/ within the coffin
[177] -- modern custom -- or enveloped in a still fresh hide and placed in a hammock. Then the lamentations begin.

The custom exists of sending to all the absent consanguineous
764 relatives, the most intimate friends, and in general all acquaintances, word of the death or of the patient's being near death, as the illness is made known from the first moment, especially
[202 to close relatives. If they are important people, runners are sent
554] as soon as the sick man worsens, so that at the time of his death, the house is already full of people. As those who arrive to show their sympathy are so many and they appreciate how impossible it is for the master and mistress of the house to offer them all adequate hospitality, the visitors arrive with their hammocks, water in large pitchers, food, etc., which they bring on their burros.

The messenger sent with the news, especially when he
764 carries it to a consanguineous relative of the deceased, knows
551 that he must not pronounce the dead man's name, as this would
[202] gravely offend his relatives. For that reason he usually says: "That relative of yours who lived in such-and-such a place, who did such-and-such an important thing, has died." Furthermore, none of those attending /the funeral ceremonies/ will pronounce

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689 191 a family chat. The man thus addressed, greatly offended by what in Guajiro culture is considered a great insult, flogged him pitilessly, after having hung him by his hands from a tree. Later he wanted to kill him but was prevented by the onlookers. As he was a close relative he could not demand compensation payment, but he repaid himself for the offense by inflicting punishment. This was so terrible that the boy became mentally unbalanced and up to the time of our visit had not fully regained the use of his faculties. /188/

It is believed that the native who does not use his own language as a medium of expression among the other natives does not because he is ashamed of his own people and openly disowns them by substituting one language for another. Also, to accept another mode of expression indicates a superiority of the latter over the former, and of the foreign element over the native.

689 291 177 b) Breaking away of the individual from the consanguineous family group and, in general, from the Guajiro community. This is best expressed by the following facts. Some time ago, the Guajiro boy educated in the mission or who emigrated to other centers was obliged to use the clothes used by civilizados /non-natives/. If he returned to his own environment again he had to use the guayuco once more and give up trousers. Nowadays, mestizos and rich Indians have adopted the use of a shirt or undershirt but without abandoning the guayuco, which has become converted into a garment of a distinctive Guajiro character. When a man from the peninsula wishes to show that he has broken with Guajiro culture, that he has thrown off affective, consanguineous, and legal ties, and that he has placed himself outside their society, he refuses to use a guayuco, which he hangs up in some noticeable place as a symbol of his break with the past. An equivalent act can be seen in the women. The Guajiro Indian woman denies that she is such when she refuses to wear the robe, but at present the significance of this rejection has weakened and is now replaced by the open abandoning of an undergarment, which corresponds to the men's guayuco, both functionally and symbolically. It is a

/188 cont./

689 kind of trousers which is kept up by the so-called sirapo, a belt
●177 of cords and beads whose inheritance has a special meaning.
[291] The Guajiro woman who wishes to renounce her society and her culture hangs these garments up and leaves her home.

These two acts are carried out when individual interests clash with collective ones, when a social pattern must be complied with at the risk of not surviving. Here we have the case of certain Guajiro girls educated by Christian norms. When they reach marriageable age, they must submit to their own cultural patterns, which permit polygamy, and they must be bought, just as their female antecessors were. This clashes with the education they have received under other norms. Others reject the family's imposition of its own candidate for a husband and the fact that they are not allowed to follow their own affectionate impulses, etc. To such a girl there are various solutions she may take to disregard the social norms of her consanguineous relatives: committing suicide, if it comes to that, but this idea, which in extreme cases is carried out, also clashes with the moral concepts in which she has been educated; running away, but this recourse is very difficult for a woman of standing with /189/ many relatives. Then she sees as the ultimate solution the prospect of breaking with her culture, which is no longer compatible with her world view as a civilized /civilizado/ woman. She looks for refuge in a civilized institution of this kind and finds it in the Capuchin mission. In this way a number of young Guajiro have arrived looking for protection after having hung up the guayuco and the sirapo as a symbol of the break with everything that was theirs.

This is an offense of a very grave character, not only for the abandoned relatives but for the whole social collectivity. It is thought that whoever does it expresses clearly his contempt for the whole cultural group to which he belonged, placing it by this act on a lower plane. This hurts the native and increases his feeling of inferiority when confronted by the white man and brings to the fore resentments which sometimes have remained

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689 177 hidden. The breaking up of the cultural institutions against which the aggression is directed is accelerated, and these forms /of protest/, in spite of the disagreeable consequences to the individual who makes them, are becoming more numerous. Lately it has not been necessary to resort to such extreme attitudes as those mentioned, since the tenacious refusal of a woman who does not want to conform to a cultural pattern has been sufficient; this conduct does not now place her outside the institutions to which she belongs by birth, but permits her -- without sanction -- to adopt the cultural norms of the whites in this respect, or violate her own as in the case of prostitution and adultery.

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684 Another type of aggression directed against the regimen for collective stability is that determined by punishable acts relating to sex.

The abuse of a young Guajiro girl without legal purchase is an act of aggression which gives cause for the paying of an indemnity.

In this aspect of abuse one must consider violation and surreptitious sexual relations.

The first is more grave and demands a large payment from the offender, not only for illegally making use of property to which he had no right, but for the way he did it, socially humuliating for the woman and her consanguineous relatives because force is employed and wounds received, /both/ evaluated as injuries.

In the second case, in which the expressed consent of the woman is taken for granted, payment is demanded only for the sexual use of the woman and for taunting the woman's family group.

The man who pays for abuse in either of these two cases does not acquire future rights over the woman. He has paid

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423 The geophysical conditions of the region limit the likelihood
428 of agricultural land, which is reduced to strips on the banks of streams or even to the beds of these streams, which are dry during the summer months, and to the immediate environs of wells. As a consequence this limitation has resulted in these arable portions being traditionally in the hands of a number of small families of the clan group, who hold them among themselves; and the right of usufruct is passed from uncle to nephew following the maternal line, in such a manner that, within the common ownership which governs clan land, these plots are a kind of private family property. It is for this reason that a man owning a piece of this land will parcel it out to his nephews, the sons of his sister, when these youths reach an age in which their capacity for labor fits them for agricultural work. Thus it is true that by this system /212/ of inheritance, the ownership of agricultural land is kept in the clan, but held also by a particular family of the clan.

423 One can also mention a second form of access to arable land: when the father cedes to his sons a part of his ownership for its usufruct and in order that they may help to maintain the home. But the use of this plot can be in effect only during the father's lifetime because when he dies his nephews, the sons of his sister and his legitimate heirs, will take definitive possession of the land. [177] Only in the process of acculturation does this system break down, since with Catholic marriage it is the father's sons and not the nephews who become the recognized heirs of such property.

One may also obtain possession of plots of agricultural land by the opening up of new land, which occurs when the traditional family lands lose their fertility or are reduced in size due to successive inheritance. But for some years this phenomenon has been quite rare for two reasons: the prolongation of summers, which makes agricultural work impossible, and emigration, of which we have already spoken extensively in this study.

The agricultural plot, which is almost individual property,
423 can be demarcated by its owner. We say almost individual
425 ownership because the right to it may be sold. /But/ there is this fundamental principle with reference to immovable property:

1:Gutierrez de Pineda--282 E-5 (1947) 1950 SC13 Goajiro SC13

CONCLUSIONS

I

177 Guajiro culture and society can no longer be considered to be homogeneous bodies. Each of them has been subjected to the influence of contact with other civilizations which are distinct from their own both in manifestation and in human constituents and which have left the mark of their wake in the transformation of institutions as well as individuals. This process, which we may suppose started before the Conquest through relations with other neighboring native groups in the adjacent department of Magdalena and in the bordering republic of Venezuela, was accelerated after the area was colonized and its rhythm has been increasing, in a progression we might call geometric -- with the advance and the development of the republic of Colombia, especially in the latter period of its history when migratory currents have made themselves felt with greater intensity over the length and breadth of its territory for reasons we will not mention here as they are outside the scope of this work.

177 563 In any case, racial and cultural mixing /mestizaje/ is one of the most important factors in the study of La Guajira. As one has been able to note in the contents of this study, its institutions and primary cultural patterns -- the traditional ones being understood by this -- are in part conditioned by the new cultural forms adopted through the impact of different groups which have penetrated peacefully or violently into their innermost lives. First, the Spanish conquerors; then the European merchants who took advantage of the pearl trade of the Guajiro Indians; later the colonists, also Spaniards, who established their haciendas in regions in close contact with the peninsula; and last, the mestizo groups, generally negroid, from the Colombian and Venezuelan coasts, who have most directly influenced the social and cultural changes in the Guajiro by reason of their having at their disposal an excellent network of communication by air, land, and sea

/237 cont./

177 which furrows all the territory inhabited by the Indians, from the
563 towns of the department of Magdalena to the dominant /238/ urban center of the region, Maracaibo, in the neighboring republic of Venezuela.

177 To these factors, which we might call unconscious or involuntary, must be added others that are not so, such as the missionary influence and that of the schools for natives, which, although very few up to the present in comparison with the number of inhabitants in the peninsula, have definitely impressed cultural norms of a civilization quite distinct from autochthonous ones, especially with regard to religion. For, as noted by my husband in his work, Aspectos de la Magia en la Guajira, published in the previous number of this review, magic -- although it influences and determines many of the cultural patterns of the natives and their reactions and ways of thinking -- has been losing ground day by day as the new ideas of the Catholic religion are inculcated in the individual; and its most genuine representative, the shaman, or medicine man, has to a great extent lost his value as spiritual director of the community and is reduced today to the status of a simple curer /curandero/ who sees himself facing an unequal struggle with the medical doctors who arrive in the peninsula, to the point that "if the medical and hygienic services of La Guajira were intensified by the Colombian government, in the course of a few years the shaman would disappear as an institution in the peninsula, and the greater part of the aborigines' magic beliefs, especially with respect to sickness and death, would disappear from the collectivity and would remain only as folkloristic manifestations which recall his presence in times past."

Furthermore, these two factors have determined appreciable changes in another of the strongest Indian institutions: marriage. As the reader will have noted, the chapter which we dedicated to this social aspect is probably the most extensive of the study we have just presented, a fact due not to a greater collection of notes on this subject but to its relative importance within the aggregate of cultural institutions. From it is directly derived the concept of

/237 cont./

177 family, of status, education, etc., and with it are related phenomena as outstanding as the clan. A great portion of customary law applies to married life. The breakdown of traditional marriage has brought as a consequence, as we have affirmed in the pertinent sections, the decline of the institutions that are linked directly or indirectly with it. The greatest changes suffered by Guajiro culture are due to transformations of marriage traditional forms brought about by acculturation in recent times. /239/

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II

177 But the action of acculturation has not been completely
191 unilateral; that is, it is not only the Guajiro who has felt the influence of mestizo groups, but in his turn he has imposed some of his cultural patterns on them, which, as is logical, are hinged to the three most characteristic aspects of his culture: marriage, magic, and language. For it is certain that foreigners -- understanding by this term those who are not Guajiro -- who enter their country find themselves obliged to learn the Guajiro language in order to carry on business transactions and even to enjoy friendly relations with the natives; otherwise they will likely fail in their intent because, although the native as a general rule is acquainted with the Spanish language and handles it relatively well, he nevertheless refuses to make frequent use of it. It can be observed in the business center of Uribia, the capital of the commissary, that the business establishments most patronized by the Indian are those whose owners use Guajiro for their conversation and business. And the so-called "caciques," who in general terms are no other than Guajiro mestizos or foreigners who have acquired a strong economic position in the country, do not reach their degree of prestige until they completely master the language with its conventional turn of sentences for solemn occasions and the proper use of convincing words, as we stated in the pertinent chapter.

/239 cont./

177 582 We also saw in the section referring to marriage that the individual who goes to La Guajira and seeks to marry has two ways of doing so: by following the traditional norm of La Guajira, that is, buying the woman in accordance with the conventional payment and in agreement with the girl's parents and submiting to all the regulations in force regarding marriage, or marrying in the Catholic church, in this case causing the woman to break away from all the norms of her culture and from her society to the point of her being no longer considered a member of the same and in consequence finding herself excluded from all the guarantees that this same society can offer her in any case of difficulty or conflict with her husband or with other groups distinct from her own clan group. Although many make use of this second form of marriage, the majority do marry by the Guajiro ritual, although they may introduce certain changes and frequently do not comply with all the laws and obligations which form part of the primary institution of traditional Guajiro marriage.

177 As most of the inhabitants of the Colombian and Venezuelan coast are negroid, as we have just stated, and for this reason /240/ have a past of considerably superstitious and magic traditions, it is logical that they are readily influenced by the beliefs which dominate the Guajiro mentality. It is for this reason that these people are so eager to buy different kinds of magic charms and so strict in the observance of set norms of conduct related to the totality of Guajiro magic practices.

III

Culture, therefore, has suffered appreciable changes which have considerably altered the traditional conformation. But this change has not taken place in isolation. It has developed in unison with a transformation of society as a whole, which is also outstanding. The mixing /mestizaje/ of

/240 cont./

177 the races, as well as of cultures started in the colonial period, according to the records of the chroniclers of those times, not only with the whites who penetrated the territory on expeditions of conquest or trade but also with the Negroes whom the natives had taken as slaves in exchange for pearls each time that the slave ships dropped anchor off their coast. This mixing continued sporadically, giving the characteristics of indomitable ferocity of La Guajira throughout the colonial period, and has accelerated as has cultural contact during recent years for reasons already noted.

This does not mean, naturally, that the racial composition
144 of the La Guajira Peninsula is exclusively mestizo -- a mixture
177 of Indians with whites, mestizos, Negroes, or mulattos -- be-
563 cause the greatest percentage of inhabitants is still pure Indian, especially so in the districts where they have had less contact with the civilized world, as happens in the Sierra de Jarara, for whose inhabitants there is a term very common in the whole territory, cerreros, that is, pure Indians in the widest sense of the word: Indians who preserve not only their physical characteristics but their unalterable psychic and cultural traits.

This crossing, as has happened in all the cases which we have been able to observe in societies dominated by other cultures, has been effected by the combination of the feminine element in the dominated race and the masculine element on the dominating side. The cases where the opposite has occurred are very rare. It may be added that this appears to be a general law, at least among the South American communities which had to submit to the invasion of Europeans, brought about in various ways and according to the period of penetration. /241/

177 Guajiro traditional institutions were so strong that the changes
563 in social composition did not at first essentially affect their cultural patterns. The newcomers adapted themselves perfectly to the norms of native life and made common cause with them, only differing in their physical type resulting from cross-breeding /mestizaje/ and possibly some cultural manifestations

/241 cont./

177 93 imposed by the father, if he stayed in the peninsula. Even today, many of the mestizos of La Guajira follow the Indian way of life, accepting their norms and being subject to their laws, and approving and participating in all outstanding times of life. One may often observe in them the appearance of a civilizado, that is, of an outsider to the Guajiro culture, by their external appearance and by certain forms of their conduct; but when one gets closer to them or sees them in their drunken moments, all their native ancestry comes to the fore and the mestizo, who had appeared to be a "white," becomes completely Indian.

IV

177 But the process of acculturation brings about, in the individuals, as it does in the case of culture and society, definite new forms, which slowly go adjusting their ways of feeling and thinking, which condition their reactions to new patterns, the fruit of mixture of the traditional and the foreign. It could not be otherwise, given the interaction existing among these three component elements of the group: culture, society, and the individual. For this same reason, the personality of the Guajiro is very difficult to explain today given on the peninsula, as we have just seen, that persons and even entire groups who preserve intact their original cultural birthright live together with individuals and groups who have adapted their system of life to a new method, the product of the mixture of several cultures. But the process is in action and one can safely presume the ultimate unification of all the individuals under the new patterns.

The forms of reaction of the individual, as we have noted in the early chapters of this study, which correspond to what is the life cycle of the individual in La Guajira, have become transformed. Their response to different situations has changed, and their systems of compulsion related to these situations have suffered variations in practice, which it is natural to expect. The /242/ very morals of the native have weakened from their

/242 cont./

original form because the concepts of marriage, family, and social organization in general have been partially transformed by external intrusions. It is clear that the climatic changes of recent years, with their disastrous consequences, have contributed in an appreciable manner to these changes, among which should be counted emigration and prostitution. But the fundamental cause of change in Guajiro cultural structure has been conditioned by acculturation.

It is almost impossible for a primitive community placed in contact with pockets of modern civilization which surround and encircle them more and more to remain unaltered in their ways of life. It is logical that it will have to accept new techniques, more modern economic systems, ideas more in accord with new times, and for such reasons be forced to change the legendary institutions, if not consciously then unconsciously, slowly in some cases or violently in others. This is the case in La Guajira. Systems of violent interaction could not break the Guajiro spirit. The natives knew how to preserve their independence in the face of the continuous assaults by the Spaniards and in spite of the peaceful penetration of settlers, but to do this they had to adopt new methods copied from their enemies: They were forced to use firearms and horses for war, two vital elements in their independence; to change their war tactics and break down their traditional isolation and the proverbial independence of the various clans that compose their society and to unite in the struggle against the white invaders who envied them their pearls and dreamed of adding another people to the chain that they had made subject to the Spanish crown. From then on, Guajiro culture felt foreign influences which finally annihilated it and incorporated it into the Colombian nation.

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V

177 It would seem that when acculturation was less, the status ascribed to the individual was founded on his membership in a clan. If this clan was economically strong with numerous male members, the individual occupied a well-established position, that is, there was a clan stratification which conferred on its members by fact a corresponding social position. Within each one of these consanguineous units there was a second stratification according to which its members were graded, usually with reference to their personal wealth and their particular /243/ physical, psychic, and cultural conditions and qualities -- shaman, cacique, etc. A third scale was within the family itself and referred to the special position of each one of its components within the family circle. The head of each one of these social units occupied the predominant place -- the maternal uncle most important -- and the grading went in descending order down to the sharé, or younger child.

But at the present time the dispersion of the clan, due to acculturation which grows greater every day, has caused less importance to be given to the initial stratification, because within the peninsular territory the same clan now occupies different positions or statuses in accordance with the region in which it moves and with the members composing these groups separated from the original consanguineous unit. Contributing further to this is the fact that territorial property which previously was absolutely communal has gradually become individualized and converted into the privilege of a limited number of families of those that comprise the clan collectivity. The consequence of these phenomena of acculturation is that it is no longer the clan that determines the ascribed status of the individual in the first instance, but this is given, first of all, for his personal psychic, physical, and cultural conditions and for the restricted family unit to which he belongs.

/243 cont./

•177 In other words, in previous times status was recognized as a function of the clan and for the clan, while at the present time status has a more universal value as it is related to all the social conglomerate, since, as we have said, the clans have been splitting up and losing their original cohesion due to the phenomena of acculturation. Nevertheless, even in those times there were certain individual statuses that transcended the narrow limits of the clan and invaded the community as a whole. Such, for example, was the case of the piache, or medicine man, who occupied a superior position within the general stratification in relation to the rest because his function as the intermediary between two worlds, the real and that of the spirits, benevolent and malevolent, conferred on him the position of a true spiritual director, not for the reduced group within which his totemic, consanguineous relatives moved, but for the entire community, for every person who required his services, for every family that needed his help, all, of course, within the limitations which interclan relations imposed, particularly when the regimen for social stability had been violated and the clan groups affected were in a situation verging on war. On the level immediately below was the arbitrator, /244/ or palabra /literally, "word" in Spanish/, wrongly called "cacique" on occasion, whose prestige by reason of his office as intermediary between different groups having a quarrel about a violation of the regimen for social stability also went beyond the limits of his own clan and extended far beyond the borders of his consanguineous limits, because the economically and numerically weak clan groups made a practice of seeking the services of an arbitrator belonging to a high group to represent them in their conflicts.

These two statuses were, and still are, determined by different causes: The first, or that of the medicine man, was, as shown by my husband in the study previously quoted, involuntary, so to speak, as it was the spirits of departed shamans who in a moment of exaltation or of illumination conferred on him this power, which was later ratified by a committee of shamans and diviners. The second, on the other hand, depends above

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177

all on very well-defined personal qualities, such as command of the language, possession of wealth, etc.

Within the evolutionary process occurring in Guajiro institutions, these categories are beginning to be inverted so that at the present time the position of political head, or arbitrator, is probably more important than that of shaman. The "cacique" is today a type more universal, more consulted, and more respected. The shaman's power is obviously declining, and he is ceding his position to foreigners.

Following the descending scale of positions, we come to the herder, whose function which has come about as the result of a new concept of wealth: stock raising. We have repeatedly remarked in this study on the essential value of nomadic stock raising in the economic life of the peninsula, which has created a new outlook in La Guajira, where wealth is always interpreted in terms of the number of cattle that an individual is able to own. For this reason, he who is outstanding in this activity is the one who does it successfully, who possesses the greatest head of cattle and controls land of personal or communal ownership suitable for grazing, that is, with good pasture, early rains, and wells giving a constant supply of water.

Also included within the scope of economic life and as an effect of acculturation we find the functions of trader and public employee. The trader, usually a mestizo, is associated with the movement of contraband merchandise throughout the peninsula, with agricultural products being sent to Venezuela from the department of Magdalena, or with foreign manufactured goods introduced from the islands of Aruba and Curaçao. His intervention is due to the perfect knowledge that /245/ he has of the country on one hand, and, on the other, to his being on many occasions driver or owner of vehicles which he places in the service of smugglers, as partner or for payment. At times he smuggles on his own account, buying contraband merchandise which he moves to Venezuela, sells in La Guajira, or transports to the interior of Colombia, following the route through the department of Magdalena.

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177 Working as a government employee also confers prestige and furthermore constitutes a sure income within the economic ups and downs of stock raising conditions existent in La Guajira. These administrative posts are in the main given to individuals who already have great prestige in the zone administered, with the object in view of facilitating administrative and, on occasion, legal work in the commissary government.

The status of hunter was without doubt the most important when this activity was one of the sources of economic life in the peninsula. Today it is reduced to a secondary plane, but it is still maintained in the person of the chief of hunting expeditions, who is the one best acquainted with the topography and the most likely haunts of game, who knows the feeding habits of animals, the paths which they take, and, from the smallest detail, can deduce what kind of game is near, its size, etc., since one of his essential qualities is that of being a skillful tracker. Furthermore, he is in possession of weapons adequate for each type of animal, weapons which he has made himself and magic charms for each species to ensure safety and success in hunting. It is also necessary that he be perfectly familiar with the tactics of hunting so as to be able to place to the best advantage the different participants in the expedition; he should sacrifice his personal interest in favor of the others so that his companions will recognize his generosity when distributing the catch.

• • •

177 When we consider the individual in the family unit, we
596 also find a gradation of status in direct proportion to the importance and position of each member of the family in the home. At the very head we find the eldest maternal uncle, whose responsibilities for the economic-social backing of the family, especially in relation to nephews, his sister's sons, are very important, as we have noted throughout this study. He is the

/235 cont./

177 596 head of the family and his decisions are accepted because he assumes absolute responsibility for the family. Hence the absolute obligation of consanguineous relatives dependent on him to respect /246/ his wishes and give way to his decisions. In the Guajiro family organization, in which descent is matrilineal, the father is simply a biological element without social or family ties with his children. This is what occurs in the traditional family system, but at the present time the status of the maternal uncle and the father are in conflict, and the latter tends to replace the former in the family group, due to the change in the concept of kinship which is upsetting the legendary canons of matrilinear descent. Thus the status of the father is gradually rising, affecting the relations between nephews and sons, for, if previously the nephews, sons of a sister, were those who attracted the men's attention, now it is the sons who are gradually taking this place to the extent that, as we mentioned in the chapter entitled Inheritance, veritable clashes arise between one and the other after a man's death with respect to sharing in the goods of the deceased. Male children, in view of this new concept of kinship between father and son which has arisen, particularly through the new form of marriage brought about by acculturation, believe themselves to have inalienable rights to their father's possessions at his death to the exclusion of the maternal nephews, who should submit to the same rule and expect their inheritance not from their uncles but from their own fathers. Furthermore, son and father, in accordance with the system of uterine descent could become, and actually did become, enemies when the paternal and the maternal clans went to war with each other, but now the son fights at the side of his father in the majority of cases and is, in turn, represented by his father in rites of passage.

177 Again, the question of marriage presents itself as one of the most important, if not the most important, in Guajiro social organization. Any upheaval that occurs in this has its repercussions on all other traditional institutions, which do not

/246 cont./

177 resist the pressure exercised on the latter. Changes in the idea of marriage automatically will change: descent, inheritance, interclan relations, the value of women, the education of children, the concept of kinship, the right to land, etc., -- so closely are all these items tied one to the other!

VI

177 As was natural to expect, acculturation has also affected
562 the status of women considered as members of the consanguineous group. In the traditional organization, we can say that the preponderant status of the woman within the family is that of mother, who is, so to speak, the second head of the home, after the /247/ maternal uncle who guides and directs the activities of the cell. But this unilateral valuation is being transformed into a double one: that of wife-mother. We will clarify this point. We have seen in the pertinent chapters how a wife's value was determined exclusively by her position, which in turn was determined by the maternal clan to which she belonged. This valuation was materially shown by the high or low payment which a man decided to pay for her on taking her for his wife, in accordance with her clan position. Within the man's clan, relations with the woman were limited to the mutual help given to her husband for her purchase price and their assistance in the preparatory ceremonies of the marriage. But there was no link that tied them to her or to her children, as a consequence of uterine descent. But at the present time the presence of the wife of one of the male members of the clan is taken into account since she now fulfills certain functions which permit her relative incorporation into the clan, or at least into the small family of the husband. On his part, the man has changed his position with regard to her by not looking on her simply as a biological being, but as a companion. For the same reason the status of maternal aunt,

/247 cont./

177 in relation to her sister's children, has been weakened in view
562 of the intervention of the paternal aunts, previously unrecognized in relation to their nephews and nieces in the masculine line.

Women, considered simply as a social component, have acquired a higher position owing to the cultural changes that have affected the community due to their contacts with other civilizations. The most important advance, perhaps, is the relative liberalizing of clan rules in their relation to marriage, as the woman does not submit so voluntarily to the husband that her maternal relatives pick for her, but has sufficient strength of will, backed up by actions which are happening with ever greater frequency, to choose her man herself even though this may mean for her the breaking off of all ties which link her to family and clan organization. Furthermore, she acquires with the white marriage institution legal powers to combat polygamy.

VII

654 Having outlined the various influences of acculturation on the individual, on society, and on Guajiro culture, and having sketched in this study the life cycle of the individual and some of the most characteristic social institutions of the community, we can now refer in a general way to the conformation of the status of the native in its different aspects. /248/

The points of reference of individual status of an inhabitant of La Guajira may be summarized as follows:

1. Membership through blood in a powerful clan, and within it being the son of a woman of high position, who is a first wife (remember the presence of polygamy and its conflicts). This implies:

A. Control of sufficient wealth represented by:

a) Numerous heads of livestock, preferably cows and horses.

b) Family jewels set with tuma, the traditional stone; possession of ancient, solid gold or silver idols.

[4 cont.]
221 on the other hand, is a synonym of hunger, misery, and of death.

221 361 233 The conditions of their geographical situation and the occupation of stock grazing, to which the Indians have devoted themselves since the Conquest, have accentuated their nomadic character because of the need to bring their herds to places where the indispensable pasture and water are available. Furthermore, this need has held back the formation of towns in the true sense of the word, as what is called a rancherías ["hamlet"] in La Guajira, is nothing more than two or three huts of wood and thatch, inhabited by people related to each other and which may be several kilometers away from other rancherías. The presence of water at minimum distances greatly influences the location [5] of these habitations, so that the occupants are not obliged to walk long distances.

177 361 Only in those localities where the influences of civilizados [generally, nonnatives] are greatly felt do we find what we may call urban centers, but in these the foreign element is more in evidence than the aboriginal. Such for example is the case of Uribia, capital of the Comisaría; Nazaret, a mission center; Maicao, Puerto Estrella, and Carraipía, points of trade with Venezuela, Aruba, Curaçao, and the interior of the country; and Manaure and Bahía Honda, centers of the salt industry.

* * *

175 648 The Guajiro Indian was never completely conquered. Throughout the Conquest and the colonization, he kept up a series of wars with the Spanish authorities, whom he learned always to resist, thus maintaining his independence. But he kept up his trade relations with the whites, not only Spaniards but Europeans in general, who reached his shores where they established stations for fishing and the pearl trade, as well as with the group of Spaniards resident in Ríohacha, the western limit of the peninsula.

175 177 These contacts with European civilization were slowly changing their ways of life in the major part of its aspects, whenever the Guajiro incorporated a series of relatively new elements

[5 cont.]

175 177 into his culture, especially into the economy, some of their social institutions, and even in the aspect of their racial composition. Acculturation has been greatly accelerated in recent years due to the ever increasing presence of foreign elements in [648] La Guajira Peninsula, facilitated by the intervention of the government in this administrative section, by the development of communication, and by the commercial possibilities that dealing with the natives presents.

105 175 177 The fundamental change in the Guajiro's life occurred in their economy. Until the arrival of the conquistadors, according to the data available, the Guajiro were a hunting and fishing people who lived in a constant state of nomadism to the point of having no true habitations, as has been stated by different chroniclers of Conquest times. They also practiced a rudimentary agriculture, mainly the cultivation of corn and yucca, the bases of their vegetable food and of their principal drinks.

With the establishment of stock raising centers by the [648] Spaniards in the regions bordering on La Guajira, the natives found a new source of subsistence. They started a series [6] of thefts from the haciendas which enabled them to obtain animals suited for raising, which adapted wonderfully to the normal conditions of their territory, where during the winter season pasture grows spontaneously, pasture which previously had served only to feed the deer and other herbivorous animals which form part of the fauna of La Guajira.

With the introduction of this new economic element the native began, step by step, to change his economy of fishing, hunting, and rudimentary agriculture into a new system based principally on stock grazing. His state as a nomadic hunter was transformed to that of herdsman, also nomadic because of the geographic conditions we have just described in previous paragraphs. They also changed their mode of transport by learning to use horses and asses, and even their tactics of war were appreciably changed once they could make use of horses in their battles, placing them thereby on an equal footing with the Spanish conquistador; as in addition to this decisive element, [439] they could also count on firearms obtained in the pearl trade with foreign ships which came up their coast.

[6 cont.]

105 However, at the beginning the fundamental change in
177 their economy did not affect their most characteristic social institutions. They preserved, almost to the present, their family organization based on the uterine line of kinship and all the other institutions which derive from, or are directly or indirectly related, to it. Only now with the presence of an ever increasing number of foreign elements who are attracted to La Guajira territory by different circumstances is the Indian gradually losing these fundamental ideas of his organization and beginning to change them, forced to do so by events, to the point that today it is becoming difficult to decide up to what point a social phenomenon is autochthonous and to what point it is impregnated with new ideas brought in by evangelists, government and military officials, and traders.

144 In the racial aspect the phenomenon shows up less strongly,
175 although, as in other aspects, it has been gradually accelerating as means of communication develop and the contraband between the islands of Aruba and Curaçao, the department of Magdalena, and the port of Maracaibo increase. Racial mixing [mestizaje] began in the colony not only between Spaniards and Indians, as happened in the greater part of Latin America, but also with the Negroes who were acquired as slaves from the Dutch and British slave traders in exchange for pearls. Naturally, this mixture was of insignificant proportions, but [7] at the present time it is developing more rapidly, stemming from the element, also Negroid, of the coastal areas of Colombia and Lake Maracaibo. In spite of all this, at the present time one can still find a large percentage of the pure element in La Guajira, especially in the regions distant from the traffic with Maracaibo or with the interior of Colombia, or relatively isolated from civilizado centers of La Guajira such as Uribia, Puerto Estrella, Puerto López, etc.

* * *

132 In the past five to six years La Guajira has suffered extreme-
131 ly severe summers which have almost completely crushed its economic bases, stock grazing and agriculture, for scarcely enough rainfall has fallen to save their pastures or their harvests.

755 [22 cont.]
796 of the patient or of his family – then those attending are presented with a good portion of meat.

*756 Shamanistic treatment of animals. When pestilence breaks out among a Guajiro Indian's animals, he has no other
231 known recourse to repel it than to seek the services of a shaman.
755 As he already knows in a way the accustomed ceremonial in such cases, he prepares days beforehand a sufficient quantity of corn chicha, which is used in the chicha-maya dances, and he invites a large group of women to come to the dance. He then calls in the shaman, who, once arrived on the scene, has all the animals collected and enclosed in a large corral. While this operation is being carried out, the shaman begins to prepare himself for the ceremony, inviting his protector spirit to cast out the pestilence, and dressing himself (or better said, undressing himself) in a neighboring hut as is customary for the ceremony of the cure of human beings, keeping on his loincloth if he is a man and her dress if a woman. He then places a crown of wool on his head and readies the maraca, which he keeps in his hand during the entire event. Following this, he enters the place where the animals are, goes in among them, and turns himself around in circles about them, continually shaking the maraca and spitting on their bodies the juice from the manilla he is continually chewing. During all this time, he intones his ritual invocatory chants, [23] which are different from those used for the cure of humans, and he never stops shaking the maraca. This operation generally lasts for several days and is only suspended for those moments when the shaman rests. When he considers that the evil spirits which have caused the pestilence have been successfully driven off, he suspends his activities and orders for the fiesta to begin, which is started by the sacrifice of an animal, the distribution of chicha to those present, and the dance. The animals are driven to the fields while numerous gunshots are
[77] fired (in older times arrows were shot off). These are intended
[789] to complete the work of the shaman in driving off the evil spirits of the disease.

*756 Shamans' dreams. When a shaman dreams of a long trip
787 through unknown territory, it is an evident sign that he is due to
[761] die. When the dream is over, he attempts through "shamanizing"

[33 cont.]

114 We do not wish to question Professor Métraux's statement
● 177 about the influence of White contact in relation to medicine-
562 women in the other groups cited by him, as we are not objec-
*756 tively acquainted with them. But with regard to the Guajiro, we have to make the clarification that in the descriptions collected by us in the field, it is precisely the woman who really initiates magic, or better said shamanism, among the Indians, when she obliges her nephew to follow her own career. This aspect can be better understood when the reader comes to the section of this chapter entitled "The shaman in oral literature."
[174] The fact that women appear as shamans in oral literature demonstrates the antiquity of the institution, as this literature faithfully preserves the most remote traditions of the group.

*756 The shaman, man of two worlds. All that we have seen in connection with the life cycle of the Guajiro shaman makes us think that he is what we have called him in the subtitle that heads these paragraphs: a man of two worlds — the world of the living and the world of the spirits of the dead. [34]

*756 The communication which he establishes after all the
554 preparatory ceremonies with one or several protector spirits who lavish on him every kind of counsel and instruction and even protect him against evil in all its manifestations: illness, enemies, public calamities, etc., make of him a man distinct from all the rest. His status is superior to that of other mortals because in his hands he has power over both good and evil. It is this duality that binds with his science a man who is both sacred and human, a being respected by all but feared at the same time, a good man, able to cure illnesses, but also a malignant being, liable to let loose the fury of the spirits beyond the grave. He is respected, loved, feared, and even, we might dare to say, profoundly hated.

[783] What predominates in him above all is the characteristic of impurity due to contamination from death. Sacred and impure become confounded in him; he is sacred because he is untouchable, and he is untouchable because of his participation with death through his protector spirits.

*756 His dual position as inhabitant of two worlds, involuntary it is true, depends on two fundamentally simple facts: first, his

[39 cont.]

105 175 177

But the Conquest came. The Guajiro Indian kept his independence by means of wars and raids and maintained his personality intact as far as possible. His internal organization endured and continued manifesting itself without changes for a time; family organization, bond service, slavery, interclan wars, the laws of inheritance and compensation payment, all the social structure, including marriage, continued in the traditional forms. However, the theft of livestock from the neighboring Spanish ranches began, and the Guajiro Indians learned to master the art of stock grazing until they became converted into a group of herders with occasional agriculture, hunting, and fishing.

The situation was thus undergoing a change apparently gentle in the form it took, but violent in the results it produced on marriage, inheritance, the status of the clan as a collectivity and of the individual in particular, which we attribute to the cause just noted and also to the acculturation provoked by the ever increasing number of civilizado elements in the peninsula: missionaries, military men, employees, traders, and adventurers, who have managed to introduce, as we have said in the introduction, a number of customs from their places of origin, still small [in number] but which slowly are beginning to undermine the social organization of the natives.

177 *756 [747]

All this has clashed with the strongest institution of primitive La Guajira, the shaman, who has had to withstand the challenge of the missionaries, who inculcate in the Indians' minds Catholic beliefs or Christian beliefs in general, absolutely opposed to the primary animism and the magic laws which determined, and still determine, in part the acts, lives, and deaths in general of all and each one of the members of the Guajiro community.

The new concept of wealth based on stock grazing, the presence of civilizado elements, the network of communications that now crosses the peninsula, the decisive action of the missionaries and schools have all combined to reduce the shaman to his minimum proportions. Of course, there still remain elements in the native which allow one to classify him as framed by a magic mentality, but external influences are carrying him

[39 cont.]

177 in the direction of civilization, which [40] powerfully attracts
756 him. We can almost affirm that if the medical and hygienic services of La Guajira were intensified by the Colombian government, in the course of a few years the shaman would disappear as an institution in the peninsula, and the greater part of the aborigines' magic beliefs, especially with respect to sickness and death, would disappear from the collectivity and would remain only as folkloristic manifestations which recall his presence in times past.

The decadence of this institution can be noted very easily
756 if we look at what Uricoechea says in the introduction to the
558 work already cited: "They always had their shamans, or curers,
177 and diviners to consult and respect. The shamans had their schools in the woods, and they were legislators in addition to being doctors; furthermore, they were the priests and interpreters of observances and beliefs which they, in common with all the inhabitants of America, had." (37) Compare what is

37. Celedón, Rafael. Op. cit., Introduction, p. 20.

said in these paragraphs with all that we have stated, and you will note the enormous decrease in prestige that the shaman has suffered in La Guajira in the space of a few lustrums.

[41] III

Magic and Sacrifice

782 In Guajiro culture we can distinguish four types of sacrifices:

1. Those of a funeral ritual character.
2. Those of a harmful warlike character.
3. Those made to forestall the effects of dreams.
4. Those made to propitiate the protector spirit of the shamans.

[58 cont.]

755 associated with some prohibitions of a taboo nature or with established social customs, the origin and in part even significance of which is unknown. But what attracts our attention in this aspect of Guajiro medical [59] practice is preventative rather than curative nature. To demonstrate this, we quote some examples:

753 During the period of pregnancy, neither the father nor the
755 mother should be present at the exhumation of the dead, a cere-
843 mony which the Indians hold to comply with the rites of the secondary burial. If this injunction is disobeyed, the infant about to be born will, at birth or a few days later, have a sickly appearance and will be afflicted with constant diarrhea and night sweats, and will be characterized by a very pronounced paleness and extreme thinness.

755 If this occurs, if through carelessness the parents witness the exhumation of a corpse during the mother's pregnancy and her child is born sickly, they will not try to blame the child's illness on any other cause than that just stated. In accordance with this decision, they will proceed to apply the curing method appropriate for such an emergency, which, as we noted in the previous chapter, "Magic and Sacrifice," is as follows: (a) They wait until there is a fiesta of a ceremonial nature for the exhumation of human remains and then place the infant inside the recently opened body of the animal that has been sacrificed for the ceremony. (b) If the infant cannot be taken to the place where the ceremony is being held, a bone of the sacrificed animal is taken, left to dry, and cooked, and the infant is bathed in this water. (c) If there is no possibility of a ceremony of the type described being held in the near future, a hole is made in the sand, and the child is buried therein up to its neck and is then covered with the loose earth.

843 Neither should the husband of a pregnant woman under any
845 circumstances dig a grave or assist in the construction of a vault
764 (an element of acculturation) destined for the primary or secon-
[177] dary burial of any person. If he does his wife will suffer the consequences of this disrespect in her delivery, which will not be normal: prolonged for several days, very painful, and with serious consequences for the mother and for the coming child.

[71 cont.]

811 feeling. Not being able to understand the logical processes of life with its principal phenomena of birth, development, growth, old age, and death, the Indian looks for an explanation that agrees, at least in appearance, with his beliefs, with his limited capacity for knowledge, and he steadfastly adheres to the traditions received in cultural inheritance, traditions which all have a subjective flavor and in which the supernatural, the purely metaphysical – even within the physical phenomenon itself – dominates the intellectual and sensible panorama. If at first he 811 attributed the phenomenon of birth to the supernatural action, 844 far off in space, of an animal, a plant, or other object which in course of time became his totem in his mythical ancestor made divine, later his mental explorations try to find a new explanation; his totem for different causes having now lost its value and only remaining with him as a vague memory, he tries to find, let us say, a new explanation which agrees better with the reality surrounding him. Hence we find him affirming, like the Guajiro, that birth is due to the union of the masculine semen with the menstrual blood, which produces the fetus. The association, even if not exact, is not extraordinarily far from the truth in as much as the association of both these factors brings about an apparent conjunction of the same in order to accomplish the complicated processes of fertility and birth.

761 But, in the explanation of the phenomenon of death, it is 177 the realms of the unknown which continue to exert a major influence on the minds of primitives and, in the present case, on the minds of the Guajiro in particular. It is true that the constant influence of missionaries, colonists, traders and stock breeders, teachers and soldiers has started to change the state of things, inculcating in the Indian another class of beliefs which are not always coincident with reality, for the simple reason that three different races live together in our country, [72] and all are equally fanatical in their beliefs: the Negro with his fetishism and fantastic mythology; the Indian also with his mythology and his subjection to the spirits of the dead; and the Spaniard, as fanatic as the rest or as renegade. But it is also true that in the Indian's personality there still remains strongly impressed his primitive beliefs, his traditions accumulated over thousands of years, which

[72 cont.]

761 have been transformed step by step through the evolutionary
177 process of thought as it fulfills its stupendous labor towards perfection.

761 Death is not a real death to the Guajiro. Accustomed as
775 he is to interpret sleep as a separation, a liberation of the spirit, the universal soul, from the framework of the body (Cf. "Sickness and Medicine"), death to him is nothing more than a greater and definite liberation of the spirit to go from this world to another — to that of the spirits — unknown and phantomlike but as real to his imagination as his own existence. For this same reason and because of the fear infused in the primitive by these disembodied spirits — which have left their material body and are capable of taking on new and unknown forms, capable of transporting themselves to a distance, capable in fact of deeds unachievable by mortal man — the Indians believe it to be indispensable for their tranquillity to practice a series of ceremonies, rites, to maintain a fixed and constant attitude toward the dead, because these spirits by the physical fact of the separation of the soul from the body possess special potentialities which confer on them the power to harm the living whenever their person has been offended by the violation of any of the norms established in the ceremonial for the dead.

We also have to take into account the fact that for the primitive a dead person is not only absolutely a sacred being — and as such untouchable — but he is also considered a potential enemy. Freud recognizes this when he states: "We know already that the dead are powerful sovereigns; possibly it would surprise us to find out now that they are also considered enemies." (50)

50. Freud. Totem y Tabú [Totem & Taboo], II, 75.

This duality, which we have shown in the previous paragraph, corroborated by the quotation from Professor Freud, will be seen more fully as we progress in this study and consider the different categories of danger that are attributed to the spirits of the dead in accord with the circumstances of their death or the disrespect with which they were treated. [73]

[91 cont.]

But in our opinion this definition would be incomplete if we did not add that fetishism implies a special cult, a veneration on the part of the owner. The fetish becomes almost the material representation of a personal and protecting divinity.

The talisman, in turn, "exercises an active magic influence, given that it can give fortune or success to whoever carries it." (58)

58. Castiglioni. Op. cit., VI, 87.

The difference between the last two, which apparently could be confused with each other, is the following: The fetish is a magic article which is at the disposal of its owner, who can use it to obtain his personal good or to do harm to others. On the other hand, a talisman is independent of the will of its owner. Its function simply consists in providing him with "fortune or success."

[92] This clarification having been made, we proceed with our study of magic in the life of the Guajiro Indians.

The general term contras ["charms"] in La Guajira and in the greater part of Colombia covers those magic objects which can be included in the three categories we have just noted. These are not peculiar to any determined racial group but belong to the people, this being understood in its widest meaning. These charms are equally appreciated by an Indian, a Negro, a mestizo, or a White, and for this reason they are found in almost all the social and spatial spheres of Colombia.

But what is the most interesting as a social phenomenon is the symbiosis that has occurred. What is Negro, what is Spanish, and what is Indian are so closely linked, so perfectly amalgamated, that it is now little short of impossible to determine the origin of the different influences in many of the aspects of magic and of popular sorcery, to elucidate what has an African, an Amerindian, or a peninsular origin. All these ethnographic elements which at a historic moment formed an integral and essential part of the cultural basis of the different communities have been converted, thanks to the racial and cultural intermixing, into the elements of folklore of these new peoples that have arisen as a result of such crossing.

[92 cont.]

177 789 The previous statement is borne out to such a point that even in native communities that are quite homogeneous, anthropologically speaking, as is La Guajira, it is difficult to learn which beliefs, which practices of magic or of sorcery, are autochthonous and which are acculturations due to contacts with the neighboring mestizos who, given the circumstances we have noted of being in the greater part mulattos, have a considerable collection of this type of beliefs and practices inherited largely from their Negro ancestors.

As it is totally impossible for us to make a list of the origin of all and each one of the autochthonous Guajiro beliefs, we shall have to confine ourselves to showing the similarities which they have in the whole of Colombian folklore. It is clear that this similarity will not always indicate acculturation, but only similarity due to the influence of other native groups that have disappeared but who once lived in Colombian territory, or exact beliefs which reached there from other continents and which can only be explained by the general evolutionary process of human mentality.

789 Characteristics of charms. 1. Some charms can be lent by their owner to another person, if both the owner and [93] the [426] borrower are of the same sex and if the charm is to be used by the borrower so that he may benefit by its virtues.

[262] 2. To make use of them, the individual during the period of action must submit himself to a special, very strict diet. The breaking of any one of the norms will cancel the effect and bring about serious prejudice to health, if not results contrary to what he had looked for and expected. The way to carry out this diet will be found described in the following section, "Application and Effects."

3. It is sufficient for a stranger to look at the magic object belonging to someone else for all its magic power to be transferred to him. For this reason it is an indispensable requisite to keep it safely from other people's sight and always to be wary of this type of violation.

438 789 673 4. It is very difficult to obtain a true charm because while those who sell these are old women very practiced in this art, many unscrupulous women often devote themselves to the trade

[99 cont.]

751 the charm. He has two aims in view, to render himself immune
726 from harm from his enemies' weapons, and to acquire courage
579 and coolness in the coming fight. This type of charm is called
ranía in Guajiro.

The evil eye. This is one of the beliefs which seems to us to
754 have been acquired by the Guajiro Indians through acculturation,
[177] as we have not found it in any purely native group but, on the
contrary, have found it very widely spread in all parts of Colom-
[171] bia, especially among the mestizos. We have personally en-
countered it in the departments of Cauca, Valle del Cauca,
Tolima, Antioquia, Santander, and Magdalena. Without being
exclusive to Negro or Negroid groups, it is among them that this
belief is found with the greatest intensity and frequency.

175 The presence of Negroes in La Guajira is not due only to
563 racial mixing with the groups of mulattos of the coast but was
initiated in the centuries of the Colony as can be seen from these
notes taken from Father Julián: "Two evident and palpable
reasons came to me: practical reasons which because of my zeal
for the welfare of the Guajiro Nation and for the Monarchy I now
express. The first is their provision and use of [100] firearms
through their continual trade with foreigners; secondly, these
same foreigners have brought in Negroes and Negresses, and these
[563] have mixed with the Indian men and women who have bought and
kept them as slaves. The result is that not only is the number of
people in La Guajira increased but so also is the number of terri-
ble races of Mestizos, Mulattos, Zambos, etc., who united with
the Guajiro will make this nation even more formidable and every-
day more difficult to conquer." (59)

59. Julián, Antonio. La Perla de la América
[The Pearl of America], 2nd, XIV, 195.

754 Referring to this popular Santander belief, Juan de Dios
Arias affirms: "In our territory, for example, there is a very gen-
eral belief that certain persons have the evil eye, and if they
should look fixedly and with evil intention at a child, in the
course of a few days the latter will be covered with pimples and
sore places which are difficult to cure. This evil influence is

[104 cont.]

226 751 Never again during our visit did we come across this type of magic object, which leads us to believe that it does not belong to the Guajiro cultural whole, but that it is due rather to the influence of the mulattoes of the coast who, as is well known, are extremely superstitious. 177 184

Charms used to call spirits. The use of these charms, to which we have referred on other occasions, is limited to shamans. They use them to facilitate the arrival of their protector spirits when they are in a curing trance or are carrying out any of the functions related to their status. Up to the present we have not arrived at a satisfactory explanation of their influence on the spirits, but we might now bring together the few data we do have. One of the female shamans who served us as informant and who came from the Sierra [de] Jarara possessed charms to attract her spirits. She explained to us that as those spirits are assistants, some to young shamans, some to old ones, the charms to facilitate the arrival of their spirits are also of two classes: for young shamans and the other for old ones.

The charm is made from the leaf of a plant called in Guajiro morõno, which is found in abundance on Itojoro Hill. A woman expert in such articles makes them there [105] by grinding the leaves of the plant to a paste and shaping this into a rounded form which she keeps in a small bag of red thread. The larger ones are reserved for the older shamans, and the others, combined with some of the former, are for the younger.

The guará or guale. The guará or guale, difficult to find at present, is a kind of idol made from solid gold or silver and of which only a few examples exist as they are no longer made. This small idol is an anthropomorphic representation in fetal position, and it does not seem to be an autochthonous product of the Guajiro as they themselves assert that these idols come from their distant ancestors, by which they mean the Arhuaco of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta.

This fetish is known sometimes by the name Mareiwa, a divinity or spirit similar to the idea of God but which appears to be nothing else than the spirit of Rain, as we shall see further ahead (cf. "Mareiwa and Wanurũ").

[109] VII

Other Aspects of Magic

551 689 The name in magic. "The prohibition against uttering a dead person's name generally is quite rigidly obeyed. Certain South American tribes consider that to pronounce the name of a dead person in the presence of his living relatives is to inflict on them a serious offense, and they apply to the offender a penalty no less rigorous than that assigned to a murder . . . ," says Freud (63), and the Guajiro is typical in this respect. Let us see

63. Freud. Totem y Tabú.

one by one the rituals followed with respect to the dead person's name when a death occurs in their community.

[553] It is imperative that every other person who bears the same name as the deceased should change it. This is done to avoid pronouncing that name in the presence of any of the dead man's relatives, because if this should happen the relatives are entitled to present a claim for compensation payment for the offense. The family considers that by mentioning the name of their deceased relative, the offender has renewed all the painful sorrow which they suffered at his death.

551 This change of names among those who are namesakes of a dead man is made for life and extends geographically over all the zone inhabited by the dead man's relatives and causes the same person at times to have different names. It is, at least, one of the reasons.

At the present time it is common among the natives for [177] 747 every person to have three names: one Spanish, taken from the list of saints and given him by the priest at his baptism; a family nickname, by which he is generally known and which almost always refers to a distinctive physical or spiritual quality; and a third, intimate name, a secret for the majority of people and only known by its owner and some members of his family.

The personal name of the individual should never be [689] pronounced by anyone but his close relatives. Whoever should

536 [140 cont.]
796 moving along the ground. Headed by their leader they all continue to sing the song of the serpent, saying more or less the following: "I am the snake. I drag myself along the ground.
[539] I do harm to no one. But he who dares to step on me because I am on the ground gets his punishment. I bite him and wound him. At times I kill him. He has to stay in bed and suffer for a long time as a punishment for having trodden on me and for thinking that I am helpless because I drag myself along the ground...." This song is repeated several times. [141]

IX

Mareiwa and Wanurú

or

Notions of Good and Evil

771 Through all the preceding chapters we have tried to explain clearly what constitutes the magic life of the Guajiro, which is almost the same as saying his spiritual life, and in passing we have mentioned the presence and activities of beings with higher powers than ordinary mortals, able to do good or evil according to which being intervenes in each particular case. We have thus touched on two fundamental ideas: good and evil.

776 Our interest is now concentrated in trying to elucidate the
177 quality of these spirits, or supernatural beings. These can be very seriously confused owing particularly to the influence of acculturation and more specifically to the pressure exerted by missionaries in their prosletyzing function. So great is the misapplication of terms and concepts in this world of ideas that we might call the religious, that even the Guajiro mythology has been transformed by the use of terms which have a pejorative and degrading effect on the Guajiro people (68).

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68. This statement is based on the legend which we obtained orally from

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an Indian of the Nazaret locality relating to Mareiwa and the origin of humanity, in which are presented the beginnings of the different groups of mankind: natives and foreigners. The legend states that Mareiwa created mankind and gathered them together, inviting them to a banquet. Those who complied with the forms of social etiquette (shaking hands respectfully, sitting in the right place, behaving with composure, eating according to civilized rules, using knives and forks, washing hands, etc., were turned into arîjuna ("white," civilizado); those who misbehaved, who did not comply with these rituals of social etiquette, that is, those who showed they were Indians, were from that time classed as wayû ("Indians"). As can be seen, the Indian believes himself superior [sic] to the White because of these details of social etiquette, of which he is partially or totally ignorant. [142]

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The problem arises from the fact that those two notions of good and evil, represented by two classes of spirits, benign and malignant, have been changed for the Catholic or general Christian concepts of God and devil, concepts which the native, coming more and more in contact with the Christian type of civilization has gradually come to accept in the process of his conversion to new ideas.

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This affirmation is corroborated by various citations, taken from the writings of Catholic or Protestant missionaries as well as from those of travelers or of ethnologists who have been involved in the same confusion. To demonstrate the point we transcribe several such cases.

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Father de Carcagente referring to the church at Manaure says: "The Indians say to God 'Have pity upon us.' They know

[142 cont.]

776 although he sees everything.... Mareigua combines three main spirits and many subaltern ones inferior to Him. [143] Some of these spirits are masculine, some feminine.... An Indian sees that his crop is drying up for lack of water, and far from imploring [821 789] Heaven for rain, he beats his drum every night and at dawn as if he expected the sound to break up the clouds, or he fires his gun with a similar hope.... Should one of his relatives become ill, he calls in the shaman so that he can with his remedies, his maraca, his tobacco or manilla spittle, and the instructions of his spirits, cure the sick man; instead of appealing to God and asking him to bring his relative back to health." (72)

72. Ibid., II, 65-67.

Jorge Isaacs, the famous Colombian novelist, in the second half of the past century, made an excursion under government authority to study La Guajira and other regions of the country, and he wrote in the report he presented: "Mareigua is the name by which the Guajiro designate God, or better said, the unbegotten one, immaterial force, master of creation." (73)

73. Isaacs. Estudio del Lenguaje Guajiro [Study of the Guajiro Language], 303.

Finally, the ethnologist Professor Hernández de Alba, as a result of his expedition to the peninsula says: "Mareigua. All that is good for the Guajiro: rain, abundance, life, protection, the world in which he lives, all come from Mareigua, the one and only God, always good, never evil...." (74)

74. Hernández de Alba. Etnología Guajira [Guajiro Ethnology], 49-50.

(77) 776 The quotations which we have cited lead us to the belief by the Guajiro in an all-powerful god, unique and universal. This

[143 cont.]

seems to be true, in a certain way, for those who are imbued with Christian religious practices, because when they refer to our God, to Jesus Christ, they call him Mareiwa. But at the bottom of their minds, in our opinion, there is some distinction which is precisely what we shall try to explain.

When we spoke of the shaman, we referred extensively to his protector spirits, the real healers of sickness, of whom the shaman is no more than an intermediary. Naturally, we also spoke, in that chapter and in the one relating to sickness, of the evil spirits, the malignant ones, the cause of the trouble, known by the generic name of wanurú, and we explained how the first are, in general, the spirits of dead shamans who have disappeared but continue to exercise their functions for the benefit of the community, while the wanurú are also spirits of dead people who satisfy their personal vengeances, revenge themselves for disrespect shown them in their status after death, or are simply dangerous because of the circumstances of their death, as in the case of suicides. [144]

In addition to the spirits of sickness and death, there is another named yo-ru-já, difficult to describe and whose functions are difficult to delineate. We only know that he is magnificently malevolent and that it is he, the complete opposite of Mareiwa (God) that has been named "demon" or "devil" by missionaries, writers, etc.

Regarding the previous statement, we have several quotations that confirm it: "Yoluhá is the demon in the simple Guajiro theogony. As with god, it is scarcely a concept, a word that represents the forces of destruction and, at the same time, of power, since it is even used by the shaman when he is foretelling the future. "What does the devil say (Jamúseneik Yoluja)?" is the question the diviner asks. The Guajiro demon is not, therefore, like the Christian devil, the opposite of God, because in addition to wickedness and destruction it also embraces the concept of power and divination." (75)

75. Hernández de Alba. Op. cit., 50.

[148 cont.]

775 4. Also like the wanurú, he takes on special forms of dress, such as that of a "king," an arijuna (civilizado), and an [77] Indian. At times flames leap from his eyes and mouth (possibly acculturation from Catholic legends about the devil).

5. There are other beliefs that refer to him, such as the [825] one that states that when during the night a woman should find a praying mantis [mantis religiosa] she should hurriedly throw some cotton seeds and salt on the fire in order that with the flame produced when these catch fire, the malignant spirit, or yorujá, who brings the mantis with him will be frightened away. There is a similarity in this belief to the one that prescribes placing horses' skulls around to frighten the wanurú away from the vicinity of habitations.

• • •

776 775 In summary we would say that the spirits of good are represented by Mareiwa and by a series of other protector spirits, especially those of shamans, which are no other than those of [554] dead curers. Their standing or status depends on that which they had in life, the greater their prestige as curers in this world, [149] the more important will be their position in the next as benevolent spirits. The spirits of evil are represented by dead persons and are of different degrees of danger according to the characteristics of their death. It is presumable that those called yorujá, resembling the devil, the greatest incarnation of evil as an abstract idea, are spirits of the dead of a greater degree of wickedness, while the wanurú, connected almost exclusively with sickness, are spirits of dead persons of a lesser degree of evil.

Finally, the differences between the two categories of spirits — benevolent and malevolent — are of two classes: 1) of a quantitive character, according to their power to do good or evil respectively; 2) of a formal character, referring to the apparition of evil spirits in various bodily forms, and the absence of such forms for good spirits. [151] [Page 150 is blank.]

[151] Conclusions

177 Magic shows itself to be one of the strongest institutions
771 of Guajiro culture despite the fact that, as we have shown
throughout this study, it is gradually losing its importance in
789 proportion to the lowering of the shaman's prestige as the spiritual leader of the group. This is due to the already mentioned factors of prosletyzing and acculturation on a rising scale, brought about by the influence of a continually increasing number of civilizado elements in the peninsula, as well as by the consequences of the acculturation experienced by the members of the society. However, it is magic that still dominates many of the aspects of the native's daily life, not to say the greater part, and it is this that we are trying to synthesize and briefly explain in this chapter.

132 1. Economy. The Guajiro's life, as we saw in the Intro-
182 duction is strictly dependent on the tyrannically dominating cli-
771 mate, given the conditions of the peninsula where this commun-
789 ity lives, relying as they do on the seasonal fluctuations of rains to which they have adapted their system of agriculture and stock grazing, essential sources of their economy. As the people's livelihood directly depends on these, the Guajiro, lacking the higher techniques of irrigation and water conservation, puts his hope of survival in methods of magic, whether they be personal, collective, or directly exercised by the curer-magician of the community. These are no other than the exorcisms carried out by the latter to attract the rains in the long summers by invoking his protector spirits and especially Mareiwa, the personification of good and of rain; or the adoration and ceremonies in honor of the iguana carried out by private individuals with the same end in view; or, in short, all the methods of magic we have enumerated in connection with the natural phenomenon of rain.

Also in respect to the economy we must remember the
[241 presence of women when the sowing of crops is done, which
462] establishes a division of work by sex based on the magic association of the transmission of feminine fecundity to the seeds.

177 [152] Moreover, faced with the new phenomenon of stock
233 grazing, the native has adapted his magic methods to this, im-
789 posing the same or similar treatments used for the members of the

[152 cont.]

177 community, especially in cases of illness and pestilences, as can be seen in the section "Shamanistic treatment of animals" in 233 Chapter II. If, on one hand, stock grazing partly changed some 789 of the social system related to magic, on the other hand, at the same time it has also felt the influence of this institution to the point of acquiring its own characteristics which differentiate it from other systems of stock grazing, which follow, in general, the lines laid down by the Spanish colonists. Magic is sui generis and plays its part today, as the oldest institution can, in Guajiro culture.

789 Moreover, not only in the collective sense but in the individual, the action of magic on the economy shows itself very clearly in the charm [contra] to make oneself rich, which we have described in detail in Chapter VI and which, as is logical within the Guajiro social dynamic, is connected to such important social matters as status, as we shall see later.

In the chapter which we have called "Magic as the Origin of the Theater in La Guajira," we may also see the effectiveness [776] of magic in the private economy, since the owner of a piece of cultivated land is the one who organizes at his own expense the dance and fiesta given to attract the blessing of the good spirits, of Mareiwa on the crops, which require sufficient rain and certain climatic conditions to ripen. So great is their confidence that they believe that the more solemn the ceremony of the Dance of the Kid, the more benefit will be received from the spirits they invoke and fete, and the greater the probability of success for the harvest.

2. Society. Guajiro society, as we have said, has trans- 182 ferred a great part of the responsibility for its survival and 619 stability to magic and has a tranquil confidence in it, convinced 789 of its effectiveness and holding firmly to an institutional determinism which only now is beginning to break down fundamentally. The cultural institution of magic represents to the individual Guajiro a system of life, thought, and belief which unites him to his group as much as does the consanguineous tie and the established clan system. Magic is the general and generalized institution, essentially independent of the characteristic social divisions

[155 cont.]
182 individual or of the dead, in the aspect which we have called
626 "Omens and Augural Birds," in the behavior followed by individ-
789 uals who wish to call up a breeze during a windless calm at sea or to send away eclipses and lightning which, according to their belief, are malevolent.

* * *

789 A very interesting aspect of magic is its use for and against
595 some of the cultural institutions and their institutionalized patterns; for example, the use of love charms and the compliance with certain norms after the period of seclusion accompanying the ceremonies at the time of a young woman's initiation. Her aim is to fight against polygamy, with a view either to obtaining predominance over other wives or, better, to prevent the man who has acquired her for his wife from acquiring more women with whom she would have to share his life. Possibly due to the influence of acculturation, there is a tendency toward monogamy on the part of the women. The men, however, tend toward polygamy for prestige, since for it they must have a good economical position, as the price of women is high, increasingly so the greater their social position.

[177]
[654]

[156] Another institution that we see directly affected by
751 magic is this same initiation of young women. We saw how
771 the death of a first-born child required a series of ceremonies
881 to prevent future children dying at birth, one after the other, and we stated that one of the principal ceremonies consisted in the observance of certain norms which bring to mind very clearly the initiation of the young mother. Their idea would seem to be that one of the causes of the death of the first-born was the deficient carrying out of the magic-biological-social ceremonial to which the girl must submit to prepare for her life as an adult.

[761]

764 Also the norms relating to the dead and the belief in a
775 life beyond the grave rest almost exclusively on magic, and
771 through it their prestige and their functioning are kept up. Magic
626 is also the cause of the fear and respect which relatives and friends show to their dead, and it is magic which also promotes all the ceremonial rites that are celebrated in this connection.

671 tween law and custom in Guajiro society by a variety of illustrations. One of them said in effect:

574 If a cacique visits me and I fail to kill a sheep in honor of his visit
626 and to feast him in accordance with the dignity of his rank and my
671 wealth, I have broken a custom of my people. However, though I offend him by such negligence my guest may take no action to redress the wrong other than to inflict the same discourtesy on me if the opportunity should arise. He may seek neither redress in violence nor composition in payment. My only punishment may be the acquisition of a bad name among my people.

586 But if I visit one of my wives at her rancho and she fails to kill a
671 sheep from her own flocks to feast me, refuses me her person, neglects
684 to supply me with hammocks, saddle-bags, and other articles made by women, or refuses me shelter, she will have broken a 'law'; that is, she will have broken the marriage contract. In this case I may demand from her and her family payment or a divorce. In the latter case her family would have to return to me the bride-price plus any increase in the herds but less an amount considered fair for my having exercised sexual privileges over her, though I may demand even this if she marries again. In case her family refuses to adjust
[626] the matter in accordance with our law I may appeal to my family for help in obtaining my just rights. I should be justified in having recourse to violence. However, the law is so well understood that it would not be necessary to resort to such drastic measures generally.[8]

671 These informants were acquainted to some extent with
[115] Colombian and Venezuelan laws and were attempting, no doubt, to classify their own customs in accordance with
[177] European practices. Nevertheless it is an indication that in their minds there does exist a class of offenses for which one may seek composition even through violence, and a class that is in the category of merely moral obligations though investigators may not always draw an equally fine distinction.
[114] Simons, for example, in discussing Guajiro law speaks of injury to oneself as giving rise to a legal obligation for composition.
574 My informants, on the contrary, distinguished it from that
626 class of wrongful acts. If a man cuts himself, his father and
672 father's relatives receive an expiatory offering. Had one of my informants, the son of a rich cacique, cut himself he would
602 have given a small barrel of rum and five or more sheep to his

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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cemetery, a site chosen in some solitary arid spot, and surrounded by 764
walls of cacti. At the death of Salvador, a Pushaina from Arroyo Carlon,
120 fat oxen were killed, and the hides did not pay for the liquor
drunk. Two of the same family meeting for the first time after the 765
death of a relation, must squat down on their hands in front of each other,
and sob and weep, for at least a quarter of an hour, the louder the better.

The Indians are very punctilious in saluting. Calling at a rancho, 574
visitors must wait until spoken to, if this is not done soon, it is evident
they are not welcome, so ride away. The words used never seem to be
the same. The most frequent are "Intishi-pia" (you have come), or
"Eiguare pia" (so you have arrived). In eating and drinking the Indians
are extremely cleanly. The principals all eat separately; receiving [264]
their allowance in an earthenware dish, *posá*, with a gourd spoon, *pushi*. [415]
The remains, with an addition, serve for the lower members of the
family. Water is invariably given after, to wash the mouth and fingers.
Even if a drink of milk is taken, a little water is tendered after. As to
their hospitality, it has, I believe, been rather exaggerated. There is
no doubt that the Goajiro is more hospitable than the Arhuaco of the
Sierra Nevada, but then he is also far more cunning and diplomatic, and
his hospitality is a mere question of self-interest. He will willingly
give a sheep or a goat as a present, provided there is a chance of claiming [431]
an ox in return. He is chivalresque in his donations. When he does
give a sheep, it is a fat one, his best, and given whole, without reserve,
skin and all. If eating, on the arrival of a stranger, he may offer food
to him, but certainly will give if requested, as is the custom, always
begging. One thing a guest may rely upon receiving in a rancho is a
hammock, even if the owner has to sleep on the ground. Lastly, among 551
curious customs, is that of parents assuming the names of their
children with the prefix *nushi* or *sushi* if the father, and *ni* or *si* if the
mother. Thus the father of Juan would call himself "Nushijuan,"
or if a daughter, "Sushijuana." The mother of Juan would be called
"Nijuan," and if a daughter, "Sijuana."

The dress of the Goajiros is extremely simple, and probably similar 291
to his savage luxury of three centuries ago, when Alfinger devastated
the land, except that his own quiet blacks and browns—for he is cunning [386]
in the art of dyeing—have given way to the gorgeous blues, reds, and [171]
yellows of European wool. His every day working costume is simply
a strip of cloth from three inches wide upwards, called *caicha*.
When paying visits, receiving company, or travelling, he does his best
—a large loincloth with many folds, and the home-woven mantle *shi*,
with a magnificent sash, *si-ira*. The mantle is managed with
wonderful elegance, now letting it fall about him in voluptuous folds, or
dropping it from his shoulders, and tucking it into his immense sash,
where his arrows are carried. The hair, which is jet black, thick, and 302
cut short, is kept back in a very aesthetic style by a ring or crown, 291

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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302 called *pura* if made of plaited straw, and *capanas* if made of wool,
291 with large tassel (worn behind). The two can be combined and adorned with a couple of feathers in front. When made entirely of feathers, it becomes *toróma*. An Indian's toilet would not be complete without
[293] a *kapiquito*, a piece of leather fastened round the left wrist by a twist of wool to receive the recoil of the bow-string when shooting. Paint is
302 common to both sexes, and in excess. They assert that it saves their complexions from the sun. The last thing an Indian does, on mounting horse for the day's journey, is to call for the powder-box, and plentifully besprinkle his face. The powders *mapuatepo* or *marua* are rotten wood;
[386] *guanapai*, a black stain from a wild nut; and *parisa*, very popular among the fairer sex, is the colour extracted from a leaf and mixed with fat.

291 The woman's dress is invariably, at present, made from foreign cotton,
[177] and is a plain sack with a hole for the head and two others for the arms. With the wind it blows out and makes her look like a balloon. The white cotton is dyed black with divi-divi, or yellowish-brown with mora
[386] (yellow wood), or reddish-brown with the suckers of mangroves. The Indians are exceptionally clean and nice in their dress, and, however
[515] poor, keep a reserve suit for state occasions. Women alone wear the *púna* and the *sirapo*. The púna are like a pair of braces; long strings
301 of beads passing over each shoulder to cross each other on the breast and back, held in position at the waist by the sirapo, a sort of sash or belt made of beads likewise. Small strings a few ounces in weight are placed on the female child a few months after birth, and gradually increased, according to the strength of the child and the purse of the parents. Púnas are made with any beads except black, a red variety with white eye (*iaschón*) preferred, and weigh from 2 to 10 lbs. With sirapos any coloured bead will do, *pinar* or black ones the rule, and they weigh from 1 to 10 lbs. A married woman may wear the púna until
[844] her first confinement, when it is laid aside. Poor Indians who cannot afford beads for the púna make it of cotton dyed black and braided. Among the many necklaces, tumas are the most valuable. These curious
[172] perforated stones are only found in the graves of prehistoric races, both in the peninsula itself and the Sierra Nevada. There are many varieties. The round ones varying in size from a large marble to a pea are *tóma* (a name generalised by the Spaniards); those in shape of small charm-barrels are *amurué*; the pear-shaped, according as they are long or dumpy, *peringa*, and *guariraiuga*; the bugle is *parauria*, &c. Mineralogically they are bits of red jasper, cornelian, and reddish sardonyx. Their value depends upon the intensity of red and size. A large one at present is worth a head of cattle; a necklace has from 15 to 30, varying
[435] in size. Bracelets are as varied and in as much profusion as necklaces; they are called *kápana*, from *ahapo*, the hand. On the feet they also wear strings of cornelians and beads. They have two names, the aristocratic *cushihandr* and the common *guaurihesa*.

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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In weapons the Goajiro uses the old-fashioned bow and arrow, along with the latest breech-loading rifle. He never strolls ten yards from the rancho without his arrows stuck in his sash and the inseparable bow in his hand. Arrows are of three classes: bolts for killing birds and lizards, *kata*, having a nail or piece of hard wood for a head neatly covered with wax; arrows proper, for killing game and war, *siguarrai*, with iron heads made from old knives filed and worked into shape; and thirdly the terrible poisoned rays, *aimará*: these are an ordinary arrow-shaft, with two inches of the bony weapon of the sting-ray (*queraguai*) loosely fastened to the end, well covered with poison. To prevent accidents, each head is covered by a cane sheath. The poison is putrefied animal matter—toads, snakes, and other reptiles allowed to putrefy and boiled down. When newly done the poison is said to be weak, the same when too old, so the arrows have to be re-dipped at stated intervals (about nine months). Death subvenes from three to twelve days afterwards, a sort of blood-poisoning, and is tolerably certain if the ray-bone has not been got out (a most difficult operation) and the wound well cauterised with a red-hot nail. The Cocinas of Yuripicho are reputed the best makers, and enjoy a sort of monopoly. A bunch of twenty-four arrows is sold by them for a dress cut of cotton (eight yards. None of the arrows are feathered; the shafts are made from cane, reeds, and also solid wood. As to firearms the Indian prefers the old "Crown" or "Tower" flintlock (*carcabuso*) to the Remington rifle, on account of the uncertainty of getting cartridges. The American flintlock (*carcabuso cayeta-pasahana*) is also much liked.

The principal industries among the Goajiras are collecting brazilete, divi-divi, and salt, and breeding horses, mules, donkeys, cattle, and goats, with the accompanying sale of hides. Their animals are celebrated in the neighbouring provinces for being docile, having been all brought up as it were by hand, for the Indian spares neither time nor trouble on his flocks.

With regard to the language, a small grammar was published in 1878 by Rafael Caladon. Unfortunately it was printed in Paris, while the author was in America, and is replete with errors in consequence. The language is a much richer one than is generally supposed, and taken as a whole has a euphonious, pleasing effect on the ear, much more so than the neighbouring Arhuaco. I have no space here to dwell upon its beauties, but cannot dismiss the subject without giving the following three examples of much-used words:—

Achinga, a name.	Ita, a cup (gourd).	Yara, a headdress.
Tachinga, my name.	To-ita-in, my cup.	Tokiyara, my headdress.
Puchinga, your name.	Pi-ita-in, your cup.	Pikiyara, your headdress.
Nichinga, his name.	Ni-ita-in, his cup.	Nikiyara, his headdress.
Nuchinga, her name.	Si-ita-in, her cup.	Sikiyara, her headdress.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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531
●177
516

Indian women in the national dress of today with large woollen pompons on their sandals

[P. 2]
[P. 1 contains no text which is not reproduced elsewhere]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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123 musical bow. It was quite small. He held one end between
534 his lips and struck the strings with a stick. If the reed-flute was introduced by the Moors in those early days, the musical bow must have come with negro slaves. Stringed instruments were not known in South America before the arrival of the white man. The Indians knew nothing of all that, but neither of these two originally foreign instruments were used in their rites, which supports the conclusion that they were introduced late.

123 The concert was interrupted by the women announcing that a meal awaited us. This began with the oily, somewhat
262 nauseous berries which the Creoles call olives. We did not
264 like their taste and never did more than just sample them. We had also heard that they might be injurious. The main dish—one could almost say, naturally—consisted of boiled dried goat's meat, the standard fare in the peninsula, and we were given water that also tasted of goat—we preferred not to know why.

251 In Guajira it is possible to dry meat in the sun without salting it, providing you cut it in strips and remove all bone. In moister parts of the Caribbean countries meat has to be properly salted before it can be preserved by drying, but in the dry air of Guajira that can be dispensed with. Salt, too, is a thing of which they have more than enough.

123 Having four young men present, I thought I would arrange a competition for marksmanship with bow and
526 arrow and with a sling. The prizes were an empty biscuit tin, a handkerchief and a needle. These were all desirable things and the contestants did their best. The fourth received a Swedish ten öre piece as consolation prize.

411 I took the opportunity to take a closer look at their weapons. The bows were powerful and had round sections; the arrows had iron heads shaped like a lancet. An old man said that in the old days the heads used to be made of bamboo. Some of the arrows, those intended for smaller birds, had blunt points made of wood or wax. The quarry was meant to be stunned by the force of the impact. They showed us arrows equipped with cross-pieces to prevent them becoming lost when used in the scrub. The cross-

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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those we had left, but just as simple. Inside were hammocks slung this way and that. Along the walls were carrying-nets filled with things, and earthenware vessels lay scattered about the floor of hard-trodden sand. Some of these vessels were grey, others reddish-brown, some had necks and handles. One was an obvious imitation of a Dutch liqueur jar. It was not far to Puerto Estrella, to which schooners from the Dutch islands came.

Most of the earthenware vessels had red decoration. Some, with wavering lines, were obviously the work of the oldest of the women, who was frail and almost blind; but there was no fault in the shape of the vessel. The woven cloths were hung up in a special shelter. The warp hung vertical and ran like an endless belt over an upper and a lower pole. Several related tribes, members of the Aruak family, use the same method. When the cloth is finished, it forms a ring, and is then cut up.

They were working on a man's belt or sash. The everyday belt was only a couple of inches wide, but sashes intended for more solemn occasions were some eighteen inches broad and very colourful. They used red, yellow, black and white yarn and the pattern was most interesting. Ceremonial cloaks are also woven for the men, just as colourful as the sashes, but, to my sorrow, I was never able to acquire a really fine specimen. They were simply too expensive. The rich chiefs collected them, but custom decreed that they must be wrapped in all their cloaks when they died, which meant that none were inherited. The men's everyday cloaks I have already described; they pulled them on and then twisted them so that their chest was bared. The women's dress was considerably more Spartan: it was a wide tunic, made like a sack with holes for the head and arms, and dyed black with divi-divi or brown with stuff from some other plant. Their loin-cloth only became visible when they were working in the shade or indoors and removed their tunics. It too was black or undyed. They themselves thought that there was no call to use a nice patterned cloth for underclothes. Little girls often had patterned loin-cloths, but then they did not wear tunics

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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796 great ring and several of them were wiping their mouths in evident satisfaction—presumably having just been regaled with some drink.

796 The drum thundered a long time in vain before a young 535 Indian stepped into the ring, removed his cloak and sandals and began to walk round in a circle—a challenge to the members of the fair sex.

Almost at once a girl appeared in the ring; removed her sandals and held her tunic spread wide with her hands. The two then began dancing: he in front, she a few yards behind. Suddenly the man gave a shout and the tempo increased. Turning swiftly the girl came sweeping down towards the man who danced away, moving backwards. She must try to get close enough to tramp on his feet and make him fall, but she must not barge him. If she managed to make her partner fall, there was great jubilation, and then a new couple took the stage. Otherwise, the girl would probably challenge her partner to a few more turns, while he answered contemptuously:

'Fetch your little sister.' (Inferring that she would manage better.)

In this way a dance continues without interruption, couple following couple. It could go on for weeks.

The well-bred Indian considers the chichamaya the only suitable dance. The monks also approved of it, since it was perfectly decent, the two dancers remaining apart the whole [177] time. The dance is not genuinely Indian, containing both Spanish and African features, but even in its present form it retains its religious-magical significance and is part of the ritual used in certain family ceremonies and on other important occasions.

796 The dance of the kid is a pure folk dance. It is really a 786 whole complex of games, dances and typical fertility rites. The good families do not allow their daughters to attend them. The law's strict sexual prohibition does not apply to those taking part in the dance of the kid, who enjoy an otherwise forbidden erotic licence. This is not approved of [585 184] by the well-to-do, who still hold by the rule that a bride should be a virgin, since it can have an effect on the bride-price.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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On two occasions I went out with some hunters who had 778
hunting cóntras. Two had talismans for hares; these were 224
small pellets fastened to the leather shield that protects the 789
arm against the bow string. The pellets were shaped like rabbit's excrement and contained a herb the leaves of which resembled rabbit's ears and which the so-called rabbits were fond of! Another man had a deer cóntra prepared from a cresper. It resembled deer's droppings.

The hunters were quite convinced that the cóntra would give them good hunting, and that by its power their game would be unable to escape them. Thus those cóntra were doubly effective. On neither occasion, however, did we get anything, much to the consternation of the hunters. I think they assumed that my presence had prevented the charms working, and they were astounded when I bought them.

Of other talismans there was one intended to help its 778
owner win races. This consisted of some rattling fruits to 789
tie beside the horse's ear. There was a cóntra for warriors called *rania*, which gave its bearer courage and made him invulnerable. Another, which was very expensive, was said to give the possessor luck in business and gradually make him rich. Having become rich, he could then purchase the most expensive charm of all, that which would bring him respect and power. This latter was strictly personal: an outsider could be harmed by seeing it, especially a thief, and it was not effective except in the hands of its rightful owner. It was contained inside several small bags, one within the other, and what was inside the inmost one was known only to the piache who prepared it. In the talisman that brought wealth there were supposed to be links of gold, the power of which lay in the spells spoken over them. Similarly pearls and little figures made of coconut over which the wise women had spoken spells served as amulets. [154]
Amongst other things they protect the wearer against the [177●
evil eye, belief in which the Indians had evidently adopted
from the Spanish–Moorish superstitions of their conquerors. 532]
You can find too the small carved hands that are so typically Moorish, and the most powerful means of averting the evil eye. Yet another is more in the negro style. The skulls of

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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175 During the Colonial Period, the *Goajiro* were hostile toward the Span-
648 iards. After 1830, however, as a result of better treatment from the Whites, thanks in part to the efforts of Juan MacPherson, they become more friendly. Present authorities in the *Goajiro* region merely regulate frontier traffic.

797 The attempts by the Capuchin Fathers to alter their ways of life have
177 been unsuccessful. Except for the thin Catholic veneer, noticeable in baptismal rites and Spanish names, *Goajiro* social life seems to have been little affected by centuries of contact with Hispanic culture. Foreign influence is more apparent materially in iron implements, utensils, guns, textiles, and ornaments. All the domestic animals are of Spanish origin.

161 As a result of tuberculosis, smallpox, and venereal disease, the *Goajiro*
164 are gradually dying out, and the population estimates found in the literature have become smaller and smaller, the most recent indicating a scant 18,000.

PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

142 The *Goajiro* are usually described as aggressive and untrustworthy, of
[18] medium or small stature (cf. J. A. Mason, 1926, pp. 39, 52), copper colored, with jet-black hair, dark eyes rather obliquely set, a broad and blunt nose, and a large mouth (pl. 72, *bottom, right*). Within the tribes there are physical differences which seem to correspond with social status,
[565] the lower classes being smaller and more Indian in appearance, while those of higher rank are more often of a greater stature, with curlier hair and larger noses.

LANGUAGE

197 The *Goajiro* language belongs to the *Arawakan* family. There is, however, no good analysis of it. A grammar, "replete with errors" according to Simons, was published by Rafael Caledon in 1878. Various word lists have been published from time to time.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.**—The *Goajiro* have a poor opinion of agriculture, and only
[554] the poorer sibs practice it. The one fertile part of the peninsula is near Punta Espada. Here the land is well cultivated, and plantains, maguey, onions, coca, sugarcane, and grain are grown. Tobacco, bananas, maize, gourds, manioc, sweetpotatoes, millet, beans, and watermelons also are raised. Those who own cattle grow only small patches of quick-maturing corn for the purpose of making chicha beer.

22 **Hunting, fishing, and gathering.**—Hunting, fishing, and gathering occupy a minor place. Deer, armadillos, land tortoises, and rabbits are

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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726 on equal terms. He then approached the enemy from the left while making quick movements, jumps, and turns, with his legs apart and his knees bent. More recently, according to Ernst (1887 c), war is not declared, attempts being made to take the enemy by surprise.

[747] Wars last indefinitely, sometimes being broken by a peace brought about by an influential "civilizado" or the Capuchin monks, the latter sometimes paying the retribution demanded out of their own pockets.
579 Some tribes, such as the *Cosina* of Serranía Cosina (actually a conglomeration of outcastes rather than a sib), make their living almost entirely by robbery and pillage, destroying houses, stealing cattle, and killing or enslaving their enemies.

LIFE CYCLE

843 **Birth and childhood.**—During pregnancy a woman continues to do her heavy work up to the very hour of delivery. At childbirth, the shaman
844 pronounces various spells over the patient and applies poultices made of
[156] dried flowers, roots, etc. A large, heavy stone placed over the womb and vigorous massaging bring about the birth. If the placenta is not soon expelled, the woman drinks a medicine concocted by the medicine man. As soon as the child is safely delivered the father serves rum and chicha
[484] to all his relatives. If the pains of childbirth appear when the sib is on the march, the woman mounts and rides ahead so that when the sib catches up the event is practically over. The husband cuts the cord with his machete and cauterizes its ends with a glowing ember. The woman
[854] then continues on the march with the child in a sling on her back. When the permanent camp is reached she washes herself and the child.

851 Baptism is a Christian ceremony which the *Goajiro* have adopted, and
55 most of the Indians are called by Spanish names, as their real names may
177 not be mentioned. Teknonymy is practiced; a parent is addressed by its child's name plus a prefix, nushi or sushi for the father, ni or si for the mother. Thus, a father may be called Nushijuan after a son or Sushijuana after a daughter.

857 At 6 or 7, girls learn to grind salt, pick cotton, and tend the smaller
868 animals; the boys imitate their fathers.

865 Parents are said to show little affection for their children, sometimes
[435] selling them at Sinamaica. They receive $10 or $15 for a child of 8 or 9 years. The purchaser becomes the child's guardian, teaches him the Catholic faith, and keeps him until he is 17 years old. These children
[736 rarely return home. Abandoned children are taken to the San Antonio
797] orphanage, where the girls continue to wear their *Goajiro* dress, but the boys are put into jackets and pants.

881 **Girls' puberty.**—At her first menstruation a girl is isolated in a small dark hut and stripped of all her ornaments. She lies in a hammock, sometimes hoisted near the roof. For the first 2 days she drinks no

9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
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121 the individual who was to provide the raw material for this article. This is more or less a biography of the man who was at the same time guide, interpreter, and driver for the author and with whom extensive conversations, both formal and informal, took place.[2]

177 Guajiro culture, like most native cultures in the New World, has suffered great acculturation due to the impact with European ways of life. Some of these cultures have been more resistant to change than others; and within one culture, certain aspects have remained closer to the traditional forms than have others. In Guajiro culture, it is perhaps the social organization, with all of its ramifications, that has resisted recent acculturation 174 more than the other aspects of the culture. We know very little [233] of the pre-cattle culture of the Guajiro and even Juan de Castellanos, writing at the beginning of the seventeenth century, describes them as having numerous herds of domestic animals. 554 Nowhere in the literature on the Guajiros is there an example of status having been acquired outside the traditional way and the present writer, in his two field trips to the region, has found only the case here described.

619 As it is not the purpose of this article to give a full description 614 of the social organization of the Guajiro, it will be sufficient to state that the tribe is divided into some twenty-five matrilineal clans, of which about eleven are large and rather powerful in their socio-economic aspects, and the rest—due mainly to the fact of having a small number of members—are weak, and 428 relatively unimportant. Inheritance is along the mother's line, an individual acquiring property from his maternal uncle. The [604] avunculate in all its social and economic aspects, is a very important institution (Santa Cruz, 1941).

614 Traditionally the clans are exogamous with incest taboos and 580 punishments for those who break them. This exogamic characteristic of the clan is apparently disappearing, as several cases of endogamous unions were found among the Guajiro living in the outskirts of the city of Maracaibo. No endogamous marriages, however, were found in the Guajiro proper by the present writer, although Gregorio Hernandez de Alba (1936) has

[2] Proper names, especially of the subject, have all been disguised in some way, so as to spare personal feelings.

9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
SC13 Goajiro SC13

159 Venezuelan Guajiro. As his wealth grew so did his prestige.
554 About twenty years ago the then leader of the Uriana clan died
556 leaving no heirs, as he had no brothers and no direct nephews.
622 Guajiro tradition establishes that, if upon the death of a clan leader and wealthy man there are no close heirs, even though
[428] there be distant ones, a council of elders (informally chosen
[623] among the oldest and more respected men of the clan) will meet and select the individual who shall take over not only the leadership of the clan but the wealth of the deceased as well. These cases are very infrequent (actually the writer could only find, in the memory of the oldest men, two instances of a council of elders meeting to select a leader; one is the case mentioned in this article, and the other occurred among the Epieyú clan, in Colombia, about fifty or sixty years ago). Fernandez
[557] now confesses, quite candidly, that at the time of the meeting of the council of elders, he distributed a number of gifts among them, thus succeeding in having them select him as clan leader and heir to the wealth of the dead chief.

• 177 It is interesting to note—and it shows how much acculturation
192 Guajiro culture has undergone with the assimilation of the cattle complex—that the true Guajiro term for leader or chief (which also means "old man") *alat'laa* is almost all but forgotten and practically never used, having been substituted by the word *to'olo* a corruption of the Spanish word *toro* meaning BULL.
[194] (Stops are not glottal, but simple stoppage of the sound to be renewed with the coming vowel. Phonetic transcription have followed those given by Dr. Martha Hilderbrand's work on the Guajiro language published by the Comisión Indigenista, Venezuela, in 1958).

622 The role of Fernandez as leader of the Uriana clan is an
627 exact replica of Silva's. He acts as advisor, settles disputes, makes arrangements for the payments of torts, bride-prices, etc. His day is fully as busy as that of Silva and he attends to all these matters besides his personal affairs.

554 Here we have, then, the two traditional ways of acquiring status in Guajiro society that the present writer has been able to investigate; one through inheritance, as in the case of Panchito Silva; and the other, through selection by a council of elders, as in the case of José de la Rosa Fernandez. It is doubtful that

/537 cont./

171 around the world simultaneously
231 with the domestic animals them-
422 selves.

614 The branding described was probably learned by the
212 Indians from the Spaniards themselves, simultaneously with
231 the adoption of the first European domestic animals, and
422 has been retained since then. It is all the more surprising
177 that the branding iron (hierro) appears in an old myth which
614 for its part clearly states where the customary individual
212 clan-signs came from. The following version (according to
773 V. Gutiérrez, p. 168) is common in the northern part of the peninsula:

Not far from Nazareth (10) a hill rises behind Itojoro.

[797] [131]

10. This post lies only several kilometers south of Puerto Estrella and is actually a small Catholic mission station. Cf. Stutzer, pp. 131 ff., and Barranquilla, pp. 151 ff.

Here, under an oil tree, Mareiwa (11) came into the world.

776 114

11. That is the spelling of this mythological name that I felt to be correct, as did V. Gutiérrez (p. 168). Chaves (1946, p. 307) explains in the myth concerning "Las Serranías de la Guajira," among other things: "Mareigua [is] one of the principal deities of the Guajiro people, who with his supernatural power converts persons into hills, separates the

/540 cont./

614 The continued influencing through a series of generations,
614 even though nevertheless brief, by Spanish culture and the
177 spirit of modern times has finally also altered the primitive
178 judgment and feeling of these Indians and has strengthened in
them the pride to assert themselves now as "enlightened."
It therefore need not be surprising that today they laugh in
the face of a foreign visitor when the latter poses his questions
as though he himself regarded a blood descent of the clan
members from their totem animal as established and factual.
[123] The above-mentioned Cacique Briscol (15) even whispered

15. This pure-blooded, intelligent, and experienced Indian refers several times to the clans of his Guajiro people in his well-written story.

disrespectfully in my ear: "You must not suppose that we
think of an animal when we present the totem as our ancestor.
Every ancestor was as human as we are; only at the very be-
ginning was he just like the totem that each clan has had
since then. Our forefathers respected their totem animal more
than we do today; they neither persecuted it nor ate its flesh.
Now the habits of our ancestors are disappearing among us,
one after another. There are now only sixteen independent
614 'castas'; their number was formerly double that." V. Gutiérrez
773 herself agreed with Briscol's interpretation when she presented
114 the introductory words to another myth, "The Distribution
/541/ of the Clan Districts" (p. 170): Mareiwa "then told
the birds they were Indians" /translated from the Spanish/.
Such words make it clear: the myth knows no distinction be-
tween totem animal and Indian in their mode of being and
acting! Therefore one does not get anywhere in the analysis
of myths with a knife-sharp dialectic lacking any imagination.
614 Thus, I may indeed, along with the reporters from former
times up to our day, regard the social division of the Guajiro
people as properly totemistic in style. Two years ago (1959),

C /193 cont./
534 Finally, it remains to be discovered whether a people
171 neighboring the Busintana is familiar with the musical bow. I have already said that this was not the case among the rest of the Arhuaco.

G Among the Goajiro Indians, along with the "trompa," a
534 musical bow with horsehair string is used. One end of the bow is put in the mouth, and a narrow, uneven stick is drawn over
G [177] the string. The strange material of the string already /194/ points to late influence; there are various African traits in the
G Goajiro culture, as I shall try to show in a future monograph.
[852] Moreover, the musical bow here is small, poorly made, and is
[171] used mostly by boys. Among the Motilon Indians on the Maraca,
G too, boys play it (see below /untranslated/). Here one must
534 likewise assume that the Indians learned how to use it only in
177 post-Columbian times, probably from the mulattoes living in the flat country.

C As far as the Chimila are concerned, De Brettes says that
411 he saw hanging at the entrance of a hut a small bow 30 centi-
184 meters long, with accompanying arrows. He does not know what
[1114] this is used for (192). I myself, during my brief visit among these
[553]
[101]

192 /from p. 257 of the foreign text/. De Brettes, p. 462.

Indians, did not see such a bow, but they told me that in connection with the naming of boys they use a bow decorated with
C [553] feathers. Among the Ijca, the "sponsor" presents the little child with a tiny bow of palm wood. Naturally, this is no more in-
C tended as a musical instrument than the Chimila bow. Since the
796 bow was already used in former times at religious ceremonies, which
411 is not uncommon in South America, one can at least imagine that
534 a musical bow, which even in size comes close to the symbolic
174 bow, might easily find some use at these. The ceremonial must be observed, one must not forget anything, but an addition is easily achieved. The argument of Lumholtz is therefore not conclusive, as I have noted earlier. An instrument named marimba

/41 cont./

868 721 604 in the way they are used. When taking part in these warlike operations he makes use of all his social and legal training, and puts into practice the tradition of his group, besides which the basic principle of consanguineous relationship, mutual aid, and backing to resist aggression from outside elements is brought home to him.

593 604 178 It is almost entirely from his maternal uncle that he learns the cultural patterns of his masculine world, as the uncle becomes for him a mold and patterns, whose example he should follow as the leading male figure on the family level. But with the process of acculturation the influence of the father has now come to the fore. Nowadays, when the father expresses a wish that his first-born should be a son, to be a companion to him in his life as a shepherd, he thereby indicates that it is he who is going to educate his sons, or at least the first-born, supplanting to a certain extent the old family figure represented by the maternal uncle. In this case the boy shares with his father the care of his own livestock as well as his father's herd, and even his mother's dowry when her elder relatives consider it advisable. And there, as in the previous case, the boy learns both the economic and cultural side of group life and becomes attached to his father both in affection and materially, a tie that did not exist before but may lead him later to take a hand in his interest, thus bringing about something previously unheard of in Guajiro tradition, that the son goes to fight in the ranks of his father's group, without any consequent claim for compensation payment or other social demand being made.

Also, as when he is with his maternal uncle, he can join in and learn at his father's side agricultural lore, hunting, fishing, and how to go on excursions into the surrounding country; /42/ he also learns the technique of masculine occupations, but what it appears he cannot yet participate in is the political life of his father as cacique, or arbitrator, as this still remains an inheritance possible only from his maternal uncle, nor in the activities relating to the shaman /piache/ as an institution.

• • •

/69 cont./

836 The virginity of the single woman is becoming very rare in La Guajira. Premarital relations have been occurring with greater frequency in recent years as a consequence of the social disintegration of this indigeneous group, caused by a multiplicity of reasons, among which stand out: the influence of the so-called white groups, among whom free union is common practice; emigration to regions such as Venezuela, where the Indian women break away from the norms of their ancestors and find an atmosphere which does not resent the sexual adventures of women but rather stimulates them; the scarcity and hunger in certain regions which push the inhabitants toward the urban centers of the peninsula, where the woman gives herself in exchange for the wherewithal to satisfy her vital needs of food and dress, an attitude which her relatives recognize and tolerate because, indirectly, it also helps them. The premarital relations forced by circumstances or encouraged by them have been creating a social class of women which previously did not exist nor could fit within her social organization: the prostitute. It must be noted that it is the mestizo woman (mixture of Indian with white or negro) who more easily takes this road.

[548] [563]

Also one has to take into account the premature premarital relations that have always existed in La Guajira and which take place between the girls and their brothers, and even their fathers, when the girls are about ten or more, when they go to the fields or the countryside in general and meet the boys who are devoting themselves to pasturing. (Cf. Chap. II.)

[835]

* * *

836 558 178 The common type of furtive sexual relations of the adult woman causes her to drop in social esteem and particularly in that of the men, producing, indirectly, the phenomenon that virginity as a basis for marriage has become overvalued. Before, it was a fact that was logically expected as an essential, and the lack of this condition created social and psychic problems.

/69 cont./

836 Today this causes less repercussion, and the phenomena which were
558 aroused in the society and the individual have become weakened.
178 But by contrast, it /virginity/ is an object of greater search, and the man who is successful /70/ in finding a virgin bride publicizes it as an individual reason for prestige. Furthermore, men are complaining less and less when their wives have not come as virgins to the nuptial hammock, and they only make it the subject of satirical songs when they are drunk. That is to say, they take the matter more broadmindedly, giving it the character of an accomplished fact and almost to be expected.

684 Violation and rape. The payment for abuse is that which the Guajiro must pay for illicit sexual relations with an unmarried woman, being a material compensation for the improper use made of her and returning to the woman her position of respected spinster, with the possibility that another man will court her and buy her for himself, without the fact of the abuse weighing as a dishonor in her past or having any echo in the future. It is also the compensation to the maternal relatives of the woman for the material and moral offense of violation of a right. They receive this payment because, by not accepting it, they would lower their kinswoman, and through her all of the family, to the category of "a dog or a burro," with no one to make their rights valid, and in order to prevent others wishing to do the same thing to other women of the family, which would bring the prestige of the group to an end. Also, because the man made use of a right which he should have paid for beforehand, to compensate the woman's relatives for rearing her and for the social support they have given her. The payment covers two distinct aspects of different value: violation and rape.

684 In the first case, as it is considered that the woman has shown
839 willingness in the act, only the abuse is taken into account. In the second, as force has been used, a compensation payment is demanded not only for abuse but for violation, specifying that the man used force and thereby humiliated the woman, made her dishonor and her physical weakness more obvious, and offended

/156 cont./

764 551 the name of the dead man in front of anyone, again for fear of offending his relatives, /157/ who, although they may not be present, might be informed by someone looking for payment for talebearing.

764 152 [178] One by one as the persons notified arrive, they express their sympathy. The form of doing so is as follows: The /dead man's/ kinsmen are seated on the ground, or nowadays more generally in the interior of the house (the new customs require the female relatives to remain inside the house seated on the floor, with their faces covered with a large cloth black like the robe they wear). When the outsider arrives he sits down beside them. Then begins the lamentation of the mourner, who mourns with his head bent forward, covered, as is his face. He cries for a more or less prolonged time, interspersing his weeping with short phrases which refer to his sorrow and his loss. He ends his lament, which is taken up by the visitor, and once he has finished they give the traditional Guajiro salutation, initiated by the mourner. They all begin to cry again in chorus, which they suspend to recount the process of the man's death in all its details.

Around the corpse are slung a series of hammocks at graded heights, which are occupied by the closest women relatives as they take turns in the weeping or by a newly arrived one, who, after expressing her sorrow to the family, must weep near the corpse, bending forward over the coffin and placing a hand on it, a magic action which will help her to dream of the deceased. In this position, the visitor, whether outsider or consanguineous relative, weeps in that tone and manner characteristic of the culture, which rather than weeping is like an intoned, melancholy complaint. The Guajiro men weep in a different manner, giving shouts of despair at intervals, without any definite timing. They do this standing up, bending over the coffin and covering their faces with a cloth, a hat, or a hand. On asking some outsiders, participants at a wake, how they were able to cry so intensely and realistically, they explained

/164 cont./

592 602 3. In the collateral line the mother's sisters and their descendants.

611 4. His closest male relatives, his mother's brothers and those of his grandmother and great-grandmother, etc., in the maternal line.

5. The sons of the sisters of his mother, his grandmother, his great-grandmother, etc.

In this way, the kinship ties of the newborn child extend back indefinitely along the female line and extend forward in the same manner.

With respect to the kinship with individuals of the male sex, this is limited to the collateral branches and to the sons of female relatives. That is, the newborn child does not count male ascendants or the children of his male relatives as his own relatives. Furthermore, if the new baby is a boy he will not in the future count his own direct descendants as relatives.

592 593 It would be extremely difficult to make a separate study of the exercise of authority in the small family or in the extended family, because these two bodies so intimately interpenetrated due to their members living together that any analysis of them separately would be inaccurate; also, because of the effects of acculturation, the exercise of authority based on the consanguineous unit stemming from the traditional legal union reflects forms different from those developed according to legendary cultural patterns.

593 These two extremes -- traditional culture and culture influenced by whites -- cover an infinite range of varieties difficult to classify and must be studied as special cases (Cf. Marriage).

593 178 596 It is essential to recognize that in the civilizado-type home the influence of the maternal family tends to be nullified, a very slow process with regard to the totality of all the members, but a very rapid and effective one with regard to the maternal uncle, for in this case there occurs the phenomenon of transfer: All his influence passes to the father, who from that moment acquires and exercises all the authority delegated by Guajiro

/164 cont./

593 culture to the maternal uncle. Another phenomenon /165/ that
178 develops in this type of marriage is the appearance of paternal
596 relatives who are gradually acquiring places in kinship to the point that they almost hold positions similar to those held in our society. In fact, the children of a marriage so constituted begin to consider their father within the boundaries of their relatives; initially, he was not so considered, but by degrees, he is acquiring this manifest recognition in the act of their taking sides with him, being represented by him on outstanding occasions such as marriage, receiving help and assistance from him, and later on being his legitimate heirs.

In the classical Guajiro home the outstanding authority is that of the maternal uncle, who surpasses the eldest person in order of importance. There can, however, be an exception when another of these relatives has acquired a position that is not only more prominent than any of his brothers but also extends its radius of action to all the clan group and even passes on to other clans. Individual personal merit or wealth may be the cause of the elevation of his status, which is fully recognized within the family to the point that he may supplant the brother who by chronological order he ought to obey. According to the
[561] old order, age was the index of the exercise of authority, an arrangement that defined succession in case of death.

596 It also may occur that in any one of the different homes formed by each one of the sisters of a family, preferential deference and recognition is given to one of the sisters without taking into account the hierarchy established by age, status, etc.

This preference is due to the affinity shown by the mother for one of her brothers, a preference that has a reciprocal effect extending to the sons of the sister from whom he will receive greater respect. Beside respect the influence goes deeper and the effective assistance of this brother is greater than that rendered by the others. This is shown especially by his gifts at the birth of the children of the sister and above all by his taking charge personally of educating them in pasturing and in masculine

/175 cont./

614 Furthermore, consanguinity regulates some fundamental
602 aspects of clan organization, such as inheritance -- of wealth and of name; group identification; the place to locate the home, the cemetery, and marriage.

Within the group of consanguineous relatives, the influence of the maternal uncle is the one most felt, since the father lacks such authority. The uncle holds in his hands the rights and obligations which in other cultures, like our own, are assigned to the father. Another concept included in consanguinity is that of considering as sons and daughters all the members of the generation immediately following one's generation, and as siblings all the members of one's own generation within the clan group. The nexus of consanguinity within the clan is kept alive in its obligations and rights by the economic and social backing given to all its members. Between the dead and the living, for example, the tie is preserved through the special ceremonial made in tribute to the former (Cf. Cult of the dead, Chap. II) to keep alive the emotional bond between past and present generations.

Relations with other clan groups are controlled through compliance with the regimen for stability and by punitive measures that control aggression. Should aggressive acts occur, the aggressor and the injured party can strengthen their /respective/ positions by /176/ alliances with other groups, thus forming a bloc with sufficient power or coercive strength to bring about a favorable legal settlement.

178 At the present time all these bonds are becoming weakened
602 by the change in the direction of kinship. The old total group
614 concept has changed, in consequence of various influences, into another which is almost totally opposite. In the first place, the clans show subdivisions which affect their original unity and which have come about by members of the same clan settling in different parts of the peninsula, who, after a long period of growth and assisted by the springing up of their own caciques and for want of contact with the original cell, have become veritable independent groups with a sense of unity, although they all preserve the same totem and a common name and clan marks.

/176 cont./

178 In the second place, we observed a limitation in the exer-
602 cise of the clan's function. The concept of consanguineous kin-
614 ship between all its members has relaxed to the point that con-
sanguineous ties are considered to exist only among the closest relatives. An individual's kinsmen have become limited to his mother and her female ascendant, and to his mother's brothers and sisters together with their offspring. Some extend kinship to include relatives of the fourth degree of collaterality, and then to the brothers, sisters, and their descendants. By limiting the concept of kinship, all obligations attached to those no longer considered consanguineous are lost. Consequently, clan unity begins to disintegrate.

178 Another change in the concept of kinship has been intro-
797 duced by Catholic marriage. It implies the abolition of the
602 uterine affiliation, the basis of clan organization. It introduces
614 the paternal branch into the kinship system and places it on a superior plane since the father's name and not the mother's, as it was traditionally, comes first in the offspring. /According to the Spanish custom of compound surnames, one's father's surname comes first. --Ed./ Furthermore, it destroys the authority and predominance of the maternal uncle because that of the father replaces and surpasses it.

178 5. Exogamy. The Guajiro clan was essentially exogamous.
614 Acculturation has made marriage possible and legal between
582 members of the same clan. In other words, clan exogamy has disappeared, and only family exogamy is followed.

6. Location. With respect to clan settlement the myths
614 already quoted resolve the problem by assigning fixed regions to
423 each of the groups which Mareiwa created. These lands are
178 held in common by each clan, which also works them communally. The /177/ improvements introduced, such as roads, wells, and cemeteries, are made with the assistance of all the clan members who will make use of them. At the present time individual solution of the water problem has permitted the splitting up of the communal pasturage land. Furthermore, there is a strong trend toward the breaking up of agricultural land.

/214 cont./

231 find themselves in difficulties. In payment for this benefit of
361 pasturage and use of water a cow /res/ or goat is given on enter-
423 ing. Also, it is customary voluntarily to give another animal when leaving, or a personal gift to the head of the region visited.

423 Recently a new aspect of this general situation has risen: Small but well-to-do families construct a well near their dwell-
425 ings or in the adjacent pasture land without any assistance from
178 the community. The other Guajiro admit that the family who made this well has first right to its use but affirm that they are under obligation to permit it to be used by others when in need. Nevertheless, it is becoming common for well-to-do families to deny its use even to needy individuals of their own clan, with whom they no longer wish to recognize family ties that would otherwise bind them.

These phenomena have made the concept of communal land ownership evolve. By depriving others of access to the sources of water supply, rich families usurp for themselves the common lands to which this water source is essential. In this way zones of private property are established which permit more sedentary stock raising as well as the construction of sounder and more comfortable dwellings. These new landowners are beginning to fence off their property into veritable haciendas, a state of affairs which were never before seen in the former stages of social evolution.

Another fact that is giving rise to private ownership of land is the reclaiming of wasteland by the construction of wells, since whoever makes one becomes the individual owner of the land involved, land which can be transmitted by inheritance according to the norms of inheritance already studied. /215/

In addition to the cases noted, there is another system of acquiring land, and it is the usurpation of the property of those conquered in a war provoked by the breaking of the regimen for personal security and collective stability of a clan group. Such land, distributed with all the other goods taken from those conquered, goes to enrich the family property of the victors.

/216 cont./

423 764 The cemetery is also very closely related to land rights because every individual hopes to die on his own land, that is, in the place where his elders live and his ancestors lived: on clan territory; and he also hopes to be buried in the communal cemetery. These wishes and hopes of every Guajiro are what elicit long journeys with corpses relatives who died on alien land to give them burial in the cemetery of their ancestors. For this each clan owns a cemetery in certain places of its territory where /217/ the bodies of the deceased members or their bones after the celebration of the ceremony of the second burial may be buried. But in recent times many families who have outstanding social and economic position in the social collectivity have constructed private cemeteries or mausoleums in the vicinity of their family lands for their exclusive use. /page 218 is blank/

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XV

LAWS OF INHERITANCE

428 778 In the present state of the Guajiro culture it is extremely difficult to make a basic study of the laws of inheritance because with the process of acculturation taking place in the community, there has been introduced a series of new practices which, combined with the primitive and traditional forms, make the present system a structure difficult to mark off and to subject to fixed norms. We will confine ourselves to giving a few indications of what constitutes what we might call the code of inheritance, but we must make clear that the information we give is by no means complete, and it is possible that certain statements made may have to be rectified later. In general, we can affirm that they constitute the law for that section of the Guajiro community with which we have been in contact. With this in mind we continue our study.

/221 cont./

428 that is, when he gets married, his father must hand over to him
all the animals that are his personal property. It is then that
431 the largest of the gifts is given. /222/ If this is not given, the
boy is always waiting for his father to give it on some other
occasion, but should the father die before having given it, the
paternal relatives will not concede it to the young man, even
though this may be a cause of fighting between the two clan
groups.

428 The payment in livestock which the wife receives from the
husband for inconveniences suffered during her pregnancy and
for each childbirth can also be considered as indirect participation
in his goods.

We know that funeral customs establish that when a man dies livestock that is his property must be slaughtered and distributed among the friends who attend the wake at the time of the death and those who attend the second burial. In order to comply with this norm the Guajiro has established gifts of livestock from the maternal relatives, the same as the father does with his children. When a new family member is born, the maternal uncles, especially the one most looked up to by the mother, make a present of livestock to the child which constitute, with the gifts he receives from the paternal relatives, his initial patrimony. These goods keep on growing with successive calving and with the addition of the gifts he receives from his mother, his maternal grandmother, and from other relatives when he becomes capable of caring for them himself. Finally, on marrying for the first time (we must keep in mind that polygamy exists), all the animals destined for him are handed over.

The daughters receive the larger portion of livestock on getting married, especially when they belong to groups of high status and they have been bought at a high price to be consistent with this high value and to maintain the social and economic standing of their family.

428 It should be emphasized, finally, that at the present time
178 the laws of inheritance, as we stated at the beginning, are no
longer uniform, due to the steady process of acculturation in the

/222 cont./

428 178 Guajiro community. As a consequence, this phenomenon has brought about a series of struggles among family groups related by marriage ties, as the children now expect to inherit from their fathers, and they consider themselves to have more right to it than the maternal nephews /sobrinos maternos/ and the other obligatory traditional heirs. The situation of conflict has reached such extremes of malevolence and rancor that many times the maternal relatives of the deceased will not resist such claims but will relinquish their rights to the dead man's descendants. /223/

XVI

WORK

461 There are two forms of communal work, depending on the ends in view.

476 a) Communal work with the object of carrying out a job of general utility or utility to the clan.

b) Private work that benefits an individual and his immediate family.

In the first class we have the example of the construction of roads, dams, wells, cemeteries, etc. In La Guajira passage is free over all roads. Consequently, their construction benefits the social collectivity and, more particularly, those groups who wish to be connected by means of them. To open a new road, the beneficiaries most concerned get together with the aim of coming to an agreement on the plans, the preliminary location, and the distribution of the span of the work which will be handled by each group. The collaborators, on their part, redistribute the cost and execution. Thus one day one family supplies food and drink to all the workers; the following day another family, and so on successively until the work is finished.

/233 cont./

472 f) As a hobby. During the hottest hours of the day or during
463 his spare time, he makes at home small objects that can be sold to his fellow Indians or to whites, such as tools, harness, figures of coconut shell and of plastic material, necklaces, bags, sandals, weapons, hats, etc.

Along with the profession of shaman in which both sexes participate, and that of diviner, we find the occupation of arbitrator, which demands the personal qualities already enumerated in the pertinent chapter and which gives to the individual who exercises it not only prestige among his relatives and compatriots but also the right to remuneration.

Another trade that has become remunerative is that of harness and saddle making. Although some women compete successfully in the manufacture, the culture considers them intruders, because this is an activity recognized traditionally as belonging to the masculine sex.

441 As a product of acculturation through whites and facilitated
178 by civilization and the closeness of Venezuela as well as by the decline in traditional economic activities, commercial activity has developed among the Guajiro. It is not so much the pure native as it is the mestizo of some economic means who devotes himself to this /commerce/; the fact should be noted that women, under equal conditions, participate actively in the exploitation of this economic source. They go to Aruba and Curaçao and obtain cheap merchandise on credit, which they bring in by smuggling to sell in Colombia, following the route to Riohacha or Valledupar or continuing on the route to Venezuela. Some do not work directly as owners of the goods but as carriers across the peninsula to deliver them at their destination.

Women find remunerative work especially in domestic service,
472 such caring for children, preparing food, carrying water and
463 firewood, cleaning, etc. They also work in the capacity of maids with the obligation of living in the home where they work. The Guajiro woman does not willingly work under these latter conditions as she prefers the free life of her own home, although food

[46 cont.]

411 when the respect due to his status is not shown (Cf. "Magic
495 and Funerals"), and particularly the spirit of those dead through
775 violence, we can better understand the high value they place on the imára, or magic arrow.

593 It will be well to explain again the position of the father
611 in relation to his son in La Guajira. The family in this society follows matrilineal descent, and therefore the father is not really considered as father to his sons but is to his nephews, his sister's sons. The family ties between father and son are so weak that they do not exist except in certain secondary aspects of the family economic organization.

411 The use of the poisoned arrow among the Kusina Indians
539 is shown by the following fragment of a story told by the same woman informant who supplied us with the data on which this
789 present study is based and which refers to the struggle between a Guajiro Indian named Kurĩra-páta and some Kusina Indians who arrived at his hamlet one night to steal his stock. The section dealing with the magic arrow, translated literally from the Guajiro text, is as follows: [47] "The Kusina shot (with a rifle) at Kurĩra-páta, who came upon them from behind. They wounded him in the thigh. 'Now, it isn't possible to do anything,' said K.P. 'Let's kill him to end this once and for all,' said the Kusina. K.P. lifted himself on to his sound knee. He shot at them (with his rifle), killing one. Then the Kusina said, 'Let's kill him with the imára (poisoned arrow).'"

411 The fragment of this story corroborates the existence of
789 the magic arrow among the Kusina, and also, as previously stated, the fact that the poisoned arrow,— magic arrow to us — was the last recourse utilized by these Indians when their other weapons did not produce the desired result.

The area of distribution of this cultural element, as we have seen, was in the Sierra de Cocinas, and it was frequently used in Jarara, where it was obtained by purchase or by barter from the makers. This class of weapon used to be employed in this latter region — Jarara — in times of war. Now it is no longer used in either of the two areas mentioned for two reasons.
[797 First, the evangelizing action of the Capuchin fathers in the
778] Sierra de Jarara, who have, in the main, mitigated the warlike

[47 cont.]
character of the inhabitants of Jarara; and second, the complete disappearance (according to all sources) of the Kusina Indians in the last 20 to 25 years for various reasons. In other words, the arrows which may still exist but of which we could not obtain a sample are those preserved by the aged Indians of Jarara, purchased from the makers in times past.

Sacrifice to forestall the effects of dreams. In the Guajiro mentality dreams are considered to be revelations of the future, coming from a benign spirit who seeks in this way to show his protection to a certain person. When the shaman himself has the revealing dreams then these acquire greater importance, as we have already seen. For the same reason, when one of these shamans has a special dream, he informs the interested party and adds to it the necessary instructions or special ceremonies that he should arrange in order to counteract the prognostication. If such ceremonies are not carried out or are not totally complied with, the dream will become converted to reality. The Guajiro has immense faith in dreams, particularly in those of shamans, and very few persons will leave themselves open to suffer the consequences of the nonfulfillment of the rituals indicated, as experience, according to them, has [48] shown that noncompliance with the indications of the shamans has resulted in many deaths and disasters when the events foretold have taken place.

As the aspect of dreams is treated in a special section, we will here only refer to the theme which interests us and which is related to sacrifices. In this respect we quote the narrative of one of our informants.

This occurred in Jarara. A woman shaman dreamed that a member of the Pushaina family clan was threatened with a fatal tragedy; he would die by the hand of one of his own family group. The shaman immediately informed him of it and ordered him, in order to avert the danger, to organize a fiesta of horse racing and, above all, to sacrifice a black male goat and to bathe himself in its blood. The Indian did not want to carry out the shaman's instructions, and within a short time he was killed by a member of his own group of inferior economic standing. The reprisals taken against the

[113 cont.]

789 the propitiation of the rain, which is the culmination of the
756 rituals of the Guajiro Indians.

When summer continues overlong and endangers the crops, animals, and the community in general, the shaman gets ready to call for and to attract rain. To effect this he dresses in the way we have seen him do when he cures sickness or casts out epidemics and begins to invoke up his protector spirits that they may aid him in his trance. He chews tobacco and rhythmically sways his torso and head while shaking his maraca. All these acts he carries out while seated on a wooden zoomorphic chair. He then commences to sing loudly to attract his spirits, and when he attains this he asks them to send rain. He tells them that men need it, that they are without food and without water in their wells, and they are near death through hunger and thirst, their animals are dying, and misery and desolation is overrunning their country. At certain moments the shaman goes out from the house where he is carrying out his ceremony and walks around it so as to attract the rain and scare away the evil spirits that are keeping it back. As a result of these ceremonies rain should fall.

789 But this is not the only method that the natives have at
178 their disposal to attract rain. The propitiation can be effected in a different way without the intervention of the shaman. This is happening now in all the acts of magic in this society, which we may describe as being in a state of disintegration in which the prestige of the shaman has lost importance, and ordinary people have taken over his science. We shall see below a series of methods the natives employ to attract rain without the shaman's intervention.

789 For example, a kind of adoration is very common which
821 the Indians pay to a certain iguana that is found in the crevices
826 of rocks, especially in the cliffs of the seacoast, an adoration that is shown in a series of fiestas and dances, the purpose of which is to obtain the favor of these reptiles, so that they may place no [114] obstacle in the way of the hoped-for rainfall but let it occur freely. We shall study this association iguana-rainfall more fully in the last chapter.

789 Other methods used by the Indians to attract rain during
821 summer are: beating their drums for many hours on consecutive

[124 cont.]

585 c) There is another very important fact in this sexual aspect of the fiesta that we are describing, which is what we might call proof of virginity. [125]

Virginity in woman is highly valued by the natives in spite of the fact that at the present time, due to economic ac- [836 178] culturative factors, it is increasingly difficult to find virgins among marriageable women, a state of affairs that the Indian male is well aware of. But it is always a matter of pride and something to be boasted of for a Guajiro man to find on his marriage night that his bride is a virgin. It is the custom, [583] furthermore, that if the man marries not knowing that his wife has lost her virginity and has the consequent disillusion on his wedding night, the bride's relatives have to return a part of the livestock which the man paid for her, especially the family neck- lace. The Indian's concern about this matter, which remains hidden when he is in a normal state, comes to the surface dur- [578 273] ing his drunken bouts, when he will sing about his wife, extolling her and boasting of having had a virgin in his marriage hammock, or insulting and degrading her in coarse improvisations when he considers that he has been defrauded.

524 796 831 This attitude toward sex on the part of the native, or better said this value he places on the virginity of his future wives, is expressed in a sort of game which is played at the Dance of the Kid. To play it, the girls gather in a group about a singer who [539] sings such a song as this: "Let us see, my pretty miss, if you are a virgin, if truly you have not run around too freely, if no young male has put his hands on your body." He then passes his hands over each girl's body, tickling her. He starts at her big toe and goes upward, touching her instep, calves, knees, thighs, genitals, hips, stomach, torso, breasts, armpits, and continues up her neck until he reaches the top of her head. The girl who remains quiet, indifferent, without laughing and without even a smile wins the test and is declared a virgin. The singer then sings again: "You are indeed a virgin, my lovely majayura....," and chants a veritable song of flattery and finishes by escorting her to a set place. He then continues with the rest of the girls gathered there, repeating the same routine. When a girl moves or laughs,

[128 cont.]

of war to the death will result between the clans affected.

One has to take into account the fact that a woman who has been bought for wife is relatively valuable, and the native is not always in a position to accumulate the number of animals sufficient to pay for her, although it is considered an obligation on the part of his relatives to assist him when the time for his marriage arrives. As prostitution is so limited because of the condition of inferiority in which it places the woman who traffics in sex, the situation of the unmarried male in this respect is difficult. We repeat again that we make this statement on the basis of the facts of La Guajira social customs in normal times, and not on the basis of the present period when they are suffering from ever increasing problems of hunger, poverty, and acculturation, phenomena which are overthrowing all their traditional institutions.

Presenting the question in these terms, one can appreciate the trying position of the bachelor Guajiro native who is without slaves and without economic resources to enable him to buy a wife. He lives within a regimen of limitations and restrictions which reach even to sexual taboos which can be divided into two classes: special cases, especially applicable to the sex life of shamans, as we have seen; and general cases, applicable to the whole community and which go to the extreme of provoking curious euphemisms in the language when the word for the genital organ is phonetically similar to some other word, as in the case with the word for dog.

These restrictions must be considered in the totality of the social norms, but this is not the moment to expound on them as they will be fully covered in this review as an interpretation of the whole of Guajiro society. However, we wish to point out their presence in the Dance of the Kid, or better said their absence, since, as we have said, these restrictions disappear, and there is complete sexual freedom which permits the minstrel to caress the young maids on the pretext of deciding their virginity or loss of it, a thing that in normal times would not be permitted, and to go to the extreme of countenancing carnal union without economic or social consequences, the only

[146 cont.]

174 If we accept the idea that the Guajiro are descended from
192 the Arawak of the Guianas, with whom they are intimately con-
776 nected both by their language and culture, there is nothing
821 strange to be found in the formation of the name Mareiwa from
mali, male (the l and the r do not exist in the Guajiro language),
and fwa, words that are used to name stars and in consequence
must be related to the general Arawak cosmogony. In any case,
776 the linguistic association of star-rain-god-divinity confirms the
821 statement which we have made that Mareiwa [147] is none other
than the propitiatory spirit of the rains, and by the same token,
that of good harvests, of abundance, and of well-being.

132 The harsh geographical conditions of La Guajira and the
182 technical incapacity of the native to dominate and put them
776 in his service without incurring the great inconveniences which
are above all occasioned by the climate, have caused this
being (Mareiwa) to be raised to first position in the category of
[833 protector spirits of the community. Also, the changes brought
178] about in their economy during past centuries have contributed to
this advance in status, because since the introduction of stock
grazing, winter has become more and more indispensable for
the maintenance of pasture, without which the stock would
suffer serious losses. We have no data relating to the myths or
178 religion of these Indians at the time of the Conquest but what
776 we have unearthed and the fact that there is a veritable confu-
sion with respect to the origin and functions of Mareiwa point
to the fact that, in a certain way, the Guajiro are living in a
state of transition with regard to their divinities, we might al-
most say a moment of true creation of their gods which has not
yet been definitively achieved, and for which contact with
western civilization has created difficulties which by now are
practically insurmountable.

775 Wanurú. As we referred extensively to the wanurú when
we were speaking of sickness and the shaman, we shall add only
a few details here and systematize the knowledge we have ac-
quired about this matter up to now.

1. The wanurú can harm the Guajiro bodily and spiritu-
ally, bodily by means of such sicknesses as attack men, animals,

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

423 614 It is, of course, only the usufruct that is inherited. The land can neither be sold nor given away, for it belongs to the clan. All members of a clan have the right to pasture their herds in the clan's territories, and every man also has the right to graze his beasts and to use wood and water in the lands belonging to his wife's clan. That is one of the advantages he acquires in return for the bride-price he has paid. 565 614 There has developed a class distinction unusual among Indians on the primitive level. A man of simple origins can sometimes marry into a high-born family, but he does not become any the better for that, though his children belong to their mother's aristocratic clan. It is, however, seldom that a man of humble family can get himself a girl from the upper classes—that could only happen if he had inherited or had relatives who could help him pay the bride-price. 583 614 This is so high that a young man almost always has to have the help of his clan to pay it. The relatives of a girl of really good family may demand £2000 worth of cattle, while a girl of humbler stock can be had for £50 worth. The amount can be paid in money, but that is only done in the south, in the areas belonging to Venezuela, where the Indians are more accustomed to coins and have confidence in gold.

It must not be imagined that this is a question of purchase like buying a donkey, a cow or a slave. It is a transaction that concerns both clans. One should not marry within one's [178] own clan. In the old days that was forbidden, but now they are not so strict, since the clans are often split into local sub-groups. The whole marriage transaction is well adapted to the social and economic system. (When, during the first oil rush, white workers from the Maracaibo oil fields bought poor girls, usually of half-breed parents, those were transactions whose legality under Guajiro law was merely fictitious.) The bridegroom's family helps him to pay the bride-price and contributes generously if the girl is of good family. The bride-price is to some extent regarded as compensation for what the family expended on the girl while she was growing up.

When a couple's first daughter marries, the father asks

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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several days afterwards, but have to be fed. They also have 767
to keep to a diet for a while, a precaution that, like the cloaks they are wrapped in while digging up the bones, is to protect them against spirits.

In the old days the house in which a person died was 768
abandoned. Nowadays that is only done if the person has been murdered.

I have come across this after-funeral among several 765
Indian tribes farther south, in particular the Motilon in the 171
Andes, neighbours of the Guajiro, and the Indians of the Llanos plains around the Orinoco. It seems a peculiar custom to us, but it is a sort of memorial ceremony, a feast of remembrance devoted to the dead person, who is thus not forgotten so quickly by the Indians, as is often the case with us.

The animals killed at a man's funeral are to accompany 764
him into the hereafter and enable him to maintain his position there. His immediate relatives must not eat of this meat, which is all given to the guests, who cook it and feast on it.

Different in character is the sacrifice of some creature, a [751]
black sheep or a brown cow, which the piache recommends [782]
when he has dreamed that someone is in danger of being [787]
murdered. Here the animal is being killed in place of the threatened man, the goat or cow acting as substitute so that the human can escape his fate. Presumably, what used to happen was that the person threatened had to go out and kill some wild animal, a deer for example. The custom of slaughtering cattle at a funeral originates from the change in [778]
the Indians' way of life that resulted from their making cattle-rearing their main occupation. Earlier the dead person was given other grave-goods to enable him to manage in the life hereafter, including ornaments and that sort of thing. In the pre-Columbian era quantities of polished stone beads and rama were placed in the graves. Then, when fortunes began to be reckoned in cattle and horses, it was obvious that the dead person must have cattle to accompany him. To the Guajiro, as to the general run of Indians, there 761
is no such thing as natural death. Were it not for the 776
dangerous world of the spirits and evil enchanters people

9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
SC13 Goajiro SC13

reported several in the vicinity of the town of Riohacha in Colombia. 614 589

Residence is normally matrilocal, although, at present, there is a tendency towards neo-locality. The author has found no case of patrilocality either in the field or in the literature. 591

The names of the five more important clans in Guajiro society, and those with which we are concerned in this article are: Uriana, Epinayú, Pushaina, Guajariyú, and Epieyú. These designations have lost meaning in Guajiro and not even the oldest members questioned by the writer remember what they mean. The clans also have an animal or plant totem closely attached to food and hunting taboos. How deep this totemic aspect of the clan goes the writer does not know and the two references found in the literature, A. Ernst (1887) and A. Jahn (1927), simply mention the fact without going into details. 614 [178]

Today the clans have no distinct geographic distribution. Members of the different clans are found scattered more or less at random over the whole peninsula, and in both Colombia and Venezuela. This may be due perhaps to the extensive migrations of families within the region in their quest for water for themselves and their domestic animals. This necessity has also probably contributed to the gradual breakdown of the matrilocal residence. The earlier literature suggests that the clans may have had, at one time, certain regional characteristics. Juan de Castellanos cites that the Guajiros living near what is now the town of Riohacha all belonged to the Uriana clan. A. Ernst goes as far as showing a distribution map of the clans. A. Jahn and G. Hernandez de Alba draw their conclusion of geographic distribution for the clans based on the earlier sources but definitely state that today the clans present the scattered distribution the present writer found. [166] [178]

The Guajiro culture may be described in brief as pastoral, with a small-scale supplementary agriculture, especially in the southern part of the peninsula where water and more fertile lands are available. Domestic animals, cattle in particular, represent the foundation of wealth to the Guajiro. His economic position, and likewise his social status, is measured in the number of cattle, sheep, goats, asses and horses he owns. This pastoral complex permeates practically every aspect of the culture. 233 241 831 556

9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
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cordial, no fights or even harsh words between them was ever noticed, and when Perez was arrested, as mentioned before, his wife showed great concern and distress and did everything possible to have him released from jail and brought home. Still the question of how much real affection, especially on Perez's part, is involved in this marriage cannot be answered with certainty. As regards the grantings of favors to the Guajiro, it is obvious that he makes a careful selection and never or hardly ever grants them to indivduals who could not, in the future, be of some help to him.

Whether or not Perez will attain a position of respect and leadership such as Panchito Silva and José de la Rosa Fernandez enjoy is hard to say, but the writer will try to make an analysis of the situation and draw certain tentative conclusions.

There is no doubt that clan leadership with all its privileges and responsibilities is slowly dying out in the Guajira. Among the 25 odd clans existing at present the writer has met only two individuals who have all the earmarks of a true economic, political, and social leader, namely, Panchito Silva and José de la Rosa Fernandez. Informants have told him that there are two others, the heads of the Epinayú and the Epieyú clans living in the upper Guajira and in Colombia respectively. From what information was gathered these two other leaders fit closely to the pattern described for Silva and Fernandez. The remainder of the clans have no true, powerful leaders, although they do have elder members who are more or less respected and consulted in certain clan matters. Around the turn of the century, however, according to the information gathered first hand from old men like Silva and Fernandez, and from the literature, there were at least twenty powerful leaders among the clans.

Undoubtedly one of the contributing factors to the breakdown of clan leadership has been the great horizontal movement in population among the Guajiro in the last fifty years. Such spread would tend, naturally, to break down the regional characteristics of the clan and ultimately help to bring about a loss of personal contact between a leader and the rest of his clan and hence the loss of control. Whether there are other economic, social, or political factors in operation favoring this breakdown is not fully known. The writer suspects that there may be but this problem would need further intensive investigation. The

9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
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writer hopes in future researches to complete the picture of leadership among the Guajiro and the present breakdown in their social organization.

As mentioned above, traditional form clan leadership is obtained either through inheritance or by selection made by a council of elders. Perez's case is entirely different and he has followed white culture means and ways, more or less, in obtaining leadership in Guajiro society irrespective of clan organization. In other words, he has become, in certain aspects, a leader of the Guajiro as a whole and not of a particular clan. It is to be expected that as more and more Guajiro individuals go to Maracaibo for higher education, these new methods, such as those utilized by Perez, of attaining status will become stronger and will also be a contributing factor in the final breakdown of the traditional clan leadership. Some years must pass, however, to determine conclusively whether this is the path that leadership in the Guajira will take. At the moment four important clans still have their traditional leaders—the Pushiana, Uriana, Epinayú, and Epieyú—with strong and well definied heirs to their present leaders; and as long as the inheritance lines remain firm, clan leadership among these four clans will cling to the traditional. The rest of the clans, having lost their lines of inheritance and lacking men of strong personality to become their unquestioned leaders, will tend, we predict, to fall in step with new leaders of the Perez type. Such leaders will, undoubtedly, become more numerous as the acculturation processes go forward.

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/536 cont./

114 two wives of the influential and intelligent Cacique Bríscol
614 (alias Antonio Juan López); from both I was given the assur-
ance that it is known to nearly all of their people. In a subse-
●178 quent conversation with still other women it became clear
614 that the social and juristic role of the clan system had become
simplified and dulled in the course of the centuries up to the
present, and above all that the original rigor of its demands
had become milder and in part even lost. Certain practices
still maintained and various fragments of tradition permit
one to piece together an adequately clear picture of the
totemistic organization in Guajira, despite many manifestations
of mother-right.

614 Our Indians have a mythological explanation of how the
whole Guajiro people was originally divided into many clans
[212] (8). Each totem-clan has its individual symbol, comparable

8. Petrullo (p. 155) supplements this by confirming: "Casta [is] the major social grouping in Guajiro society. Each casta claims a mythological origin and holds sovereignty over a well-defined territory" /cited in English/.

to a monogram. Every clan-member marks himself and his
614 personal goods, predominately domestic animals, with it.
212 The Indians paint this symbol with ordinary watercolor on a
422 stone, carve it in wooden objects (plates, style of a mattock,
231 house posts), tattoo it on their arms, etc., all in plain fun
and without any serious intention of demonstrating their right
of ownership. On the other hand, the same symbol, which is
peculiar to a clan, is branded without exception on every
domestic animal that the individual clan-member owns.
Obviously it is the same sign for all the animals of all the
members of a particular clan; yet the animals remain /537/
the personal property of their owner, and the latter himself

/539 cont./

193 a foreign observer encounters
194 slight variations — as has just
614 been mentioned. For this reason,
in the table (p. 5) I put in the
[128] names corresponding with precisely the sounds that I heard most frequently; I have taken the map (p. 9) unchanged from the original.

614 marks are found in the table. Every Guajiro knows them.
101 As an established tradition, every generation has taken over the details from the others, either as clan property or as a
178 duty. But as a result of so many hostile encounters of the
101 clans with one another — the Guajiro even in early times
57 made themselves known as very quarrelsome — the boundaries
614 of the individual clan-districts have shifted. Some clans have actually disappeared, either because their members were entirely destroyed or because individuals from them were incorporated into other clans. Therefore, the number and boundaries of the individual clan-districts were and are subject to insignificant fluctuations. I was unable to ascertain when the map provided — taken from a Colombian authority — was drawn; it appears to have come out around 1935. It is also found in V. Gutiérrez (p. xvi).

3. Concluding Remarks

614 Spanish writers have reported on "castas" in Guajira from the early colonial period; the designation corresponds to actual totemistic clans. Recently it could be demonstrated that some thirty of them have existed since antiquity. The members of any one clan were entitled by common law to move freely over the whole peninsula without being hindered
[123] by the boundaries. When Petrullo (p. 155) states unmistakably,

/540 cont./

614 The continued influencing through a series of generations, even though nevertheless brief, by Spanish culture and the
614 spirit of modern times has finally also altered the primitive
177 judgment and feeling of these Indians and has strengthened in
178 them the pride to assert themselves now as "enlightened." It therefore need not be surprising that today they laugh in the face of a foreign visitor when the latter poses his questions as though he himself regarded a blood descent of the clan members from their totem animal as established and factual.
[123] The above-mentioned Cacique Briscol (15) even whispered

15. This pure-blooded, intelligent, and experienced Indian refers several times to the clans of his Guajiro people in his well-written story.

disrespectfully in my ear: "You must not suppose that we think of an animal when we present the totem as our ancestor. Every ancestor was as human as we are; only at the very beginning was he just like the totem that each clan has had since then. Our forefathers respected their totem animal more than we do today; they neither persecuted it nor ate its flesh. Now the habits of our ancestors are disappearing among us, one after another. There are now only sixteen independent
614 'castas'; their number was formerly double that." V. Gutiérrez
173 herself agreed with Briscol's interpretation when she presented
114 the introductory words to another myth, "The Distribution /541/ of the Clan Districts" (p. 170): Maretwa "then told the birds they were Indians" /translated from the Spanish/. Such words make it clear: the myth knows no distinction between totem animal and Indian in their mode of being and acting! Therefore one does not get anywhere in the analysis of myths with a knife-sharp dialectic lacking any imagination.
614 Thus, I may indeed, along with the reporters from former times up to our day, regard the social division of the Guajiro people as properly totemistic in style. Two years ago (1959),

[50 cont.]

782 arrow in the first case and saves a person sentenced to death in a dream through the blood of a sacrificed animal in the second. (h) Furthermore, in the second case we find an apparent substitution of the personality of the individual, or better still, a partial sacrifice of the same on his handing over for sacrifice an animal owned by him. (i) In the sacrifice of animals of a ritual funerary character, we can distinguish the following effects obtained: First the propitiation of the dead man's spirit which, as may be seen in the chapter corresponding to "Magic and Funerals," 769 can be beneficial, neutral, or malicious. This depends on whether all the considerations due to his status are maintained or not, or if all or part of the taboos established in this respect in the course of the social life of the community are violated or not. Second, the confirmation of the belief of a life beyond the tomb as a reflection of the earthly life. The sacrifice, in the sense that the dead animal accompanies its owner into the next life and places him on the same social plane that he occupied in this one among his fellow spirits there, confirms such a belief in the almost material life beyond the grave. [51]

IV

Sickness and Medicine

771 If we take into account the essential characteristics of
813 primitive mentality, we should remember that their world is
781 what we might call metaphysical, since the objects that surround them do not have a real existence as they do not look at them with a truly objective discernment but allow their imagination to be deceived by the strange things around them so that these become supernatural beings, all animated, not in the physical sense of movement but in their capacity to do good or evil, or to intervene in any manner whatever in the lives of men, of other beings, and of the cosmos in general. All that relates to the surroundings of primitive people: rocks, plants, animals, natural phenomena ... , are active beings in the best sense of the word, capable of intervention and worthy of the Indian's respect,

[51 cont.]

711 fear, or admiration. The primitive has not at this stage reached
813 the discernment necessary to establish the logical relation be-
181 tween phenomena and their real causes, but establishes a magic relationship that in the majority of cases does not correspond to any concrete or objective reality.

753 This manner of thinking and of feeling is especially reflected in the facts related to the individual himself and his organic reactions and, essentially, in the variations to which his organism is susceptible in the biological or pathological sense. To the primitive sicknesses are not ills caused by pathogenic germs (we say this in the general sense as there are some exceptions) or by internal or external disorders but are the result of the harmful actions of some being — animal, human, mineral, or vegetable — who is the sick man's potential enemy or one whom he has injured in some way or another, especially in violating the social ritual arrangements which at first were related almost exclusively to the totem and which then gradually evolved toward diverse forms of magic which lead him to a real investigatory curiosity.

This curiosity is not limited, as might be expected, to the simple act of knowing what phenomenon or what individual spirit might have caused the sickness, but sets out to understand the whole matter in order to put into [52] practice a method of cure — it does not matter of what kind — which will bring one back to the state of health, to normality, and remove him from contact with the dangerous world of the spirits.

753 For this reason, in the following pages we shall find our-
755 selves confronted with this phenomenon: if the causes of the sick-
*756 ness are magic or, in more general terms, supernatural, the methods of curing applied must be of the same type. The world of the spirits is considered to be superior to the normal world of the living, because it is unknown or partially so. The struggle then, face to face, of individual against spirit will be unequal because the latter — the spirit — is aided by supernatural forces with which the living are unacquainted. For this reason it is indispensable that shamans should be called in — the intermediaries between man and spirit, or that he employ, when

[156 cont.]

554 556 789 3. The individual. Another interesting social aspect related to magic is in connection with the status derived from wealth, expressed by the greater or lesser number of heads of stock owned by an individual. But apart from this strictly material aspect, magic has powers which when put into action assist the individual to acquire a coveted position or to improve one he already has, as is done, for example, in the cultural aspect of language, the mastery of which with the use of fine turns of speech can give to the speaker the highly esteemed and prestigeful position of arbitrator, or intermediary, in their interclan struggles, a position that is often confused with that of chief.

Within this field of magic activity we can cite as examples the following:

a) The sacrifice of animals, which not only gives prestige to the living but also establishes the status of the deceased in his life beyond the tomb.

b) The use of diverse charms such as those for love, for making one rich, for obtaining respect, prestige, and affection, etc.

c) The custom of an individual eating the leavings of food of individuals of special physical characteristics, especially those having qualities superior to his own, as for example, a white skin, a beard, etc., with the end of becoming more outstanding and improving his status.

d) As an indirect form of elevating status, we have the case of the Indian Kurira-Páta, who swallowed a charm and took a slave girl for wife in order to heal the wounds he received from the Kusina Indians. [157] The slave, because of a dream, passed to the category of wife, thus ascending the social scale.

* * *

181 771 789 A great part of the Guajiro's personality is molded by this institution of his culture, and many of his reactions would be inexplicable without previous knowledge of the process of magic, the fields of its functioning, the ways of life it has created, the

[157 cont.]

181 mental outlook it originates — imbued, as we have affirmed, with an animistic determinism — and the beliefs it implies in the different angles of Guajiro human activity, as it will have been possible to observe throughout the length of the work we are presenting. So much is this so that the very basic impulses of the individual are seen in many circumstances to be influenced by magic.

771 789

a) To prove this in the sexual aspect it suffices for us to cite again some facts already described and explained in previous chapters, such as the taboos imposed on the shamans, especially when they are women and according to which they should cohabit exclusively with their husbands, avoid caresses, motions, prolonged coitus, and pregnancy, and never exercise their functions during their menstrual periods. Besides this, it can be seen in the lifting of sexual taboos, or better said, the permitted violation of the norms which rule the community in this respect during the celebration of the Fiesta of the Kid, which reaches the point of allowing the consummation of the carnal act among the unmarried, an act absolutely prohibited in their society in normal times and which would provoke — as fully explained in the corresponding section — compensation payment and even interclan war with its tremendous consequences of persecution, annihilation, and slavery. It can also be observed in what we called the "proof of virginity," which permits a male to caress the bodies of young women who take part in the fiesta, an action prohibited, as in the previous case, in normal times. Among the charms we also found some that act in this way, and also significant is the act of rubbing bixa ointment on the genital organs and breasts to make them more effective in love-making.

834

[832]

b) In the matter of food we saw proofs of the influence of magic, especially related to the life of the shaman, particularly when he is in one of his "illumination" trances or in a curing ceremony. This influence also shows itself in the shaman's initiation, in the initiation of [158] young women, in the magic contamination of food by some animals which can cause sickness in newborn children, and in the prohibition against eating the flesh of the hawk which produces sterility in young and old of both sexes. Also, it is found in relatives being forbidden to eat the

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7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

Foreword

THIS book will take the reader to a peculiar corner of South America, the Guajira peninsula, the shores of which are washed by the warm Caribbean. It has a different climate and nature to those of other, adjacent, parts of the continent. Its inhabitants are Indians who differ largely from most of their fellows in our day, for they are warlike, proud and independent. They are the only people of mounted nomads among the natives of America and they are led by powerful chiefs. They have longest maintained their independence and their remarkable customs. They have been left in peace largely because their country is arid and unattractive, but also because they are not to be trifled with.

I have made three journeys among them. The first, in 1920, was the most exciting and fruitful. Three of us went, my wife, our photographer, Ottar Gladtvet, and I, and we remember it as though it were yesterday. It is that journey which provided the bulk of my material. I supplemented my observations of Indian life by a further short visit that my wife and I made to the peninsula in the 'thirties and by the results of some native researchers.

In 1955 I returned to Guajira, wanting to see how it was after the crisis caused by the recurrent droughts of the last decade. Almost all the cattle were said to have been killed and half the population to have perished or emigrated. When I got there, however, conditions had improved. Much was just as it always had been, and there is every indication that this fine and worth-while Indian people will overcome its difficulties and retain its individuality in many respects.

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

175 During the Colonial Period, the *Goajiro* were hostile toward the Span-
648 iards. After 1830, however, as a result of better treatment from the Whites, thanks in part to the efforts of Juan MacPherson, they become more friendly. Present authorities in the *Goajiro* region merely regulate frontier traffic.

797 The attempts by the Capuchin Fathers to alter their ways of life have
177 been unsuccessful. Except for the thin Catholic veneer, noticeable in baptismal rites and Spanish names, *Goajiro* social life seems to have been little affected by centuries of contact with Hispanic culture. Foreign influence is more apparent materially in iron implements, utensils, guns, textiles, and ornaments. All the domestic animals are of Spanish origin.

161 As a result of tuberculosis, smallpox, and venereal disease, the *Goajiro*
164 are gradually dying out, and the population estimates found in the literature have become smaller and smaller, the most recent indicating a scant 18,000.

PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

142 The *Goajiro* are usually described as aggressive and untrustworthy, of
[18] medium or small stature (cf. J. A. Mason, 1926, pp. 39, 52), copper colored, with jet-black hair, dark eyes rather obliquely set, a broad and blunt nose, and a large mouth (pl. 72, *bottom, right*). Within the tribes there are physical differences which seem to correspond with social status,
[565] the lower classes being smaller and more Indian in appearance, while those of higher rank are more often of a greater stature, with curlier hair and larger noses.

LANGUAGE

197 The *Goajiro* language belongs to the *Arawakan* family. There is, however, no good analysis of it. A grammar, "replete with errors" according to Simons, was published by Rafael Caledon in 1878. Various word lists have been published from time to time.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.**—The *Goajiro* have a poor opinion of agriculture, and only
[55] the poorer sibs practice it. The one fertile part of the peninsula is near Punta Espada. Here the land is well cultivated, and plantains, maguey, onions, coca, sugarcane, and grain are grown. Tobacco, bananas, maize, gourds, manioc, sweetpotatoes, millet, beans, and watermelons also are raised. Those who own cattle grow only small patches of quick-maturing corn for the purpose of making chicha beer.

22 **Hunting, fishing, and gathering.**—Hunting, fishing, and gathering occupy a minor place. Deer, armadillos, land tortoises, and rabbits are

/xiv cont./

124 individuals as informants, both men and women, in various parts of La Guajira Peninsula, the natural habitat of the Indians to whom we refer. They have, consequently, at least a margin of sufficiently high reliability, as the check thus obtained allowed for the clarification, confirmation, and correction of all data which were taken down in the preliminary study.

114 We would have liked to start this monograph with a description however brief of the geographical surroundings in which the Indians of La Guajira live, but on this subject we would refer the reader to the previous number of this review in which he will find an article written by my husband, licentiate Roberto Pineda Giraldo, entitled Aspects de la Magia en la Guajira /Aspects of Magic in La Guajira/, in which there is a brief summary of the geography of the peninsula. However, in some of the chapters of this treatise certain references to the geography of the peninsula will be found, as we have considered them to be indispensable for clearing up certain social and economic phenomena which otherwise would have remained obscure, because the economy, as will be gathered from reading this present work, plays a very important part in the functioning of Guajiro institutions.

128 The reader, furthermore, will find certain repetitions in the different aspects treated herein, but this is also due to our desire to leave nothing ambiguous or unclear. Many of the conflicting situations faced by the individual, occurring at different times and in regard to various legal institutions, have given rise to different reactions and phenomena which we felt needed clarification, and consequently we have been obliged to repeat them on the different occasions when they have had to be considered.

58 It may also be observed that the chapter on marriage is the
182 longest of all, and it is in that very chapter that most repetitions and references to past and future reported situations will be found. Marriage in La Guajira may be considered to be the basis of all social organization, for it is via marriage /xv/

/xv cont./

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182

-- the basis of the family -- that the individual makes contact with other family cells, with different clan groups, and, together, with the social group in general. It can be affirmed without fear of error that marriage is, both directly and indirectly, vitally important to the whole social organization of La Guajira, to its economic systems as well as to aspects of the spiritual life of the community, as in it one finds the security and stability of the clan group, the fundamental basis of La Guajira organization. On looking into certain aspects of customary law among these indigeneous people, one can appreciate that this is effective only if the clan group which considers itself the injured party has sufficient power to enforce the required compensation payments, or indemnities; otherwise, the law will not function. And, as it is the clan and, in the final analysis, the small family group which has to stand up to aggressions against the code for individual and collective security, making itself in this way the true representative of the individual, one can gather how great is the importance of the institution of marriage in Guajiro life.

We do not wish to finish this introduction without recording our grateful appreciation to the director of the Instituto Etnológico Nacional, licentiate Luis Duque Gómez, for all the facilities he has put at our disposal in making this study and to our fellow expedition members, who at all times assisted us in the collection of data. We are also especially indebted to my husband, licentiate Roberto Pineda Giraldo, who supplied various reports obtained in the field for this study, and who at all times lent his collaboration in its ordering and presentation. /xvi/

/57 cont./

881 will soon be bought with heads of cattle. This signifies that her value will be high, such as corresponds to a woman of standing. She likewise takes great care that her hair does not fall into strange hands, as it is believed that it might be used [882] by some man who wants to do her harm by making with it a magic charm which would have the quality of causing her to fall in love with him; he on his part would scorn her and abuse her, as she would be left submissive to his will.

After the haircutting she is dressed in the traditional costume of an adult woman and is decked out with the customary jewelry and ornaments in accord with her family rank. She receives this jewelry from her mother, from her maternal aunts, and from her grandmother, and they are placed on her by the woman charged with caring for her or by a well-to-do kinswoman, so that they may never be lost. After this, they apply the facial painting, also for the first time, which, it being a feast day, should be made from red annatta /bija/. Then she makes her appearance at the feast, and she may dance and be courted. At this moment, crucial for her life, she must give signs of adult capabilities, showing evidence of the worth of the years of her novitiate, not only in the physical aspect of her fair skin and dark hair, in her mature figure, in her dress and ornaments, but also in the proper fulfillment of cultural patterns. The relatives carry on the feast as long as they can or think in keeping with their position. Afterward, the woman, ready now for marriage and motherhood, starts to comply with the patterns established in her culture for the adult woman.

Summarizing, we can say that the initiation of young 881 women has the following characteristics: /58/ 882

1. It has the significance of a new birth, preceded by a process of spiritual-physical transformation which converts the girl into an adult woman.

2. It is a system of preparation for adult social life, in the sense that /by its means/ are acquired knowledge of proper cultural patterns.

/58 cont./

881 182 3. It represents a period of apprenticeship during which she acquires mastery of the general techniques of the culture and the specific ones pertaining to her family.

4. From the knowledge obtained from the past history of her consanguineous family group, the initiate is identified with it, giving rise to the reaffirmation of the bonds of union, as an adult member participating in it.

5. It is a period of preparation for the perfect fulfillment of the socio-physical function of motherhood.

6. Lastly, it constitutes a thorough training in the biological and social functions of the woman in carrying out well her role as a wife. /59/

IV

PREMARITAL CONSIDERATIONS

562 Independence of the man. In the Guajiro family organization the man occupies a privileged position which is apparent from his childhood onward.

The father, as we have seen, hopes that his first-born will be a boy, and the maternal family also cheerfully accepts that wish, as it is the male elements that strengthen and give prestige to the family, who defend it in disputes with other groups, and who can help the group forward as a powerful economic factor.

For these reasons Guajiro boys are reared with more freedom and privileges than girls. In the absence of the father, the eldest son, or in any case the male child, takes the father's place in important matters in the home, being consulted by his mother, who respects his opinion, and he occupies his father's place and has his privileges at meals.

[146 cont.]

174 If we accept the idea that the Guajiro are descended from
192 the Arawak of the Guianas, with whom they are intimately con-
776 nected both by their language and culture, there is nothing
821 strange to be found in the formation of the name Mareiwa from
mali, male (the l and the r do not exist in the Guajiro language),
and fwa, words that are used to name stars and in consequence
must be related to the general Arawak cosmogony. In any case,
776 the linguistic association of star-rain-god-divinity confirms the
824 statement which we have made that Mareiwa [147] is none other
than the propitiatory spirit of the rains, and by the same token,
that of good harvests, of abundance, and of well-being.

132 The harsh geographical conditions of La Guajira and the
182 technical incapacity of the native to dominate and put them
776 in his service without incurring the great inconveniences which
are above all occasioned by the climate, have caused this
being (Mareiwa) to be raised to first position in the category of
[233 protector spirits of the community. Also, the changes brought
178] about in their economy during past centuries have contributed to
this advance in status, because since the introduction of stock
grazing, winter has become more and more indispensable for
the maintenance of pasture, without which the stock would
suffer serious losses. We have no data relating to the myths or
178 religion of these Indians at the time of the Conquest but what
776 *we have unearthed and the fact that there is a veritable confu-*
sion with respect to the origin and functions of Mareiwa point
to the fact that, in a certain way, the Guajiro are living in a
state of transition with regard to their divinities, we might al-
most say a moment of true creation of their gods which has not
yet been definitively achieved, and for which contact with
western civilization has created difficulties which by now are
practically insurmountable.

775 Wanurú. As we referred extensively to the wanurú when
we were speaking of sickness and the shaman, we shall add only
a few details here and systematize the knowledge we have ac-
quired about this matter up to now.

1. The wanurú can harm the Guajiro bodily and spiritu-
ally, bodily by means of such sicknesses as attack men, animals,

[151] Conclusions

177 Magic shows itself to be one of the strongest institutions
771 of Guajiro culture despite the fact that, as we have shown
789 throughout this study, it is gradually losing its importance in proportion to the lowering of the shaman's prestige as the spiritual leader of the group. This is due to the already mentioned factors of proletyzing and acculturation on a rising scale, brought about by the influence of a continually increasing number of civilizado elements in the peninsula, as well as by the consequences of the acculturation experienced by the members of the society. However, it is magic that still dominates many of the aspects of the native's daily life, not to say the greater part, and it is this that we are trying to synthesize and briefly explain in this chapter.

132 1. Economy. The Guajiro's life, as we saw in the Intro-
182 duction is strictly dependent on the tyrannically dominating cli-
771 mate, given the conditions of the peninsula where this commun-
789 ity lives, relying as they do on the seasonal fluctuations of rain to which they have adapted their system of agriculture and stock grazing, essential sources of their economy. As the people's livelihood directly depends on these, the Guajiro, lacking the higher techniques of irrigation and water conservation, puts his hope of survival in methods of magic, whether they be personal, collective, or directly exercised by the curer-magician of the community. These are no other than the exorcisms carried out by the latter to attract the rains in the long summers by invoking his protector spirits and especially Mareiwa, the personification of good and of rain; or the adoration and ceremonies in honor of the iguana carried out by private individuals with the same end in view; or, in short, all the methods of magic we have enumerated in connection with the natural phenomenon of rain.

[341 Also in respect to the economy we must remember the
460] presence of women when the sowing of crops is done, which establishes a division of work by sex based on the magic association of the transmission of feminine fecundity to the seeds.

177 [152] Moreover, faced with the new phenomenon of stock
228 grazing, the native has adapted his magic methods to this, im-
789 posing the same or similar treatments used for the members of the

[152 cont.]

177 community, especially in cases of illness and pestilences, as can be seen in the section "Shamanistic treatment of animals" in
253 Chapter II. If, on one hand, stock grazing partly changed some
789 of the social system related to magic, on the other hand, at the same time it has also felt the influence of this institution to the point of acquiring its own characteristics which differentiate it from other systems of stock grazing, which follow, in general, the lines laid down by the Spanish colonists. Magic is sui generis and plays its part today, as the oldest institution can, in Guajiro culture.

789 Moreover, not only in the collective sense but in the individual, the action of magic on the economy shows itself very clearly in the charm [contra] to make oneself rich, which we have described in detail in Chapter VI and which, as is logical within the Guajiro social dynamic, is connected to such important social matters as status, as we shall see later.

In the chapter which we have called "Magic as the Origin of the Theater in La Guajira," we may also see the effectiveness [774] of magic in the private economy, since the owner of a piece of cultivated land is the one who organizes at his own expense the dance and fiesta given to attract the blessing of the good spirits, of Mareiwa on the crops, which require sufficient rain and certain climatic conditions to ripen. So great is their confidence that they believe that the more solemn the ceremony of the Dance of the Kid, the more benefit will be received from the spirits they invoke and fete, and the greater the probability of success for the harvest.

182 2. Society. Guajiro society, as we have said, has transferred a great part of the responsibility for its survival and
619 stability to magic and has a tranquil confidence in it, convinced
789 of its effectiveness and holding firmly to an institutional determinism which only now is beginning to break down fundamentally. The cultural institution of magic represents to the individual Guajiro a system of life, thought, and belief which unites him to his group as much as does the consanguineous tie and the established clan system. Magic is the general and generalized institution, essentially independent of the characteristic social divisions

[152 cont.]

182 brought about by the family and clan organization; it embraces
789 all the community without distinction and influences and de-
[619] termines it in many of its aspects. [153]

For this reason magic is bound up closely with their regimen for personal security and collective stability in three ways: 1) because it establishes a series of preventative norms aimed at defending the individual and the community from possible evils provoked by the concurrence of natural or supernatural, physical or psychic phenomena; 2) because it possesses adequate methods of treating the evils, which the individuals of the community, by transgressing the cultural patterns, bring upon themselves, thus affecting them in their persons or interests; 3) because it instills the belief in the community that any infraction of the established norms can provoke abnormal happenings which work against their stability.

182 We would say, then, that in the first place the shaman
+956 with his methods of magic is an institution created to maintain, defend, and even restore the regimen of stability to the community and its members as will be seen by the short enumeration of the following facts.

a) Medication for illness to restore the health of the patients.

b) Propitiation of the rains, indispensable for agriculture, the growth and conservation of pastures (the essential factor for stock grazing), and the maintenance of fresh water in the wells and water holes, as much for the use of the members of the community as for the sustenance of the stock.

c) Warding off pestilences and epidemics, both in humans and in animals, directed first to the saving of life among the individuals of the community and second to the defense of their interests represented by the stock -- the support of their economy and of their existence.

d) Prevention of the effects of dreams, which within Guajiro mental mechanics correspond to actual realities as revelations of the future, anticipatory announcements of things that are going to happen within the community and which will affect one or
[982] more persons in their social group. This is one of the origins, as we have seen, for the animal sacrifices which have so much importance in the daily lives of these Indians.

[153 cont.]

182 *756 e) Defense of the community and the individual from the harmful influence of evil spirits, an influence which largely expresses itself in personal and communal illnesses.

554 *756 In exchange for all these services given by the shaman, the community offers him as payment, on one hand, their backing, respect, admiration, and even fear, and on the other hand, material goods which consolidate his status of privilege, such as necklaces, cloth, jewels in general, animals, and money.

• • •

182 741 [154] In accordance with the previously established division between magic and the foretelling of the future in Chapter IV, we should now state that the diviner, like the shaman, serves to maintain, defend, and restore the regimen for individual security and collective stability, an affirmation which we have based on the following functions which he performs:

a) Discovery through divination of the causes of illnesses, thus permitting the prescribing of adequate medication, with great probability of success for the patient, who is generally a child.

b) Also through divination the restoration of lost objects [685] and the discovery of the thief — factor in the breaking of the regimen for personal security — so that the thief may suffer the penalties with which society punishes those who violate the cultural norms concerning personal property.

[787] c) Divination by which, when husbands are absent from home, their state of health can be ascertained and their wives can provide them with rapid and effective help.

d) Determination, in the last instance, of a novice's "vocation" or lack of "vocation" in the science of shamanism, a decision which is of great importance for the community in general, since on it depends whether the community has in its future magician a defender of its regimen for stability, a counselor and spiritual director, or, on the contrary, a charlatan on whom the protector spirits have not descended to illuminate him and who

182 [154 cont.]
791 is for this reason most probably a moral and material fraud.

We have to remember that there are two fundamental facts
756 with respect to divination: 1) that the shaman can be both
787 things, magician and diviner, which increases his position and prestige; and 2) that any individual can learn for his personal use and the good of others the methods of divination, which do not require, as they do in the case of the shaman, the illumination and constant presence of the protector spirits who exercise their domination over the individual in whom they dwell and whom they submit entirely to their will.

• • •

182 Ordinary magic, that is, that which does not depend on
626 the shaman or the diviner, but is rooted in popular belief and
789 is like a code of preventative norms tending to avoid the breaking of institutionalized cultural patterns, is also a true regimen for [155] stability. It clearly indicates that if this or that norm is violated, the individual will suffer the punishment in himself, in his offspring, or in his family group, such as, for example:

a) nonattendance at burials, not assisting in the digging of graves, not looking on the lowering of bodies into the grave, etc., on the part of both parents when the woman is pregnant.

b) The prohibition against approaching children or sick people after having touched a corpse.

c) The precautions that a pregnant woman should take on meeting a snake.

d) The ceremony that should be practiced with the corpse of a first-born child.

e) The restriction imposed on a pregnant woman's husband regarding hunting with modern firearms.

f) Finally, the observation of all those norms whose violation may adversely affect the actual birth or the health of the newborn baby by causing the mother to be upset and ill before or during childbirth.

g) We may also see this action of magic in the use of different kinds of charms (fetishes, amulets, talismans), in the express prohibition of not pronouncing the personal name of an

[155 cont.]

182 626 789 individual or of the dead, in the aspect which we have called "Omens and Augural Birds," in the behavior followed by individuals who wish to call up a breeze during a windless calm at sea or to send away eclipses and lightning which, according to their belief, are malevolent.

• • •

789 595 A very interesting aspect of magic is its use for and against some of the cultural institutions and their institutionalized patterns; for example, the use of love charms and the compliance with certain norms after the period of seclusion accompanying the ceremonies at the time of a young woman's initiation. Her aim is to fight against polygamy, with a view either to obtaining predominance over other wives or, better, to prevent the man who has acquired her for his wife from acquiring more women with whom she would have to share his life. Possibly due to the influence of acculturation, there is a tendency toward monogamy on the part of the women. The men, however, tend toward polygamy for prestige, since for it they must have a good economical position, as the price of women is high, increasingly so the greater their social position.

[177] [654]

751 771 881 [156] *Another institution that we see directly affected by* magic is this same initiation of young women. We saw how the death of a first-born child required a series of ceremonies to prevent future children dying at birth, one after the other, and we stated that one of the principal ceremonies consisted in the observance of certain norms which bring to mind very clearly the initiation of the young mother. Their idea would seem to be that one of the causes of the death of the first-born was the deficient carrying out of the magic-biological-social ceremonial to which the girl must submit to prepare for her life as an adult.

[764]

764 775 771 626 Also the norms relating to the dead and the belief in a life beyond the grave rest almost exclusively on magic, and through it their prestige and their functioning are kept up. Magic is also the cause of the fear and respect which relatives and friends show to their dead, and it is magic which also promotes all the ceremonial rites that are celebrated in this connection.

[158 cont.]

262 meat of animals sacrificed during the wake of a deceased member of the family. The murderer's self-denial of all solid food in his daily diet is another proof of the intervention of magic in the aspect of the Guajiro's nourishment. The ceremonies of propitiation for rain and the ripening of the harvests are other palpable demonstrations of the intervention of magic in this way.

[789]

754 c) And, finally, in relation to aggression, we see the very marked influence of magic, particularly in the charms which are 789 used to cause injury to certain people: for example, those made of a young woman's hair, the blood of a hummingbird, the tail of a dog, and achiote to make a girl fall in love with a man who later intends to betray her; or the one used by women who, having bought a talisman from a woman expert in those matters, place it in the clothes of a man whom they wish to harm after acquiring an old sandal of his and burning it, so as to cause him ● 182 bodily and mental injury. Furthermore, magic forewarns and 787 allows an individual to foresee the acts of aggression of which 789 he or a clan or a family group is going to be the victim by the interpretation of the shaman's dream or that of a private person, as was seen in the section "Magic and dreams" in Chapter VIII. The effect of magic on the regimen for individual security and collective stability tends to be that of saving the person or the group, as the case may be, from acts of aggression on the part of potential enemies, such acts being foreseen through magic means properly interpreted.

Names of Plants and Animals

Plants:

104 achiote (Bixa orellana)
192 ahuyama [squash] (Cucurbita máxima)
824 artemisia (f. Synanthrae or Compositae)
indigo (f. Leguminosae)
cardon (Pilocereus atroviridis)
mahogany cedar (fam. Cedrilaceae, Sp. Mahogoni of Linnaeus)
lupine (Abrus precatorius) [Indian licorice]

9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
SC13 Goajiro SC13

cordial, no fights or even harsh words between them was ever noticed, and when Perez was arrested, as mentioned before, his wife showed great concern and distress and did everything possible to have him released from jail and brought home. Still the question of how much real affection, especially on Perez's part, is involved in this marriage cannot be answered with certainty. As regards the grantings of favors to the Guajiro, it is obvious that he makes a careful selection and never or hardly ever grants them to individuals who could not, in the future, be of some help to him.

Whether or not Perez will attain a position of respect and leadership such as Panchito Silva and José de la Rosa Fernandez enjoy is hard to say, but the writer will try to make an analysis of the situation and draw certain tentative conclusions.

There is no doubt that clan leadership with all its privileges and responsibilities is slowly dying out in the Guajira. Among the 25 odd clans existing at present the writer has met only two individuals who have all the earmarks of a true economic, political, and social leader, namely, Panchito Silva and José de la Rosa Fernandez. Informants have told him that there are two others, the heads of the Epinayú and the Epieyú clans living in the upper Guajira and in Colombia respectively. From what information was gathered these two other leaders fit closely to the pattern described for Silva and Fernandez. The remainder of the clans have no true, powerful leaders, although they do have elder members who are more or less respected and consulted in certain clan matters. Around the turn of the century, however, according to the information gathered first hand from old men like Silva and Fernandez, and from the literature, there were at least twenty powerful leaders among the clans.

Undoubtedly one of the contributing factors to the breakdown of clan leadership has been the great horizontal movement in population among the Guajiro in the last fifty years. Such spread would tend, naturally, to break down the regional characteristics of the clan and ultimately help to bring about a loss of personal contact between a leader and the rest of his clan and hence the loss of control. Whether there are other economic, social, or political factors in operation favoring this breakdown is not fully known. The writer suspects that there may be but this problem would need further intensive investigation. The

9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
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writer hopes in future researches to complete the picture of leadership among the Guajiro and the present breakdown in their social organization.

As mentioned above, traditional form clan leadership is obtained either through inheritance or by selection made by a council of elders. Perez's case is entirely different and he has followed white culture means and ways, more or less, in obtaining leadership in Guajiro society irrespective of clan organization. In other words, he has become, in certain aspects, a leader of the Guajiro as a whole and not of a particular clan. It is to be expected that as more and more Guajiro individuals go to Maracaibo for higher education, these new methods, such as those utilized by Perez, of attaining status will become stronger and will also be a contributing factor in the final breakdown of the traditional clan leadership. Some years must pass, however, to determine conclusively whether this is the path that leadership in the Guajira will take. At the moment four important clans still have their traditional leaders—the Pushiana, Uriana, Epinayú, and Epieyú—with strong and well definied heirs to their present leaders; and as long as the inheritance lines remain firm, clan leadership among these four clans will cling to the traditional. The rest of the clans, having lost their lines of inheritance and lacking men of strong personality to become their unquestioned leaders, will tend, we predict, to fall in step with new leaders of the Perez type. Such leaders will, undoubtedly, become more numerous as the acculturation processes go forward.

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6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
SC13 Goajiro SC13

Reciprocal Relations of Maternal Uncle and Nephew

604 The general attitude of the maternal uncle toward his nephew is one of giving; and that of the nephew, one of receiving.

428 Let us first deal with inheritance. Theoretically, the rule
604 is that the maternal uncle must leave all of his property, both
183 personal and in the form of cattle, to his oldest sister's eldest son.
431 All his other nephews,—other sons of the same sister or sons of other sisters,—are left out of the inheritance. This is the rule. However, in practice it seldom works, as the maternal uncle during his life continues to transfer his property in the form of gifts to his own male children, so that at the time of his death there is nothing, or very little, left of his property to be inherited by his nephew, unless the uncle is a very rich man. Only among the wealthy class has the uncle always something left to bequeath to his nephew. For this he does not need a will as it falls within the proscribed rule mentioned above. The following cases are illustrative.

428 Ilaro is the eldest son of a man named Rafael living at Uribia,
431 and, like his mother, belongs to the Arpushaina sib. Ilaro's
604 mother is the elder of the two sisters of Calleja, who in turn is the eldest of five siblings,—two sisters and three brothers. Thus Ilaro, his mother, and his uncle Calleja are all seniors. Calleja is not looked upon as a rich man, although he is well
[556] fixed and belongs to the middle class. Ilaro, however, does not expect much, if any, inheritance from his uncle and is aware
[234] that the latter has been transferring most of his cattle,—the most valuable possession in Guajiro eyes,—in the form of gifts to his own sons. The writer visited Ilaro's uncle who lives
[422] nearby and saw the cattle already branded with his son's personal brand. Ilaro is not at all concerned about the property of his other uncles as their property will pass automatically to their own children.

This next case illustrates a different situation. Pacheco is a very rich man who lives in Carraipia. He has a nephew,—the senior maternal nephew,—who lives there also. Pacheco has a son of his own and the present writer observed that some of Pacheco's cattle have already been branded for his son, but

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
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604 Regarding the marriage of the senior nephew, the maternal
584 uncle plays no prescribed part, unless the prospective bride comes from a very wealthy family and consequently the bride price is quite high. In such cases the uncle is expected to help
(583) with a small donation to meet the price. Although this is expected from him he has no say whatsoever in the selection of the bride. The bride price in its entirety, or certainly in major part, is paid by the father of the bridegroom. The influence of the uncle, even if he has happened to help pay part of the bride price, is practically zero. This is the rule, but naturally in-
(183) dividual deviations from it are found. The case of Camilo is again illustrative of this. Although he is not contemplating marriage for the present, Camilo told the present writer that once he had made up his mind to get married he would go to his uncle for advice. No other such cases came to the attention of the writer, but speaking with other informants on this subject he was invariably told that such cases do often occur and that they are not out of the ordinary. However, this is not prescribed behavior and arises only from personal regard or affection.

604 There is a prescribed pattern of conduct that both the senior maternal uncle and the senior nephew must observe when in each other's company, regardless of what personal sentiments they have for each other. If there are other people around the nephew must always keep silence if his uncle is speaking and if the nephew wants to say something he must first ask permission of his uncle. This permission is asked by the nephew rising from his seat or, if he is already standing, by tapping his uncle on the arm. The uncle is at complete liberty to grant or refuse the permission; however, a refusal was never witnessed by the present writer. In all ways the nephew must show respect and conduct himself with propriety. If he, in any way, should fail
604 to conform, he would be severely criticized, not only by his
626 uncle but also by the rest of the company, whether they were relatives or not. On the other hand, the uncle must not laugh at his nephew,—although he may laugh with him,—and if his nephew says something wrong he must correct him in such a way that his nephew would not feel hurt. Should the uncle do otherwise he would be subjected to criticism, not by his nephew, but by the rest of the company.

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
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604 the niece the giver. Another difference is that while the giving-receiving relation in the uncle-nephew situation is between the senior nephew and his senior maternal uncle, in the uncle-niece situation it is between the senior maternal uncle and all the daughters of all his sisters.

In the senior maternal uncle-niece relationship the whole
(928) question of inheritance is out of the picture, as in Goajiro culture the woman, regardless of her status, cannot inherit. The nieces never expect and never get anything from any of their uncles in the way of inheritance or otherwise. Consequently we can discuss economic expectations on the part of the nieces as a motivating factor. Their behavior toward their senior maternal uncle is the resultant of other factors. The senior maternal uncle being on his part the receiver of benefits may act from affection or regard, or from selfish or other motives, or combinations thereof.

604 The senior maternal uncle receives material profits from all
583 of his sisters' daughters through the bride price. The bride price, however big or small, must be paid to the senior maternal uncle of the bride, while he on the other hand does not contribute anything toward the dowry which the bride must present to the bridegroom. The bride price must always be paid in cattle, while the dowry usually consists of gifts of clothing, household goods, hammocks, etc. Consequently the senior maternal uncle is very much interested in the marriage of his nieces and sees that they marry advantageously. He may accept or reject
584 a prospective bridegroom at will, and the girl has to conform
(193) and to say nothing in the matter. This is the theory and to a great extent the practice, although there are cases in which the uncle has given in on the insistence of the niece or of the prospective bridegroom or of both, and a few cases of elopement have also come to the notice of the present writer. As previously mentioned, all of this concerns only the senior maternal uncle and all the daughters of all his sisters; the other uncles, maternal or other, have no say in the matter.

604 The following cases will serve as illustrations. Estrella is
584 the daughter of Rafaelita's oldest sister. They all belong to the wealthy class. She is now of marriageable age—about 15

/46 cont./

857 462 222 482 iguarayas, and trupillo pods, as well as in gathering divi-divi, which is sold in the port towns for export; their labor is used for portering (women's work): they carry on their backs or shoulders the collected fruit, the firewood, and the water when the family does not own the necessary animals.

When ten or over the girl, taught by her elder kinswomen, starts to handle the spindle and loom, work in which she perfects herself during the seclusion of her initiation.

857 184 556 In general her occupations during childhood are affected by the economic and social position of her relatives, since a child of a well-to-do family will spend her childhood playing, without occupying herself with domestic chores except occasionally, since she is not considered as a small-sized adult as happens among poor families, but as a little girl, and she is treated as such. Certain light duties might be imposed but never a definite or clear-cut responsibility. She is expected to obey, mainly so that she recognize the authority of her elders, but when she enters the prepubertal age her mother and relatives start to take a more personal interest in her and to think it to be the opportune time to start training her in the duties pertaining to her position and her sex, teaching her all the household occupations that she will later improve on and become expert in during her seclusion, which will last longer the greater the wealth of the family.

264 592 Food, sleep, dress, and ornaments. Even before weaning, when this is delayed beyond the first year, or at times before, the child starts being fed adult food. By that time he asks his mother for food and she gives it to him, when he is small, more generously than she can at a later date; but later on he himself looks for it and, in order to satisfy his hunger, frequently steals food from his mother that she has put away, and this obliges the mother to hide it. (Cf. Punishment, Chap. II.)

The apportioning of food in a Guajiro household is done by the mother, who serves each one his share, starting with the husband, afterward the children, she being the last to eat. If she has a preference for a child, she shows it at this time by

/56 cont./

The duration of the seclusion was longer in past years, longer than at the present time, and there still may be found cases among rich families where this period is extended to five years, but normally among poor families it may last only one month or even less, and in the middle-income group it averages six months to one year.

Once the family in conclave or the mother and the aunts decide to terminate the seclusion, the final feast is given, in which the girl appears and behaves as an adult. She is presented as such, and she is given the opportunity to occupy the place of, and to take part in the activities corresponding to, a marriageable young girl. Frequently at this feast some interested guest may offer to buy her for his wife.

The news of the "coming out" of the young girl is rapidly spread throughout the peninsula. All the friends of the family arrive at the feast, as also the important people of the region, who have been invited beforehand, and, very specially, all the well-to-do marriageable men. If the woman is of estimable qualities and talents, /57/ those who are looking for a wife for the first time attend. The family preparations for such a feast are very complete, according to their status. There is an abundance of drinks for all, men and women, music for dancing, horse racing when they want to give more splendor to the gathering, and slaughtering of animals. The maternal relatives make their donations and meet to help their relatives in the fulfillment of the customary norms of hospitality. The more important visitors are received in the house itself and given preferential attention, according to their standing. The girl is bathed for the last time at dawn with the traditional earthen jugs of water, and her hair is cut in the fashion, that is to say, leaving it a short, disheveled mop. This is done by an experienced woman of eminence who can transmit her excellent personal qualities to the girl. The latter carefully keeps her hair in her bag with her intimate personal possessions and later places it under fresh cow dung with the hope that the

/131 cont./

844 wrapped in clothes either specially prepared for the event or improvised. The umbilical cord has already been tied by the midwife, and in the cases of unaided childbirth the mother does this herself, even cutting it with a splinter of wood and tying it as best she can with a vegetable fiber.

984 The midwife or the mother takes the afterbirth out of the house
844 and throws it some distance away (a custom of Upper La Guajira) so that it shall be lost. They believe that if they bury it the newborn baby will have bad luck, will sicken and slowly die practically by wasting away. Nevertheless, there are regions, as in Uribia, where the custom prevails of burying it outside the house; in other parts, as in Jarara, the usual way is to put it under a fireplace /fogón/, which is then lit to give strength to the child and ward off infantile sickness.

845 When the delivery shows signs of complications or is abnormally delayed, the male consanguineous relatives in the house are asked to help by lifting up the woman by her armpits during the spasms of labor pains and by this means accelerate the process. Her husband may help at these moments, but at the present time children, youths, and virgins are not allowed to be present, although there are regions, such as Jarara, where the woman gives birth in a passageway or under the *ramada* /bough-covered shelter/, in full view of everyone, even her small children. There is no concern at all over this matter; childbirth is considered a normal phenomenon and unmarried women may also be present. /130/

[854] Rich and powerful women go to Maracaibo to have their children when their previous births have been difficult, as there they have clinics and doctors at their disposal.

844 Midwives. The midwife is a woman, usually married, who has lived her own professional experiences and has had further experience among her consanguineous relatives. Practice, inborn ability, and empirical knowledge of the phenomenon give these women a certain technique which makes them so famous that their services are greatly in demand. Some of them also know what care and attention the pregnant woman should receive as regards

/167 cont./

his maternal uncle, and his most immediate relatives in the family circle, but he is required to obey those legal forms which offer him the protection and mutual aid of the same relatives from whom he is becoming emancipated. This freedom is limited for the male to economic independence and his first marriage. For the woman, relative emancipation from the family comes with marriage; even after being initiated she must submit, perhaps more than before, to the prescriptions and orders of her relatives; but on being married she becomes somewhat free from direct family control, although she also has to respect new cultural patterns and a new authority: that of her husband.

Once the daughters are married the mother, although she may try to exercise dominion over the running of the homes that these are establishing, must in any case make her voice heard; her influence is felt through the conduct of the daughters. If the new couple goes to live with the mother, according to the traditional form of matrilocal residence, or if the newly married sons take their brides to their maternal home, a common occurence among mestizos, the mother does not hand over the reins of family administration, either to her daughters or to her daughters-in-law. When she dies and each one of these forms her own home, each will take on the direction of the family administration and will follow the same norms. With respect to the matter of marital authority, we abstain from repeating the observations already made and refer the reader to the chapter, Marriage.

The authority that Guajiro fathers have over their children depends on their position before them. They are not considered consanguineous relatives, and consequently their authority is very limited. The children may not take their fathers' side for this reason, but they must respect them as older persons. The father is limited in his rights by the maternal uncle who takes his place and by the mother. He may not hurt his children because he has no rights over them, since they are not of his blood. Nevertheless, in a certain way he

[44 cont.]
764 him on his journey and which remain his only possessions, since
784 the rest will be distributed among his heirs — take on the quality
778 of untouchables.

782 2. The poisoned arrow. The second sacrifice about which
789 we gathered information has a greater importance than the previous one for two reasons: first, because it is the sacrifice of a human being, and second, because it is linked to a series of ceremonies set in motion to obtain a certain end, the deadly power of the imára, or poisoned arrow, or better said, the magic arrow.

This sacrifice, so far as we could observe, is no longer
101 practiced in La Guajira. According to the information
105 gathered, it was practiced exclusively by the Kusina Indians,
184 inhabitants of the sierra of that name. They were bellicose
782 Indians, warriors, robbers, and animal stealers, who kept the other communities of the peninsula in an incessant state of tension by their attacks and evil-doings. We think it interesting to point out here that these Indians, commonly known as Cocina, according to all the information obtained did not constitute in themselves a separate cultural group. Their language was the same as that of the other Guajiro; their customs were relatively the same, and their physical type identical. Everything seems to indicate that they were no more than social outcasts, all those who, for crimes committed and not paid for in accordance with established laws, had found it necessary to unite themselves into societies outside the law. The question is not entirely clear, and it will be difficult to make it so because Kusina Indians are no longer found in La Guajira.

411 Bows and arrows stood out among the arms used by the Guajiro, (We say "stood" out because now they chiefly use rifles of foreign make). One of these arrows, which they call poisoned, bears the name of imára. The shaft of this arrow is made of a thin piece of wood taken from the tree called parára and measures approximately 80 centimeters in length. At the upper end of this sharpened shaft is placed poison of a ray
411 or the bone of a poisonous serpent. This imára is what the Kusina
648 Indians used as a last resort in their battles with Whites or with
921

[104 cont.]

226 751 Never again during our visit did we come across this type of magic object, which leads us to believe that it does not belong to the Guajiro cultural whole, but that it is due rather to [177 184] the influence of the mulattoes of the coast who, as is well known, are extremely superstitious.

Charms used to call spirits. The use of these charms, to 756 which we have referred on other occasions, is limited to shamans. 778 They use them to facilitate the arrival of their protector spirits when they are in a curing trance or are carrying out any of the functions related to their status. Up to the present we have not arrived at a satisfactory explanation of their influence on the spirits, but we might now bring together the few data we do have. One of the female shamans who served us as informant and who [776] came from the Sierra [de] Jarara possessed charms to attract her spirits. She explained to us that as those spirits are assistants, some to young shamans, some to old ones, the charms to facilitate the arrival of their spirits are also of two classes: for young shamans and the other for old ones.

The charm is made from the leaf of a plant called in Guajiro [824] morõno, which is found in abundance on Itojoro Hill. A woman expert in such articles makes them there [105] by grinding the leaves of the plant to a paste and shaping this into a rounded form which she keeps in a small bag of red thread. The larger ones are reserved for the older shamans, and the others, combined with some of the former, are for the younger.

778 The guará or guale. The guará or guale, difficult to find at 789 present, is a kind of idol made from solid gold or silver and of [325] which only a few examples exist as they are no longer made. This [532] small idol is an anthropomorphic representation in fetal position, and it does not seem to be an autochthonous product of the Guajiro as they themselves assert that these idols come from their [173] distant ancestors, by which they mean the Arhuaco of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta.

This fetish is known sometimes by the name Mareiwa, a divinity or spirit similar to the idea of God but which appears to be nothing else than the spirit of Rain, as we shall see further ahead (cf. "Mareiwa and Wanurú").

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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great ring and several of them were wiping their mouths in evident satisfaction—presumably having just been regaled with some drink.

The drum thundered a long time in vain before a young Indian stepped into the ring, removed his cloak and sandals and began to walk round in a circle—a challenge to the members of the fair sex.

Almost at once a girl appeared in the ring; removed her sandals and held her tunic spread wide with her hands. The two then began dancing: he in front, she a few yards behind. Suddenly the man gave a shout and the tempo increased. Turning swiftly the girl came sweeping down towards the man who danced away, moving backwards. She must try to get close enough to tramp on his feet and make him fall, but she must not barge him. If she managed to make her partner fall, there was great jubilation, and then a new couple took the stage. Otherwise, the girl would probably challenge her partner to a few more turns, while he answered contemptuously:

'Fetch your little sister.' (Inferring that she would manage better.)

In this way a dance continues without interruption, couple following couple. It could go on for weeks.

The well-bred Indian considers the chichamaya the only suitable dance. The monks also approved of it, since it was perfectly decent, the two dancers remaining apart the whole time. The dance is not genuinely Indian, containing both Spanish and African features, but even in its present form it retains its religious-magical significance and is part of the ritual used in certain family ceremonies and on other important occasions.

The dance of the kid is a pure folk dance. It is really a whole complex of games, dances and typical fertility rites. The good families do not allow their daughters to attend them. The law's strict sexual prohibition does not apply to those taking part in the dance of the kid, who enjoy an otherwise forbidden erotic licence. This is not approved of by the well-to-do, who still hold by the rule that a bride should be a virgin, since it can have an effect on the bride-price.

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

536 minus an amount considered equivalent for the sexual right he had exer-
[illegible] cised. If a woman dies in her first childbirth the husband may demand
583 the full return of the bride price (Simons, 1885, p. 792, however, states that the wife's relatives demand compensation from the husband).
536 Adultery entails divorce with full return of the bride price. It rarely
537 occurs, however, as the wife will be treated badly by her own relatives. At his death a man's wives are inherited by his brother, and next by his
587 sister's sons; the women may avoid this by making a payment equivalent
768 to their bride price. If he is of the Catholic faith his children may claim
189 to be his legal heirs, which leads to conflict with the maternal nephews. (See Social Organization, p. 374.)

562 The influence of women in political affairs is sometimes noticeable.
622 There are cases of female chiefs, and women are respected enough so as to be able to intervene and stop brawls.

764 **Death.**—Funerals are accompanied by festivities which last days or even
[illegible] weeks, according to the wealth of the family. There are some differences
[illegible] in the funeral ceremonies which are apparently associated with the particular sibs. These funeral feasts afford the best opportunity for display of wealth, and more than 1,000 head of livestock may be butchered. Every mourner who comes to the feast contributes animals for slaughter and continues to do so as long as he cares to remain. After the mourning period, marked by weeping and lamenting interspersed with drinking and feasting, the corpse, which has lain in a hammock slung from the rafters,
[illegible] is sewn up in hides by the women (men may not touch a dead body) and carried to the cemetery of the tribe. For a year or so, the body may be temporarily consigned to a shallow grave marked by a pile of stones. Food and drink are often placed in the grave, and, if the deceased had been a warrior, his bows and arrows are put in. A year or two later the bones
764 are exhumed and reburied in a large urn. The exhumation is generally
765 done at night and is accompanied by a feast. The remains are carried in a funeral procession to the dead person's birthplace, where they are buried in the family's own cemetery. The funeral urn is placed in a vertical position with the narrow neck of the jar protruding above ground to permit the free entry and exit of the spirit and to allow the remains of other members of the family to be added from time to time. A cactus hedge surrounds the cemetery, and in wet weather half a calabash is placed over the opening of each jar to keep out the rain. Whenever two relatives of a recently deceased person meet, they bow to the ground, shouting and groaning, for several minutes. (For a slightly different account of the burial of a rich man, see Simons, 1885, p. 792.)

761 If a person is stricken with smallpox the whole tribe moves away, only
766 the family of the sick person remaining. When the death occurs they bury the body below the floor and leave the hut over the grave.

536 (140 cont.)
776 moving along the ground. Headed by their leader they all continue to sing the song of the serpent, saying more or less the following: "I am the snake. I drag myself along the ground.
[539] I do harm to no one. But he who dares to step on me because I am on the ground gets his punishment. I bite him and wound him. At times I kill him. He has to stay in bed and suffer for a long time as a punishment for having trodden on me and for thinking that I am helpless because I drag myself along the ground...." This song is repeated several times. [141]

IX

Maretwa and Wanuri

or

Notions of Good and Evil

771 Through all the preceding chapters we have tried to explain clearly what constitutes the magic life of the Guajiro, which is almost the same as saying his spiritual life, and in passing we have mentioned the presence and activities of beings with higher powers than ordinary mortals, able to do good or evil according to which being intervenes in each particular case. We have thus touched on two fundamental ideas: good and evil.

776 Our interest is now concentrated in trying to elucidate the quality of these spirits, or supernatural beings. These can be very seriously confused owing particularly to the influence of acculturation and more specifically to the pressure exerted by missionaries in their proselytizing function. So great is the misapplication of terms and concepts in this world of ideas that we might call the religious, that even the Guajiro mythology has been transformed by the use of terms which have a pejorative and
778 degrading effect on the Guajiro people (68).

68. This statement is based on the legend which we obtained orally from

[141 cont.]

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an Indian of the Nazaret locality relating to Mareiwa and the origin of humanity, in which are presented the beginnings of the different groups of mankind: natives and foreigners. The legend states that Mareiwa created mankind and gathered them together, inviting them to a banquet. Those who complied with the forms of social etiquette (shaking hands respectfully, sitting in the right place, behaving with composure, eating according to civilized rules, using knives and forks, washing hands, etc., were turned into arijuna ("white," civilizado); those who misbehaved, who did not comply with these rituals of social etiquette, that is, those who showed they were Indians, were from that time classed as wayú ("Indians"). As can be seen, the Indian believes himself superior [sic] to the White because of these details of social etiquette, of which he is partially or totally ignorant. [142]

177 The problem arises from the fact that those two notions of
181 good and evil, represented by two classes of spirits, benign and
186 malignant, have been changed for the Catholic or general Chris-
187 tian concepts of God and devil, concepts which the native, coming more and more in contact with the Christian type of civilization has gradually come to accept in the process of his conversion to new ideas.

187 This affirmation is corroborated by various citations, taken from the writings of Catholic or Protestant missionaries as well as from those of travelers or of ethnologists who have been involved in the same confusion. To demonstrate the point we transcribe several such cases.

[53] Father de Carcagente referring to the church at Manaure says: "The Indians say to God 'Have pity upon us.' They know

/30 cont./

865 4. The child should adopt certain habits in the conduct of his relations with his parents and relatives: to listen submissively to remarks without a haughty reply or showing unwillingness to carry out orders or making gestures that might appear arrogant; never to give a rude answer to whoever gives them orders about their work; never to answer discourteously nor in a way to show displeasure or arrogance when reprehended or punished nor to run away in these circumstances, as then the punishment would be greater; never to use bad words in Spanish as that implies a double offense: that of making use of a foreign language as well as bad words as such, besides coarseness and insults between adults lead to the compensation payment, which (as all of these social payments do) falls on the relatives. /31/

[191] [195] 68

5. Besides aggressive acts toward his elders, we have those that can occur with his playmates or his own relatives and which acquire a more serious character when they affect his friends from other clans, and when from the verbal offense -- which may also have to be compensated -- they pass to fighting, because if blood should be shed the mother of the injured boy will make her claim for compensation payment (unless both combatants are hurt, in which case it is cancelled). In these cases of bloodshed, as will be seen hereafter, the relative social and economic strength or weakness of each of the clans to which the combatants belong is an important factor, as the stronger group always imposes its interpretation of justice on the weaker. These are the reasons that compel the mother to try to prevent her children from playing with those of another clan to forestall such possible claims. In spite of this, however, the boys escape her vigilant eye, ignore her orders, and manage to get together in most of their boyish activities. The prohibition to join up with boys of another clan develops also from the fact that if a boy is invited to join another group and some accident should occur, the responsibility will fall on the group of the boy who extended the invitation.

865 593 The relationship between siblings is usually peaceful especially between those of the same sex. They readily become comrades.

/64 cont./

have a serious stain placed on his prestige as a man in good financial standing and one who complies with Guajiro law. So they test, unconsciously perhaps, the feelings of the two groups who are seeking the alliance: trust on one side and solvency and good faith of the other. It is a test of friendship in which each side puts in evidence the wish of surpassing the other.

Also figured in the social valuation of a woman is her knowledge of the language as this means in Guajiro that she has palabra /literally, "word"/ (Cf. Caciques), that is to say, that she has a wide knowledge of the language and can use it adequately in delicate situations in which it is necessary to bring to bear every oratorical gift and know how to measure her words and the customary phrases in order to attain her end or to guide the discussion to a level where the facts will follow the legal line. A woman, when she has these qualities, may act as a mediator in a quarrel, and on the result favorable to the person she has represented will depend her personal aggrandizement, by which she acquires prestige and is called in to mediate in even more complicated matters, /65/ by this means increasing her personal position and that of her group and converting other clans into vassals, subservient to her will, in payment for benefits received, thus still further increasing her power which indirectly extends to her husband. This acquisition is a cause for vanity and pride in the husband.

From this talent of tener palabra /literally, "to have word"/ there emerges a series of sequences which build up the social aspect of a home. A woman who possesses that quality knows the Guajiro social protocol and can fully comply with it, thus avoiding conflicts with other groups; she also knows the legal system of the peninsula and by such knowledge can protect the interests of her family group, including her husband, so she will confine his conduct to that which is established, which eases the husband's life and his relationships with his feminine relatives. She makes possible the joining together of these two disparate elements and creates the bond of union between the

/187 cont./

683 being put in a ridiculous position, the individual demands a pay-
[102] ment that compensates him for what was said.

It is also considered offensive and therefore contrary to the regimen for personal safety if one man bits another without wounding him. There are two aspects to be considered in this act as aggravation: the physical, that is, the blow in itself, and the psychological, for the Guajiro thinks that by being bit in this way he has been reduced to the status of a slave or hand servant, and consequently he has not only been lowered in his standing as a free man but has also been placed on a plane of dependence with respect to the person who bit him. The indemnity must satisfy both offenses.

To tear someone's robe also has a double significance as an aggressive act: the material damage caused, which must be replaced by buying a new one (conduct of a drunken husband); and the psychological damage, as it is like injuring the person himself, since a person is identified with the clothes he wears.

Any damage to the property of a person is an aggressive act and punishable as such, and the indemnity should be greater than the loss, since the excess represents the grievance suffered.

* * *

688 The transgression of the legal norms illustrated in the above
191 aggressive acts against the regimen for stability in La Guajira must be paid for both by a member of the society as well as by an outsider. But there are two things which can only apply to a native individual, an active member of the Guajiro community. These two things are the following.

a) Language. The Indian very much values his native language and tries to preserve it at all cost. His women do not want to learn Spanish and pretend they do not know it when they are questioned. It constitutes in itself a grave offense if one native speaks to another in Spanish instead of his native tongue. The story is told of a Guajiro who spoke to a relative in Spanish during

/187 cont./

689 191 a family chat. The man thus addressed, greatly offended by what in Guajiro culture is considered a great insult, flogged him pitilessly, after having hung him by his hands from a tree. Later he wanted to kill him but was prevented by the onlookers. As he was a close relative he could not demand compensation payment, but he repaid himself for the offense by inflicting punishment. This was so terrible that the boy became mentally unbalanced and up to the time of our visit had not fully regained the use of his faculties. /188/

It is believed that the native who does not use his own language as a medium of expression among the other natives does not because he is ashamed of his own people and openly disowns them by substituting one language for another. Also, to accept another mode of expression indicates a superiority of the latter over the former, and of the foreign element over the native.

b) Breaking away of the individual from the consanguineous

689 family group and, in general, from the Guajiro community. This 291 is best expressed by the following facts. Some time ago, the 177 Guajiro boy educated in the mission or who emigrated to other centers was obliged to use the clothes used by civilizados /non-natives/. If he returned to his own environment again he had to use the guayuco once more and give up trousers. Nowadays, mestizos and rich Indians have adopted the use of a shirt or undershirt but without abandoning the guayuco, which has become converted into a garment of a distinctive Guajiro character. When a man from the peninsula wishes to show that he has broken with Guajiro culture, that he has thrown off affective, consanguineous, and legal ties, and that he has placed himself outside their society, he refuses to use a guayuco, which he hangs up in some noticeable place as a symbol of his break with the past. An equivalent act can be seen in the women. The Guajiro Indian woman denies that she is such when she refuses to wear the robe, but at present the significance of this rejection has weakened and is now replaced by the open abandoning of an undergarment, which corresponds to the men's guayuco, both functionally and symbolically. It is a

/237 cont./

(77) family, of status, education, etc., and with it are related phenomena as outstanding as the clan. A great portion of customary law applies to married life. The breakdown of traditional marriage has brought as a consequence, as we have affirmed in the pertinent sections, the decline of the institutions that are linked directly or indirectly with it. The greatest changes suffered by Guajiro culture are due to transformations of marriage traditional forms brought about by acculturation in recent times. /238/

• • •

II

(77) (91) But the action of acculturation has not been completely unilateral; that is, it is not only the Guajiro who has felt the influence of mestizo groups, but in his turn he has imposed some of his cultural patterns on them, which, as is logical, are hinged to the three most characteristic aspects of his culture: marriage, magic, and language. For it is certain that foreigners -- understanding by this term those who are not Guajiro -- who enter their country find themselves obliged to learn the Guajiro language in order to carry on business transactions and even to enjoy friendly relations with the natives, otherwise they will likely fail in their intent because, although the native as a general rule is acquainted with the Spanish language and handles it relatively well, he nevertheless refuses to make frequent use of it. It can be observed in the business center of Uribia, the capital of the commissary, that the business establishments most patronized by the Indian are those whose owners use Guajiro for their conversation and business. And the so-called "caciques," who in general terms are no other than Guajiro mestizos or foreigners who have acquired a strong economic position in the country, do not reach their degree of prestige until they completely master the language with its conventional turn of sentences for solemn occasions and the proper use of convincing words, as we stated in the pertinent chapter.

3: Wilbert E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 SC13 Goajira SC13
yecorant 5520

some two or three days; from that time on the girl is considered marriageable. Girls are married early and bachelors practically do not exist.

Future field work will have to disclose whether it is true that a sufficient rate of divorce has indeed not been established among the Yikuana, as our informant told us. So far we can only say that the Yikuana have a society with bilateral descent, local exogamy, matrilocal residence, Iroquois cousin terminology, and matri-dueno. In general it is rare to find Iroquois cousin terminology with bilateral descent. The matri-dueno structure, however, resulting from local exogamy and matrilocal residence, provides a perfectly good functional basis for Iroquois cousin terminology despite the absence of sufficient descent.

THE GOAJIRO KINSHIP SYSTEM

This section is intended to contribute to the study of Guajiro sociology, by giving some notes on the kinship system of this Indian group. Although some contributions, mainly with respect to the social organization of the Guajiro have been published in the past, information on their kinship system is almost completely lacking.

By chance, the author was visited by J. A. Polanko, a Guajiro Indian in his thirties, who belongs to the Gouwou group of the Wounaan part of the population "La Guajira." The informant is bilingual, speaking Spanish as a second language to his mother tongue. Although the information acquired through the help of this person has been carefully checked, it may very well be possible that certain mistakes are to be uncovered by future research.

Key:

1 mother	FaFa/FaFaSo/FaMaSo/MaFa/MaFaSo
2 father	FaFaSi/FaMa/FaMaSi/MaFaSi/MaMa/MaMaSi
3 sib	Fa/FaSo/FaSiSo/FaFaSoSo/FaFaSiSo/FaMaSoSo/ FaMaSiSo/MaSiSo/MaFaSoSo (ma)/MaFaSiSo (ma)/ FaSiSo/FaSiSoSo/FaSiSoSoSo
4 sib	Mo/FaSi/Wi/FaSi/FaFaSoDa/FaFaSiDa/FaMaSoDa/ FaMaSiDa/MaFaSoDa (ma)/MaFaSiDa (ma)/FaSiDa/ FaSiDaDa/FaSiDaDaDa
5 sibsib	MaSo/MaFaSiSo (ma)/MaMaSo/MaMaSiSo
6 sibsgrpr	MaSi/Wi (ma)/WiSi (ma)/Si/Wi (ma)
7 dist	MaSi/MaFaSiDa (ma)/MaMaSiDa/Si/Wi/MaMa
8 sociable	p.Ro
9 spouse	a.Ro/a.Si (ma)

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
BC13 Goajira BC13

our cameras up, when a plump, middle-aged Indian came rushing up and began giving the fencers orders in a stern voice. He had not noticed us.

'That's Mauana,' Francisco whispered respectfully.

Mauana was wearing only a guayuco and horse-hand, which is the genuine Goajiro garb. When he saw us, he at once spoke to us in good Spanish, which not all the chiefs know, for the Goajiro cling stubbornly to their own tongue. Mauana, of course, had heard of us. He now invited us to go with him and see how he lived.

First, we came to his plantations, which many in the peninsula must have envied him. There was a green valley, one of the oases in the semi-desert, where maize, sugar-cane and maize grew, shaded by coconut palms, mango trees and bananas. The plots were watered by narrow canals which all came from the one stream in Goajira that never ran dry.

Mauana was obviously a strict master and he ordered his slaves about like a sergeant-major, but his plantation was a model one and he was an efficient chief who maintained order in a most commendable way. Once or twice he had caught white criminals who had hidden in the hills there and sent them back to the authorities—to their great disappointment. He lived simply, as all Goajiro do, but he had an unusually well-built house that was completely roofed.

We told Mauana of the pouchi we had seen, and he used this as an excuse to give us a lesson in Indian law. Such an account of the Indians' social order and laws was both amusing and interesting, and it showed how different from ours the primitive's conception of justice can be. One knows all too well what mistakes colonial authorities have made through misunderstanding the native conception of these matters, especially of the rights of ownership.

The Indians, as has already been said, are divided into clans in which relationship follows the female line. Children thus take their mothers' names. Their fathers belong to a different clan and strictly speaking are not related to them. It is their eldest maternal uncle who is their head and guardian, and it is from him, not from their father, that they

[63 cont.]

Family group	Representative animals
Jayérlyd	dog (42)

42. It should be made clear that this animal symbol it, or must be, relatively modern, as the dog was unknown before the Conquest. The substitution of this for some other animal, we do not know which, must have occurred in the Post-conquest era for reasons unknown up to now.

Ápüiana	buzzard
S(j)uana	wasp
Soryd	cetaneja
Pfusayd	bee

The social or mythical meaning of these animals representing the extended family groups has been lost. At least we could not obtain any verbal declaration from our informants in which we could perceive the actuating presence of the totem, which is what possibly in olden times these animal figures represented. But we have in some cases been able to establish linguistic correspondence between the name of the family group and its characteristic animal. To verify this we can show some examples (43).

[114]

43. We expound this short linguistic study with some reservations since our stay in La Guajira was relatively short, two months approximately, in which length of time the study of the language scarcely reached the rudimentary stage.

1. wi or wü = make
wayd = Indian, people

[63 cont.]

	uriyé	= Indians (people of the snake)
2.	urikhiner	= people of the snake
	Wuradiru	= fish-serpent, (Arawak of Guiana) (44)

44. Taken from: Anonymous: Arawakisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch [Arawak-German Dictionary]. Copy in manuscript form in possession of the Moravian Unity of Brethren at Zeist (translated from the German by Eginhard Menghin).

[64]

	wayé	= Indian, people
	uririyé	= people of the rattlesnake
2.	uri	= snake
	ana	= (We do not know the exact meaning of this particle)
	urikna	= must be "descendant of the snake,"

or something similar. Here the linguistic correspondence between the family group and the name of its representative animal is lost to us, as the word or words to designate "jaguar" are karfiro and kénahaput. But in any case the relation with serpent is interesting.

Another case similar to the former is shown by the Wouriyé family group, which has the partridge for its representative animal. The word for this bird is pér; on the other hand, our breakdown of the word wouriyé -- bearing in mind the reservation already referred to is as follows:

w (from wa or wayé, "we")	=	our [masc., fem.]
ol	=	eye
uri	=	snake
yé (from wayé, Indian, people)	=	people

From which we can deduce that wouriyé can be translated as "people of the eye of our snake."

[64 cont.]

● 192 64 65 In the case of the Uyáraÿú group, we find another perfect correspondence between the name of the animal and that of the family group:

uyára	= cauquero (a species of deer)
ÿú	= from wayú Indian, people
uyáraÿú	= people of the cauquero

64 The foregoing demonstrates the existence within the Guajiro community of the remains of an ancient clan organization, matrilineal and totemic. We say remains because the significance of the totem, as we have noted, has almost completely disappeared, since there does not exist a fixed prohibition against killing certain animals (in this case the animal corresponding to the group) nor any ceremonial ritual related to it. We do not wish to enlarge on this subject of the existence of totems in La Guajira as this will be treated in a later thesis. We only wish to emphasize the value of the serpent in Guajiro magic for which no [64] clearer explanation can be found than the connection it maintains with the ancient beliefs related to the totem. It shows in that the greater percentage of Guajiro totemic clans are connected in their name to this creature; also that the serpent's evil effects fall directly on pregnant women, causing harm not to the children, as occurs with other animals (the fox, sparrow hawk, duck...), but directly to the mother.

64 65 66 67

* * *

65 66 The mother-to-be should also avoid seeing a sparrow hawk because if she disobeys this ruling her child will be born bleary eyed, since they say this bird is.

66 67 A pregnant woman's husband must not go hunting with a modern weapon — the rifle — since he can do this with the traditional weapon, the bow and arrow, for if he does not obey this rule, his wife's labor will be prolonged for a long time, and no remedies nor any other attempts to help her will hasten the birth in any way. When a husband has failed to obey this magico-preventative medicinal norm, it is necessary to obtain a rifle — preferably the one the husband used in his hunting —

953 [78] In the Guajiro mentality sickness, as we were able to see
952 in the corresponding sections ("Medicine and Sickness" and "Life Cycle of the Shaman"), is not something provoked by natural causes but is the consequence of the malevolent action of some special being, above all, of a spirit. So a series of beliefs, magic preventatives, have been established in order to avoid or ward off the hostile action of these spirits on the individual, as we were able to note in the chapter "Sickness and Medicine." We also saw in the matter relating to magic and sickness how certain animals, plants, and objects could be agents by contamination or participation in the cause and development of
[79] sickness. But it is particularly the spirit of the dead, offended and malevolent, that causes major disasters among the Guajiro, as is shown by their beliefs and their own preventative systems.

We can get aid from linguistics to clarify this concept.
●192 The word that the Guajiro uses for illness in general is wanurú,
953 and the same word is the one that is used for the spirit of the
955 dead -- the devil, according to all writers and even to the na-
[197] tives themselves, due to the effects of religious acculturation provoked by the Capuchin fathers. Still further, if we break
[196] down the word we find that it is formed of three special particles, wa, nun nu, which separately correspond to three different concepts: Wa is derived from the first person plural of the personal pronoun waní, which means "we"; nu, or simply u, is nothing more than the general contraction of the third person singular of the personal pronoun uú, "he," and ú is a relative particle derived from nuú or huú ü or ü according to which dialectal zone the word is taken from, which signifies "inside," "inside of," or "within." In view of the idiomatic composition of the Guajiro dialect, we can with all safety translate the word wanurú as follows: "he, inside of us." The linguistic construction therefore corresponds to a social reality: sickness, wanurú, is nothing more than that: the spirit of the dead that has entered an individual in order to cause him a particular illness for some disrespect or other that he has shown toward the spirit, or simply just because it is a malignant and vindictive spirit.

[97] The relation sickness -- death -- spirit, which will later be
955 the object of a special study on our part, can be proved through
955 linguistics in many of the aboriginal Colombian and even American
956

[97 cont.]
which we have referred on various occasions in this work.

Hunting charms. We could only acquire data about the type of talismans connected with the hunting of deer and rabbits. The object of such a talisman is a double one; on one hand, it inculcates ability and quickness on the part of the hunter who possesses it; and on the other, it exercises a restraining action on the animal he wishes to kill, as [98] according to the native belief, it stops its flight and converts it into an easy prey for the hunter.

The charm for facilitating the hunting of rabbits is made with bejuco leaves, a plant known in La Guajira by the name of ʃtpana-pi (ʃtpana = "rabbit"). The leaves of this plant, which are used for making the charm, are long and shaped like a cartridge, which gives them a great likeness to rabbit ears. Besides this, it serves as food for rabbits, which they like a great deal.

To make the charm, the hunter carefully collects the leaves, grinds them up, and with the resulting powder makes small pellets resembling rabbit excrement. One of these small balls is carefully tied with a thread and is placed in the middle of the tassel which adorns the hand guard they use when drawing the bow. The effect of the charm is directed against the rabbit, limiting its chance of flight and thus making it easier for the hunter to secure his prey.

The charm used in hunting deer is also made from a plant well known to the hunters. This plant, in form like the bejuco, has wide leaves which shine like a mirror. It abounds in the forest and requires no special cultivation. In La Guajira it is called supana-unú; (su = neuter; pana = "leaf," "liver"; unú = "tree," "pole"; wunú = "remedy"). It is prepared in a similar way to that for hunting the rabbit and, as in that case, it is carried on the person of the hunter in the shape of small pellets which are tied to the hand guard of his bow. Once finished it takes the name of sipi-irʃma, (irʃma = "deer"), and its object is to make the hunting of the deer easier by attracting it toward the hunter, who thus cannot fail in his shot. It also prevents the animal's flight, thus making it, as in the case of the rabbit, an easy prey.

776 [146] the people during the deluge on the high hill of Pororo,
821 which he made to grow higher as the waters rose." (78)

78. Hernández de Alba. Op. cit., 49-50.

825 7. When we spoke of natural phenomena in magic, we
821 stated that a kind of veneration was very commonly paid by the natives to an iguana that lives in the crevices of rocks, especially in the cliffs of the coast; veneration that is manifested outwardly by fiestas and dances and is intended to influence the iguana not to put obstacles in the way of the rains, which are under his dominion. Up to this point the fact appears to have no connection with the subject which we are treating, but supported by linguistics, we shall clarify our point of view:

192 The Guajiro word for iguana is iwána, and it can be split
821 up thus: iwa, "rain" (this is what the Indians call the rain that
825 falls in summer, April); na, particle which seems to denote an abundance of something, as may be seen in these other examples: ipa-na-rú, a La Guajiro place name which means "among many rocks" and corresponds in context to: a conical depression that holds rain water situated among many rocks; garrapatamana, another place name descriptive of its meaning, "a place where there are many animal ticks [garrabatas]. According to the above, iwána means an "abundance of rain."

192 Now, the word by which the constellation of the Seven
776 Kids is called when in a certain position it coincides with the
821 summer rains, is iwa, the same as "rain." Furthermore, from the name "Mareiwa" we can separate the constant particle, iwa, "rain." Unfortunately, we could discover nothing that might correspond to the first particle, máre, in the vocabulary we collected, nor in others that have been published and which we had the opportunity to consult. But, on reviewing a dictionary of the Arawak language of the Guianas, with which the Guajiro dialect is closely linked, we find that mali is the name of a "certain star"; malidalte is "beginning of drought." "The name is derived from the star mali." (79)

79. Anonymous. Op. cit., 71.

[146 cont.]

174 If we accept the idea that the Guajiro are descended from
192 the Arawak of the Guianas, with whom they are intimately con-
776 nected both by their language and culture, there is nothing
821 strange to be found in the formation of the name Mareiwa from mali, male (the l and the r do not exist in the Guajiro language), and fwa, words that are used to name stars and in consequence must be related to the general Arawak cosmogony. In any case,
776 the linguistic association of star-rain-god-divinity confirms the
821 statement which we have made that Mareiwa [147] is none other than the propitiatory spirit of the rains, and by the same token, that of good harvests, of abundance, and of well-being.

132 The harsh geographical conditions of La Guajira and the
182 technical incapacity of the native to dominate and put them
776 in his service without incurring the great inconveniences which are above all occasioned by the climate, have caused this being (Mareiwa) to be raised to first position in the category of
[233 protector spirits of the community. Also, the changes brought
128] about in their economy during past centuries have contributed to this advance in status, because since the introduction of stock grazing, winter has become more and more indispensable for the maintenance of pasture, without which the stock would suffer serious losses. We have no data relating to the myths or
178 religion of these Indians at the time of the Conquest but what
776 we have unearthed and the fact that there is a veritable confusion with respect to the origin and functions of Mareiwa point to the fact that, in a certain way, the Guajiro are living in a state of transition with regard to their divinities, we might almost say a moment of true creation of their gods which has not yet been definitively achieved, and for which contact with western civilization has created difficulties which by now are practically insurmountable.

775 Wanurú. As we referred extensively to the wanurú when we were speaking of sickness and the shaman, we shall add only a few details here and systematize the knowledge we have acquired about this matter up to now.

1. The wanurú can harm the Guajiro bodily and spiritually, bodily by means of such sicknesses as attack men, animals,

[158 cont.]

262 meat of animals sacrificed during the wake of a deceased member of the family. The murderer's self-denial of all solid food in his daily diet is another proof of the intervention of magic in the aspect of the Guajiro's nourishment. The ceremonies of propitiation for rain and the ripening of the harvests are other palpable demonstrations of the intervention of magic in this way.

[289]

754 c) And, finally, in relation to aggression, we see the very marked influence of magic, particularly in the charms which are 789 used to cause injury to certain people: for example, those made of a young woman's hair, the blood of a hummingbird, the tail of a dog, and achiote to make a girl fall in love with a man who later intends to betray her; or the one used by women who, having bought a talisman from a woman expert in those matters, place it in the clothes of a man whom they wish to harm after acquiring an old sandal of his and burning it, so as to cause him 182 bodily and mental injury. Furthermore, magic forewarns and 787 allows an individual to foresee the acts of aggression of which 789 he or a clan or a family group is going to be the victim by the interpretation of the shaman's dream or that of a private person, as was seen in the section "Magic and dreams" in Chapter VIII. The effect of magic on the regimen for individual security and collective stability tends to be that of saving the person or the group, as the case may be, from acts of aggression on the part of potential enemies, such acts being foreseen through magic means properly interpreted.

Names of Plants and Animals

Plants:

104 achiote (Bixa orellana)

● 192 ahuyama [squash] (Cucurbita máxima)

824 artemisia (f. Synantherae or Compositae)

indigo (f. Leguminosae)

cardon (Pilocereus atroviridis)

mahogany cedar (fam. Cedrilaceae, Sp. Mahogoni of Linnaeus)

lupine (Abrus precatorius) [Indian licorice]

[158 cont.]

184 divi-divi (Libidibia coriaria. Jacq.) [158]
frailejon (Espeletia spp.)
192 guamacho (Perebia colombiana. Webb).
824 guayacan (f. Zigophyllaceae) [In Venezuela, Tabebuia guayacan (family Bignoniaceae)]
plantain (f. Plantaginaceae, sp. Urena)
entongue (Polygonaceae, g. Rumex)
manoncillo (f. Sapindaceae, sp. Bijuga)
mangrove tree (f. Rhizophoraceae)
oxeye (f. Papilionaceae)
nettle (f. Urticaceae)
watermelon (Cucurbita vulgaris)
quina dulce [sweet quina] (Cinchona spp.)
sage (fam. Labiataceae) [Labiatae?]
elder or alder tree (f. Caprifoliaceae)
purslane (f. Portulacaceae, g. Portulaca)
viza-viza (f. Compositae, g. Gnaphalium)
yucca, cassava (Manihot utilissima)

Animals:
184 bee (order Hymenoptera)
192 bitsem (belonopterus cayennensis)
825 wasp (order Hymenopt)
owl (Bubo virginianus elatus)
cauquero (sp. of deer)
colibri (fam. Trochilidae)
rabbit (sylvilagus apollinaris)
rattlesnake (Crotalus terrificus)
hunting snake [culebra cazadera] (Clelia clelia)
buzzard (Coragyps atratus foetens)
cattle tick (g. Boophilus)
sparrow hawk (harpagus bidentatus)
iguana (order of the saurians)
owl (Tyto alba sabandeana)
machorro, sp. of lizard (order of the saurians)
bat (Carollia perspicillata)

[189 cont.]

(84 woodpecker (Campephilus linnaeus)

● (92 domestic duck (Anas platyrhynchos)

(85 partridge (Perdix rufa)

ray (Rajas batis) [160]

jaguar (Felis onca)

troupial (I. icterides)

peccary (Pecari)

fox (Canis azarae)

cuif (Cavia anolaimae)

mountain cat (margay tigrina)

deer (Cervus elaphus)

Si Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Guajiro SC13

In weapons the Guajiro uses the old-fashioned bow and arrow, along 411
with the latest breech-loading rifle. He never strolls ten yards from the [177]
ranchio without his arrows stuck in his sash and the inseparable bow in
his hand. Arrows are of three classes: bolts for killing birds and
lizards, bats, having a ball or piece of hard wood for a head neatly
covered with wax; arrows proper, for killing game and war, *ajuarral*,
with iron heads made from old knives filed and worked into shape; and
thirdly the terrible poisoned reps, *ekaral*: these are an ordinary arrow-
shaft, with two inches of the long weapon of the sting-ray (*guacaguaf*)
heavily fastened to the end, well covered with poison. To prevent
accidents, each head is covered by a cane sheath. The poison is putre- [278]
fied animal matter—toads, snakes, and other reptiles allowed to putrefy
and boiled down. When newly done the poison is said to be weak, the [825]
more when too old, so the arrows have to be re-dipped at stated inter-
vals (about nine months). Death advances from three to twelve days
afterwards, a sort of blood-poisoning, and is tolerably certain if the ray-
bone has not been got out (a most difficult operation) and the wound [752]
well cauterized with a red-hot nail. The Cachuas of Yuripicho are re-
puted the best makers, and enjoy a sort of monopoly. A bundle of
twenty-four arrows is sold by them for a dress cut of cotton (eight [437]
yards. Some of the arrows are feathered; the shafts are made from
cane, reeds, and also solid wood. As to firearms the Indian prefers the
old "Green" or "Tower" flintlock (carabine) to the Remington rifle, [177]
on account of the uncertainty of getting cartridges. The American flint-
lock (carabine rapide-pendeur) is also much liked.

The principal industries among the Guajiros are collecting horsehair, [222]
dividivi, and salt, and breeding horses, mules, donkeys, cattle, and 233
goats, with the accompanying sale of hides. Their animals are cele-
brated in the neighbouring provinces for being docile, having been all
brought up as it were by hand, for the Indian spares neither time nor
trouble on his flocks.

With regard to the language, a small grammar was published in 114
1878 by Rafael Celedon. Unfortunately it was printed in Paris, while
the author was in America, and is replete with errors in consequence.
The language is a much richer one than is generally supposed, and taken
as a whole has a euphonious, pleasing effect on the ear, much more so 194
than the neighbouring Arhuacos. I have no space here to dwell upon its
beauties, but cannot dismiss the subject without giving the following
three examples of much-used words:—

192

Adiuiga, a mouth.	Ita, a cap (gorra).	Yara, a headdress.
Tadiuiga, my mouth.	Tachita, my cap.	Tikiyara, my headdress.
Padiuiga, your mouth.	Pichita, your cap.	Pikiyara, your headdress.
Wadiuiga, his mouth.	Wichita, his cap.	Wikiyara, his headdress.
Kadiuiga, her mouth.	Kichita, her cap.	Kikiyara, her headdress.

9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
$C13 Goajiro SC13

159 Venezuelan Guajiro. As his wealth grew so did his prestige.
554 About twenty years ago the then leader of the Uriana clan died
556 leaving no heirs, as he had no brothers and no direct nephews.
622 Guajiro tradition establishes that, if upon the death of a clan leader and wealthy man there are no close heirs, even though
[623] there be distant ones, a council of elders (informally chosen
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[557] now confesses, quite candidly, that at the time of the meeting of the council of elders, he distributed a number of gifts among them, thus succeeding in having them select him as clan leader and heir to the wealth of the dead chief.

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627 exact replica of Silva's. He acts as advisor, settles disputes, makes arrangements for the payments of torts, bride-prices, etc. His day is fully as busy as that of Silva and he attends to all these matters besides his personal affairs.

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193 194 614 [121]

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614 marks are found in the table. Every Guajiro knows them. 101 As an established tradition, every generation has taken over the details from the others, either as clan property or as a 128 duty. But as a result of so many hostile encounters of the 101 clans with one another — the Guajiro even in early times 57 made themselves known as very quarrelsome — the boundaries 614 of the individual clan-districts have shifted. Some clans have actually disappeared, either because their members were entirely destroyed or because individuals from them were incorporated into other clans. Therefore, the number and boundaries of the individual clan-districts were and are subject to insignificant fluctuations. I was unable to ascertain when the map provided — taken from a Colombian authority — was drawn; it appears to have come out around 1935. It is also found in V. Gutiérrez (p. xvi).

3. Concrete Totemism

614 Spanish writers have reported on "castas" in Guajira from the early colonial period; the designation corresponds to actual totemistic clans. Recently it could be demonstrated that some thirty of them have existed since antiquity. The members of any one clan were entitled by common law to move freely over the whole peninsula without being hindered [103] by the boundaries. When Petrullo (p. 155) states unmistakably,

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

In weapons the Goajiro uses the old-fashioned bow and arrow, along with the latest breech-loading rifle. He never strolls ten yards from the rancho without his arrows stuck in his sash and the inseparable bow in his hand. Arrows are of three classes: bolts for killing birds and lizards, *kata*, having a nail or piece of hard wood for a head neatly covered with wax; arrows proper, for killing game and war, *ajuarral*, with iron heads made from old knives filed and worked into shape; and thirdly the terrible poisoned rays, *ainaral*; these are an ordinary arrow-shaft, with two inches of the bony weapon of the sting-ray (*garapual*) heavily fastened to the end, well covered with poison. To prevent accidents, each head is covered by a cane sheath. The poison is putrefied animal matter—toads, snakes, and other reptiles allowed to putrefy and boiled down. When newly done the poison is said to be weak, the same when too old, so the arrows have to be re-dipped at stated intervals (about nine months). Death subsumes from three to twelve days afterwards, a sort of blood-poisoning, and is tolerably certain if the ray-bone has not been got out (a most difficult operation) and the wound well cauterized with a red-hot nail. The Cocinas of Yuripicho are reputed the best makers, and enjoy a sort of monopoly. A bunch of twenty-four arrows is sold by them for a dress cut of cotton (eight yards. None of the arrows are feathered; the shafts are made from cane, reeds, and also solid wood. As to firearms the Indian prefers the old "Crown" or "Tower" flintlock (*carabaos*) to the Remington rifle, on account of the uncertainty of getting cartridges. The American flintlock (*carabaos capsta-pasabaos*) is also much liked.

The principal industries among the Goajiros are collecting *divi-divi*, and salt, and breeding horses, mules, donkeys, cattle, and goats, with the accompanying sale of hides. Their animals are celebrated in the neighbouring provinces for being docile, having been all brought up as it were by hand, for the Indian spares neither time nor trouble on his flocks.

With regard to the language, a small grammar was published in 1878 by Rafael Celedon. Unfortunately it was printed in Paris, while the author was in America, and is replete with errors in consequence. The language is a much richer one than is generally supposed, and taken as a whole has a euphonious, pleasing effect on the ear, much more so than the neighbouring Arhuaco. I have no space here to dwell upon its beauties, but cannot dismiss the subject without giving the following three examples of much-used words:—

Achinge, a name.	Ita, a cup (gourd).	Yara, a headdress.
Tachinge, my name.	Ta-ita-in, my cup.	Takiyara, my headdress.
Pachinge, your name.	Pi-ita-in, your cup.	Pikiyara, your headdress.
Nichinge, his name.	Ni-ita-in, his cup.	Nikiyara, his headdress.
Nachinge, her name.	Ni-ita-in, her cup.	Nikiyara, her headdress.

9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
SC13 Goajiro SC13

Venezuelan Guajiro. As his wealth grew so did his prestige. About twenty years ago the then leader of the Uriana clan died leaving no heirs, as he had no brothers and no direct nephews. Guajiro tradition establishes that, if upon the death of a clan leader and wealthy man there are no close heirs, even though there be distant ones, a council of elders (informally chosen among the oldest and more respected men of the clan) will meet and select the individual who shall take over not only the leadership of the clan but the wealth of the deceased as well. These cases are very infrequent (actually the writer could only find, in the memory of the oldest men, two instances of a council of elders meeting to select a leader; one is the case mentioned in this article, and the other occurred among the Epieyú clan, in Colombia, about fifty or sixty years ago). Fernandez now confesses, quite candidly, that at the time of the meeting of the council of elders, he distributed a number of gifts among them, thus succeeding in having them select him as clan leader and heir to the wealth of the dead chief.

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3. Concluding Remarks

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865 4. The child should adopt certain habits in the conduct of his relations with his parents and relatives: to listen submissively to remarks without a haughty reply or showing unwillingness to carry out orders or making gestures that might appear arrogant; never to give a rude answer to whoever gives them orders about their work; never to answer discourteously nor in a way to show displeasure or arrogance when reprehended or punished nor to run away in these circumstances, as then the punishment would be greater; never to use bad words in Spanish as that implies a double offense: that of making use of a foreign language as well as bad words as such, besides coarseness and insults between adults lead to the compensation payment, which (as all of these social payments do) falls on the relatives. /31/

[191 195 689]

5. Besides aggressive acts toward his elders, we have those that can occur with his playmates or his own relatives and which acquire a more serious character when they affect his friends from other clans, and when from the verbal offense -- which may also have to be compensated -- they pass to fighting, because if blood should be shed the mother of the injured boy will make her claim for compensation payment (unless both combatants are hurt, in which case it is cancelled). In these cases of bloodshed, as will be seen hereafter, the relative social and economic strength or weakness of each of the clans to which the combatants belong is an important factor, as the stronger group always imposes its interpretation of justice on the weaker. These are the reasons that compel the mother to try to prevent her children from playing with those of another clan to forestall such possible claims. In spite of this, however, the boys escape her vigilant eye, ignore her orders, and manage to get together in most of their boyish activities. The prohibition to join up with boys of another clan develops also from the fact that if a boy is invited to join another group and some accident should occur, the responsibility will fall on the group of the boy who extended the invitation.

865 593 The relationship between siblings is usually peaceful especially between those of the same sex. They readily become comrades.

[125 cont.]

of war to the death will result between the clans affected.

One has to take into account the fact that a woman who has been bought for wife is relatively valuable, and the native is not always in a position to accumulate the number of animals sufficient to pay for her, although it is considered an obligation on the part of his relatives to assist him when the time for his marriage arrives. As prostitution is so limited because of the condition of inferiority in which it places the woman who traffics in sex, the situation of the unmarried male in this respect is difficult. We repeat again that we make this statement on the basis of the facts of La Guajira social customs in normal times, and not on the basis of the present period when they are suffering from ever increasing problems of hunger, poverty, and acculturation, phenomena which are overthrowing all their traditional institutions.

Presenting the question in these terms, one can appreciate the trying position of the bachelor Guajiro native who is without slaves and without economic resources to enable him to buy a wife. He lives within a regimen of limitations and restrictions which reach even to sexual taboos which can be divided into two classes: special cases, especially applicable to the sex life of shamans, as we have seen; and general cases, applicable to the whole community and which go to the extreme of provoking curious euphemisms in the language when the word for the genital organ is phonetically similar to some other word, as in the case with the word for dog.

These restrictions must be considered in the totality of the social norms, but this is not the moment to expound on them as they will be fully covered in this review as an interpretation of the whole of Guajiro society. However, we wish to point out their presence in the Dance of the Kid, or better said their absence, since, as we have said, these restrictions disappear, and there is complete sexual freedom which permits the minstrel to caress the young maids on the pretext of deciding their virginity or loss of it, a thing that in normal times would not be permitted, and to go to the extreme of countenancing carnal union without economic or social consequences, the only

[73] In the Guajiro mentality sickness, as we were able to see in the corresponding sections ("Medicine and Sickness" and "Life Cycle of the Shaman"), is not something provoked by natural causes but is the consequence of the malevolent action of some special being, above all, of a spirit. So a series of beliefs, magic preventatives, have been established in order to avoid or ward off the hostile action of these spirits on the individual, as we were able to note in the chapter "Sickness and Medicine." We also saw in the matter relating to magic and sickness how certain animals, plants, and objects could be agents by contamination or participation in the cause and development of sickness. But it is particularly the spirit of the dead, offended and malevolent, that causes major disasters among the Guajiro, as is shown by their beliefs and their own preventative systems.

We can get aid from linguistics to clarify this concept. The word that the Guajiro uses for illness in general is wanurú, and the same word is the one that is used for the spirit of the dead — the devil, according to all writers and even to the natives themselves, due to the effects of religious acculturation provoked by the Capuchin fathers. Still further, if we break down the word we find that it is formed of three special particles, wa, num ru, which separately correspond to three different concepts: Wa is derived from the first person plural of the personal pronoun wayá, which means "we"; nu, or simply n, is nothing more than the general contraction of the third person singular of the personal pronoun niá, "he," and rú is a relative particle derived from surú or hurú (s or h according to which dialectal zone the word is taken from), which signifies "inside," "inside of," or "within." In view of the idiomatic composition of the Guajiro dialect, we can with all safety translate the word wanurú as follows: "he, inside of us." The linguistic construction therefore corresponds to a social reality: sickness, wanurú, is nothing more than that: the spirit of the dead that has entered an individual in order to cause him a particular illness for some disrespect or other that he has shown toward the spirit, or simply just because it is a malignant and vindictive spirit.

The relation sickness — death — spirit, which will later be the object of a special study on our part, can be proved through linguistics in many of the aboriginal Colombian and even American

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
SC13 Goajiro SC13

PRIMITIVE MAN
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ASPECTS OF THE AVUNCULATE IN THE GUAJIRO CULTURE

ANTONIO SANTA CRUZ
Catholic University of America

THE Guajira peninsula is situated in the northwest corner 131
of Colombia, South America, roughly between the 71° and 133
73° W. long., and 11° and 12° N. lat. It is rather flat in
contour with only some hill ranges in the eastern part. Rain- [132]
fall is scarce and the vegetation is of a semi-arid type. The 101
region is inhabited by one tribe of Indians, the Arawak-speak- 197
ing Guajiro. Both culturally and linguistically the Guajira
peninsula presents a uniform block.

The present writer visited the territory in the summer of 1940, 114
but due to illness contracted there was forced to cut short his
visit. Fairly full data were gathered on all phases of social
culture. The present paper deals with certain aspects of one
phase only, the avunculate.

The rôle of the maternal uncle is manifold in Guajiro culture, 604
organized as the Guajiro are into maternal sibs. Types of be- [614]
havior, both prescribed and unformalized, vary, depending on
the seniority of both uncle and nephew, but not on that of
niece. In this paper we shall be concerned for the most part 121
with the prescribed and voluntary relations between the oldest
brother of a given woman and her eldest son, and between this
oldest brother and his sisters' daughters. Other relations not
involving these specified kin will be touched upon only inciden-
tally for illustrative purposes.

[p. 1]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

One day we met three slave-workers. They were sitting 567
on a hillside gnawing at roast goat's feet. Talking with them we discovered that they had to serve their master without wages. Must they do so all their lives? we asked. Perhaps not, but they were bound to work for him till certain debts and obligations had been paid off, and these seemed very complicated and vague.

The real slaves for life are the prisoners taken in war. [728]
Thus there are various forms of slavery in Guajira. It is, of course, an ancient phenomenon, of which the whites would seem to have taken advantage rather than to have combatted.

Slavery is a form of punishment. Formerly it was only conquered people and prisoners of war who were kept as slaves. This was usual among several Indian peoples, [N7]
especially the Aruaks, to which group the Guajiro belong. With them slavery has been systematized.

Let us see how it is that someone becomes a slave. If an 628
Indian has been insulted or killed, his clan demands com- 567
pensation. If this is not paid, war breaks out between the two clans and those taken prisoner are treated as slaves without further ado. The Indians, however, never begin a war for the purpose of obtaining slaves. The slaves are reckoned as part of the damages, and they and the possessions of the conquered are divided among the victors according to certain principles. The eldest maternal uncle, mother, nephew, brothers and the leader of the fighting are entitled to damages; and if there is enough, the leader of the warriors will usually distribute some of the booty to his nearest relatives, mother, sisters, and maternal aunts. All the property of the enslaved prisoners-of-war passes into the hands of the victors: their pastures, water-holes, cattle, utensils, clothing, ornaments.

Slaves are the property of their masters, who can do 567
with them as they see fit; sell them, give them away, kill them or use their labour and, if they are women, have intercourse with them as they may desire. The same goes for the men, if their master is a homosexual, as is not unusual in [838]
Guajira. The owner's unmarried sons or nephews also con-

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

175 During the Colonial Period, the *Goajiro* were hostile toward the Span-
648 iards. After 1830, however, as a result of better treatment from the Whites, thanks in part to the efforts of Juan MacPherson, they become more friendly. Present authorities in the *Goajiro* region merely regulate frontier traffic.

797 The attempts by the Capuchin Fathers to alter their ways of life have
177 been unsuccessful. Except for the thin Catholic veneer, noticeable in baptismal rites and Spanish names, *Goajiro* social life seems to have been little affected by centuries of contact with Hispanic culture. Foreign influence is more apparent materially in iron implements, utensils, guns, textiles, and ornaments. All the domestic animals are of Spanish origin.

161 As a result of tuberculosis, smallpox, and venereal disease, the *Goajiro*
164 are gradually dying out, and the population estimates found in the literature have become smaller and smaller, the most recent indicating a scant 18,000.

PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

142 The *Goajiro* are usually described as aggressive and untrustworthy, of
[181] medium or small stature (cf. J. A. Mason, 1926, pp. 39, 52), copper colored, with jet-black hair, dark eyes rather obliquely set, a broad and blunt nose, and a large mouth (pl. 72, *bottom, right*). Within the tribes there are physical differences which seem to correspond with social status,
[565] the lower classes being smaller and more Indian in appearance, while those of higher rank are more often of a greater stature, with curlier hair and larger noses.

LANGUAGE

197 The *Goajiro* language belongs to the *Arawakan* family. There is, however, no good analysis of it. A grammar, "replete with errors" according to Simons, was published by Rafael Caledon in 1878. Various word lists have been published from time to time.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.**—The *Goajiro* have a poor opinion of agriculture, and only
[554] the poorer sibs practice it. The one fertile part of the peninsula is near Punta Espada. Here the land is well cultivated, and plantains, maguey, onions, coca, sugarcane, and grain are grown. Tobacco, bananas, maize, gourds, manioc, sweetpotatoes, millet, beans, and watermelons also are raised. Those who own cattle grow only small patches of quick-maturing corn for the purpose of making chicha beer.

22 **Hunting, fishing, and gathering.**—Hunting, fishing, and gathering occupy a minor place. Deer, armadillos, land tortoises, and rabbits are

/156 cont./

764 fixed in her ears suspended in a chain, starting with those of her greatest preference; all her necklaces, bracelets, anklets, and rings must be placed on the corresponding part of her body. If the deceased is a man, they also put on his jewelry, as his spirit
764 will need them in the other life to maintain his status beyond the grave. If he belonged to the rich class, he is shrouded in the
556 following manner: First, they cover his head with a special cloth woven by his wives; the bottom of the cloth covers his face, and the ends are fixed behind his head. Over this is placed a second cloth which reaches down to the belt and pins the arms laterally along the body. A third cloth covers the legs, and a fourth may be added to wrap the whole body, but the use of this latter has been gradually disappearing. Thus enshrouded, he is put in the enramada /bough-covered shelter/ within the coffin
[177] -- modern custom -- or enveloped in a still fresh hide and placed in a hammock. Then the lamentations begin.

The custom exists of sending to all the absent consanguineous
764 relatives, the most intimate friends, and in general all acquaintances, word of the death or of the patient's being near death, as the illness is made known from the first moment, especially
[202 to close relatives. If they are important people, runners are sent
554] as soon as the sick man worsens, so that at the time of his death, the house is already full of people. As those who arrive to show their sympathy are so many and they appreciate how impossible it is for the master and mistress of the house to offer them all adequate hospitality, the visitors arrive with their hammocks, water in large pitchers, food, etc., which they bring on their burros.

The messenger sent with the news, especially when he
764 carries it to a consanguineous relative of the deceased, knows
551 that he must not pronounce the dead man's name, as this would
[202] gravely offend his relatives. For that reason he usually says: "That relative of yours who lived in such-and-such a place, who did such-and-such an important thing, has died." Furthermore, none of those attending /the funeral ceremonies/ will pronounce

/197 cont./

685 groups left destitute by the application of the law governing theft join others, impoverished by the summer /droughts/ for example, and form the social part of the community which is easily forced into bond service by the stronger groups. (Cf. Chap. Slavery and Bond Service.)

203 691 Informer. In La Guajira the informer acquires the character of an institution which helps to maintain the regimen for social stability in /198/ the peninsula. This individual -- man or woman -- busies himself bringing to members of any family group news of an infraction of any legal precept which affects them and which has not been done in their presence. For instance, if the name of a dead man was spoken, if a joke was made about him, if someone stepped on his grave, etc., the informer carries the news to the interested parties, so that when the indemnity is paid for the aggressive act, he as informer will get his share. When two family groups find themselves enemies through the violation by one of the sides of some section of the regimen for social stability, they are very careful not to comment about the case in front of outsiders, because the news, misrepresented, may be taken to the opposite side, obstructing at times the legal work of the arbitrator and causing an open struggle between the two sides. The informer wants to have the right to a part when the distribution of the indemnity is carried out.

Where the action of the informer is most noticeable is in the case of a constant struggle among various co-wives. He takes advantage of this situation of mutual rancor, bringing and taking news of the movements of their husband from one to the other, etc., to obtain a remuneration for his services.

The informer defends his position, participating directly but without getting himself involved in the legal infraction against the family group to whom he reports. Later he justifies his right to receive indemnity by asserting that he too has suffered pain, has shed tears for example, when the offense has led to the death of a person, and he served as a mourner during the ceremony which followed the death.

Distinctive Marks of the Guajiro Castes

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Mark	Caste	Place	Totem	Mark	Caste	Place	Totem
	Epiayu	Alta Guajira	Macaw		Hayariyú	Alta Guajira	Dog
	»	»	"		»	Casti-lletes	"
	»	Portete	"		»	Nazareth	"
	»	»	"		Uraliyú		Rattle-snake
	»	Jarare	"		Sapuana	Alta Guajira	Garay or stone curlew
	»	»	"		Pushaina	Jarare	Peccary
	»	Alta Guajira	"		Goujirú	Pto. Estrella	Partridge
	Uriana	San José	Jaquar		Arpu-shana	Alta y Baja Guajira	Turkey buzzard
	»	»	"		Husayú	Jarare	Rabbit
	»	Buenos Aires	"		Epinayú		Burro
	»	Pto. Lopez	"		Uléguana	Alta Guajira	Machorro
	»	Cosina	"		Hirnú	»	Fox
	»	Alta Guajira	"		Pausayú		Black wasp
	»	»	"		Sijuana	Yimarú	Bee
	Ipuana	»	Mushale		»	Pto. Espada	"
	»	Jarare	"		»	Alta Guajira	"
	Hayariyú	Alta Guajira	Dog		Guaririyú		Partridge

/The heading, the column headings, and the column entries under "Totem" have been translated from the Spanish./

/536 cont./

114 two wives of the influential and intelligent Cacique Briscol
614 (alias Antonio Juan López); from both I was given the assur-
ance that it is known to nearly all of their people. In a subse-
178 quent conversation with still other women it became clear
614 that the social and juristic role of the clan system had become
simplified and dulled in the course of the centuries up to the
present, and above all that the original rigor of its demands
had become milder and in part even lost. Certain practices
still maintained and various fragments of tradition permit
one to piece together an adequately clear picture of the
totemistic organization in Guajira, despite many manifestations
of mother-right.

614 Our Indians have a mythological explanation of how the
whole Guajiro people was originally divided into many clans
[212] (8). Each totem-clan has its individual symbol, comparable

8. Petrullo (p. 155) supplements this by confirming: "Casta [is] the major social grouping in Guajiro society. Each casta claims a mythological origin and holds sovereignty over a well-defined territory" /cited in English/.

to a monogram. Every clan-member marks himself and his
614 personal goods, predominately domestic animals, with it.
212 The Indians paint this symbol with ordinary watercolor on a
422 stone, carve it in wooden objects (plates, style of a mattock,
231 house posts), tattoo it on their arms, etc., all in plain fun
and without any serious intention of demonstrating their right
of ownership. On the other hand, the same symbol, which is
peculiar to a clan, is branded without exception on every
domestic animal that the individual clan-member owns.
Obviously it is the same sign for all the animals of all the
members of a particular clan; yet the animals remain /537/
the personal property of their owner, and the latter himself

/537 cont./

614 knows precisely which animals belong to him and which
212 property belongs to other clan-members.
231
422 In a way also customary among us (for example, the burning on of the steed-brand for foals), the clan-symbol in Guajira is pressed into the skin of the domestic animal with a branding iron, usually on the rear leg, sometimes on
[413] the lower neck. The branding iron is a rod as thick as a finger and about a meter long, on whose lower end the brand, made in iron, is fixed. This is highly heated and briefly set on the skin of the animal with moderate pressure (9).

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422

9. Everyone knows that many livestock-raising primitive peoples use the method described here for "branding" their domestic animals, and, to be sure, do it primarily with the intention of indicating the individual possessor or a group consisting of several men as the owner. M. Merker (p. 163) reports this for the Masai. H. Field collected more than a thousand such markings (Figs. 24-43) among the Bedouin and related tribes in the Near East. It might seem surprising that individual ones among them are very similar to the brands of the Guajiro. This correspondence, however, can easily be traced back to the mentality of the natives and their undeveloped technical skill, as well as to the brittle wrought-iron itself. The "branding iron" probably goes back to an earlier period of mankind; from its place of invention, it went on its way

/537 cont./

171 231 422 around the world simultaneously with the domestic animals themselves.

614 212 231 422 177 614 212 773 The branding described was probably learned by the Indians from the Spaniards themselves, simultaneously with the adoption of the first European domestic animals, and has been retained since then. It is all the more surprising that the branding iron (hierro) appears in an old myth which for its part clearly states where the customary individual clan-signs came from. The following version (according to V. Gutiérrez, p. 168) is common in the northern part of the peninsula:

Not far from Nazareth (10) a hill rises behind Itojoro.

[7] [131] 10. This post lies only several kilometers south of Puerto Estrella and is actually a small Catholic mission station. Cf. Stutzer, pp. 131 ff., and Barranquilla, pp. 151 ff.

Here, under an oil tree, Mareiwa (11) came into the world.

776 114 11. That is the spelling of this mythological name that I felt to be correct, as did V. Gutiérrez (p. 168). Chaves (1946, p. 307) explains in the myth concerning "Las Serranías de la Guajira," among other things: "Mareigua [is] one of the principal deities of the Guajiro people, who with his supernatural power converts persons into hills, separates the

/537 cont./

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114

sea from the land and the planting of trees and animals to benefit man" /translated from the Spanish/. The original figure of Mareiwa is probably that of a culture-hero. Chaves (1953, p. 183) makes the same assumption, but adds that this personality is "at the present time like God for many mestizos" /translated from the Spanish/. Jahn (p. 183) declares "that the Spanish have identified /Maleiwa/ with the true God or Supreme Being" /translated from the Spanish/. In Torrano (p. 188) one reads "Maréigua = God, Supreme Being" /translated from the Spanish/. Unfortunately even today it is still true that the "Goajiro religion is imperfectly known" /cited in English/ (Armstrong-Métraux, p. 382).

614 812 773 He was found as an infant, who grew rapidly like any Indian child. He ate tuuma (12) and dressed like the Guajiro.

[262]

12. It was identified for me as tuna, which is the fruit of the Opuntia (Indian fig) and very well-known in South America. Cf. Vegamian, p. 214.

The mother was an old woman; her hut stood in the north. The father, a certain Saramai, was also said to be a god. [824] [821] Because Mareiwa was born under an oil tree, this tree does

/537 cont./

614 not lose its green leaves, even in the dry season. The Indians
212 seek shelter under its branches during storms, because lightning
773 will not strike there.
[824]
[821] /538/ Mareiwa created an Indian woman named Borunka; she became the mother of all the Guajiro people (13).

[114] 13. Chaves (1953, p. 181) reports another myth of the "Origen de los Guajiros," in which, however, the totem clans are not mentioned; therefore, no contradiction of the myth presented here can be brought forward from there.

He also gave her a companion, by whom she became pregnant. When the time of her delivery came, however, she felt incapable of giving birth. The pains lasted for three days without delivery. Her vagina was set with teeth. Mareiwa removed them. At the same time he took two ribs, the lowest one from each side, from her mate. He inserted them in Borunka so that she could later give birth without hindrance, though not without pain.

614 Since loss of blood was connected with delivery since
212 then, Mareiwa summoned all the birds. He commanded the
773 sangre de toro, or pincwait, to wash itself where the birth
825 took place. He gave the same order to the troupials (weaver
844 birds of the family Icteridae), as well as to the icó [ísbu, Phoenicotraupis rubra] with the black wings, whose breast feathers and head-tuft are red in color, and finally to the macaws. The woodpecker [Ceophloeus lineatus] arrived late for this bath. Mareiwa said to him, "You came late, to be sure, but I shall paint your tuft anyway," and he painted it red. Thus, the birds mentioned have red spots in their plumage.

614 Borunka bore several children, and the Guajiro pro-
212 ceeded to multiply. When there were many of them, Mareiwa
773

/538 cont./

614 returned to them. He distributed among them the seeds of
212 the watermelon (Citrullus vulgaris), maize (Zea), squash,
773 and all the other vegetables with which the Guajiro nourish
[242] themselves. Until that time no Guajiro had laid out a seeded field; before that anyone who wished to eat had reached for the fruit that grew by itself. Mareiwa gathered all the
614 zancalargas (thin-legged grallatores) and weaver birds; he
212 commanded a flock of them to go far away and feed on
773 iguarayas (cereals) and the fruit of the Indian fig (Opuntia).
825 He likewise summoned a flock of rock pigeons; they brought hepechi cherries. Then he distributed the birds over all of Guajira. With their excrement they were to make the simultaneously eliminated seeds germinate; the latter were to grow and cover the whole land with a blanket of plants on which fruit would ripen and serve the people for food.

614 Mareiwa handed over to each native man a pair of goats,
212 donkeys, cattle, horses, and pigs. Then he assembled all
773 the people with their animals in the district of Arachi near
[230] Siapana. There, on a cliff, he engraved the symbols, one of which he intended to assign to each of the family groups, the children of Borunka. They are still visible today on that cliff.

Thus he established there the sign-patterns for the Epiayú, Ipuana, Uriana, Sapuana, Jayariyú, Apshana, Sijuana, Urariyú, Epinayú, Jitnú, Soriyú, Pausayú, Uriyú, Woriyú, Urenanaka, Matpishana, Uyarayú, Wariruyú, Jusayú, Woruboruyú, and others. Mareiwa handed over these property
[422] marks to the people in order that the movable property of one group would not be mistaken for that of the others.

614 Each group has its animal-sign by means of which it
212 distinguishes its property from that of the other groups. This
773 happened for the following reason: these animals were to
825 have become Indians. But they ate the herds that Mareiwa
422 had assigned to each group. As punishment he left them in their animal state as symbols of the individual groups which

/538 cont./

614 had been insulted or harmed by them. Thus, the leader of
212 the black vultures /Coragyps atratus foetens/ had eaten a
773 head of cattle of the Epiayú, and he therefore remained the
825 symbol for this group. The caricari /Brazilian falcon/ de-
422 voured an animal of the Ipuana group. The Uriana people now have as their totem-animal the jaguar (Felis onca). The Sapuana group claims for itself the alcaraván /stone curlew/ (Burhinus bistriatus vocifer), the Jayariyú people the dog, the Apshana the kite, the Sijuana the wasp, the Urariyú the rattlesnake (Crotalus terrificius), the Jitnú people the fox (Canis azarae), the Soriyú people the cataneja (macaw, Ara), the Pausayú the black wasp, the Uyarayú the deer (Cervus alaphus), etc.

614 /539/ V. Gutiérrez (p. 170) then presents another myth.
773 This describes how the individual totem-clans were assigned their names and definite districts of residence after a fateful, tragic scene of disobedience of the creatures against their creator took place. This report, too, emphatically brings out the fact that Mareiwa personally, by his will and authority, introduced a totemistic way of life for the first living beings in Guajira. The myth has the dramatic conclusion: "For the last time Mareiwa spoke with them [the totem groups] in order to take his leave. He therefore addressed them: It was my will that you should live here! I am leaving now; I shall be watching you from heaven."

614 The individual totem-districts with the thirty-four clan
101 names are noted on the map (14).[1] The appropriate clan-

193 14. The spelling and pronunciation
194 of the clan designations favored here
614 by and large resemble the Spanish sounds. Young Indians today feel a marked uncertainty in using the correct Spanish names for individual totem-animals; even in the pronunciation of the Guajiro designations

[1] [see p.9.—Analyst]

/541 cont./

614 Crist (p. 485) wrote: "The Indians of the Guajira are divided into various clans or blood groups, castas, each with its distinguishing totem representing the animal with whose traits, according to legend, the clan was originally imbued" /cited in English/.

614 212 The thought complex that has solidified around the totem of our Indians — to mention it once more in conclusion — gets significant confirmation of its truely totemistic character by the visible symbol for each one of the three dozen of them. None of these totem signs — whether one calls them clan signs, symbols, monograms, emblems, property marks, or something else — is revealed as typically [212] Christian or Spanish in design. The Indian women of olden times wove them into their pieces of weaving, and, as has already been mentioned above (p. 10), the men put their clan-signs on other objects. According to the myth, the [113] original ancestor of a given clan was assigned it in an individual presentation by Mareiwa himself, and it has been retained down to the present day. /See the foreign text for the list of "Sources Mentioned," pp. 541-542./

/542/ Supplement:

114 614 As a consequence of a long stay in East Asia, which I concluded a short time ago, two pertinent articles first came to my attention when the article presented here was already in printing:

[113] Santa Cruz, Antonio, "Acquiring Status in Guajiro Society," Anthropological Quarterly, 33, 1960, pp. 115-127.

Wilbert, Johannes, "Identificación Etno-Lingüística de Tribus Indígenas del Occidente de Venezuela," Mem. Soc. de Ciencias Natur. La Salle, 21, 1961, pp. 5-14.

Both articles refer to the clan-division among the Guajiro described by me. The almost completed printing of my article, however, does not permit me to discuss them in detail; therefore this brief reference must suffice.

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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175 During the Colonial Period, the *Goajiro* were hostile toward the Span-
648 iards. After 1830, however, as a result of better treatment from the Whites, thanks in part to the efforts of Juan MacPherson, they become more friendly. Present authorities in the *Goajiro* region merely regulate frontier traffic.

797 The attempts by the Capuchin Fathers to alter their ways of life have
177 been unsuccessful. Except for the thin Catholic veneer, noticeable in baptismal rites and Spanish names, *Goajiro* social life seems to have been little affected by centuries of contact with Hispanic culture. Foreign influence is more apparent materially in iron implements, utensils, guns, textiles, and ornaments. All the domestic animals are of Spanish origin.

161 As a result of tuberculosis, smallpox, and venereal disease, the *Goajiro*
164 are gradually dying out, and the population estimates found in the literature have become smaller and smaller, the most recent indicating a scant 18,000.

PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

142 The *Goajiro* are usually described as aggressive and untrustworthy, of
[18] medium or small stature (cf. J. A. Mason, 1926, pp. 39, 52), copper colored, with jet-black hair, dark eyes rather obliquely set, a broad and blunt nose, and a large mouth (pl. 72, *bottom, right*). Within the tribes there are physical differences which seem to correspond with social status,
[565] the lower classes being smaller and more Indian in appearance, while those of higher rank are more often of a greater stature, with curlier hair and larger noses.

LANGUAGE

197 The *Goajiro* language belongs to the *Arawakan* family. There is, however, no good analysis of it. A grammar, "replete with errors" according to Simons, was published by Rafael Caledon in 1878. Various word lists have been published from time to time.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.**—The *Goajiro* have a poor opinion of agriculture, and only
[55] the poorer sibs practice it. The one fertile part of the peninsula is near Punta Espada. Here the land is well cultivated, and plantains, maguey, onions, coca, sugarcane, and grain are grown. Tobacco, bananas, maize, gourds, manioc, sweetpotatoes, millet, beans, and watermelons also are raised. Those who own cattle grow only small patches of quick-maturing corn for the purpose of making chicha beer.

● 22 **Hunting, fishing, and gathering.**—Hunting, fishing, and gathering occupy a minor place. Deer, armadillos, land tortoises, and rabbits are

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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the chief game. The *Goajiro* who live near the coast sometimes catch 22
fish (with hook and line), lobsters, mollusks, and crabs.

Cattle raising.—The *Goajiro* are primarily nomadic cattle raisers and, 231
consequently, depend upon the water supply. In the rainy season they 221
seek natural depressions, which they sometimes enlarge artificially, where [312]
the water may gather. In case of drought they wander toward the sea, where wells 30 to 40 feet (9 to 12 m.) deep are dug.

Besides cattle the *Goajiro* keep sheep, goats, horses (pl. 72, *bottom, left*), mules, pigs, and domestic fowls, which they take with them wherever 231
they go. An estimate gives them 100,000 cattle, 200,000 sheep and goats, 20,000 horses and mules, and 30,000 donkeys. As cattle are a measure [556]
of wealth, the Indians are reluctant to kill them for food, but they utilize [438]
the milk or export the animals to Curaçao and Aruba in exchange for textiles and corn. Each tribe has its own cattle brand, and the annual [422]
round-up and branding is an occasion for great festivities. Horse races and other sports take place, and large quantities of food and drink are [527]
consumed.

Food preparation.—*Goajiro* diet consists almost entirely of meat and 262
milk products. Goats and sheep are killed every day or two for meat, 252
and the milk of the cows is made into butter and cheese. This diet is supplemented by yuca, cactus fruit, sugar, rice, and plantains, the last three obtained from Colombian and Venezuelan traders in exchange for skins. Meat that is not immediately consumed is suspended from tall poles, and skins are pegged to the ground and salted in preparation for sale. Butter is made by stirring the cream with a fluted stick in a calabash or wooden bucket. To make cheese, rennet is added to skimmed milk in a trough, and the curds are put in a primitive wooden cheese press, which is weighted with a heavy rock.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Although the *Goajiro* are of a common origin, they are divided into 614
sibs ("castes" or "tribes"), each living within a rather limited area 361
(Simons, 1885, p. 796). The sibs are split into local groups, which occupy extended villages or rancherías, each with 2 to 50 houses (ranchos) and 10 to 250 or more Indians. Houses are always within gunshot distance of one another and so disposed that surprise attacks would be difficult. If a village is at all permanent, a protective cactus hedge surrounds it.

Goajiro nomadism makes elaborate houses unnecessary. Dwellings 342
are mere lean-tos, arbors, and temporary gabled roofs supported on poles. Thatch is made from the core of the cactus, split lengthwise. Rough [352]
tables, chairs with rawhide seats, and benches are often used. The hammock is always present. House walls are often lacking, but a corner [381]
of the hut may be closed off for a girl's puberty seclusion. When mi-

[3 cont.]

133 adjacent to the hamlet of Roble; also one must consider the
312 water holes, shallow depressions in the ground which store rain water for some time and are utilized as watering places for livestock. Besides these sources of water, [4] the Guajiro digs wells [casimbas] in the dry beds of arroyos, generally, having to excavate to depths of 30 vara at times to reach the underground water. Windmills, which the Water Department of the Ministry of National Economy has been constructing for some years past, have helped to solve the water problem as have at a few dams, such as those in Ipanarú and Garrapatamana.

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137 The factors which we have been describing determine vegetation in La Guajira, which is mainly comprised of thorny creepers, small thickets, cactus, thorn trees, and some wooded areas, especially in the mountain ridges and their spurs, where one finds an abundance of divi-divi, the totumo, indigo, the caraño, [a resinous gum tree], guayacan, the cedar, oak, cherry, and olive, the last two being fruit trees. On the banks of the coves and bays the mangrove grows abundantly.

During the rainy season in the peninsula, the sandy soil is covered with grass and brambles and briars and the woods [montes] become green again, giving a splendid background of color to the whole countryside, but in the summer season all the trees lose their foliage and look like burned logs; the smaller plants disappear, leaving the surface bare to the mercies of the burning sand and showing as characteristic patches the tall cacti with arms raised like great candelabra. The only different shades of color are provided by the olive trees, which never dry out and always show their fresh green foliage and darker fruit, and by some small oases of vegetation on the shores of ponds and water holes.

221 For this same reason the economy of La Guajira and the people's life in general swings like a great pendulum between two extremes — summer and winter. Their principal activity, stock grazing, requires rainfall to maintain pasture and to provide water in the water holes and wells. Agriculture, their other occupation, requires sufficient humidity for the germination of the seed and for maintaining the life of the plants. Winter in La Guajira means good living, abundance, satisfaction. Summer,

[4 cont.]

221 on the other hand, is a synonym of hunger, misery, and of death.

221 361 233 The conditions of their geographical situation and the occupation of stock grazing, to which the Indians have devoted themselves since the Conquest, have accentuated their nomadic character because of the need to bring their herds to places where the indispensable pasture and water are available. Furthermore, this need has held back the formation of towns in the true sense of the word, as what is called a rancherías ["hamlet"] in La Guajira is nothing more than two or three huts of wood and thatch, inhabited by people related to each other and which may be several kilometers away from other rancherías. The presence of water at minimum distances greatly influences the location [5] of these habitations, so that the occupants are not obliged to walk long distances.

177 361 Only in those localities where the influences of civilizados [generally, nonnatives] are greatly felt do we find what we may call urban centers, but in these the foreign element is more in evidence than the aboriginal. Such for example is the case of Uribia, capital of the Comisaría; Nazaret, a mission center; Maicao, Puerto Estrella, and Carraipía, points of trade with Venezuela, Aruba, Curaçao, and the interior of the country; and Manaure and Bahía Honda, centers of the salt industry.

* * *

175 648 The Guajiro Indian was never completely conquered. Throughout the Conquest and the colonization, he kept up a series of wars with the Spanish authorities, whom he learned always to resist, thus maintaining his independence. But he kept up his trade relations with the whites, not only Spaniards but Europeans in general, who reached his shores where they established stations for fishing and the pearl trade, as well as with the group of Spaniards resident in Ríohacha, the western limit of the peninsula.

175 177 These contacts with European civilization were slowly changing their ways of life in the major part of its aspects, whenever the Guajiro incorporated a series of relatively new elements

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of the hut may be closed off for a girl's puberty seclusion. When mi-

/45 cont./

857 A joint duty of children of both sexes is the care of their
462 younger brothers or sisters when circumstances require it, though this is mainly performed by girls when there are any of the right age.

b) Girls. Little girls five years old are given small tasks, such as carrying messages, going to the fields to take some small item to the father or an uncle, drawing water in vessels so that the elders may bring it on burros up to the house. At six or seven they begin to do some cooking. From ten to twelve years, that is to say at, the prepubertal age, they are initiated into the different ways of weaving, and they can go alone from
[835] one settlement to another. It is at this time that they occasionally have sexual relations with their brothers or with their father.

857 Almost from the time she can look after herself -- toward
462 three or four years of age -- the girl assists her mother in all
252 her work, especially when she is the eldest and when she belongs to a family with few economic resources. In the kitchen she learns to prepare food such as mazamorra, bollos /rolls/, and arepa /ground-corn griddlecakes/; to hull corn and grind it with the traditional equipment, the pestle and mortar made of stone; to light and keep the fire going; to handle the pots on it and build new hearths; and, in time, to prepare the various kinds of chicha and the customary soups for special occasions, to make use of the different fruits, both wild and cultivated, and to serve up various local dishes such as sancocho de chivo /goat-meat stew/, the way of preparing meat etc., until, having arrived at the moment of puberty, she is on the whole acquainted with all the customary culinary procedures.

Other work they are taught to do quite young is fetching water and firewood as well as a series of household chores such as house cleaning, taking care of the younger children, and at times feeding them and keeping them clean. They are sent to the woods to bring in the burros that are used for carrying water or fruit or serve for the women to ride on. /46/

857 They also start to lend a hand in the harvest and accompany
462 the women when they collect wild fruits such as olives,
222

/46 cont./

857 462 [222] [482] iguarayas, and trupillo pods, as well as in gathering divi-divi, which is sold in the port towns for export; their labor is used for portering (women's work): they carry on their backs or shoulders the collected fruit, the firewood, and the water when the family does not own the necessary animals.

When ten or over the girl, taught by her elder kinswomen, starts to handle the spindle and loom, work in which she perfects herself during the seclusion of her initiation.

857 184 556 In general her occupations during childhood are affected by the economic and social position of her relatives, since a child of a well-to-do family will spend her childhood playing, without occupying herself with domestic chores except occasionally, since she is not considered as a small-sized adult as happens among poor families, but as a little girl, and she is treated as such. Certain light duties might be imposed but never a definite or clear-cut responsibility. She is expected to obey, mainly so that she recognize the authority of her elders, but when she enters the prepubertal age her mother and relatives start to take a more personal interest in her and to think it to be the opportune time to start training her in the duties pertaining to her position and her sex, teaching her all the household occupations that she will later improve on and become expert in during her seclusion, which will last longer the greater the wealth of the family.

264 592 Food, sleep, dress, and ornaments. Even before weaning, when this is delayed beyond the first year, or at times before, the child starts being fed adult food. By that time he asks his mother for food and she gives it to him, when he is small, more generously than she can at a later date; but later on he himself looks for it and, in order to satisfy his hunger, frequently steals food from his mother that she has put away, and this obliges the mother to hide it. (Cf. Punishment, Chap. II.)

The apportioning of food in a Guajiro household is done by the mother, who serves each one his share, starting with the husband, afterward the children, she being the last to eat. If she has a preference for a child, she shows it at this time by

/47 cont./

862 chichas and cojosa (sour milk), and, when he cuts his teeth, solid food which had previously had to be mashed for easier swallowing. After passing this period, the child eats the same as any adult, with slight differences marked by the family organization, as we have just seen, receiving the plain food served since it is unusual for him to share in any special dishes which the adult members of the household may eat.

252 262 [222] During periods of scarcity the gathering and use of wild fruits is an important item in the household economy. The Guajiro, when he finds any such fruit, will immediately eat as much as he can, until satiety is reached. Regularity in hours of eating is very difficult in such circumstances -- one might say that the Guajiro has no fixed mealtimes, but that he eats when he obtains some food. In normal times and in homes where the shortage of food is not much felt, the family's hours /48/ for meals are more or less as follows: On rising, very early, they take a little coffee with panela, if there is any, [272] or more often a gourdful of cojosa (1); in the evening after

1. Milk which is left to sour in special food vessels.

sunset, upon returning from work, they have their principal meal composed of mazamorra with milk, some rolls or corn griddlecakes and coffee or a chicha of fruit, corn, or yucca. The normal diet does not include the daily eating of meat, which is only eaten on certain rare occasions, the same as cheese and certain vegetables such as ahuyamas /Cucurbita berucosa/, gourds, yucca, etc. Toasted corn with salt or something sweet is frequently eaten, rice soup (a very much-used food), dry rice, or a soup of trupillo pods /Mimosaceae/, which are chewed after having been parboiled, the fibers later being spat out, or mixed with milk. At periods when food is in short supply, they have the habit of making use of the tender shoots of cacti, which are roasted over a flame in order to get

/230 cont./

462 We find that some of the feminine activities are carried out jointly with the man, as in agriculture in which the woman's part is to place the seed in a hole, which is made by the man with a sower's tool for this purpose (but not in the case of planting creeping plants and fruit trees); and to collect fruit when it is all ripe, or little by little as the fruit becomes ready. Besides [262 these regular activities, the women collect wild edible fruits 222] which constitute practically the only source of nourishment during the summer in some regions. They also collect some forest products that the whites buy from them, such as the divi-divi, which constitute a source of money income.

Transportation is an activity that traditionally has been done by the Guajiro woman. Before they raised pack animals, the [492 women did such work themselves. Nowadays, it can be said that it is rare to find a home that does not have an animal, generally a burro, at their disposal, on which they can transport from place to place their small children and the provisions and utensils, etc., which they require. Nevertheless, we do still see some families who lack this means of transport and have to make use of feminine labor.

Ceramics also is an activity that is assigned to women. In the regions where raw materials are abundant and of good quality, the women of some families apply themselves to this craft, in which they reach quite a high standard of perfection; the technique is transmitted from generation to generation so that the craft becomes a traditional family occupation.

When the families of potters are forced to emigrate to urban centers, they carry there the raw material /231/ required for their work from its original source. With this they provide the family with domestic utensils and use the rest for barter with others.

The empirical knowledge of the magic and curative properties of plants is known, apart from the shaman, by some women who usually live in places where contact with whites is less frequent. They transmit such knowledge to their descendants, most frequently to the eldest daughter.

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

In weapons the Goajiro uses the old-fashioned bow and arrow, along 411
with the latest breech-loading rifle. He never strolls ten yards from the
rancho without his arrows stuck in his sash and the inseparable bow in [177]
his hand. Arrows are of three classes: bolts for killing birds and lizards, *kata*, having a nail or piece of hard wood for a head neatly covered with wax; arrows proper, for killing game and war, *siguarrai*, with iron heads made from old knives filed and worked into shape; and thirdly the terrible poisoned rays, *aimará*: these are an ordinary arrow-shaft, with two inches of the bony weapon of the sting-ray (*queraguai*) loosely fastened to the end, well covered with poison. To prevent accidents, each head is covered by a cane sheath. The poison is putre- [278]
fied animal matter—toads, snakes, and other reptiles allowed to putrefy
and boiled down. When newly done the poison is said to be weak, the [825]
same when too old, so the arrows have to be re-dipped at stated intervals (about nine months). Death subvenes from three to twelve days afterwards, a sort of blood-poisoning, and is tolerably certain if the ray-bone has not been got out (a most difficult operation) and the wound [752]
well cauterised with a red-hot nail. The Cocinas of Yuripicho are reputed the best makers, and enjoy a sort of monopoly. A bunch of [437]
twenty-four arrows is sold by them for a drum out of cotton (eight yards. None of the arrows are feathered; the shafts are made from cane, reeds, and also solid wood. As to firearms the Indian prefers the
old "Crown" or "Tower" flintlock (*carcabuso*) to the Remington rifle, [177]
on account of the uncertainty of getting cartridges. The American flint-lock (*carcabuso cayeta-panahana*) is also much liked.

The principal industries among the Goajiras are collecting [222]
divi-divi, and salt, and breeding horses, mules, donkeys, cattle, and 233
goats, with the accompanying sale of hides. Their animals are celebrated in the neighbouring provinces for being docile, having been all brought up as it were by hand, for the Indian spares neither time nor trouble on his flocks.

With regard to the language, a small grammar was published in 114
1878 by Rafael Caledon. Unfortunately it was printed in Paris, while the author was in America, and is replete with errors in consequence. The language is a much richer one than is generally supposed, and taken 194
as a whole has a euphonious, pleasing effect on the ear, much more so than the neighbouring Arhuaco. I have no space here to dwell upon its beauties, but cannot dismiss the subject without giving the following three examples of much-used words:—

192

Achinga, a name.	Ita, a cup (gourd).	Yara, a headdress.
Tachinga, my name.	To-ita-in, my cup.	Tokiyara, my headdress.
Puchinga, your name.	Pi-ita-in, your cup.	Pikiyara, your headdress.
Nichinga, his name.	Ni-ita-in, his cup.	Nikiyara, his headdress.
Nuchinga, her name.	Si-ita-in, her cup.	Sikiyara, her headdress.

[136 cont.]

536 In the scene two groups appear: one representing the bees in the
796 hive; the other, the thieves who want to steal the crops of the field. The bee group is placed at the entrance to the field, arranged in compact form to look like the hives. The robbers begin to arrive and try to enter the field to steal the ripe fruit, but in the attempt they brush against the hives. The bees swarm out, buzzing and attacking the thieves, who decamp pursued by the bees. These punish the men to the best of their ability and thus prevent the harvest being stolen.

7. Hunting the jirijir. The natives know a small bird
● 223 called jirijir that appears in La Guajira during harvest time and devours the products of the fields. The Indians hunt them assidu-
ously in order to defend their crops as well as to use them for
[262] food, since they are fat and pleasant tasting. The method they use to catch them is as follows. This small bird generally always flies in a straight line, entering invariably at some determined point and leaving by another in a precise manner. The Indian takes advantage of this [137] observation; hence when he goes to his crops at the times these birds are settling, he provides himself with hammocks or large nets. He places his hammocks at the point where the birds will fly out and then waits their arrival. He frightens them and immediately with great rapidity covers their point of exit, and the birds are trapped in the net, falling into it by the hundreds.

536 This scene is represented in the ceremony that we are
796 describing. At the beginning, various Indians who will act as the hammocks, that is, as those who will attempt to trap the birds in their nets are found in a group apart. Some children are grouped in the middle of the space to represent the field, and a third band formed of adults will act as birds.

When everything is ready, the last group begins to move, and they approach making motions as if flying and making a peculiar noise, imitating the call of the jirijir. They fall on the group of children, that is, on the field. A new group, this time composed of women, intervene in the scene to frighten the birds with yells and noisy clapping of hands. The birds try to escape as a flock, following the straight line of flight they are accustomed

/44 cont./
857 462 231 an activity he should practice from an early age as he is obliged to find all animals that wander away; to make bows and arrows and stalk animals when hunting. On his own part, with his
857 462 224 small friends he organizes hunts for machorros (2) and various

2. Edible lizard.

kinds of birds and makes traps in the wells for pigeons. He helps catch the seasonal birds which arrive at harvest time, keeps watch during the night on traps set for deer, learns to slaughter the animals required for household consumption and to make the best use of them.

857 462 241 In agricultural work he helps in the task of clearing his maternal uncle's land of trees, and later looks after his own piece if he has such, clearing it and leaving it ready for the women to sow the seed; he also plants fruit trees and creepers and attends to weeding. Harvesting work is done by the women. In places where fishing is practiced, he takes part, when he is about ten years old, in related activities, such as opening to extract pearls. He also takes part in making farm tools, sacks, harnesses, hats, coconut-husk necklaces, etc., when his elders are employed in these activities.

857 462 415 To the boy falls the preparation of gourd vessels, basins, cups, plates, etc., used for different domestic purposes. The job of preparing the gourd dishes includes all the processes from picking the fruit when /45/ ripe, opening it and taking out the pith, and, when the rind is still tender, incising decorative
[531] designs on it with a metal knife or the sharp point of a bone or stone. These designs are usually of his own personal invention.

857 462 Lastly, he may be given odd jobs to do such as the delivering of a message, the fetching of some necessary article or other, accompanying someone sent from his home, etc., but fundamentally he devotes himself to his pasturing, the constant occupation of the Guajiro.

[97 cont.]
826 which we have referred on various occasions in this work.

Hunting charms. We could only acquire data about the
224 type of talismans connected with the hunting of deer and rabbits. The object of such a talisman is a double one; on one hand, it inculcates ability and quickness on the part of the hunter who possesses it; and on the other, it exercises a restraining action on the animal he wishes to kill, as [98] according to the native belief, it stops its flight and converts it into an easy prey for the hunter.

[824] The charm for facilitating the hunting of rabbits is made with bejuco leaves, a plant known in La Guajira by the name of átpana-pi (átpana = "rabbit"). The leaves of this plant, which are used for making the charm, are long and shaped like a cartridge, which gives them a great likeness to rabbit ears. Besides this, it serves as food for rabbits, which they like a great deal.

To make the charm, the hunter carefully collects the leaves, grinds them up, and with the resulting powder makes small pellets resembling rabbit excrement. One of these small balls is carefully tied with a thread and is placed in the middle of the tassel which adorns the hand guard they use when drawing the bow. The effect of the charm is directed against the rabbit, limiting its chance of flight and thus making it easier for the hunter to secure his prey.

The charm used in hunting deer is also made from a plant
[824] well known to the hunters. This plant, in form like the bejuco, has wide leaves which shine like a mirror. It abounds in the
[192] forest and requires no special cultivation. In La Guajira it is called supána-unú; (su = neuter; pana = "leaf," "liver"; unú = "tree," "pole"; wunú = "remedy"). It is prepared in a similar way to that for hunting the rabbit and, as in that case, it is carried on the person of the hunter in the shape of small pellets
[192] which are tied to the hand guard of his bow. Once finished it takes the name of sipi-iráma, (iráma = "deer"), and its object is to make the hunting of the deer easier by attracting it toward the hunter, who thus cannot fail in his shot. It also prevents the animal's flight, thus making it, as in the case of the rabbit, an easy prey.

[98 cont.]

224 237 It is very interesting at this point to emphasize the fact that these hunting charms, in both cases, take the shape of the excrement of the animal that is to be hunted. We cannot allow to pass unnoticed this constantly recurring presence of excrement in the matter of magic. Let us recall the fact which we have frequently mentioned that for certain umbilical illnesses in children they apply excrement; that to call up their protector spirits the shaman use talismans that are shaped like goat excrement; and young Guajiro women bury their hair underneath patches of cow dung in order that they may be bought for wives at a good price.

These phenomena make us think of a very important function of excrement in the Indians' belief in magic, a function that [99] we know about only in its external aspects, but its application does not surprise us even though its explanation still appears obscure.

773 One has to remember that the guano of birds, according to Guajiro myths, was what favored the spread of seeds and populated the country with nourishing and useful plants for man and beast. One of our informants recounted this part of the Creation in the following manner: "Then Mareiwa brought together all the zancalargas (wading birds), troupials, and doves in a flock. He pointed out the far distance and told them to go in search, and there they ate of the iwaráya (fruit of the cardon) and prickly pear. He ordered them to bring the fruit of the cherry trees, and Mareiwa made it rain throughout all La Guajira. Each dove went about spreading his droppings, and where these fell there sprang up all the plants which both the wayú (Indian) and their animals could eat. So were propogated the cardon and cherry trees, and the earth was sown. . . ."

751 726 579 Charms for war. This charm has the virtue of giving its owner complete bodily immunity in the fights which frequently arise between the various family groups. For this reason, before getting ready for combat, when on the way and in fear of a surprise attack, or when he goes to present a claim for compensation payment in the case of the violent death of one of the members of his clan, the Indian will rub himself all over with

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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neither was much help. Our route went in a zig-zag from 000
water hole to water hole. I did not feel altogether sure that the Gaffer would find the mission station. From what I could understand of the interpreter's inadequate Spanish and floods of Guajiro, it seemed that when the old man made his trip to the Macuira Hills, there was not yet a mission station there. I knew that it was of relatively recent date. If we could only get to Macuira, we could ask our way to the monks, I felt sure of that. Otherwise we should have to try and find our way to the little harbour of Puerto Estrella on the east coast of the peninsula. To go there involved a detour, but there would certainly be a white person or at least a mestizo there, who would be able to show us the way to Amúruru.

It seemed to us that our baquiano not only wandered round in search of water holes, but also avoided certain ranchos. What, we wondered, was the position with his clan? Was it engaged in a feud just then? I knew little of clan quarrels and blood-feuds, then.

The Gaffer now began asking everyone we met the way to 484
Macuira. It was obvious that he did not know where he was and that we had a bad guide. The Guajiro have a 151
wonderful sense of direction. They find their way unerringly 823
about their trackless cactus steppes, where every place looks alike. They know every depression in the ground, every eminence, and they all have names. Like the Arabs in the desert, they never forget a way they have once travelled, so it was obvious that the Gaffer had never before been where we were then, that he had simply gone astray. The Indians' ability to follow tracks is also amazing. [224]
They can see by the hoof prints when a strange horse has been in among a herd, and they can track down a strayed bullock, even if it has joined company with others. An Indian can see whether others belong to his clan or not from a long distance off, even when he does not know them personally. They have a clan mark tattooed, or sometimes [302
painted on their thighs, it is true, but an Indian seems to 304]
know to which clan they belong, even when you cannot 614]
distinguish those marks through field glasses.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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They were of black earthenware ornamented with figures. 252
The women were making maize gruel. There, close to the
green valleys, they ought to have been able to get any [262]
vegetables or roots they liked, yet they clung to their diet
of maize and goat's meat. They had obviously put the pots
on because they expected the men, and sure enough a 492
couple of naked horsemen came galloping up, so at one
with their horses that they looked like centaurs. The
Guajiro Indians can be born on a horse in the literal sense,
if their mothers have to be on a journey at the time. They
look well on horseback, and even the old men rode well. [142]
The younger men were muscular and well-made, and more
pleasing to our eye than the women.

The men had been out enjoying themselves. They had 224
been hunting and their clan mark was painted in blue on 614
their thighs. They must have done that to amuse themselves 304
before they left, for normally both men and women have 302
their clan marks tattooed.

We asked the men what they had hunted with, for they 224
carried neither bows nor firearms, and also what they had 411
hunted, for they did not seem to have got anything. They
laughed and explained that they had had no luck, and
showed us slings of plaited bast. They had been out after
doves or rabbits, but had seen nothing. (The Creoles call
the animal in question a rabbit, but its Latin name is
Sylvilagus cumanicus.) They showed us the short throwing
clubs with which they hunted this and made some practice
throws. They were expert at hitting the target with both
club and sling, but only at distances of twenty to thirty
yards.

A youth showed us a whistle that he said would unfail- 224
ingly entice a deer if you blew it—provided there was a
deer nearby, as he hastened to add. Judging by the expres-
sion on the women's faces he was no famous hunter. A 439
couple of men also arrived and we were able to think of
doing business. We had no difficulty in buying what we
wanted, provided we paid well. Prices were our great
difficulty, yet these men were less spoiled than elsewhere in
the peninsula. The Guajiro not only trafficked with the

7:Bolinder T-3 (1920, 1955) 1957
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importance. Thus, while the child is on the way, he must not 843
hunt with firearms, but only with bow and arrow. If he [224]
goes on a journey of any length after the child has come into
the world, he must lay his saddle-girth round the babe or
put his foot on its chest before he leaves. If he forgets to
do that one can lay a pair of his old sandals on its breast.

If the first-born dies, it is feared that the others will do 766
the same. The baby is placed head down in an urn with a 844
lid and buried beneath a certain kind of tree. The mother
often has to undergo another period of confinement, it
being thought that all the rules had not been observed
during her real period of puberty, and that that had an un-
favourable effect on childbirth. If all the instructions are
not observed, there is danger that the other children will
also die.

My wife came back and told us that the child was born 844
and all had gone well. It was the third child. The woman had
lain on her back on the ground with legs straddled, and
they had strewn a thick layer of fine sand under her crotch,
so that the babe should land softly. An aunt of the woman's
helped her, and her husband was there and helped to lift
her and hold her during the final pains. The mother was
now to keep quiet for a few days and, above all, not expose
herself to the sun.

The old man explained that the rich let their women rest 846
for weeks after giving birth, living on maize gruel and [556]
light food, while poor mothers have to go out and work as
usual straight away. The child has the breast in the evening
when the mother goes to bed; at three in the morning when 853
everyone gets up, and occasionally during the day. In the
better families the child is weaned with the help of maize
gruel and goat's milk and a female slave takes charge of it,
the mother having so many other duties. There are even
some who keep wet-nurses, he said.

Then more men appeared and a woman who sat behind 854
my wife, just outside the circle. I distributed tobacco and
conversation became lively. My wife was surprised that
Indian babies were allowed to sit upright so early. She was
told that at first the mother supports it with her hand, and

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

milked the cows and then watched the herds, keeping a particular eye on the calves, kids and lambs, which a beast of prey might take. He also had to look out for two-legged thieves. He soon learned where pasture was best and most suitable. He could see to the cattle, knew what to do when they fell ill and how to break in horses. The older ones were expert at tracking animals that had strayed—they could do this at the age of ten. He would have made himself a bow and arrows almost as soon as he could walk and have practised with them. With these he shot edible lizards and small birds. He set snares for doves. He watched at the men's deer traps by night and he took part in the slaughter. During the rains he helped to weed his maternal uncle's plots and prepare them for sowing. If he belonged to a fisher family on the coast he had to take part in his father's trips out to sea and dive for pearls. When not otherwise occupied he made carrying-nets.

'Do you see those,' said the old man, pointing to some bottles and bowls of calabash rind lying on a roof drying in the sun. 'It is the young ones who make those. They scrape out the inside and then carve figures in the rind while it is fresh and soft. You want to buy them, you say? That's nothing to sell. The children will gladly give you them.'

The children brought us their calabashes. They had to explain what the figures signified and naturally I gave them things in exchange.

It goes without saying that both boys and girls often have to run errands and sometimes act as nursemaid. Little girls have to learn to fetch water and look after the fire. Then they are shown how to make maize gruel and they have to practise baking maize cakes. They soon get to know all the wild and cultivated plants used in the Indian household. Then they take part in the harvest, which is the women's affair.

In those families which own many head of cattle, the sons, once they return from staying with their uncles, are often left much to themselves, for their fathers have no time for them. Their fathers neglect their upbringing and never administer physical punishment, since they risk being called

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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On two occasions I went out with some hunters who had 778
hunting cóntras. Two had talismans for hares; these were 224
small pellets fastened to the leather shield that protects the 789
arm against the bow string. The pellets were shaped like rabbit's excrement and contained a herb the leaves of which resembled rabbit's ears and which the so-called rabbits were fond of! Another man had a deer cóntra prepared from a creeper. It resembled deer's droppings.

The hunters were quite convinced that the cóntra would give them good hunting, and that by its power their game would be unable to escape them. Thus those cóntra were doubly effective. On neither occasion, however, did we get anything, much to the consternation of the hunters. I think they assumed that my presence had prevented the charms working, and they were astounded when I bought them.

Of other talismans there was one intended to help its 778
owner win races. This consisted of some rattling fruits to 789
tie beside the horse's ear. There was a cóntra for warriors called *rania*, which gave its bearer courage and made him invulnerable. Another, which was very expensive, was said to give the possessor luck in business and gradually make him rich. Having become rich, he could then purchase the most expensive charm of all, that which would bring him respect and power. This latter was strictly personal: an outsider could be harmed by seeing it, especially a thief, and it was not effective except in the hands of its rightful owner. It was contained inside several small bags, one within the other, and what was inside the inmost one was known only to the piache who prepared it. In the talisman that brought wealth there were supposed to be links of gold, the power of which lay in the spells spoken over them. Similarly pearls and little figures made of coconut over which the wise women had spoken spells served as amulets. Amongst other things they protect the wearer against the [754] evil eye, belief in which the Indians had evidently adopted [177 from the Spanish–Moorish superstitions of their conquerors. 532] You can find too the small carved hands that are so typically Moorish, and the most powerful means of averting the evil eye. Yet another is more in the negro style. The skulls of

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462 Fishing, an activity of relative unimportance in Guajiro economic life, is also done by the men. It is limited to obtain-
[226] ing certain edible species or to gathering oysters for the pearl trade, and, as in hunting, it is the men who manufacture the necessary equipment and implements.

Agricultural work is divided between the two sexes. The man is responsible for the preparation of the land for sowing: cutting, clearing and burning, and the tasks of weeding and hilling. Although planting is women's work, certain vegetables have to be planted by men because according to their magic beliefs if these plants are sown by women they will never give a good crop either in quantity or quality; such plants are, for example, fruit trees and creeping plants such as the water melon, melon, calabashes, etc. It is also men's work to fence in their plots of land.

The migration of many males to Venezuela and to other regions bordering on the peninsula, due to the climatic conditions already mentioned, has made it permissible for the women to take part in agricultural tasks normally considered suitable only for men.

The Guajiro man is the one who builds the dwelling. He obtains the help he needs in the form of communal labor, and with this aid he transports the materials and builds his house without any aid from his wife.

In leisure moments or during the hottest hours of the day,
462 while resting on hammocks, young Guajiro men apply themselves
32 to carving rings, beads for necklaces or bracelets, and amulets or small figures to hang round the neck or wrist, which yield a small income; to make these he uses broom handles, small plastic combs, ram and goat horns, coconut shells and coral. During these moments or whenever the opportunity arises, he also makes toe pieces for his sandals, using a small loom. This
[439] occupation has an economic end in the towns where such articles find a ready sale.

[103 cont.]

789 This charm is personal and nontransferable. If a person who is not the legitimate owner should touch it, he has to submit to the diet just described or his punishment will be madness; 262 128 his character will be changed, he will have fits of anger without apparent or justified cause, he will suffer from permanent nervousness, and his mind will be come deranged. However, he may look at the charm with the owner's permission without suffering any change in personality. It is useless to steal the charm as it will give no aid to the thief but will remain faithful to its original owner and will most likely cause harm to him who may have appropriated it illegally.

As do nearly all charms, it has its special covering and is kept together with achiote in three successive bags which have been knitted from wool by [104] the same Indian woman who inspired the charm with its magic power. As a matter of fact it is not known of what the charm is made because it cannot be completely uncovered.

787 What is the quality it possesses that makes it so valuable? 789 The native belief insists that when the owner sleeps it makes him dream what is going to happen to him down to the most insignificant detail. During his sleep it tells him who his hidden enemies are, what people wish to do him harm, where they will spy on him when he is traveling on the road, what difficulties he will encounter in the negotiation of an agreement, what words he should use, etc. The owner of the charm wakes up with a start, gets up immediately, quickly finds the charm, and taps it lightly, which averts all evil.

According to the Indians, the charm is like another person that is in every place where its owner is not; it knows the intentions of other people, deduces what is going to happen, and warns its master.

226 751 Charm for the sea. In Ríohacha one of the Indians who assisted in fishing and the cartage of cargo to and from the ship at the wharf wore, hanging from his neck, a piece of bark of a tree the species of which we could not determine. When we asked him the reason for the charm, he explained that he wore it to safeguard himself from the waves of the sea, that is, to avoid being drowned if some day he should fall into the sea.

[104 cont.]

226 751 [177 184] Never again during our visit did we come across this type of magic object, which leads us to believe that it does not belong to the Guajiro cultural whole, but that it is due rather to the influence of the mulattoes of the coast who, as is well known, are extremely superstitious.

*756 778 Charms used to call spirits. The use of these charms, to which we have referred on other occasions, is limited to shamans. They use them to facilitate the arrival of their protector spirits when they are in a curing trance or are carrying out any of the functions related to their status. Up to the present we have not arrived at a satisfactory explanation of their influence on the spirits, but we might now bring together the few data we do have. One of the female shamans who served us as informant and who [776] came from the Sierra [de] Jarara possessed charms to attract her spirits. She explained to us that as those spirits are assistants, some to young shamans, some to old ones, the charms to facilitate the arrival of their spirits are also of two classes: for young shamans and the other for old ones.

The charm is made from the leaf of a plant called in Guajiro [824] morõno, which is found in abundance on Itojoro Hill. A woman expert in such articles makes them there [105] by grinding the leaves of the plant to a paste and shaping this into a rounded form which she keeps in a small bag of red thread. The larger ones are reserved for the older shamans, and the others, combined with some of the former, are for the younger.

778 789 The guará or guale. The guará or guale, difficult to find at present, is a kind of idol made from solid gold or silver and of [325] which only a few examples exist as they are no longer made. This small idol is an anthropomorphic representation in fetal position, [532] and it does not seem to be an autochthonous product of the Guajiro as they themselves assert that these idols come from their [173] distant ancestors, by which they mean the Arhuaco of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta.

This fetish is known sometimes by the name Mareiwa, a divinity or spirit similar to the idea of God but which appears to be nothing else than the spirit of Rain, as we shall see further ahead (cf. "Mareiwa and Wanurú").

/17 cont./

868 Preparation for achieving the upright position is started off by the mother, since when he is three months or sometimes less, she stands him on his feet, supporting him by the armpits and, later, the child will do the same by himself, holding on to his mother's shoulders. When he is going about his usual life on the floor, once he can sit up alone, he finds opportunities to make use of his legs, and once he comes upon something to grip he can pull himself up. With such help he starts off on his first steps, and from the tenth or eleventh month (the fourteenth at the latest), with individual differences, he starts to take his first steps without assistance. Then his mother will fix below the inner eaves /alero/ of the house a horizontal rail of a handy length and height for the child to practice his newly acquired skill.

868 At two years the infant walks all about the house as well as along the paths that lead to the well or the corn field. If it is
857 a boy, the father, the older brothers, or the uncles like to take
231 him with them when they go to near-by places to graze the livestock, so that he may learn and become strong. On these excursions the child begins learning his future work, first by observation and later by participating, when his age permits, until he becomes expert. It usually happens that the Guajiro shows a marked preference even as a child for some certain class of livestock and so, when he is a little bigger, he is put in charge of these, a responsibility he discharges with pleasure during the greater part of the day in the company of his father, uncle, or brothers. After an early breakfast he collects the part of the flock or herd he is responsible for, or he brings them out of the corral where they have slept. He pastures them during the day, never letting them out of his sight, lying down in the shade during the hottest hours of the day, or returning to his hammock at home if not too far away. Toward nightfall he returns home with the livestock to water them and put them into the corrals, or after counting them he leaves them near by in a safe place close to the house.

/43 cont./

857 462 they are oriented toward and are practiced in terms of this biological division. Let us analyze this separately:

a) Boys: We saw when speaking of games how adult men are opposed to a mother's obliging a boy to carry out feminine jobs as they think that such work degrades him, means a loss of manly dignity, will cause him to become effeminate, and will militate against their making of him a brave man, the ideal of the Guajiro. The boy begins the activities corresponding to his sex at an early age, almost as soon as he can follow his father or favorite maternal uncle about in their daily pastoral work, especially the first-born, as the father, as we have already noted, expresses his wish for the first-born to be a boy so that he can join him in his comings and goings.

857 462 231 So from the time he is very young, the boy rises at three in the morning, goes in search of the livestock that sleep in the corrals or fields /44/ near by, and drives them to water. During the day he keeps the herd together in the places where there is grass, not going too far away from the wells, watching them continually to prevent thefts, especially of the young calves by wild animals, or those entangled in brambles; during the long summer he learns the job of casimbero /"water controlled" -- Tr./, that is to say, to wait at the edge of the casimba (1) for the arrival of the animals who are in search of

1. An artificial well.

water, in order to give them enough, putting it in the troughs that surround the well. He learns to milk, a job that is generally given to the men, though in grand houses it is frequently done by the female bond servants and slaves. He also learns from the grownups to whose care he is entrusted how to handle newly born animals and sick ones, to lasso them, to master them in order to brand them; to mark goats by a cut in the ear; to break in horses; to recognize the good points of a saddle horse; to track an animal that is lost by the tracks it leaves,

857 /44 cont./
462 an activity he should practice from an early age as he is obliged
231 to find all animals that wander away; to make bows and arrows and stalk animals when hunting. On his own part, with his
857 small friends he organizes hunts for machorros (2) and various
462
224

2. Edible lizard.

kinds of birds and makes traps in the wells for pigeons. He helps catch the seasonal birds which arrive at harvest time, keeps watch during the night on traps set for deer, learns to slaughter the animals required for household consumption and to make the best use of them.

857 In agricultural work he helps in the task of clearing his
462 maternal uncle's land of trees, and later looks after his own
241 piece if he has such, clearing it and leaving it ready for the women to sow the seed; he also plants fruit trees and creepers and attends to weeding. Harvesting work is done by the women. In places where fishing is practiced, he takes part, when he is about ten years old, in related activities, such as opening to extract pearls. He also takes part in making farm tools, sacks, harnesses, hats, coconut-husk necklaces, etc., when his elders are employed in these activities.

857 To the boy falls the preparation of gourd vessels, basins,
462 cups, plates, etc., used for different domestic purposes. The
415 job of preparing the gourd dishes includes all the processes from picking the fruit when /45/ ripe, opening it and taking out the pith, and, when the rind is still tender, incising decorative
[531] designs on it with a metal knife or the sharp point of a bone or stone. These designs are usually of his own personal invention.

857 Lastly, he may be given odd jobs to do such as the deliver-
462 ing of a message, the fetching of some necessary article or other, accompanying someone sent from his home, etc., but fundamentally he devotes himself to his pasturing, the constant occupation of the Guajiro.

/212 cont./

423 It is inalienable. That is, it cannot be sold or given to another
425 group or to a white, as the sale or gift would have no legal value. The only element that is marketable in the property is the right of usufruct. Thus with regard to land, ownership is established as follows: 1) Agricultural products are the sole individual property, with conditions of use and abuse. The individual may sell it, give it away, destroy it, etc. 2) Traditional agricultural land is also almost individual property because anyone may dispose of it within the circle of his immediate consanguineous relatives by willing it. What can be inherited, however, is not the land itself but the right to cultivate it. And this right is reduced to a limited number of families within the clan.

●231 Another aspect which we should consider in the distribution
423 of clan land is that of the pasturing zones. Nomadic pasturing is the most important occupation in the economic life of La Guajira, but it is subject to the geographic conditions of the peninsula, and it is especially determined by the presence or absence of water, as this element is indispensable for making use of the territories /213/ available for pasture; in addition, the concept of wasteland is likewise ruled by lack of water. Water, furthermore, after the introduction of stock raising, which was initiated during the time of the Colony, caused the evolution of the concept of ownership in communal land. We shall see how.

We know that before the introduction of stock raising into La Guajira, land was distributed among the different clan groups, and that among them there existed communal use for hunting and collecting, activities that still subsist. It would appear that in that epoch the zones of greatest value were under the dominion of certain families who regularly enjoyed their usufruct. Dwellings under the special conditions of their economic activities were very mobile and improvised. On accepting stock raising as the chief activity in their economy, the Guajiro, forced by the physical and climatic conditions of the land, continued the nomadic life he was accustomed to, driving his herd at different seasons to the regions of best pasturage when this was scarce, and being guided

/213 cont./

231 423 in this by the availability of water. For these reasons dwellings continued to be mobile and transitory, though not so improvised as before, since some were built in regions that served as general headquarters while they were absent with their herds.

231 312 423 In order to take full advantage of pasture in some regions where water was scarce during the summer, the community would dig wells and even build small dams to collect rain water which could be made use of by all those who had co-operated in the construction or by those who legally had access to them. Land which the new well or dam brought into use could be used by all those who had rights to it to water their livestock, a legal form practiced to this day.

At the present time we find on the land of each clan a variable number of wells which generally have been made by communal labor; all members of the family group are permitted access to them. Based on this indispensable need for water the Indians have built more stable, secure, and comfortable housing around these watering places, which are to be found on the best grazing land without encroaching on agricultural land and avoiding causing harm to their neighbors' pasturage. In this way every clan member in any region has ample pasture land at his disposal situated /214/ near his dwelling, on which he can graze his livestock during normal times in the peninsula without having to drive them to other pasture with the change of seasons or interfering in the economic life of his close neighbors.

231 423 361 However, as La Guajira suffers from periods of drought during prolonged summers which totally destroy all grass and dries up the sources of water, the Guajiro is forced to migrate from one place to another in search of food and drink for his herds. In these movements he calls at the traditional clan lands situated in different parts of the peninsula, to which he has legal access by marriage rights; or, as a last resort, he va de remonta, that is, he drives his herds to the pasture lands of the clan groups living in the mountains where the winter arrives earlier than in the other regions and consequently is ready for earlier grazing; hence they can lend their aid to the men of the plains /llanura/ who

/214 cont./

231 find themselves in difficulties. In payment for this benefit of
361 pasturage and use of water a cow /res/ or goat is given on enter-
423 ing. Also, it is customary voluntarily to give another animal when leaving, or a personal gift to the head of the region visited.

423 Recently a new aspect of this general situation has risen:
Small but well-to-do families construct a well near their dwell-
425 ings or in the adjacent pasture land without any assistance from
178 the community. The other Guajiro admit that the family who made this well has first right to its use but affirm that they are under obligation to permit it to be used by others when in need. Nevertheless, it is becoming common for well-to-do families to deny its use even to needy individuals of their own clan, with whom they no longer wish to recognize family ties that would otherwise bind them.

These phenomena have made the concept of communal land ownership evolve. By depriving others of access to the sources of water supply, rich families usurp for themselves the common lands to which this water source is essential. In this way zones of private property are established which permit more sedentary stock raising as well as the construction of sounder and more comfortable dwellings. These new landowners are beginning to fence off their property into veritable haciendas, a state of affairs which were never before seen in the former stages of social evolution.

Another fact that is giving rise to private ownership of land is the reclaiming of wasteland by the construction of wells, since whoever makes one becomes the individual owner of the land involved, land which can be transmitted by inheritance according to the norms of inheritance already studied. /215/

In addition to the cases noted, there is another system of acquiring land, and it is the usurpation of the property of those conquered in a war provoked by the breaking of the regimen for personal security and collective stability of a clan group. Such land, distributed with all the other goods taken from those conquered, goes to enrich the family property of the victors.

755 [22 cont.]
796 of the patient or of his family — then those attending are presented with a good portion of meat.

*756 Shamanistic treatment of animals. When pestilence breaks out among a Guajiro Indian's animals, he has no other
● 231 known recourse to repel it than to seek the services of a shaman.
755 As he already knows in a way the accustomed ceremonial in such cases, he prepares days beforehand a sufficient quantity of corn chicha, which is used in the chicha-maya dances, and he invites a large group of women to come to the dance. He then calls in the shaman, who, once arrived on the scene, has all the animals collected and enclosed in a large corral. While this operation is being carried out, the shaman begins to prepare himself for the ceremony, inviting his protector spirit to cast out the pestilence, and dressing himself (or better said, undressing himself) in a neighboring hut as is customary for the ceremony of the cure of human beings, keeping on his loincloth if he is a man and her dress if a woman. He then places a crown of wool on his head and readies the maraca, which he keeps in his hand during the entire event. Following this, he enters the place where the animals are, goes in among them, and turns himself around in circles about them, continually shaking the maraca and spitting on their bodies the juice from the manilla he is continually chewing. During all this time, he intones his ritual invocatory chants, [23] which are different from those used for the cure of humans, and he never stops shaking the maraca. This operation generally lasts for several days and is only suspended for those moments when the shaman rests. When he considers that the evil spirits which have caused the pestilence have been successfully driven off, he suspends his activities and orders for the fiesta to begin, which is started by the sacrifice of an animal, the distribution of chicha to those present, and the dance. The animals are driven to the fields while numerous gunshots are
[77] fired (in older times arrows were shot off). These are intended
[789] to complete the work of the shaman in driving off the evil spirits of the disease.

*756 Shamans' dreams. When a shaman dreams of a long trip
787 through unknown territory, it is an evident sign that he is due to
[761] die. When the dream is over, he attempts through "shamanizing"

[82 cont.]

775 formalities agreed upon with the victim's family, find that it imposes on them a sort of punishment, a rhythm of life totally different from that to which they were normally accustomed and which can be interpreted in two ways: (a) as a purification rite; (b) as a change of personality, in order to avoid the mortifying presence of the spirit face to face with the murderer. [83] To us the second interpretation appears clearer and more acceptable as we do not know of any other rites of purification in La Guajira which can show reason for the first assumption.

682 783 A repentant murderer, according to the statement collected by our colleague and expedition companion, Licentiate Milcíades Chaves Ch., is punished by his own will as well as by the decision of his family through norms imposed by his uncles and aunts. He voluntarily submits to them so as not to commit a second time the same delict which constituted his own ruin and that of his family, who like himself are liable to become victims of the retaliation of the murdered man's relatives in revenge for the murder. This punishment is executed in the following way:

1) The murderer must spend five or six days hiding in the selva or some distant mountain.

[262] 2) He must take no solid food. He is only allowed to take hot drinks or very thin mazamorro (corn chicha), and water.

3) He must not speak to anyone and must be on the alert all the time, with his rifle ready to defend himself from his enemies.

4) He must disguise himself: cut his hair, wear special belts and fringes, and wear a robe, black in color. (This robe is so small and short that it barely covers the top part of his body.)

[513] 5) In the forest he must sleep on the ground at night. Above all, he should not sleep face upward because the soul of [995] his victim may climb into his mouth and press on his chest, even to the extent of killing him by asphyxia. He may only return to his home for a short time to rest in a hammock, but this must be so small that he cannot lie comfortably on it, and due to this inconvenience he is unable to sleep for long.

6) He must eat and sleep very little and be continually [231] alert, having for his only companion a dog, whose senses will warn him of the approach of danger.

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
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Reciprocal Relations of Maternal Uncle and Nephew

604 The general attitude of the maternal uncle toward his nephew is one of giving; and that of the nephew, one of receiving.

428 Let us first deal with inheritance. Theoretically, the rule
604 is that the maternal uncle must leave all of his property, both
183 personal and in the form of cattle, to his oldest sister's eldest son.
431 All his other nephews,—other sons of the same sister or sons of other sisters,—are left out of the inheritance. This is the rule. However, in practice it seldom works, as the maternal uncle during his life continues to transfer his property in the form of gifts to his own male children, so that at the time of his death there is nothing, or very little, left of his property to be inherited by his nephew, unless the uncle is a very rich man. Only among the wealthy class has the uncle always something left to bequeath to his nephew. For this he does not need a will as it falls within the prescribed rule mentioned above. The following cases are illustrative.

428 Ilaro is the eldest son of a man named Rafael living at Uribia,
431 and, like his mother, belongs to the Arpushaina sib. Ilaro's
604 mother is the elder of the two sisters of Calleja, who in turn is the eldest of five siblings, — two sisters and three brothers. Thus Ilaro, his mother, and his uncle Calleja are all seniors. Calleja is not looked upon as a rich man, although he is well
[556] fixed and belongs to the middle class. Ilaro, however, does not expect much, if any, inheritance from his uncle and is aware
[231] that the latter has been transferring most of his cattle,—the most valuable possession in Guajiro eyes,—in the form of gifts to his own sons. The writer visited Ilaro's uncle who lives
[422] nearby and saw the cattle already branded with his son's personal brand. Ilaro is not at all concerned about the property of his other uncles as their property will pass automatically to their own children.

This next case illustrates a different situation. Pacheco is a very rich man who lives in Carraipia. He has a nephew,—the senior maternal nephew,—who lives there also. Pacheco has a son of his own and the present writer observed that some of Pacheco's cattle have already been branded for his son, but

7iBollinder T-5 (1920, 1959) 1957
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before, when the casimba had dried up and the cattle had roamed round the troughs bellowing till they collapsed and died. The horses, on the other hand, had given up the ghost without complaint. 312 731

The water was already turgid; before long it would be as thick as gruel. The water we had been given by the bishop was now finished, and we had to boil the water from the casimba, which had a beastly taste and did not quench our thirst because of the salt in it. The best water is that near the coast. 312

The cattle and horses were thin, but the men at the well looked strong and well-nourished, as did the women. But how would they look by the time October came with its rain? It was then only July. And suppose no rain came? Or only a few showers? That had happened before. The threat of it always hung over the Indians. If the rain god Juvap turned his face from them, they were lost. There were still patches of grass here and there, but it was dry and scorched. If need be the cattle could make do with cactus, despite the long spikes that could pierce a stout leather shoe with ease. Very, very carefully the cow lets one of the oval leaves slide into her mouth, almost sucking it in, so that the spikes are bent backwards; she then starts chewing as hard as she can. Often cows have more cactus stuck in their hides than they get inside them. Horses and mules, on the other hand, apparently do not like cactus and will not do more than nibble at it. It is too slow a business to eat it. The goats seemed able to find something to eat everywhere, and are themselves eaten sooner or later. Cattle are not often slaughtered, but goat is the daily fare. Live goats are also taken as provisions on journeys, being easily led on a rope. 132 312 231 776

We had halted only in order to let the animals drink and for the Indians to fill their water containers. The Gaffer needed a lot of water now—his thirst was unbounded—but the calabashes were in his wife's charge and she only allowed him an occasional gulp. Also he was having to walk, for she was tired and had mounted the donkey again. The Lad tried to enliven the company by imitating the donkeys when they

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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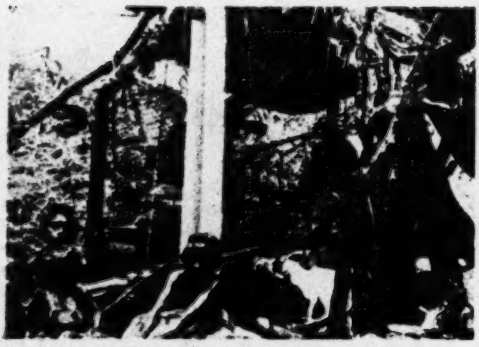

Work-hut with warp set up for a man's sash

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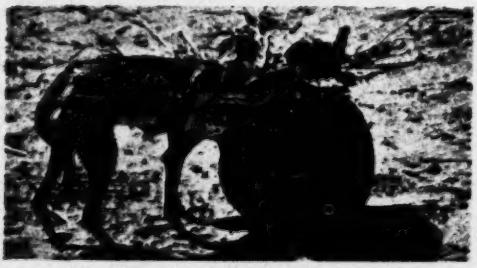

The thin Indian dogs licked the last out of the pot

Below: *Indian chiefs, in ceremonial clothes, on their way to a* purchi

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[Facing p. 81]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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854 also encourages it to crawl and walk. Indian babies can sit without help, when a white baby is still unable to raise itself. At six months the brown Indian baby is already a toddler.

868 The conversation turned on to the upbringing of children. Even in its earliest games the Indian babe imitates its parents' occupations, thus amusing itself and learning at the same time. The Indians are very careful to see that from the beginning the children learn to distinguish between the men's and women's spheres of work. An Indian father would be very indignant if he saw his baby son playing at cooking, which is not male work. Therefore the son accompanies his father to the herds even as quite an infant, while his sister will stay at home.

861 We had already noticed that children were sometimes chastized, which is not usual among other primitive Indians. The old women saw that they behaved themselves and were not disobedient. Food was rationed both for the [262] children and the grown-ups, and it was considered very shabby to pinch another's helping. To drop anything edible on to the ground was strictly punished, and the worst offence of all was for a child in anger to throw food on to the ground and trample it. Possibly this was yet another relic of Moorish custom, for in Morocco it is considered a serious crime to spill crumbs of bread. When the children became bigger they were merely scolded, but they were then generally no longer under their parents' supervision, but with relations with whom they spend long periods. The first-born son usually grows up with his eldest maternal uncle, who is the boy's real guardian, and he teaches him cattle-rearing and agriculture and the queer laws of his people.

604 855 868

231 857 Girls also go to their mother's relations and help in the household. We had already seen how a Guajiro boy had to [602] work. He had to be at it from the moment he stepped out of his hammock at three in the morning. First he and some others gathered the cattle to water them. If they were watered at a deep casimba, he had to run up and down with water-jars to fill the troughs of hollowed-out trunks. He

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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milked the cows and then watched the herds, keeping a particular eye on the calves, kids and lambs, which a beast of prey might take. He also had to look out for two-legged thieves. He soon learned where pasture was best and most suitable. He could see to the cattle, knew what to do when they fell ill and how to break in horses. The older ones were expert at tracking animals that had strayed—they could do this at the age of ten. He would have made himself a bow and arrows almost as soon as he could walk and have practised with them. With these he shot edible lizards and small birds. He set snares for doves. He watched at the men's deer traps by night and he took part in the slaughter. During the rains he helped to weed his maternal uncle's plots and prepare them for sowing. If he belonged to a fisher family on the coast he had to take part in his father's trips out to sea and dive for pearls. When not otherwise occupied he made carrying-nets.

'Do you see those,' said the old man, pointing to some bottles and bowls of calabash rind lying on a roof drying in the sun. 'It is the young ones who make those. They scrape out the inside and then carve figures in the rind while it is fresh and soft. You want to buy them, you say? That's nothing to sell. The children will gladly give you them.'

The children brought us their calabashes. They had to explain what the figures signified and naturally I gave them things in exchange.

It goes without saying that both boys and girls often have to run errands and sometimes act as nursemaid. Little girls have to learn to fetch water and look after the fire. Then they are shown how to make maize gruel and they have to practise baking maize cakes. They soon get to know all the wild and cultivated plants used in the Indian household. Then they take part in the harvest, which is the women's affair.

In those families which own many head of cattle, the sons, once they return from staying with their uncles, are often left much to themselves, for their fathers have no time for them. Their fathers neglect their upbringing and never administer physical punishment, since they risk being called

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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796 to marry his partner, he must pay for her in the normal
786 way. Otherwise the young men and girls just give each other mementoes.

One of the games forming part of the dance of the kid is the so-called virginity test. The girls gather round a singer who improvises a variation of the theme: 'Let us see, pretty maid, if you have kept your innocence, if any man's hands have touched your body.' He then runs his hands over each girl in turn from the tip of her big toe, over her leg, knee, crotch, belly, chest and neck to the crown of her head, all the while trying to tickle her. Whoever neither laughs nor moves is declared a virgin and lauded by the singer. She goes and stands on one side, while those who cannot keep from laughing and so are not virgins, go to the other. Afterwards pretence presents are given to the 'virgins'.

796 When young people are gathered together as during the
842 dance of the kid festival, all sorts of dance-games and
524 pantomimes are performed. Some are connected with fertility rites, as those imitating the mating-play of turtles and goats. In the latter, the girl 'goats' are enclosed in a ring of men who try to prevent the male 'goats' from getting inside it. If any of the youths manage to leap in, they behave exactly like billy goats, pursuing the 'nannies', nosing at them and pretending to mount them. A number of the games have no erotic connection, but refer to all sorts of events in the lives of men and animals. Animals are imitated most faithfully.

One of the games depicts a meeting between the low-
796 landers and highlanders of Guajira. Each of the two sides
524 has a singing leader. They exchange greetings and then each describes the situation in their homes: in the one plenty of rain, good harvests, plenty to eat and fat cattle; in the other drought, starvation and misery.

Those who are lucky with their climate then invite the others to their territory, and they all dance off in the same direction. The game is a reference to the fact that the low-
[423] landers have the right against payment to send their herds
[231] to upper Guajira at certain times of the year to graze.

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accuse an animal of spreading the disease. A certain bird is 756
considered dangerous, spreading, as it flies over the hut,
bronchitis and coughs, which in the first place attack the [753]
children. A child's illness is often ascribed to something
that happened to the mother during pregnancy. If a child
gets a pain in its stomach, the wise woman may say that this
is because a spirit ate some of the mother's food before the 755
child was born. To deal with this, duck feathers are burned
and the child's behind smeared with ash. In other circumstances it is because a fox has nosed at something the mother subsequently ate. In that case a fox has to be killed and the child given some of its grilled meat, at the same time as the child's behind is rubbed with burned fox-bone. The child will get quite better—if the old woman is right and it was a fox. These women are quacks even in the Indians' eyes, and yet they turn to them first.

If an animal is sick, the piache himself is at once sent for. [231]
The cattle are driven into an enclosure and the piache dances round and among them, wearing his head-dress, torso bare, and brandishing his maraca, singing song-spells and spitting tobacco juice upon the animals. After some days of this, the treatment is concluded with a chichamaya dance.

The Guajiro, of course, believe in dreams. During sleep 756
the spirit frees itself and learns things of which it knows 787
nothing while the individual is awake. Because of this it is considered risky to neglect warnings or things of which one has dreamed.

A piache attaches special importance to his dream-experiences and knows how to interpret them. If he dreams that a snake bites someone, it means that that person will be struck by a poisoned arrow. If he sees fire in his dream, that indicates fever, while violent rain denotes the death of some rich Indian. Blood in a dream also means death, and an animal being butchered means that a person of the same age or sex will die. If the piache dreams that an enemy intends to kill a specific individual, he hastens to visit the person to help him. An animal of a certain colour is killed and the threatened individual smeared with its blood—

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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231 422 [133] Later that day we reached the coast at Castilletes. It was desert country there, dreary, full of sand-dunes and furrowed with salt water channels. There we came across an emaciated horse, a poor brute that had obviously strayed and was now desperately looking for water and grazing that did not exist. It stopped and drank sea-water. It must have been dying, and the kindest thing would have been to shoot it, but that could have cost us dear. The owner would have demanded unreasonable compensation. Instead, the Indians went to see what clan mark it had, so that they could report to their fellows in Castilletes. News spreads quickly among the Indians. The owner would not have much joy of his horse, for the hide could not be worth much, but he would learn where it was to be found.

Francisco got us to Castilletes easily. He had been there often before, even once on our behalf—to fetch gold, literally, for we were expecting a transfer of money from Caracas and it came in the form of gold, American, Venezuelan and Colombian gold and silver coinage circulated in Guajira, but the Indians would have nothing to do with notes.

694 There was, of course, a certain risk in conveying several hundred gold coins through Guajira from a slave-port like Castilletes, where there were plenty of shady characters. The money, however, was packed in boxes made for photographic plates and the same schooner from Maracaibo brought some packages for the monks, to whom our money was also addressed. The boxes interested neither Customs nor others. Francisco rode a wretched horse and had dressed in his worst jacket and a pair of indecently ragged trousers, so that he did not look as though he were carrying large sums on him, while his horse would not have tempted any thief. Thus, all had gone well, Francisco had not been nervous, though we had.

Castilletes was the only place on the south coast where white people lived and to which whites frequently came. Schooners from Venezuela put in there. The frontier between Colombia and Venezuela ran between the houses, of which there were about a dozen in those days. The sur-

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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Pile-dwellings with a kitchen garden

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Indians wait patiently while the leader of the expedition sleeps in his hammock

Below: *Flock being driven over the steppe*

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[facing p. 176]

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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THE GOAJIRO

By John M. Armstrong and Alfred Métraux

THE REGION

The Goajira Peninsula, projecting as part of Colombia northward into the Caribbean Sea, contains an area of about 5,000 square miles, bordered on the east by the Gulf of Venezuela. The broad level plain known as Lower Goajira occupies the base of the peninsula, while the northern extremity is known as Upper Goajira and is characterized by three distinct ranges of hills. These hills have a maximum height of 2,600 feet (about 780 m.) and are separated from each other by two broad plains which run from sea to sea. The country is dry and infertile, the vegetation consisting of divi-divi, cactus, pricklypear, and other xerophitic plants. Even these are absent where bare rock and stone slides preclude vegetation. Rivers are almost nonexistent, the country being cut in all directions by shallow, dry, sandy water courses which drain off rain as it falls. In the south and west, on the treeless prairies or savannas, the land is more hospitable. Here the Indians do most of their stock raising.

LOCATION AND HISTORY

The pastoral *Goajiro* who inhabit this peninsula (map 6) differ profoundly from the agricultural forest-dwelling *Motilones* and *Arhuaco* to the south. Juan de Castellanos, in his "Elegías de los Varones Ilustres" (1874), is the first to allude to these Indians, though he calls them *Cosina*. He states that in his time, about 1550, cattle were already abundant in the area. It seems that the adoption of pastoral life by the *Goajiro* took place soon after the Spanish settlement of that part of the continent. The name *Goajiro* was, however, already known in the 16th century and was applied first by Pedro Simón (1882–92). The first reliable ethnographic information about the *Goajiro* goes back to José Nicolás de la Rosa (Nicholás, 1901) and Antonio Julián, who both visited these Indians in the 18th century. Jahn (1927, pp. 119–136) has gathered the few data concerning the *Goajiro* which he found in the early literature. A short summary of the first description of these Indians is given by Hernández de Alba (1936, pp. 8–12).

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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the chief game. The *Goajiro* who live near the coast sometimes catch 22
fish (with hook and line), lobsters, mollusks, and crabs.

Cattle raising.—The *Goajiro* are primarily nomadic cattle raisers and, 231
consequently, depend upon the water supply. In the rainy season they 221
seek natural depressions, which they sometimes enlarge artificially, where [312]
the water may gather. In case of drought they wander toward the sea, where wells 30 to 40 feet (9 to 12 m.) deep are dug.

Besides cattle the *Goajiro* keep sheep, goats, horses (pl. 72, *bottom, left*), mules, pigs, and domestic fowls, which they take with them wherever 231
they go. An estimate gives them 100,000 cattle, 200,000 sheep and goats, 20,000 horses and mules, and 30,000 donkeys. As cattle are a measure [556]
of wealth, the Indians are reluctant to kill them for food, but they utilize [438]
the milk or export the animals to Curaçao and Aruba in exchange for textiles and corn. Each tribe has its own cattle brand, and the annual [422]
round-up and branding is an occasion for great festivities. Horse races and other sports take place, and large quantities of food and drink are [527]
consumed.

Food preparation.—*Goajiro* diet consists almost entirely of meat and 262
milk products. Goats and sheep are killed every day or two for meat, 252
and the milk of the cows is made into butter and cheese. This diet is supplemented by yuca, cactus fruit, sugar, rice, and plantains, the last three obtained from Colombian and Venezuelan traders in exchange for skins. Meat that is not immediately consumed is suspended from tall poles, and skins are pegged to the ground and salted in preparation for sale. Butter is made by stirring the cream with a fluted stick in a calabash or wooden bucket. To make cheese, rennet is added to skimmed milk in a trough, and the curds are put in a primitive wooden cheese press, which is weighted with a heavy rock.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Although the *Goajiro* are of a common origin, they are divided into 614
sibs ("castes" or "tribes"), each living within a rather limited area 361
(Simons, 1885, p. 796). The sibs are split into local groups, which occupy extended villages or rancherías, each with 2 to 50 houses (ranchos) and 10 to 250 or more Indians. Houses are always within gunshot distance of one another and so disposed that surprise attacks would be difficult. If a village is at all permanent, a protective cactus hedge surrounds it.

Goajiro nomadism makes elaborate houses unnecessary. Dwellings 342
are mere lean-tos, arbors, and temporary gabled roofs supported on poles. Thatch is made from the core of the cactus, split lengthwise. Rough [562]
tables, chairs with rawhide seats, and benches are often used. The hammock is always present. House walls are often lacking, but a corner [88]
of the hut may be closed off for a girl's puberty seclusion. When mi-

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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291
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[492
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341]

PLATE 72.—Goajiro Indians. (Courtesy American Museum of Natural History.)

[Facing p. 380]

9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
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reported several in the vicinity of the town of Riohacha in Colombia. 614 582

Residence is normally matrilocal, although, at present, there is a tendency towards neo-locality. The author has found no case of patrilocality either in the field or in the literature. 591

The names of the five more important clans in Guajiro society, and those with which we are concerned in this article are: Uriana, Epinayú, Pushaina, Guajariyú, and Epieyú. These designations have lost meaning in Guajiro and not even the oldest members questioned by the writer remember what they mean. The clans also have an animal or plant totem closely attached to food and hunting taboos. How deep this totemic aspect of the clan goes the writer does not know and the two references found in the literature, A. Ernst (1887) and A. Jahn (1927), simply mention the fact without going into details. 614 [178]

Today the clans have no distinct geographic distribution. Members of the different clans are found scattered more or less at random over the whole peninsula, and in both Colombia and Venezuela. This may be due perhaps to the extensive migrations of families within the region in their quest for water for themselves and their domestic animals. This necessity has also probably contributed to the gradual breakdown of the matrilocal residence. The earlier literature suggests that the clans may have had, at one time, certain regional characteristics. Juan de Castellanos cites that the Guajiros living near what is now the town of Riohacha all belonged to the Uriana clan. A. Ernst goes as far as showing a distribution map of the clans. A. Jahn and G. Hernandez de Alba draw their conclusion of geographic distribution for the clans based on the earlier sources but definitely state that today the clans present the scattered distribution the present writer found. [166] [178]

The Guajiro culture may be described in brief as pastoral, with a small-scale supplementary agriculture, especially in the southern part of the peninsula where water and more fertile lands are available. Domestic animals, cattle in particular, represent the foundation of wealth to the Guajiro. His economic position, and likewise his social status, is measured in the number of cattle, sheep, goats, asses and horses he owns. This pastoral complex permeates practically every aspect of the culture. 233 241 331 556

9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
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The whole judiciary structure with its elaborate system of torts is based on the payment of a given number of domestic animals. There is no crime, including murder, that cannot be amiably settled by such payments (Petrullo, 1937). The acquisition of a bride is also reduced to the payment of a stipulated price, in terms of domestic animals, to be given to the maternal uncle of the girl.

Social, economic, and political status in the Guajiro society is intimately connected with the cattle complex. To have a high status an individual needs, primarily, two assets: he must possess a large number of domestic animals, in other words, he must be considered rich; and he must be an older man. If he lacks either of these requisites, he is not a leader, as he will not be sufficiently respected nor will members of his clan come to him to seek his advice. Consequently, leaders are not numerous in the Guajiro peninsula. The present writer knows only two individuals, both in Venezuela, who are today the unquestionable leaders of their respective clans. These men are Panchito Silva, of the Pushaina clan, and José de la Rosa Fernandez of the Uriana clan.

An analysis of the lives of these two men will be illustrative of the traditional methods of acquiring status among the Guajiro.

Panchito Silva, a man of about 80 years of age, lives in the native village of Sishipes in Venezuela. During his life-time he has had eight wives (two or three at a time) and now lives with his surviving two, one about 35 years old and the other about 50. He is a full-blooded Indian as has been the case of his wives. There is no trace of race mixture in his family. He has no clear idea of how many children he has had, apart from those living with him now (two men and five women). Yet he knows definitely that he has four younger brothers—who will inherit his wealth and position before these are passed on to his nephews—three sisters and twenty-five nephews and nieces (all sons and daughters of his sisters). His lack of concern towards his own children coupled with his keen interest in his nephews and nieces seems to be a clear indication of how strong the avunculate is in traditional Guajiro society. His holdings in cattle and other domestic animals are very large. Roughly he owns around 1,000 head of cattle and about 3,000 of sheep,

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114 two wives of the influential and intelligent Cacique Briscol
614 (alias Antonio Juan López); from both I was given the assurance that it is known to nearly all of their people. In a subse-
178 quent conversation with still other women it became clear
614 that the social and juristic role of the clan system had become simplified and dulled in the course of the centuries up to the present, and above all that the original rigor of its demands had become milder and in part even lost. Certain practices still maintained and various fragments of tradition permit one to piece together an adequately clear picture of the totemistic organization in Guajira, despite many manifestations of mother-right.

614 Our Indians have a mythological explanation of how the whole Guajiro people was originally divided into many clans
[212] (8). Each totem-clan has its individual symbol, comparable

8. Petrullo (p. 155) supplements this by confirming: "Casta [is] the major social grouping in Guajiro society. Each casta claims a mythological origin and holds sovereignty over a well-defined territory" /cited in English/.

to a monogram. Every clan-member marks himself and his
614 personal goods, predominately domestic animals, with it.
212 The Indians paint this symbol with ordinary watercolor on a
422 stone, carve it in wooden objects (plates, style of a mattock,
231 house posts), tattoo it on their arms, etc., all in plain fun and without any serious intention of demonstrating their right of ownership. On the other hand, the same symbol, which is peculiar to a clan, is branded without exception on every domestic animal that the individual clan-member owns. Obviously it is the same sign for all the animals of all the members of a particular clan; yet the animals remain /537/ the personal property of their owner, and the latter himself

/537 cont./

614 knows precisely which animals belong to him and which
212 property belongs to other clan-members.

231 In a way also customary among us (for example, the
422 burning on of the steed-brand for foals), the clan-symbol in Guajira is pressed into the skin of the domestic animal with a branding iron, usually on the rear leg, sometimes on
[413] the lower neck. The branding iron is a rod as thick as a finger and about a meter long, on whose lower end the brand, made in iron, is fixed. This is highly heated and briefly set on the skin of the animal with moderate pressure (9).

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9. Everyone knows that many livestock-raising primitive peoples use the method described here for "branding" their domestic animals, and, to be sure, do it primarily with the intention of indicating the individual possessor or a group consisting of several men as the owner. M. Merker (p. 163) reports this for the Masai. H. Field collected more than a thousand such markings (Figs. 24-43) among the Bedouin and related tribes in the Near East. It might seem surprising that individual ones among them are very similar to the brands of the Guajiro. This correspondence, however, can easily be traced back to the mentality of the natives and their undeveloped technical skill, as well as to the brittle wrought-iron itself. The "branding iron" probably goes back to an earlier period of mankind; from its place of invention, it went on its way

/537 cont./

171 231 422 around the world simultaneously with the domestic animals themselves.

614 212 231 422 177 614 212 773 The branding described was probably learned by the Indians from the Spaniards themselves, simultaneously with the adoption of the first European domestic animals, and has been retained since then. It is all the more surprising that the branding iron (hierro) appears in an old myth which for its part clearly states where the customary individual clan-signs came from. The following version (according to V. Gutiérrez, p. 168) is common in the northern part of the peninsula:

Not far from Nazareth (10) a hill rises behind Itojoro.

[797 131] 10. This post lies only several kilometers south of Puerto Estrella and is actually a small Catholic mission station. Cf. Stutzer, pp. 131 ff., and Barranquilla, pp. 151 ff.

Here, under an oil tree, Mareiwa (11) came into the world.

776 114 11. That is the spelling of this mythological name that I felt to be correct, as did V. Gutiérrez (p. 168). Chaves (1946, p. 307) explains in the myth concerning "Las Serranías de la Guajira," among other things: "Mareigua [is] one of the principal deities of the Guajiro people, who with his supernatural power converts persons into hills, separates the

/538 cont./

614 returned to them. He distributed among them the seeds of
212 the watermelon (Citrullus vulgaris), maize (Zea), squash,
773 and all the other vegetables with which the Guajiro nourish
[212] themselves. Until that time no Guajiro had laid out a seeded field; before that anyone who wished to eat had reached for the fruit that grew by itself. Mareiwa gathered all the
614 zancalargas (thin-legged grallatores) and weaver birds; he
212 commanded a flock of them to go far away and feed on
773 iguarayas (cereals) and the fruit of the Indian fig (Opuntia).
825 He likewise summoned a flock of rock pigeons; they brought hepechi cherries. Then he distributed the birds over all of Guajira. With their excrement they were to make the simultaneously eliminated seeds germinate; the latter were to grow and cover the whole land with a blanket of plants on which fruit would ripen and serve the people for food.

614 Mareiwa handed over to each native man a pair of goats,
212 donkeys, cattle, horses, and pigs. Then he assembled all
773 the people with their animals in the district of Arachi near
[230] Siapana. There, on a cliff, he engraved the symbols, one of which he intended to assign to each of the family groups, the children of Borunka. They are still visible today on that cliff.

Thus he established there the sign-patterns for the Epiayú, Ipuana, Uriana, Sapuana, Jayariyú, Apshana, Síjuana, Urariyú, Epinayú, Jitnú, Soriyú, Pausayú, Uriyú, Woriyú, Urenanaka, Matpishana, Uyarayú, Wariruyú, Jusayú, Woruboruyú, and others. Mareiwa handed over these property
[422] marks to the people in order that the movable property of one group would not be mistaken for that of the others.

614 Each group has its animal-sign by means of which it
212 distinguishes its property from that of the other groups. This
773 happened for the following reason: these animals were to
825 have become Indians. But they ate the herds that Mareiwa
422 had assigned to each group. As punishment he left them in their animal state as symbols of the individual groups which

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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The second water-hole had also proved to be dry, when they eventually found it. However, the chief's slave-worker, who was supposed to want to get my shot-gun, had known that there was a third water-hole some distance away. Francisco had never trusted the man, and no doubt had his reasons, but there was nothing to do but to follow him. It had been quite a long distance to this third water-hole and it had taken a lot of finding. The slave had not been sure of the way; but with their wonderful instinct they had reached it, and there was water in it. 579

Thus the slave had not deceived them, but Francisco had still felt uncomfortable. That was when he had fired the two shots. He wanted an answering signal so as to know that nothing had happened to us. I pointed out that the shots could have drawn the Cusina down on him. He had not thought of that, not being especially bright. However, we were no longer split up and the animals had had all the water they could drink. It was time to move on and we kept going till the heat of the coming day forced us to rest.

We flung ourselves down under a cactus and hung up a piece of canvas to protect us from the sun. The Indians made a fire with two pieces of stick and some dry horse-dung. This they fed with cactus branches and then put a pot of sea-water over the fire. Had they gone crazy, we asked.

No, Francisco told us, they were going to cure the animals of their tiredness. And hastily he added that the treatment was external.

When the water was hot the Indians took calabashes, filled them and poured the water over the animals' legs. The poor brutes leaped and jumped. The water was too hot and I pointed this out. Francisco explained that this was a recognized way of curing tired legs and pointed out that the animals had not been so lively for weeks. However, they cannot have liked the treatment much, for when the Indians approached with their 'medicine', they moved away. I forbade them to use scalding water; but when it had cooled somewhat they continued, expertly flinging calabash after 579 232

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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579 [232] calabash of salt water over the animals' legs. The fact remains that both riding and pack animals trotted along considerably more briskly that day.

The following day we could see Jepitz, solitary cone-shaped hill of the savannas, blue in the distance. The Cusina Hills had withdrawn. The worst of the danger from bandits must now be over, we thought. We were to learn, however, that the bandits made longer raids than we had imagined.

If we had now set course for Jepitz, or La Teta as the Creoles called it, we could have cut across western Guajira to Rio Hacha, a short cut that would have taken only a few days. We had other plans, however. We wanted to go into Venezuela, to which Southern Guajira and the coast up to Castilletes belongs, and visit the Sinamaica lagoons where, on the shores of Lake Maracaibo, live the Paraujano Indians, the Guajiro's nearest relatives. While the Guajiro's country is as dry as a desert, one could almost call the Paraujano water Indians, for they live in pile-dwellings out in the water. We knew that they did not retain as much of their original culture as did the Guajiro, though they still dwelt as their ancestors had, but even so we felt that it would be interesting to visit them. Also, as we had to admit to ourselves, the thought of all that water was tempting after going short for so long. There were still wide savannas ahead of us, but we knew that the worst was over.

594 We now came across a minor chief with his herds. He had camped under some trees and welcomed us with exaggerated friendliness, but then both he and his men had already had one over the eight. However, they were still at the merry stage, though fighting would inevitably come later. The chief had bought no small quantity of spirits. There was a whole row of kegs. When he heard that we intended to continue, which obviously grieved him considerably, he tried to press one of these kegs on us. We were to take it and drink his health on our way. We managed with considerable difficulty to decline the gifts and instead received a hammock, sandals and some arrows, which we valued much more. Then off we went.

The savanna was almost bare and we could not hang up

[4 cont.]
221 on the other hand, is a synonym of hunger, misery, and of death.

221 The conditions of their geographical situation and the oc-
361 cupation of stock grazing, to which the Indians have devoted
233 themselves since the Conquest, have accentuated their nomadic character because of the need to bring their herds to places where the indispensable pasture and water are available. Furthermore, this need has held back the formation of towns in the true sense of the word, as what is called a rancherías ["hamlet"] in La Guajira is nothing more than two or three huts of wood and thatch, inhabited by people related to each other and which may be several kilometers away from other rancherías. The presence of water at minimum distances greatly influences the location [5] of these habitations, so that the occupants are not obliged to walk long distances.

177 Only in those localities where the influences of civilizados
361 [generally, nonnatives] are greatly felt do we find what we may call urban centers, but in these the foreign element is more in evidence than the aboriginal. Such for example is the case of Uribia, capital of the Comisaría; Nazaret, a mission center; Maicao, Puerto Estrella, and Carraipía, points of trade with Venezuela, Aruba, Curaçao, and the interior of the country; and Manaure and Bahía Honda, centers of the salt industry.

* * *

175 The Guajiro Indian was never completely conquered.
648 Throughout the Conquest and the colonization, he kept up a series of wars with the Spanish authorities, whom he learned always to resist, thus maintaining his independence. But he kept up his trade relations with the whites, not only Spaniards but Europeans in general, who reached his shores where they established stations for fishing and the pearl trade, as well as with the group of Spaniards resident in Ríohacha, the western limit of the peninsula.

175 These contacts with European civilization were slowly
177 changing their ways of life in the major part of its aspects, whenever the Guajiro incorporated a series of relatively new elements

[146 cont.]

174 If we accept the idea that the Guajiro are descended from
192 the Arawak of the Guianas, with whom they are intimately con-
776 nected both by their language and culture, there is nothing
821 strange to be found in the formation of the name Mareiwa from
mali, male (the l and the r do not exist in the Guajiro language),
and íwa, words that are used to name stars and in consequence
must be related to the general Arawak cosmogony. In any case,
776 the linguistic association of star-rain-god-divinity confirms the
821 statement which we have made that Mareiwa [147] is none other
than the propitiatory spirit of the rains, and by the same token,
that of good harvests, of abundance, and of well-being.

The harsh geographical conditions of La Guajira and the
132 technical incapacity of the native to dominate and put them
182 in his service without incurring the great inconveniences which
776 are above all occasioned by the climate, have caused this
being (Mareiwa) to be raised to first position in the category of
[233 protector spirits of the community. Also, the changes brought
128] about in their economy during past centuries have contributed to
this advance in status, because since the introduction of stock
grazing, winter has become more and more indispensable for
the maintenance of pasture, without which the stock would
suffer serious losses. We have no data relating to the myths or
178 religion of these Indians at the time of the Conquest but what
776 we have unearthed and the fact that there is a veritable confu-
sion with respect to the origin and functions of Mareiwa point
to the fact that, in a certain way, the Guajiro are living in a
state of transition with regard to their divinities, we might al-
most say a moment of true creation of their gods which has not
yet been definitively achieved, and for which contact with
western civilization has created difficulties which by now are
practically insurmountable.

775 Wanurú. As we referred extensively to the wanurú when
we were speaking of sickness and the shaman, we shall add only
a few details here and systematize the knowledge we have ac-
quired about this matter up to now.

1. The wanurú can harm the Guajiro bodily and spiritu-
ally, bodily by means of such sicknesses as attack men, animals,

[151] Conclusions

177 Magic shows itself to be one of the strongest institutions
771 of Guajiro culture despite the fact that, as we have shown
789 throughout this study, it is gradually losing its importance in proportion to the lowering of the shaman's prestige as the spiritual leader of the group. This is due to the already mentioned factors of prosletyzing and acculturation on a rising scale, brought about by the influence of a continually increasing number of civilizado elements in the peninsula, as well as by the consequences of the acculturation experienced by the members of the society. However, it is magic that still dominates many of the aspects of the native's daily life, not to say the greater part, and it is this that we are trying to synthesize and briefly explain in this chapter.

132 1. Economy. The Guajiro's life, as we saw in the Intro-
182 duction is strictly dependent on the tyrannically dominating cli-
771 mate, given the conditions of the peninsula where this commun-
789 ity lives, relying as they do on the seasonal fluctuations of rains to which they have adapted their system of agriculture and stock grazing, essential sources of their economy. As the people's livelihood directly depends on these, the Guajiro, lacking the higher techniques of irrigation and water conservation, puts his hope of survival in methods of magic, whether they be personal, collective, or directly exercised by the curer-magician of the community. These are no other than the exorcisms carried out by the latter to attract the rains in the long summers by invoking his protector spirits and especially Mareiwa, the personification of good and of rain; or the adoration and ceremonies in honor of the iguana carried out by private individuals with the same end in view; or, in short, all the methods of magic we have enumerated in connection with the natural phenomenon of rain.

[241 Also in respect to the economy we must remember the
463] presence of women when the sowing of crops is done, which establishes a division of work by sex based on the magic association of the transmission of feminine fecundity to the seeds.

177 [152] Moreover, faced with the new phenomenon of stock
789 grazing, the native has adapted his magic methods to this, imposing the same or similar treatments used for the members of the

[152 cont.]

177 community, especially in cases of illness and pestilences, as can be seen in the section "Shamanistic treatment of animals" in
● 233 Chapter II. If, on one hand, stock grazing partly changed some
789 of the social system related to magic, on the other hand, at the same time it has also felt the influence of this institution to the point of acquiring its own characteristics which differentiate it from other systems of stock grazing, which follow, in general, the lines laid down by the Spanish colonists. Magic is sui generis and plays its part today, as the oldest institution can, in Guajiro culture.

789 Moreover, not only in the collective sense but in the individual, the action of magic on the economy shows itself very clearly in the charm [contra] to make oneself rich, which we have described in detail in Chapter VI and which, as is logical within the Guajiro social dynamic, is connected to such important social matters as status, as we shall see later.

In the chapter which we have called "Magic as the Origin of the Theater in La Guajira," we may also see the effectiveness
[176] of magic in the private economy, since the owner of a piece of cultivated land is the one who organizes at his own expense the dance and fiesta given to attract the blessing of the good spirits, of Mareiwa on the crops, which require sufficient rain and certain climatic conditions to ripen. So great is their confidence that they believe that the more solemn the ceremony of the Dance of the Kid, the more benefit will be received from the spirits they invoke and fete, and the greater the probability of success for the harvest.

2. Society. Guajiro society, as we have said, has transferred a great part of the responsibility for its survival and
182 stability to magic and has a tranquil confidence in it, convinced
619 of its effectiveness and holding firmly to an institutional determin-
789 ism which only now is beginning to break down fundamentally. The cultural institution of magic represents to the individual Guajiro a system of life, thought, and belief which unites him to his group as much as does the consanguineous tie and the established clan system. Magic is the general and generalized institution, essentially independent of the characteristic social divisions

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
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the men speak some Spanish in addition to their native 105
language. Some of them know how to read and write. They
are almost entirely pastoral, possessing great herds of horses, [233]
asses, sheep, goats, and cattle. They have borrowed a great
deal from the Europeans but they have also kept their own
culture to a remarkable degree. As usual, native elements
are most strongly present in the non-material phases of culture.
Unfortunately they are not united or organized into a modern
state, though against all foreigners they stand together as a
unit. Authority is acquired by certain caciques through their [554]
wealth and membership in the 'casta,' the major social group- 614
ing in Guajiro society. Each casta claims a mythological 631
origin and holds sovereignty over a well-defined territory.
Many of these castas or social groupings are further sub-
divided. Each casta has its caciques whose function is chiefly
to settle disputes and whose position is inherited, matrilineally.
The oldest of them is allowed more authority, but generally it
is the wealthiest man, and the one who can marshal more [556]
retainers, armed with rifles and revolvers, who is listened to
with greater respect. There are further divisions in Guajiro
society. At the top are the caciques and their families who are 565
rich and powerful. The next group is composed of peons or
retainers in the service of the upper stratum, and at the bottom
are the 'slaves' who have been born in that condition or have
been enslaved following an offense to some powerful group, and [567]
who can even be let out to work for planters in the sugar fields
of Zulia The life of the poor people has not changed much
since early times. Polygamy is widely practised, as is also 595
concubinage, by the wealthier men. Each wife lives in her
own rancho and there awaits the occasional visit of her hus-
band. The children inherit property and social affiliations [611]
through the mother. Disputes that arise within a casta are
settled by arbiters chosen by the families of the litigants. [627]
Disputes inter-casta may be settled by arbitration if violence
is not desirable. Generally the killing of an individual gives [628]
rise to armed action with an eventual composition by payment.

My informants attempted to demonstrate the difference be- 671

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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bed of a watercourse. As the season advances, and the water recedes, they either dig after it or search for a lower level. Wells of 30 to 40 feet are very common. The water is reached by a staircase cut in the sand with an easy incline. Wells are easily distinguishable from a distance by the water-troughs, hollowed out of divi-divi trees, and called canoes. These are of the most distorted and grotesque shapes, and serve to water the herd. This is very hard work for the poor Indians during the summer months, and usually employs the whole day. Water from wells if taken early in the morning is always clear and cool. When bathing at a well the Indian uses a canoe; if he stops to drink, a bath invariably follows. Every well has a name, and the country is perforated by them like a mining camp. The wells of Chimare are phenomenal; dug out on the sea-shore, on a narrow strip of sand 100 yards in breadth, with the sea on one side and the salt-pans of Chimare, with layers of salt many feet thick, on the other, the water is, notwithstanding, perfectly fresh. There are seven holes about 10 feet deep. I may mention that Parashi is the name of a celebrated well dug in the river that drains the eastern flank of Ruma. It means "salt," probably because the water is brackish.

Second in importance are the water-tanks or *casimbas*. These are sometimes natural, as a small lake at the foot of Ruma and the casimbas of Cajua, filtrations from the river Naima, forming a large lake in the rainy season and many small dirty pools in summer, but nature aided by art is the rule. Some are immense undertakings, and large sheets of water, calculated to last a summer through if not too severe; such as Ariapá, the casimba of Puerto Estrella, a large crescent-shaped piece of water of about a quarter of a square mile. The water of these casimbas is always muddy and filthy for drinking purposes. The herds are driven in, and every Indian that passes is sure to bathe, so that in time almost a skin of grease forms on the top; and yet in places where they are it is the only water to be had, truly meat and drink combined.

The Goajira coast abounds in harbours and bays, but none of much importance. Between Rio Hacha and Cabo de la Vela, in the extensive bay formed by the latter, anchorage is found almost all along the coast. Numerous roadsteads have become known through the commerce with the Indians, and quite a large trade is carried on in the small coasting schooners. Further along the coast are three large bays. The first, or Portete, is a large bay, well protected from the easterly trades, and is certainly the best port along the coast. Unfortunately the entrance is narrow, intricate, and with shoals. The next, Bahia Honda, is almost a complete oval, some eight miles long by three miles broad, and with an entrance of nearly three miles broad. It is separated from the sea by a stone wall from 60 to 80 feet at the highest, but not enough to protect the bay from the strong easterly winds that blow with such force here. It makes but a poor harbour, the surf inside during the afternoons pre-

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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in an Appendix. With the exception of the Jirnues or Piesies, a 614
small tribe of 200 souls all told living in the valley of Macuira between
Ara-ara and Itujoro, the Guarirines, a mere handful of Indians under
the protectorate of the Jirnu, the Sijuanas, Soonanas, Arapainaydes,
Sámuriues, Araurujunas, and the Arpusiatas, all small local tribes,
strictly confined to the upper country or east of Cabo de la Vela, the
other castes are distributed throughout the breadth and width of the
land in the greatest confusion. Living as the Goajiro does, in continual 361
strife and warfare, whole families would speedily become poor or extinct, 614
if they did not take the precaution to separate their wealth and herds,
and only keep a few in one place at a time. Scarcity of water and [312]
pasture compels them to lead a nomadic life, and makes house-building [233]
out of the question, for they are eternally changing abode, now in the [342]
upper Goajira and then in the lower or plains. Some branches among
the castes have, in spite of their roving propensities, predispositions
for certain spots. For example, the proud and wealthy Pushainas are
chiefly found round and about Parashi and Ataipa. Urianas tiger
frequent Tarua and Bahia Honda a great deal, while near Portoto,
Ipuanas and Epinayues abound. In the neighbourhood of Auipana the
Ipuanas and Jussayues are in great force; at the Tota nearly all are
Jussayues, and near Las Guardias at Guarero, Sapuanas; these three
latter are mostly all Cocina Indians. With respect to these terrible 579
Cocinas, the word in Goajira signifies robber, highwayman, or outlaw.
They are neither a tribe nor even a separate caste as many have
supposed, but simply a band of freebooters—Indians that, for quarrels, [681]
murder, thefts, &c., have been expelled the family, and must needs take
to pillaging to earn a livelihood. For self-defence, and to better ply
their nefarious calling, they are banded together with recognised chiefs,
and so are able to go on their marauding expeditions in great force,
pouncing on any less numerous or unprepared party, to strip them of
everything. One party of Cocinas will rob another if they can. Nearly
all the Goajiros have relations among them, but an Indian is only safe
with that band to which his relation belongs. They have commercial
intercourse with them, and often succeed in getting stolen cattle back.
The Cocinas' territory *par excellence* is the Cojoro range of hills, taking
in the Tota, traversing the plains in a narrow band, and occupying the
Montes of Ocu as a refuge while scouring the plains. The country as
far east as the Macuira range is not exempt from their depredations,
especially between Clapana and the Laguna of Tucacas. The principal
Cocina chiefs are Alyechipara or Yorujama, as he frequently is called, an [631]
Uriana, and rules the country about Auipana and Yuripicho—he is the
worst and most feared of the lot; Porón, an Arpushaina, another devil—
he has appropriated the district of Cojoro; Masapain, a Jossyú, herds
it all about the Tota; and Morejildo, a Sapuana, is chief of the country
about Las Guardias. Once the terror of the plains, this wild beast has [648]

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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In weapons the Goajiro uses the old-fashioned bow and arrow, along 411
with the latest breech-loading rifle. He never strolls ten yards from the
rancho without his arrows stuck in his sash and the inseparable bow in [177]
his hand. Arrows are of three classes: bolts for killing birds and lizards, *kata*, having a nail or piece of hard wood for a head neatly covered with wax; arrows proper, for killing game and war, *siguarrai*, with iron heads made from old knives filed and worked into shape; and thirdly the terrible poisoned rays, *ainsard*: these are an ordinary arrow-shaft, with two inches of the bony weapon of the sting-ray (*queraguai*) loosely fastened to the end, well covered with poison. To prevent accidents, each head is covered by a cane sheath. The poison is putre- [278]
fied animal matter—toads, snakes, and other reptiles allowed to putrefy
and boiled down. When newly done the poison is said to be weak, the [825]
same when too old, so the arrows have to be re-dipped at stated intervals (about nine months). Death subvenes from three to twelve days afterwards, a sort of blood-poisoning, and is tolerably certain if the ray-bone has not been got out (a most difficult operation) and the wound [752]
well cauterized with a red-hot nail. The Cocinas of Yuripiche are reputed the best makers, and enjoy a sort of monopoly. A bunch of
twenty-four arrows is sold by them for a dress out of cotton (eight [437]
yards. None of the arrows are feathered; the shafts are made from cane, reeds, and also solid wood. As to firearms the Indian prefers the
old "Crown" or "Tower" flintlock (*carrabasa*) to the Remington rifle, [177]
on account of the uncertainty of getting cartridges. The American flintlock (*carrabasa capote-pasabasa*) is also much liked.

The principal industries among the Goajiras are collecting [illegible] [222]
divi-divi, and salt, and breeding horses, mules, donkeys, cattle, and 233
goats, with the accompanying sale of hides. Their animals are celebrated in the neighbouring provinces for being docile, having been all brought up as it were by hand, for the Indian spares neither time nor trouble on his flocks.

With regard to the language, a small grammar was published in 114
1878 by Rafael Calcedon. Unfortunately it was printed in Paris, while the author was in America, and is replete with errors in consequence. The language is a much richer one than is generally supposed, and taken 194
as a whole has a euphonious, pleasing effect on the ear, much more so than the neighbouring Arbuaco. I have no space here to dwell upon its beauties, but cannot dismiss the subject without giving the following three examples of much-used words:—

192

Adinga, a name.	Ita, a cap (general).	Yara, a headdress.
Tadinga, my name.	Tatita, my cap.	Takiyara, my headdress.
Padinga, your name.	Pitita, your cap.	Pikiyara, your headdress.
Nidinga, his name.	Nitita, his cap.	Nikiyara, his headdress.
Sadinga, her name.	Sitita, her cap.	Sikiyara, her headdress.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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hopnig for a taste of the kid. The Indians always share what they have. 600 609

When nothing remained of the kid but some well-gnawed bones, a wrinkled old man with a straggling beard approached. He looked famished and we gave him a couple of hooves, which he split and sucked at, while our men cracked the bones for themselves. The newcomer had to have tobacco too, so I gave him a cigar and a box of matches. He turned the matches this way and that in amazement, obviously never having seen such a thing before. He handed it back to me and I showed him how to strike a match, at which he gave a great jump. I had to light my own cigar before he dared let me put the match to his.

Then a group of Indians on horseback came galloping up. Just as they reached us a gust of wind bowled the tent over and a flying tent peg struck my wife on the mouth making it bleed. The newcomers were all young, unarmed men. They dismounted, flocked round my wife, examined her mouth rather roughly, but with the best intentions, bewailing the accident. They then tore Gladtvet's hat off his head and handed it to my wife as suitable compensation for the damage, appearing to be delighted with their judgment. I distributed tobacco and they and the thin old man gobbled up the water in which the kid had been cooked and which our Indians had somehow left in the pot. The young men then rode off, laughing gaily.

Our men did not seem to approve of their visit. They wanted us to move on again at once, as if they thought the young men were spies, so our little caravan moved off, leaving the wrinkled old man sitting there, smiling a wan old man's smile.

We travelled on across hillocks covered with dry scrub. 133
The ground was strewn with bleached bones. Then we came to sparse divi-divi woods, and towards evening we saw ahead of us a wide savanna covered with sparse short [233] grass, on which thin cows, bony horses and woolly sheep were grazing, and in the background rose the shadowy silhouette of hills. These, we felt, must be the Macuira Hills; and the Indians we met confirmed that they were.

9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
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the individual who was to provide the raw material for this article. This is more or less a biography of the man who was at the same time guide, interpreter, and driver for the author and with whom extensive conversations, both formal and informal, took place.[2]

Guajiro culture, like most native cultures in the New World, has suffered great acculturation due to the impact with European ways of life. Some of these cultures have been more resistant to change than others; and within one culture, certain aspects have remained closer to the traditional forms than have others. In Guajiro culture, it is perhaps the social organization, with all of its ramifications, that has resisted recent acculturation more than the other aspects of the culture. We know very little of the pre-cattle culture of the Guajiro and even Juan de Castellanos, writing at the beginning of the seventeenth century, describes them as having numerous herds of domestic animals. Nowhere in the literature on the Guajiros is there an example of status having been acquired outside the traditional way and the present writer, in his two field trips to the region, has found only the case here described.

As it is not the purpose of this article to give a full description of the social organization of the Guajiro, it will be sufficient to state that the tribe is divided into some twenty-five matrilineal clans, of which about eleven are large and rather powerful in their socio-economic aspects, and the rest—due mainly to the fact of having a small number of members—are weak, and relatively unimportant. Inheritance is along the mother's line, an individual acquiring property from his maternal uncle. The avunculate in all its social and economic aspects, is a very important institution (Santa Cruz, 1941).

Traditionally the clans are exogamous with incest taboos and punishments for those who break them. This exogamic characteristic of the clan is apparently disappearing, as several cases of endogamous unions were found among the Guajiro living in the outskirts of the city of Maracaibo. No endogamous marriages, however, were found in the Guajiro proper by the present writer, although Gregorio Hernandez de Alba (1936) has

[2] Proper names, especially of the subject, have all been disguised in some way, so as to spare personal feelings.

9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
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reported several in the vicinity of the town of Riohacha in Colombia. 614 582

Residence is normally matrilocal, although, at present, there is a tendency towards neo-locality. The author has found no case of patrilocality either in the field or in the literature. 591

The names of the five more important clans in Guajiro society, and those with which we are concerned in this article are: Uriana, Epinayú, Pushaina, Guajariyú, and Epieyú. These designations have lost meaning in Guajiro and not even the oldest members questioned by the writer remember what they mean. The clans also have an animal or plant totem closely attached to food and hunting taboos. How deep this totemic aspect of the clan goes the writer does not know and the two references found in the literature, A. Ernst (1887) and A. Jahn (1927), simply mention the fact without going into details. 614 [178]

Today the clans have no distinct geographic distribution. Members of the different clans are found scattered more or less at random over the whole peninsula, and in both Colombia and Venezuela. This may be due perhaps to the extensive migrations of families within the region in their quest for water for themselves and their domestic animals. This necessity has also probably contributed to the gradual breakdown of the matrilocal residence. The earlier literature suggests that the clans may have had, at one time, certain regional characteristics. Juan de Castellanos cites that the Guajiros living near what is now the town of Riohacha all belonged to the Uriana clan. A. Ernst goes as far as showing a distribution map of the clans. A. Jahn and G. Hernandez de Alba draw their conclusion of geographic distribution for the clans based on the earlier sources but definitely state that today the clans present the scattered distribution the present writer found. [166] [178]

The Guajiro culture may be described in brief as pastoral, with a small-scale supplementary agriculture, especially in the southern part of the peninsula where water and more fertile lands are available. Domestic animals, cattle in particular, represent the foundation of wealth to the Guajiro. His economic position, and likewise his social status, is measured in the number of cattle, sheep, goats, asses and horses he owns. This pastoral complex permeates practically every aspect of the culture. 233 241 331 556

/78 cont./

548 Consequences. The consequences that prostitution has brought to Guajiro society are various: The first and decisive one is the 177 almost absolute wreck of the social organization due to the destruction of marriage, the mainstay of social life based on the purchase of a woman, who by this transaction becomes the private property of the man in the matrimonial sense. If she is unfaithful there arise the claim for compensation payment and the whole series of consequences which we have seen previously, all tending to preserve conjugal fidelity. On the woman's turning to prostitution, the legal norms which establish that marriage payment and the very constitution of the family become useless as it erases the essential character of the family: i.e., procreation. There is an end to the principle of the establishment of new social cells and fecundation takes second place. It is the biological satisfaction that is sought, not the procreation of children, a phenomenon which constitutes a grave social problem for, although many people accept contraceptives, others through ignorance or thoughtlessness on the part of the man do not use them, and the natural consequences of pregnancy are not long delayed. Then they have recourse to all the abortives they know [847] of empirically, using the herbs whose active qualities are claimed by the old women of the Sierra de Macuira, or those they have traditionally learned from their ancestors, or they ask the assistance of a woman practiced in these matters, who for a fee provokes the abortion by traumatic massage on the abdomen of the pregnant woman and keeps the secret.

848 Besides abortives, the Guajiro woman uses potions of herbs which sterilize her for a time, up to three years, without stopping menstruation, and others which interrupt the menstrual cycle for long periods with the result that her sexual relations do not lead to pregnancy. She even appeals to magic to get this result, for example, by drinking, while fasting, a potion made from mule's [237] excrement left to soak overnight and then decanted. They believe that as this animal is sterile so will the woman who imbibes the preparation.

[96 cont.]

832 witchcraft have "whispered" over them, that is, when they repeat over them a series of magic incantations which have the object of giving them the power to make a man, or men, love the owner [97] as she may desire, and especially her husband when it is the case of a married woman.

We have seen in previous paragraphs how the hair of a pubescent girl serves as a base for men to make magic charms which can be used against the girl. But the hair of such girls in different circumstances serves to attract men in general and causes a woman to be looked on with such deference by a man that he buys her to take as a wife at a good price. For this [826 reason the young Guajiro woman, especially those of the Sierra 302] de Jarara, keep their hair when it is cut. At times to make the action more effective and to obtain better and quicker results, they place it under a patch of cow dung. The association of [237] their hair with cow dung is founded on a socio-economic phenomenon which we might briefly clarify.

556 We have seen repeatedly that wealth in La Guajira is 583 calculated by the number of heads of livestock that an individual owns; and it can be observed how a wife in their social or- 832 ganization is obtained by purchase. When the buyer is a rich man he pays in heads of cattle or horses; when poor, in goats and sheep. Hence it is clear every woman aspires to be paid for in cows and in a greater number than those paid for other women, as this establishes an advance in her social status. This is the reason why she buries her hair under cow dung and not that of any other animal. She has made a very primitive association but [237] one that speaks for itself. It would appear that the magic attraction is brought about by the dung, and the results desired are increased if this is from the cow, the animal of most value in La Guajira.

826 In any case, young women are most careful about leaving their cut hair about where it could be picked up by another person, and for this reason they guard it all their lives, giving it in this way a sacred quality. This characteristic which we have called sacred stems from the magic connection established by the primitive between a person and the different parts of his body, to

[98 cont.]

224 237 It is very interesting at this point to emphasize the fact that these hunting charms, in both cases, take the shape of the excrement of the animal that is to be hunted. We cannot allow to pass unnoticed this constantly recurring presence of excrement in the matter of magic. Let us recall the fact which we have frequently mentioned that for certain umbilical illnesses in children they apply excrement; that to call up their protector spirits the shaman use talismans that are shaped like goat excrement; and young Guajiro women bury their hair underneath patches of cow dung in order that they may be bought for wives at a good price.

These phenomena make us think of a very important function of excrement in the Indians' belief in magic, a function that [99] we know about only in its external aspects, but its application does not surprise us even though its explanation still appears obscure.

773 One has to remember that the guano of birds, according to Guajiro myths, was what favored the spread of seeds and populated the country with nourishing and useful plants for man and beast. One of our informants recounted this part of the Creation in the following manner: "Then Mareiwa brought together all the zancalargas (wading birds), troupials, and doves in a flock. He pointed out the far distance and told them to go in search, and there they ate of the iwarúya (fruit of the cardon) and prickly pear. He ordered them to bring the fruit of the cherry trees, and Mareiwa made it rain throughout all La Guajira. Each dove went about spreading his droppings, and where these fell there sprang up all the plants which both the wayú (Indian) and their animals could eat. So were propogated the cardon and cherry trees, and the earth was sown. . . ."

751 726 579 Charms for war. This charm has the virtue of giving its owner complete bodily immunity in the fights which frequently arise between the various family groups. For this reason, before getting ready for combat, when on the way and in fear of a surprise attack, or when he goes to present a claim for compensation payment in the case of the violent death of one of the members of his clan, the Indian will rub himself all over with

857 /44 cont./
462 an activity he should practice from an early age as he is obliged
231 to find all animals that wander away; to make bows and arrows and stalk animals when hunting. On his own part, with his
857 small friends he organizes hunts for machorros (2) and various
462
224

2. Edible lizard.

kinds of birds and makes traps in the wells for pigeons. He helps catch the seasonal birds which arrive at harvest time, keeps watch during the night on traps set for deer, learns to slaughter the animals required for household consumption and to make the best use of them.

857 In agricultural work he helps in the task of clearing his
462 maternal uncle's land of trees, and later looks after his own
241 piece if he has such, clearing it and leaving it ready for the women to sow the seed; he also plants fruit trees and creepers and attends to weeding. Harvesting work is done by the women. In places where fishing is practiced, he takes part, when he is about ten years old, in related activities, such as opening to extract pearls. He also takes part in making farm tools, sacks, harnesses, hats, coconut-husk necklaces, etc., when his elders are employed in these activities.

857 To the boy falls the preparation of gourd vessels, basins,
462 cups, plates, etc., used for different domestic purposes. The
415 job of preparing the gourd dishes includes all the processes from picking the fruit when /45/ ripe, opening it and taking out the pith, and, when the rind is still tender, incising decorative
[531] designs on it with a metal knife or the sharp point of a bone or stone. These designs are usually of his own personal invention.

857 Lastly, he may be given odd jobs to do such as the deliver-
462 ing of a message, the fetching of some necessary article or other, accompanying someone sent from his home, etc., but fundamentally he devotes himself to his pasturing, the constant occupation of the Guajiro.

[114 cont.]

789 nights and repeating this at sunrise; or shooting their arrows —
821 or a more modern procedure, their shotguns — toward the clouds to make them discharge their moisture. In the first case, it seems as if the drums endeavor to reproduce the sound of thunder during the storms that are usually associated with rain. The native believes that by creating one of the concomitant factors he will bring about the whole desired condition, that is, the production of the whole phenomenon; for him, thunder and rain are two equal and inseparable things, so by obtaining one he will automatically attain the other.

• • •

241 Men and women participate equally in sowing crops with
462 a division of labor which corresponds to the combined magico-biological whole. The men have charge of preparing the soil and making the holes for the seed; the women do the planting and the covering up of the seed. They say that if the grain is planted by the woman, it will have a better chance of growing and developing, and the harvest will be more abundant. The woman is considered as a symbol of fecundity through accomplishing the gestation of the child, and that force she transmits to the seed at the moment she plants it.

• • •

789 During eclipses of the sun or moon the natives cry dis-
821 consolately because they fear that these heavenly bodies will not continue fulfilling their functions; in crying they implore them not to abandon them nor leave the world plunged in darkness. To oblige them to return to normal, the Indians shoot their rifles at them, and in the more remote areas of La Guajira they organize a great noisy shouting, crying and shooting their arrows at the sky, so that the new day will triumph.

• • •

When there is a great deal of lightning during the stormy season, the old Guajiro who still retain a great fear of this natural

[135 cont.]

536 796 pretend to be eating and playing tranquilly. The devil, another Indian, taking advantage of the carelessness of the men who are occupied with their fun, and covered as always with his black robe, enters the cloud to do them evil. Immediately a fight starts up between the Indians and the devil. In the end the cloud traps the devil and emerges triumphant in the play.

5. The horse race. Horse racing is the sport or trial of 541 prowess most practiced in the ordinary life of the Guajiro. In 536 this sport they try to bring to the fore the name of the horse and 796 the skill of the jockey. In all the large fiestas a number of horse races are always staged, and such is their enthusiasm for them [538] that they are frequently mentioned in some stories told by the natives. [136]

During the Fiesta of the Kid two groups are formed which, 536 as in the previous cases, are under the direction of their respec- 539 tive leaders. Each group has assigned to it an equal number of 796 men, representing so many race horses. The race course having been previously marked out with its starting point and finishing post, one of the singers begins by referring to the goodness of his horse, praising its speediness. The other replies in an identical tone, using eulogistic concepts regarding his animal. They soon arrange a match which they put into practice. One of them says: "There goes my roan horse; he is swifter than the clouds and the wind and braver than any other in La Guajira." The other sings: "This is my chestnut horse. I am sure that he will win because he is swifter than the deer." They start off their horses and run the race. Following them, race another pair, then another, until all the competitors have taken part.

The bees and the fruit thieves. There is a kind of small 825 bee in the peninsula which the Indians call wáya. These bees ● 241 make their nests in trees or in hollow tree trunks. If a blow is 536 796 struck near the hive, the bees swarm out, attacking and getting into the hair of anybody standing nearby. They get inside the intruders' clothes and swarm all over them, crawling over their bodies, buzzing angrily, bothering their enemies until they are in a state of desperation. The Indians have a habit of collecting 536 hives of these bees and placing them at the entrance to their 796 fields, making use of the bees to defend their harvest from thieves.

[151] Conclusions

177 Magic shows itself to be one of the strongest institutions
771 of Guajiro culture despite the fact that, as we have shown
789 throughout this study, it is gradually losing its importance in proportion to the lowering of the shaman's prestige as the spiritual leader of the group. This is due to the already mentioned factors of prosletyzing and acculturation on a rising scale, brought about by the influence of a continually increasing number of civilizado elements in the peninsula, as well as by the consequences of the acculturation experienced by the members of the society. However, it is magic that still dominates many of the aspects of the native's daily life, not to say the greater part, and it is this that we are trying to synthesize and briefly explain in this chapter.

132 1. Economy. The Guajiro's life, as we saw in the Intro-
182 duction is strictly dependent on the tyrannically dominating cli-
771 mate, given the conditions of the peninsula where this commun-
789 ity lives, relying as they do on the seasonal fluctuations of rains to which they have adapted their system of agriculture and stock grazing, essential sources of their economy. As the people's livelihood directly depends on these, the Guajiro, lacking the higher techniques of irrigation and water conservation, puts his hope of survival in methods of magic, whether they be personal, collective, or directly exercised by the curer-magician of the community. These are no other than the exorcisms carried out by the latter to attract the rains in the long summers by invoking his protector spirits and especially Mareiwa, the personification of good and of rain; or the adoration and ceremonies in honor of the iguana carried out by private individuals with the same end in view; or, in short, all the methods of magic we have enumerated in connection with the natural phenomenon of rain.

[241 Also in respect to the economy we must remember the
460 presence of women when the sowing of crops is done, which establishes a division of work by sex based on the magic association of the transmission of feminine fecundity to the seeds.

177 [152] Moreover, faced with the new phenomenon of stock
238 grazing, the native has adapted his magic methods to this, im-
789 posing the same or similar treatments used for the members of the

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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172 these tumas are all made from carnelian, jasper, or other reddish varieties of silica, and the stone, according to the Indians, is not to be found in the Goajira. While ascending Macuira, several places were pointed out to me, especially near the top, in which I was entreated to look for treasure "of the Arhuaco." They themselves, although coveting tumas above everything, are, curiously enough, afraid to look for them, not hesitating, [171] however, to appropriate any found by chance. This, combined with the fear of mentioning their dead, points to some sort of religion or belief in a superior being. They evidently took possession by conquest, driving the weaker "Arhuaco" out, and have managed to assert their 174 rights to this day. It is rather an historical anomaly that such a small tribe, which probably never exceeded 80,000, should have been able [161] to conserve intact their absolute freedom, their manners and customs uncontaminated, in spite of the accessibility of their territory, surrounded as it is by the sea, and the continual commerce that has been going on for centuries.

Commencing with the topography of the country, the mountain 133 system attracts attention most—more so, as a remarkable error has been propagated, that the Goajira is one large fertile plain with only one or two isolated hills. At least one-half of the country is hilly. There are in fact two Goajiras; one known as the Lower Goajira is the broad level plain extending from the river Rancheria to a little beyond the Teta. The other, or Upper, Goajira is the hilly sterile region between the Teta and Punta Espada. The Upper Goajira is simply a volcanic eruption, a conglomeration of low hills, conspicuous from the many cone-shaped forms, and the parallel ridges in which they have been thrown up. These parallel lines run chiefly north-west by south-east, and are separated by two large plains, thus forming three distinct groups of hills running from sea to sea. The first and most important of the three is the easterly or Macuira range. This fine, bold, interesting mountain mass rises in front of Chimare, about 12 miles from the sea-shore, and terminates at the most easterly point of the Goajira, forming the rocky headland known as the Punta Espada (Jurión). Due to its elevation and position, it serves as a species of cloud-trap detaining the lower clouds that drive in from seawards impelled by the easterly or trade winds, that blow here with great force most part of the year. This is the only spot in all the Goajira that can really be called fertile. I ascended the two highest points. The north or Macuira proper lies in front of Puerto Estrella, and is composed of several peaks ranging between 2400 and 2600 feet above sea-level. 133 None of them offer any difficulty in climbing, as the slopes are covered ● 241 with gardens to within 500 feet of the top. The vegetation is similar [137] to that of the Sierra Nevada at 9000 feet, and the temperature was very low, showing at midday 62° Fahr. The highest point at the southern extremity in front of Punta Espada is Ara-ara. Owing to the low dense

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

bush I could only reach 1700 feet, the limit of the Indian gardens, where plantains, maguey, onions, coca, sugar-cane, &c., were growing; also a rivulet with running water. The ground about here is well cultivated, supplying most of the Goajira with grain food. Many small low castes of Indians dedicated to agriculture live here; they are all poor, as agriculture is not considered wealth among the Indians. 133 241 [556]

The second or central range, which for want of a better name I shall call Parashi Hills, are entirely separated from the Macuira range by a plain some nine miles broad. This plain gradually rising from both seas, reaches 350 feet towards the centre. These hills rise at Bahia Honda almost from the margin of the bay, and stretch as a narrow belt right across the peninsula. Formed of ridges of low hills seldom exceeding 1500 feet, covered with a scanty wood of brazilete, divi-divi, cacti, and other prickly bushes, intersected by valleys, one mass of prickly pear, they present a desolate forlorn appearance two-thirds of the year, yielding, however, during the short rainy season abundant pasture. In this range, as with the former, there are two prominent peaks. The northerly one, a conspicuous object from Portete and Bahia Honda, is called Ruma. I ascended it with much difficulty, and found the height to be 1950 feet. Sierra Ipapa, marked on some maps, is probably Ruma. 133 [137]

Some 15 miles south of Ruma, Guajarepa rises well out of its surroundings. This, the highest point of the range, does not exceed 2200 feet, and must be the Cerro Aceite of the Spaniards, supposed to be the highest peak in the Goajira, but it is seen that Macuira dominates it by at least 400 feet. A portion of this range is also called Cerros de Jallarure from a rancho at the foot of Guajarepa. Between the highest peaks and towards the south is the extensive plain of Ataipa. We now come to the third or Cojoro range, separated by a rather tortuous valley, varying much in breadth, about six miles at the narrowest place. These hills are more extensive than either of the two first, and show many peculiarities, being flanked on all sides by numerous isolated knife-like ridges, some running parallel to each other with broad valleys between, while others are complete segments of circles. Towards the Maracaybo shore are several large mountain masses. The highest, Yuripiche, is a wonderful mass of igneous rock some 2800 feet in height. Close by, another mountain, Auipana, plays a prominent part in the landscape. All these hills, like Parashi, are destitute of vegetation, many so steep that the bare rock and stone-slides put all idea of growth out of the question, and with their weird shapes, immense boulders, and caves, form a fitting retreat to the Cocinas or Robber Indians. The celebrated Tota Goajira may be considered as belonging to this range, (for although entirely isolated and some nine miles distant, it is indirectly attached by two small separate hills. The Tota is certainly one of the most beautiful sights in the Goajira, and [137] [579]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

our cameras up, when a plump, middle-aged Indian came rushing up and began giving the fencers orders in a stern voice. He had not noticed us.

'That's Mauana,' Francisco whispered respectfully.

Mauana was wearing only a guayuco and brow-band, which is the genuine Guajiro garb. When he saw us, he at once spoke to us in good Spanish, which not all the chiefs know, for the Guajiro cling stubbornly to their own tongue. Mauana, of course, had heard of us. He now invited us to go with him and see how he lived.

First, we came to his plantations, which many in the peninsula must have envied him. There was a green valley, one of the oases in the semi-desert, where manioc, sugar-cane and maize grew, shaded by coconut palms, mango trees and bananas. The plots were watered by narrow canals which all came from the one stream in Guajira that never ran dry.

Mauana was obviously a sttict master and he ordered his slaves about like a sergeant-major, but his plantation was a model one and he was an efficient chief who maintained order in a most commendable way. Once or twice he had caught white criminals who had hidden in the hills there and sent them back to the authorities—to their great disappointment. He lived simply, as all Guajiro do, but he had an unusually well-built house that was completely roofed.

We told Mauana of the purchi we had seen, and he used this as an excuse to give us a lesson in Indian law. Such an account of the Indians' social order and laws was both amusing and interesting, and it showed how different from ours the primitive's conception of justice can be. One knows all too well what mistakes colonial authorities have made through misunderstanding the native conception of these matters, especially of the rights of ownership.

The Indians, as has already been said, are divided into clans in which relationship follows the female line. Children thus take their mothers' names. Their fathers belong to a different clan and strictly speaking are not related to them. It is their eldest maternal uncle who is their head and guardian, and it is from him, not from their father, that they

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

342
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Pile-dwellings with a kitchen garden

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Indians wait patiently while the leader of the expedition sleeps in his hammock

Below: *Flock being driven over the steppe*

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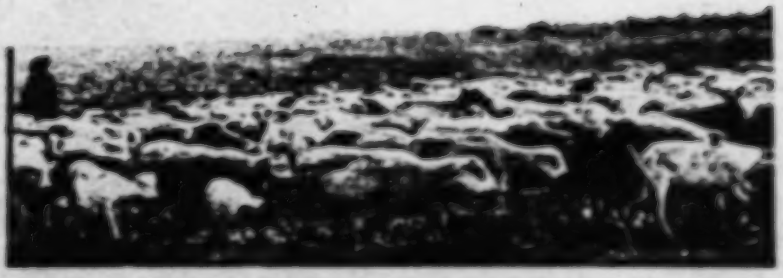

[facing p. 176]

S:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

175 During the Colonial Period, the *Goajiro* were hostile toward the Span-
648 iards. After 1830, however, as a result of better treatment from the Whites, thanks in part to the efforts of Juan MacPherson, they become more friendly. Present authorities in the *Goajiro* region merely regulate frontier traffic.

797 The attempts by the Capuchin Fathers to alter their ways of life have
177 been unsuccessful. Except for the thin Catholic veneer, noticeable in baptismal rites and Spanish names, *Goajiro* social life seems to have been little affected by centuries of contact with Hispanic culture. Foreign influence is more apparent materially in iron implements, utensils, guns, textiles, and ornaments. All the domestic animals are of Spanish origin.

161 As a result of tuberculosis, smallpox, and venereal disease, the *Goajiro*
164 are gradually dying out, and the population estimates found in the literature have become smaller and smaller, the most recent indicating a scant 18,000.

PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

142 The *Goajiro* are usually described as aggressive and untrustworthy, of
[13] medium or small stature (cf. J. A. Mason, 1926, pp. 39, 52), copper colored, with jet-black hair, dark eyes rather obliquely set, a broad and blunt nose, and a large mouth (pl. 72, *bottom, right*). Within the tribes there are physical differences which seem to correspond with social status,
[565] the lower classes being smaller and more Indian in appearance, while those of higher rank are more often of a greater stature, with curlier hair and larger noses.

LANGUAGE

197 The *Goajiro* language belongs to the *Arawakan* family. There is, however, no good analysis of it. A grammar, "replete with errors" according to Simons, was published by Rafael Calcedon in 1878. Various word lists have been published from time to time.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

● 241 **Farming.**—The *Goajiro* have a poor opinion of agriculture, and only
[28] the poorer sibs practice it. The one fertile part of the peninsula is near Punta Espada. Here the land is well cultivated, and plantains, maguey, onions, corn, sugarcane, and grain are grown. Tobacco, bananas, maize, gourds, manioc, sweetpotatoes, millet, beans, and watermelons also are raised. Those who own cattle grow only small patches of quick-maturing corn for the purpose of making chicha beer.

23 **Hunting, fishing, and gathering.**—Hunting, fishing, and gathering occupy a minor place. Deer, armadillos, land tortoises, and rabbits are

9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
SC13 Goajiro SC13

reported several in the vicinity of the town of Riohacha in Colombia.

Residence is normally matrilocal, although, at present, there is a tendency towards neo-locality. The author has found no case of patrilocality either in the field or in the literature.

The names of the five more important clans in Guajiro society, and those with which we are concerned in this article are: Uriana, Epinayú, Pushaina, Guajariyú, and Epieyú. These designations have lost meaning in Guajiro and not even the oldest members questioned by the writer remember what they mean. The clans also have an animal or plant totem closely attached to food and hunting taboos. How deep this totemic aspect of the clan goes the writer does not know and the two references found in the literature, A. Ernst (1887) and A. Jahn (1927), simply mention the fact without going into details.

Today the clans have no distinct geographic distribution. Members of the different clans are found scattered more or less at random over the whole peninsula, and in both Colombia and Venezuela. This may be due perhaps to the extensive migrations of families within the region in their quest for water for themselves and their domestic animals. This necessity has also probably contributed to the gradual breakdown of the matrilocal residence. The earlier literature suggests that the clans may have had, at one time, certain regional characteristics. Juan de Castellanos cites that the Guajiros living near what is now the town of Riohacha all belonged to the Uriana clan. A. Ernst goes as far as showing a distribution map of the clans. A. Jahn and G. Hernandez de Alba draw their conclusion of geographic distribution for the clans based on the earlier sources but definitely state that today the clans present the scattered distribution the present writer found.

The Guajiro culture may be described in brief as pastoral, with a small-scale supplementary agriculture, especially in the southern part of the peninsula where water and more fertile lands are available. Domestic animals, cattle in particular, represent the foundation of wealth to the Guajiro. His economic position, and likewise his social status, is measured in the number of cattle, sheep, goats, asses and horses he owns. This pastoral complex permeates practically every aspect of the culture.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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123 musical bow. It was quite small. He held one end between
534 his lips and struck the strings with a stick. If the reed-flute was introduced by the Moors in those early days, the musical bow must have come with negro slaves. Stringed instruments were not known in South America before the arrival of the white man. The Indians knew nothing of all that, but neither of these two originally foreign instruments were used in their rites, which supports the conclusion that they were introduced late.

The concert was interrupted by the women announcing
123 that a meal awaited us. This began with the oily, somewhat
262 nauseous berries which the Creoles call olives. We did not
264 like their taste and never did more than just sample them. We had also heard that they might be injurious. The main dish—one could almost say, naturally—consisted of boiled dried goat's meat, the standard fare in the peninsula, and we were given water that also tasted of goat—we preferred not to know why.

● 251 In Guajira it is possible to dry meat in the sun without salting it, providing you cut it in strips and remove all bone. In moister parts of the Caribbean countries meat has to be properly salted before it can be preserved by drying, but in the dry air of Guajira that can be dispensed with. Salt, too, is a thing of which they have more than enough.

Having four young men present, I thought I would
123 arrange a competition for marksmanship with bow and
526 arrow and with a sling. The prizes were an empty biscuit tin, a handkerchief and a needle. These were all desirable things and the contestants did their best. The fourth received a Swedish ten öre piece as consolation prize.

411 I took the opportunity to take a closer look at their weapons. The bows were powerful and had round sections; the arrows had iron heads shaped like a lancet. An old man said that in the old days the heads used to be made of bamboo. Some of the arrows, those intended for smaller birds, had blunt points made of wood or wax. The quarry was meant to be stunned by the force of the impact. They showed us arrows equipped with cross-pieces to prevent them becoming lost when used in the scrub. The cross-

/45 cont./

857 A joint duty of children of both sexes is the care of their
462 younger brothers or sisters when circumstances require it, though this is mainly performed by girls when there are any of the right age.

b) Girls. Little girls five years old are given small tasks, such as carrying messages, going to the fields to take some small item to the father or an uncle, drawing water in vessels so that the elders may bring it on burros up to the house. At six or seven they begin to do some cooking. From ten to twelve years, that is to say at, the prepubertal age, they are initiated into the different ways of weaving, and they can go alone from
[835] one settlement to another. It is at this time that they occasionally have sexual relations with their brothers or with their father.

857 Almost from the time she can look after herself -- toward
462 three or four years of age -- the girl assists her mother in all
252 her work, especially when she is the eldest and when she belongs to a family with few economic resources. In the kitchen she learns to prepare food such as mazamorra, bollos /rolls/, and arepa /ground-corn griddlecakes/; to hull corn and grind it with the traditional equipment, the pestle and mortar made of stone; to light and keep the fire going; to handle the pots on it and build new hearths; and, in time, to prepare the various kinds of chicha and the customary soups for special occasions, to make use of the different fruits, both wild and cultivated, and to serve up various local dishes such as sancocho de chivo /goat-meat stew/, the way of preparing meat etc., until, having arrived at the moment of puberty, she is on the whole acquainted with all the customary culinary procedures.

Other work they are taught to do quite young is fetching water and firewood as well as a series of household chores such as house cleaning, taking care of the younger children, and at times feeding them and keeping them clean. They are sent to the woods to bring in the burros that are used for carrying water or fruit or serve for the women to ride on. /46/

857 They also start to lend a hand in the harvest and accompany
462 the women when they collect wild fruits such as olives,
222

/47 cont./

chichas and cojosa (sour milk), and, when he cuts his teeth, solid food which had previously had to be mashed for easier swallowing. After passing this period, the child eats the same as any adult, with slight differences marked by the family organization, as we have just seen, receiving the plain food served since it is unusual for him to share in any special dishes which the adult members of the household may eat.

During periods of scarcity the gathering and use of wild fruits is an important item in the household economy. The Guajiro, when he finds any such fruit, will immediately eat as much as he can, until satiety is reached. Regularity in hours of eating is very difficult in such circumstances -- one might say that the Guajiro has no fixed mealtimes, but that he eats when he obtains some food. In normal times and in homes where the shortage of food is not much felt, the family's hours /48/ for meals are more or less as follows: On rising, very early, they take a little coffee with panela, if there is any, or more often a gourdful of cojosa (1); in the evening after

1. Milk which is left to sour in special food vessels.

sunset, upon returning from work, they have their principal meal composed of mazamorra with milk, some rolls or corn griddlecakes and coffee or a chicha of fruit, corn, or yucca. The normal diet does not include the daily eating of meat, which is only eaten on certain rare occasions, the same as cheese and certain vegetables such as ahuyamas /Cucurbita berucosa/, gourds, yucca, etc. Toasted corn with salt or something sweet is frequently eaten, rice soup (a very much-used food), dry rice, or a soup of trupillo pods /Mimosaceae/, which are chewed after having been parboiled, the fibers later being spat out, or mixed with milk. At periods when food is in short supply, they have the habit of making use of the tender shoots of cacti, which are roasted over a flame in order to get

/48 cont./

252 at the heart, which they eat, for by cooking in this way it be-
262 comes soft and digestible. They also include in their diet soups and special dishes made of beans.

264 The boys employed in work other than pasturing, who stay
262 at home or can readily return there, take the usual breakfast upon rising; later, when the hours of heat begin and the Guajiro returns to his home to rest on his hammock in the shade of his enramada /a bough-covered shelter/, he eats a meal which is more or less similar to that described above, and, toward seven at night, another.

A boy will add to his usual meals what he can find by picking wild fruit, hunting small animals or birds, by stealing food at home, and by drinking the milk he can obtain from the goats or other animals he has in his care.

264 We must add in conclusion that in no case does the woman occupy the first place when food is being served if there are men in the family. At the most she may occupy her mother's place if no older female relatives are present, it falling on her in this case to serve the food. If there are female slaves or bond servants or maids in the home these will carry out this duty under her supervision. These cases when the mother is replaced by the daughters in the task of serving the meals to the family are not frequent, as it is customary for the head woman not to leave her post for any lengthy interval without placing her responsibilities in the hands of a person competent to replace her.

• • •

855
513 The child of middle years keeps the same hours for sleeping as the adult. Generally, the child possesses from his birth
[262] onward an Indian-style hammock /chinchorro or hamaca/ /49/,
[263] that is to say, one made of cords of twisted agave fibers arranged in horizontal rows. This type of hammock is meant for young children, because bed-wetting at night is frequent in some cases, but especially because it is strong, cheap, and readily replaceable. We never heard of a case of a child sleeping on the ground.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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881 invitation. Again cattle are butchered, and there is drinking
584 and dancing and horse-racing. Numbers of men come to see if they would like to put themselves forward as suitors. The more eminent guests are received in the house itself, and the girl is now present. Her shorn hair has grown and been trimmed to a page-boy cut, and she wears her best clothes
[754 and new ornaments. She hides her hair clippings carefully in a bag, for she does not want to risk anyone getting hold
826] of them and using them to acquire power over her by the arts of magic. Later, she will secretly bury them under a
[789 cow pat. That will help to increase her herds. The droppings of various animals play a great part in the magic of the
514] Guajiro, and it would seem that there is negro influence here as well.

881 The girl has now been born again—she is a new person, a woman. She knows all that an adult woman needs to know and can do everything that a wife and mother should be able to do. Pale and lovely, she steps out into life once more and inquisitive young men swarm round her. The rich give a big feast, the poor provide simpler fare, but it is always a great occasion.

[582] A Guajiro man will never marry a girl before she has undergone this period of confinement, which means that people seldom marry too early. It is said that in the old days
[595 rich old men with several wives sometimes bought little
831] poor girls as concubines, believing that that would enhance their virility.

The girl's long segregation is intended to protect her from the supernatural dangers that are thought to threaten her, especially during this sensitive period of transition from childhood to womanhood. The girl can also be dangerous to others through being exposed to attack by spirits. It is only practical that during this period she should practise handicrafts.

• 252 Going back to the house, we found the women at the fires, which there were protected by special small cactus
[354] screens. There was no need to have them under a roof at that time of the year, only to shelter them from the wind. The pots stood over the fire supported on three stones.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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They were of black earthenware ornamented with figures. 252
The women were making maize gruel. There, close to the green valleys, they ought to have been able to get any [262] vegetables or roots they liked, yet they clung to their diet of maize and goat's meat. They had obviously put the pots on because they expected the men, and sure enough a 492 couple of naked horsemen came galloping up, so at one with their horses that they looked like centaurs. The Guajiro Indians can be born on a horse in the literal sense, if their mothers have to be on a journey at the time. They look well on horseback, and even the old men rode well. [142] The younger men were muscular and well-made, and more pleasing to our eye than the women.

The men had been out enjoying themselves. They had 224 been hunting and their clan mark was painted in blue on 614 their thighs. They must have done that to amuse themselves 304 before they left, for normally both men and women have 302 their clan marks tattooed.

We asked the men what they had hunted with, for they 224 carried neither bows nor firearms, and also what they had 411 hunted, for they did not seem to have got anything. They laughed and explained that they had had no luck, and showed us slings of plaited bast. They had been out after doves or rabbits, but had seen nothing. (The Creoles call the animal in question a rabbit, but its Latin name is *Sylvilagus cunanicus*.) They showed us the short throwing clubs with which they hunted this and made some practice throws. They were expert at hitting the target with both club and sling, but only at distances of twenty to thirty yards.

A youth showed us a whistle that he said would unfail- 224 ingly entice a deer if you blew it—provided there was a deer nearby, as he hastened to add. Judging by the expression on the women's faces he was no famous hunter. A 439 couple of men also arrived and we were able to think of doing business. We had no difficulty in buying what we wanted, provided we paid well. Prices were our great difficulty, yet these men were less spoiled than elsewhere in the peninsula. The Guajiro not only trafficked with the

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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A professional mourner

Below: *The daily butchering*

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[facing p. 128]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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known of his clan. The road across the hills was bad, and at times we had to dismount and walk. Now and again we met Indians; the well-to-do leading their riding-mules, the poor followed by half-naked women carrying loads. The men carried lots of arrows. The road was reputed unsafe. The leader of each such company received a little tobacco. We heard that they were all coming from the funeral, which evidently was one of importance and would last quite a while yet. Our companion, the rich Indian, said that he expected to reach the house of mourning in six days. He thought that we ought to go there too, but the place lay a good distance off our route and we had had our fill of Indian feasts for the time being.

Francisco had travelled with Father Crispin and knew the district. He advised us to halt for the night early in an Indian rancho ringed with a stout cactus palisade, where friendly people lived. We could have gone farther, and the Indians with us who were going to the funeral carried on, but then, according to Francisco, they would not have been welcome at the rancho. We never learned the ins and outs of the Indians' friendships and enmities.

At the rancho we bartered a piece of raw sugar against a sheep. Both our pack and riding animals were already tired. They had had far too little fodder and the water was salt. The Indians were up before cock-crow, as always, and we let them get the mules ready. If we could just get to Castilletes, they should have fodder and decent water: we needed provisions ourselves. But what about the sheep, asks the attentive reader. That went the same evening we bought it, our hosts partaking of it as heartily as our own people. It went, offal, guts and all. When nothing but the bones were left, these were split and the marrow sucked out. Then the women gathered up the remains for broth. That sheep cost the equivalent of fourpence-halfpenny. Our means were limited, but at such prices we could at least afford to feed our men. The difficulty was in getting hold of things to eat. The Indians know how to tighten their belts and are prepared to starve for a while, if need be, but they must have a blow-out now and again.

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

the chief game. The *Goajiro* who live near the coast sometimes catch 22
fish (with hook and line), lobsters, mollusks, and crabs.

Cattle raising.—The *Goajiro* are primarily nomadic cattle raisers and, 231
consequently, depend upon the water supply. In the rainy season they 221
seek natural depressions, which they sometimes enlarge artificially, where [312]
the water may gather. In case of drought they wander toward the sea, where wells 30 to 40 feet (9 to 12 m.) deep are dug.

Besides cattle the *Goajiro* keep sheep, goats, horses (pl. 72, *bottom, left*), mules, pigs, and domestic fowls, which they take with them wherever 231
they go. An estimate gives them 100,000 cattle, 200,000 sheep and goats, 20,000 horses and mules, and 30,000 donkeys. As cattle are a measure [556]
of wealth, the Indians are reluctant to kill them for food, but they utilize [439]
the milk or export the animals to Curaçao and Aruba in exchange for [422]
textiles and corn. Each tribe has its own cattle brand, and the annual round-up and branding is an occasion for great festivities. Horse races [527]
and other sports take place, and large quantities of food and drink are consumed.

Food preparation.—*Goajiro* diet consists almost entirely of meat and 262
milk products. Goats and sheep are killed every day or two for meat, 252
and the milk of the cows is made into butter and cheese. This diet is supplemented by yuca, cactus fruit, sugar, rice, and plantains, the last three obtained from Colombian and Venezuelan traders in exchange for skins. Meat that is not immediately consumed is suspended from tall poles, and skins are pegged to the ground and salted in preparation for sale. Butter is made by stirring the cream with a stirred stick in a calabash or wooden bucket. To make cheese, rennet is added to skimmed milk in a trough, and the curds are put in a primitive wooden cheese press, which is weighted with a heavy rock.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Although the *Goajiro* are of a common origin, they are divided into 614
ulu ("castes" or "tribes"), each living within a rather limited area 361
(Simons, 1885, p. 796). The *ulu* are split into local groups, which occupy extended villages or rancherías, each with 2 to 50 houses (ranchos) and 10 to 250 or more Indians. Houses are always within gunshot distance of one another and so disposed that surprise attacks would be difficult. If a village is at all permanent, a protective cactus hedge surrounds it.

Goajiro nomadism makes elaborate houses unnecessary. Dwellings 342
are mere lean-tos, arbors, and temporary gabled roofs supported on poles. Thatch is made from the core of the cactus, split lengthwise. Rough [352]
tables, chairs with rawhide seats, and benches are often used. The hammock is always present. House walls are often lacking, but a corner [581]
of the hut may be closed off for a girl's puberty seclusion. When mi-

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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302
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[372]

Our men making fire

Indian salt workers, men and women, at Manaure

[258
412]

[facing p. 33]

/28 cont./

862 their share of food, they quickly eat theirs and wait till the mother
673 is not there to snatch the share of a younger or weaker brother by force, by stealth, by deception, by false promises, or by coercion in some form, such as threatening to reveal to the parents some misdeed not known to them.

862 In general, the growing Guajiro child is never satisfied with the amount of food he gets, and in his craving for more he places
261 no normal restraint on his appetite. He is always capable of eating more than he can normally hold, even to the point of suffering, in the hope of building up a reserve or because, feeling himself undernourished, he finds pleasure and satisfaction in eating to repletion. He always eats as if he were starving, which sometimes is the case, but at other times is only the remembrance of past hunger and the fear of its repetition.

Parents believe that the habit of these small thefts may lead to bigger robberies from people not relatives, which would bring about a series of troubles to the family group to which the young delinquent belongs. Also, the food stolen may be necessary and even indispensable for home use, and the theft means that an adult, a sick relative, or a visitor whom they wish or need to look after is deprived of it. One has to bear in mind that in certain parts of the country the sources of food supplies are so few that food is scrupulously rationed to last out until new supplies become available.

Children are also punished as their parents want them to behave abstemiously and uncomplainingly during the long spells of scarcity so frequent in this country, /29/ although they have their reward later when, in time of abundant harvest, food is plentiful and extravagantly used, only sufficient seed being retained for the next sowing. During these times of scarcity the Guajiro lives on a very reduced food ration and puts up with hunger and thirst to an incredible degree, and mothers want their children to achieve a similar standard: to behave like adults in such circumstances.

862 A further motive for correction and punishment is when the
574 child refuses to share the food that has been given to him or that

/6 cont./

843 They are normal although extremely small and undernourished. As the months pass, such an infant gradually recovers from the prenatal treatment and toward the end of the third year reaches normal size and acquires the usual physical characteristics of a child of ordinary type.

The Guajiro mother does not like to adopt this treatment, but she will make use of it when in previous cases she has had a difficult delivery. She is proud of the large size and robustness of her children, and it is a cause of pleasure to her when they are admired. It is more usual for her to employ another group [262] of practices, dietetic ones, such as those which advise abstaining from eating cheese, butter at meals, or fat meat, adding milk to corn mazamorra, and drinking large quantities of water daily before eating, during the entire pregnancy, in order to prevent the too active growth of the fetus and to have, as a result, a less difficult delivery.

The practices we have been describing are also recommended to keep the woman from developing to an exaggerated size which would hinder her movements both in carrying out her domestic duties and in the long distances she has to walk.

843 During the final months of pregnancy, she abstains from
784 sexual relations, both by her own wish and that of her husband,
[634] in the belief that /7/ they would cause the child to be born sickly and the delivery to be prolonged, possibilities which are their main concern and the avoidance of which justifies the practice of any treatment that prevents them. Also, during the final months of her pregnancy, the woman is prohibited, within practical limits, from lifting heavy things, carrying water from wells and loads of seeds, carting firewood, or loading burros. But only women of outstanding economic position who have female bond servants and slaves to carry out such chores are able to observe these precautions. It is not rare, therefore, to find that the Guajiro woman is obliged to do her daily work to the detriment of her condition, for after one of these exertions, a woman is liable to suffer an immediate miscarriage.

/47 cont./

chichas and cojosa (sour milk), and, when he cuts his teeth, solid food which had previously had to be mashed for easier swallowing. After passing this period, the child eats the same as any adult, with slight differences marked by the family organization, as we have just seen, receiving the plain food served since it is unusual for him to share in any special dishes which the adult members of the household may eat.

During periods of scarcity the gathering and use of wild fruits is an important item in the household economy. The Guajiro, when he finds any such fruit, will immediately eat as much as he can, until satiety is reached. Regularity in hours of eating is very difficult in such circumstances -- one might say that the Guajiro has no fixed mealtimes, but that he eats when he obtains some food. In normal times and in homes where the shortage of food is not much felt, the family's hours /48/ for meals are more or less as follows: On rising, very early, they take a little coffee with panela, if there is any, or more often a gourdful of cojosa (1); in the evening after

1. Milk which is left to sour in special food vessels.

sunset, upon returning from work, they have their principal meal composed of masamorra with milk, some rolls or corn griddlecakes and coffee or a chicha of fruit, corn, or yucca. The normal diet does not include the daily eating of meat, which is only eaten on certain rare occasions, the same as cheese and certain vegetables such as ahuyamas /Cucurbita berucosa/, gourds, yucca, etc. Toasted corn with salt or something sweet is frequently eaten, rice soup (a very much-used food), dry rice, or a soup of trupillo pods /Mimosaceae/, which are chewed after having been parboiled, the fibers later being spat out, or mixed with milk. At periods when food is in short supply, they have the habit of making use of the tender shoots of cacti, which are roasted over a flame in order to get

/48 cont./

252 at the heart, which they eat, for by cooking in this way it be-
262 comes soft and digestible. They also include in their diet soups and special dishes made of beans.

264 The boys employed in work other than pasturing, who stay
262 at home or can readily return there, take the usual breakfast upon rising; later, when the hours of heat begin and the Guajiro returns to his home to rest on his hammock in the shade of his ramada /a bough-covered shelter/, he eats a meal which is more or less similar to that described above, and, toward seven at night, another.

A boy will add to his usual meals what he can find by picking wild fruit, hunting small animals or birds, by stealing food at home, and by drinking the milk he can obtain from the goats or other animals he has in his care.

264 We must add in conclusion that in no case does the woman occupy the first place when food is being served if there are men in the family. At the most she may occupy her mother's place if no older female relatives are present, it falling on her in this case to serve the food. If there are female slaves or bond servants or maids in the home these will carry out this duty under her supervision. These cases when the mother is replaced by the daughters in the task of serving the meals to the family are not frequent, as it is customary for the head woman not to leave her post for any lengthy interval without placing her responsibilities in the hands of a person competent to replace her.

* * *

855
513 The child of middle years keeps the same hours for sleeping as the adult. Generally, the child possesses from his birth
[352] onward an Indian-style hammock /chinchorro or hamaca/ /49/,
[A5] that is to say, one made of cords of twisted agave fibers arranged in horizontal rows. This type of hammock is meant for young children, because bed-wetting at night is frequent in some cases, but especially because it is strong, cheap, and readily replaceable. We never heard of a case of a child sleeping on the ground.

/55/

While the girl is in the hammock, friends and relatives keep arriving in large numbers, announced by the family, especially when welcoming well-to-do people, and then they start preparations for the feast: preparation of beverages and slaughtering of animals. All the consanguineous relatives contribute their share and foregather to join in what is called the chichamaya dance, during which are passed around large quantities of rum for the men, chicha for the women, and meat for all the participants. The guests turn up dressed in their best dress-up clothes: the men with their wide festival belts, their finest robes, their headbands (kiára) with the crest of feathers, or lacking such, hats adorned with feathers. The women /wear/ robes of brilliant colors, plenty of jewelry, very long shawls which hang down their backs nearly to the ground, sandals with large, brightly colored tassels, and, above all, facial painting, preferably red, very carefully applied. On these occasions they dance through the night, the following morning, and the afternoon, and in this latter part of the day they may hold horse races on which large bets are wagered.

When the prescribed number of days are over, during which the girl has not satisfied any of her body needs, not having taken any food during that time, according to what they say, her relatives unsling the hammock in the early hours of dawn and the girl descends, faint with hunger. The first food she receives is a drink of bija /achiote/ dissolved in water. Presently, little by little, they add to her diet thin corn mazamorra without milk or salt, and later a little milk and meat. She must not, for example, eat any animal udder, because by doing so she would age prematurely and her face would be lined with wrinkles, deep and numerous, like that food.

The girl is bathed with four earthen jugs of water which have been previously left exposed to the evening dew, as this gives it a special quality for whitening, which is important for the high appreciation both men and women have for a

/90 cont./

583 stipulated time, the woman's family takes her back again without any claims allowed from the man. But if some time later the man wants to pay what is owing, he enters into conversation with his affinal relatives who, once they have received the necessary amount, hand his wife back to him.

The distribution of payments obtained through different forms of marriage other than the traditional one will be seen as they are studied in detail.

Payment for childbirth and pregnancy. Apart from the price 583 of the woman the man must pay, whether the relationship is legal 262 or illegal, for the inconveniences caused by pregnancy and delivery. This payment is made in cows or other animals to the woman's family, who can use these animals for slaughter or sell them or include them in the family herd. But the woman may not eat the flesh of these animals which are given in payment for the troubles she suffered during pregnancy, for the blood she spilled, and for the pains she bore during delivery, because they represent a payment of her very being and are identified with her. To eat them would be almost like eating her own flesh or something similar, and for this reason she cannot have any part of them, either directly or indirectly. /91/

Marriage before puberty. At the present time a man contracts 583 marriage for the first time when he has obtained his economic 582 emancipation when he is about nineteen. His subsequent marriages are the result of his inclination and the opportunities he may have to buy other women.

As a general rule, women marry when they have passed puberty and the period of seclusion. However, a very general custom existed, and to some extent still exists, in regions which because of their geographical situation were inaccessible to the white man and the missionary, but now tends to disappear: the purchase of impuberal girls about ten years old (who have not yet developed phytically nor passed through the traditional ceremonies of seclusion) by rich Indians, already old, who have a considerable number of wives.--These old men pay a price which

/160 cont./

765 where an enramada /bough-covered shelter/ is erected if the
769 house is too far away. The remains are put into an earthenware urn which is placed on a hammock around which they all congregate, also on hammocks, the female friends and relatives weeping over the dead man a second time. A new grave is dug in the clan cemetery, in which his remains are deposited. At the present time it is customary for each small family of means to have a common funerary urn /161/ in which the bone remains of all the immediate consanguineous members are accumulated.

The exhumation of the remains is a labor entrusted to the very close relatives of the dead man who were much attached to him. By this action they are offered a family honor which, like the digging of his grave, is never refused. These individuals, two in number, open up the grave; and one, his body totally covered with a robe and his hands wrapped in a cloth, scratches in the earth to find the bones. As the region is so dry the bodies are marvelously preserved. First of all he brings out the skull with much respect amid the silence of the others gathered around. He cleans it carefully, showing his affection for the deceased in each of these details, and then he passes it to his companion, together with the rest of the bones. This assistant is covered, especially his face, and his work consists in placing the remains in the urn destined beforehand for such a purpose. These two persons, once having
[783] finished their operation, carefully purify themselves and for some time after follow a special diet.

In these exhumation ceremonies, the relatives of the
[262] exhumed person submit to the same dietary proscription of not partaking of the meat of the slaughtered animals, and they receive the sympathy of their relatives and friends, who have come together again for this purpose.

768 A funeral custom still exists but has been weakened in some sectors that are more in contact with whites and the influence of the mission, and that is to abandon the house where the sick man died immediately after the body has been buried,

/230 cont./

462 We find that some of the feminine activities are carried out jointly with the man, as in agriculture in which the woman's part is to place the seed in a hole, which is made by the man with a sower's tool for this purpose (but not in the case of planting creeping plants and fruit trees); and to collect fruit when it is all ripe, or little by little as the fruit becomes ready. Besides [262 222] these regular activities, the women collect wild edible fruits which constitute practically the only source of nourishment during the summer in some regions. They also collect some forest products that the whites buy from them, such as the divi-divi, which constitute a source of money income.

Transportation is an activity that traditionally has been done by the Guajiro woman. Before they raised pack animals, the [492] women did such work themselves. Nowadays, it can be said that it is rare to find a home that does not have an animal, generally a burro, at their disposal, on which they can transport from place to place their small children and the provisions and utensils, etc., which they require. Nevertheless, we do still see some families who lack this means of transport and have to make use of feminine labor.

Ceramics also is an activity that is assigned to women. In the regions where raw materials are abundant and of good quality, the women of some families apply themselves to this craft, in which they reach quite a high standard of perfection; the technique is transmitted from generation to generation so that the craft becomes a traditional family occupation.

When the families of potters are forced to emigrate to urban centers, they carry there the raw material /231/ required for their work from its original source. With this they provide the family with domestic utensils and use the rest for barter with others.

The empirical knowledge of the magic and curative properties of plants is known, apart from the shaman, by some women who usually live in places where contact with whites is less frequent. They transmit such knowledge to their descendants, most frequently to the eldest daughter.

[29 cont.]

*756 633 834 When the woman becomes pregnant, the spirit puts up with the situation without getting angry, but it does not show any such patience if she delays a length of time in the sexual act with her husband, or if she sleeps by his side throughout the night.

The female shaman's obligation, in the sexual aspect, goes to the length of forcing her to be but a passive entity during coitus, not permitting her body the slightest motion and also not permitting any endearments from her husband before the sexual act. When these dispositions are disobeyed, the shaman finds [787] herself suffering during the night from especially terrifying and horrible dreams which fill her with fears and anxieties.

*756 693 The man who marries a shaman gets to understand his wife's situation, and for this reason he is prudent in his actions: He does not demand anything but the strictly indispensable, and he is in accord with her in all matters related to her special state. [30]

*756 776 844 But in spite of all these prohibitions, the female shaman who becomes pregnant receives aid from the spirit at the time of giving birth. This assistance consists of an easy delivery of her baby and of counsel her spirit gives her on the simplest form of giving birth, the remedies she should take, etc.

*756 841 843 The shaman must not perform ceremonial acts of curing when she is in her menstrual period because the patient will become worse instead of improving. However, pregnancy does not present any obstacle to her activities, and she may accomplish cures during the entire period of gestation.

*756 834 [595] In the case of a male shaman, the spirit permits him to be with his wife, but for a very short time; he is also allowed, as are the rest of the Guajiro, to have several wives.

In summary, women shamans must cohabit exclusively with their husbands, avoiding all endearments, movements, the prolongation of coitus, and pregnancy. They may not exercise their functions during their menstrual periods. The male shaman also must be moderate in the sexual aspect and limit himself to his wife, or wives, as the case may be.

*756 262 The food taboo is limited to prohibiting the shaman from eating the flesh of such animals as he has received in payment

[30 cont.]

*756 for his services as a curer; the flesh of animals sacrificed during
262 anyone's wake or during the ceremony of the second burial, espe-
cially if it is the remains of a shaman which are to be exhumed;
ordinary food during the days on which he is carrying out his pro-
fession when he should limit himself to a small portion of corn
mazamorro [cooked crushed corn] and water. Hence, the cattle
[422] he receives at his spirit's request in exchange for his cures are
used in an indirect manner, being kept for breeding purposes.

171 We also find that the food taboo among shamans is charac-
262 teristic among the Cashinawa Indians, according to the text
published by Capistrano de Abreu and cited by Métraux. Accord-
*756 ing to them the souls (spirits) say to the initiate: "I have innocu-
lated you with the magic substance. Do not, therefore, eat
carelessly any sort of nourishment or you will lose your magic
power (feitico). Eat sparingly. Drink soup, eat cooked bananas
and fish. Eat nothing but that!"

They say: "When you do not eat [sic]. Do not eat the
tapir, do not eat the deer, do not eat the peccary, do not eat
jaguar, do not eat nambú, do not eat the jacau, do not eat the
cujubin, do not eat the coati, do not eat the guariba, do not eat
the monkey. These are the foods that you may not eat. If you
do eat them [31] we will kill you, say the spirits. Among
vegetables do not eat sweet potatoes, sweet manioc, or the
inames." (25) [Cited in French.]

25. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 204.

*756 So far as the other objects that the shaman receives as pay-
422 ment for his work, neither may he use these directly. He simply
keeps them, or he gives them to his children [hijos] as he does
[422] with the cattle. These objects, if they are not handed over
while he is alive, will be divided up after his death among his
heirs in accordance with Goajiro customary law....

*756 Death of a shaman. When a shaman becomes ill he has to
765 call in a colleague to practice on him all the ceremonies and
rites indispensable for fending off the illness, since curers have
the power to cure others but are not able to cure themselves.

[41 cont.]

764 1. The first of these types refers to the custom established among them of sacrificing, during the wake of any member of the community, a number of animals belonging to the dead man (cows, bulls, goats, sheep), the meat of which is divided among those attending the wake along with the corresponding drink, which in these days is rum but in times past was chicha.

[768] The reason given for the sacrificing of animals during a wake in answer to the question is that this is done in deference to the guests and especially to those whom we could call "professional mourners," who spend all day and all night moaning over the corpse. But on observing certain practices and particularly certain taboos regarding the meat of these sacrificed animals, one has to think rather of the ritual character of the sacrifice.

262 764 763 762 It is a fact that the relatives — sons, daughters, nephews [and nieces, sobrinos], brothers [and sisters, hermanos] etc. — of the deceased cannot eat the meat of animals sacrificed during the wake or during the later ceremony of secondary burial, as this, according to their belief, would be equivalent to eating their dead kinsman's flesh. This taboo, imposed on the deceased's relatives, serves to prove to us — so far as it is possible to deduce — the ritual aspect of the sacrifice of the dead man's livestock, stock which on being slaughtered takes on the same untouchable or magical quality, which the individual takes on when he disappears from the world of the living and enters the universe of the dead. [42] To put this more plainly, the animals sacrificed are contaminated by their dead owner.

[765] The untouchable quality of the animal sacrificed at the wake or in the ceremony that accompanies the second burial is supported by the following fact. The belief exists in La [843] Guajira that if during pregnancy the mother or the father of the 755 future child is present at the exhuming of a corpse, the child is born sickly, suffers from permanent diarrhea and night sweats, 755 and gets more and more pale and progressively thinner. Its 765 illness continues to get worse, and none of the familiar remedies have the desired effect. The parents then resort to the following system of curing (a system which with some variations is also common among the people of the town of Santander). They wait until there is an exhumation ceremony, and then

[58 cont.]

355 expert in these sicknesses and who devote themselves to applying the remedies and divining the causes of such illnesses indicate by what bird the fruit which the mother ate was contaminated. Once the origin of the sickness has been determined, they proceed to carry out the method of cure which entails hunting and capturing the bird responsible, which, once killed, is roasted, and the meat fed to the child. A sancocho [stew] is also prepared, using portions of the bird, a good part of which is fed to the child. With this medicine the infant should be quickly cured. If this does not effect a cure, the divination has been incorrectly made, and it was not that kind of bird that pecked at the fruit eaten by the mother during her pregnancy. The whole process must therefore be done over again to discover with absolute certainty what animal caused the child's sickness.

343 If a pregnant woman should eat the meat of a hen that has
353 been killed by a sparrow hawk, the child will be born sickly, his excretions will be green, and his crying will be like the cry of a hawk. When they do not know the origin of the sickness, they
355 apply home remedies or those of any local curer [curandero]. If
[357] these do not bring about the desired effect, then they must turn to divination. The diviner will decide that the mother ate the flesh of a chicken that had been killed by a sparrow hawk. The curing method will follow a similar process to that previously noted: a hawk is found and killed; a leg of the creature is taken, and the bone is well cleaned and allowed to dry. When it is sufficiently dry it is boiled, and the child's body bathed with the resulting infusion.

262 The meat of such a hen — contaminated by the hawk
125 which had eaten some of it — is also harmful to children in
342 general, boys and girls, and also adults. Every time it is eaten
it causes sterility. For this reason the magic taboo on this meat is lifted only for the old and the very aged who have already lost their procreative powers and in consequence have nothing to fear in this respect.

366 Household medicine. This system of medicine, which, as we have said, is independent of shamans and diviners, is based above all on the practice of certain magic practices directly

[82 cont.]

775 formalities agreed upon with the victim's family, find that it imposes on them a sort of punishment, a rhythm of life totally different from that to which they were normally accustomed and which can be interpreted in two ways: (a) as a purification rite; (b) as a change of personality, in order to avoid the mortifying presence of the spirit face to face with the murderer. [83] To us the second interpretation appears clearer and more acceptable as we do not know of any other rites of purification in La Guajira which can show reason for the first assumption.

682 783 A repentant murderer, according to the statement collected by our colleague and expedition companion, Licentiate Milcíades Chaves Ch., is punished by his own will as well as by the decision of his family through norms imposed by his uncles and aunts. He voluntarily submits to them so as not to commit a second time the same delict which constituted his own ruin and that of his family, who like himself are liable to become victims of the retaliation of the murdered man's relatives in revenge for the murder. This punishment is executed in the following way:

1) The murderer must spend five or six days hiding in the selva or some distant mountain.

[262] 2) He must take no solid food. He is only allowed to take hot drinks or very thin mazamorro (corn chicha), and water.

3) He must not speak to anyone and must be on the alert all the time, with his rifle ready to defend himself from his enemies.

4) He must disguise himself: cut his hair, wear special belts and fringes, and wear a robe, black in color. (This robe is so small and short that it barely covers the top part of his body.)

[513] 5) In the forest he must sleep on the ground at night. Above all, he should not sleep face upward because the soul of [975] his victim may climb into his mouth and press on his chest, even to the extent of killing him by asphyxia. He may only return to his home for a short time to rest in a hammock, but this must be so small that he cannot lie comfortably on it, and due to this inconvenience he is unable to sleep for long.

6) He must eat and sleep very little and be continually [231] alert, having for his only companion a dog, whose senses will warn him of the approach of danger.

[85 cont.]

766 head downward, and then they cover it with a piece of another clay olla, new, usually with a base. The urn is buried in the [824] woods at the foot of a special tree called in Guajiro huruwá ("within us," etymologically), with the idea that the other children that are born will not continue dying. No special ceremony accompanies the burial of the child, which must be carried out by the maternal uncle, since neither the father nor the mother may be present because it is believed that if they should be all their other children would also die as they were born.

765 When the first-born dies, and the work of its burial has been complied with, the mother is put through the following 766 procedure: She is hung in a hammock for three days in a closed room (it is really a small house made especially for the purpose). After three days have passed, she is unslung from the hammock, but she has to continue in seclusion for a further five [834] months (five lunar months), and the husband is prohibited from visiting her, with the idea of avoiding sexual contact. After this seclusion the husband may return, and they resume normal married life. During the time she is in the hammock, the [262] woman is not allowed to receive any food except a medicine called hawapi, which serves for fattening. This medicine is a [278] mixture of scraped roots dissolved in cold water [86] and is drunk after being strained. The wife receives this medicine from her mother, who acts as her nurse.

In other words, the mother, by reason of the death of her [821] first-born, has to repeat the complete cycle of seclusion as at the initiation of young women when they reach puberty. The ceremonial is the same, seclusion, taking of fattening medicine, sexual exclusion of the man, and in general all contact or relations with him, etc.

764 If in spite of these precautions the next child should also die, the previous cycle is not followed, but the baby is buried with all due ceremony. A fiesta is arranged for the burial, a wake is held with the usual distribution of liquor, and animals which the maternal and paternal grandparents supply are sacrificed. The mother undergoes a new special treatment but without those of seclusion.

[92 cont.]

177 The previous statement is borne out to such a point that
789 even in native communities that are quite homogeneous, anthropologically speaking, as in La Guajira, it is difficult to learn which beliefs, which practices of magic or of sorcery, are autochthonous and which are acculturations due to contacts with the neighboring mestizos who, given the circumstances we have noted of being in the greater part mulattos, have a considerable collection of this type of beliefs and practices inherited largely from their Negro ancestors.

As it is totally impossible for us to make a list of the origin of all and each one of the autochthonous Guajiro beliefs, we shall have to confine ourselves to showing the similarities which they have in the whole of Colombian folklore. It is clear that this similarity will not always indicate acculturation, but only similarity due to the influence of other native groups that have disappeared but who once lived in Colombian territory, or exact beliefs which reached there from other continents and which can only be explained by the general evolutionary process of human mentality.

789 Characteristics of charms. 1. Some charms can be lent by
[42] their owner to another person, if both the owner and [93] the borrower are of the same sex and if the charm is to be used by the borrower so that he may benefit by its virtues.

[46] 2. To make use of them, the individual during the period of action must submit himself to a special, very strict diet. The breaking of any one of the norms will cancel the effect and bring about serious prejudice to health, if not results contrary to what he had looked for and expected. The way to carry out this diet will be found described in the following section, "Application and Effects."

3. It is sufficient for a stranger to look at the magic object belonging to someone else for all its magic power to be transferred to him. For this reason it is an indispensable requisite to keep it safely from other people's sight and always to be wary of this type of violation.

438 4. It is very difficult to obtain a true charm because while
789 those who sell these are old women very practiced in this art,
675 many unscrupulous women often devote themselves to the trade

[94 cont.]

[32] made into a ball. This paste is dissolved in the water that the person wishing to profit by its powers uses in his bath, or some other way which we shall see later.

d) Also considered a love charm is the string of necklaces made of small pieces of coconut shell and worn as ornaments by the Indian girls.

[34] e) A thing that is very commonly used as a love charm, especially by girls, is their own hair.

f) With the hair which has been taken from a girl when her first menstrual period occurs and mixed with hummingbird's blood, dog's tail, and achiote [bija], they make a love charm which has a most powerful effect on the girl to whom the hair belongs. The man who acquires it can consider himself virtually her owner.

g) Lastly, an element that enters decisively in the effective value of love charms is achiote powder, which should be rubbed on certain parts of the body of the owner of the charm when he or she wishes to attain a certain end.

Application and effects. When a woman makes use of a love [35] charm which will give her the power always to be attractive to her husband and to regain his lost love or to win it, she should not eat any roasted food while she is trying to apply the qualities of her charm. She must also take the charm and rub it all over her body when she has recently given birth to a child or during her menstrual period. It is then that she should deny herself all [36] roasted food (meat, roasted corn, etc.) on which there has been direct action from fire. She should also abstain from all [98] kinds of milk, should not go out in the sun, and should not let her face be seen by another woman. This last point is very important as if this should happen the effects she seeks will be obtained not by the person following the indicated regimen but will [37] automatically be transferred to the woman who has seen her face. The woman who is owner of the charm must also abstain from cohabiting with her husband. When she bathes, she must do so not in the brook but inside her own home. The bathing must be done by another woman, starting at the crown of her head, then her shoulders, then her breast, and thus on to the whole body.

[102 cont.]

prayers and special acts of magic with which the charm is endowed by its maker to give it its magic powers.

Charms to obtain respect, prestige, and affection. These charms, which are for male use exclusively, are much sought after by the local caciques and by the arbitrators in claims between two enemy groups. The popular native belief [103] assigns the possession of this type of charm to such men as have great influence over them, that is, their natural headmen or direct superiors, and they are convinced that the greater the personal influence or power of such a headman, so much greater is the magic power of the charm he possesses. Hence the efforts of every influential Indian to obtain a charm superior in such qualities to any that may be in the possession of his rivals.

The possession of one of these charms inspires respect in others who would never dare to conspire against its holder's life or character because the charm would protect him and would cause grave danger to the offender. It must be remembered that the possession of this amulet implies a condition of considerable wealth as it is only obtainable at a very high price, a fact which definitively influences [the degree of] fear and respect due its owner, owing to the established social custom of relating the social status of an individual with his degree of wealth.

When the native owner of this magic charm has to leave home in connection with some difficult mission such as, for example, taking part in the negotiation of compensation payment or settling a payment between two groups who have become enemies for some reason or other, or when he has to mix with a considerable number of natives among whom he wishes to assure his personal prestige, or when he hopes to overcome some difficult situation, he locks himself in his room hidden from all outside onlookers, gets his charm, uncovers it, and, looking fixedly at it for a moment, he then lifts it momentarily in his hand and vehemently wishes that all the magic power of the charm will inspire and defend him to the adventure he is about to undertake. He then replaces the charm and starts on the diet indicated for the charm to have its effect. He should not eat roast meat or roasted corn for a period of three days, or better, for should he do so he will become mad.

[103 cont.]

This charm is personal and nontransferable. If a person who is not the legitimate owner should touch it, he has to submit to the diet just described or his punishment will be madness; his character will be changed, he will have fits of anger without apparent or justified cause, he will suffer from permanent nervousness, and his mind will be come deranged. However, he may look at the charm with the owner's permission without suffering any change in personality. It is useless to steal the charm as it will give no aid to the thief but will remain faithful to its original owner and will most likely cause harm to him who may have appropriated it illegally.

As do nearly all charms, it has its special covering and is kept together with achiote in three successive bags which have been knitted from wool by [104] the same Indian woman who inspired the charm with its magic power. As a matter of fact it is not known of what the charm is made because it cannot be completely uncovered.

What is the quality it pomesses that makes it so valuable? The native belief insists that when the owner sleeps it makes him dream what is going to happen to him down to the most insignificant detail. During his sleep it tells him who his hidden enemies are, what people wish to do him harm, where they will spy on him when he is traveling on the road, what difficulties he will encounter in the negotiation of an agreement, what words he should use, etc. The owner of the charm wakes up with a start, gets up immediately, quickly finds the charm, and taps it lightly, which averts all evil.

According to the Indians, the charm is like another person that is in every place where its owner is not; it knows the intentions of other people, deduces what is going to happen, and warns its master.

Charm for the sea. In Ríohacha one of the Indians who assisted in fishing and the cartage of cargo to and from the ship at the wharf wore, hanging from his neck, a piece of bark of a tree the species of which we could not determine. When we asked him the reason for the charm, he explained that he wore it to safeguard himself from the waves of the sea, that is, to avoid being drowned if some day he should fall into the sea.

[136 cont.]

536 In the scene two groups appear: one representing the bees in the
796 hive; the other, the thieves who want to steal the crops of the field. The bee group is placed at the entrance to the field, arranged in compact form to look like the hives. The robbers begin to arrive and try to enter the field to steal the ripe fruit, but in the attempt they brush against the hives. The bees swarm out, buzzing and attacking the thieves, who decamp pursued by the bees. These punish the men to the best of their ability and thus prevent the harvest being stolen.

7. Hunting the jirijir. The natives know a small bird
223 called jirijir that appears in La Guajira during harvest time and devour the products of the fields. The Indians hunt them assiduously in order to defend their crops as well as to use them for
[242] food, since they are fat and pleasant tasting. The method they use to catch them is as follows. This small bird generally always flies in a straight line, entering invariably at some determined point and leaving by another in a precise manner. The Indian takes advantage of this [137] observation; hence when he goes to his crops at the times these birds are settling, he provides himself with hammocks or large nets. He places his hammocks at the point where the birds will fly out and then waits their arrival. He frightens them and immediately with great rapidity covers their point of exit, and the birds are trapped in the net, falling into it by the hundreds.

536 This scene is represented in the ceremony that we are
796 describing. At the beginning, various Indians who will act as the hammocks, that is, as those who will attempt to trap the birds in their nets are found in a group apart. Some children are grouped in the middle of the space to represent the field, and a third band formed of adults will act as birds.

When everything is ready, the last group begins to move, and they approach making motions as if flying and making a peculiar noise, imitating the call of the jirijir. They fall on the group of children, that is, on the field. A new group, this time composed of women, intervene in the scene to frighten the birds with yells and noisy clapping of hands. The birds try to escape as a flock, following the straight line of flight they are accustomed

[157 cont.]

181 mental outlook it originates — imbued, as we have affirmed,
771 with an animistic determinism — and the beliefs it implies in
789 the different angles of Guajiro human activity, as it will have been possible to observe throughout the length of the work we are presenting. So much is this so that the very basic impulses of the individual are seen in many circumstances to be influenced by magic.

a) To prove this in the sexual aspect it suffices for us to
834 cite again some facts already described and explained in previous chapters, such as the taboos imposed on the shamans, especially when they are women and according to which they should cohabit exclusively with their husbands, avoid caresses, motions, prolonged coitus, and pregnancy, and never exercise their functions during their menstrual periods. Besides this, it can be seen in the lifting of sexual taboos, or better said, the permitted violation of the norms which rule the community in this respect during the celebration of the Fiesta of the Kid, which reaches the point of allowing the consummation of the carnal act among the unmarried, an act absolutely prohibited in their society in normal times and which would provoke — as fully explained in the corresponding section — compensation payment and even interclan war with its tremendous consequences of persecution, annihilation, and slavery. It can also be observed in what we called the "proof of virginity," which permits a male to caress the bodies of young women who take part in the fiesta, an action prohibited, as in the previous case, in normal times.
[832] Among the charms we also found some that act in this way, and also significant is the act of rubbing bixa ointment on the genital organs and breasts to make them more effective in love-making.

b) In the matter of food we saw proofs of the influence
262 of magic, especially related to the life of the shaman, particularly when he is in one of his "illumination" trances or in a curing ceremony. This influence also shows itself in the shaman's initiation, in the initiation of [158] young women, in the magic contamination of food by some animals which can cause sickness in newborn children, and in the prohibition against eating the flesh of the hawk which produces sterility in young and old of both sexes. Also, it is found in relatives being forbidden to eat the

[158 cont.]

meat of animals sacrificed during the wake of a deceased member of the family. The murderer's self-denial of all wild food in his daily diet is another proof of the intervention of magic in the aspect of the Guajiro's nourishment. The ceremonies of propitiation for rain and the ripening of the harvests are other palpable demonstrations of the intervention of magic in this way.

c) And, finally, in relation to aggression, we see the very marked influence of magic, particularly in the charms which are used to cause injury to certain people: for example, those made of a young woman's hair, the blood of a hummingbird, the tail of a dog, and achiote to make a girl fall in love with a man who later intends to betray her; or the one used by women who, having bought a talisman from a woman expert in these matters, place it in the clothes of a man whom they wish to harm after acquiring an old sandal of his and burning it, so as to cause him bodily and mental injury. Furthermore, magic foresees and allows an individual to foresee the acts of aggression of which he or a clan or a family group is going to be the victim by the interpretation of the shaman's dream or that of a private person, as was seen in the section "Magic and dreams" in Chapter VIII. The effect of magic on the regimen for individual security and collective stability tends to be that of saving the person or the group, as the case may be, from acts of aggression on the part of potential enemies, such acts being foreseen through magic means properly interpreted.

Names of Plants and Animals

Plants:
achiote (Bixa orellana)
ahuyama [squash] (Cucurbita maxima)
artemisia (f. Synantherae or Compositae)
indigo (f. Leguminosae)
caoba (Swietenia macrophylla)
mahogany cedar (fam. Cedrelaceae, sp. Mahogani of Linnaeus)
liquine (Abrus precatorius) [Indian licorice]

S: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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when to exercise his begging propensities. To murder the dead before the relatives is a dreadful offence, often punished by death; for if it happens in the dead person's vicinity, with nephew or uncle present, they will assuredly kill the offender on the spot if possible. If not on the spur of the moment, it resolves itself into a heavy fine, usually two or more cows. Even if none of the dead person's relatives are present, any friend can carry the cows to the relatives, and compensation is at once required. When not given it is forcibly taken, probably executed, and the two cases are at war. It is not wise to mention cases of any sort in the Guajira in mixed company.

Another peculiar case: if a child dies in the custody of the mother or father, and they are living separate at the time of its death, then twenty head to be paid by the one, under whose care the child died, to the other. This is "Tagaire ouchiwa tachira," "My cows on account of my child." To demand payment for debts, ach-ouka, is one thing, and to demand compensation, uanga, is another. They are generally pretty punctual in paying debts; should the debtor die, the creditor is secure, for the relatives will suffer anything rather than allow the cause of their dead to be shamed. The following case of murder I witnessed in Aruipa. Some Pedralvian drinking, one got on to a strange horse, and was unhorsed off by the owner, on not complying he was shot dead. Both parties being poor and near relatives, it was arranged as follows: First payment, eight sheep, two cows, one horse, two necklaces of cornelian beads, two sleeps of black beads (about 10 lbs.). Six months afterwards, second payment, similar to first. A few months after a third payment is asked, but is more on entire than anything else. After second payment all animosity ceases, and the two families can look again at each other on meeting. Should an Indian in attempting to kill another be wounded, or killed, his family demand the cows or strength or strength were made.

Among domestic customs, the one that calls most attention [illegible] clothing up their young girls on arriving at womanhood. The custom is religiously carried out throughout the country. Each girl is confined in a separate little hut by herself. She is stripped of all her ornaments, even to her beads and sleeps, and all her clothing with the exception of the long loose cotton gown, nor is she allowed to cut her hair. For the first couple of days, drinking water is denied her, the only food being bananas, a composition of mashed herbs. According to birth, a rigorous diet is observed the first month, no meat being allowed. Her sex, be freely mentioned and is merely alluded to by her relatives as "mother sore pains," "she is shut up in her house." The term of confinement varies according to the wealth and rank of her family. Poor people cannot afford to keep girls idle more than a couple of weeks or a month; whereas the rich confine them for one, two, or even four years. It is while in this state that she learns all women's requirements

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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As a last word I may say from personal experience that the Goajira is an interesting but not a beautiful country, nor is it a desirable place for travelling, either for pleasure or for commerce. Not that there is any actual danger under ordinary circumstances, but what between drunken bloodthirsty Indians, blood- and tear-money, with all the intricacies of their own peculiar laws, travelling among them is as bad as sitting on a keg of gunpowder before a big fire. It is impossible to foretell when a mere spark, accidentally or intentionally, may blow the whole thing up.

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APPENDIX.

List of Tribes or Castes, with their respective animals and favorite rendezvous.

36/
614
825

Uriana	Guaikapur	Tiger	About Tucuranipa and Bahia Honda.
"	Arpuai	Rabbit	About Cape and Manaure road.
"	Guiaphual	A singing bird	Everywhere.
"	Hobirita	Gecko (lizard)	Only in the plains.
Epiayá	Guarumaka	A species of vulture	Bahia Honda, Puerto Estrella, and plains.
Pushaina	Pulsho	A species of small grassy.	Pueshi, Aldeja, and plains.
Ipuana	Mushaui	A sort of hawk	Portete Juan, Cuyuna, &c.
Jayaski	Ei	Dog	Manaure and plains.
Jusuyé	Kashaiche	Rat-snake	Tolo, Hapuna.
Arpushaina	Sunar	Vulture	Guiaura and plains, Guiaura.
Sapuana	Guelua	Hen	Plains, Guaura.
"	Gavai	A species of shark	(?)
Epiasaya	Uyéin	A small beak	Portete, Hapuana.
Jusu or Pisai	Guaiv	Fish	Only in the Manaure valley.
Sarauna	Ulaughar or Guarumaka.	Species of vulture	Only in the Upper Goajira.
Usuiyé	Mara	Instinaka	Rustywhere.
Tamayé	Hoche	(?)	(?)
Sijuana	Ojiel	Wasp	Upper Goajira only.
Guaiche	Guaiv	Fox	Only in the hills of Manaure.
Guaiche or Guarumaka.	Pur	Partridge	Tucu and Upper Goajira.
Amyulaiyé	Aaruana	Species of vulture	Upper Goajira only.
Pasaiché	Siuyiya	Owl	" "
Arpu-tata	Ierial	Red cardinal bird	" "
Uriamaki	Are all Guaiua Indians		Guaiua hills only.
Aaruajuana	A small, almost unknown tribe in the hills of Manaure.		
Ulaugu-ayé	Ulaughar or Guarumaka.	Species of vulture	Only in the hills of Upper Goajira.

N.B.—The Ramarina, a very small caste, are hawkfish and dunkeys. This is considered by the other Indians to be very unclean, who, until lately, did not even eat fish. All Indians are, however, fond of a species of lizard, "gecko," and iguanas.

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[pages 797-840 do not pertain to SC13 Goajira]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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You always rein in before a rancho and wait for those inside to call to you. If no one comes, it is best to continue on your way, for either you are not welcome or your prospective host is not at home. We halted outside this rancho and after a short wait a friendly voice called '*anshi pia*' 'You have come?' and we answered '*ee*', yes. We were then invited to halt and entertained with sour goat's milk and boiled goat's meat. In exchange we gave them a little maize, which is an expensive article there and not easily come by. Vegetables and fruit are even greater rarities. Naturally they eat the fruit of the fig-cactus during its season. It has a faint smell, but is refreshing. There is also a tree with fruit like olives, and which the whites call olives, and the Indians eat them, but they are said to be poisonous, at least in large quantities. This tree has the great advantage that, to all intents and purposes, it never withers. At that time we were not yet tired of goat's meat and could eat the fare they offered us. It is the staple food of Guajira, however, and in the end we got more than enough of it. Even at this place we thought that everything tasted or smelled of goat, not only the meat and milk, but the water, the huts and the surroundings as well.

We went with our animals when they were to be watered, to see that they got enough. Many Indians and quite a number of cattle had gathered round the casimba, for it was to one of those we went. They had dug deep into the river bed, making a funnel-shaped hole several score feet in circumference and, as far as we could see, some thirty feet deep. During the rains this casimba overflowed and normally it was half full, they told us, but now there was only a little running in at the bottom.

The sand was firm enough there for them to have cut steps, and the Indians were climbing up and down the whole time with large jars which they emptied into troughs made of long, hollowed divi-divi trunks, from which the animals drank greedily.

The women fetched their water there in calabashes or earthenware vessels. An Indian who spoke a little Spanish told us how desperate their plight had been a few years

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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musical bow. It was quite small. He held one end between his lips and struck the strings with a stick. If the reed-flute was introduced by the Moors in those early days, the musical bow must have come with negro slaves. Stringed instruments were not known in South America before the arrival of the white man. The Indians knew nothing of all that, but neither of these two originally foreign instruments were used in their rites, which supports the conclusion that they were introduced late.

The concert was interrupted by the women announcing that a meal awaited us. This began with the oily, somewhat nauseous berries which the Creoles call olives. We did not like their taste and never did more than just sample them. We had also heard that they might be injurious. The main dish—one could almost say, naturally—consisted of boiled dried goat's meat, the standard fare in the peninsula, and we were given water that also tasted of goat—we preferred not to know why.

In Guajira it is possible to dry meat in the sun without salting it, providing you cut it in strips and remove all bone. In moister parts of the Caribbean countries meat has to be properly salted before it can be preserved by drying, but in the dry air of Guajira that can be dispensed with. Salt, too, is a thing of which they have more than enough.

Having four young men present, I thought I would arrange a competition for marksmanship with bow and arrow and with a sling. The prizes were an empty biscuit tin, a handkerchief and a needle. These were all desirable things and the contestants did their best. The fourth received a Swedish ten öre piece as consolation prize.

I took the opportunity to take a closer look at their weapons. The bows were powerful and had round sections; the arrows had iron heads shaped like a lancet. An old man said that in the old days the heads used to be made of bamboo. Some of the arrows, those intended for smaller birds, had blunt points made of wood or wax. The quarry was meant to be stunned by the force of the impact. They showed us arrows equipped with cross-pieces to prevent them becoming lost when used in the scrub. The cross-

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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They were of black earthenware ornamented with figures. 252
The women were making maize gruel. There, close to the
green valleys, they ought to have been able to get any [262]
vegetables or roots they liked, yet they clung to their diet
of maize and goat's meat. They had obviously put the pots
on because they expected the men, and sure enough a 412
couple of naked horsemen came galloping up, so at one
with their horses that they looked like centaurs. The
Goajiro Indians can be born on a horse in the literal sense,
if their mothers have to be on a journey at the time. They
look well on horseback, and even the old men rode well. [412]
The younger men were muscular and well-made, and more
pleasing to our eye than the women.

The men had been out enjoying themselves. They had 224
been hunting and their clan mark was painted in blue on 614
their thighs. They must have done that to amuse themselves 304
before they left, for normally both men and women have 302
their clan marks tattooed.

We asked the men what they had hunted with, for they 224
carried neither bows nor firearms, and also what they had 411
hunted, for they did not seem to have got anything. They
laughed and explained that they had had no luck, and
showed us slings of plaited bast. They had been out after
doves or rabbits, but had seen nothing. (The Creoles call
the animal in question a rabbit, but its Latin name is
Sylvilagus cunicularius.) They showed us the short throwing
clubs with which they hunted this and made some practice
throws. They were expert at hitting the target with both
club and sling, but only at distances of twenty to thirty
yards.

A youth showed us a whistle that he said would unfail- 247
ingly entice a deer if you blew it—provided there was a
deer nearby, as he hastened to add. Judging by the expres-
sion on the women's faces he was no famous hunter. A 435
couple of men also arrived and we were able to think of
doing business. We had no difficulty in buying what we
wanted, provided we paid well. Prices were our great
difficulty, yet these men were less spoiled than elsewhere in
the peninsula. The Goajiro not only trafficked with the

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also encourages it to crawl and walk. Indian babies can sit without help, when a white baby is still unable to raise itself. At six months the brown Indian baby is already a toddler.

The conversation turned on to the upbringing of children. Even in its earliest games the Indian babe imitates its parents' occupations, thus amusing itself and learning at the same time. The Indians are very careful to see that from the beginning the children learn to distinguish between the men's and women's spheres of work. An Indian father would be very indignant if he saw his baby son playing at cooking, which is not male work. Therefore the son accompanies his father to the herds even as quite an infant, while his sister will stay at home.

We had already noticed that children were sometimes chastized, which is not usual among other primitive Indians. The old women saw that they behaved themselves and were not disobedient. Food was rationed both for the children and the grown-ups, and it was considered very shabby to pinch another's helping. To drop anything edible on to the ground was strictly punished, and the worst offence of all was for a child in anger to throw food on to the ground and trample it. Possibly this was yet another relic of Moorish custom, for in Morocco it is considered a serious crime to spill crumbs of bread. When the children became bigger they were merely scolded, but they were then generally no longer under their parents' supervision, but with relations with whom they spend long periods. The first-born son usually grows up with his eldest maternal uncle, who is the boy's real guardian, and he teaches him cattle-rearing and agriculture and the queer laws of his people.

Girls also go to their mother's relations and help in the household. We had already seen how a Guajiro boy had to work. He had to be at it from the moment he stepped out of his hammock at three in the morning. First he and some others gathered the cattle to water them. If they were watered at a deep casimba, he had to run up and down with water-jars to fill the troughs of hollowed-out trunks. He

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[764] hands to their faces. From one and all rose the lugubrious, shrill lament that had to sound uninterruptedly as long as the dead man was above ground. (For some time after the [965] funeral, the man's nearest relatives would begin the day with a song of lament.) After some time the wailers nearest to the bier began to make way for others, and then we too [576] began lamenting, imitating the sound as best we could, as politeness required that every guest should.

One of the men now turned and pulled the cloak from his face. It was our host. He was very glad to see us and, above all, seemed to be flattered that my wife had come. He was [273] already slightly under the weather, swaying a little on his [415] feet, and in one hand he held an enamel chamberpot. He looked so comical that my wife had to hold her handkerchief over her mouth so that none should see what difficulty she [431] was having in keeping a straight face. Our host thought she was very moved and at once ordered one of his fattest sheep [609] to be given her to 'dry her tears', as it is called. He always called her majayura, maiden, remarking: 'She is far too young and lovely to be married.' This, of course, was meant as a compliment. He added that he knew very well what we usually ate. He knew that we were from the same part of the world as the monks and that these people lived on bread, sugar and potatoes. He had tasted them in Nazaret. But perhaps we also liked meat? We assured him that we did, and he promised us large pieces of beef and as much maize beer as we wished. Then he had to go and attend to his other guests.

Burials are big affairs. A good proportion of the dead person's livestock has to be slaughtered to accompany him into the hereafter. The guests feast on this meat, and afterwards each is given some to take home. We walked round to look at the many camps, some under cactus trees, others in the open. There were several hundred Indians assembled [242] there. Everywhere sheep were being slaughtered, meat was being roasted and people were feasting. One old woman was stuffing congealed blood from a calabash with both hands. The whole place smelt of blood, maize beer and spirits. Here and there someone was galloping on a horse. Many of

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been confirmed by sooth-sayer and piache. The person selected must learn the profession and practise it. Otherwise, certain death awaits him, for the spirit will not suffer his decisions to be neglected. 756 787 276

Often parents cannot afford to send for a piache, for those who convey the request have to give him a necklace of gold beads. This may mean that the novice's family has to ask well-to-do relatives to pay the fee. When he arrives, the piache examines the candidate and stuffs some manilla into his or her mouth. When he sees that it is beginning to take effect, he intones a monotonous song. As soon as he stops, the novice must proclaim his desire to become a piache and have it granted. He is selected by the spirit, but he does not yet know anything. The apprenticeship then begins. [603]

The piache shuts himself into a suitable hut together with the novice, and there they must stay, hidden from the world, for a month or more. The apprentice is not supposed to be seen by anyone during this time. No one may go in and interrupt the seance. The piache sits on his stool of light wood shaped like an animal. He wears a head-dress made of wool and places a similar one on the novice's head. He then begins singing songs, swinging rattles and making all the gestures, movements and conjurations that he uses to call upon and move the spirits. His instruction continues day after day, sometimes by night as well. He has to keep to a certain diet. Roast maize in particular is usually prescribed. Now and again spirits appear and talk with the novice, encouraging him, not least by expounding how great are the advantages of being a piache, and how rich the presents he receives. 756 [352] [262]

One day the spirit announces that the first period of instruction is over and the novice ready for examination. This is an intermediary examination, for the instruction is not complete. So far it has only included spells and magical songs, and the novice has no knowledge of herbs and poisons. (Knowledge of medicinal herbs is common to all by family tradition.) The songs, gestures and spells have been repeated till the novice knows them all perfectly. [824]

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known of his clan. The road across the hills was bad, and at times we had to dismount and walk. Now and again we met Indians; the well-to-do leading their riding-mules, the poor followed by half-naked women carrying loads. The men carried lots of arrows. The road was reputed unsafe. The leader of each such company received a little tobacco. We heard that they were all coming from the funeral, which evidently was one of importance and would last quite a while yet. Our companion, the rich Indian, said that he expected to reach the house of mourning in six days. He thought that we ought to go there too, but the place lay a good distance off our route and we had had our fill of Indian feasts for the time being.

Francisco had travelled with Father Crispin and knew the district. He advised us to halt for the night early in an Indian rancho ringed with a stout cactus palisade, where friendly people lived. We could have gone farther, and the Indians with us who were going to the funeral carried on, but then, according to Francisco, they would not have been welcome at the rancho. We never learned the ins and outs of the Indians' friendships and enmities.

At the rancho we bartered a piece of raw sugar against a sheep. Both our pack and riding animals were already tired. They had had far too little fodder and the water was salt. The Indians were up before cock-crow, as always, and we let them get the mules ready. If we could just get to Castilletes, they should have fodder and decent water: we needed provisions ourselves. But what about the sheep, asks the attentive reader. That went the same evening we bought it, our hosts partaking of it as heartily as our own people. It went, offal, guts and all. When nothing but the bones were left, these were split and the marrow sucked out. Then the women gathered up the remains for broth. That sheep cost the equivalent of fourpence-halfpenny. Our means were limited, but at such prices we could at least afford to feed our men. The difficulty was in getting hold of things to eat. The Indians know how to tighten their belts and are prepared to starve for a while, if need be, but they must have a blow-out now and again.

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neighbourhood. We did not know exactly where he was at the time, but hoped that our Indians with their tracker's sense would be able to find him.

We were unlucky, however. Our animals were tired, and had the maize sacks to carry as additional loads, and our progress was very slow. We had bought a pack mule, which Father Crispin had thought highly of. He was an expert on Guajiro animals, which are not quite like others, but this time he had evidently made a mistake for the mule was useless. We heard Francisco shouting at it alternately in Spanish and Guajiro; the Indians hauled on its halter and kicked it from behind, but nothing helped. When we came to a place where there was a little grass, we decided to halt and sleep there among the ants on the ground. Mules never seem to sleep: they trot by day and graze by night. I asked Francisco when they slept. The question astounded him: he had never thought of mules as requiring sleep.

We were so tired that, as soon as the animals had been located on to the grass and our camp set up, we fell asleep without thought of ants or other creatures. Although we had not found the chief, he found us. He must have had his scouts out. Anyway, in the morning he rode into our camp and invited us to his temporary residence, which was quite close. The shortage of pasture had turned him into a nomad.

This chief, Antonio, was a mestizo. He had no Indian clan name, but called himself Gonzalez. Certain mestizos and mulattos had Indianized themselves and become rich men, not always in an exemplary manner. Once rich, owning slaves and cattle, they also acquired power and were called chiefs, at least by white people. They were not real chiefs of clans.

We were given a most friendly and hospitable reception. A cloth was put up to protect us from the sun, and refreshing chicha, the fermented maize brew, was served us all day long. The food was good: grilled beef, maize rolls, the black fruits called olives, boiled roots of some seed imported from moister regions, and cactus figs, which the Indians called *iguaya*. The chief and his family lived in the centre of the

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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the chief game. The *Goajiro* who live near the coast sometimes catch 22
fish (with hook and line), lobsters, mollusks, and crabs.

Cattle raising.—The *Goajiro* are primarily nomadic cattle raisers and, 231
consequently, depend upon the water supply. In the rainy season they 231
seek natural depressions, which they sometimes enlarge artificially, where [232]
the water may gather. In case of drought they wander toward the sea, where wells 30 to 40 feet (9 to 12 m.) deep are dug.

Besides cattle the *Goajiro* keep sheep, goats, horses (pl. 72, bottom, 231
left), mules, pigs, and domestic fowls, which they take with them wherever they go. An estimate gives them 100,000 cattle, 200,000 sheep and goats, 20,000 horses and mules, and 30,000 donkeys. As cattle are a measure [231]
of wealth, the Indians are reluctant to kill them for food, but they utilize [231]
the milk or export the animals to Curaçao and Aruba in exchange for textiles and corn. Each tribe has its own cattle brand, and the annual [232]
round-up and branding is an occasion for great festivities. Horse races [232]
and other sports take place, and large quantities of food and drink are consumed.

Food preparation.—*Goajiro* diet consists almost entirely of meat and 252
milk products. Goats and sheep are killed every day or two for meat, 252
and the milk of the cows is made into butter and cheese. This diet is supplemented by yuca, cactus fruit, sugar, rice, and plantains, the last three obtained from Colombian and Venezuelan traders in exchange for skins. Most that is not immediately consumed is suspended from tall poles, and skins are pegged to the ground and salted in preparation for sale. Butter is made by stirring the cream with a fluted stick in a calabash or wooden bucket. To make cheese, rennet is added to skimmed milk in a trough, and the curds are put in a primitive wooden cheese press, which is weighted with a heavy rock.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Although the *Goajiro* are of a common origin, they are divided into 16
sibs ("castes" or "tribes"), each living within a rather limited area [16]
(Simons, 1885, p. 796). The sibs are split into local groups, which occupy extended villages or rancherías, each with 2 to 50 houses (ranchos) and 10 to 250 or more Indians. Houses are always within gunshot distance of one another and so disposed that surprise attacks would be difficult. If a village is at all permanent, a protective cactus hedge surrounds it.

Goajiro nomadism makes elaborate houses unnecessary. Dwellings 392
are mere lean-tos, arbors, and temporary gabled roofs supported on poles. Thatch is made from the core of the cactus, split lengthwise. Rough [392]
tables, chairs with rawhide seats, and benches are often used. The hammock is always present. House walls are often lacking, but a corner [391]
of the hut may be closed off for a girl's puberty seclusion. When mi-

/537 cont./

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sea from the land and the planting of trees and animals to benefit man" /translated from the Spanish/. The original figure of Mareiwa is probably that of a culture-hero. Chaves (1952, p. 183) makes the same assumption, but adds that this personality is "at the present time like God for many mestizos" /translated from the Spanish/. John (p. 183) declares "that the Spanish have identified /Maleiwa/ with the true God or Supreme Being" /translated from the Spanish/. In Torrano (p. 188) one reads "Maréigua = God, Supreme Being" /translated from the Spanish/. Unfortunately even today it is still true that the "Goajiro religion is imperfectly known" /cited in English/ (Armstrong-Métraux, p. 382).

614 He was found as an infant, who grew rapidly like any Indian
812 child. He ate tuuma (12) and dressed like the Guajiro.
773

[12]

12. It was identified for me as tuna, which is the fruit of the Opuntia (Indian fig) and very well-known in South America. Cf. Vegamian, p. 214.

The mother was an old woman; her hut stood in the north. The father, a certain Saramai, was also said to be a god.
[529] Because Mareiwa was born under an oil tree, this tree does
[530]

/538 cont./

614 returned to them. He distributed among them the seeds of
212 the watermelon (Citrullus vulgaris), maize (Zea), squash,
773 and all the other vegetables with which the Guajiro nourish
[212] themselves. Until that time no Guajiro had laid out a seeded field; before that anyone who wished to eat had reached for the fruit that grew by itself. Mareiwa gathered all the
614 zancalargas (thin-legged grallatores) and weaver birds; he
212 commanded a flock of them to go far away and feed on
773 iguarayas (cereals) and the fruit of the Indian fig (Opuntia).
825 He likewise summoned a flock of rock pigeons; they brought hepechi cherries. Then he distributed the birds over all of Guajira. With their excrement they were to make the simultaneously eliminated seeds germinate; the latter were to grow and cover the whole land with a blanket of plants on which fruit would ripen and serve the people for food.

614 Mareiwa handed over to each native man a pair of goats,
212 donkeys, cattle, horses, and pigs. Then he assembled all
773 the people with their animals in the district of Arachi near
[231] Siapana. There, on a cliff, he engraved the symbols, one of which he intended to assign to each of the family groups, the children of Borunka. They are still visible today on that cliff.

Thus he established there the sign-patterns for the Epiayú, Ipuana, Uriana, Sapuana, Jayariyú, Apshana, Síjuana, Urariyú, Epinayú, Jitnú, Soriyú, Pausayú, Uriyú, Woriyú, Urenanaka, Matpishana, Uyarayú, Wariruyú, Jusayú, Woruboruyú, and others. Mareiwa handed over these property
[422] marks to the people in order that the movable property of one group would not be mistaken for that of the others.

614 Each group has its animal-sign by means of which it
212 distinguishes its property from that of the other groups. This
773 happened for the following reason: these animals were to
825 have become Indians. But they ate the herds that Mareiwa
422 had assigned to each group. As punishment he left them in their animal state as symbols of the individual groups which

/46 cont./

857 482 222 482

iguarayas, and trupillo pods, as well as in gathering divi-divi, which is sold in the port towns for export; their labor is used for portering (women's work): they carry on their backs or shoulders the collected fruit, the firewood, and the water when the family does not own the necessary animals.

When ten or over the girl, taught by her elder kinswomen, starts to handle the spindle and loom, work in which she perfects herself during the seclusion of her initiation.

857 184 556

In general her occupations during childhood are affected by the economic and social position of her relatives, since a child of a well-to-do family will spend her childhood playing, without occupying herself with domestic chores except occasionally, since she is not considered as a small-sized adult as happens among poor families, but as a little girl, and she is treated as such. Certain light duties might be imposed but never a definite or clear-cut responsibility. She is expected to obey, mainly so that she recognize the authority of her elders, but when she enters the prepubertal age her mother and relatives start to take a more personal interest in her and to think it to be the opportune time to start training her in the duties pertaining to her position and her sex, teaching her all the household occupations that she will later improve on and become expert in during her seclusion, which will last longer the greater the wealth of the family.

264 592

Food, sleep, drink, and ornaments. Even before weaning, when this is delayed beyond the first year, or at times before, the child starts being fed adult food. By that time he asks his mother for food and she gives it to him, when he is small, more generously than she can at a later date; but later on he himself looks for it and, in order to satisfy his hunger, frequently steals food from his mother that she has put away, and this obliges the mother to hide it. (Cf. Punishment, Chap. II.)

The apportioning of food in a Guajiro household is done by the mother, who serves each one his share, starting with the husband, afterward the children, she being the last to eat. If she has a preference for a child, she shows it at this time by

/56 cont./

giving him a portion that is larger and better than the others, which is grumbled at and envied by the rest. When there are numerous daughters and only one boy in the family, he is the favored one and, in the absence of the father, is served in his place: on the dishes the father customarily uses for his food and is served first as is done with /61/ the latter. When there are several sons these privileges go to the eldest. When food is scarce the eldest are the first to get it, and whatever remains is divided among the children of middle years. The same occurs when there are special dishes, which the children may occasionally taste if the father or uncle gives them some. But usually there is not enough for the child; when he grows up and is a man he will have his share of these special dishes. This makes the boys envious, and they will snatch whatever one of them may receive, or the eldest will leave the smaller without food after having eaten his share as quickly as possible, and it also explains the theft of food and provisions in spite of the punishments inflicted by the mother, which have been enumerated in another section.

Should the child have a noticeable liking for a certain kind of food, the mother indulges him when possible, giving him a larger portion of it, but this behavior cannot always be repeated as the boy must learn to eat everything, as it is not possible for him to be allowed to eat just the food he considers most appetizing. Furthermore, each child has his own dishes and cutlery for eating, such as gourd plates and spoons, etc., which he recognizes and insists on being served from. These articles are usually their private property.

The child of middle years shares fully in adult food by gradual change from his infant diet after weaning and by the adequate rationing of his new foods, so that his organism becomes accustomed to them and more readily assimilates them. First of all, the mother's milk is replaced by goat's milk and later by thin <u>mazamorra</u> prepared with a little milk, until he gets only this. They gradually feed him the various kinds of

1.Guiamos de Fionda--41 8-8 (1947) 1950 SC13 Goajiro SC13

/49 cont./

262 at the heart, which they eat, for by cooking in this way it be-
263 comes soft and digestible. They also include in their diet soups and special dishes made of beans.

264 The boys employed in work other than pasturing, who stay
262 at home or can readily return there, take the usual breakfast upon rising. Later, when the hours of heat begin and the Guajiro returns to his home to rest on his hammock in the shade of his *ramada* /a bough-covered shelter/, he eats a meal which is more or less similar to that described above, and, toward seven at night, another.

A boy will add to his usual meals what he can find by picking wild fruit, hunting small animals or birds, by stealing food at home, and by drinking the milk he can obtain from the goats or other animals he has in his care.

264 We must add in conclusion that in no case does the woman occupy the first place when food is being served if there are men in the family. At the most she may occupy her mother's place if no older female relatives are present, it falling on her in this case to serve the food. If there are female slaves or bond servants or maids in the home these will carry out this duty under her supervision. These cases when the mother is replaced by the daughters in the task of serving the meals to the family are not frequent, as it is customary for the head woman not to leave her post for any lengthy interval without placing her responsibilities in the hands of a person competent to replace her.

* * *

265 513 The child of middle years keeps the same hours for sleeping as the adult. Generally, the child possesses from his birth
[352] onward an Indian-style hammock /*chinchorro* or *hamaca*/ /49/,
[48] that is to say, one made of cords of twisted agave fibers arranged in horizontal rows. This type of hammock is meant for young children, because bed-wetting at night is frequent in some cases, but especially because it is strong, cheap, and readily replaceable. We never heard of a case of a child sleeping on the ground.

/111 cont./

593 of water so that the man can bathe before entering the house and can rest in his hammock in the enramada; she also provides clean clothes, that is, a belt and guayuco, the common dress. She will immediately bring him a refreshing drink made from wild fruits, corn, or yucca. If after a hunting expedition the husband returns home and does not find all these things ready, he will complain to the woman and reproach her for lack of attention. A few moments after the man's return, the woman should produce food, preparing a portion of the game he has brought home, trying to make a dish that will be to his taste. Later she will sit by his side on the ground at the foot of the hammock on which he is resting, and she will recount to him all that has happened during his absence and the conduct of each and every member of the house in this lapse of time. If the man falls asleep she will stay silently at his side.

Another of the obligations of the woman to her husband refers to sexual satisfaction, which we have noted in a previous section.

Her duties in respect to feeding relate not only to the [264] obligation to supply him with food, but also to the special way of doing it -- to serve him the best portion in a special vessel and before anyone else in the house and to cook the food in accordance with the man's special taste.

593 Also the proper attention due to her husband's friends
574 when they come to the house is another of her obligations. It is customary for the man to bring his intimate friends to his first wife's house to entertain them, and his wife should then carry out adequately the part of a good housekeeper, complying with all the traditional norms of etiquette and hospitality, such as supplying them with hammocks in the enramada, bringing fresh drinks and especially a cup of coffee, and, whatever the hour of day or night they may arrive, giving them food in accordance with the tradition of her people and the particular rank of the visitors, and chatting

S: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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dessatory, a site chosen in some solitary arid spot, and surrounded by walls of cactí. At the death of Salvador, a Pushaina from Arroyo Carlon, 120 fat cows were killed, and the hides did not pay for the liquor drunk. Two of the same family meeting for the first time after the death of a relation, must squat down on their heels in front of each other, and sob and weep, for at least a quarter of an hour, the louder the better.

The Indians are very punctilious in saluting. Calling at a rancho, visitors must wait until spoken to, if this is not done soon, it is evident they are not welcome, so ride away. The words used never seem to be the same. The most frequent are "Intishi-pia" (you have come), or "Kiguare pia" (so you have arrived). In eating and drinking the Indians are extremely cleanly. The principals all eat separately; receiving their allowance in an earthenware dish, *pooi*, with a gourd spoon, *pushi*. The remains, with an addition, serve for the lower members of the family. Water is invariably given after, to wash the mouth and fingers. Even if a drink of milk is taken, a little water is tendered after. As to their hospitality, it has, I believe, been rather exaggerated. There is no doubt that the Goajiro is more hospitable than the Arhuaco of the Sierra Nevada, but then he is also far more cunning and diplomatic, and his hospitality is a mere question of self-interest. He will willingly give a sheep or a goat as a present, provided there is a chance of claiming an ox in return. He is chivalresque in his donations. When he does give a sheep, it is a fat one, his best, and given whole, without reserve, skin and all. If eating, on the arrival of a stranger, he may offer food to him, but certainly will give if requested, as is the custom, always begging. One thing a guest may rely upon receiving in a rancho is a hammock, even if the owner has to sleep on the ground. Lastly, among curious customs, is that of parents assuming the names of their children with the prefix *nushi* or *sushi* if the father, and *ni* or *si* if the mother. Thus the father of Juan would call himself "Nushijuan," or if a daughter, "Sushijuana." The mother of Juan would be called "Nijuan," and if a daughter, "Sijuana."

The dress of the Goajiro is extremely simple, and probably similar to his savage luxury of three centuries ago, when Alfinger devastated the land, except that his own quiet blacks and browns—for he is cunning in the art of dyeing—have given way to the gorgeous blues, reds, and yellows of European wool. His every day working costume is simply a strip of cloth from three inches wide upwards, called *cairka*. When paying visits, receiving company, or travelling, he does his best—a large loincloth with many folds, and the home-woven mantle *shi*, with a magnificent sash, *si-ira*. The mantle is managed with wonderful elegance, now letting it fall about him in voluptuous folds, or dropping it from his shoulders, and tucking it into his immense sash, where his arrows are carried. The hair, which is jet black, thick, and cut short, is kept back in a very aesthetic style by a ring or crown,

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

123 musical bow. It was quite small. He held one end between
534 his lips and struck the strings with a stick. If the reed-flute was introduced by the Moors in those early days, the musical bow must have come with negro slaves. Stringed instruments were not known in South America before the arrival of the white man. The Indians knew nothing of all that, but neither of these two originally foreign instruments were used in their rites, which supports the conclusion that they were introduced late.

The concert was interrupted by the women announcing
123 that a meal awaited us. This began with the oily, somewhat
262 nauseous berries which the Creoles call olives. We did not
264 like their taste and never did more than just sample them. We had also heard that they might be injurious. The main dish—one could almost say, naturally—consisted of boiled dried goat's meat, the standard fare in the peninsula, and we were given water that also tasted of goat—we preferred not to know why.

251 In Guajira it is possible to dry meat in the sun without salting it, providing you cut it in strips and remove all bone. In moister parts of the Caribbean countries meat has to be properly salted before it can be preserved by drying, but in the dry air of Guajira that can be dispensed with. Salt, too, is a thing of which they have more than enough.

Having four young men present, I thought I would
123 arrange a competition for marksmanship with bow and
526 arrow and with a sling. The prizes were an empty biscuit tin, a handkerchief and a needle. These were all desirable things and the contestants did their best. The fourth received a Swedish ten öre piece as consolation prize.

411 I took the opportunity to take a closer look at their weapons. The bows were powerful and had round sections; the arrows had iron heads shaped like a lancet. An old man said that in the old days the heads used to be made of bamboo. Some of the arrows, those intended for smaller birds, had blunt points made of wood or wax. The quarry was meant to be stunned by the force of the impact. They showed us arrows equipped with cross-pieces to prevent them becoming lost when used in the scrub. The cross-

7;Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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585 Maruana said that while she is in confinement a girl will
[621] have been taught, among other things, the attentions custom requires her to show her husband.

When he arrives home, she hastens to hang up his ham-
593 mock and offer him something to drink. She at once prepares a meal, if one is not yet ready. The master of the house has
[264] his own crockery, from which he alone eats, and his wife must see that he has his favourite dishes and that they are properly cooked. If he has returned from a journey or from hunting, she must see that he has water to wash in and a clean guayuco. Once he has taken his place in the hammock, she sits on the ground and tells him the day's events. If he falls asleep, she sits in silence.

When the husband's friends or other people come to see
[594] him, the wife's place is again on the ground beside his hammock. She does not butt in upon the men's conversation, but knows how to be amusing if she is spoken to. She must see that each guest has a hammock to rest in and offer everyone refreshments. Men are proud to have such a hostess for a wife.

[594] In the husband's absence a wife must receive visitors courteously, but observe caution, if they are men. She will hang a hammock under a roofed shelter close to the house, but will not let the visitor inside. She will then offer him refreshments and sit down beside his hammock with some handwork.

It goes without saying that she must take good care of her husband's belongings and property, for he is often forced to be away with his herds. She must also take care of her
[593] husband himself, when he is drunk, as he not infrequently is. When fights occur at feasts, the women, as we know,
[594] throw themselves between the men to avoid bloodshed. A wife is responsible for her husband, when he is drunk. If she has not bothered to keep an eye on him and he is beaten or killed, the fault is hers. Or he may take his own life
[762] while intoxicated—suicide for mere trifles is not unusual—and then too she can be held responsible, if she has not intervened. If he hurts her or destroys any of her things while he is drunk, she knows that he will make rich amends

T:Bollaert T-5 (1926, 1955) 1957
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have got the impression that I intended to keep it in a safe place in order to exploit it commercially, that is to say, hire it out to applicants. He could never have understood what a museum was.

We declined our host's invitation as politely as we could. Gladtvet's interest in his female slaves—who now had their faces painted black into the bargain—was very lukewarm.

We were served a dish of goat's meat, from a goat that our friend had been given at the funeral. Unfortunately it was old and tough, and my wife had to leave almost her entire helping. That was not regarded impolite in Guajira. On the contrary our hostess looked delighted and hastily removing it and herself to a very short distance, set about engulfing it. One might have thought that she did not get enough to eat, but no Guajiro wife was underfed in a well-to-do household. Often they had more food than they wanted. Why, then, did she not leave the helping for her slaves? Because she wanted what had been left by the lightest-complexioned woman she had ever seen, since one can become fairer oneself by eating what such a being has touched. For that reason, my wife, as a gesture of politeness, often left some of her food when we ate in Indian houses, to the delight of the women of the household. What I left would have been of use only to the medicine man, and that because I was a learned man.

On our return to the mission, the monks gave us a large piece of beef, which we grilled.

'Ay, ay,' said Francisco after the feast, 'the photographer señor should not have eaten grilled meat. I forgot his cóntra.'

'His cóntra?'

'Yes, he has the cóntra now. He ought to have eaten something else. What will happen now?'

The next day Gladtvet had a pain in his stomach and Francisco became frightened. Francisco had been brought up at the mission and considered himself a good Catholic, but that did not prevent him believing in magic. However, our medicine chest relieved Gladtvet's pains more easily than Francisco expected.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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[28] Francisco whispered to me that there was a girl in there. She had been shut up ever since the first signs of womanhood had appeared and would stay there a long time, emerging in due course pale and beautiful. While shut up she was called *majawa*.

The girl was not supposed to show herself to outsiders, but we dangled knives and glass beads and she was allowed out to be photographed. As long as a girl is confined, her family may not see her. She is guarded by an old woman, a near relative, and it was she we bribed—to let us take the picture.

When a girl first menstruates, she at once tells her mother or other close female relative. She is then given an emetic so that she rids herself of any food she ate before she became a woman. The implication being, one imagines, that she also rids herself of all childish ideas, vomiting them up. Then her hair is cut off, and she is rolled naked in a tunic and laid in a hammock that is hoisted up to the roof at the back of the hut. There she must lie, fasting, for three or four days, while an elderly woman relative keeps watch over her. [83a] Often an amulet that will make men like her is placed beside her in the hammock. She has to lie motionless and neither scratch nor spit; these could have a deleterious effect.

News of the event has now gone out to relations and others, and everyone turns up wearing their finery, painted and ornamented. Cattle are butchered and they dance the so-called *chichamaya*. Sometimes there are horse-races as well. After some days the girl is allowed to leave her hammock and is washed with water that has been put out in the [29] dew, which is considered to give a light complexion. She may now begin eating small quantities of maize gruel and other prescribed foods. Then she is shut up in the little hut or in a separate part of the larger dwelling-house, but at all events hidden from the world. Not infrequently the little hut is built as part of the greater.

[83b] The girl's guardian sees that she drinks certain decoctions of herbs intended to develop her physically, so that she is to the taste of Guajiro men.

/47 cont./

chichas and cojosa (sour milk), and, when he cuts his teeth, solid food which had previously had to be mashed for easier swallowing. After passing this period, the child eats the same as any adult, with slight differences marked by the family organization, as we have just seen, receiving the plain food served since it is unusual for him to share in any special dishes which the adult members of the household may eat.

During periods of scarcity the gathering and use of wild fruits is an important item in the household economy. The Guajiro, when he finds any such fruit, will immediately eat as much as he can, until satiety is reached. Regularity in hours of eating is very difficult in such circumstances -- one might say that the Guajiro has no fixed mealtimes, but that he eats when he obtains some food. In normal times and in homes where the shortage of food is not much felt, the family's hours /48/ for meals are more or less as follows: On rising, very early, they take a little coffee with panela, if there is any, or more often a gourdful of cojosa (1); in the evening after

1. Milk which is left to sour in special food vessels.

sunset, upon returning from work, they have their principal meal composed of mazamorra with milk, some rolls or corn griddlecakes and coffee or a chicha of fruit, corn, or yucca. The normal diet does not include the daily eating of meat, which is only eaten on certain rare occasions, the same as cheese and certain vegetables such as ahuyamas /Cucurbita berucosa/, gourds, yucca, etc. Toasted corn with salt or something sweet is frequently eaten, rice soup (a very much-used food), dry rice, or a soup of trupillo pods /Mimosaceae/, which are chewed after having been parboiled, the fibers later being spat out, or mixed with milk. At periods when food is in short supply, they have the habit of making use of the tender shoots of cacti, which are roasted over a flame in order to get

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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273 quarrelsome, the parting drink of spirits having had its effect. One old man after much swaying in the saddle was finally thrown off by his jibbing mule. He landed in a prickly bush and became frantic. He wanted to see blood. Luckily his weapons were on his saddle, but he managed to remove one of his spurs and began stabbing with it at those who were trying to help him up. Francisco received a jab, but he and a couple of others managed to overpower the old ruffian, whom they bound and tied to his saddle. Then his wife led him and his mount away.

64 574 One by one the groups went off in their various directions. We came to the rancho of the young Indian, our new [361] friend. He had several big huts, built on the sand, where there was no greenery or shade. He explained that when the rains came, it did not become swampy there, as in most other places, but the water ran through the sand and you could [286] walk dry-shod. There were looms in several of the open huts. At one sat our host's young, light-complexioned wife, [832] who undoubtedly was a great beauty by Guajiro standards, and in another his aged mother with a wrinkled clever face.

[272] We were offered goat's milk as a refreshment. I was always amazed at the care with which these Indians collected the small quantities of milk the goats yielded, for each gave a mere squirt. We took a gulp of goat's milk in order to avoid having to drink spirits.

The women were in a great bustle, evidently getting a spread ready. The Guajiro are hospitable, and when strangers or friends come they must have the best the house can provide. If need be, the host gives up his own hammock and lies on the ground.

439 778 Our host had plenty of hammocks. After resting a while, my wife went inside to look at the weaving, while I produced one of the pistols I had bought at an auction and demonstrated it, shooting a couple of shots, the noise and smoke of which appeared highly satisfactory to our host. Hastily he drew me aside and whispered that he had something that ought to interest me. He had *wuu* and was willing to part with this precious, sought-after article in exchange for my noisy pistol. After all I had a companion without a

/8 cont./

Birth and death of the first-born. The father must pay the 851 expenses of pregnancy and delivery, as well as those occasioned by the celebration of the birth of his first child, and he is expected to offer a special feast at his own expense at the place where the birth occurred. The news of the birth of the child spreads rapidly and draws relatives and friends from all parts. At midday the dance, which lasts all night, begins, in which the [534 single women and all the men take part. The rhythm is supplied 535] by a double-headed drum made of deer or goat hide. The dancing takes place within a large circle, around the edges of which the couples participating and the curious onlookers gather. The women attend in their finest dresses without forgetting their ornaments (necklaces, bracelets, and anklets) and wear wound round the head a handkerchief, which falls over the shoulder, and have their faces very carefully painted. The men wear broad belts wonderfully embroidered and feather headpieces.

[273] The father must supply his guests with Guajiro rum or with smuggled foreign liquor. Also chicha (made from chewed corn) [541] is prepared and is served liberally. Apart from the dancing there may be horse racing, if the people are rich, and for this they bring their finest animals. At dawn the next day cattle, if the father is rich, and goats are slaughtered, which are prepared and divided among the participants according to their importance in the family, the group, and the total collectivity in general. All the participants return to their homes by sunrise.

In addition to the father, the maternal and paternal relatives [431] join in the celebration of the birth, bringing gifts for the newly born. The father also makes him a present of heads of livestock, which constitute almost the only inheritance he will get during [428] his lifetime, as it is the nephews of the father, (sons of his sister) who inherit the capital and not the sons, according to law, when the marriage has been carried out according to the Guajiro rite.

851 The paternal grandfather also shows his recognition and 431 generosity toward his grandson. If he owns livestock, he is 603 obliged to give a pair of each -- horses, burros, cows, goats,

/84 cont./

583 and offers them hospitality in his own house. The small bull, the best of the herd, serves to make a special dish and is also divided among those who have come so that each takes with him a good portion, /85/ the higher the guest's standing the better the piece. In the afternoon they return home. If they come to make the payment in the evening, then the attentions are [213] different. They must have a great quantity of chicha made of masticated corn and yucca, which is accompanied by pieces of meat and bollos /corn rolls/. The bridegroom's companions sleep in the bride's house and leave at dawn after breakfast, for which an animal is slaughtered, the meat of which is distributed among the visitors.

In the first case when women attend, they must each be presented with the gift of a goat or a sheep to take home with them; in both cases there must be an abundant quantity of rum for the men.

The bridegroom does not come at this time either, but when he wants to make the girl his wife, he brings more cattle (ten cows when the girl is of high standing), which he hands over to the mother in payment for the matrimonial hammock; with this payment he has fulfilled the final requirements for access to his bride, who awaits him in a neighboring house, and there they hang up their matrimonial hammock, which serves them as a marriage bed.

Sociological significance of the marriage payment. Through the payment the matrimonial tie is strengthened and its legal organization is passed on to the descendants of the new family cell. Thus the laws of inheritance are structured by it: The man [428] pays for his wife with the co-operation of his relatives, and for this reason the children, who belong to the mother's blood, are deprived of the right to inherit the father's goods at his death, because they are not consanguineous relatives, and, moreover, the mother and her maternal relatives received the purchase price. The children take the surname of their mother, a further [551] proof of their bond with the maternal clan, in which they find all the economic and social backing they need.

[16 cont.]
*756 until dawn. For the dance they must kill sufficient goats for all
796 the dancers to eat, accompanying this food with roasted corn. The men and women who would be taking part in the dance ceremony should come painted with annatto [bija], the women could be single or married. Once the dance had finished, at dawn of the second night, the meat of the sacrificed animals was to be piled on a heap of leaves, and the old shaman would come to "shamanize" [piachar] (14) it, spitting her saliva impregnated

14. We have found it necessary to use the verb "shamanize" [piachar] to refer to the ceremonies which the shaman [piache] performs during his cures and other functions. Purists of the language will please forgive us.

with the manilla she was chewing on the meat; she would also "shamanize" the novice. Until this had been done the meat could not be eaten by the guests. Those present could then take the meat so prepared, but they must go in a direction when they walked away to eat it opposite to the direction taken by the shaman when she came to perform her ritual ceremonies over it.
[782] The consumption of this meat by the others would be done in honor of the spirits whom the shaman wanted to propitiate at this time.

Similarly, there is little difference between the external cult of the rite of passage of the second case and the previous one. Once the spirit announced that the initiate knew how to invoke it, a fiesta was organized at its request which lasted for three days. For this celebration they sacrificed 20 sheep and a steer, and they
[273] danced the chicha-maya. In addition, they made the already mentioned distribution of chicha and rum to the guests. During these three days of fiesta, the mother – the shaman in this case – continued to instruct the initiate in all matters relating to her future duties. At dawn on the third day the novice graduated.

*756 Final period of preparation: Let us continue with the first case. After the dance with all the accompanying ceremonial was

[21cont.]

755 When the patient shows signs of improving, a fiesta is or-
796 ganized consisting of chicha-maya dances and feasting. For this event they prepare in advance all that will be offered to the participants; chicha made from chewed corn, plain or sweetened with panela according to the economic situation of the sick man's family. The dance lasts one or more days and nights, as ordered [534] by the shaman, the only musical instrument used being the drum. In order to end the fiesta, two or three steers and several goats and sheep are killed if the hosts are rich. At four or five o'clock in the morning, according to the shaman's wishes, the sick per- [515] son is taken from his bed, and the curer himself bathes him with soap and water, after which he is again carried indoors and is permitted to stay up, but not to leave his dwelling. Slowly he resumes normal living and the everyday diet. If the patient should have a relapse, [22] the treatment is repeated. The process of these cures may last up to two months, according to the patient's condition.

No one is actually invited to the fiesta which is organized [574] by order of the shaman when he has succeeded in curing a patient. When people find out that such a fiesta is about to be given from the characteristic beating of the drum, they approach without being invited and take part, joining in dancing [273] the chich-amaya. The women are offered a bowl of chicha made from chewed corn to take to their homes to drink there with their families. Men are given rum or chicha. The women wear with 291 great pride their long ample robes, which cover them to the 755 ankles, their waireñas, or leather sandals with toe pieces made 796 of knitted wool and adorned with large tassels of the same ma- 556 terial, and a pañuelo around their heads, the corners of which hang down their backs. If they are wealthy enough, they complete their personal adornment with anklets and bracelets of coral and necklaces of gold or tuma. The men also wear their finest robes, which, hanging from one of their shoulders, cover the upper part of their bodies. This is complemented by a wide sash used to support the loincloth [guayuco], wider than the one commonly used, that is, than that used in their daily 755 work. If animals are sacrificed — which depends on the wealth 796

[124 cont.]

585 c) There is another very important fact in this sexual aspect of the fiesta that we are describing, which is what we might call proof of virginity. [125]

Virginity in woman is highly valued by the natives in spite of the fact that at the present time, due to economic ac-
[836 178] culturative factors, it is increasingly difficult to find virgins among marriageable women, a state of affairs that the Indian male is well aware of. But it is always a matter of pride and something to be boasted of for a Guajiro man to find on his marriage night that his bride is a virgin. It is the custom,
[583] furthermore, that if the man marries not knowing that his wife has lost her virginity and has the consequent disillusion on his wedding night, the bride's relatives have to return a part of the livestock which the man paid for her, especially the family necklace. The Indian's concern about this matter, which remains hidden when he is in a normal state, comes to the surface dur-
[578 273] ing his drunken bouts, when he will sing about his wife, extolling her and boasting of having had a virgin in his marriage hammock, or insulting and degrading her in coarse improvisations when he considers that he has been defrauded.

524 796 831 This attitude toward sex on the part of the native, or better said this value he places on the virginity of his future wives, is expressed in a sort of game which is played at the Dance of the Kid. To play it, the girls gather in a group about a singer who
[539] sings such a song as this: "Let us see, my pretty miss, if you are a virgin, if truly you have not run around too freely, if no young male has put his hands on your body." He then passes his hands over each girl's body, tickling her. He starts at her big toe and goes upward, touching her instep, calves, knees, thighs, genitals, hips, stomach, torso, breasts, armpits, and continues up her neck until he reaches the top of her head. The girl who remains quiet, indifferent, without laughing and without even a smile wins the test and is declared a virgin. The singer then sings again: "You are indeed a virgin, my lovely majayura. . . . ," and chants a veritable song of flattery and finishes by escorting her to a set place. He then continues with the rest of the girls gathered there, repeating the same routine. When a girl moves or laughs,

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585 Mauana said that while she is in confinement a girl will
[281] have been taught, among other things, the attentions custom requires her to show her husband.

When he arrives home, she hastens to hang up his ham-
583 mock and offer him something to drink. She at once prepares a meal, if one is not yet ready. The master of the house has
[264] his own crockery, from which he alone eats, and his wife must see that he has his favourite dishes and that they are properly cooked. If he has returned from a journey or from hunting, she must see that he has water to wash in and a clean guayuco. Once he has taken his place in the hammock, she sits on the ground and tells him the day's events. If he falls asleep, she sits in silence.

When the husband's friends or other people come to see
[574] him, the wife's place is again on the ground beside his hammock. She does not butt in upon the men's conversation, but knows how to be amusing if she is spoken to. She must see that each guest has a hammock to rest in and offer everyone refreshments. Men are proud to have such a hostess for a wife.

[574] In the husband's absence a wife must receive visitors courteously, but observe caution, if they are men. She will hang a hammock under a roofed shelter close to the house, but will not let the visitor inside. She will then offer him refreshments and sit down beside his hammock with some handwork.

It goes without saying that she must take good care of her husband's belongings and property, for he is often forced to be away with his herds. She must also take care of her
[573] husband himself, when he is drunk, as he not infrequently is. When fights occur at feasts, the women, as we know,
[574] throw themselves between the men to avoid bloodshed. A wife is responsible for her husband, when he is drunk. If she has not bothered to keep an eye on him and he is beaten or killed, the fault is hers. Or he may take his own life
[762] while intoxicated—suicide for mere trifles is not unusual—and then too she can be held responsible, if she has not intervened. If he hurts her or destroys any of her things while he is drunk, she knows that he will make rich amends

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season, and it was then the dry season. The dance was the so-called chichimaya. This was arranged because Mauana had dreamed that he ought to spend several cattle and lots of maize beer on a performance of this kind. Otherwise dances are arranged in connection with a girl's being confined in her hut and on a number of other similar occasions. The medicine man, piache, often orders a dance when someone has fallen ill, when a casimba has run dry or when they want rain. They also dance when the herds are marked and castrated. Neighbours and relatives are invited to bring their young girls and these need never lack for partners, for the young men come of themselves, when they hear of it. It is not impolite to ask about the refreshments to be provided before accepting an invitation. The Indians prefer beef to goat's meat, and a beef-dance will be very well attended.

We reached Mauana's house a little too early. The maize beer was not quite ready. Maize beer, or chicha as it is now generally called by the Creoles, is simply a gruel made of ground maize, and it constitutes the Indians' daily fare, as it does in much of native South America. If this gruel is allowed to ferment, it becomes slightly alcoholic and the Guajiro then call it *ujor*. Fermentation is traditionally stimulated by the women chewing the maize, and this also is done in Guajira. The maize is sometimes mixed with manioc. The resultant brew, *ishirusa*, the Indians consider pleasant and strengthening. The ordinary, slightly sour unchewed maize gruel appeals more to the European both as regards taste and hygiene.

Mauana had intended to regale us with spirits, but fortunately we managed to persuade him to give ordinary maize gruel instead.

Gradually people began to assemble, all in their finery. Mauana explained that it was only a small performance. He really did not have time for such things just then, but the promptings of dreams had to be followed.

In the dusk we all went down to the feast-place outside a couple of huts, where an area had been well swept. Round this the guests had now begun to assemble. They stood in a

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In another game the dangerous spirit Yoruyá attacks 796
and kills Indian after Indian till he is set upon by them all 526
and killed; in yet another the Indians hide in a cloud made
of cloaks, when the spirit forces its way in, but it is captured [776]
by the cloud and vanquished.

Horse-racing is one of the Indians' greatest pleasures at [541]
their festivities, but they also indulge in it—without horses
—as a game in connection with the dances. Very amusing
and picturesque is a game in which they imitate hunting a
kind of bird that plunders the seed in their fields. The
Indians pretend to be trying to scare them and catch them
in nets. Here the seed is represented by some children, some
of the men are the birds, others the hunters who catch the
birds in their hammocks and then wring their necks!

Another game represents a fight between jaguars and
dogs. The strongest of the men are made the jaguars, for
these have to win. Then there is a snake game in which men
and women crawl along together, imitating the movements
of a snake and singing the snake song: 'I am the snake. I
creep along the ground. I do harm to none, but punish
those who try to trample me. Long must he suffer, who
tramps upon me because he thinks me defenceless since I
creep on the ground. He must suffer and die.' There are
endless variations; but a dance lasts so long that a little
variety is necessary.

Once the upper-class dance, the chichamaya, was over, [565]
Mauana's people gladly showed us all their games and
dances even though it was not the right time of year.

As we were riding home the next day we encountered 115
several companies of Indians returning from a burial-feast.
Among them was a young man in a beautifully woven
mantle, who joined up with us. He spoke good Spanish and
obviously belonged to the upper class. Francisco told him
about us, and he was eager that we should be his guests
that same day, since his rancho lay on our route. He said
that he had a few things that I might well find interesting
and he himself would like to see one of my pistols. (Fran-
cisco had evidently described how they smoked and made 273
a bang.) Some of the Indians accompanying us now became

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quarrelsome, the parting drink of spirits having had its effect. One old man after much swaying in the saddle was finally thrown off by his jibbing mule. He landed in a prickly bush and became frantic. He wanted to see blood. Luckily his weapons were on his saddle, but he managed to remove one of his spurs and began stabbing with it at those who were trying to help him up. Francisco received a jab, but he and a couple of others managed to overpower the old ruffian, whom they bound and tied to his saddle. Then his wife led him and his mount away.

One by one the groups went off in their various directions. We came to the rancho of the young Indian, our new friend. He had several big huts, built on the sand, where there was no greenery or shade. He explained that when the rains came, it did not become swampy there, as in most other places, but the water ran through the sand and you could walk dry-shod. There were looms in several of the open huts. At one sat our host's young, light-complexioned wife, who undoubtedly was a great beauty by Guajiro standards, and in another his aged mother with a wrinkled clever face.

We were offered goat's milk as a refreshment. I was always amazed at the care with which these Indians collected the small quantities of milk the goats yielded, for each gave a mere squirt. We took a gulp of goat's milk in order to avoid having to drink spirits.

The women were in a great bustle, evidently getting a spread ready. The Guajiro are hospitable, and when strangers or friends come they must have the best the house can provide. If need be, the host gives up his own hammock and lies on the ground.

Our host had plenty of hammocks. After resting a while, my wife went inside to look at the weaving, while I produced one of the pistols I had bought at an auction and demonstrated it, shooting a couple of shots, the noise and smoke of which appeared highly satisfactory to our host. Hastily he drew me aside and whispered that he had something that ought to interest me. He had *unu* and was willing to part with this precious, sought-after article in exchange for my noisy pistol. After all I had a companion without a

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[761] hands to their faces. From one and all rose the lugubrious, shrill lament that had to sound uninterruptedly as long as the dead man was above ground. (For some time after the [765] funeral, the man's nearest relatives would begin the day with a song of lament.) After some time the wailers nearest to the bier began to make way for others, and then we too [576] began lamenting, imitating the sound as best we could, as politeness required that every guest should.

One of the men now turned and pulled the cloak from his face. It was our host. He was very glad to see us and, above all, seemed to be flattered that my wife had come. He was [273] already slightly under the weather, swaying a little on his [415] feet, and in one hand he held an enamel chamberpot. He looked so comical that my wife had to hold her handkerchief over her mouth so that none should see what difficulty she [431] was having in keeping a straight face. Our host thought she was very moved and at once ordered one of his fattest sheep [609] to be given her to 'dry her tears', as it is called. He always called her majayura, maiden, remarking: 'She is far too young and lovely to be married.' This, of course, was meant as a compliment. He added that he knew very well what we usually ate. He knew that we were from the same part of the world as the monks and that these people lived on bread, sugar and potatoes. He had tasted them in Nazaret. But perhaps we also liked meat? We assured him that we did, and he promised us large pieces of beef and as much maize beer as we wished. Then he had to go and attend to his other guests.

Burials are big affairs. A good proportion of the dead person's livestock has to be slaughtered to accompany him into the hereafter. The guests feast on this meat, and afterwards each is given some to take home. We walked round to look at the many camps, some under cactus trees, others in the open. There were several hundred Indians assembled [262] there. Everywhere sheep were being slaughtered, meat was being roasted and people were feasting. One old woman was stuffing congealed blood from a calabash with both hands. The whole place smelt of blood, maize beer and spirits. Here and there someone was galloping on a horse. Many of

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him and found that he could not make rain at all, but was an impostor, so he was driven away with blows and was glad to escape with his life.

Even in the days when the reputation of the piache stood high, the Guajiro would not infrequently seek the help of the famous medicine men of Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, the so-called *mamás*, in whom many Creoles believed. A Guajiro who could manage to do so would take a sick person there or an article of clothing or some ornament that the invalid had worn. The medicine men of the mountain Indians would use this to diagnose the disease, and the messenger would return with a herbal medicine. The health-bringing plants were broken up and preserved in spirits. People liked to acquire such medicine especially before a child was born; it was then poured into the infant's bath water and the mother drank a gulp of it. The effect of it depended on the magical power of the plants.

The Guajiro themselves used certain plants as medicine. Sometimes these really were effective, but often it was just a question of sorcery. A plant with much milky sap, for example, was laid on a mother's breast if her milk failed. The powers possessed by the mountain Indians of Sierra Nevada were attributed to the circumstance that they possessed the secret of invoking specially powerful spirits, whose essence also permeated the herbal medicines people got from them. The effect of the herbs thus came from the spirits residing in them. Intoxicating drinks acted through the spitits liberated in the process of fermentation; that was a common belief among the Indians.

The Guajiro believed in omens and portents. Various animals foretold misfortune or death. A wild cat wailing round the house at night, a bat that persisted in following one through the darkness, in certain circumstances also a snake beside the house, all portended trouble or sorrow. The Indians paid special attention to the behaviour of a number of birds and interpreted this as indicating the approach of visitors, the imminence of something unpleasant, etc. When they thought they had observed such a

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neighbourhood. We did not know exactly where he was at the time, but hoped that our Indians with their tracker's sense would be able to find him.

We were unlucky, however. Our animals were tired, and had the maize sacks to carry as additional loads, and our progress was very slow. We had bought a pack mule, which Father Crispin had thought highly of. He was an expert on Guajiro animals, which are not quite like others, but this time he had evidently made a mistake for the mule was useless. We heard Francisco shouting at it alternately in Spanish and Guajiro; the Indians hauled on its halter and kicked it from behind, but nothing helped. When we came to a place where there was a little grass, we decided to halt and sleep there among the ants on the ground. Mules never seem to sleep: they trot by day and graze by night. I asked Francisco when they slept. The question astounded him: he had never thought of mules as requiring sleep.

We were so tired that, as soon as the animals had been loosed on to the grass and our camp set up, we fell asleep without thoughts of ants or other creatures. Although we had not found the chief, he found us. He must have had his scouts out. Anyway, in the morning he rode into our camp and invited us to his temporary residence, which was quite close. The shortage of pasture had turned him into a nomad.

This chief, Antonio, was a mestizo. He had no Indian clan name, but called himself Gonzalez. Certain mestizos and mulattos had Indianized themselves and become rich men, not always in an exemplary manner. Once rich, owning slaves and cattle, they also acquired power and were called chiefs, at least by white people. They were not real chiefs of clans.

We were given a most friendly and hospitable reception. A cloth was put up to protect us from the sun, and refreshing chicha, the fermented maize brew, was served us all day long. The food was good: grilled beef, maize rolls, the black fruits called olives, boiled roots of some seed imported from moister regions, and cactus figs, which the Indians called *ipuruya*. The chief and his family lived in the centre of the

[213]
[263]

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The *Goajiro* believe that after death the deceased in ethereal form 775
wander about the country, their favorite meeting place being in the vicinity of Bahia Honda in the extreme north of the peninsula. There is some evidence that the Indians look forward to a happier existence after death. From this belief in the afterlife stems the practice of mutilating the body of a slain enemy, for once his body is broken and scattered it is not possible to reassemble his soul, and the slayer is protected from a vengeance-seeking spirit.

The dead are highly respected or feared; consequently, it is a serious 769
offense to mention a dead person by name. 551

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Games.—The *Goajiro* have various athletic sports, such as horse racing, 526
wrestling, and archery. Contestants shoot at a skin ball or a fruit tossed into the air or at targets; they are very accurate up to 125 yards. Tournaments are held in which the contestants pair off, the victor of each round winning an arrow and continuing to compete.

Feasts and dances.—The *Goajiro* are fond of feasts and hold them 574
whenever opportunity offers—at funerals, when they have received their 756
pay for loading salt, at baptisms, or when a person completes his training as a medicine man. Weston (1937) describes a festival held on the last-mentioned occasion. For 2 days the big drum was sounded by relays of players, spreading the news. The dance, practiced beforehand, took place in a circle some 25 feet (7.5 m.) in diameter around which some 200 Indians gathered. A man, nude except for his waist cloth and head band [282
with ornamental plume, with his face painted red in a crisscross pattern, 535]
danced backward from a girl dressed in a voluminous robe and wearing a large red handkerchief on her head. The girl attempted to overtake and head off the man, who retreated before her in a circle with a peculiar double step, almost a hop and a skip. As one pair tired another took its place, the dance continuing indefinitely.

Musical instruments.—*Goajiro* musical instruments are few. A 534
calabash filled with stones or peas serves as a rattle for dance accompaniment. The clarinet is about 2 feet (0.6 m.) long, made of telescoped (?) sections of reed with a bell consisting of calabash and a vibrating reed in the mouthpiece. It is side blown. The large drum is carved from a hollow section of tree, 15 inches (38 cm.) in diameter and 24 inches (60 cm.) long, and has both ends covered with sheepskin. It is slung from the rafters, a branch, or from the player's neck. Singing among the *Goajiro* is virtually nonexistent.

Narcotics and stimulants.—To make chicha beer, maize may be mas- 273 ●
ticated by the women and spat into a large earthenware bowl, with water and crude sugar added. After 3 days it is strained and drunk. By another

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273 method the maize is finely pulverized by hammering on a flat stone, instead of being masticated. Beer is drunk in large quantities, as is rum received by trade.

276 Both sexes commonly smoke long narrow cigarettes, which the women make of bundles of 8 or 10 leaves. Formerly, at least in the western portion of the country, the *Goajiro* chewed coca (bayo) with lime, which stained their teeth black. Coca is still grown, but there is no mention of this custom in recent times.

RELIGION

776 *Goajiro* religion is imperfectly known. Maréigua (Maleiwa) seems to have been the Creator and Culture Hero. He caused the first *Goajiro* to emerge from the ground and taught the tribe how to produce fire with a drill. He saved them during the flood by raising the Cerro Pureo where they had taken refuge and by driving the jaguars away. As a Supreme Being he shows some moral preoccupation, in the past having punished those who lived in incest. He sends rain and all the good things which the *Goajiro* expect from nature (Hernández de Alba, 1936, p. 44).

Yoluha (Yorja) has been thought to signify the god of thunder, lightning, and drought, but the term probably does not designate a single deity but bad spirits or ghosts in general. These are feared at night when
776 the sky is clouded; to prevent their inroads the *Goajiro* stretch a thin cord
789 between two poles reaching above the roof. They attach to this cord, at regular intervals, fishhooks which serve to entangle the Yoluha and make their stay unpleasant. Sometimes when sounds coming from the bush are thought to have been made by spirits, the Indians light embers and throw stones at them.

787 The *Goajiro* give considerable importance to dreams. A dream may
438 cause the desertion of a camp, a war, or a consultation with a shaman. The *Goajiro* carry charms which they buy from shamans.

SHAMANISM

756 *Goajiro* shamans (piache) are of both sexes. Aside from their long hair shamans differ little in external appearance from ordinary persons, but their power is reputed to be considerable and people avoid offending them. They are said to cause the heart of a person to stop beating unless they are paid enough.

A shaman keeps his cures secret and divulges them only to a successor, who undergoes a long period of training and who pays his instructor a certain number of cattle. When the training is complete, there is a public initiation with dancing and drinking, at which the novice is seized by fits as demonstration of his new power. The instructor chants spells

[8 cont.]

now present it embodied under the title Aspectos de la Magia en la Guajira, a title which not only covers what has been known as magic to the Indian but also many of his mental and sentimental attitudes, the classification of which would be difficult in any other way. [8] [Maps of La Guajira Continuado on p. 9. Page 10 is blank.]

[11] II

Life Cycle of the Guajiro Shaman

Symptomatology. A woman shaman [piache], referring to the bodily symptoms which presented themselves as an indication of her calling, mentioned the following: She began to see before her eyes a kind of little star which fell upon her in the manner of a golden rain, the first sign, according to her, of her person being possessed by a spirit. Her sight became clouded, and she fell to the ground in a faint; she remained stretched out there for some time. Then she very slowly regained consciousness. After this first attack of possession, she felt quite well for two or three days, after which she woke up one morning with a sensation of intense cold such as one feels at the beginning of an attack of malaria; she also broke out in a sticky sweat all over her body; then she was overcome, vomited blood, and remained unconscious until afternoon, lying like one dead in her hammock. She began to recover again, and the spirit came down to her, for she seemed to hear a voice that ordered her, "Eat manilla (2), for if

2. A tobacco paste imported by the Indians from Riohacha (Colombia) or from Maracaibo (Venezuela).

you do not, you will die." On receiving this order, she immediately told her relatives to bring her manilla, and one of them went with a gold necklace of hers to look for an old woman shaman that she might come to see if our informant had a spirit and, if it were true,

[11 cont.]

might dedicate herself to her teaching. The woman shaman called for the purpose recognized at once that our informant had the spirit appropriate to her calling and began the tutelage of the new curer [curandera].

Another woman shaman narrated the first symptoms of her vocation in this way. When she had reached the age of reason, that is, about ten or eleven years of age (the time of the initiation for the change from girl to young woman: the beginning of puberty), she felt one day a need to perform a bodily function. She went into the woods to do this, but no matter how much she tried she was unable to do it. This situation repeated itself several times. At night she dreamed that a spirit descended and, taking her by the hand, led her to a stream where there was a big field of plantain and ahuyama. At sunrise the next day [12] she woke up depressed and trembling. She heard a voice in her ear saying, "Eat manilla and marcaira (3)." She frequently lost

3. A plant with a leaf similar to that of tobacco.

consciousness and when she came to again was weak and trembling. When she ate what was ordered, the shivering and feeling of illness disappeared as if by enchantment, and she remained in perfect health. She was going to be a shaman. Her mother, who was already one, announced this fact and prepared to begin her training according to the rules.

From the personal movements of these two shamans which we have just reported and from other relative data that we have been able to obtain by word of mouth from other informants, we can deduce the following: 1) The graduations to the rank of shaman (the illumination, we might better call it) are revelations of the wanuri ("spirit of death") which enters the body of certain persons chosen by it, that they may exercise the office of curer magician. As a proof of the presence of the spirit in new shamans through manifestations of revelation, we may see among the Bororó tribe of Brazil, for example, how the spirit appears in the shape of a monkey or water hog (4), and among the

4. Métraux, Alfred. Le Chamanisme chez les Indiens de l'Amérique du Sud Tropicale

[13 cont.]

*756 764 With respect to the hysterical attacks so characteristic of shamans, there exists considerable confirmation of this in a fact which is connected with the death of these curers. Custom demands that when one of them dies, it is essential that their wake be kept for three consecutive days and nights, because as these attacks occur frequently and at times last for a considerable time, there is a fear that the shaman may not be really dead and that consequently he may be buried alive if the mourners do not wait for a reasonable time to see if he recovers.

*756 276 3) A magic plant, tobacco, is involved in the making of a new shaman in two ways: (a) The aspiring shaman must chew it for several consecutive days in order to enter into a state of ecstasy and so provoke the absorption of the spirit by his person. One must remember that at the moment the initiate has an attack, a piece of tobacco or manilla is put into his mouth. When [827] he recovers consciousness, he belches loudly because of the action of the tobacco, and these belches are considered to be canticles of praise and gratitude to the spirit which desires to reside in him. The establishment of relations between the spirit and the medicine-man aspirant by means of a magic plant, such as the tobacco we [171] have referred to, is found also among the Conibo: "The apprentice shaman of the Conibo of the Ucayali receives his medical science from a spirit. To enter into communication with the latter, the shaman drinks a decoction of tobacco and smokes as much as he can in a hermetically sealed hut." (8) [Cited in French.]

8. Métraux. Op. cit., 204.

*756 787 (b) The diviner must see in the different changes in the embers of the tobacco whether the individual whose future he foretells after an attack of illumination will become a true shaman or not. His verdict is final.

4) Dreams, or at least hallucinations, are decisive factors in the determination of the quality of shaman.

*756 5) The vocation of shaman cannot be renounced. Better said, it does not depend upon the individual himself; once the symptoms have appeared and the diviner has given a favorable

171 [19 cont.]
invocations of the spirits and in the metamorphosis of the shaman."
#756 (16) [Cited in French.] The shaman moves his torso in gyra-
755

16. Ibid., I, 218.

tion. When he is in trance and effecting a cure which requires the invocation of the spirit, no noise must be made as this will cause the spirit to become frightened and to flee; and being left without his protector spirit, the shaman will suffer violent fits and fall to the ground in severe convulsions. The shaman [276] always carries a piece of manilla in these cases; he chews it and becomes intoxicated with the juice, which induces him to sing with greater verve. The juice of the manilla also serves to spray [824] the body of the patient as well as the walls and all around the house to frighten away the malignant spirit. This custom of the magic use of tobacco is also very common in America; not to overexpand the subject we limit ourselves to giving a simple example cited by Pauly with reference to the Araona Indians of Bolivia: "They use tobacco dust mixed with coca to cure their sick and ward off the evil spirits, chewing it and spitting the juice on the body of the sick person. They also spit it at the heavens to calm the storms and at the river when it is in flood." (17)

[113]

17. Pauly, Antonio. Ensayo de Etnografía Americana. Viajes y Exploraciones [Essay on American Ethnology. Voyages and Explorations], VI, 128.

755 The treatment really begins with a chant of invocation to the spirits. While the ceremony is performed the shaman continually chews tobacco and he rubs the juice formed by the saliva and the juice of the plant over the body of the patient; and immediately after this, he energetically sucks several consecutive times at the affected parts of the body of the sick man to draw [753] out [20] the malignancy. (The sickness that the native has, no matter what may be its special characteristics or from whence it may have arisen, is derived from the malevolent action of the

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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123
142
291
276
372

Left: *I help an old man, who had never seen matches, to light his cigar*

142
291

Chinca, a girl of simple family, (on the left) and a well-born maiden expensively perfumed in a white tunic

[516]

Indian camp and a mestizo

[Facing p. 49]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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CHAPTER 10

Conjuration of Spirits

How does one become a piache? Not of one's own volition. Those worthy are chosen by the spirits and receive their summons in a supernatural way. The wanuru spirit itself visits the chosen one, who may be a boy or a girl. Women are often sorcerers in Guajira. One of them gave us this account of how she received her summons.

First she saw in front of her eyes a fall of shooting-stars, a rain of gold; then everything went dark and she sank to the ground. The first warning usually comes like that. Some days later she had violent attacks of shivering, cold sweats and vomiting. As she lay in her hammock more dead than alive, she heard a voice say: 'Eat manilla or you will die.' (Manilla is a kind of chewing tobacco which the Indians now obtain from white traders, but in default they have recourse to tobacco leaves. The spirit always orders the person to chew manilla.)

The woman's relations hastened to get some manilla and at the same time sent for a piache, who would have to decide whether the girl really had received a call or not.

Another woman told us that her first symptom was thoroughly prosaic: constipation. During the night she dreamed that the spirit came and led her by the hand to a big plantation. She awoke trembling, but then heard a voice ordering her to eat manilla. By chewing tobacco she recovered completely. Her mother, who was herself a piache, at once began instructing her in her profession.

After the summons comes the apprenticeship. The magical tobacco seems of great significance for the medicine man or woman to be, and even for the fully trained. The

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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756 medicine men of South America make great use of tobacco,
and at first it was mostly reserved for them. The chewing of
787 tobacco can cause an intoxication, through which a magi-
276 cian can put himself into a state of ecstasy. Of course, the
nicotine has a violent effect on the children whom the spirit orders to eat manilla, and it is not easy to say whether the symptoms accompanying the summons are due to abuse of tobacco or to other infirmity. It is said that those called to be piache always fall ill. The Indians are fully convinced that dreams have significance for their actions. While asleep they receive instructions which they seldom dare fail to carry out. The youth or girl who is summoned receives his or her revelation either in dreams or while in a hysterical state. The Indians consider them to be possessed by the spirit, and the piache for whom they send then has to decide whether the spirit really has visited the boy or girl, or not. If it is not possible to fetch a piache immediately, they will sometimes have to make do with a sooth-sayer, an *outschi*, who though not a proper medicine man, at least can 'smoke tobacco', that is to say, can foretell future happenings, find strayed animals, etc. They are often well patronized. The outschi swings a firebrand in the air while puffing at a cigar—magical tobacco again!—and the trails of smoke tell him what he wishes to know. He can merely confirm that there has been a true revelation, that the spirit visited the young person and entered into him or her. A sooth-sayer can go no further than that, but that gives the parents the comforting assurance that the piache, who has to be summoned in any event, will not come in vain. The piache has no objection to a sooth-sayer making a diagnosis.

The attacks from which the candidate suffers both at his selection and when he becomes fully qualified, lead to a
[766] trancelike state. It is characteristic that a dead piache may not be buried until after three days and nights, so that it is quite certain that he is dead and not just that his soul happens to be away. A cataleptic state and hallucinations are characteristic of future and practising medicine men alike.

There is no avoiding the call to be a piache once it has

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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been confirmed by sooth-sayer and piache. The person selected must learn the profession and practise it. Otherwise, certain death awaits him, for the spirit will not suffer his decisions to be neglected. 756 787 276

Often parents cannot afford to send for a piache, for those who convey the request have to give him a necklace of gold beads. This may mean that the novice's family has to ask well-to-do relatives to pay the fee. When he arrives, the piache examines the candidate and stuffs some manilla into his or her mouth. When he sees that it is beginning to take effect, he intones a monotonous song. As soon as he stops, the novice must proclaim his desire to become a piache and have it granted. He is selected by the spirit, but he does not yet know anything. The apprenticeship then begins. [602]

The piache shuts himself into a suitable hut together with the novice, and there they must stay, hidden from the world, for a month or more. The apprentice is not supposed to be seen by anyone during this time. No one may go in and interrupt the seance. The piache sits on his stool of light wood shaped like an animal. He wears a head-dress made of wool and places a similar one on the novice's head. He then begins singing songs, swinging rattles and making all the gestures, movements and conjurations that he uses to call upon and move the spirits. His instruction continues day after day, sometimes by night as well. He has to keep to a certain diet. Roast maize in particular is usually prescribed. Now and again spirits appear and talk with the novice, encouraging him, not least by expounding how great are the advantages of being a piache, and how rich the presents he receives. 756 [352] [262]

One day the spirit announces that the first period of instruction is over and the novice ready for examination. This is an intermediary examination, for the instruction is not complete. So far it has only included spells and magical songs, and the novice has no knowledge of herbs and poisons. (Knowledge of medicinal herbs is common to all by family tradition.) The songs, gestures and spells have been repeated till the novice knows them all perfectly. [824]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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756 During this period of confinement the novice is always having to chew tobacco, and it is during periods of nicotine-
[776] intoxication that the spirits appear to him. After his first examination the novice is given a diadem and a rattle, *marara*, as symbols of his new dignity.

The novice's family must now arrange a dance and sacri-
[535] fice sheep or goats. A chichamaya is performed during one or two days and nights. Those taking part are ceremoniously painted. The animals are slaughtered and offered to the spirits who partake of them during the night. After that the dancers can eat. No one, however, may touch the meat till
[782] it has lain, wrapped in leaves, at the spirits' disposition and thereafter been dedicated by the piache, who spits tobacco juice upon it and pronounces spells over it.

The apprenticeship, of course, is not over, and again the novice is shut away from the world. Now comes a period of instruction in the art of chewing tobacco, that is to say, how, where and when that is to be done and what are correct ways to summon spirits, cure illness, make rain, protect cattle, halt epidemics and much more that the medicine man may be called upon to do. The instructing piache transfers his spirit to the apprentice, and exhorts the former not to start by trying to cure adults, but to practise on children. The spirit also forbids erotic association.

After a few months the apprentice will be ready to qualify. Large quantities of maize beer are then prepared and invitations sent out.

756 While the guests are drinking and dancing the novice
787 sits, still isolated, practising. The spirit comes and orders him or her to send for a beast of certain colour and with specific markings, which is to be sacrificed to the spirit. When that has been done, and it must be done, the spirit demands some necklaces of gold beads—any number up to ten—which have to be hung up in the novice's hut. As soon as these have been collected with the help of relatives—often as a loan—the spirit pronounces himself satisfied and informs them that the novice's apprenticeship is over. He or
[833] she can now begin to practise. But, the spirit adds, there

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

756 787 that prevents his own from being shed—and after this a chichamaya dance is arranged.

791 787 It is not only through dreams that future events can be foretold. There are special sooth-sayers: we have already mentioned the outschi, who deal in prophecy without being piaches. Many real piaches also deal in prognostication, but that is not really their province. The Indians believe in the piache, more than in the ordinary sooth-sayer. 'The piache is always right', they say.

In divination the sooth-sayer also uses a firebrand that he swings through the air, or a lighted cigarette or, sometimes, a knife-edge along which he stares. Whatever the method, the sooth-sayer's spirit has to free itself and go roaming. Let us say that he is to track down a stolen cow. The freed spirit follows its path till it finds it and can say whither it has been taken. As I said, a piache will not treat a patient if he is sure that he is incurable. He often finds out about this by using a firebrand. If it goes out, there is no hope. Sooth-sayers most carefully study the different shapes assumed by the coals, which, to the initiated, are significant.

As with us, there are many amateurs, especially elder women, who try to foretell the future or discover what others are about. Suppose such a woman wants to know where her husband, who is on a journey, is and how he is [276] faring. She takes a cigar of the primitive kind they use there, lights it and pronounces an incantation, asking to be shown what she wishes to know. If the ash turns black, her husband has fallen seriously ill, if the red part splutters it means that he will get gold, that is money. Other signs will reveal that he has associated with some other woman. That can involve the husband in considerable trouble when he returns.

756 776 Medicine men have a number of guardian or assistant spirits who advise them, but who also require remuneration for their services. They also warn the medicine men against enemies. Every piache has seven or eight such spirits, each of which is invoked with a special song. The rain demon, Mareiwa, is called in song under the name Fumayule, while

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

273 method the maize is finely pulverized by hammering on a flat stone, instead of being masticated. Beer is drunk in large quantities, as is rum received by trade.

276 Both sexes commonly smoke long narrow cigarettes, which the women make of bundles of 8 or 10 leaves. Formerly, at least in the western portion of the country, the *Goajiro* chewed coca (hayo) with lime, which stained their teeth black. Coca is still grown, but there is no mention of this custom in recent times.

RELIGION

776 *Goajiro* religion is imperfectly known. Mareigua (Maleiwa) seems to have been the Creator and Culture Hero. He caused the first *Goajiro* to emerge from the ground and taught the tribe how to produce fire with a drill. He saved them during the flood by raising the Cerro Pororo where they had taken refuge and by driving the jaguars away. As a Supreme Being he shows some moral preoccupation, in the past having punished those who lived in incest. He sends rain and all the good things which the *Goajiro* expect from nature (Hernández de Alba, 1936, p. 44).

Yoluha (Yorja) has been thought to signify the god of thunder, lightning, and drought, but the term probably does not designate a single deity but bad spirits or ghosts in general. These are feared at night when
776 the sky is clouded; to prevent their inroads the *Goajiro* stretch a thin cord
789 between two poles reaching above the roof. They attach to this cord, at regular intervals, fishhooks which serve to entangle the Yoluha and make their stay unpleasant. Sometimes when sounds coming from the bush are thought to have been made by spirits, the Indians light embers and throw stones at them.

787 The *Goajiro* give considerable importance to dreams. A dream may
438 cause the desertion of a camp, a war, or a consultation with a shaman. The *Goajiro* carry charms which they buy from shamans.

SHAMANISM

756 *Goajiro* shamans (piache) are of both sexes. Aside from their long hair shamans differ little in external appearance from ordinary persons, but their power is reputed to be considerable and people avoid offending them. They are said to cause the heart of a person to stop beating unless they are paid enough.

A shaman keeps his cures secret and divulges them only to a successor, who undergoes a long period of training and who pays his instructor a certain number of cattle. When the training is complete, there is a public initiation with dancing and drinking, at which the novice is seized by fits as demonstration of his new power. The instructor chants spells

/7 cont./

843 278 Sometimes a woman who knows that her delivery is likely to be difficult takes various herbs, which she buys from the women of the Sierra de Jarara, who understand their curative properties, or gets someone to obtain them from the Arhuaco /Cagaba/ Indians, to whom they frequently go in search of medical remedies.

844 278 At the time that labor pains begin, the woman takes infusions of various herbs which her relatives have previously obtained. With these the delivery progresses rapidly, and the birth occurs quickly and successfully. Also during delivery she takes one or more doses of the juice of the herb which serves to reduce the size of the fetus.

842 278 Once the child is born and in case the placenta is delayed, the woman drinks the juice from the pulp of a pumpkin (Crescecia Cujeta) and that of a new /nueva/ herb with the purpose, once the delivery has occurred, of preventing an early recurrence of pregnancy once sexual life is renewed. This has the property of preventing conception for a period up to four years when taken in larger than normal dosage.

844 If the herbal remedies do not produce the hoped-for result, the woman's relatives with her assistance recapitulate the taboos that were possibly violated during the months of pregnancy by her, by her husband, or by both, and they endeavor to make some sort of reparation. Thus, for example, if she had seen a snake in its hole or if her husband had killed it, or if she had looked fixedly at it and had not complied with the precept to step over it to arrest its baleful influence, as is their belief, her relatives go in search of a snake of the same species, which they kill and bring to place on the abdomen of the woman in labor, after which the delivery is successfully accomplished. Should they find that the husband was hunting with firearms or had simply fired a gun, they proceed to wash /8/ the barrel of the firearm in question and give this water to the woman to drink. With this the delivery is quickly completed.

/51 cont./

881 As soon as the menses appear, the head of the girl is closely shaved. She is placed naked but wrapped in a robe /manta/ in a supine position in a hammock which is slung up close to the ridgepole inside the house. Beneath the hammock a cloth is strung so that the girl cannot be seen from below.

In this position and as immobile as possible, she remains for five days (some say for only three), without eating and complying with a series of rules which later will have importance in her adult life. For this reason these rules must be observed by her to the letter, and she must be closely watched and counseled by a kinswoman, generally a maternal aunt, who does not leave her by day or night while she is suspended above, reminding her of what she should do and prohibiting her from doing what is tabooed so that she may not suffer the consequences in her future life.

Before being placed in the hammock, the woman who is [278 in charge of her gives her a herb drink to make her vomit a 789] great deal, with the aim that the girl will hurl out, along with the food she took when she was not yet adult, all her infantile psychological characteristics, such as her mischievous and disobedient nature, her imagination, her way of thinking and believing, her /52/ irresponsibility, her incapacity for work, and, moreover, all those characteristic bodily mannerisms of a girl. Beyond this, the mother a kinswoman, or female friend [832 who may have a potent love charm considered of great effectiveness, places it on her neck or, if it is for external application, rubs it on the genital organs, on the breasts, and all over the body as prescribed, because at this particular time it is effective and especially because it is the propitious moment to acquire powers of attracting the opposite sex, qualities she will have to have in adult life to obtain the married happiness for which she is now being prepared.

If these two prescriptions are not complied with or are carried out faultily, the girl, changed into an adult, will be lacking in judgment and common sense in her actions, which

/54 cont./

881 well as the whole organism of the future woman, must be com-
832 pletely renewed and different from what she had when she was a child and which she leaves behind on suffering the first menstruation, as well as each one of her childish psychic and physical habits.

One of the principal preoccupations of the person responsi-
881 ble for the care of the novice is her medication. This medical
278 treatment includes especially the daily and repeated drinking of infusions or juices of certain herbs which are intended to assist her to reach perfection in all that is related to her future life. One of these medicines is the herb called hawapi, which is obtained from the herbsellers of the Sierra de Jarara and Sierra de Macuira, who grind it carefully into a paste which hardens with time. They daily scrape off a small portion of this, which is dissolved in water and given to the girl before her first meal, after the daily bath, at midday, and at sunset. The aim of this is to give the young woman a bodily aspect different from the childish one she had, as by its means she loses her drawn-out lines and her sex is defined by the development of her breasts, of her hips, and all of the adult female form, following the accepted canons of feminine physical beauty: a tall body with broad hips, breasts well developed, erect, solid, and having pronounced curves but firm of flesh. This herb, according to local belief, supplies fat to the essential parts of the body. /55/

Another of the medical attentions is directed to avoiding the return of menstruation during all the time the girl is secluded. If she is well cared for, says the Guajiro woman, it will not reappear; otherwise, however, it will. To obtain this result she has recourse to the empirical and traditional knowledge which she has of plants, and she gives her a series of juices or potions to avoid menstruation. The women say that these medicines influence their married life, as the woman who is well looked after during her seclusion will have easy deliveries, normal pregnancies, healthy children who will grow

/55 cont./

881 normally, and above all she will not be worn out by too frequent
278 childbearing, since all these remedies in the long run are made use of to avoid the woman's having these cares, so much so that in the case of the very poor girls sterilization or at least a very limited fecundity is hoped for, because they know that they and their offspring will be practically in the hands of the stronger groups who can easily enslave their sons and daughters and nephews and nieces by the arbitrary and exaggerated use of legal institutions.

Even if the girl enters the Capuchin mission and for this
881 reason does not go through with the initiation in her home, and
278 even if her parents, influenced by the missionaries, decide to
797 forego this custom or are prevented by poverty from holding it, she does not forget -- and her companions back her up -- to take the medicines prescribed even though she does not undergo the regimen of seclusion. During a long period of time -- which shows what value she herself sets on her novitiate -- every morning she takes the juice of herbs which she knows of or which are given to her, to avoid menstruation and to obtain the objectives mentioned above. (In order to clarify further of the significance with respect to maternity in the initiation of young women, we refer the reader to the section Death of the First-born, Chap. I, pp. 10 ff.)

The economic aspect which she must learn and which by
881 the perfection and acquisition of new techniques now plays a
286 very important part is that of weaving. The woman during her seclusion improves her knowledge of this trade, which she began to learn during her prepubertal period. This matter has so much importance that in cases where a girl has been abducted and her maternal relatives present their claim for compensation payment, the man can refuse to buy her, alleging she is not able to weave. Furthermore, the woman by weaving earns money for the support of the home which is in her care. She must also supply her kin, including her husband, with guayucos /loincloths/, saddle blankets /pellones/, and other woven necessities.

/61 cont./

581 832 278 842 847

A woman tries to maintain these qualities as she well knows that they form the center of attraction to a man and that maternity steadily destroys them. This may be one of the reasons for the increasing use of birth control, for which they take herbs that do not allow them to conceive, abortives of all kinds, and they take advantage of their knowledge of their periods of sterility and avoid sexual intercourse at other than these periods.

Their facial features are of no great importance to them so long as they conform to the anthropological norms of the group. They prefer a face with large, dark eyes and beautiful, healthy teeth. Also, they are especially attracted by the whiteness of the skin as it indicates social standing because it is a sign that the woman is better able to look after herself by protecting herself from the sun of the region. During her /62/ seclusion the girl does not expose herself to the sunlight, and her greatest pride is that her skin has become whiter. Every morning she bathes with water left out previously in the evening dew, which besides having magic effects has the property of whitening the skin, and when she goes visiting she always covers her face with facial paints -- a customary practice required by etiquette, which also protects her from the sun's rays. During her seclusion the girl also complies with other beautifying and magic practices, such as denying herself certain meat like deer meat or animal udder, since this last, for example, will wrinkle her rapidly and she will lose some of her physical attractiveness.

A woman is well aware that her future married life will be affected in great measure by her preserving an agreeable appearance and that if the man does not feel satisfied she will be relegated to second place, and he will acquire another woman. For this reason she continually struggles to benefit by all known means to recapture her husband and retain him and avoid his acquiring other women. This is the reason that the mother, when her daughter is in the hammock ready to be hoisted up during her initiation, places on her a love charm which has the property of attracting men and of which we spoke in a previous chapter.

/120 cont./

595 follow the same line of conduct with regard to the bond servants who serve their husbands as concubines. However, this legal action is not always taken, and the wife may overlook the whole affair.

When a wife feels despised or mistreated by her husband and put in an inferior position by a co-wife, it is not unusual for her to wish to kill her husband and actually to carry out this desire. The Guajiro, who knows this sentiment, appeals to it when there is a fight going on between two clan groups, by paying the woman whom he knows is unhappily married to kill her husband. At his suggestion, she gives her husband algodonillo /? algodoncillo, a milkweed/ poison in his coffee, ground-up glass beads, poison for jaquars /tigres/, or puts the juice of a small, very poisonous lizard into the rum her husband is accustomed to drink. This practice is so well known that men, during war time, do not go to their wives' houses.

[579] [278]

The other norm of conduct followed by the wife in such cases is a passive one: She does everything possible to condition her conduct as a married woman to the idealized cultural patterns in order to try to retain the affection of her husband to the utmost and thus prevent new women taking her place. If the husband is not completely satisfied in spite of these efforts, the woman tries to please him sexually. She believes that if she attains this objective, her matrimonial security is assured. That is why, besides doing everything they can to obtain such a satisfaction, they have recourse to magic, as we have explained several times in this work.

Finally, the woman may adopt an attitude of indifference to her husband, without any claims or anxiety, taking his lack of affection as the most natural thing in the world, in this way trying to bring about his return; or she may praise her rival when her husband mentions her in order to give the lie to any accusation that the other woman may have made. (Cf. in this chapter, Behavior of the woman with her husband).

/206 cont./

628 At last the amount of the payment is definitively stipulated; so many animals, so many ornaments etc. The offenders fix a date on which they hope to have everything gathered together in the house of their leading man. The arbitrator goes there on that date, and through their arbitrator, or cacique, they hand over to him in a solemn manner each one of the things they have promised to pay, so that it can be finally and duly noted. The representative then gathers together everything that has been handed over and counts it very carefully in full view of everyone. He receives the ornaments agreed upon and puts them away.

He asks for help in taking the animals given in payment and the other objects to the lands of the others. Members of the group accept this charge at the order of their leader and drive the animals to the borders of the litigants' property, and then return. From there the livestock are taken by members of the offended clan to the house of the murdered man's mother or to that of his maternal uncles. The head of the family group receives from the hands of the arbitrator the stipulated payment and distributes it in a way that we shall see later on, in the pertinent section.

When feelings run very high on both sides and when after postponing and holding several different meetings no agreement is reached /207/ between the two groups, due to the exaggerated greediness of one side and the bad will of the other, the moment arrives when the arbitrator can do no more, and as the problem remains without a peaceful solution, that is, without an agreement to pay, war becomes the only acceptable formula between the two enemy groups, a defensive war on the part of the group to which the murderer belongs, an offensive war on the part of the offended group. Before they know if there is a possibility of a peaceful solution, the men of each group begin to arm themselves quickly; 411 they take animals to town to trade them for guns and equipment, 278 and they quickly make bows and arrows, especially those with a point made from the sting ray which are used in war; they prepare poisons from poisonous animals, which they leave to rot and then use to put on the points of these arrows; and in addition, they seek, if possible, magic arrows in order to obtain an easy conquest of their enemy.

[17 cont.]

*756 787 carrying out his function as community curer, and witch so that he will be able to act with certainty in curing illnesses, in the propitiation of the rainfall indispensable for good harvests, as well as in his tasks of keeping away pestilences and epidemics which could decimate the people under his care.

As has been seen in the section treating the period of training, this is limited first of all to transmitting to the new shaman the most successful way of insuring that the spirit can reach him. His science in no manner implies that he possess knowledge relating to the medicinal value of plants, of animals, etc., but it does imply that the process of apprenticeship, or better said his science, [18] is based on the successful invocation of the spirit, which has the true wisdom, which is the only curer in reality, the all-powerful able to propitiate rain and cast out pestilences and epidemics and whose science is manifested through the medium of the medicine man whenever the spirit wishes to carry out its designs. The shaman by himself and for himself is worthless. He is an ordinary man, subject as are others to the evil influences of the spirits of sickness and death. His fundamental value rests in the absorption into himself of a powerful spirit which places him on a footing of equality with the spirits of the other world, and in many cases even on a superior one, when it enables him frequently to emerge triumphant in the cure of sickness.

*756 755 One has to emphasize in the personality of the Guajiro shaman the fact that he has almost exclusively the function of making contact with the supernatural world, and it is by this means that he endeavors to effect the cure of his patients. He is partially or totally ignorant of medicine based on herbs, animals, parts of animals, or any other type of cure other than that exercised directly by the protector spirits that use him as their intermediary.

As will be seen in the corresponding chapters, the majority of child cures are effected by female diviners with the indicated methods, which are based on what is called participative or contaminant magic. Also, the herbs actually very few — which [278 847] are used to cause abortion, to restrict the growth of the fetus,

[18 cont.]
*756 to bring on lactation, to gain weight, etc., are partly public
755 knowledge and partly privately known by a few families who tra-
[208 847] ditionally preserve the secret of their use for their personal benefit.

By what has been previously stated we see how the ceremony of healing is a perpetual invocation of the spirit, a continual fear that it might withdraw its aid for whatever motive, and a perennial anxiety to satisfy its slightest wish in order to obtain the success sought. To give evidence for this we shall see how the Guajiro shaman effects a cure when he has been called in to handle one.

First of all, before he initiates such activities, he demands
[431] a gift. For this reason whenever a native needs the services of the shaman for magico-medical attention for some relative, he goes to present himself to the shaman with a gold necklace or some other valuable present.

171 Each time the shaman goes to cure a sick person he takes
*756 with him two maracas. This custom is rather widespread in
755 South America, where the magic power of the maraca appears to be extraordinary and is commonly accepted, although with some variations from tribe to tribe whether in the [19] quality of its different parts, in the artifacts adornment, in the manner of using it, etc. To corroborate this it is sufficient to quote Professor Métraux again, who says, in reference to the apprentice shaman: "During his initiation the novice learns to make use of the accessories indispensable to the magic art. The most important of all, that which in some manner symbolizes the profession is the maraca or rattle made from a calabash containing some seeds or pebbles and provided with a handle." (15) [Cited in French.]

15. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 217.

[352] The medicine man accommodates himself in a seat especially reserved for such occasions and carved in wood in the form of an animal, but if such an artifact is lacking, he will use any convenient seat. The custom of using a seat of this type is also found in the Guianas. "The wooden seat is an equally indispensable accessory for the shaman of the Guianas. It is often carved in the form of a jaguar, an animal that plays an important part in the

[44 cont.]

411 some of the Guajiro communities during their pillaging expedi-
641 tions.
721 The value of the arrow, considered to be infallible,
stemmed from the extremely important fact that its tip was
411 anointed with the blood of a sacrificed child. The arrow took
782 into itself, by magic contamination, the sacred and impure
782 quality of the sacrificial ceremony performed on the child,
[45] a quality of extreme value when one realizes that the
child's own father performed the sacrifice.

The process is as follows: The Kusina, according to the
782 story of our informant, an Indian woman from the Sierra de Jarara
who had heard from her parents a great deal about the customs
of these Indians, with whom the people of the Sierra had had
dealings, were accustomed to take a male child from their own
family. They carried him off to some distant hills situated in
the interior of the Cocina sierra. They took him up a particular
mountain, and on its summit under a pó (a special tree) they
killed him. He was killed in this way: They blocked up his
nostrils and squeezed his throat with their hands, that is, they
strangled him, and with a pointed stone they struck his forehead
several times continuously until blood flowed from it. This
blood, which was exactly what they wished to obtain in the
sacrifice, was not allowed to spill, but was gathered very care-
fully in a very clean utensil. In recent times the blood was col-
lected in an empty tin such as those used for sardines or salmon,
but it is to be supposed that in olden times a special ceramic
container was used. Once the blood had been collected, they
put it to boil in the same utensil in which it had been collected.
Next they put it in another that in modern times was a glass con-
tainer, although in former times it must have been of some other
material, in order to preserve it. This utensil which contained
the boiled blood of the boy was kept in the woods among stones
[543] which they collected for this purpose. The executioner, who was
none other than the boy's father, had prepared beforehand a
[278] quantity of arrows tipped with the poison of a ray, which he later
[458] anointed with the blood and distributed among the rest of the
Kusina natives or the Guajiro in general, in exchange for live-
stock. The price that had to be paid for one of these arrows was

[67 cont.]

826 he will die consumed by flames. Likewise, if a lock of human
759 hair is buried with a small quantity of dog excrement, the person who carries out this act of witchcraft can cause any harm he wishes to the owner of the hair.

648 Medicine practiced by foreigners. To ensure that his child
757 will be sound and fit and show greater resistance to sickness, the Guajiro father makes use of the medicine of the Arhuaco, who like the other natives we know connect this art directly with magic. It is well to take note, before pursuing this description, that the Arhuaco are held to be excellent doctors by all their neighbors, not only by the Indians but also by mestizos and mulattos, and even by Whites. The fame of these curers is such that sick people from the neighboring cities of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta and even from Maracaibo have themselves carried to them to be cured of their illnesses, or, as a last resort, send them some of their personal articles of underclothing by which the Arhuaco curer determines the sickness from which the individual is suffering and sends the necessary medicines.

The Guajiro have not escaped this influence. Their geographical nearness facilitates communication with the Arhuaco, but we do not know whether this interchange of relations was already established before the Conquest or if it is due to the external influence of the colonists who have settled on the slopes of the Sierra or in regions close to them, who in their turn have transmitted the legend of the fame of the Arhuaco as doctors to the Indians of La Guajira.

757 The fact is that generally, shortly before the birth of a
751 child or when some opportunity presents itself, the father goes
● 278 to the Arhuaco, and from one of them who knows the preventa-
843 tive or curative value of plants he obtains several of these in order to doctor his child or prevent its sicknesses. Among these herbs are the vira-vira, quina dulce ["sweet quina], the frailejón, and a number of others. These herbs are shredded and put into a bottle containing rum and to this mixture is added two kinds of drops, also of plant juices, which have been carefully [68] "whispered" or "muttered" over by the Arhuaco doctor. These drops, in addition to the plants to which we have previously

[68 cont.]

757 referred, are what contain the curative properties because of their
751 magic force. These medicines are applied in the following
278 manner: The infusion of herbs with rum and the drops "whis-
843 pered over" are added to previously boiled water, and the child is bathed at birth with this mixture. When the mother feels the pains of approaching childbirth, she also takes a glass of this mixture and repeats this a few moments after the child is born, which helps her to get rid of the placenta.

• • •

75 Thus far the notes that we have concerning the magico-preventative or curative medical methods of the Indians of La Guajira [sic]. These show first, how medicine, like birth, sickness, and death, is subject to a series of cultural patterns, the result of the individual's relations, magic or spiritualistic (so far as the spirit of the dead is concerned), with his environ-
774 ment. The latter are to be understood in their widest meaning, since as Doctor W. Born says:

> "Primitive man's intellectual world is not really limited to sorcery since there are too many enigmas facing young humanity such as birth and death, dreams and sickness. To explain these, primitive man appeals to various supernatural forces. From experiences in the world of dreams, he derived the belief in a soul as a clear explanation of the consciousness of "ego," which is opposed to the destiny of death. The power of the soul to free itself from its body (as dreams seemed to indicate) accepted, it was natural that he should accept the possibility of the existence of independent and active souls in nature. This state renders feasible not only a polydemonism but also the notion of a material soul. Polydemonism admits that a demon, a sort of soul, lives in everything in nature, while the substance of the soul is an invisible energy which emanates from objects. As the substance

[69 cont.]
of self-defense. If we take into account the high infant mortality among the Guajiro population, which reaches a very high rate (32.97%) according to the data collected by the investigators Virginia de Pineda Giraldo and María Rosa de Recasens, whose findings were published in the Boletín de Anqueología (47), we

> 47. Pineda Giraldo Roberto. "Informe preliminar sobre aspectos sociales y económicos de la Guajira [Preliminary Report on Social and Economic Aspects of La Guajira]."

can even better explain the series of prohibitions, of patterns established to protect the future mothers and unborn children from the malevolent influence of the spirits, whether of humans, animals, etc.

On the other hand, we can deduce from this study the following points: 1) Medicine practiced by shamans, intermediaries between the two worlds, is carried out almost exclusively on adults, for whom they prescribe the curative methods they deem essential in accord with the patient's illness. 2) On the other hand, curing by [70] divination, which we have called household curing, using a common term, has its field of action among newborn babies and mothers-to-be. 3) In this last type we encounter an extremely interesting fact, the ambivalence of certain animals, represented by their double capacity to cause illness and at the same time to cure it. 4) In the application of household preventative medicine, magic called sympathetic is frequently practiced. 5) In one of the accounts we find the occurrence of the magic action of a plant. This deals with the plant used to make the mammary glands secrete their milk after a mother had lost it and the child still requires to be breast fed. As the plant is able to produce milk, the mother by contact with it will inevitably be able to do the same, according to native belief. This aspect has been fully treated by Castiglione in one of the chapters of his work Encantamiento y Magia [Enchantment and Magic]. We wish to quote only a few paragraphs which will better clarify

[70 cont.]

278 the magico-curative value of the plant under discussion: "Some-
757 times," says Castiglione, "as has been said, this popularity" (that of medicinal plants) "is derived from real therapeutic qualities as, for example, the use of quina roots, which is prescribed by scientific medicine; its power to cure intermittent fevers was well known among the peoples of pre-Columbian America. In
278 many other cases the virtues of these plants depend on their ap-
755 pearance, on the similarity of their roots, their flowers, or their fruit to certain characteristics of sicknesses or to some organ of the body." (48) Somewhat earlier, in referring to this second

48. Castiglioni, Op. cit., VI, 82.

category of plants, he tells us: "The second category embraces innumerable substances which by themselves, speaking objectively, cannot in any way have any effect, either favorable or unfavorable, but whose value stems exclusively and directly from the ideas they provoke in the minds of the people concerned." (49).

49. Castiglioni, Op. cit., VI, 81.

The influence of magic in medicine is borne out, finally, by the custom of visiting the Arhuaco doctors, in whom they see powerful magicians who possess the secret of praying to a powerful spirit to impregnate their remedies with its essence. It is this aspect which attracts the Guajiro, not the plants in themselves but the spirit, the demon if we may call it so, that is present in the drops which have been prayed over by the Arhuaco curer.

[71] V

Magic and Funerals

811 With the Guajiro Indians, as with the majority of primitive peoples, the complex ceremonial relating to death accounts for a great part of their activities, their manner of acting, thinking, and

[85 cont.]

766 head downward, and then they cover it with a piece of another clay olla, new, usually with a base. The urn is buried in the [824] woods at the foot of a special tree called in Guajiro huruwá ("within us," etymologically), with the idea that the other children that are born will not continue dying. No special ceremony accompanies the burial of the child, which must be carried out by the maternal uncle, since neither the father nor the mother may be present because it is believed that if they should be all their other children would also die as they were born.

765 When the first-born dies, and the work of its burial has been complied with, the mother is put through the following 766 procedure: She is hung in a hammock for three days in a closed room (it is really a small house made especially for the purpose). After three days have passed, she is unslung from the hammock, but she has to continue in seclusion for a further five [834] months (five lunar months), and the husband is prohibited from visiting her, with the idea of avoiding sexual contact. After this seclusion the husband may return, and they resume normal married life. During the time she is in the hammock, the [262] woman is not allowed to receive any food except a medicine called hawapi, which serves for fattening. This medicine is a [278] mixture of scraped roots dissolved in cold water [86] and is drunk after being strained. The wife receives this medicine from her mother, who acts as her nurse.

In other words, the mother, by reason of the death of her [821] first-born, has to repeat the complete cycle of seclusion as at the initiation of young women when they reach puberty. The ceremonial is the same, seclusion, taking of fattening medicine, sexual exclusion of the man, and in general all contact or relations with him, etc.

764 If in spite of these precautions the next child should also die, the previous cycle is not followed, but the baby is buried with all due ceremony. A fiesta is arranged for the burial, a wake is held with the usual distribution of liquor, and animals which the maternal and paternal grandparents supply are sacrificed. The mother undergoes a new special treatment but without those of seclusion.

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

whom to exercise his begging propensities. To mention the dead before the relations is a dreadful offence, often punished by death; for if it happens in the dead person's rancho, with nephew or uncle present, they will assuredly kill the offender on the spot if possible. If not on the spur of the moment, it resolves itself into a heavy fine, usually two or more oxen. Even if none of the dead person's relations are present, any friend can carry the news to the relations, and compensation is at once required. When not given it is forcibly taken, probably resented, and the two castes are at war. It is not wise to mention names of any sort in the Goajira in mixed company. 551 628 689

Another peculiar case: if a child dies in the custody of the mother or father, and they are living separate at the time of its death, then tear-money has to be paid by the one, under whose care the child died, to the other. This is "Taguira suchírua tachón," "My tears on account of my child." To demand payment for debts, *achecaha*, is one thing, and to demand compensation, *manya*, is another. They are generally pretty punctual in paying debts; should the debtor die, the creditor is secure, for the relations will suffer anything rather than allow the name of their dead to be abused. The following case of murder I witnessed in Ataipa. Some Pushainas drinking, one got on to a strange horse, and was ordered off by the owner, on not complying he was shot dead. Both parties being poor and near relations, it was arranged as follows: First payment, eight sheep, two oxen, one horse, two necklaces of cornelian beads, two sirapos of black beads (about 16 lbs.). Six months afterwards, second payment, similar to first. A few months after a third payment is asked, but is more an extra than anything else. After second payment all animosity ceases, and the two families can look again at each other on meeting. Should an Indian in attempting to kill another be wounded or killed, his family demand the same as though no attempt were made. 672 682 [426] [626] [628]

Among domestic customs, the one that calls most attention is shutting up their young girls on arriving at womanhood. The custom is religiously carried out throughout the country. Each girl is enclosed in a separate little hut by herself. She is stripped of all her ornaments, even to her beads and sirapo, and all her clothing with the exception of the long loose cotton gown, nor is she allowed to cut her hair. For the first couple of days, drinking water is denied her, the only food being *haguape*, a composition of medicinal herbs. According to birth, a rigorous diet is observed the first month, no meat being allowed. She can be freely mentioned and is merely alluded to by her relations as "surtise sura pauru," "she is shut up in her house." The term of retirement varies according to the wealth and rank of her family. Poor people cannot afford to keep girls idle more than a couple of weeks or a month; whereas the rich enclose them for one, two, or even four years. It is while in this state that she learns all women's requirements— 881 [278] [262] [556] [368]

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

In weapons the Goajiro uses the old-fashioned bow and arrow, along with the latest breech-loading rifle. He never strolls ten yards from the rancho without his arrows stuck in his sash and the inseparable bow in his hand. Arrows are of three classes: bolts for killing birds and lizards, *kata*, having a nail or piece of hard wood for a head neatly covered with wax; arrows proper, for killing game and war, *siguarrai*, with iron heads made from old knives filed and worked into shape; and thirdly the terrible poisoned rays, *simará*: these are an ordinary arrow-shaft, with two inches of the bony weapon of the sting-ray (*queraguai*) loosely fastened to the end, well covered with poison. To prevent accidents, each head is covered by a cane sheath. The poison is putrefied animal matter—toads, snakes, and other reptiles allowed to putrefy and boiled down. When newly done the poison is said to be weak, the same when too old, so the arrows have to be re-dipped at stated intervals (about nine months). Death supervenes from three to twelve days afterwards, a sort of blood-poisoning, and is tolerably certain if the ray-bone has not been got out (a most difficult operation) and the wound well cauterised with a red-hot nail. The Cocinas of Yuripicho are reputed the best makers, and enjoy a sort of monopoly. A bunch of twenty-four arrows is sold by them for a dress cut of cotton (eight yards. None of the arrows are feathered; the shafts are made from cane, reeds, and also solid wood. As to firearms the Indian prefers the old "Crown" or "Tower" flintlock (*carcabuso*) to the Remington rifle, on account of the uncertainty of getting cartridges. The American flintlock (*carcabuso cayeta-panahana*) is also much liked.

411 [177] [278] [825] [752] [437] [177]

The principal industries among the Goajiras are collecting divi-divi, and salt, and breeding horses, mules, donkeys, cattle, and goats, with the accompanying sale of hides. Their animals are celebrated in the neighbouring provinces for being docile, having been all brought up as it were by hand, for the Indian spares neither time nor trouble on his flocks.

[222] 233

With regard to the language, a small grammar was published in 1878 by Rafael Calcedon. Unfortunately it was printed in Paris, while the author was in America, and is replete with errors in consequence. The language is a much richer one than is generally supposed, and taken as a whole has a euphonious, pleasing effect on the ear, much more so than the neighbouring Arhuaco. I have no space here to dwell upon its beauties, but cannot dismiss the subject without giving the following three examples of much-used words:—

114 194

Achinga, a name.	Ita, a cup (gourd).	Yara, a headdress.	192
Tachinga, my name.	Ta-ita-in, my cup.	Takiyara, my headdress.	
Pachinga, your name.	Pi-ita-in, your cup.	Pikiyara, your headdress.	
Nichinga, his name.	Ni-ita-in, his cup.	Nikiyara, his headdress.	
Nachinga, her name.	Si-ita-in, her cup.	Sikiyara, her headdress.	

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

411 by an empty cartridge case, to which a metal ring is sometimes attached, giving a musical note with every shot.

Feathered arrows show many designs. Bird arrows may be tipped with cartridge cases or with large, rounded, wooden knobs about 1 inch (2.5 cm.) in diameter. Heads made from nails are used for small game. Serrated metal-tipped arrows are used in warfare; but the most dangerous arrow is pointed with a sting ray tail, sharpened to a fine needlelike point and fitted into the hollow end of a light cane shaft about 4 feet (1.2 m.) long and three-eighth inch (9 mm.) thick.

[278] To prepare arrow poison, scorpions, centipedes, and poisonous spiders are mashed, snake venom is added, and the mixture is allowed to putrefy for several days. The poison will retain its potency for six months. It is kept in a short section of bamboo, which is carried around the waist, together with the arrow points, each in a hollow reed. Before shooting, an Indian dips the point into the poison and inserts it in the shaft.

[282] A decorated leather wrist strap is worn as a bowstring guard.

372 **Fire making.**—Fire is made by twirling an arrow on a cactus hearth; the spark is caught in dry grass.

TRADE

439 There is considerable trade between the *Goajiro* and foreigners. Firearms and ammunition, cloth, beads, blankets, rum, cutlery, corn, crude sugar, rice, plantains, and tobacco are imported in exchange for salt, cattle, cheese, milk, hides, pearls and pearl shells, logwood (*Haematoxylon campechianum*), and divi-divi (*Caesalpinia coriara*).

464 During the salt season the Indians of the interior flock to Manaure, where they are paid for loading sacks of salt into the warehouse and onto ships. Both men and women take part in the work, the men filling the sacks and the women carrying them.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

614 The *Goajiro* are subdivided into 30 odd matrilineal sibs ("castes" or "tribes"), each identified with an animal. Some of the larger and more important sibs are split into smaller groups, each with a special totem. (See Simons, 1885, p. 796, and Weston, 1937, p. 139, for a list of the various sibs, together with the totem animals and the locality which they inhabit.) The members of any sib are more widely spread throughout the peninsula than previously thought, although in some localities, one sib may be found to the exclusion of all others. Each "caste," according to Petrullo (1937, p. 155), "holds sovereignty over a well-defined territory." The sib which is largest and wealthiest in livestock is that of the Urianas. It has many subdivisions, such as Uriana jaguar, Uriana rabbit, Uriana paularate (a song bird), and Uriana gecko (a lizard). The

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

142
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302
516
283

Majayura, the virgin confined in order to be prepared for marriage. Contrary to the rules, she was allowed out for a moment to be photographed

Old woman spinning

142
291
301
302
516

Children are not undernourished in Macuira

[facing p. 65]

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

They make designs on 302
their skin with black stain and tattoo themselves, especially on the arms 304
and legs, with charcoal dust pigment. At least one of the marks is [619]
the same as the tribal brand.

MANUFACTURES

Women have a rather definite daily routine. They arise before day- 512
break, milk the cows, and prepare the morning meal for the men, who 462
then go off to fish, hunt, fight, or merely loaf and drink chicha. They fill their jugs at the water hole and then spend the rest of the day collecting wild cotton, spinning, weaving, making ropes, grinding corn, making butter, cheese, and chicha, and performing other household duties. They milk again in the evening.

Textiles are probably the best *Goajiro* manufactures. Their other 286
products are pottery (which is the virtual monopoly of a few sibs), bows 32
and arrows, and saddles and harnesses.

Spinning and weaving.—Wild cotton is collected, the seeds removed 283
by hand, and small wads are rolled around a thin stick to form small tubes about half an inch (12.5 mm.) in diameter and 6 inches (15 cm.) long. These tubes are then spun into thread with the use of a spindle, one end of which rests in a calabash bowl on the ground. Yarns are [386]
colored with vegetable dyes, especially divi-divi.

Almost every household owns a loom, before which the women sit for 286
hours weaving hammocks and bright-colored belts for men and horses. The warp is made from one long continuous thread wound around two thick horizontal poles, the upper one firmly attached to two uprights, the lower one hanging loose and maintaining the tension. As the work progresses, the cloth is moved forward around the poles, so that an endless strip of cloth is produced, which is then cut. Shuttles are passed through by hand, the warp being shifted by means of a threading arrangement which takes hold of alternate strands. On a piece of cloth about 2 yards wide an inch of weave every three hours is considered very fast work.

Containers.—Most cooking utensils are made of crude earthenware by 323
a few tribes in the vicinity of the Teta, a peak near the middle of the 415
peninsula. Spoons and forks are cut out of calabashes. Some Indians 439
possess enameled mugs and pots obtained from itinerant traders.

Weapons.—Almost every man possesses a good rifle. Cartridges are 411
scarce and expensive and must be smuggled in. Firearms are consequently reserved mainly for warfare, and the bow and arrow is the everyday weapon.

The bow is made from the hard, springy wood of the black palm. It is almost round in cross section, 5 to 6 feet (1.7 to 2 m.) long, and strung with a special sisal cord. The end which rests on the ground is protected

/55 cont./

881 normally, and above all she will not be worn out by too frequent
278 childbearing, since all these remedies in the long run are made use of to avoid the woman's having these cares, so much so that in the case of the very poor girls sterilization or at least a very limited fecundity is hoped for, because they know that they and their offspring will be practically in the hands of the stronger groups who can easily enslave their sons and daughters and nephews and nieces by the arbitrary and exaggerated use of legal institutions.

Even if the girl enters the Capuchin mission and for this
881 reason does not go through with the initiation in her home, and
278 even if her parents, influenced by the missionaries, decide to
797 forego this custom or are prevented by poverty from holding it, she does not forget -- and her companions back her up -- to take the medicines prescribed even though she does not undergo the regimen of seclusion. During a long period of time -- which shows what value she herself sets on her novitiate -- every morning she takes the juice of herbs which she knows of or which are given to her, to avoid menstruation and to obtain the objectives mentioned above. (In order to clarify further of the significance with respect to maternity in the initiation of young women, we refer the reader to the section Death of the First-born, Chap. I, pp. 10 ff.)

The economic aspect which she must learn and which by
881 the perfection and acquisition of new techniques now plays a
286 very important part is that of weaving. The woman during her seclusion improves her knowledge of this trade, which she began to learn during her prepubertal period. This matter has so much importance that in cases where a girl has been abducted and her maternal relatives present their claim for compensation payment, the man can refuse to buy her, alleging she is not able to weave. Furthermore, the woman by weaving earns money for the support of the home which is in her care. She must also supply her kin, including her husband, with guayucos /loincloths/, saddle blankets /pellones/, and other woven necessities.

/227 cont./

462 The Guajiro boy has the job of carving the gourd vessels used as domestic utensils, and it is also the men who make the hats and headpieces, or kiára, which pure Indians still use as an adornment in their festivals.

As war is essentially a masculine occupation, men make the weapons used, arrows and poisons, even those of magic value.

/228/

The heads of each family, and in their absence the sons in chronological order, or the nephews, sons of a sister, are those in charge of directing and ordering the daily work, especially when free or communal labor is not available and paid labor is used.

We may also consider as masculine occupations in La Guajira participation in community work and in mutual help such as making wells, dams, cemeteries, roads, etc.

The woman, on her part, has in her charge a multiplicity of activities, among which we can enumerate the following as the principal ones:

462 286 Weaving. This activity includes spinning, dyeing, and weaving the cloth itself. At the present time this occupation is dying out, particularly spinning, because the ease of obtaining imported thread makes this laborious work almost unnecessary. With respect to the weaving itself, foreign-made cloth and the trade in Colombian cloth supply the natives, especially the women, with dresses of varioud colors and diverse quality, which has caused a decline in this feminine activity, at least with regard to the use of homemade material for apparel. But, on the other hand, the acquisition of new techniques and the improvement of autochthonous ones in the Capuchin mission school has brought about greater development in the weaving of hammocks and bags, which, going beyond domestic needs, bring a good price in the markets outside and even within the peninsula, and in this way constitutes an appreciable source of income for the women. In addition to this, certain items of clothing such as the Guajiro belt, traditionally worn by the men and woven at

/228 cont./

462 home, have not found a substitute and have to be made by the maternal relatives or by the wife.

286 Among the items that have survived we should include the blouses used by girls of prepubertal age.

The application of weaving by the women extends to the manufacture of some parts of the harness for horses, such as cinches, surcingles, saddle blankets, croup belts, etc., in the making of which they employ diverse techniques and both autochthonous methods and those introduced through acculturation.

While the manufacture of saddles, trappings, and accoutrements of horses is done by the men, the women make the adornments for them and the headstalls of the halters and blinkers, with the complicated system of knots and tassels which indicate the standing and wealth of the rider. /229/

[492] [554]

Finally, it is strictly the women's task to make all the utensils used in weaving, from the most elementary type of loom made with two vertical sticks and used for making the classical Indian hammock /chinchorro/, to the most complicated, such as those used for weaving double-faced hammocks; and from the wooden bobbins to the vegetable colors and mordants used in dyeing the fabric or the thread.

462 Domestic work is also women's work, and it includes obtaining and preparing food and drink, and serving, storing, and preserving it, as well as killing small mammals and domestic birds, and cleaning and seasoning the intestines and other offal of cattle, sheep, and goats.

[296] Within the Guajiro dwelling the woman maintains cleanliness and order, and she is also held responsible for making, repairing, and washing the articles of clothing of her husband, her children, and herself.

The care of minor children occupies much of the Guajiro woman's time (Cf. Chap. II) as does their training, and it is exclusively the women's function to look after and instruct the girls during the traditional seclusion at puberty. Also, it is their responsibility to teach feminine tasks to their young female consanguineous relatives.

/233 cont./

472 there may be scarce; living in her employer's home, while it may
463 satisfy her basic needs, imposes on her a discipline to which she is not accustomed. For this reason, she looks for a way to combine both systems and sells firewood and water in the urban centers, carries messages, washes clothes, clears away rubbish, sells coal, /234/ milk, and foodstuffs, or cooks at some house. But in the evening she returns to her home, /usually/ an enramada /a shelter of branches/ on the outskirts of the city.

Toward the north coast of the peninsula, in the wooded lands of this zone, divi-divi occurs in sufficient quantity to enable the Guajiro woman to collect and sell it to the whites, who send it to the interior.

The women also take part in the work in the saltworks, as we have seen, in order to assist their husbands in the transport of the material.

The women of Jarara have been the principal makers of pottery, since they have abundant raw material at their disposal, which is lacking in other regions. For this reason, at the present time, they try to supply the entire peninsula by making a considerable supply with which they travel through the country and obtain an adequate remuneration either by barter or by sale.

Weaving of cloth, as we have said, supplies the women with
● 286 a source of income. Some well-to-do Indian and mestizo women
463 have organized a /specialized/ division of labor to supply the
472 demand for hammocks and bags in the markets of Maracaibo and in some towns in the department of Magdalena.

These women, well informed about the state of the market, prepare in their homes hammocks of fashionable colors and regulation size. They hand over a design of their own or one copied from a magazine to a poor Guajiro woman who takes it to her house and works it up on her own loom during her spare time. Once the central part is woven the owner hands it on to a worker expert in finishing, then a third one with her spinning tackle makes the cords. While these portions are being made in sequence, the fringes to match the color of the central part have been made by

/234 cont./

472 one or more other women, who if required will complete the
463 work by making the tassels that adorn it. Each one of these
women workers is controlled by the owner, of the raw material
236 from whom they receive it. They do it in their respective homes.
The completed work is paid for in accordance with the skill and
quality /of its execution/ and not by the time spent on it. The
finished product is the property of the owner of the raw material,
who can sell it at her convenience. The tools and equipment
employed belong to the workers. Another common practice is
for some poor women to weave the cloth on their own account,
and later to sell it to a rich woman who has facilities for bringing
the product to the market. The cloth is always sold at a lower
price to give the intermediary a margin of profit. /235/

A third form consists of receiving orders and weaving personally, or using weavers who receive wages and who work at home, hammocks, bags, and items of harness previously ordered by the merchants.

An occupation that allows the Guajiro woman to obtain some
472 income is dressmaking. Guajiro women learn to sew the robes
463 for both masculine and feminine use, and other articles of apparel,
which they sew not only for their home needs and their relatives
but also to fill orders from customers.

In the Sierra de Jarara and the Sierra de Macuira and in other places distant from urban centers, some old women live who are acquainted with the magic and curative properties of various plants. This knowledge is usually transmitted from mother to eldest daughter and is much sought after and remunerated in proportion to the importance of the case, its efficacy, and the prestige of the herbal expert who prescribes it, and the importance of the person who requests it.

Another profession is that of midwife, who receives payment in relation to her ability and the means of whoever applies for her services.

Unfree work. This is done by bond-servant or slave labor. See chapter /VIII/ Slavery and Bond Service. /page 236 is blank/

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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Above left: *Youth playing a flute*

Above right: *Little girl with beads*

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492

Right: *Riders*

[Facing p. 64]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

those we had left, but just as simple. Inside were hammocks slung this way and that. Along the walls were carrying-nets filled with things, and earthenware vessels lay scattered about the floor of hard-trodden sand. Some of these vessels were grey, others reddish-brown, some had necks and handles. One was an obvious imitation of a Dutch liqueur jar. It was not far to Puerto Estrella, to which schooners from the Dutch islands came.

Most of the earthenware vessels had red decoration. Some, with wavering lines, were obviously the work of the oldest of the women, who was frail and almost blind; but there was no fault in the shape of the vessel. The woven cloths were hung up in a special shelter. The warp hung vertical and ran like an endless belt over an upper and a lower pole. Several related tribes, members of the Aruak family, use the same method. When the cloth is finished, it forms a ring, and is then cut up.

They were working on a man's belt or sash. The everyday belt was only a couple of inches wide, but sashes intended for more solemn occasions were some eighteen inches broad and very colourful. They used red, yellow, black and white yarn and the pattern was most interesting. Ceremonial cloaks are also woven for the men, just as colourful as the sashes, but, to my sorrow, I was never able to acquire a really fine specimen. They were simply too expensive. The rich chiefs collected them, but custom decreed that they must be wrapped in all their cloaks when they died, which meant that none were inherited. The men's everyday cloaks I have already described; they pulled them on and then twisted them so that their chest was bared. The women's dress was considerably more Spartan: it was a wide tunic, made like a sack with holes for the head and arms, and dyed black with divi-divi or brown with stuff from some other plant. Their loin-cloth only became visible when they were working in the shade or indoors and removed their tunics. It too was black or undyed. They themselves thought that there was no call to use a nice patterned cloth for underclothes. Little girls often had patterned loin-cloths, but then they did not wear tunics

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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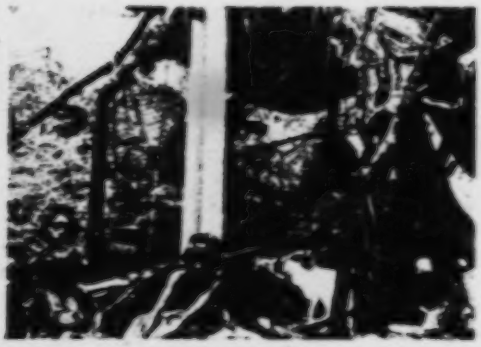

Work-hut with warp set up for a man's sash

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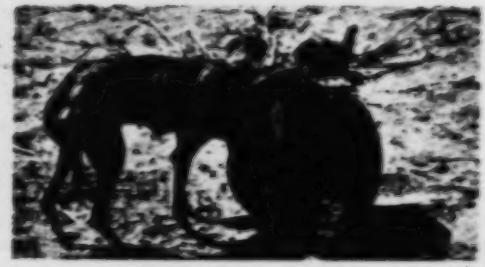

The thin Indian dogs licked the last out of the pot

Below: *Indian chiefs, in ceremonial clothes, on their way to a* purchi

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[Facing p.81]

7;Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

273 quarrelsome, the parting drink of spirits having had its effect. One old man after much swaying in the saddle was finally thrown off by his jibbing mule. He landed in a prickly bush and became frantic. He wanted to see blood. Luckily his weapons were on his saddle, but he managed to remove one of his spurs and began stabbing with it at those who were trying to help him up. Francisco received a jab, but he and a couple of others managed to overpower the old ruffian, whom they bound and tied to his saddle. Then his wife led him and his mount away.

609 574 One by one the groups went off in their various directions. We came to the rancho of the young Indian, our new [361] friend. He had several big huts, built on the sand, where there was no greenery or shade. He explained that when the rains came, it did not become swampy there, as in most other places, but the water ran through the sand and you could [284] walk dry-shod. There were looms in several of the open [832] huts. At one sat our host's young, light-complexioned wife, who undoubtedly was a great beauty by Guajiro standards, and in another his aged mother with a wrinkled clever face.

[272] We were offered goat's milk as a refreshment. I was always amazed at the care with which these Indians collected the small quantities of milk the goats yielded, for each gave a mere squirt. We took a gulp of goat's milk in order to avoid having to drink spirits.

The women were in a great bustle, evidently getting a spread ready. The Guajiro are hospitable, and when strangers or friends come they must have the best the house can provide. If need be, the host gives up his own hammock and lies on the ground.

439 778 Our host had plenty of hammocks. After resting a while, my wife went inside to look at the weaving, while I produced one of the pistols I had bought at an auction and demonstrated it, shooting a couple of shots, the noise and smoke of which appeared highly satisfactory to our host. Hastily he drew me aside and whispered that he had something that ought to interest me. He had *ama* and was willing to part with this precious, sought-after article in exchange for my noisy pistol. After all I had a companion without a

8; Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

They make designs on 302
their skin with black stain and tattoo themselves, especially on the arms 304
and legs, with charcoal dust pigment. At least one of the marks is [219]
the same as the tribal brand.

MANUFACTURES

Women have a rather definite daily routine. They arise before day- 512
break, milk the cows, and prepare the morning meal for the men, who 462
then go off to fish, hunt, fight, or merely loaf and drink chicha. They fill their jugs at the water hole and then spend the rest of the day collecting wild cotton, spinning, weaving, making ropes, grinding corn, making butter, cheese, and chicha, and performing other household duties. They milk again in the evening.

Textiles are probably the best *Goajiro* manufactures. Their other 286
products are pottery (which is the virtual monopoly of a few sibs), bows 32
and arrows, and saddles and harnesses.

Spinning and weaving.—Wild cotton is collected, the seeds removed 283
by hand, and small wads are rolled around a thin stick to form small tubes about half an inch (12.5 mm.) in diameter and 6 inches (15 cm.) long. These tubes are then spun into thread with the use of a spindle, one end of which rests in a calabash bowl on the ground. Yarns are [384]
colored with vegetable dyes, especially divi-divi.

Almost every household owns a loom, before which the women sit for 286
hours weaving hammocks and bright-colored belts for men and horses. The warp is made from one long continuous thread wound around two thick horizontal poles, the upper one firmly attached to two uprights, the lower one hanging loose and maintaining the tension. As the work progresses, the cloth is moved forward around the poles, so that an endless strip of cloth is produced, which is then cut. Shuttles are passed through by hand, the warp being shifted by means of a threading arrangement which takes hold of alternate strands. On a piece of cloth about 2 yards wide an inch of weave every three hours is considered very fast work.

Containers.—Most cooking utensils are made of crude earthenware by 323
a few tribes in the vicinity of the Teta, a peak near the middle of the 415
peninsula. Spoons and forks are cut out of calabashes. Some Indians 439
possess enameled mugs and pots obtained from itinerant traders.

Weapons.—Almost every man possesses a good rifle. Cartridges are 411
scarce and expensive and must be smuggled in. Firearms are consequently reserved mainly for warfare, and the bow and arrow is the everyday weapon.

The bow is made from the hard, springy wood of the black palm. It is almost round in cross section, 5 to 6 feet (1.7 to 2 m.) long, and strung with a special sisal cord. The end which rests on the ground is protected

/541 cont./

614 Crist (p. 485) wrote: "The Indians of the Guajira are divided into various clans or blood groups, castas, each with its distinguishing totem representing the animal with whose traits, according to legend, the clan was originally imbued" /cited in English/.

614 The thought complex that has solidified around the
212 totem of our Indians — to mention it once more in conclusion — gets significant confirmation of its truely totemistic character by the visible symbol for each one of the three dozen of them. None of these totem signs — whether one calls them clan signs, symbols, monograms, emblems, property marks, or something else — is revealed as typically Christian or Spanish in design. The Indian women of olden [281] times wove them into their pieces of weaving, and, as has already been mentioned above (p. 10), the men put their clan-signs on other objects. According to the myth, the [173] original ancestor of a given clan was assigned it in an individual presentation by Mareiwa himself, and it has been retained down to the present day. /See the foreign text for the list of "Sources Mentioned," pp. 541-542./

/542/ Supplement:

114 As a consequence of a long stay in East Asia, which I
614 concluded a short time ago, two pertinent articles first came to my attention when the article presented here was already in printing:

[113] Santa Cruz, Antonio, "Acquiring Status in Guajiro Society," Anthropological Quarterly, 33, 1960, pp. 115-127.

Wilbert, Johannes, "Identificación Etno-Lingüistica de Tribus Indígenas del Occidente de Venezuela," Mem. Soc. de Ciencias Natur. La Salle, 21, 1961, pp. 5-14.

Both articles refer to the clan-division among the Guajiro described by me. The almost completed printing of my article, however, does not permit me to discuss them in detail; therefore this brief reference must suffice.

/15 cont./

854 /ajuar/ for the coming child. Many times the mother is forced to improvise items by using old robes to wrap him in or a bag made of agave fiber for his hammock to protect him from the cold at night.

The Guajiro woman who is in contact with civilization and is comfortably off economically prepares a hammock for the arrival of the child, or weaves it or has it made afterward, using the hanks of cotton thread she has received as gifts. Children 854 wear clothes only when they go on trips. If they are baptized 291 in the Catholic faith, they receive their outfit /ajuar/ from their [608 godmother, who is also expected to present a dress to the mother. 431] As the child usually goes about naked, they do not make any clothes to wear. Some rather long cloths useful as swaddling clothes and coverlets are prepared and serve various purposes. Wherever possible the mothers try to avoid the child's dirtying them with his excretions, in order to lighten the problem of cleanliness, since water is scarce. /16/

854 Neither are the Guajiro mothers in the habit of wrapping bellybands round their infants. The navel is left exposed even [164] when it is not completely healed. For this reason ruptures are frequent as well as the death of the newly born due to infection of the navel. But they do use a kind of awning fixed over the [136] child's hammock to protect him from falling centipedes, snakes, and scorpions that abound in the roofs of the huts, which are covered with plant materials.

* * *

Care, training, and treatment of young children. From birth the child is looked after by people other than his mother, as she is obliged to seek such assistance to be able to attend to her other domestic obligations or to rest and have someone to whom she can delegate this care. When she goes to a place relatively near by, the mother does not take the child but leaves it in the care of his older brothers and sisters or her relatives, when they

/49 cont./

855 Sometimes they may share their hammock with a brother, not
513 a common occurrence, or sleep on occasion in that of an adult.

The hours of sleep are regularly those from eight at night to three in the morning, when the child takes up his pastoral duties. During the hours of midday heat, he may return (when pasturing near by) to sleep under the bough-covered shelter /enramada/ at home, or drowse in the woods under the trees. If he is not a herder, he may get up later in the morning and will also take a siesta during the hot part of the day. He sleeps in his usual clothes, the guayuco /loincloth/, only loosening somewhat the belt at his waist which holds it, to lessen the tension.

In the regions of the mountains, where it is cold in the early morning, hammocks are placed near the hearth where a fire has been left burning or which is lit during the night to temper the low temperature, and no one sleeps outside the house but inside. At times a sheepskin or that of some other animal or a robe /manta, "robe, usually worn by women"/ is thrown on the hammock, or for want of these, they get up and huddle round the fire to warm up and then go back to their hammocks and try to sleep until the intense cold obliges them to repeat the process.

• • •

291 The boy goes about naked up to a certain age, variable
855 according to the group. For instance in regions which are in contact with the whites, when around six or seven years old, they wear a guayuco very similar to that of an adult, held up by a homemade belt. They use no other addition, unless occasionally they get some other item of clothing, generally from a white source, which they keep on until it is worn out. When they are old enough to put on the guayuco /loincloth/ and even before if they to pasture the cattle, they start to use guaireñas "

/49 cont./

291 855 (Guajiro sandals made at home) to protect their feet from the hot, sandy soil. They very rarely use a hat, and at a more advanced age, and at times it is replaced by a kióra /headband/, [292] but without feathers, as these are a special privilege of the adult to be used on feast days. They go about, then, generally bareheaded and exposed to the strong rays of the sun. Almost at the period of transition from childhood to puberty, [415] Guajiro boys begin to make use of small woven woolen pouches which are attached to the belt and which serve /50/ as a purse and a depository for charms /contras/ (in the case of adults), small objects for personal use, etc.

301 778 855 Boys do not use necklaces. Only, and with the sense of their being a protection rather than an ornament, they wear when they are small jet beads on their wrists, small pieces of coconut husk or coral, a piece of wood of medicinal value to prevent grippe, or some object of magic value, things they leave off using toward their fifth or sixth year.

291 855 With a girl the period of complete nakedness is shorter than with a boy, although there are regions in the peninsula where they may be older, owing to the poverty of the relatives, who are unable to supply them with clothes until they are past the average age for dressing. The girl is dressed in a garment which is practically a man's guayuco and which, later when an adult, she uses as an undergarment, like a pair of pants. It is a belt of white or striped cloth, doubled and placed between the legs, held at the ends to the waist by what is called a sirapo, a kind of wide, heavy belt made of glass beads or seed-glass beads of all colors. The girl's trunk remains naked until much later. During the prepubertal period, when the development of the mammary glands begins to be marked, she puts on a sort of blouse made with the technique for hammocks (horizontal threads held together by some cross threads), which is intended, as the girl is already beginning to be initiated into the art of weaving and consequently is in a stooping position much of the time, to keep her from becoming humpbacked; also for reasons of modesty and because this blouse, as

291 /50 cont./
855 it fits very tightly, facilitates the normal development of her
301 breasts. Like the boys, the girls wear some wrist ornaments,
751 magic preventatives, and it is not rare for them to wear some
855 necklace with magic objects which have been "made sacred,"
to avoid bad influences; nor /is it rare/ that they already have
[304] their ears pierced and occasionally wear earrings, although
this ornament is for grown women. They do not cover the head
302 and usually wear the hair short, as if it had been shaved and
855 the hair was in an advanced state of growing in again. Never-
291 theless, though the garb described is the usual thing, the present-
day girl frequently uses the adult robe /manta/ from the time
she is very small, especially among upper-class mestizos. /51/

III

INITIATION OF YOUNG WOMEN

881 The life of a girl approaching puberty becomes less free in the upper classes, because her maternal relatives apparently then take her into account and endeavor to train her in feminine activities. In the lower classes the same preoccupation is shown, but oriented in another direction, as her labor has already been made use of very early in the family life, since, as we have already stated, they see in her the future adult woman for which reason they discourage her somewhat in her comings and goings into the woods, although it is also true that they show more concern than if they treated her as a child. Furthermore, they start to use blouses, as we described in the previous chapter, and she is told at a convenient time of the biological phenomenon which is to take place in her: menstruation. When the time comes and this shows itself, her first reaction is to inform her mother, or in her absence, the kinswoman with the most authority.

/62 cont./

581 The Guajiro woman also knows that men admire dress and so endeavors to adapt hers to their taste: robes of light, attractive colors, amply cut, considerably ornamented (acculturation), and for feast days or visiting all the collection of jewelry: bracelets, anklets, necklaces of several strings or thick chains with a pendant, numerous rings with big stones, especially tumas, jewelry she was given on finishing her seclusion by her maternal relative of the most distinction and prestige. From then onward she begins to wear them, in smaller quantities when she is at home, but the whole set when attending a feast or visiting. In Jarara a distinctive mark of high social standing is the use of earrings /orejeras may mean earplugs. -- Translator/, because in this region the women, who are not very careful in their dress, use this ornament which is an indication of their social and economic position.

832 091 201 554 304

581 The combination, then, of dress and physical appearance are two essential conditions of the attractiveness of the Guajiro woman, which determine her success in order to be bought at a good price or that her husband may not lose interest because of other marriages. The preservation of her physical attractions is a struggle which she maintains for these two reasons; also, dressing well, apart from making her attractive, is a sign of the class to which she belongs and which she must preserve at any sacrifice, as therein lies the prestige of her kin and the maintenance of their status. /63/

In addition to the sexual incentive expressed in previous paragraphs, the Guajiro seeks in his marriage an economic value, that is to say, a woman who possesses certain qualifications that will assure him a certain latitude. The payment he makes for a wife permits him to demand of her his keep and that of his children, for which reason he seeks one capable of complying with this custom by her own efforts.

The work that the woman can carry out to fulfill this economic responsibility is of a domestic nature: the making of hammocks /chinchorros and hamacas/, bags, belts, pottery,

/187 cont./

689 191 a family chat. The man thus addressed, greatly offended by what in Guajiro culture is considered a great insult, flogged him pitilessly, after having hung him by his hands from a tree. Later he wanted to kill him but was prevented by the onlookers. As he was a close relative he could not demand compensation payment, but he repaid himself for the offense by inflicting punishment. This was so terrible that the boy became mentally unbalanced and up to the time of our visit had not fully regained the use of his faculties. /188/

It is believed that the native who does not use his own language as a medium of expression among the other natives does not because he is ashamed of his own people and openly disowns them by substituting one language for another. Also, to accept another mode of expression indicates a superiority of the latter over the former, and of the foreign element over the native.

689 291 177 b) Breaking away of the individual from the consanguineous family group and, in general, from the Guajiro community. This is best expressed by the following facts. Some time ago, the Guajiro boy educated in the mission or who emigrated to other centers was obliged to use the clothes used by civilizados /non-natives/. If he returned to his own environment again he had to use the guayuco once more and give up trousers. Nowadays, mestizos and rich Indians have adopted the use of a shirt or undershirt but without abandoning the guayuco, which has become converted into a garment of a distinctive Guajiro character. When a man from the peninsula wishes to show that he has broken with Guajiro culture, that he has thrown off affective, consanguineous, and legal ties, and that he has placed himself outside their society, he refuses to use a guayuco, which he hangs up in some noticeable place as a symbol of his break with the past. An equivalent act can be seen in the women. The Guajiro Indian woman denies that she is such when she refuses to wear the robe, but at present the significance of this rejection has weakened and is now replaced by the open abandoning of an undergarment, which corresponds to the men's guayuco, both functionally and symbolically. It is a

/188 cont./

689 kind of trousers which is kept up by the so-called sirapo, a belt
177 of cords and beads whose inheritance has a special meaning.
[291] The Guajiro woman who wishes to renounce her society and her culture hangs these garments up and leaves her home.

These two acts are carried out when individual interests clash with collective ones, when a social pattern must be complied with at the risk of not surviving. Here we have the case of certain Guajiro girls educated by Christian norms. When they reach marriageable age, they must submit to their own cultural patterns, which permit polygamy, and they must be bought, just as their female antecessors were. This clashes with the education they have received under other norms. Others reject the family's imposition of its own candidate for a husband and the fact that they are not allowed to follow their own affectionate impulses, etc. To such a girl there are various solutions she may take to disregard the social norms of her consanguineous relatives: committing suicide, if it comes to that, but this idea, which in extreme cases is carried out, also clashes with the moral concepts in which she has been educated; running away, but this recourse is very difficult for a woman of standing with /189/ many relatives. Then she sees as the ultimate solution the prospect of breaking with her culture, which is no longer compatible with her world view as a civilized /civilizado/ woman. She looks for refuge in a civilized institution of this kind and finds it in the Capuchin mission. In this way a number of young Guajiro have arrived looking for protection after having hung up the guayuco and the sirapo as a symbol of the break with everything that was theirs.

This is an offense of a very grave character, not only for the abandoned relatives but for the whole social collectivity. It is thought that whoever does it expresses clearly his contempt for the whole cultural group to which he belonged, placing it by this act on a lower plane. This hurts the native and increases his feeling of inferiority when confronted by the white man and brings to the fore resentments which sometimes have remained

[21cont.]

755 When the patient shows signs of improving, a fiesta is or-
796 ganized consisting of chicha-maya dances and feasting. For this event they prepare in advance all that will be offered to the participants; chicha made from chewed corn, plain or sweetened with panela according to the economic situation of the sick man's family. The dance lasts one or more days and nights, as ordered [534] by the shaman, the only musical instrument used being the drum. In order to end the fiesta, two or three steers and several goats and sheep are killed if the hosts are rich. At four or five o'clock in the morning, according to the shaman's wishes, the sick person is taken from his bed, and the curer himself bathes him with [515] soap and water, after which he is again carried indoors and is permitted to stay up, but not to leave his dwelling. Slowly he resumes normal living and the everyday diet. If the patient should have a relapse, [22] the treatment is repeated. The process of these cures may last up to two months, according to the patient's condition.

No one is actually invited to the fiesta which is organized [574] by order of the shaman when he has succeeded in curing a patient. When people find out that such a fiesta is about to be given from the characteristic beating of the drum, they approach without being invited and take part, joining in dancing [273] the chich-amaya. The women are offered a bowl of chicha made from chewed corn to take to their homes to drink there with their families. Men are given rum or chicha. The women wear with ● 291 great pride their long ample robes, which cover them to the 755 ankles, their waireñas, or leather sandals with toe pieces made 796 of knitted wool and adorned with large tassels of the same ma- 556 terial, and a pañuelo around their heads, the corners of which hang down their backs. If they are wealthy enough, they complete their personal adornment with anklets and bracelets of coral and necklaces of gold or tuma. The men also wear their finest robes, which, hanging from one of their shoulders, cover the upper part of their bodies. This is complemented by a wide sash used to support the loincloth [guayuco], wider than the one commonly used, that is, than that used in their daily 755 work. If animals are sacrificed — which depends on the wealth 796

[56 cont.]

846 black so that he looks like an African .... . During the eight days the Indian woman attends to all the husband's work in the sown fields, loads yucca, collects firewood, etc. Later the Indian, once he has finished his period of diet, rises from his hammock, goes to the river, and with a thorough bathing washes off the black ointment until he becomes clean again and his natural self, as they say, in Adam's clothing." (39)

39. Anonymous: Relaciones Interesantes y datos históricos sobre las Misiones del Caquetá y Putumayo [Interesting stories and historical data about the Caquetá and Putumayo missions], 2d., I, 36-37.

In this socio-magic incident of relevant importance, in which the missionary saw nothing more than a curious aspect of Indian life, what is shown is really a change of personality when confronted with an evil spirit: The man is transformed into a woman (at least he behaves like one, taking charge of the newborn child and carrying out the roles that a woman should perform during the eight days of regulation diet), and the mother behaves as if she were the father (also substituting for him in the work which is his responsibility), and all this is done with the
846 object of warding off evil spirits from the newborn child. In
854 addition to the father completes his disguise by covering his body with what [57] the missionaries called "mourning" [luto], that is, with black paint with which he anoints his whole body. Deceived by all these tricks carried out by both the parents, the evil spirits should not know where to find the baby — who ought to be beside his mother — and so he — the child — is safe from their evil influence.

854 But this system to protect the child does not stop there.
291 It continues, according to the missionaries, as "they take the child and until it is about two years old dress it in a garment so peculiar that at first sight one doubts whether it is a human being or not. They cover all its body except its face with the juice of a tree ... very sticky, and over this juice is spread

[57 cont.]

W 854 291 a wooly substance from another tree which is very similar to the balso. So dressed, the infant Indian, lifted onto the bare shoulders of its mother or clinging to her knees, appears in reality very like a small monkey. With only this savage dress, these Indians are quite happy." ... (40)

40. Anon. Op. cit., 2d, I, 37.

W 854 The missionary is right when he compares these children to small monkeys. The idea of dressing the child in so peculiar a costume is not just to protect him from the vagaries of the climate, or to dress him with greater or lesser aesthetic taste, but to safeguard him from evil spirits by means of this disguise, which constitutes a veritable transformation of his physical personality. The child on being dressed up in this extraordinary covering is really changed into another being, so that the evils he might attract to himself lose their effectiveness since the spirits are deceived by the substitution that has been made.

G 755 A method of curing very similar to that we have just described is the one used when a newborn child shows signs of intestinal trouble and diarrhea, evacuating something like spittle. The woman who is acting as diviner discovers by her G [753] art that the sickness attacking the infant is due to its mother having allowed a duck to eat part of her food. For this reason the child passes its fecal matter in a way similar to that of a duck. How does one proceed, then, to restore the infant to health? The feathers around the anus of the duck are plucked out, burned, and the ashes are reduced to powder. As soon as the infant's bowels have moved, his mother must clean him carefully and then apply the powder of the ashes of the feathers around his anal sphincter. If the diviner's diagnosis has been correct, the child should recover quickly on the application of the prescribed remedy. [58]

G [843 753 755 If during her pregnancy the mother should eat fruit which has been previously pecked at by any kind of bird, the child on being born will have stomach trouble and his excrement will be similar to that of the bird. The Indian women who are

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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demetery, a site chosen in some solitary arid spot, and surrounded by walls of cacti. At the death of Salvador, a Pushaina from Arroyo Cardon, 120 fat oxen were killed, and the hides did not pay for the liquor drunk. Two of the same family meeting for the first time after the death of a relation, must squat down on their hands in front of each other, and sob and weep, for at least a quarter of an hour, the louder the better.

The Indians are very punctilious in saluting. Calling at a rancho, visitors must wait until spoken to, if this is not done soon, it is evident they are not welcome, so ride away. The words used never seem to be the same. The most frequent are "Intiahi-pia" (you have come), or "Eiguare pia" (so you have arrived). In eating and drinking the Indians are extremely cleanly. The principals all eat separately; receiving their allowance in an earthenware dish, *pesá*, with a gourd spoon, *pushi*. The remains, with an addition, serve for the lower members of the family. Water is invariably given after, to wash the mouth and fingers. Even if a drink of milk is taken, a little water is tendered after. As to their hospitality, it has, I believe, been rather exaggerated. There is no doubt that the Goajiro is more hospitable than the Arhuaco of the Sierra Nevada, but then he is also far more cunning and diplomatic, and his hospitality is a mere question of self-interest. He will willingly give a sheep or a goat as a present, provided there is a chance of claiming an ox in return. He is chivalresque in his donations. When he does give a sheep, it is a fat one, his best, and given whole, without reserve, skin and all. If eating, on the arrival of a stranger, he may offer food to him, but certainly will give if requested, as is the custom, always begging. One thing a guest may rely upon receiving in a rancho is a hammock, even if the owner has to sleep on the ground. Lastly, among curious customs, is that of parents assuming the names of their children with the prefix *nushi* or *sushi* if the father, and *ni* or *si* if the mother. Thus the father of Juan would call himself "Nushijuan," or if a daughter, "Sushijuana." The mother of Juan would be called "Nijuan," and if a daughter, "Sijuana."

The dress of the Goajiro is extremely simple, and probably similar to his savage luxury of three centuries ago, when Alfinger devastated the land, except that his own quiet blacks and browns—for he is cunning in the art of dyeing—have given way to the gorgeous blues, reds, and yellows of European wool. His every day working costume is simply a strip of cloth from three inches wide upwards, called *cairiba*. When paying visits, receiving company, or travelling, he does his best—a large loincloth with many folds, and the home-woven mantle *ché*, with a magnificent sash, *si-ira*. The mantle is managed with wonderful elegance, now letting it fall about him in voluptuous folds, or dropping it from his shoulders, and tucking it into his immense sash, where his arrows are carried. The hair, which is jet black, thick, and cut short, is kept back in a very aegletic style by a ring or crown,

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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302 called *yara* if made of plaited straw, and *capanas* if made of wool,
●291 with large tassel (worn behind). The two can be combined and adorned with a couple of feathers in front. When made entirely of feathers, it becomes *tordma*. An Indian's toilet would not be complete without
[293] a *kapiquito*, a piece of leather fastened round the left wrist by a twist of wool to receive the recoil of the bow-string when shooting. Paint is
302 common to both sexes, and in excess. They assert that it saves their complexions from the sun. The last thing an Indian does, on mounting horse for the day's journey, is to call for the powder-box, and plentifully besprinkle his face. The powders *mapuatepo* or *marat* are rotten wood;
[386] *guanapai*, a black stain from a wild nut; and *parica*, very popular among the fairer sex, is the colour extracted from a leaf and mixed with fat.

291 The woman's dress is invariably, at present, made from foreign cotton,
[177] and is a plain sack with a hole for the head and two others for the arms. With the wind it blows out and makes her look like a balloon. The white cotton is dyed black with divi-divi, or yellowish-brown with mora
[386] (yellow wood), or reddish-brown with the suckers of mangroves. The Indians are exceptionally clean and nice in their dress, and, however
[515] poor, keep a reserve suit for state occasions. Women alone wear the *pána* and the *sirapo*. The pána are like a pair of braces; long strings
301 of beads passing over each shoulder to cross each other on the breast and back, held in position at the waist by the sirapo, a sort of sash or belt made of beads likewise. Small strings a few ounces in weight are placed on the female child a few months after birth, and gradually increased, according to the strength of the child and the purse of the parents. Pánas are made with any beads except black, a red variety with white eye (*iawkis*) preferred, and weigh from 2 to 10 lbs. With sirapos any coloured bead will do, *pinar* or black ones the rule, and they weigh from 1 to 10 lbs. A married woman may wear the pána until
[844] her first confinement, when it is laid aside. Poor Indians who cannot afford beads for the pána make it of cotton dyed black and beaded. Among the many necklaces, tumas are the most valuable. These curious
[172] perforated stones are only found in the graves of prehistoric races, both in the peninsula itself and the Sierra Nevada. There are many varieties. The round ones varying in size from a large marble to a pea are *tómas* (a name generalised by the Spaniards); those in shape of small charm-barrels are *amarrú*; the pear-shaped, according as they are long or dumpy, *pariaga*, and *guarinaiaga*; the bagle is *parauria*, &c. Mineralogically they are bits of red jasper, cornelian, and reddish sardonyx. Their value depends upon the intensity of red and size. A large one at
[435] present is worth a head of cattle; a necklace has from 15 to 30, varying in size. Bracelets are as varied and in as much profusion as necklaces; they are called *kipana*, from *ekepa*, the hand. On the feet they also wear strings of cornelians and beads. They have two names, the aristocratic *cashkanár* and the common *pauriksa*.

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Indian women in the national dress of today with large woollen pompons on their sandals

[P. 2]
[P. 1 contains no text which is not reproduced elsewhere]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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By the shore. Held by father and sister, these were the only twins we ever saw. The Guajiro let twins live

Right: *Indian girls*

342
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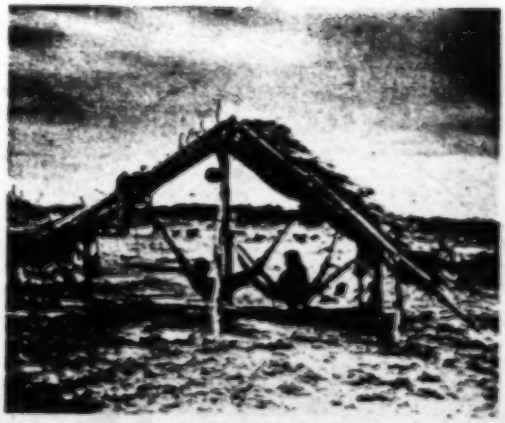
352 *A simple Indian hut*



[Facing p. 32]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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[372]

Our men making fire

Indian salt workers, men and women, at Manaure

[258
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[facing p. 33]

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551 told that among my own people I was a sort of medicine-man and chief combined.

Nowadays most of the Indians in Guajira acquire three first names: a Spanish one that the white men give them, a nickname, and their true, Indian name, which is secret except to members of their immediate family. When a girl is born, her father names her after her mother or some near female relative, but for everyday use she has a pet name [553] which is only dropped when she reaches marriageable age. She then acquires a new name, which she keeps for the rest of her life.

563 The Creoles called those in the border areas who were not 101 Indians '*gente*', or just 'people'. They could scarcely be called white, for many were as good as pure black, being the descendants of former slaves. When they told us in Rio Hacha that there were not any 'people' living in this or that village, they meant that there were none but Indians there. Those who were not Indians, that is those who wore trousers, also called themselves '*civilizados*', while the Indians called them arijuna.

115 We called our two old Indians Gaffer and Gammer, and 124 the youngest 'The Lad'. We liked The Lad especially. He was strong, merry and did the work of two. The fourth, who, strangely enough, had a crew cut and was supposed to be our interpreter, we called 'Bristles', and he learned to answer to that. He knew a little Spanish, but as an interpreter he was no use. When the Gaffer had been talking to us for a long time and we asked Bristles what he had said, the answer always was: 'Nothing'. Perhaps that was what the other's talk amounted to, but we should have preferred to have judged that for ourselves. We noticed, too, that if we had to scold the Gaffer, Bristles did not dare repeat what we said. With gestures and the few Guajiro words we knew we could make Gaffer realize that we were annoyed with him, but not always why.

291 The men wore nothing but the usual piece of cloth and 386 belt, the *máwte*, or, in Spanish, guayuco, which really means crupper, and sandals to protect their feet from the cactus spikes lying on the ground, but the Gammer was enveloped

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Left: *I help an old man, who had never seen matches, to light his cigar*

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Chinea, a girl of simple family, (on the left) and a well-born maiden expensively perfumed in a white tunic

[516]

Indian camp and a mestizo

[facing p. 49]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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in a wide woman's tunic, dyed black with divi-divi. Her face was painted black, too. At her age that could scarcely have been necessary to save her complexion, but such painting is also a protection against dangerous spirits. The Gaffer carried his ceremonial dress with him, tucked away somewhere. This consisted of an oblong piece of cloth sewn up along one side and with a hole for the head at the top. It is worn draped in such a way that the chest is bare.

Thus our caravan made its way along. The animals' shadows contracted further and further. Soon the sun would be right overhead. The very air seemed to have melted in the heat, and the blue hills in the distance had begun to dissolve. Here and there grew a cactus, otherwise there was nothing but sand and salt to be seen. Slowly the caravan crept along. We spurred our mules and rode on ahead, but after a while we had to turn back in order not to go astray. We found the Gaffer riding and the Gammer walking. The Gaffer could hardly stick on. He swayed in the saddle, for he was as drunk as a lord, having smuggled with him a calabash containing spirits instead of water.

He was just about to take another pull as we came galloping up, and he was so frightened that he dropped the calabash, which smashed and the spirits ran out. At that we searched the old couple's baggage, despite their protests, and found another calabash of spirits. We gave the Gaffer a large coin for it. The two young ones were delighted at his misfortune, for his baggage had given them a lot of trouble. It was obvious that the Gaffer had started drinking early, for the loads on the donkeys in his charge were badly secured and danced about, so that one after the other had to be lashed on afresh.

We told the Gammer that she must restrain her old man, an order which the interpreter undoubtedly passed on, probably with some comments of his own. The Gammer was not popular with the two young ones, and Bristles would not lack the courage to tell a woman a few home truths. Gradually the Gaffer sobered up, and a good thing he did, for we were approaching an Indian rancho, where he would have to act as spokesman for me.

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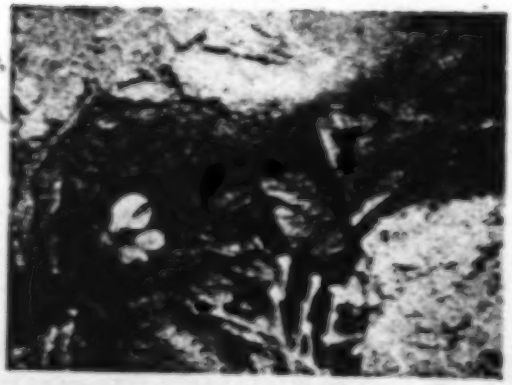
291 492 *Our caravan makes a temporary halt*

291 516 137 *Resting in the sparse shade of a divi-divi tree. My wife is stirring the pot. I am on the extreme right*

312 *A casimba, or water-hole, dug by the Indians*



[FACING p. 48]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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Our provisions were at an end. We had been too generous and not rationed them strictly, the men having complained of hunger the whole time. Now we were suffering for it.

Away in the distance, well out of range, we saw a *venado*, a deer, making off through the cactus with graceful bounds. Where did the deer drink? Surely they would not dare approach the Indians' water-holes, which were either guarded or covered.

'Deer do not drink,' said the Indians. 'They are content with the dew they can lick out of the cactus flowers.'

We were thus without both food and water. We whites had tinned food, but the Indians only appreciated the empty tins. The Lad then offered to get us some food and water. He had not been away more than an hour, when he returned with a young girl carrying a live kid in her arms. She wore nothing but the remnants of a woman's loin cloth, and apparently knew that white people did not approve of nakedness, for she tried to hide her charms behind the kid. We therefore gave her a piece of white cloth in payment, although it was really a pity to let her cover herself, for she was the shapeliest Indian girl we had yet seen in the peninsula. The cloth would protect her from the sun and make her fair-skinned and beautiful, so she was overjoyed and offered to show us the way to what she said was a much better water hole.

This new water hole was shaded by some divi-divi trees—the trees were withered and their shade sparse—and surrounded by reddish hillocks. It was not very deep and a couple of women were bathing in it. They paid no attention to us, nakedness in the bath being considered decent. Our Indians and animals were able to drink as much as they liked there, and we also filled our water-containers. Then we moved on looking for a suitable place in which to eat our goat in peace.

Gladtvet, our photographer, put up the tent to give us a little shade, and meanwhile the Indians slaughtered the kid and cut it up. My wife cooked the pieces we had taken for ourselves, helped by the little girl who had come with us. She was now wearing the piece of cloth like a pinafore and

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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Above left: *Youth playing a flute*

Above right: *Little girl with beads*

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Right: *Riders*

[facing p. 64]

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Maiyuna, the virgin confined in order to be prepared for marriage. Contrary to the rules, she was allowed out for a moment to be photographed

Old woman spinning

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Children are not undernourished in Macuira

[facing p. 65]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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those we had left, but just as simple. Inside were hammocks slung this way and that. Along the walls were carrying-nets filled with things, and earthenware vessels lay scattered about the floor of hard-trodden sand. Some of these vessels were grey, others reddish-brown, some had necks and handles. One was an obvious imitation of a Dutch liqueur jar. It was not far to Puerto Estrella, to which schooners from the Dutch islands came.

Most of the earthenware vessels had red decoration. Some, with wavering lines, were obviously the work of the oldest of the women, who was frail and almost blind; but there was no fault in the shape of the vessel. The woven cloths were hung up in a special shelter. The warp hung vertical and ran like an endless belt over an upper and a lower pole. Several related tribes, members of the Aruak family, use the same method. When the cloth is finished, it forms a ring, and is then cut up.

They were working on a man's belt or sash. The everyday belt was only a couple of inches wide, but sashes intended for more solemn occasions were some eighteen inches broad and very colourful. They used red, yellow, black and white yarn and the pattern was most interesting. Ceremonial cloaks are also woven for the men, just as colourful as the sashes, but, to my sorrow, I was never able to acquire a really fine specimen. They were simply too expensive. The rich chiefs collected them, but custom decreed that they must be wrapped in all their cloaks when they died, which meant that none were inherited. The men's everyday cloaks I have already described; they pulled them on and then twisted them so that their chest was bared. The women's dress was considerably more Spartan: it was a wide tunic, made like a sack with holes for the head and arms, and dyed black with divi-divi or brown with stuff from some other plant. Their loin-cloth only became visible when they were working in the shade or indoors and removed their tunics. It too was black or undyed. They themselves thought that there was no call to use a nice patterned cloth for underclothes. Little girls often had patterned loin-cloths, but then they did not wear tunics

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until they reached marriageable age. Even when they were 291
little they wore belts of seed pearls which were added to
with the years, and other strings of beads were put round [301]
their shoulders and across their chests. A girl of eight or
ten might carry fifteen or twenty pounds weight of beads
and pearls. The string round the waist was made of black
beads, but those on the upper part of the body had to be of
different colours.

The rich used gold and coral. Necklaces of gold beads 301
were traditional, but every other bead had to be black and [556]
be either a seed-pearl or of glass. Poor girls used plaits of
cotton threads on their torsos instead of strings of beads.
All who could, wore sandals with pompoms to protect [271]
their feet against the thorns on the ground.

Women slaves and slave-workers were often not given 291
protective tunics by their masters and therefore went about 567
perpetually half-naked. Being unable to protect themselves
from the sun, they become darker skinned than the others.

The women's dress was thus colourless—unless they had 302
bought some coloured cloth from a white trader. To make
up for this, they painted their faces with patterns, mostly [386]
using the violet dye of a fruit called *genipa*. The men
painted themselves too, but restricted this to a few lines.
Only the women took real pains about painting themselves.
It was mainly their faces they painted, but on occasion their
arms and legs could also be covered with patterns. When on
a journey, the women painted their noses and cheeks all
over with black or red paint. This was not done for the [75]
sake of appearance, but to protect themselves against sun-
burn. We tried the method ourselves and found it excellent.
If one did not follow the Indians' example there, one easily
got badly burned. The Indians regard this protective effect [789]
as supernatural—all paint is magical and the pattern has
secret significance. The women showed my wife red and
brown powders that they had and advised her to try them.

All at once the women were in a hurry. They had 881
remembered that the men were due and hastened to the fires
and their pots. We roamed around and came across a small
hut, entirely closed, standing just behind the big houses.

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Chief Mauana

Mauana's daughter, ceremonially painted, beside her mule

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[facing p. 80]

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our cameras up, when a plump, middle-aged Indian came rushing up and began giving the fencers orders in a stern voice. He had not noticed us.

'That's Mauana,' Francisco whispered respectfully.

Mauana was wearing only a guayuco and brow-band, which is the genuine Guajiro garb. When he saw us, he at once spoke to us in good Spanish, which not all the chiefs know, for the Guajiro cling stubbornly to their own tongue. Mauana, of course, had heard of us. He now invited us to go with him and see how he lived.

First, we came to his plantations, which many in the peninsula must have envied him. There was a green valley, one of the oases in the semi-desert, where manioc, sugar-cane and maize grew, shaded by coconut palms, mango trees and bananas. The plots were watered by narrow canals which all came from the one stream in Guajira that never ran dry.

Mauana was obviously a strict master and he ordered his slaves about like a sergeant-major, but his plantation was a model one and he was an efficient chief who maintained order in a most commendable way. Once or twice he had caught white criminals who had hidden in the hills there and sent them back to the authorities—to their great disappointment. He lived simply, as all Guajiro do, but he had an unusually well-built house that was completely roofed.

We told Mauana of the purchi we had seen, and he used this as an excuse to give us a lesson in Indian law. Such an account of the Indians' social order and laws was both amusing and interesting, and it showed how different from ours the primitive's conception of justice can be. One knows all too well what mistakes colonial authorities have made through misunderstanding the native conception of these matters, especially of the rights of ownership.

The Indians, as has already been said, are divided into clans in which relationship follows the female line. Children thus take their mothers' names. Their fathers belong to a different clan and strictly speaking are not related to them. It is their eldest maternal uncle who is their head and guardian, and it is from him, not from their father, that they

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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292 342 796 *A chichamaya in full swing*

291 482 764 *First burial. The dead person's bier is being carried out from its shelter*

142 764 *The after-burial. A medicine man guarding the urns containing the dead person's bones*

[facing p. 96]

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A dance partner

Indian girls in their tunics

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Women on a journey, well wrapped up against the sun

[Facing p. 97]

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A Guajiro man, dressed and painted as a woman. He lived with another man and performed all the tasks of the housewife

Little girl with gold beads round her neck and ankles

After-burial: woman weeping by the urn containing the dead man's bones

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[Facing p. 112]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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The medicine men liked to have a good drink before a seance

A piache, *or wise woman, curing a boy by burning him with a red-hot arrow head*

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A professional mourner

Below: *The daily butchering*

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Warrior with poisoned arrows

Below: A chief's mother surrounded by female slaves

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[Facing p. 129]

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Indians with a stolen goat near the Cocina Hills

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The white man's dangerous magic: the film-camera

Below: Indian camp with native fence

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[facing p. 144]

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Guajiro women are stocky and powerfully built

Below: *Frontier guard—Paraguaipoa*

648

[facing p. 145]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

142
291 Bowman
411

Below: *Male caravan near the Indian border*

492

[facing p. 160]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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Goajiro Indians in the leafy south. One is painted

Below; The Indians' Venice

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361

[Facing p. 161]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

142
● 291
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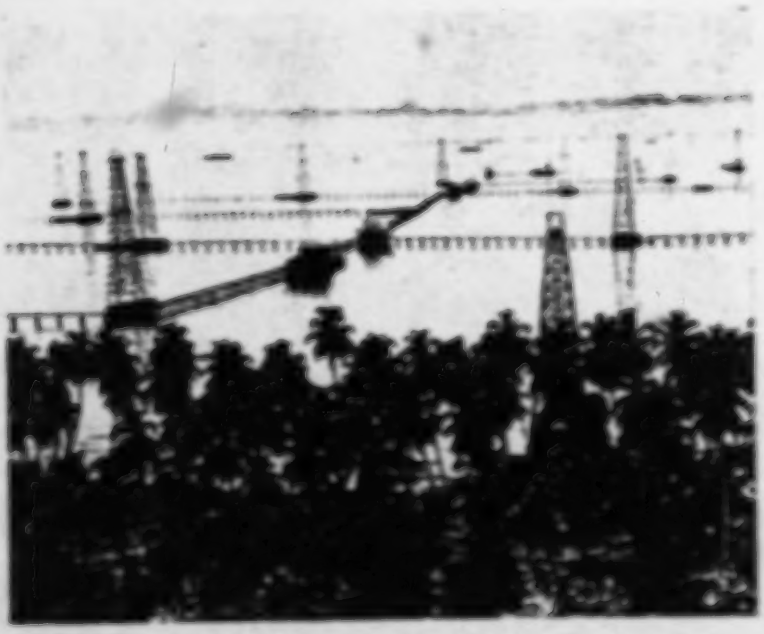
The ferry-man on the Colorado River

Derricks in Lake Maracaibo

750



[Facing p. 177]

S:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

When mi-
grating from one locality to another the *Goajiro* generally dismantle their houses and take them along, piling the poles and thatch on the backs of burros. Sometimes, however, they leave them for their own or someone else's use in the future.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 *Goajiro* dress has changed little since the time of Nicolás de la Rosa (18th century). Men normally wear only a breechcloth, a necklace, and a head band with feather attached (pl. 72, *top*); but when traveling, paying visits, or receiving company they wear a large loincloth with many folds, a mantle (nowadays of bright colors), and an immense sash, in which they carry their arrows. A knitted string bag is hung from the waistband. In towns trousers and shirts are worn. The women wear a cotton dress, sometimes made like a simple sack with holes cut for the head and arms. The puna—long strings of beads passing over both shoulders, crossing each other on the breast and back and held in place by a sash or belt of beads (the sirapo)—is placed on a female child a few months after birth and gradually augmented according to the parents' wealth and the child's age. Black beads are generally used for the sirapo, colored ones for the puna. A married woman wears the puna until her first confinement. After her seclusion at puberty, a robe, sometimes containing 8 or 10 yards of embroidered material, is also worn by a *Goajiro* woman, but the loosely folded cloth which was her sole covering before puberty is still worn beneath it. Women, unlike men, are modest and avoid being seen naked.

301 Some young girls have as many as 100 turns of beads around their waists, as well as many around their wrists and ankles. Red coral is preferred, but most beads are made from seeds or coconut shell and are cut out by means of a hollow metal reamer twirled rapidly between the palms. The perforated shell may then be used as a colander. Glass and porcelain beads and earrings are also worn. The most prized ornaments are the tumas—polished and perforated stone ornaments found in some of the old graves. On dress occasions necklaces of beads and gold ornaments are worn. These, found in *Tairona* graves, are fashioned in the form of tiny animals, frogs, turtles, etc.

302 The men, except the medicine men, wear their hair short, kept back by a ring or crown made of plaited straw, or of wool with a tassel behind. Often the two are combined and adorned with a couple of feathers in front; or the whole may be made of feathers. For protection against mosquitos and sun both sexes paint their skin with powders made from rotten wood, a black stain made from a wild nut, and another color extracted from leaves and mixed with fat. After puberty women cut their hair short, keeping the shorn tresses in a bag hung from the roof; henceforth they never let it grow beyond the nape. They make designs on

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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PLATE 72.—Goajiro Indians. (Courtesy American Museum of Natural History.)

[facing p. 380]

4: Preus--203 E-5 (1914-1915) 1926 SC7 Cagaba SC7
Goajiro SC13

C
114
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G
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291
616

Ill. 1. My traveling companion, Telesforo Gutierrez, with a headdress (Sánkale), which, for dancing, has feathers stuck in it and is wound with a colored belt, from the temple of Takina.

Ill. 2. Goajiro man.

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Ill. 3a, b. Goajiro woman, from the front and from the side.

/49 cont./

291 855 (Guajiro sandals made at home) to protect their feet from the hot, sandy soil. They very rarely use a hat, and at a more advanced age, and at times it is replaced by a kiśra /headband/, [412] but without feathers, as these are a special privilege of the adult to be used on feast days. They go about, then, generally bareheaded and exposed to the strong rays of the sun. Almost at the period of transition from childhood to puberty, [415] Guajiro boys begin to make use of small woven woolen pouches which are attached to the belt and which serve /50/ as a purse and a depository for charms /contras/ (in the case of adults), small objects for personal use, etc.

301 778 855 Boys do not use necklaces. Only, and with the sense of their being a protection rather than an ornament, they wear when they are small jet beads on their wrists, small pieces of coconut husk or coral, a piece of wood of medicinal value to prevent grippe, or some object of magic value, things they leave off using toward their fifth or sixth year.

291 855 With a girl the period of complete nakedness is shorter than with a boy, although there are regions in the peninsula where they may be older, owing to the poverty of the relatives, who are unable to supply them with clothes until they are past the average age for dressing. The girl is dressed in a garment which is practically a man's guayuco and which, later when an adult, she uses as an undergarment, like a pair of pants. *It is a belt of white or striped cloth, doubled and placed between the legs,* held at the ends to the waist by what is called a sirapo, a kind of wide, heavy belt made of glass beads or seed-glass beads of all colors. The girl's trunk remains naked until much later. During the prepubertal period, when the development of the mammary glands begins to be marked, she puts on a sort of blouse made with the technique for hammocks (horizontal threads held together by some cross threads), which is intended, as the girl is already beginning to be initiated into the art of weaving and consequently is in a stooping position much of the time, to keep her from becoming hunchbacked; also for reasons of modesty and because this blouse, as

/55/

While the girl is in the hammock, friends and relatives keep arriving in large numbers, announced by the family, especially when welcoming well-to-do people, and then they start preparations for the feast: preparation of beverages and slaughtering of animals. All the consanguineous relatives contribute their share and foregather to join in what is called the chichamaya dance, during which are passed around large quantities of rum for the men, chicha for the women, and meat for all the participants. The guests turn up dressed in their best dress-up clothes: the men with their wide festival belts, their finest robes, their headbands (kifra) with the crest of feathers, or lacking such, hats adorned with feathers. The women /wear/ robes of brilliant colors, plenty of jewelry, very long shawls which hang down their backs nearly to the ground, sandals with large, brightly colored tassels, and, above all, facial painting, preferably red, very carefully applied. On these occasions they dance through the night, the following morning, and the afternoon, and in this latter part of the day they may hold horse races on which large bets are wagered.

When the prescribed number of days are over, during which the girl has not satisfied any of her body needs, not having taken any food during that time, according to what they say, her relatives unsling the hammock in the early hours of dawn and the girl descends, faint with hunger. The first food she receives is a drink of bija /achiote/ dissolved in water. Presently, little by little, they add to her diet thin corn mazamorra without milk or salt, and later a little milk and meat. She must not, for example, eat any animal udder, because by doing so she would age prematurely and her face would be lined with wrinkles, deep and numerous, like that food.

The girl is bathed with four earthen jugs of water which have been previously left exposed to the evening dew, as this gives it a special quality for whitening, which is important for the high appreciation both men and women have for a

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

in a wide woman's tunic, dyed black with divi-divi. Her face was painted black, too. At her age that could scarcely have been necessary to save her complexion, but such painting is also a protection against dangerous spirits. The Gaffer carried his ceremonial dress with him, tucked away somewhere. This consisted of an oblong piece of cloth sewn up along one side and with a hole for the head at the top. It is worn draped in such a way that the chest is bare.

Thus our caravan made its way along. The animals' shadows contracted further and further. Soon the sun would be right overhead. The very air seemed to have melted in the heat, and the blue hills in the distance had begun to dissolve. Here and there grew a cactus, otherwise there was nothing but sand and salt to be seen. Slowly the caravan crept along. We spurred our mules and rode on ahead, but after a while we had to turn back in order not to go astray. We found the Gaffer riding and the Gammer walking. The Gaffer could hardly stick on. He swayed in the saddle, for he was as drunk as a lord, having smuggled with him a calabash containing spirits instead of water.

He was just about to take another pull as we came galloping up, and he was so frightened that he dropped the calabash, which smashed and the spirits ran out. At that we searched the old couple's baggage, despite their protests, and found another calabash of spirits. We gave the Gaffer a large coin for it. The two young ones were delighted at his misfortune, for his baggage had given them a lot of trouble. It was obvious that the Gaffer had started drinking early, for the loads on the donkeys in his charge were badly secured and danced about, so that one after the other had to be lashed on afresh.

We told the Gammer that she must restrain her old man, an order which the interpreter undoubtedly passed on, probably with some comments of his own. The Gammer was not popular with the two young ones, and Bristles would not lack the courage to tell a woman a few home truths. Gradually the Gaffer sobered up, and a good thing he did, for we were approaching an Indian rancho, where he would have to act as spokesman for me.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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Work-hut with warp set up for a man's sash

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415

The thin Indian dogs licked the last out of the pot

Below: *Indian chiefs, in ceremonial clothes, on their way to a purchi*

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[Facing p.81]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

●292 *A chichamaya in full swing*
342
796

291 *First burial. The dead*
482 *person's bier is being*
764 *carried out from its*
shelter

142 *The after-burial. A*
764 *medicine man guarding*
the urns containing the
dead person's bones

[Facing p. 96]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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Aurora Manrid, who represents the Indians at Congress in Caracas

[Facing p. 184]

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

The *Goajiro* believe that after death the deceased in ethereal form 775
wander about the country, their favorite meeting place being in the vicinity of Bahia Honda in the extreme north of the peninsula. There is some evidence that the Indians look forward to a happier existence after death. From this belief in the afterlife stems the practice of mutilating the body of a slain enemy, for once his body is broken and scattered it is not possible to reassemble his soul, and the slayer is protected from a vengeance-seeking spirit.

The dead are highly respected or feared; consequently, it is a serious 769
offense to mention a dead person by name. 551

AESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Games.—The *Goajiro* have various athletic sports, such as horse racing, 526
wrestling, and archery. Contestants shoot at a skin ball or a fruit tossed into the air or at targets; they are very accurate up to 125 yards. Tournaments are held in which the contestants pair off, the victor of each round winning an arrow and continuing to compete.

Feasts and dances.—The *Goajiro* are fond of feasts and hold them 579
whenever opportunity offers—at funerals, when they have received their 736
pay for loading salt, at baptisms, or when a person completes his training as a medicine man. Wenton (1937) describes a festival held on the last-mentioned occasion. For 2 days the big drum was sounded by relays of players, spreading the news. The dance, practiced beforehand, took place in a circle some 25 feet (7.5 m.) in diameter around which some 200 Indians gathered. A man, nude except for his waist cloth and head band 562
with ornamental plume, with his face painted red in a crisscross pattern, 515
danced backward from a girl dressed in a voluminous robe and wearing a large red handkerchief on her head. The girl attempted to overtake and head off the man, who retreated before her in a circle with a peculiar double step, almost a hop and a skip. As one pair tired another took its place, the dance continuing indefinitely.

Musical instruments.—*Goajiro* musical instruments are few. A 539
calabash filled with stones or peas serves as a rattle for dance accompaniment. The clarinet is about 2 feet (0.6 m.) long, made of telescoped (?) sections of reed with a bell consisting of calabash and a vibrating reed in the mouthpiece. It is side blown. The large drum is carved from a hollow section of tree, 18 inches (38 cm.) in diameter and 24 inches (60 cm.) long, and has both ends covered with sheepskin. It is slung from the rafters, a branch, or from the player's neck. Singing among the *Goajiro* is virtually nonexistent.

Narcotics and stimulants.—To make chicha beer, maize may be mas- 273
ticated by the women and spat into a large earthenware bowl, with water and crude sugar added. After 3 days it is strained and drunk. By another

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

302 called *gua* if made of plaited straw, and *cupanas* if made of wool,
291 with large tassel (worn behind). The two can be combined and adorned with a couple of feathers in front. When made entirely of feathers, it becomes *tardua*. An Indian's toilet would not be complete without
[293] a *kapiquita*, a piece of leather fastened round the left wrist by a twist of wool to receive the recoil of the bow-string when shooting. Paint is
302 common to both sexes, and in excess. They assert that it saves their complexions from the sun. The last thing an Indian does, on mounting horse for the day's journey, is to call for the powder-box, and plentifully besprinkle his face. The powders *mapanatepo* or *sarua* are rotten wood;
[386] *gunaquai*, a black stain from a wild nut; and *parina*, very popular among the fairer sex, is the colour extracted from a leaf and mixed with fat.

291 The woman's dress is invariably, at present, made from foreign cotton,
[177] and is a plain sack with a hole for the head and two others for the arms. With the wind it blows out and makes her look like a balloon. The
[386] white cotton is dyed black with divi-divi, or yellowish-brown with *mora* (yellow wood), or reddish-brown with the sankers of mangroves. The
[515] Indians are exceptionally clean and nice in their dress, and, however poor, keep a reserve suit for state occasions. Women alone wear the
301 *pána* and the *sirapa*. The pána are like a pair of braces; long strings of beads passing over each shoulder to cross each other on the breast and back, held in position at the waist by the sirapa, a sort of sash or belt made of beads likewise. Small strings a few ounces in weight are placed on the female child a few months after birth, and gradually increased, according to the strength of the child and the purse of the parents. Pánas are made with any beads except black, a red variety with white eye (*iawkis*) preferred, and weigh from 2 to 10 lbs. With sirapas any coloured bead will do, *pinar* or black once the rule, and they weigh from 1 to 10 lbs. A married woman may wear the pána until
[344] her first confinement, when it is laid aside. Poor Indians who cannot afford beads for the pána make it of cotton dyed black and beaded. Among the many necklaces, tusas are the most valuable. These curious
[172] perforated stones are only found in the graves of prehistoric races, both in the peninsula itself and the Sierra Nevada. There are many varieties. The round ones varying in size from a large marble to a pea are *tésas* (a name generalised by the Spaniards); those in shape of small charcoal-barrels are *sasarat*; the pear-shaped, according as they are long or dumpy, *pardaga*, and *guarivaiga*; the bagle is *pawaris*, &c. Mineralogically they are bits of red jasper, carnelian, and reddish sardonyx. Their value depends upon the intensity of red and size. A large one at
[435] present is worth a head of cattle; a necklace has from 18 to 30, varying in size. Bracelets are as varied and in as much profusion as necklaces; they are called *kipuas*, from *sapa*, the hand. On the feet they also wear strings of carnelians and beads. They have two names, the aristocratic *cashkonda* and the common *pawrikua*.

/228 cont./

462 home, have not found a substitute and have to be made by the
286 maternal relatives or by the wife.

Among the items that have survived we should include the blouses used by girls of prepubertal age.

The application of weaving by the women extends to the manufacture of some parts of the harness for horses, such as cinches, surcingles, saddle blankets, croup belts, etc., in the making of which they employ diverse techniques and both autochthonous methods and those introduced through acculturation.

While the manufacture of saddles, trappings, and accoutrements of horses is done by the men, the women make the adornments for them and the headstalls of the halters and blinkers, with the complicated system of knots and tassels which indicate the standing and wealth of the rider. /229/

[442] [554]

Finally, it is strictly the women's task to make all the utensils used in weaving, from the most elementary type of loom made with two vertical sticks and used for making the classical Indian hammock /chinchorro/, to the most complicated, such as those used for weaving double-faced hammocks; and from the wooden bobbins to the vegetable colors and mordants used in dyeing the fabric or the thread.

462 Domestic work is also women's work, and it includes obtaining and preparing food and drink, and serving, storing, and preserving it, as well as killing small mammals and domestic birds, and cleaning and seasoning the intestines and other offal of cattle, sheep, and goats.

[29] Within the Guajiro dwelling the woman maintains cleanliness and order, and she is also held responsible for making, repairing, and washing the articles of clothing of her husband, her children, and herself.

The care of minor children occupies much of the Guajiro woman's time (Cf. Chap. II) as does their training, and it is exclusively the women's function to look after and instruct the girls during the traditional seclusion at puberty. Also, it is their responsibility to teach feminine tasks to their young female consanguineous relatives.

/49 cont./

(Guajiro sandals made at home) to protect their feet from the hot, sandy soil. They very rarely use a hat, and at a more advanced age, and at times it is replaced by a kilka /headband/, but without feathers, as these are a special privilege of the adult to be used on feast days. They go about, then, generally bareheaded and exposed to the strong rays of the sun. Almost at the period of transition from childhood to puberty, Guajiro boys begin to make use of small woven woolen pouches which are attached to the belt and which serve /ñki/ as a purse and a depository for charms /yamana/ (in the case of adults), small objects for personal use, etc.

Boys do not use necklaces. Only, and with the sense of their being a protection rather than an ornament, they wear when they are small jet beads on their wrists, small pieces of coconut husk or coral, a piece of wood of medicinal value to prevent grippe, or some object of magic value, things they leave off using toward their fifth or sixth year.

With a girl the period of complete nakedness is shorter than with a boy, although there are regions in the peninsula where they may be older, owing to the poverty of the relatives, who are unable to supply them with clothes until they are past the average age for dressing. The girl is dressed in a garment which is practically a man's guayuco and which, later when an adult, she uses as an undergarment, like a pair of pants. It is a belt of white or striped cloth, doubled and placed between the legs, held at the ends to the waist by what is called a ciraje, a kind of wide, heavy belt made of glass beads or seed-glass beads of all colors. The girl's trunk remains naked until much later. During the prepubertal period, when the development of the mammary glands begins to be marked, she puts on a sort of blouse made with the technique for hammocks (horizontal threads held together by some cross threads), which is immoral, as the girl is already beginning to be introduced into the art of weaving and consequently is in a stooping position much of the time, to keep her from becoming hump-backed; also for reasons of modesty and because this blouse, as

291 /50 cont./
855 it fits very tightly, facilitates the normal development of her
breasts. Like the boys, the girls wear some wrist ornaments,
301 magic preventatives, and it is not rare for them to wear some
751 necklace with magic objects which have been "made sacred,"
855 to avoid bad influences; nor /is it rare/ that they already have
[304] their ears pierced and occasionally wear earrings, although
this ornament is for grown women. They do not cover the head
302 and usually wear the hair short, as if it had been shaved and
855 the hair was in an advanced state of growing in again. Never-
291 theless, though the garb described is the usual thing, the present-day girl frequently uses the adult robe /manta/ from the time she is very small, especially among upper-class mestizos. /51/

III

INITIATION OF YOUNG WOMEN

881 The life of a girl approaching puberty becomes less free in the upper classes, because her maternal relatives apparently then take her into account and endeavor to train her in feminine activities. In the lower classes the same preoccupation is shown, but oriented in another direction, as her labor has already been made use of very early in the family life, since, as we have already stated, they see in her the future adult woman for which reason they discourage her somewhat in her comings and goings into the woods, although it is also true that they show more concern than if they treated her as a child. Furthermore, they start to use blouses, as we described in the previous chapter, and she is told at a convenient time of the biological phenomenon which is to take place in her: menstruation. When the time comes and this shows itself, her first reaction is to inform her mother, or in her absence, the kinswoman with the most authority.

/82 cont./

The Guajiro woman also knows that men admire dress and so endeavors to adapt hers to their taste: robes of light, attractive colors, amply cut, considerably ornamented (acculturation), and for feast days or visiting all the collection of jewelry: bracelets, anklets, necklaces of several strings or thick chains with a pendant, numerous rings with big stones, especially tumar, jewelry she was given on finishing her seclusion by her maternal relative of the most distinction and prestige. From then onward she begins to wear them, in smaller quantities when she is at home, but the whole set when attending a feast or visiting. In Jarara a distinctive mark of high social standing is the use of earrings /orejeras may mean earplugs. -- Translator/, because in this region the women, who are not very careful in their dress, use this ornament which is an indication of their social and economic position.

The combination, then, of dress and physical appearance are two essential conditions of the attractiveness of the Guajiro woman, which determine her success in order to be bought at a good price or that her husband may not lose interest because of other marriages. The preservation of her physical attractions is a struggle which she maintains for these two reasons; also, dressing well, apart from making her attractive, is a sign of the class to which she belongs and which she must preserve at any sacrifice, as therein lies the prestige of her kin and the maintenance of their status. /63/

In addition to the sexual incentive expressed in previous paragraphs, the Guajiro seeks in his marriage an economic value, that is to say, a woman who possesses certain qualifications that will assure him a certain latitude. The payment he makes for a wife permits him to demand of her his keep and that of his children, for which reason he seeks one capable of complying with this custom by her own efforts.

The work that the woman can carry out to fulfill this economic responsibility is of a domestic nature: the making of hammocks /chinchorros and hamacas/, bags, belts, pottery,

/83 cont./

583 Generally, the girl's family is advised by the suitor's relatives that they will come to buy her. The man, on his part, has requested his most influential maternal uncle, or one who is considered a "cacique," to go in company with his mother and other friends to arrange the purchase of the girl of his choice. They arrive dressed in their best and receive the most generous hospitality from the girl's relatives. They hand over as a sign of the engagement the so-called "prendas /"ornaments"/," which [301] are necklaces of gold set with tuma stones (1), the value and

1. A mineral quartz used as a precious stone.

number of which depend on the economic strength of the suitor, going all the way up to ten in persons of the highest standing, especially when the man is acquiring his first wife, who as we have seen is the principal one.

If the girl's relatives see that the marriage is an advantageous one, they accept the gifts. If they do not accept them, this [598] indicates a definite refusal and rarely occurs, since it implies contempt which could give rise to serious differences between the groups concerned. Once the necklaces are handed over, the spokesman for the bridegroom offers to buy the girl, and the girl's maternal relative of most authority replies, fixing the price, [599] which generally is equal to that paid by the girl's father for her mother; often they get a higher price, which increases their prestige. They argue for a short time until they arrive at an arrangement between them as to the price and the basis of payment. Then the young man's relatives leave to tell him of the arrangement made, which he respects and accepts without making any kind of objection, and he gets ready to pay the payment agreed upon in order to obtain his wife. /96/.

582 583 Payment in cows. The number of heads of livestock that a man has shows his economic position and through this his status in the family group and in the whole community, because stock

[16 cont.]

over, the young shaman [17] was secluded for two months in her home. She dedicated this period to practicing chewing tobacco, and the act of invoking the spirits, the way of curing the sick, bringing rainfall, "shamanizing," animals, keeping pestilence away, etc. The maraca and the crown (kiara, in Guajiro) were made by her during this seclusion, although they could have been bought or ordered to be made by others. At the end of this two months' seclusion, it was essential, in order to terminate the young shaman's cycle of initiation into shamanism, to prepare ten containers of corn chicha and to invite many Indians from different sections to be present at the true graduation of the initiate. That night, while the others danced and drank, the young shaman remained practicing her arts. It is common on these occasions for the spirit to approach the aspiring shaman and say, for example: "Go look for an animal of such-and-such characteristics (it describes the desired animal minutely in all its details) and kill it. If you disobey me you will faint, have an attack, and you will never become a shaman." The young initiate then passes on the order to her relatives, who must hasten to look for the animal described by the spirit and sacrifice it. When the celebration has ended, the spirit returns to tell the young girl: "Hang up ten necklaces in your room so that I may come down and help you." (These necklaces must be made of gold beads). The aspiring shaman acquires these necklaces with the help of her relatives and friends, even on loan, and hangs them in her room so that she can "shamanize." The spirit, grateful for her ready obedience and for the offering, approaches her once again and says: "Now you will make a truly good shaman." And it warns her: "Now you may not sleep (cohabit) with your husband."

Exercising the profession. When all these rites and ceremonies preparatory to entering the way of life of the shaman have been complied with, the person chosen, as his protector spirit affirms, may then dedicate himself to that calling. The spirit itself has conferred such power. Better still, it has descended into the novice; it has entered his body to accompany him in every professional act, to communicate the arts indispensable or

S: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

302 called *pere* if made of plaited straw, and *cepenas* if made of wool,
291 with large tassel (worn behind). The two can be combined and adorned with a couple of feathers in front. When made entirely of feathers, it becomes *tarima*. An Indian's toilet would not be complete without
[293] a *kepipeite*, a piece of leather fastened round the left wrist by a twist
302 of wool to receive the recoil of the bow-string when shooting. Paint is common to both sexes, and in excess. They assert that it saves their complexions from the sun. The last thing an Indian does, on mounting horse for the day's journey, is to call for the powder-box, and plentifully besprinkle his face. The powders *wapatique* or *marat* are rotten wood;
[314] *gacaqui*, a black stain from a wild nut; and *parint*, very popular among the fairer sex, is the colour extracted from a leaf and mixed with fat.

291 The woman's dress is invariably, at present, made from foreign cotton,
[177] and is a plain sack with a hole for the head and two others for the arms. With the wind it blows out and makes her look like a balloon. The white cotton is dyed black with divi-divi, or yellowish-brown with *mora*
[384] (yellow wood), or reddish-brown with the suckers of mangroves. The Indians are exceptionally clean and nice in their dress, and, however
[515] poor, keep a reserve suit for state occasions. Women alone wear the *pina* and the *strapo*. The *pina* are like a pair of braces; long strings
● 301 of beads passing over each shoulder to cross each other on the breast and back, held in position at the waist by the *strapo*, a sort of sash or belt made of beads likewise. Small strings a few ounces in weight are placed on the female child a few months after birth, and gradually increased, according to the strength of the child and the purse of the parents. *Pinas* are made with any beads except black, a red variety with white eye (*lechia*) preferred, and weigh from 2 to 10 lbs. With *strapos* any coloured bead will do, *pinar* or black cane the rule, and they weigh from 1 to 10 lbs. A married woman may wear the *pina* until
[344] her first confinement, when it is laid aside. Poor Indians who cannot afford beads for the *pina* make it of cotton dyed black and beaded. Among the many necklaces, *tamas* are the most valuable. These curious
[172] perforated stones are only found in the graves of prehistoric races, both in the peninsula itself and the Sierra Nevada. There are many varieties. The round ones varying in size from a large marble to a pea are *tinas* (a name generalised by the Spaniards); those in shape of small cheru-bim are *ouirari*; the pear-shaped, according as they are long or dumpy, *pulaqui*, and *gacrinique*; the bugle is *pawaris*, &c. Mineralogically they are bits of red jasper, cornelian, and reddish sardonyx. Their value depends upon the intensity of red and size. A large one at
[435] present is worth a head of cattle; a necklace has from 15 to 30, varying in size. Bracelets are as varied and in as much profusion as necklaces; they are called *kipeas*, from *shepe*, the hand. On the feet they also wear strings of cornelians and beads. They have two names, the aristocratic *cashkondir* and the common *pawrikeas*.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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Above left: *Youth playing a flute*

Above right: *Little girl with beads*

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492

Right: *Riders*

[Facing p. 64]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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Majayura, the virgin confined in order to be prepared for marriage. Contrary to the rules, she was allowed out for a moment to be photographed

Old woman spinning

142
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302
516

Children are not undernourished in Macuira

[facing p. 65]

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

until they reached marriageable age. Even when they were 291
little they wore belts of seed pearls which were added to
with the years, and other strings of beads were put round [301]
their shoulders and across their chests. A girl of eight or
ten might carry fifteen or twenty pounds weight of beads
and pearls. The string round the waist was made of black
beads, but those on the upper part of the body had to be of
different colours.

The rich used gold and coral. Necklaces of gold beads 301
were traditional, but every other bead had to be black and [556]
be either a seed-pearl or of glass. Poor girls used plaits of
cotton threads on their torsos instead of strings of beads. [291]
All who could, wore sandals with pompoms to protect
their feet against the thorns on the ground.

Women slaves and slave-workers were often not given 291
protective tunics by their masters and therefore went about 567
perpetually half-naked. Being unable to protect themselves
from the sun, they become darker skinned than the others.

The women's dress was thus colourless—unless they had 302
bought some coloured cloth from a white trader. To make
up for this, they painted their faces with patterns, mostly [366]
using the violet dye of a fruit called *genipa*. The men
painted themselves too, but restricted this to a few lines.
Only the women took real pains about painting themselves.
It was mainly their faces they painted, but on occasion their
arms and legs could also be covered with patterns. When on
a journey, the women painted their noses and cheeks all
over with black or red paint. This was not done for the [751]
sake of appearance, but to protect themselves against sun-
burn. We tried the method ourselves and found it excellent.
If one did not follow the Indians' example there, one easily
got badly burned. The Indians regard this protective effect [718]
as supernatural—all paint is magical and the pattern has
secret significance. The women showed my wife red and
brown powders that they had and advised her to try them.

All at once the women were in a hurry. They had 831
remembered that the men were due and hastened to the fires
and their pots. We roamed around and came across a small
hut, entirely closed, standing just behind the big houses.

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Guajira SC13

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Chief Mouma

Mouma's daughter, commonly painted beside her mate

[143
531]

[Facing p. 80]

7;Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1997
SC13 Gonjire SC13

838
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415
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A Gonjire man, dressed and painted as a woman. He lived with another man and performed all the tasks of the homosexuals

Little girl with gold beads round her neck and ankles

After burial: women weeping by the urn containing the dead man's bones

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[Facing p. 112]

?:Bolinder T-5 (1926, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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Sc3

Antonio Manuel, who represents the Indians at Congress in Caracas

[Facing p. 184]

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

When mi-
grating from one locality to another the *Goajiro* generally dismantle their houses and take them along, piling the poles and thatch on the backs of burros. Sometimes, however, they leave them for their own or someone else's use in the future.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Goajiro dress has changed little since the time of Nicolás de la Rosa (18th century). Men normally wear only a breechcloth, a necklace, and a head band with feather attached (pl. 72, *top*); but when traveling, paying visits, or receiving company they wear a large loincloth with many folds, a mantle (nowadays of bright colors), and an immense sash, in which they carry their arrows. A knitted string bag is hung from the waistband. In towns trousers and shirts are worn. The women wear a cotton dress, sometimes made like a simple sack with holes cut for the head and arms. The pusa—long strings of beads passing over both shoulders, crossing each other on the breast and back and held in place by a sash or belt of beads (the sirapo)—is placed on a female child a few months after birth and gradually augmented according to the parents' wealth and the child's age. Black beads are generally used for the sirapo, colored ones for the pusa. A married woman wears the pusa until her first confinement. After her seclusion at puberty, a robe, sometimes containing 8 or 10 yards of embroidered material, is also worn by a *Goajiro* woman, but the loosely folded cloth which was her sole covering before puberty is still worn beneath it. Women, unlike men, are modest and avoid being seen naked.

Some young girls have as many as 100 turns of beads around their waists, as well as many around their wrists and ankles. Red coral is preferred, but most beads are made from seeds or coconut shell and are cut out by means of a hollow metal reamer twirled rapidly between the palms. The perforated shell may then be used as a colander. Glass and porcelain beads and earrings are also worn. The most prized ornaments are the tumas—polished and perforated stone ornaments found in some of the old graves. On dress occasions necklaces of beads and gold ornaments are worn. These, found in *Tairona* graves, are fashioned in the form of tiny animals, frogs, turtles, etc.

The men, except the medicine men, wear their hair short, kept back by a ring or crown made of plaited straw, or of wool with a tassel behind. Often the two are combined and adorned with a couple of feathers in front; or the whole may be made of feathers. For protection against mosquitos and sun both sexes paint their skin with powders made from rotten wood, a black stain made from a wild nut, and another color extracted from leaves and mixed with fat. After puberty women cut their hair short, keeping the shorn tresses in a bag hung from the roof; henceforth they never let it grow beyond the neck. They make designs on

/50 cont./
it fits very tightly, facilitates the normal development of her breasts. Like the boys, the girls wear some wrist ornaments, magic preventatives, and it is not rare for them to wear some necklace with magic objects which have been "made sacred," to avoid bad influences; nor /is it rare/ that they already have their ears pierced and occasionally wear earrings, although this ornament is for grown women. They do not cover the head and usually wear the hair short, as if it had been shaved and the hair was in an advanced state of growing in again. Nevertheless, though the garb described is the usual thing, the present-day girl frequently uses the adult robe /manta/ from the time she is very small, especially among upper-class mestizos. /51/

III

INITIATION OF YOUNG WOMEN

The life of a girl approaching puberty becomes less free in the upper classes, because her maternal relatives apparently then take her into account and endeavor to train her in feminine activities. In the lower classes the same preoccupation is shown, but oriented in another direction, as her labor has already been made use of very early in the family life, since, as we have already stated, they see in her the future adult woman for which reason they discourage her somewhat in her comings and goings into the woods, although it is also true that they show more concern than if they treated her as a child. Furthermore, they start to use blouses, as we described in the previous chapter, and she is told at a convenient time of the biological phenomenon which is to take place in her: menstruation. When the time comes and this shows itself, her first reaction is to inform her mother, or in her absence, the kinswoman with the most authority.

/19/

While the girl is in the hammock, friends and relatives keep arriving in large numbers, announced by the family, especially when welcoming well-to-do people, and then they start preparations for the feast: preparation of beverages and slaughtering of animals. All the consanguineous relatives contribute their share and foregather to join in what is called the chirkamaya dance, during which are passed around large quantities of rum for the men, chicha for the women, and meat for all the participants. The guests turn up dressed in their best dress-up clothes: the men with their wide festival belts, their finest ruhes, their headbands (kiku) with the crest of feathers, or lacking such, hats adorned with feathers. The women /wom/ ruhes of brilliant colors, plenty of jewelry, very long shawls which hang down their backs nearly to the ground, sandals with large, brightly colored tassels, and, above all, facial painting, preferably red, very carefully applied. On these occasions they dance through the night, the following morning, and the afternoon, and in this latter part of the day they may hold horse races on which large bets are wagered.

When the prescribed number of days are over, during which the girl has not satisfied any of her body needs, not having taken any food during that time, according to what they say, her relatives unsling the hammock in the early hours of dawn and the girl descends, faint with hunger. The first food she receives is a drink of bija /achiote/ dissolved in water. Presently, little by little, they add to her diet thin corn mazamorra without milk or salt, and later a little milk and meat. She must not, for example, eat any animal udder, because by doing so she would age prematurely and her face would be lined with wrinkles, deep and numerous, like that food.

The girl is bathed with four earthen jugs of water which have been previously left exposed to the evening dew, as this gives it a special quality for whitening, which is important for the high appreciation both men and women have for a

/56 cont./

The duration of the seclusion was longer in past years, longer than at the present time, and there still may be final cases among rich families where this period is extended to five years, but normally among poor families it may last only one month or even less, and in the middle-income group it averages six months to one year.

Once the family is conclave or the mother and the aunt decide to terminate the seclusion, the final feast is given, in which the girl appears and behaves as an adult. She is presented as such, and she is given the opportunity to occupy the place of, and to take part in the activities corresponding to a marriageable young girl. Frequently at this feast some interested guest may offer to buy her for his wife.

The news of the "coming out" of the young girl is rapidly spread throughout the peninsula. All the friends of the family arrive at the feast, as also the important people of the region, who have been invited beforehand, and, very specially, all the well-to-do marriageable men. If the woman is of amiable qualities and talents, /57/ those who are looking for a wife for the first time attend. The family preparations for such a feast are very complete, according to their status. There is an abundance of drinks for all, men and women, music for dancing, horse racing when they want to give more splendor to the gathering, and roughbreeding of animals. The numerous relatives make their donations and meet to help their relatives in the fulfillment of the customary norms of hospitality. The more important visitors are received in the house itself and given preferential attention, according to their standing. The girl is bathed for the last time at dawn with the traditional earthen jugs of water, and her hair is cut in the fashion, that is to say, leaving it a short, disheveled mop. This is done by an experienced woman of eminence who can transmit her excellent personal qualities to the girl. The latter carefully keeps her hair in her bag with her intimate personal possessions and later places it under fresh cow dung with the bags (hatche

[96 cont.]

832 witchcraft have "whispered" over them, that is, when they repeat over them a series of magic incantations which have the object of giving them the power to make a man, or men, love the owner [97] as she may desire, and especially her husband when it is the case of a married woman.

We have seen in previous paragraphs how the hair of a pubescent girl serves as a base for men to make magic charms which can be used against the girl. But the hair of such girls in different circumstances serves to attract men in general and causes a woman to be looked on with such deference by a man that he buys her to take as a wife at a good price. For this [96] reason the young Guajiro woman, especially those of the Sierra 302 de Jarara, keep their hair when it is cut. At times to make the action more effective and to obtain better and quicker results, they place it under a patch of cow dung. The association of [337] their hair with cow dung is founded on a socio-economic phenomenon which we might briefly clarify.

556 We have seen repeatedly that wealth in La Guajira is 585 calculated by the number of heads of livestock that an individual owns; and it can be observed how a wife in their social or- 832 ganization is obtained by purchase. When the buyer is a rich man he pays in heads of cattle or horses; when poor, in goats and sheep. Hence it is clear every woman aspires to be paid for in cows and in a greater number than those paid for other women, as this establishes an advance in her social status. This is the reason why she buries her hair under cow dung and not that of any other animal. She has made a very primitive association but [25] one that speaks for itself. It would appear that the magic attraction is brought about by the dung, and the results desired are increased if this is from the cow, the animal of most value in La Guajira.

826 In any case, young women are most careful about leaving their cut hair about where it could be picked up by another person, and for this reason they guard it all their lives, giving it in this way a sacred quality. This characteristic which we have called sacred stems from the magic connection established by the primitive between a person and the different parts of his body, to

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

dessatory, a site chosen in some solitary wild spot, and surrounded by walls of mats. At the death of Salvador, a Peninsulan from Arroyo Cardon, 130 fat oxen were killed, and the hides did not pay for the liquor drunk. Two of the same family meeting for the first time after the death of a relation, went squat down on their hands in front of each other, and sob and weep, for at least a quarter of an hour, the louder the better.

The Indians are very punctilious in saluting. Calling at a rancho, visitors must wait until spoken to, if this is not done soon, it is evident they are not welcome, so ride away. The words used never seem to be the same. The most frequent are "Intishi-pin" (you have come), or "Ilguaro-pin" (so you have arrived). In eating and drinking the Indians are extremely cleanly. The principals all eat separately; receiving their allowance in an earthenware dish, pent, with a gourd spoon, pendant. The remains, with an addition, serve for the lower members of the family. Water is invariably given after, to wash the mouth and fingers. Even if a drink of milk is taken, a little water is tendered after. As to their hospitality, it has, I believe, been rather exaggerated. There is no doubt that the Guajiro is more hospitable than the Arhuaco of the Sierra Nevada, but then he is also far more cunning and diplomatic, and his hospitality is a mere question of self-interest. He will willingly give a sheep or a goat as a present, provided there is a chance of obtaining an ox in return. He is chivalrous in his donations. When he does give a sheep, it is a fat one, his best, still given whole, without reserve, skin and all. If eating, on the arrival of a stranger, he may offer food to him, but certainly will give if requested, as is the custom, always begging. One thing a guest may rely upon receiving is a rancho in a hammock, even if the owner has to sleep on the ground. Lastly, among curious customs, is that of parents assuming the names of their children with the prefix *mule* or *mule* if the father, and *ui* or *ui* if the mother. Thus the father of Juan would call himself "Muliijuan," or if a daughter, "Muliijuana." The mother of Juan would be called "Ujuan," and if a daughter, "Ujuana."

The dress of the Guajiro is extremely simple, and probably similar to his savage forefathers of three centuries ago, when Alfinger discovered the land, except that his own quiet blacks and browns—for he is amazing in the art of dyeing—have given way to the gorgeous blues, reds, and yellows of European wool. His every day working costume is simply a strip of cloth from three inches wide upwards, called *cuidas*. When paying visits, receiving company, or travelling, he does his best—a large blanket with many folds, and the home-woven mantle *ahi*, with a magnificent sash, *ahiro*. The mantle is arranged with wonderful elegance, now letting it fall about him in voluptuous folds, or dropping it from his shoulders, and tucking it into his luxurious sash, where his arrows are carried. The hair, which is jet black, thick, wavy, and short, is kept back in a very aquiline style by a ring or crown,

S: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Gen/Ire SC13

[302] [291] called pow if made of plaited straw, and moqueen if made of wool, with large hood (worn behind). The two are combined and adorned with a couple of feathers in front. When made entirely of feathers, it becomes tedem. An Indian's toilet would not be complete without [293] a hoipoin, a piece of leather fastened round the left wrist by a twist of wool to receive the recoil of the bow-string when shooting. Paint is [301] common to both sexes, and in excess. They assert that it saves their complexions from the sun. The last thing an Indian does, on mounting horse for the day's journey, is to call for the powder-box, and plentifully besprinkle his face. The powders sequoiqua or moqueen are rotten wood; [294] gwaqui, a black stain from a wild root; and pavion, very popular among the fairer sex, is the salver extracted from a leaf and mixed with fat.

[297] [277] The women's dress is invariably, at present, made from foreign cotton, and is a plain sack with a hole for the head and two others for the arms. With the wind it blows out and makes her look like a balloon. The white cotton is dyed black with dirt-dirt, or yellowish-brown with moss [284] (yellow wood), or reddish-brown with the cochon of sassafras. The Indians are exceptionally clean and nice in their dress, and, however poor, keep a reserve suit for state occasions. Women alone wear the [316] pina and the sinque. The pina are like a pair of boots; long strings [301] of beads passing over each shoulder to cross each other on the breast and back, hold in position at the waist by the sinque, a sort of sash or belt made of beads likewise. Small strings a few ounces in weight are placed on the female child a few months after birth, and gradually increased, according to the strength of the child and the power of the parents. These are made with any beads except black, a red variety with white eye (beebie) predomed, and weigh from 2 to 10 lbs. With sinque any coloured bead will do, pinar or black once the rule, and they weigh from 1 to 10 lbs. A married woman may wear the pina until [344] her first confinement, when it is laid aside. Poor Indians who cannot afford beads for the pina make it of cotton dyed black and beaded. Among the many necklaces, bones are the most valuable. These [271] perforated stones are only found in the graves of prehistoric races, both on the peninsula itself and the Shores Bermuda. There are many varieties. The round ones varying in size from a large marble to a pea are those (a name generalised by the Spaniards); those in shape of small shoe-buckles are ancient; the pear-shaped, according as they are long or deep, perhaps, and gamboiqua; the bagle is parents, &c. Miscellaneously they are bits of red jasper, carnelian, and reddish marbyre. Their value depends upon the intensity of red and size. A large one at [428] present is worth a head of cattle; a necklace has from 12 to 20, varying in size. Bracelets are as varied, and in as much profusion as necklaces; they are called bijoux, from shape, the head. On the feet they also wear strings of carnelian and beads. They have two names, the white-metal caddiands and the common pearl-bone.

Bulletin 7-8 (1925, 1926) 1927
BC13 Gaspre BC13

Our men waiting for

Indian soft numbers, men and women, at Missanoo

[Facing p. 93]

?:Bellinder 7-5 (1520, 1991) 1997
BCIS Graphic (BCI)

in a white woman's tunic, dyed black with dirt-dirt. Her face was painted black, too. At her age that could scarcely have been necessary to save her complexion, but such painting is also a protection against dangerous spirits. The Gudfer carried his ceremonial dress with him, rolled every somewhere. This consisted of an oblong piece of cloth sewn up along one side and with a hole for the head at the top. It is worn draped in such a way that the chest is bare.

Thus our caravan made its way along. The animals' shadows contracted further and further. Soon the sun would be right overhead. The very air seemed to have melted in the heat, and the blue hills in the distance had begun to dissolve. Here and there grew a cactus, otherwise there was nothing but sand and silt to be seen. Slowly the caravan crept along. We squeezed our mules and mule on ahead, but after a while we had to turn back in order not to go astray. We found the Gudfer riding and the Gemmer walking. The Gudfer could hardly stick on. He swayed in the saddle, for he was as drunk as a lord, having smuggled with him a calabash containing spirits instead of water.

He was just about to take another pull as we came galloping up, and he was so frightened that he dropped the calabash, which smashed and the spirits ran out. At that we searched the old conjuror's baggage, despite their protests, and found another calabash of spirits. We gave the Gudfer a large mule for it. The two young men were delighted at his misfortune, for his baggage had given them a lot of trouble. It was obvious that the Gudfer had started drinking early, for the beads on the dashers in his charge were badly smashed and dented above, so that one after the other had to be hacked on ahead.

We told the Gemmer that she must remain her old man, on under which the conjuror unhesitatingly passed on, jubilantly with some consciousness of his own. The Gemmer was not popular with the two young men, and Bilalee would not lick the courage to tell a woman a few home truths. Gradually the Gudfer sobered up, and a good thing he did, for we were approaching an Indian market, where he would have to act as spokesman for us.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

neither was much help. Our route went in a zig-zag from water hole to water hole. I did not feel altogether sure that the Gaffer would find the mission station. From what I could understand of the interpreter's inadequate Spanish and floods of Guajiro, it seemed that when the old man made his trip to the Macuira Hills, there was not yet a mission station there. I knew that it was of relatively recent date. If we could only get to Macuira, we could ask our way to the monks, I felt sure of that. Otherwise we should have to try and find our way to the little harbour of Puerto Estrella on the east coast of the peninsula. To go there involved a detour, but there would certainly be a white person or at least a mestizo there, who would be able to show us the way to Amérura.

It seemed to us that our baquiano not only wandered round in search of water holes, but also avoided certain ranchos. What, we wondered, was the position with his clan? Was it engaged in a feud just then? I knew little of clan quarrels and blood-feuds, then.

The Gaffer now began asking everyone we met the way to Macuira. It was obvious that he did not know where he was and that we had a bad guide. The Guajiro have a wonderful sense of direction. They find their way unerringly about their trackless cactus steppes, where every place looks alike. They know every depression in the ground, every eminence, and they all have names. Like the Arabs in the desert, they never forget a way they have once travelled, so it was obvious that the Gaffer had never before been where we were then, that he had simply gone astray. The Indians' ability to follow tracks is also amazing. They can see by the hoof prints when a strange horse has been in among a herd, and they can track down a strayed bullock, even if it has joined company with others. An Indian can see whether others belong to his clan or not from a long distance off, even when he does not know them personally. They have a clan mark tattooed, or sometimes painted on their thighs, it is true, but an Indian seems to know to which clan they belong, even when you cannot distinguish those marks through mild glasses.

?:Rollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Gaojire SC13

Above: left: Youth playing a flute

Above: right: Little girl with basket

Right: Rider

[Facing p. 64]

7;Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
BC13 Goajiro BC13

142
291
●302
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Maruyura, the virgin confined in order to be prepared for marriage. Contrary to the rules, she was allowed out for a moment to be photographed

Old woman spinning

142
291
301
302
516

Children are not embarrassed in Maruyura

[facing p. 65]

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

until they reached marriageable age. Even when they were little they wore belts of seed pearls which were added to with the years, and other strings of beads were put round their shoulders and across their chests. A girl of eight or ten might carry fifteen or twenty pounds weight of beads and pearls. The string round the waist was made of black beads, but those on the upper part of the body had to be of different colours.

The rich used gold and coral. Necklaces of gold beads were traditional, but every other bead had to be black and be either a seed-pearl or of glass. Poor girls used plaits of cotton threads on their torsos instead of strings of beads. All who could, wore sandals with pompoms to protect their feet against the thorns on the ground.

Women slaves and slave-workers were often not given protective tunics by their masters and therefore went about perpetually half-naked. Being unable to protect themselves from the sun, they become darker skinned than the others.

The women's dress was thus colourless—unless they had bought some coloured cloth from a white trader. To make up for this, they painted their faces with patterns, mostly using the violet dye of a fruit called *genipa*. The men painted themselves too, but restricted this to a few lines. Only the women took real pains about painting themselves. It was mainly their faces they painted, but on occasion their arms and legs could also be covered with patterns. When on a journey, the women painted their noses and cheeks all over with black or red paint. This was not done for the sake of appearance, but to protect themselves against sunbeams. We tried the method ourselves and found it excellent. If one did not follow the Indians' example there, one easily got badly burned. The Indians regard this protective effect as supernatural—all paint is magical and the pattern has secret significance. The women showed my wife red and brown powders that they had and advised her to try them.

All at once the women were in a hurry. They had remembered that the men were due and hastened to the fires and their pots. We roamed around and came across a small hut, entirely closed, standing just behind the big houses.

?:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

Chief Mamma

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Mamma's daughter, ceremonially painted, beads for necklace

[142
531]

[Facing p. 80]

7:Bollnder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

How must a girl look to find favour with them? She must be tall, broad-hipped and have firm prominent breasts and well-rounded curves. Flabbiness the men do not like, but they do not seem to worry about the shape of their women's legs. These, of course, are hidden beneath the wide tunic, but the wind sweeps this against them, outlining them. It is fortunate for the Guajiro women that their men do not attach importance to the shape of their legs, for they are seldom lovely. To our eyes they seem too short and badly shaped. The men attach much importance to gentle, dignified behaviour. The Guajiro girl should have large eyes and good teeth, but the most important thing of all is that she should be light-skinned; that is the hall-mark of gentility. No girl ever neglects her beauty decoctions, not even when she is in the charge of the nuns at the mission station and thus not isolated as the rule is at home. The rules she has to observe and the medicines she must take are of importance not only for her appearance, but also for her physique. If she follows her instructions, she will give birth without difficulty and there will be no risk of the baby being stillborn. Her mother and her family are held to be partially responsible if the first-born dies in or after birth, for that means that on some point the complicated rules governing the girl's period of incarceration have been neglected.

A girl is by no means idle while she is shut up; quite the contrary. She spins and weaves industriously, under supervision of the old woman, and learns the details of housekeeping and how to prepare different foods. Actually she will know most of this already, having taken a more or less active part in the work of the household ever since she was able to walk. She also receives instruction in how to behave, is initiated into the duties incumbent upon a housewife, what she must do as spouse and mother, in the various aspects of married life and in the mysteries of sex.

No man is allowed to enter the girl's little hut, and she is not allowed to meet men, receive visitors or be with her family, if visitors come. When the guardian considers that the girl can be let out, usually after a year or two—the news spreads quickly and guests start to come with or without

7:Bollnder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

They were of black earthenware ornamented with figures. 252
The women were making maize gruel. There, close to the
green valleys, they ought to have been able to get any [262]
vegetables or roots they liked, yet they clung to their diet
of maize and goat's meat. They had obviously put the pots
on because they expected the men, and sure enough a 412
couple of naked horsemen came galloping up, so at one
with their horses that they looked like centaurs. The
Guajiro Indians can be born on a horse in the literal sense,
if their mothers have to be on a journey at the time. They
look well on horseback, and even the old men rode well. [142]
The younger men were muscular and well-made, and more
pleasing to our eye than the women.

The men had been out enjoying themselves. They had 224
been hunting and their clan mark was painted in blue on 614
their thighs. They must have done that to amuse themselves 304
before they left, for normally both men and women have 302
their clan marks tattooed.

We asked the men what they had hunted with, for they 224
carried neither bows nor firearms, and also what they had 411
hunted, for they did not seem to have got anything. They
laughed and explained that they had had no luck, and
showed us slings of plaited bast. They had been out after
doves or rabbits, but had seen nothing. (The Creoles call
the animal in question a rabbit, but its Latin name is
Sylvilagus cumanicus.) They showed us the short throwing
clubs with which they hunted this and made some practice
throws. They were expert at hitting the target with both
club and sling, but only at distances of twenty to thirty
yards.

A youth showed us a whistle that he said would unfail- 224
ingly entice a deer if you blew it—provided there was a
deer nearby, as he hastened to add. Judging by the expres-
sion on the women's faces he was no famous hunter. A 439
couple of men also arrived and we were able to think of
doing business. We had no difficulty in buying what we
wanted, provided we paid well. Prices were our great
difficulty, yet these men were less spoiled than elsewhere in
the peninsula. The Guajiro not only trafficked with the

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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A dance partner

Indian girls in their tunics

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Women on a journey, well wrapped up against the sun

[Facing p. 97]

7:Bolinder 7-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

the first wife retains a privileged position. She will be of the best family and the highest in rank. She is the hostess.

One day, when I was standing talking with Mauana, he pointed to a couple walking past and said eagerly:

'You should picture those with your apparatus.'

I photographed the two, who to me appeared very ordinary. The woman had her cheeks and nose painted red. Mauana whispered to me that the woman was not a woman, but that they were two men living together. Later we came across several Indian men who did women's work and wore women's dress. This was not considered really right, but it was looked upon with indulgence. In the early days of discovery gold coins were found on the coast by Santa Marta which depicted 'shameful acts contrary to Nature'. Among the Guajiros' relatives in the West Indies there were chiefs who had whole harems of boys.

'We were talking of bride-price and buying women slaves,' said I, to revert to more normal things. 'What does a poor youth do, who possesses nothing?'

Everyone agreed that it was a pity about any such. The law had definite regulations for intercourse between man and woman, and any infringement involved a claim for damages. If anyone seduced a woman, he must pay considerable compensation to her relatives, however willing she may have been; but if he took her against her will, it costs him considerably more. A poor man cannot pay and therefore risks losing his life as a punishment. The Indians admitted that here and there on the border there was prostitution, but it was mostly mestiso women who lent themselves to that. In Guajira proper, there were no prostitutes. Both the chiefs and the monks told us that. Thus in the interior, a young man without means must live a life of abstinence. The time when the dances of the kid were performed would be his only opportunity of enjoying a woman's favours, provided he could find a willing partner. At this time the otherwise strict code is suspended and free love permitted.

Mauana had promised to arrange a dance, but of another kind. The dances of the kid are performed during the rainy

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A Gwajira man, dressed and painted as a woman. He lived with another man and performed all the tasks of the homosexuals

Little girl with gold beads around her neck and ankles

After burial: woman weeping by the urn containing the dead man's bones

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[Facing p. 112]

Tribeslander 7-8 (1988, 1990) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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The medicine men blind to have a good drink before a seance

A guachu, or wise woman, curing a boy by burning him with a rabbit-skin wine bowl

[955
516]

[facing p 113]

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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A professional manner

Below: The daily butchering

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[Facing p. 128]

Tilhollander 7-5 (1928, 1955) 1957
SC13 Gaujiro SC13

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Gaujiro women are stocky and principally bald

Below: Premier guard—Pangnirtung

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[facing p. 145]

9:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
BC13 Gonjire BC13

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Gonjire Indians in the Indji south. One is painted

Below: The Indians' Fence

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[Facing p. 164]

Yulinder T-5 (1928, 1955) 1957
SCIJ Graphic SCIJ

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Sra.

Aurora Morazán, who represents the Indians at Congress in Caracas

[Facing p. 184]

[70] When moving from one locality to another the Goajiro generally dismantle their houses and take them along, piling the poles and thatch on the backs of burros. Sometimes, however, they leave them for their own or someone else's use in the future.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

[70] Goajiro dress has changed little since the time of Rhode de la Rosa (18th century). Men normally wear only a breechclout, a necklace, and a head band with feather attached (pl. 72, top); but when traveling, paying visits, or receiving company they wear a large cincloth with many folds, a mantle (serape) of bright colors, and an immense sash, in which they carry their arrows. A knitted string bag is hung from the waistband. In towns trousers and shirts are worn. The women wear a cotton dress, sometimes made like a simple sack with holes cut for the head and arms. The pure-dog strings of beads passing over both [70] shoulders, crossing each other on the breast and back and held in place by a sash or belt of beads (the *sinapu*)—is placed on a female child a few months after birth and gradually augmented according to the parents' wealth and the child's age. Black beads are generally used for the *sinapu*, colored ones for the pure. A married woman wears the [71] pure until her first confinement. After her initiation at puberty, a robe, sometimes containing 8 or 10 yards of embroidered material, is also worn by a Goajiro woman, but the beauty hidden cloth which was her sole covering before puberty is still worn beneath it. Women, unlike men, are modest and could being seen naked.

[71] Some young girls have as many as 100 turns of beads around their waists, as well as many around their wrists and ankles. Red coral is preferred, but most beads are made from seeds or coconut shell and [74, 40] are cut out by means of a hollow metal reamer twirled rapidly between the palms. The perforated shell may then be used as a colander. Glass and porcelain beads and earrings are also worn. The most prized orna- [72] ments are the tumac-polished and perforated stone ornaments found in some of the old graves. On dress occasions necklaces of beads and gold ornaments are worn. These, found in Tairona graves, are fashioned in the form of tiny animals, frogs, turtles, etc.

[72] The men, except the medicine men, wear their hair short, kept back by a ring or crown made of plaited straw, or of wood with a tassel behind. Often the two are combined and adorned with a couple of feathers in front; or the whole may be made of feathers. For protection against [76] mosquitoes and sun both sexes paint their skin with powders made from [74] [75] [74] [75] [74] [75]

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

They make designs on their skin with black stain and tattoo themselves, especially on the arms and legs, with charcoal dust pigment. At least one of the marks is the same as the tribal brand.

MANUFACTURES

Women have a rather definite daily routine. They arise before day-break, milk the cows, and prepare the morning meal for the men, who then go off to fish, hunt, fight, or merely loaf and drink chicha. They fill their jugs at the water hole and then spend the rest of the day collecting wild cotton, spinning, weaving, making ropes, grinding corn, making butter, cheese, and chicha, and performing other household duties. They milk again in the evening.

Textiles are probably the best *Goajiro* manufactures. Their other products are pottery (which is the virtual monopoly of a few sibs), bows and arrows, and saddles and harnesses.

Spinning and weaving.—Wild cotton is collected, the seeds removed by hand, and small wads are rolled around a thin stick to form small tubes about half an inch (12.5 mm.) in diameter and 6 inches (15 cm.) long. These tubes are then spun into thread with the use of a spindle, one end of which rests in a calabash bowl on the ground. Yarns are colored with vegetable dyes, especially divi-divi.

Almost every household owns a loom, before which the women sit for hours weaving hammocks and bright-colored belts for men and horses. The warp is made from one long continuous thread wound around two thick horizontal poles, the upper one firmly attached to two uprights, the lower one hanging loose and maintaining the tension. As the work progresses, the cloth is moved forward around the poles, so that an endless strip of cloth is produced, which is then cut. Shuttles are passed through by hand, the warp being shifted by means of a threading arrangement which takes hold of alternate strands. On a piece of cloth about 2 yards wide an inch of weave every three hours is considered very fast work.

Containers.—Most cooking utensils are made of crude earthenware by a few tribes in the vicinity of the Teta, a peak near the middle of the peninsula. Spoons and forks are cut out of calabashes. Some Indians possess enameled mugs and pots obtained from itinerant traders.

Weapons.—Almost every man possesses a good rifle. Cartridges are scarce and expensive and must be smuggled in. Firearms are consequently reserved mainly for warfare, and the bow and arrow is the everyday weapon.

The bow is made from the hard, springy wood of the black palm. It is almost round in cross section, 5 to 6 feet (1.7 to 2 m.) long, and strung with a special sisal cord. The end which rests on the ground is protected

4z Peruan--202 E-8 (1914-1915) 1888 BC? Cagaba BC?
Goajiro JC13
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Ill. 2. Goajiro man.

Ill. 1. My traveling companion, Teleoforo Gutierrez, with a headdress (Sankale), which, for dancing, has feathers stuck in it and is wound with a colored belt, from the temple of Taitina.

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Ill. 3a, b. Goajiro woman, from the front and from the side.

/70 cont./
a fin very tightly, facilitates the normal development of her breasts. Like the boys, the girls wear some wild ornaments, magic preventatives, and it is not rare for them to wear some necklace with magic objects which have been "made sacred," to avoid bad influences; nor /is it rare/ that they already have their ears pierced and occasionally wear earrings, although this ornament is for grown women. They do not cover the head and usually wear the hair short, as if it had been shaved and the hair was in an advanced state of growing in again. Nevertheless, though the garb described is the usual thing, the present-day girl frequently uses the adult robe /manta/ from the time she is very small, especially among upper-class women. /71/

III

INITIATION OF YOUNG WOMEN

/72/ The life of a girl approaching puberty becomes less free in the upper classes, because her maternal relatives apparently then take her into account and endeavor to train her in feminine activities. In the lower classes the same preoccupation is shown, but oriented in another direction, as her labor has already been made use of very early in the family life, since, as we have already stated, they see in her the future adult woman for which reason they discourage her somewhat in her comings and goings into the woods, although it is also true that they show more concern than if they treated her as a child. Furthermore, they start to use blouses, as we described in the previous chapter, and she is told at a convenient time of the biological phenomenon which is to take place in her: menstruation. When the time comes and this shows itself, her first reaction is to inform her mother, or in her absence, the kinswoman with the most authority.

/90 cont./

The Goajiro women also known that men admire them and so endeavor to adapt here to their tastes: colors of light, attractive colors, simply cut, considerably ornamented (accidentes), and for least days or visiting all the collection of jewelry: bracelets, anklets, necklaces of several strings or thick chains with a pendant, numerous rings with big stones, especially rubies, jewelry she was given on finishing her seclusion by her maternal relatives of the most distinction and prestige. From then onward she begins to wear them, in smaller quantities when she is at home, but the whole set when attending a feast or visiting. In Jacura a distinctive mark of high social standing is the use of earrings /arizaras may mean earplugs. — Tomo-Jarza/, because in this region the women, who are not very careful in their dress, use this ornament which is an indication of their social and economic position.

The combination, then, of dress and physical appearance are two essential conditions of the attractiveness of the Goajiro women, which determine her success in order to be bought at a good price or that her husband may not have interest because of other marriages. The preservation of her physical attractions is a struggle which she maintains for these two reasons; also, dressing well, apart from making her attractive, is a sign of the class to which she belongs and which she must preserve at any sacrifice, as therein lies the prestige of her kin and the maintenance of their status. /92/

In addition to the sexual incentive expressed in previous paragraphs, the Goajiro seeks in his marriage an economic value, that is to say, a woman who possesses certain qualifications that will assure him a certain latitude. The payment he makes for a wife permits him to demand of her his keep and that of his children, for which reason he seeks one capable of complying with this custom by her own efforts.

The work that the woman can carry out to fulfill this economic responsibility is of a domestic nature: the making of hammocks /chinchorros and hamacas/, bags, belts, pottery,

/173 cont./

614 animal, or the reverse, etc., according to the nature and the
787 particular details of the dream.

• • •

614 2. We find the origin of clan marks also commemorated
422 in the preceding narratives. Every group of individuals with
304 the same name living in the same place had the problem of
/174/ distinguishing their animals from those near by or at a distance. Mareiwa did not want this situation to give rise to problems. Along with each group of animals, he gave the corresponding name and representative animal and the property mark, which he engraved on a stone. At the present time they still recognize the generic mark of each casta used to brand the animals and /mark/ the individuals belonging to it. Nevertheless, a variation of this original idea is to be found. Clan marks are degenerating into family marks, and in a process even further advanced we find individual marks, constituted sometimes by a special sign or by the owner's initials branded by a hot iron on some visible part of the body of the animal, or a special cut or nick in the ears of sheep or goats. Tattooing the clan mark on individuals is becoming more and more rare; it is more common in the lower than in the higher classes, and among the less acculturated than among those brought into contact with whites. Regional and family variations are found in the same class. The clan mark persists in some localities but as an adornment, a "luxury," as they say when questioned. To this end they replace the totem by a schematic figure of the animal; and among the mestizos, by the intial of the name. The parts of the body where these marks are generally located are the upper part of the thigh on men, and the upper surface of the forearm on women.

614 Sometimes they still place the totem mark of the clan on
422 objects of domestic use, (gourds, pottery, bags). But this practice is not very common. At the present time, articles of

7:Bollinder T-S (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Guajiro SC13

neither was much help. Our route went in a zig-zag from 650
water hole to water hole. I did not feel altogether sure that the Gaffer would find the mission station. From what I could understand of the interpreter's inadequate Spanish and floods of Guajiro, it seemed that when the old man made his trip to the Macuira Hills, there was not yet a mission station there. I knew that it was of relatively recent date. If we could only get to Macuira, we could ask our way to the monks, I felt sure of that. Otherwise we should have to try and find our way to the little harbour of Puerto Estrella on the east coast of the peninsula. To go there involved a detour, but there would certainly be a white person or at least a mestiso there, who would be able to show us the way to Amúrura.

It seemed to us that our baquiano not only wandered round in search of water holes, but also avoided certain ranchos. What, we wondered, was the position with his clan? Was it engaged in a feud just then? I knew little of clan quarrels and blood-feuds, then.

The Gaffer now began asking everyone we met the way to 484
Macuira. It was obvious that he did not know where he 151
was and that we had a bad guide. The Guajiro have a 623
wonderful sense of direction. They find their way unerringly about their trackless cactus steppes, where every place looks alike. They know every depression in the ground, every eminence, and they all have names. Like the Arabs in the desert, they never forget a way they have once travelled, so it was obvious that the Gaffer had never before been where we were then, that he had simply gone astray. The Indians' ability to follow tracks is also amazing. [524]
They can see by the hoof prints when a strange horse has been in among a herd, and they can track down a strayed bullock, even if it has joined company with others. An Indian can see whether others belong to his clan or not from a long distance off, even when he does not know them personally. They have a clan mark tattooed, or sometimes [302 304 614]
painted on their thighs, it is true, but an Indian seems to know to which clan they belong, even when you cannot distinguish those marks through field glasses.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

They were of black earthenware ornamented with figures. 252
The women were making maize gruel. There, close to the
green valleys, they ought to have been able to get any [262]
vegetables or roots they liked, yet they clung to their diet
of maize and goat's meat. They had obviously put the pots
on because they expected the men, and sure enough a 492
couple of naked horsemen came galloping up, so at one
with their horses that they looked like centaurs. The
Guajiro Indians can be born on a horse in the literal sense,
if their mothers have to be on a journey at the time. They
look well on horseback, and even the old men rode well. [142]
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8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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and legs, with charcoal dust pigment. At least one of the marks is [219]
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MANUFACTURES

Women have a rather definite daily routine. They arise before day- 512
break, milk the cows, and prepare the morning meal for the men, who 462
then go off to fish, hunt, fight, or merely loaf and drink chicha. They fill their jugs at the water hole and then spend the rest of the day collecting wild cotton, spinning, weaving, making ropes, grinding corn, making butter, cheese, and chicha, and performing other household duties. They milk again in the evening.

Textiles are probably the best *Goajiro* manufactures. Their other 286
products are pottery (which is the virtual monopoly of a few sibs), bows 32
and arrows, and saddles and harnesses.

Spinning and weaving.—Wild cotton is collected, the seeds removed 283
by hand, and small wads are rolled around a thin stick to form small tubes about half an inch (12.5 mm.) in diameter and 6 inches (15 cm.) long. These tubes are then spun into thread with the use of a spindle, one end of which rests in a calabash bowl on the ground. Yarns are [386]
colored with vegetable dyes, especially divi-divi.

Almost every household owns a loom, before which the women sit for 286
hours weaving hammocks and bright-colored belts for men and horses. The warp is made from one long continuous thread wound around two thick horizontal poles, the upper one firmly attached to two uprights, the lower one hanging loose and maintaining the tension. As the work progresses, the cloth is moved forward around the poles, so that an endless strip of cloth is produced, which is then cut. Shuttles are passed through by hand, the warp being shifted by means of a threading arrangement which takes hold of alternate strands. On a piece of cloth about 2 yards wide an inch of weave every three hours is considered very fast work.

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Weapons.—Almost every man possesses a good rifle. Cartridges are 411
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The bow is made from the hard, springy wood of the black palm. It is almost round in cross section, 5 to 6 feet (1.7 to 2 m.) long, and strung with a special sisal cord. The end which rests on the ground is protected

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SC13 Goajiro SC13

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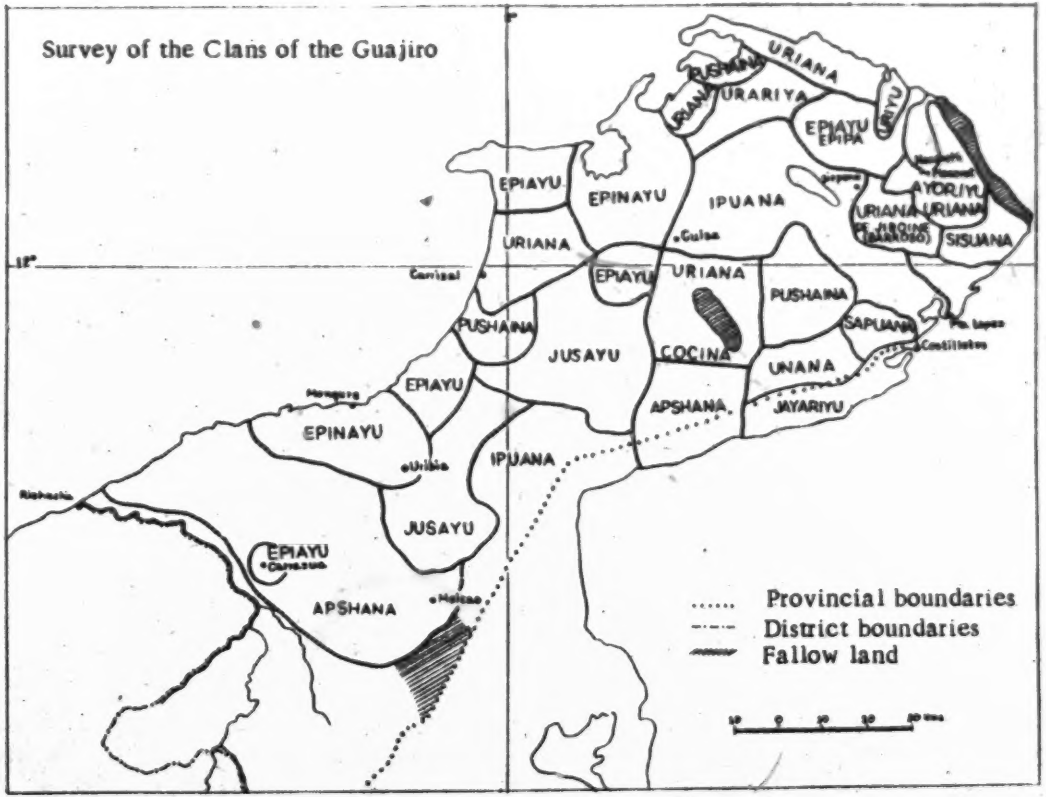
DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 *Goajiro* dress has changed little since the time of Nicolás de la Rosa (18th century). Men normally wear only a breechcloth, a necklace, and a head band with feather attached (pl. 72, *top*); but when traveling, paying visits, or receiving company they wear a large loincloth with many folds, a mantle (nowadays of bright colors), and an immense sash, in which they carry their arrows. A knitted string bag is hung from the waistband. In towns trousers and shirts are worn. The women wear a cotton dress, sometimes made like a simple sack with holes cut for the head and arms. The puna—long strings of beads passing over both shoulders, crossing each other on the breast and back and held in place by a sash or belt of beads (the sirapo)—is placed on a female child a few months after birth and gradually augmented according to the parents' wealth and the child's age. Black beads are generally used for the sirapo, colored ones for the puna. A married woman wears the puna until her first confinement. After her seclusion at puberty, a robe, sometimes containing 8 or 10 yards of embroidered material, is also worn by a *Goajiro* woman, but the loosely folded cloth which was her sole covering before puberty is still worn beneath it. Women, unlike men, are modest and avoid being seen naked.

301 Some young girls have as many as 100 turns of beads around their waists, as well as many around their wrists and ankles. Red coral is preferred, but most beads are made from seeds or coconut shell and are cut out by means of a hollow metal reamer twirled rapidly between the palms. The perforated shell may then be used as a colander. Glass and porcelain beads and earrings are also worn. The most prized ornaments are the tumas—polished and perforated stone ornaments found in some of the old graves. On dress occasions necklaces of beads and gold ornaments are worn. These, found in *Tairona* graves, are fashioned in the form of tiny animals, frogs, turtles, etc.

302 The men, except the medicine men, wear their hair short, kept back by a ring or crown made of plaited straw, or of wool with a tassel behind. Often the two are combined and adorned with a couple of feathers in front; or the whole may be made of feathers. For protection against mosquitos and sun both sexes paint their skin with powders made from rotten wood, a black stain made from a wild nut, and another color extracted from leaves and mixed with fat. After puberty women cut their hair short, keeping the shorn tresses in a bag hung from the roof; henceforth they never let it grow beyond the neck. They make designs on

/535/


Survey of the Clans of the Guajiro
URIANA
URARIYA
EPIAYU
EPIPA
AYORIYU
URIANA
SISUANA
EPIAYU
EPINAYU
IPUANA
URIANA
Gulua
EPIAYU
URIANA
PUSHAINA
SAPUANA
Pto. Lopez
Castilletes
PUSHAINA
JUSAYU
COCINA
UNANA
EPIAYU
APSHANA
JAYARIYU
EPINAYU
Uribia
IPUANA
JUSAYU
EPIAYU
APSHANA
Maicao
Provincial boundaries
District boundaries
Fallow land

/213 cont./

231 in this by the availability of water. For these reasons dwellings
423 continued to be mobile and transitory, though not so improvised as before, since some were built in regions that served as general headquarters while they were absent with their herds.

231 In order to take full advantage of pasture in some regions
●312 where water was scarce during the summer, the community would
423 dig wells and even build small dams to collect rain water which could be made use of by all those who had co-operated in the construction or by those who legally had access to them. Land which the new well or dam brought into use could be used by all those who had rights to it to water their livestock, a legal form practiced to this day.

At the present time we find on the land of each clan a variable number of wells which generally have been made by communal labor; all members of the family group are permitted access to them. Based on this indispensable need for water the Indians have built more stable, secure, and comfortable housing around these watering places, which are to be found on the best grazing land without encroaching on agricultural land and avoiding causing harm to their neighbors' pasturage. In this way every clan member in any region has ample pasture land at his disposal situated /214/ near his dwelling, on which he can graze his livestock during normal times in the peninsula without having to drive them to other pasture with the change of seasons or interfering in the economic life of his close neighbors.

However, as La Guajira suffers from periods of drought
231 during prolonged summers which totally destroy all grass and
423 dries up the sources of water, the Guajiro is forced to migrate
361 from one place to another in search of food and drink for his herds. In these movements he calls at the traditional clan lands situated in different parts of the peninsula, to which he has legal access by marriage rights; or, as a last resort, he va de remonta, that is, he drives his herds to the pasture lands of the clan groups living in the mountains where the winter arrives earlier than in the other regions and consequently is ready for earlier grazing; hence they can lend their aid to the men of the plains /llanura/ who

[2 cont.]

133 The greater part of the coast of La Guajira, which measures in all some 350 kilometers, belongs to Colombia. It starts from the Río Hacha in the west and extends to Lake Maracaibo in the east. It may be divided into two general parts, one low and liable to flooding, the other highland rising sheer from the coast. The low part starts from Pajaina Channel, which flows into Lake Maracaibo in front of San Carlos Island and continues approximately to the port of Cojoro. From there onward the land rises from the sea in the form of cliffs roughly to the level of Castilletes, a point where the coast level descends slightly to rise again near Punta Espada due to the eastern spurs from the Sierra de Macuira, which, as we have noted in previous paragraphs, then lose themselves in the sea. From this point, going always toward the west, the coast is rocky and inaccessible because of its continental structure.

[135 317] In the far western part of the La Guajira coast we find the most important saltworks that are being exploited in the country, such as those of Pájaro, Manaure, and Bahía Honda which supply salt to the major part of the coastal departments and even to those in the interior of the republic. The coast of this part has numerous beautiful and deep bays among which Bahía Honda is outstanding. [136] Along the coast rich fishing grounds are found, such as Bahía Honda, Cabo de la Vela, Cardón, and Carrizal, centers of fishing and pearl exploitation. Unfortunately, it has not been found practicable to make use of all the commercial navigation [31a] and fishing possibilities of this coast due to the absence of potable water in the vicinity. This we were well able to appreciate when we found that the water required for drinking in Carrizal and San José de Bahía Honda, during our stay in these regions, was transported distances greater than ten kilometers.

361 504 The most important ports of the coast of La Guajira, from west to east, are Ahuyama; Manaure, center of the salt industry; Cardón and Carrizal, pearl fishing centers; San José de Bahía Honda, on the bay of the same name, also engaged in the salt industry, and Puerto Estrella, center of the maritime traffic of motorized sailing boats plying between the islands of Aruba and Curaçao, and Puerto López.

132 [3] La Guajira is a semidesert region, a condition to which
133 four essential factors contribute, in our opinion: 1) the presence of sandy soil which absorbs the water of the small arroyos which flow from the mountain ridges; 2) the constant trade winds which blow strongly from the northeast over the peninsula and tend to temper the climate somewhat; 3) the lack of any real relief with elevations of importance which could act as a barrier to the clouds laden with moisture which are blown by the force of the winds toward the interior regions of the continent; 4) the high atmospheric temperatures which reach 42°C. in the shade at noon and are only slightly tempered by the trade winds and sea breezes.

These factors largely determine the hydrography of the peninsula in which, it may be said, there are only two permanent rivers, the Río Hacha, which forms the boundary with the neighboring department of Magdalena, and the arroyo Paraguichón, which marks the boundary with the republic of Venezuela. Beyond this the region is subject to the seasonal cycle of rainfall, which divides itself into a completely dry summer season with only rare light showers in what might be called spring (approximately in April) and a winter season with violent rains. This last season covers approximately the months of September to December/January, while the first, with the exception of the occasional rains in spring already mentioned, covers the remaining months of the year.

All these facts convert the peninsula during the summer
133 season into a true desert without vegetation, with the earth
134 covered with loose sand, particles of which are blown into the
[164] air by the prevailing winds, causing considerable trouble to travelers and even giving rise to eye infections among the natives. But in winter, when the abundant and copious rains have fallen, the soil, which in parts is below sea level, becomes so flooded that at times all land communications are totally obstructed even on improved [herradura] roads; the dry beds of currents of water are converted into true arroyos, water holes into ponds, and everything is an immense sea of fresh water.

One must also take into account the presence of some few
133 lakes, such as Guaraguarao, near Marañamana; Soledad, 20
312 kilometers south of Pájaro; Carazúa, approximately 30 kilometers west of Ríohacha; Sararapa, near Puerto López; and Cuisa,

[3 cont.]

133 adjacent to the hamlet of Roble; also one must consider the
312 water holes, shallow depressions in the ground which store rain water for some time and are utilized as watering places for livestock. Besides these sources of water, [4] the Guajiro digs wells [casimbas] in the dry beds of arroyos, generally, having to excavate to depths of 30 vara at times to reach the underground water. Windmills, which the Water Department of the Ministry of Na-
[653] tional Economy has been constructing for some years past, have helped to solve the water problem as have at a few dams, such as those in Ipanarú and Garrapatamana.

137 The factors which we have been describing determine vegetation in La Guajira, which is mainly comprised of thorny creepers, small thickets, cactus, thorn trees, and some wooded areas, especially in the mountain ridges and their spurs, where one finds an abundance of divi-divi, the totumo, indigo, the caraño, [a resinous gum tree], guayacan, the cedar, oak, cherry, and olive, the last two being fruit trees. On the banks of the coves and bays the mangrove grows abundantly.

During the rainy season in the peninsula, the sandy soil is covered with grass and brambles and briars and the woods [montes] become green again, giving a splendid background of color to the whole countryside, but in the summer season all the trees lose their foliage and look like burned logs; the smaller plants disappear, leaving the surface bare to the mercies of the burning sand and showing as characteristic patches the tall cacti with arms raised like great candelabra. The only different shades of color are provided by the olive trees, which never dry out and always show their fresh green foliage and darker fruit, and by some small oases of vegetation on the shores of ponds and water holes.

221 For this same reason the economy of La Guajira and the people's life in general swings like a great pendulum between two extremes — summer and winter. Their principal activity, stock grazing, requires rainfall to maintain pasture and to provide water in the water holes and wells. Agriculture, their other occupation, requires sufficient humidity for the germination of the seed and for maintaining the life of the plants. Winter in La Guajira means good living, abundance, satisfaction. Summer,

[112 cont.]

787 Another bird of bad augury is the red owl. If a person
825 who is traveling by night along the road sees one and hears its hoot, this is a signal that a misfortune is about to happen at the spot the walker met the bird or that something will happen to upset him on the road.

If at nightfall the long-drawn out song of the waimpirai is heard, it is an indication that there will be a war between two important clans, or extended families. They say in La Guajira that on a certain occasion, after this omen had occurred, a struggle between two families broke out and 20
[797 members of the Uriyú clan had to take refuge in the convent
628] of Nazaret, defeated by their adversaries who were hunting them down wishing to kill them.

When a hen cackles at daybreak there will surely be a death in the house, particularly when the cackling is repeated on three consecutive days.

312 Natural phenomena in magic. The most important natural
132 phenomenon for the Guajiro is rain, the essential fount for his
133 agriculture and stock grazing and the basis of his present-day economic organization. It is not strange that this is so because if for every community and for living beings in general water is an indispensable element and if many of the divinities and spirits of the primitive Americans center around it, for the Guajiro it is infinitely more essential if we take into consideration the geographical milieu in which he lives and to which we have referred, perhaps insistently, in this work as we consider it of vital importance (cf. "Introduction"). In the whole area there is no river or stream of importance. The soil has a maximum permeability and has to withstand high temperatures; [113] and as the Guajiro have no practical knowledge of the conservation and distribution of rain water, they always live dependent on the winter season for sowing their crops. For
789 this reason many acts of magic have this end in view, but as this aspect will be better understood in the chapter on "Mareiwa and Wanurú," or notions of good and evil, we will confine ourselves in this section to noting some magic acts related to rainfall and to other natural phenomena.

789 The intervention of the shaman, which we have lost
756 sight of since the second chapter when we described at length his personality and attributes, returns again to participate in

[118 cont.]

787 The meaning of this is that shortly there will be a terrible family war into which his own family will be drawn, but as he saved himself in the dream by catching hold of something, he has the conviction that he will likewise come through the war safe and sound.

The Guajiro is usually guided by his own experience when making an excavation to find drinkable underground water for his own use or for his animals. But all too often when the spring of water appears after days of hard work, it has to be abandoned because the salinity is too high to permit the water to be used. It is traditional, however, that the Guajiro finds the best places for water through his dreams. The sleeper recognizes the place where he should excavate to find water, and with unshakable faith he puts into practice what he has dreamed. Naturally, by coincidence the dream at times comes true, but in the majority of cases this does not happen, yet this does not prevent the Guajiro from continuing to believe in his dreams.

If an Indian dreams that on walking abroad he meets a serpent which coils itself about some part of his body, it is a sign that he is, or is going to be, a very intelligent person with a facility for learning a language other than his own. If, on the other hand, in the dream he shows fear of the snake and runs away, that means he has no qualifications for learning and is mentally slow.

If he dreams of food in abundance, numerous troubles are approaching him.

If an individual dreams that after climbing a high hill, he finds himself on the summit, it is a symbol that he will live for many years and will die at an old age. [119]

If he dreams that he is tossed by a bull, it is a sign that in a short time he will have whooping cough.

Lastly, if a man is sound asleep, and he dreams that someone comes to the spot where he is lying and grips him firmly and thus wakes him up, the cause is none other than the presence of the wanurú, or the spirit of a dead person, that comes to visit him.

These examples of dreams, which do not cover the infinite variety that occur among the Guajiro nor their diverse

S: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajira SC13

[153] on a clear day can be seen from any point in it. On the west side a small hill attached quite its beauty, seen from seaward, otherwise it is perfectly symmetrical in form. The Indians call it Jepira. It lies [103] in the Cocina district, and is the most dangerous portion of the Goajira. To visit it, I had to persuade Martin, one of the great chiefs, to accompany me with his three sons, nephews, &c. [115] We started at daybreak, rode all day, and arrived in time to see the sunset from the [125] top. We only saw three Indians the whole day, yet Martin assured me that all our movements were watched, and pointed out to me two probable places where an ambuscade would be planned for our return. We returned by a different road, getting back at 4 A.M. tired, hungry, and thirsty. I found the height to be 1300 feet above sea-level, or 900 feet above the plain. The rock is composed chiefly of trachyte with large crystals of feldspar, similar to those of the Drachenfels on the Rhine. As also belonging to this group may be considered the two isolated hills rising in front of Cardon de los Remedios and Carrizal, close to the north spur of the Cujoro range, called Juliare. They are both insignificant and do not exceed 600 feet in height. The Cerros de Carpintero, a small group of hills behind the Cabo de la Vela, are of more importance, they are about 700 feet above sea-level. From Cabo de la Vela to Puerto Estrella, between the hills and the sea, are innumerable cliffs and banks rising to 200 feet, usually with very abrupt edges, and covered with rolled stones.

Rivers properly speaking there are none in the Goajira. The country is cut up in all directions by shallow, dry, sandy beds of watercourses, that during the rainy season carry off the water as fast as it falls. Not even the Macuira Hills are able to send a flowing stream to the sea during the summer, which here lasts at least eight months. It [562] will have been remarked that the Indians have no collective name for their mountains, each little projecting point rejoicing in its own name. With their rivers it is still worse, for not only every water-hole adds a new title to a river—and these are innumerable, the custom being to dig for water in the sand of the watercourses, and as these wells dry up others are dug farther up stream—but every path that crosses the watercourse has its name. Even any prominent rock or large tree is enough to add to the interminable list of river nomenclature. On the plains below the Tuta the drainage is effected by numerous small streams winding about in a most bewildering manner, and although perfectly dry, they usually have pools of muddy water at the bends. As the plain is little above sea-level, the water has cut deep zigzag channels, very different from the shallow sandy beds of the hills. The water remaining dammed up, instead of gravitating to the sea, causes the great fertility of the plains.

● 572 The principal source of water for the Indians are wells. These are of two kinds; first, the most common, by digging, usually in the dry

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

bed of a watercourse. As the season advances, and the water recedes, they either dig after it or search for a lower level. Wells of 30 to 40 feet are very common. The water is reached by a staircase cut in the sand with an easy incline. Wells are easily distinguishable from a distance by the water-troughs, hollowed out of divi-divi trees, and called canoes. These are of the most distorted and grotesque shapes, and serve to water the herd. This is very hard work for the poor Indians during the summer months, and usually employs the whole day. Water from wells if taken early in the morning is always clear and cool. When bathing at a well the Indian uses a canoe; if he stops to drink, a bath invariably follows. Every well has a name, and the country is perforated by them like a mining camp. The wells of Chimaro are phenomenal; dug out on the sea-shore, on a narrow strip of sand 100 yards in breadth, with the sea on one side and the salt-pans of Chimaro, with layers of salt many feet thick, on the other, the water is, notwithstanding, perfectly fresh. There are seven holes about 10 feet deep. I may mention that Parashi is the name of a celebrated well dug in the river that drains the eastern flank of Ituma. It means "salt," probably because the water is brackish.

Second in importance are the water-tanks or *casimbas*. These are sometimes natural, as a small lake at the foot of Ituma and the casimbas of Cujua, filtrations from the river Naima, forming a large lake in the rainy season and many small dirty pools in summer, but nature aided by art is the rule. Some are immense undertakings, and large sheets of water, calculated to last a summer through if not too severe; such as Ariapá, the casimba of Puerto Estrella, a large crescent-shaped piece of water of about a quarter of a square mile. The water of these casimbas is always muddy and filthy for drinking purposes. The herds are driven in, and every Indian that passes is sure to bathe, so that in time almost a skin of grease forms on the top; and yet in places where they are it is the only water to be had, truly meat and drink combined.

The Goajira coast abounds in harbours and bays, but none of much importance. Between Rio Hacha and Cabo de la Vela, in the extensive bay formed by the latter, anchorage is found almost all along the coast. Numerous roadsteads have become known through the commerce with the Indians, and quite a large trade is carried on in the small coasting schooners. Further along the coast are three large bays. The first, or Portete, is a large bay, well protected from the easterly trades, and is certainly the best port along the coast. Unfortunately the entrance is narrow, intricate, and with shoals. The next, Bahia Honda, is almost a complete oval, some eight miles long by three miles broad, and with an entrance of nearly three miles broad. It is separated from the sea by a stone wall from 60 to 80 feet at the highest, but not enough to protect the bay from the strong easterly winds that blow with such force here. It makes but a poor harbour, the surf inside during the afternoons pre-

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

in an Appendix. With the exception of the Jiruzus or Piesies, a 614
small tribe of 200 souls all told living in the valley of Macuira between
Ara-ura and Itajoro, the Guariritas, a mere handful of Indians under
the protectorate of the Jirau, the Sijuanas, Sucuanas, Arapainayics,
Sámurinas, Arsurujunas, and the Arpusiatas, all small local tribes,
strictly confined to the upper country or east of Cabo de la Vela, the
other castes are distributed throughout the breadth and width of the
land in the greatest confusion. Living as the Goajiro does, in continual 361
strife and warfare, whole families would speedily become poor or extinct, 614
if they did not take the precaution to separate their wealth and herds,
and only keep a few in one place at a time. Scarcity of water and [312]
pasture compels them to lead a nomadic life, and makes house-building [233]
out of the question, for they are eternally changing abode, now in the [342]
upper Goajira and then in the lower or plains. Some branches among
the castes have, in spite of their roving propensities, predispositions
for certain spots. For example, the proud and wealthy Pushainas are
chiefly found round and about Paraché and Atalpa. Urianas tiger
frequent Tarra and Bahia Honda a great deal, while near Portete,
Ipuanas and Epinayucs abound. In the neighbourhood of Aulpana the
Ipuanas and Jusayucs are in great force; at the Tota nearly all are
Jusayucs, and near Las Guardias at Guarero, Sapuanas; these three
latter are mostly all Cocina Indians. With respect to these terrible 579
Cocinas, the word in Goajira signifies robber, highwayman, or outlaw.
They are neither a tribe nor even a separate caste as many have
supposed, but simply a band of freebooters—Indians that, for quarrels, [681]
murder, thefts, &c., have been expelled the family, and must needs take
to pillaging to earn a livelihood. For self-defence, and to better ply
their nefarious calling, they are banded together with recognised chiefs,
and so are able to go on their marauding expeditions in great force,
pouncing on any less numerous or unprepared party, to strip them of
everything. One party of Cocinas will rob another if they can. Nearly
all the Goajiros have relations among them, but an Indian is only safe
with that band to which his relation belongs. They have commercial
intercourse with them, and often succeed in getting stolen cattle back.
The Cocinas' territory *par excellence* is the Cojoro range of hills, taking
in the Tota, traversing the plains in a narrow band, and occupying the
Montes of Ocu as a refuge while scouring the plains. The country as
far east as the Macuira range is not exempt from their depredations,
especially between Ciapana and the Laguna of Tucacas. The principal
Cocina chiefs are Alyechipara or Yorujama, as he frequently is called, an [631]
Uriana, and rules the country about Aulpana and Yuripicho—he is the
worst and most feared of the lot; Porón, an Arpushaina, another devil—
he has appropriated the district of Cojoro; Masapain, a Josayú, lords
it all about the Tota; and Morejildo, a Sapuana, is chief of the country [648]
about Las Guardias. Once the terror of the plains, this wild beast has

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

291 482 *Our caravan makes a temporary halt*

291 516 137 *Resting in the sparse shade of a divi-divi tree. My wife is stirring the pot. I am on the extreme right*

● 312 *A casimba, or water-hole, dug by the Indians*

[FACING p. 48]

7;Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Guajira SC13

You always rein in before a rancho and wait for those inside to call to you. If no one comes, it is best to continue on your way, for either you are not welcome or your prospective host is not at home. We halted outside this rancho and after a short wait a friendly voice called '*anshi pia*' 'You have come?' and we answered '*ee*', yes. We were then invited to halt and entertained with sour goat's milk and boiled goat's meat. In exchange we gave them a little maize, which is an expensive article there and not easily come by. Vegetables and fruit are even greater rarities. Naturally they eat the fruit of the fig-cactus during its season. It has a faint smell, but is refreshing. There is also a tree with fruit like olives, and which the whites call olives, and the Indians eat them, but they are said to be poisonous, at least in large quantities. This tree has the great advantage that, to all intents and purposes, it never withers. At that time we were not yet tired of goat's meat and could eat the fare they offered us. It is the staple food of Guajira, however, and in the end we got more than enough of it. Even at this place we thought that everything tasted or smelled of goat, not only the meat and milk, but the water, the huts and the surroundings as well.

We went with our animals when they were to be watered, to see that they got enough. Many Indians and quite a number of cattle had gathered round the casimba, for it was to one of those we went. They had dug deep into the river bed, making a funnel-shaped hole several score feet in circumference and, as far as we could see, some thirty feet deep. During the rains this casimba overflowed and normally it was half full, they told us, but now there was only a little running in at the bottom.

The sand was firm enough there for them to have cut steps, and the Indians were climbing up and down the whole time with large jars which they emptied into troughs made of long, hollowed divi-divi trunks, from which the animals drank greedily.

The women fetched their water there in calabashes or earthenware vessels. An Indian who spoke a little Spanish told us how desperate their plight had been a few years

?:Bellinder T-5 (1988, 1993) 1997
SC13 Conflire SC13

before, when the calimba had dried up and the cattle had 312
stamped round the troughs bellowing till they collapsed and 32
died. The horses, on the other hand, had given up the ghost without complaint.

The water was already turgid; before long it would be as 312
thick as gruel. The water we had been given by the bishop was now finished, and we had to boil the water from the calimba, which had a beastly taste and did not quench our thirst because of the salt in it. The best water is that near the coast.

The cattle and horses were thin, but the men at the well 132
looked strong and well-nourished, as did the women. But 312
how would they look by the time October came with its 23
rain? It was then only July. And suppose no rain came? Or only a few showers? That had happened before. The threat of it always hung over the Indians. If the rain god 774
Juvap turned his face from them, they were lost. There were still patches of grass here and there, but it was dry and scorched. If need be the cattle could make do with cactus, despite the long spikes that could pierce a stout leather shoe with ease. Very, very carefully the cow lets one of the oval leaves slide into her mouth, almost sucking it in, so that the spikes are bent backwards; she then starts chewing as hard as she can. Often cows have more cactus stuck in their hides than they get inside them. Horses and mules, on the other hand, apparently do not like cactus and will not do more than nibble at it. It is too slow a business to eat it. The goats seemed able to find something to eat everywhere, and are themselves eaten sooner or later. Cattle are not often slaughtered, but goat is the daily fare. Live goats are also taken as provisions on journeys, being easily led on a rope.

We had halted only in order to let the animals drink and 770
for the Indians to fill their water containers. The Gaffer needed a lot of water now—his thirst was unbounded—but the calabashes were in his wife's charge and she only allowed him an occasional gulp. Also he was having to walk, for she was tired and had mounted the donkey again. The Lad tried to enliven the company by imitating the donkeys when they

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

Our provisions were at an end. We had been too generous and not rationed them strictly, the men having complained of hunger the whole time. Now we were suffering for it.

Away in the distance, well out of range, we saw a *venado*, a deer, making off through the cactus with graceful bounds. Where did the deer drink? Surely they would not dare approach the Indians' water-holes, which were either guarded or covered.

'Deer do not drink,' said the Indians. 'They are content with the dew they can lick out of the cactus flowers.'

We were thus without both food and water. We whites had tinned food, but the Indians only appreciated the empty tins. The Lad then offered to get us some food and water. He had not been away more than an hour, when he returned with a young girl carrying a live kid in her arms. She wore nothing but the remnants of a woman's loin cloth, and apparently knew that white people did not approve of nakedness, for she tried to hide her charms behind the kid. We therefore gave her a piece of white cloth in payment, although it was really a pity to let her cover herself, for she was the shapeliest Indian girl we had yet seen in the peninsula. The cloth would protect her from the sun and make her fair-skinned and beautiful, so she was overjoyed and offered to show us the way to what she said was a much better water hole.

This new water hole was shaded by some divi-divi trees—the trees were withered and their shade sparse—and surrounded by reddish hillocks. It was not very deep and a couple of women were bathing in it. They paid no attention to us, nakedness in the bath being considered decent. Our Indians and animals were able to drink as much as they liked there, and we also filled our water-containers. Then we moved on looking for a suitable place in which to eat our goat in peace.

Gladtvet, our photographer, put up the tent to give us a little shade, and meanwhile the Indians slaughtered the kid and cut it up. My wife cooked the pieces we had taken for ourselves, helped by the little girl who had come with us. She was now wearing the piece of cloth like a pinafore and

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

our cameras up, when a plump, middle-aged Indian came rushing up and began giving the fencers orders in a stern voice. He had not noticed us.

'That's Mauana,' Francisco whispered respectfully.

Mauana was wearing only a guayuco and brow-band, which is the genuine Guajiro garb. When he saw us, he at once spoke to us in good Spanish, which not all the chiefs know, for the Guajiro cling stubbornly to their own tongue. Mauana, of course, had heard of us. He now invited us to go with him and see how he lived.

First, we came to his plantations, which many in the peninsula must have envied him. There was a green valley, one of the oases in the semi-desert, where manioc, sugar-cane and maize grew, shaded by coconut palms, mango trees and bananas. The plots were watered by narrow canals which all came from the one stream in Guajira that never ran dry.

Mauana was obviously a strict master and he ordered his slaves about like a sergeant-major, but his plantation was a model one and he was an efficient chief who maintained order in a most commendable way. Once or twice he had caught white criminals who had hidden in the hills there and sent them back to the authorities—to their great disappointment. He lived simply, as all Guajiro do, but he had an unusually well-built house that was completely roofed.

We told Mauana of the purchi we had seen, and he used this as an excuse to give us a lesson in Indian law. Such an account of the Indians' social order and laws was both amusing and interesting, and it showed how different from ours the primitive's conception of justice can be. One knows all too well what mistakes colonial authorities have made through misunderstanding the native conception of these matters, especially of the rights of ownership.

The Indians, as has already been said, are divided into clans in which relationship follows the female line. Children thus take their mothers' names. Their fathers belong to a different clan and strictly speaking are not related to them. It is their eldest maternal uncle who is their head and guardian, and it is from him, not from their father, that they

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

the chief game. The *Goajiro* who live near the coast sometimes catch 22
fish (with hook and line), lobsters, mollusks, and crabs.

Cattle raising.—The *Goajiro* are primarily nomadic cattle raisers and, 231
consequently, depend upon the water supply. In the rainy season they 221
seek natural depressions, which they sometimes enlarge artificially, where [312]
the water may gather. In case of drought they wander toward the sea, where wells 30 to 40 feet (9 to 12 m.) deep are dug.

Besides cattle the *Goajiro* keep sheep, goats, horses (pl. 72, *bottom, left*), mules, pigs, and domestic fowls, which they take with them wherever 231
they go. An estimate gives them 100,000 cattle, 200,000 sheep and goats, 20,000 horses and mules, and 30,000 donkeys. As cattle are a measure [556]
of wealth, the Indians are reluctant to kill them for food, but they utilize [439]
the milk or export the animals to Curaçao and Aruba in exchange for [422]
textiles and corn. Each tribe has its own cattle brand, and the annual round-up and branding is an occasion for great festivities. Horse races [527]
and other sports take place, and large quantities of food and drink are consumed.

Food preparation.—*Goajiro* diet consists almost entirely of meat and 262
milk products. Goats and sheep are killed every day or two for meat, 252
and the milk of the cows is made into butter and cheese. This diet is supplemented by yuca, cactus fruit, sugar, rice, and plantains, the last three obtained from Colombian and Venezuelan traders in exchange for skins. Meat that is not immediately consumed is suspended from tall poles, and skins are pegged to the ground and salted in preparation for sale. Butter is made by stirring the cream with a fluted stick in a calabash or wooden bucket. To make cheese, rennet is added to skimmed milk in a trough, and the curds are put in a primitive wooden cheese press, which is weighted with a heavy rock.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Although the *Goajiro* are of a common origin, they are divided into 614
sibs ("castes" or "tribes"), each living within a rather limited area 361
(Simons, 1885, p. 796). The sibs are split into local groups, which occupy extended villages or rancherías, each with 2 to 50 houses (ranchos) and 10 to 250 or more Indians. Houses are always within gunshot distance of one another and so disposed that surprise attacks would be difficult. If a village is at all permanent, a protective cactus hedge surrounds it.

Goajiro nomadism makes elaborate houses unnecessary. Dwellings 342
are mere lean-tos, arbors, and temporary gabled roofs supported on poles. Thatch is made from the core of the cactus, split lengthwise. Rough [352]
tables, chairs with rawhide seats, and benches are often used. The hammock is always present. House walls are often lacking, but a corner [881]
of the hut may be closed off for a girl's puberty seclusion. When mi-

[2 cont.]

133 The greater part of the coast of La Guajira, which measures in all some 350 kilometers, belongs to Colombia. It starts from the Río Hacha in the west and extends to Lake Maracaibo in the east. It may be divided into two general parts, one low and liable to flooding, the other highland rising sheer from the coast. The low part starts from Pajaina Channel, which flows into Lake Maracaibo in front of San Carlos Island and continues approximately to the port of Cojoro. From there onward the land rises from the sea in the form of cliffs roughly to the level of Castilletes, a point where the coast level descends slightly to rise again near Punta Espada due to the eastern spurs from the Sierra de Macuira, which, as we have noted in previous paragraphs, then lose themselves in the sea. From this point, going always toward the west, the coast is rocky and inaccessible because of its continental structure.

In the far western part of the La Guajira coast we find the [135 317] most important saltworks that are being exploited in the country, such as those of Pájaro, Manaure, and Bahía Honda which supply salt to the major part of the coastal departments and even to those in the interior of the republic. The coast of this part has numerous beautiful and deep bays among which Bahía Honda is outstanding. Along the coast rich fishing grounds are found, such as [136] Bahía Honda, Cabo de la Vela, Cardón, and Carrizal, centers of fishing and pearl exploitation. Unfortunately, it has not been found practicable to make use of all the commercial navigation [312] and fishing possibilities of this coast due to the absence of potable water in the vicinity. This we were well able to appreciate when we found that the water required for drinking in Carrizal and San José de Bahía Honda, during our stay in these regions, was transported distances greater than ten kilometers.

361 The most important ports of the coast of La Guajira, from 504 west to east, are Ahuyama; Manaure, center of the salt industry; Cardón and Carrizal, pearl fishing centers; San José de Bahía Honda, on the bay of the same name, also engaged in the salt industry, and Puerto Estrella, center of the maritime traffic of motorized sailing boats plying between the islands of Aruba and Curaçao, and Puerto López.

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

bed of a watercourse. As the season advances, and the water recedes, they either dig after it or search for a lower level. Wells of 30 to 40 feet are very common. The water is reached by a staircase cut in the sand with an easy incline. Wells are easily distinguishable from a distance by the water-troughs, hollowed out of divi-divi trees, and called canoes. These are of the most distorted and grotesque shapes, and serve to water the herd. This is very hard work for the poor Indians during the summer months, and usually employs the whole day. Water from wells if taken early in the morning is always clear and cool. When bathing at a well the Indian uses a canoe; if he stops to drink, a bath invariably follows. Every well has a name, and the country is perforated by them like a mining camp. The wells of Chimare are phenomenal; dug out on the sea-shore, on a narrow strip of sand 100 yards in breadth, with the sea on one side and the salt-pans of Chimare, with layers of salt many feet thick, on the other, the water is, notwithstanding, perfectly fresh. There are seven holes about 10 feet deep. I may mention that Parashi is the name of a celebrated well dug in the river that drains the eastern flank of Ruma. It means "salt," probably because the water is brackish.

Second in importance are the water-tanks or *casimbas*. These are sometimes natural, as a small lake at the foot of Ruma and the casimbas of Cojua, filtrations from the river Naima, forming a large lake in the rainy season and many small dirty pools in summer, but nature aided by art is the rule. Some are immense undertakings, and large sheets of water, calculated to last a summer through if not too severe; such as Ariapé, the casimba of Puerto Estrella, a large crescent-shaped piece of water of about a quarter of a square mile. The water of these casimbas is always muddy and filthy for drinking purposes. The herds are driven in, and every Indian that passes is sure to bathe, so that in time almost a skin of grease forms on the top; and yet in places where they are it is the only water to be had, truly meat and drink combined.

The Goajira coast abounds in harbours and bays, but none of much importance. Between Rio Hacha and Cabo de la Vela, in the extensive bay formed by the latter, anchorage is found almost all along the coast. Numerous roadsteads have become known through the commerce with the Indians, and quite a large trade is carried on in the small coasting schooners. Further along the coast are three large bays. The first, or Portete, is a large bay, well protected from the easterly trades, and is certainly the best port along the coast. Unfortunately the entrance is narrow, intricate, and with shoals. The next, Bahia Honda, is almost a complete oval, some eight miles long by three miles broad, and with an entrance of nearly three miles broad. It is separated from the sea by a stone wall from 60 to 80 feet at the highest, but not enough to protect the bay from the strong easterly winds that blow with such force here. It makes but a poor harbour, the surf inside during the afternoons pre-

/227/

462 Fishing, an activity of relative unimportance in Guajiro economic life, is also done by the men. It is limited to obtain-
[226] ing certain edible species or to gathering oysters for the pearl trade, and, as in hunting, it is the men who manufacture the necessary equipment and implements.

Agricultural work is divided between the two sexes. The man is responsible for the preparation of the land for sowing: cutting, clearing and burning, and the tasks of weeding and hilling. Although planting is women's work, certain vegetables have to be planted by men because according to their magic beliefs if these plants are sown by women they will never give a good crop either in quantity or quality; such plants are, for example, fruit trees and creeping plants such as the water melon, melon, calabashes, etc. It is also men's work to fence in their plots of land.

The migration of many males to Venezuela and to other regions bordering on the peninsula, due to the climatic conditions already mentioned, has made it permissible for the women to take part in agricultural tasks normally considered suitable only for men.

The Guajiro man is the one who builds the dwelling. He obtains the help he needs in the form of communal labor, and with this aid he transports the materials and builds his house without any aid from his wife.

In leisure moments or during the hottest hours of the day,
462 while resting on hammocks, young Guajiro men apply themselves
●32 to carving rings, beads for necklaces or bracelets, and amulets or small figures to hang round the neck or wrist, which yield a small income; to make these he uses broom handles, small plastic combs, ram and goat horns, coconut shells and coral. During these moments or whenever the opportunity arises, he also makes toe pieces for his sandals, using a small loom. This
[439] occupation has an economic end in the towns where such articles find a ready sale.

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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They make designs on 302
their skin with black stain and tattoo themselves, especially on the arms 304
and legs, with charcoal dust pigment. At least one of the marks is [619]
the same as the tribal brand.

MANUFACTURES

Women have a rather definite daily routine. They arise before day- 512
break, milk the cows, and prepare the morning meal for the men, who 462
then go off to fish, hunt, fight, or merely loaf and drink chicha. They fill their jugs at the water hole and then spend the rest of the day collecting wild cotton, spinning, weaving, making ropes, grinding corn, making butter, cheese, and chicha, and performing other household duties. They milk again in the evening.

Textiles are probably the best *Goajiro* manufactures. Their other 286
products are pottery (which is the virtual monopoly of a few sibs), bows 32
and arrows, and saddles and harnesses.

Spinning and weaving.—Wild cotton is collected, the seeds removed 283
by hand, and small wads are rolled around a thin stick to form small tubes about half an inch (12.5 mm.) in diameter and 6 inches (15 cm.) long. These tubes are then spun into thread with the use of a spindle, one end of which rests in a calabash bowl on the ground. Yarns are [386]
colored with vegetable dyes, especially divi-divi.

Almost every household owns a loom, before which the women sit for 286
hours weaving hammocks and bright-colored belts for men and horses. The warp is made from one long continuous thread wound around two thick horizontal poles, the upper one firmly attached to two uprights, the lower one hanging loose and maintaining the tension. As the work progresses, the cloth is moved forward around the poles, so that an endless strip of cloth is produced, which is then cut. Shuttles are passed through by hand, the warp being shifted by means of a threading arrangement which takes hold of alternate strands. On a piece of cloth about 2 yards wide an inch of weave every three hours is considered very fast work.

Containers.—Most cooking utensils are made of crude earthenware by 323
a few tribes in the vicinity of the Teta, a peak near the middle of the 415
peninsula. Spoons and forks are cut out of calabashes. Some Indians 439
possess enameled mugs and pots obtained from itinerant traders.

Weapons.—Almost every man possesses a good rifle. Cartridges are 411
scarce and expensive and must be smuggled in. Firearms are consequently reserved mainly for warfare, and the bow and arrow is the everyday weapon.

The bow is made from the hard, springy wood of the black palm. It is almost round in cross section, 5 to 6 feet (1.7 to 2 m.) long, and strung with a special sisal cord. The end which rests on the ground is protected

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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milked the cows and then watched the herds, keeping a particular eye on the calves, kids and lambs, which a beast of prey might take. He also had to look out for two-legged thieves. He soon learned where pasture was best and most suitable. He could see to the cattle, knew what to do when they fell ill and how to break in horses. The older ones were expert at tracking animals that had strayed—they could do this at the age of ten. He would have made himself a bow and arrows almost as soon as he could walk and have practised with them. With these he shot edible lizards and small birds. He set snares for doves. He watched at the men's deer traps by night and he took part in the slaughter. During the rains he helped to weed his maternal uncle's plots and prepare them for sowing. If he belonged to a fisher family on the coast he had to take part in his father's trips out to sea and dive for pearls. When not otherwise occupied he made carrying-nets. 857 231 857 224 857

'Do you see those,' said the old man, pointing to some bottles and bowls of calabash rind lying on a roof drying in the sun. 'It is the young ones who make those. They scrape out the inside and then carve figures in the rind while it is fresh and soft. You want to buy them, you say? That's nothing to sell. The children will gladly give you them.' [322]

The children brought us their calabashes. They had to explain what the figures signified and naturally I gave them things in exchange.

It goes without saying that both boys and girls often have to run errands and sometimes act as nursemaid. Little girls have to learn to fetch water and look after the fire. Then they are shown how to make maize gruel and they have to practise baking maize cakes. They soon get to know all the wild and cultivated plants used in the Indian household. Then they take part in the harvest, which is the women's affair.

In those families which own many head of cattle, the sons, once they return from staying with their uncles, are often left much to themselves, for their fathers have no time for them. Their fathers neglect their upbringing and never administer physical punishment, since they risk being called 855

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[104 cont.]

226 751 Never again during our visit did we come across this type of magic object, which leads us to believe that it does not belong to the Guajiro cultural whole, but that it is due rather to the influence of the mulattoes of the coast who, as is well known, are extremely superstitious. [177 184]

*756 Charms used to call spirits. The use of these charms, to which we have referred on other occasions, is limited to shamans. 778 They use them to facilitate the arrival of their protector spirits when they are in a curing trance or are carrying out any of the functions related to their status. Up to the present we have not arrived at a satisfactory explanation of their influence on the spirits, but we might now bring together the few data we do have. One of the female shamans who served us as informant and who [776] came from the Sierra [de] Jarara possessed charms to attract her spirits. She explained to us that as those spirits are assistants, some to young shamans, some to old ones, the charms to facilitate the arrival of their spirits are also of two classes: for young shamans and the other for old ones.

The charm is made from the leaf of a plant called in Guajiro [824] morõno, which is found in abundance on Itojoro Hill. A woman expert in such articles makes them there [105] by grinding the leaves of the plant to a paste and shaping this into a rounded form which she keeps in a small bag of red thread. The larger ones are reserved for the older shamans, and the others, combined with some of the former, are for the younger.

778 789 The guará or guale. The guará or guale, difficult to find at present, is a kind of idol made from solid gold or silver and of which only a few examples exist as they are no longer made. This [325] small idol is an anthropomorphic representation in fetal position, [532] and it does not seem to be an autochthonous product of the Guajiro as they themselves assert that these idols come from their [173] distant ancestors, by which they mean the Arhuaco of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta.

This fetish is known sometimes by the name Mareiwa, a divinity or spirit similar to the idea of God but which appears to be nothing else than the spirit of Rain, as we shall see further ahead (cf. "Mareiwa and Wanurú").

[105 cont.]

178 [422] The owners of this idol – that no one is allowed to look at – keep it jealously guarded in a coffer, from which no one can withdraw it. With it they carry out on certain occasions some curious rituals such as carefully washing it and then exposing it to the sun's rays. When the summers are harsh and long, they bathe the idol, which they say makes it happy, and they then can ask it to send rain.

175 174 The small number of these little idols and the ignorance of the natives regarding their origin makes us believe that they are a foreign element, at least with regard to formal representation, which we consider to be the product of acculturation. The possibility that these objects have come from the ancient Arhuaco is also very remote, as we have found no trace in the literature dealing with this group of anything similar to such small idols.

175 ● 325 [428] Moreover, objects of gold are so few that at present they are restricted to necklaces, which are highly esteemed and inherited through the maternal line. But it appears that previously there were other golden ornaments other than the necklaces, as Ensign José Nicolás de la Rosa affirms that on a certain occasion "all the population of Río de la Hacha went to war against them, and the struggle was so fierce and bloody that the Guajiro asked for a truce, offering never again to act so treacherously toward the subjects of the King of Spain, and as a sign of this intention and as compensation for the death of Tomás (Quintero), they delivered to his Majesty [106] a two-headed golden eagle, the jewel being deposited as a hostage to assure the keeping of the peace in the Royal Treasury." (62)

62. De la Rosa, José Nicolás. Floresta de la Santa Iglesia Catedral de Santa Marta [Treasures of the St. Marta Cathedral], 2d., IV, 213.

174 178 Up to now we have not been able to discover the historic value of the small idol called guará or guale, and we continue to incline toward our first opinion that it is a product of acculturation.

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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PLATE 72.—Goajiro Indians. (Courtesy American Museum of Natural History.)

[facing p. 380]

/224 cont./

476 of the date work will begin and asks for their co-operation. Meanwhile at his house abundant food is prepared for the occasion and drink in considerable quantity: chicha made from chewed wild yucca or from corn. And each Indian who decides to lend a hand brings the tools required for the job and arrives at sunrise. At night he returns to his dwelling after working all day, generally drunk from the great quantity of chicha or rum which he has drunk. This cycle repeats itself daily during all the time necessary to finish the work. The owner of the house, or one of the volunteers of most experience, assumes direction of all the activities and gives orders which are quickly carried out. We will take as an 476 example the case of the construction of a dwelling. For this, ● 342 necessary plant materials are located beforehand in the woods of the clan property or in wasteland, and the services of an individual 824 acquainted with the method of housebuilding is also secured beforehand and the work carried out under his direction. The according to the ability of each of the workers, tasks are distributed; some prepare yotojoro (1), which is the roofing material; some

1. The woody part of the cactus called cardón.

lay the roof while others cover the walls with the bark of the trupillo /Mimosaceae family/, with grass stems, or with bahareque /small sticks with canes and clay, sometimes also called bareque/, according to the region or taste /of the owner/. In this way /225/ the work is finished in a short time. By the same procedure the excavation of a well or the building of a dam for rain water is carried out.

476 When it is a matter of preparing ground for sowing or any other agricultural work, the activity is carried out in an identical manner. Some go to give their services to a friend so that once they have finished work on his agricultural land, the friend will [626] immediately reciprocate by lending his assistance on their land. The Guajiro keeps very much in mind the person who refuses to

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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in an Appendix. With the exception of the Jiruses or Piesies, a 614
small tribe of 200 souls all told living in the valley of Macuira between
Ara-ura and Itajoro, the Gitariritas, a mere handful of Indians under
the protectorate of the Jirus, the Sijuanas, Soenanas, Arapainaydes,
Sáwarinas, Arauruju nas, and the Arpusiatas, all small local tribes,
strictly confined to the upper country or east of Cabo de la Vela, the
other castes are distributed throughout the breadth and width of the
land in the greatest confusion. Living as the Goajiro does, in continual 361
strife and warfare, whole families would speedily become poor or extinct, 614
if they did not take the precaution to separate their wealth and herds,
and only keep a few in one place at a time. Scarcity of water and [312]
pasture compels them to lead a nomadic life, and makes house-building [233]
out of the question, for they are eternally changing abode, now in the [342]
upper Goajira and then in the lower or plains. Some branches among
the castes have, in spite of their roving propensities, predispositions
for certain spots. For example, the proud and wealthy Pushainas are
chiefly found round and about Parashi and Atalpa. Urianas tiger
frequent Taroa and Bahia Honda a great deal, while near Portete,
Ipuanas and Epinayuos abound. In the neighbourhood of Anipana the
Ipuanas and Jusayuos are in great force; at the Tota nearly all are
Jusayuos, and near Las Guardias at Guarero, Sapuanas; these three
latter are mostly all Cocina Indians. With respect to these terrible 579
Cocinas, the word in Goajira signifies robber, highwayman, or outlaw.
They are neither a tribe nor even a separate caste as many have
supposed, but simply a band of freebooters—Indians that, for quarrels, [681]
murder, thefts, &c., have been expelled the family, and must needs take
to pillaging to earn a livelihood. For self-defence, and to better ply
their nefarious calling, they are banded together with recognised chiefs,
and so are able to go on their marauding expeditions in great force,
pouncing on any less numerous or unprepared party, to strip them of
everything. One party of Cocinas will rob another if they can. Nearly
all the Goajiros have relations among them, but an Indian is only safe
with that band to which his relation belongs. They have commercial
intercourse with them, and often succeed in getting stolen cattle back.
The Cocinas' territory *par excellence* is the Cojoro range of hills, taking
in the Tota, traversing the plains in a narrow band, and occupying the
Montes of Ocu as a refuge while scouring the plains. The country as
far east as the Macuira range is not exempt from their depredations,
especially between Chapana and the Laguna of Tucacas. The principal
Cocina chiefs are Alyschipara or Yorujama, as he frequently is called, an [631]
Uriana, and rules the country about Anipana and Yuripicho—he is the
worst and most feared of the lot; Porón, an Arpushaina, another devil—
he has appropriated the district of Cojoro; Mampain, a Jonyú, herds
it all about the Tota; and Morejildo, a Sapuana, is chief of the country
about Las Guardias. Once the terror of the plains, this wild beast has [648]

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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579 been completely tamed by the Venezuelans. He, with of course his
648 followers, have found honesty the best policy after all, and are now reformed and peaceful members of society, returned to breeding and agriculture. This shows what can be done with firmness combined with a little judicious tact and management.

The Indians build no elaborate dwelling-houses. Their best ranchos
●342 are simple, and constructed in a short time. The roof is covered with the split woody core of a tall euphorbia. This makes a good cool roof, impermeable to water and easily removed when the family flits. The rancho is seldom used for sleeping purposes; for this numerous poles
[513] (*tchepsi*) are firmly fixed all over the place for swinging hammocks, often three and four to one pole, and crossing each other. Sometimes two and three sleep in a hammock. Further off other poles (*palámaler*)
[417] are found, to tie animals up at, and a small corral or sheep-pen for the goats and sheep is also indispensable in every well-regulated family. The site of a rancho is always carefully chosen, much strategy being
361 displayed in locating the whole, so that each rancho covers the other
621 without itself being seen. Although villages are never attempted, yet a family rarely lives isolated. Everybody bolsters himself with that bugbear of Goajira society, his relations. Their ranchos are always within gunshot distance, so as mutually to defend each other. One is
[712] invariably on high ground to dominate the country, the rest are hidden away in nooks and corners where least expected. If one rancho is seen, others are close at hand. In case of attack, this system prevents a whole family being exterminated. One or two ranchos may be taken, but the rest escape or fly to the rescue, as the case may be. At all events the
[552] avenger, so dear to the Indian, survives. Each rancho has a distinct name. Besides, every Indian who is anybody has several ranchos
[423] spread over the country. To collect the names of the ranchos would be paramount to taking a census of the territory. The following are
103 well-known ranchos, with usually some half-caste from Riohacha
443 trading with the Indians. In the Macuira range, six miles from Punta Espada, is Guarorjá, at the foot of Ara-ura; chief, Caijuna, a Jirau.
592 Westwards, close to the sea-shore, Chómunao; chief, José Agustin, a
621 Jallariá, a half-caste speaking good Spanish. At the foot of Itujoro, Maguaipá, situated on a slight eminence eight miles from the sea, and is an important trading station. Paraliera, native name of Puerto Estrella, boasts twelve houses and three iron warehouses, with always two or three Riohacheros resident there. The chief, Pedro Quinto, is Epieyu, but his sister Mauricia is the virtual ruler. Inland, 16 miles from Bahia Honda or Tarua is Merunay, another large trading station, usually with two or three Riohacheros established there. The eight ranchos are well located on a plain between Macuira and Parashi. The chief, Saipa, is Epieyu. This is one of the most central stations in the Goajira, and is surrounded by several important places; it is probably

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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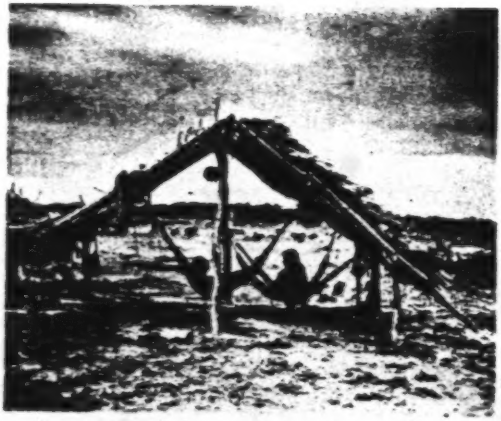
By the shore. Held by father and sister, these were the only twins we ever saw. The Guajiro let twins live

Right: *Indian girls*

342
513
352 *A simple Indian hut*



[Facing p. 32]

7:Belinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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115 And her eyes shone at the recollection of the now for-
685 bidden pleasures of her girlhood.

When I went on trips in the surrounding country I
124 usually had Francisco with me and often my wife. Anita had then to be ready to feed us when we came home, whether it were the same day, or the next, or three days later. In such things Indian women have patience. They know how to wait, and they are never surprised.

We began our exploration of the brown hills and green
124 valleys of Macuira with a long trip on foot. Laboriously
556 we waded through the fine sand. This is almost firm when it is damp, but it was then the dry season and the sand was loose. We were going to visit relatives of Francisco, simple people, but not actually poor. To us who had already had a certain amount to do with Indians, it was a surprise to find ourselves dealing in such categories as 'rich', 'poor', 'well-to-do', etc., just as though we were concerned with white people. Among all other Indians the difference in economic status between individuals had been relatively insignificant, as, presumably, it had been among the Guajiro before they took to herding cattle.

133 The Indians we were to visit lived in a beautiful place, just on the fringe of a watered valley between purple brown heights, with the peak of Ituhor dominating the landscape. The valley was like a green Bengal fire against its parched
●342 background. There were two huts, built of cactus wood and with roofs of the same material. They were saddle-backed and linked by a wall, which acted as a shield against the wind, that there always blows in the same direction. In front of this wall, that is between the two houses, were the
[40] fires. Round about were shelves covered with grass and erected on four poles. The Creoles call these *trojas*. You can sit under them and be out of the sun, and cooking utensils and stores can be kept on them out of reach of animals.
[352] Here and there were hammocks stretched between poles stuck in the ground, and there were other poles used in the all but daily butchering of a goat or sheep. Round these there were dark patches on the ground.

123 Having Francisco with us we were naturally well re-
352

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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I have had to anticipate to tell how the secret of the 574
arrows' effect was discovered. Let me now go back to where we were sitting on our stools talking with the Indians. It was late in the day and Francisco suggested that we should stay the night and go on at daybreak to another place where lived some prosperous Indians who had many materials and earthenware vessels. They had hammocks that we could borrow. It was a good suggestion and our hosts were more than agreeable. They wanted to vacate one of their huts, but we preferred to sleep in one of their open sheds. It was cool and, being tired, we fell asleep while the Indians were still sitting round the fire.

We were awakened by plaintive singing. It was still night. 765
The Guajiro are excessively early risers. In the tropics you 511
become accustomed to getting up at daybreak, but there 513
on the peninsula everybody woke at three o'clock, when there were still a couple of hours of darkness left. Three o'clock was even a suitable visiting-hour. They liked to take advantage of the coolest part of the day, which was from three to six in the morning. The singing came from the big 765
hut beside us. It was followed by a spoken rigmarole. The whole was as dreary as a funeral mass, and the voice was an old woman's. I discovered that it was a sort of pagan morning prayer for the children, used all over Guajira, in which an old woman recalled the memory of departed relations. If any of these had been killed and left unavenged, she would not neglect to remind the children of the fact and point out the guilty person. It ended with yet another wailing song.

What the old woman told them about their ancestors and injuries received was impressed upon the children's minds by hearing it repeated every morning in this way. [628]
Thus is a blood feud perpetuated from generation to generation.

We made ourselves porridge and took our departure as 123
day was breaking, Then we tramped on through the sand to the next rancheria. There only the women were at home, but as it is the women who make the things we wished to see, that suited us quite well. The huts were larger than 342

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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those we had left, but just as simple. Inside were hammocks slung this way and that. Along the walls were carrying-nets filled with things, and earthenware vessels lay scattered about the floor of hard-trodden sand. Some of these vessels were grey, others reddish-brown, some had necks and handles. One was an obvious imitation of a Dutch liqueur jar. It was not far to Puerto Estrella, to which schooners from the Dutch islands came.

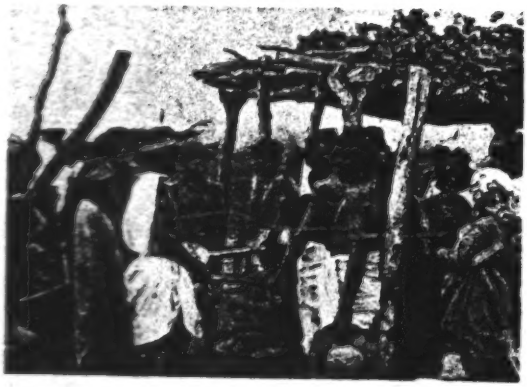
Most of the earthenware vessels had red decoration. Some, with wavering lines, were obviously the work of the oldest of the women, who was frail and almost blind; but there was no fault in the shape of the vessel. The woven cloths were hung up in a special shelter. The warp hung vertical and ran like an endless belt over an upper and a lower pole. Several related tribes, members of the Aruak family, use the same method. When the cloth is finished, it forms a ring, and is then cut up.

They were working on a man's belt or sash. The everyday belt was only a couple of inches wide, but sashes intended for more solemn occasions were some eighteen inches broad and very colourful. They used red, yellow, black and white yarn and the pattern was most interesting. Ceremonial cloaks are also woven for the men, just as colourful as the sashes, but, to my sorrow, I was never able to acquire a really fine specimen. They were simply too expensive. The rich chiefs collected them, but custom decreed that they must be wrapped in all their cloaks when they died, which meant that none were inherited. The men's everyday cloaks I have already described; they pulled them on and then twisted them so that their chest was bared. The women's dress was considerably more Spartan: it was a wide tunic, made like a sack with holes for the head and arms, and dyed black with divi-divi or brown with stuff from some other plant. Their loin-cloth only became visible when they were working in the shade or indoors and removed their tunics. It too was black or undyed. They themselves thought that there was no call to use a nice patterned cloth for underclothes. Little girls often had patterned loin-cloths, but then they did not wear tunics

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

292 342 796 *A chichamaya in full swing*

291 482 764 *First burial. The dead person's bier is being carried out from its shelter*



142 764 *The after-burial. A medicine man guarding the urns containing the dead person's bones*

[Facing p. 96]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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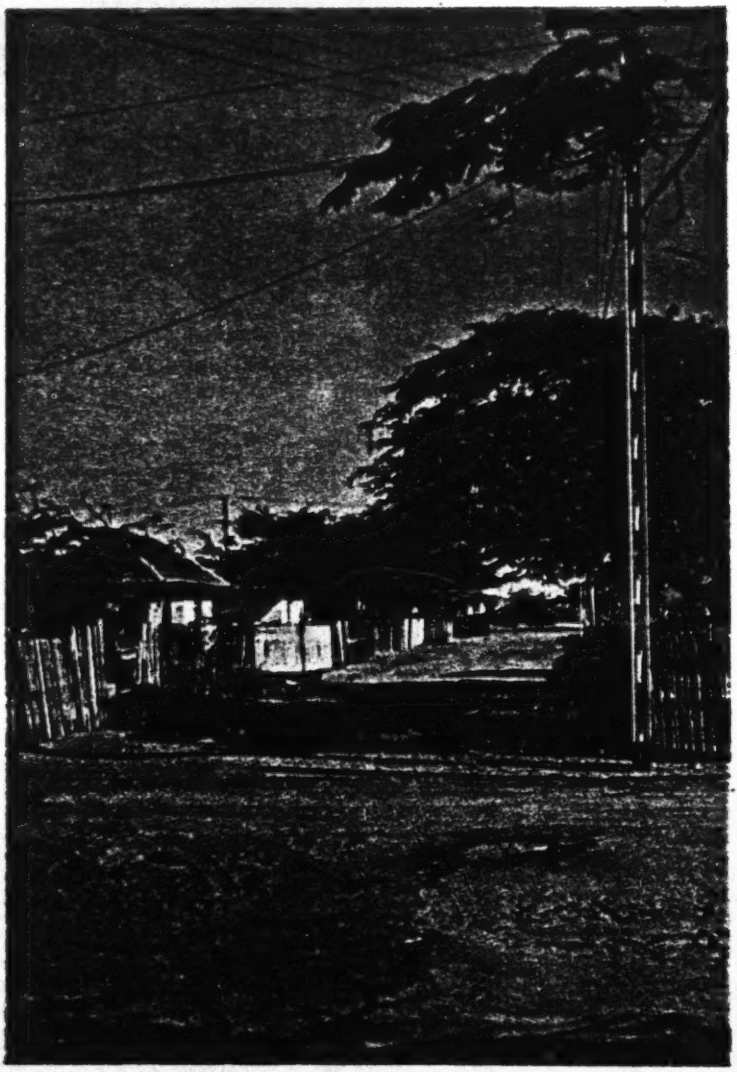

The Guajiro town at Maracaibo

[facing p. 136]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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Guajiro Indians in the leafy south. One is painted

Below: *The Indians' Venice*

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[Facing p. 161]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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Pile-dwellings with a kitchen garden

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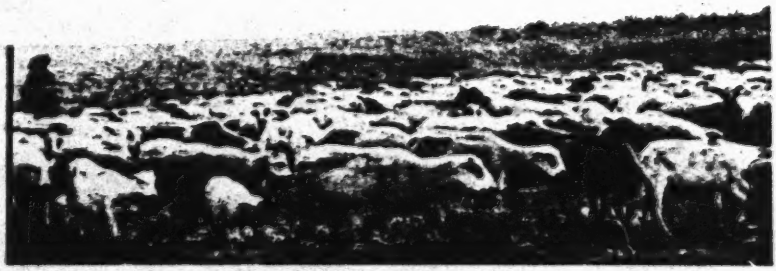
Indians wait patiently while the leader of the expedition sleeps in his hammock

Below: *Flock being driven over the steppe*

231



[facing p. 176]

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

the chief game. The *Goajiro* who live near the coast sometimes catch 22
fish (with hook and line), lobsters, mollusks, and crabs.

Cattle raising.—The *Goajiro* are primarily nomadic cattle raisers and, 231
consequently, depend upon the water supply. In the rainy season they 221
seek natural depressions, which they sometimes enlarge artificially, where [312]
the water may gather. In case of drought they wander toward the sea, where wells 30 to 40 feet (9 to 12 m.) deep are dug.

Besides cattle the *Goajiro* keep sheep, goats, horses (pl. 72, *bottom, left*), mules, pigs, and domestic fowls, which they take with them wherever 231
they go. An estimate gives them 100,000 cattle, 200,000 sheep and goats, 20,000 horses and mules, and 30,000 donkeys. As cattle are a measure [556]
of wealth, the Indians are reluctant to kill them for food, but they utilize [439]
the milk or export the animals to Curaçao and Aruba in exchange for [422]
textiles and corn. Each tribe has its own cattle brand, and the annual round-up and branding is an occasion for great festivities. Horse races [527]
and other sports take place, and large quantities of food and drink are consumed.

Food preparation.—*Goajiro* diet consists almost entirely of meat and 262
milk products. Goats and sheep are killed every day or two for meat, 252
and the milk of the cows is made into butter and cheese. This diet is supplemented by yuca, cactus fruit, sugar, rice, and plantains, the last three obtained from Colombian and Venezuelan traders in exchange for skins. Meat that is not immediately consumed is suspended from tall poles, and skins are pegged to the ground and salted in preparation for sale. Butter is made by stirring the cream with a fluted stick in a calabash or wooden bucket. To make cheese, rennet is added to skimmed milk in a trough, and the curds are put in a primitive wooden cheese press, which is weighted with a heavy rock.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

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sibs ("castes" or "tribes"), each living within a rather limited area 361
(Simons, 1885, p. 796). The sibs are split into local groups, which occupy extended villages or rancherías, each with 2 to 50 houses (ranchos) and 10 to 250 or more Indians. Houses are always within gunshot distance of one another and so disposed that surprise attacks would be difficult. If a village is at all permanent, a protective cactus hedge surrounds it.

Goajiro nomadism makes elaborate houses unnecessary. Dwellings 342
are mere lean-tos, arbors, and temporary gabled roofs supported on poles. Thatch is made from the core of the cactus, split lengthwise. Rough [352]
tables, chairs with rawhide seats, and benches are often used. The hammock is always present. House walls are often lacking, but a corner [381]
of the hut may be closed off for a girl's puberty seclusion. When mi-

342 When mi-
484 grating from one locality to another the *Goajiro* generally dismantle their houses and take them along, piling the poles and thatch on the backs of burros. Sometimes, however, they leave them for their own or someone else's use in the future.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 *Goajiro* dress has changed little since the time of Nicolás de la Rosa (18th century). Men normally wear only a breechcloth, a necklace, and a head band with feather attached (pl. 72, *top*); but when traveling, [484] paying visits, or receiving company they wear a large loincloth with many folds, a mantle (nowadays of bright colors), and an immense sash, in which they carry their arrows. A knitted string bag is hung from the waistband. In towns trousers and shirts are worn. The women wear a cotton dress, sometimes made like a simple sack with holes cut for the head and arms. The puna—long strings of beads passing over both [301] shoulders, crossing each other on the breast and back and held in place by a sash or belt of beads (the sirapo)—is placed on a female [561] child a few months after birth and gradually augmented according to 556 the parents' wealth and the child's age. Black beads are generally used [385] for the sirapo, colored ones for the puna. A married woman wears the [881] puna until her first confinement. After her seclusion at puberty, a robe, sometimes containing 8 or 10 yards of embroidered material, is also worn by a *Goajiro* woman, but the loosely folded cloth which was her sole covering before puberty is still worn beneath it. Women, unlike men, are modest and avoid being seen naked.

301 Some young girls have as many as 100 turns of beads around their waists, as well as many around their wrists and ankles. Red coral is [306 preferred, but most beads are made from seeds or coconut shell and 401] are cut out by means of a hollow metal reamer twirled rapidly between the palms. The perforated shell may then be used as a colander. Glass and porcelain beads and earrings are also worn. The most prized orna- [172] ments are the tumas—polished and perforated stone ornaments found in some of the old graves. On dress occasions necklaces of beads and gold ornaments are worn. These, found in *Tairona* graves, are fashioned in the form of tiny animals, frogs, turtles, etc.

302 The men, except the medicine men, wear their hair short, kept back by a ring or crown made of plaited straw, or of wool with a tassel behind. Often the two are combined and adorned with a couple of feathers in front; or the whole may be made of feathers. For protection against [751 mosquitos and sun both sexes paint their skin with powders made from 386 rotten wood, a black stain made from a wild nut, and another color extracted from leaves and mixed with fat. After puberty women cut their [884] hair short, keeping the shorn tresses in a bag hung from the roof; henceforth they never let it grow beyond the neck. They make designs on

343

343 OUTBUILDINGS--description of domestic nonresidential buildings (e.g., cookhouses, latrines, menstrual lodges, bathhouses, granaries, barns, stables); special characteristics of each; construction; etc. See also:

Stables and stalls 231
Cookhouses 252
Boathouses 504
Latrines 514
Bathhouses 515
Menstrual lodges 841

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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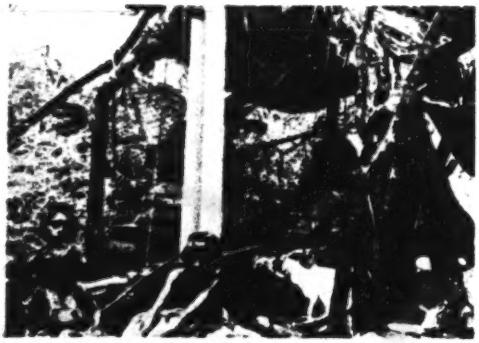

Work-hut with warp set up for a man's sash

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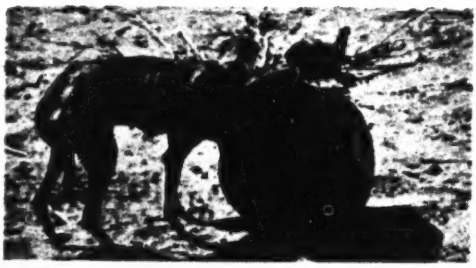

The thin Indian dogs licked the last out of the pot

Below: *Indian chiefs, in ceremonial clothes, on their way to a* purchi

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[Facing p.81]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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Pile-dwellings with a kitchen garden

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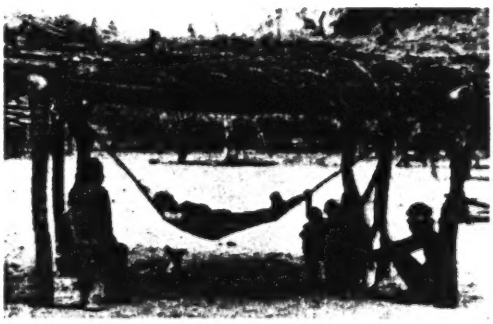
Indians wait patiently while the leader of the expedition sleeps in his hammock



Below: *Flock being driven over the steppe*

231

[facing p. 176]

352

352 FURNITURE--pegs, racks, shelves, and cupboards; description of furniture (e.g., chairs, tables, chests, beds, hammocks, head-rests); floor covering (e.g., mats, rugs); special uses of furniture; etc. See also:

Mat making 285
Furniture manufacture 322
Hardware 414
Bedding 513

/48 cont./

252 at the heart, which they eat, for by cooking in this way it be-
262 comes soft and digestible. They also include in their diet soups and special dishes made of beans.

264 The boys employed in work other than pasturing, who stay
262 at home or can readily return there, take the usual breakfast upon rising; later, when the hours of heat begin and the Guajiro returns to his home to rest on his hammock in the shade of his enramada /a bough-covered shelter/, he eats a meal which is more or less similar to that described above, and, toward seven at night, another.

A boy will add to his usual meals what he can find by picking wild fruit, hunting small animals or birds, by stealing food at home, and by drinking the milk he can obtain from the goats or other animals he has in his care.

264 We must add in conclusion that in no case does the woman occupy the first place when food is being served if there are men in the family. At the most she may occupy her mother's place if no older female relatives are present, it falling on her in this case to serve the food. If there are female slaves or bond servants or maids in the home these will carry out this duty under her supervision. These cases when the mother is replaced by the daughters in the task of serving the meals to the family are not frequent, as it is customary for the head woman not to leave her post for any lengthy interval without placing her responsibilities in the hands of a person competent to replace her.

* * *

855
513 The child of middle years keeps the same hours for sleeping as the adult. Generally, the child possesses from his birth
[352] onward an Indian-style hammock /chinchorro or hamaca/ /49/,
[863] that is to say, one made of cords of twisted agave fibers arranged in horizontal rows. This type of hammock is meant for young children, because bed-wetting at night is frequent in some cases, but especially because it is strong, cheap, and readily replaceable. We never heard of a case of a child sleeping on the ground.

[18 cont.]
*756 to bring on lactation, to gain weight, etc., are partly public
755 knowledge and partly privately known by a few families who tra-
[208 ditionally preserve the secret of their use for their personal benefit.
847] By what has been previously stated we see how the ceremony of healing is a perpetual invocation of the spirit, a continual fear that it might withdraw its aid for whatever motive, and a perennial anxiety to satisfy its slightest wish in order to obtain the success sought. To give evidence for this we shall see how the Guajiro shaman effects a cure when he has been called in to handle one.

First of all, before he initiates such activities, he demands
[431] a gift. For this reason whenever a native needs the services of the shaman for magico-medical attention for some relative, he goes to present himself to the shaman with a gold necklace or some other valuable present.

171 Each time the shaman goes to cure a sick person he takes
*756 with him two maracas. This custom is rather widespread in
755 South America, where the magic power of the maraca appears to be extraordinary and is commonly accepted, although with some variations from tribe to tribe whether in the [19] quality of its different parts, in the artifacts adornment, in the manner of using it, etc. To corroborate this it is sufficient to quote Professor Métraux again, who says, in reference to the apprentice shaman: "During his initiation the novice learns to make use of the accessories indispensable to the magic art. The most important of all, that which in some manner symbolizes the profession is the maraca or rattle made from a calabash containing some seeds or pebbles and provided with a handle." (15) [Cited in French.]

15. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 217.

[352] The medicine man accommodates himself in a seat especially reserved for such occasions and carved in wood in the form of an animal, but if such an artifact is lacking, he will use any convenient seat. The custom of using a seat of this type is also found in the Guianas. "The wooden seat is an equally indispensable accessory for the shaman of the Guianas. It is often carved in the form of a jaguar, an animal that plays an important part in the

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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By the shore. Held by father and sister, these were the only twins we ever saw. The Guajiro let twins live

Right: *Indian girls*

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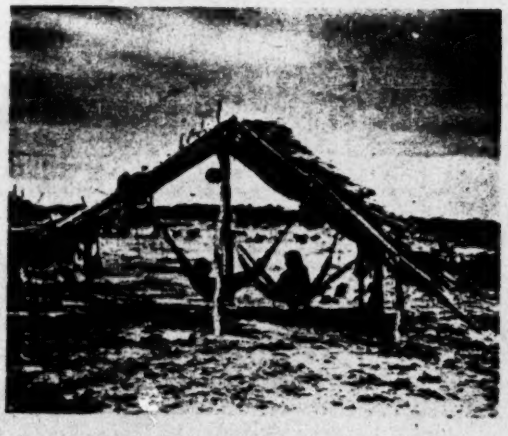
●352 *A simple Indian hut*



[Facing p. 32]

7:Belinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

115 And her eyes shone at the recollection of the now for-
685 bidden pleasures of her girlhood.

When I went on trips in the surrounding country I
124 usually had Francisco with me and often my wife. Anita had then to be ready to feed us when we came home, whether it were the same day, or the next, or three days later. In such things Indian women have patience. They know how to wait, and they are never surprised.

We began our exploration of the brown hills and green
124 valleys of Macuira with a long trip on foot. Laboriously
556 we waded through the fine sand. This is almost firm when it is damp, but it was then the dry season and the sand was loose. We were going to visit relatives of Francisco, simple people, but not actually poor. To us who had already had a certain amount to do with Indians, it was a surprise to find ourselves dealing in such categories as 'rich', 'poor', 'well-to-do', etc., just as though we were concerned with white people. Among all other Indians the difference in economic status between individuals had been relatively insignificant, as, presumably, it had been among the Guajiro before they took to herding cattle.

133 The Indians we were to visit lived in a beautiful place, just on the fringe of a watered valley between purple brown heights, with the peak of Ituhor dominating the landscape. The valley was like a green Bengal fire against its parched
342 background. There were two huts, built of cactus wood and with roofs of the same material. They were saddle-backed and linked by a wall, which acted as a shield against the wind, that there always blows in the same direction. In front of this wall, that is between the two houses, were the
[410] fires. Round about were shelves covered with grass and erected on four poles. The Creoles call these *trojas*. You can sit under them and be out of the sun, and cooking utensils and stores can be kept on them out of reach of animals.
[352] Here and there were hammocks stretched between poles stuck in the ground, and there were other poles used in the all but daily butchering of a goat or sheep. Round these there were dark patches on the ground.

123 Having Francisco with us we were naturally well re-
352

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Guajiro SC13

ceived. They brought out stools carved with animals' heads and tails for us to sit on, and then four young men hastened to entertain us with music. I had happened to ask about musical instruments and it appeared that we had come to a musical family. They all played the flute, which there was usually small, of reed or wood, and ornamented with carved figures. There was also a larger flute which had a mouthpiece and reed, like a child's trumpet, and a calabash at the other end. This instrument buzzed and droned like a bumble-bee. It was extraordinary. It did not seem a South American instrument at all. In fact, it was quite simply an offshoot of the eastern snake-charmer's flute, which I had seen in Morocco. How had it got to America? Perhaps through the Moors. The early Spanish discoverers had Moorish slaves and servants with them, and, as we shall see, this flute was not the only indication of Moorish influence.

Guajira is often called the Arabia of South America, because it too is an arid peninsula with a population largely consisting of nomad herdsmen. In the distance a Guajiro caravan looks thoroughly eastern, and who knows from whom the Guajiros' forefathers acquired their knowledge of how to ride and to rear cattle?

Not wishing to spoil the concert, I said nothing of all this. I myself am quite unmusical, but my wife gave the performers full marks. The pieces had names that suited the setting: 'The Little Goat seeks its Mother', 'The Horses are driven Home', 'By the rippling Water'. The four also sang. To European ears their singing was considerably less attractive than the music, but the words were often poetical and lovely. 'The little goat laments and says: the water that I drink is salt and salt are the plants I have to eat. And just as it begins to drizzle, the little goat's salt tears fall along with the other drops upon the salt ground.' In that perhaps was a little too much salt, but it was typically Guajiran. Even a goat can get too much of what others seek so avidly elsewhere.

They showed us other musical instruments: a drum that was played for dancing and a whistle made of calabash, intended for signalling. One of the four also produced a

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

been confirmed by sooth-sayer and piache. The person selected must learn the profession and practise it. Otherwise, certain death awaits him, for the spirit will not suffer his decisions to be neglected. 756 787 276

Often parents cannot afford to send for a piache, for those who convey the request have to give him a necklace of gold beads. This may mean that the novice's family has to ask well-to-do relatives to pay the fee. When he arrives, the piache examines the candidate and stuffs some manilla into his or her mouth. When he sees that it is beginning to take effect, he intones a monotonous song. As soon as he stops, the novice must proclaim his desire to become a piache and have it granted. He is selected by the spirit, but he does not yet know anything. The apprenticeship then begins. [602]

The piache shuts himself into a suitable hut together with the novice, and there they must stay, hidden from the world, for a month or more. The apprentice is not supposed to be seen by anyone during this time. No one may go in and interrupt the seance. The piache sits on his stool of light wood shaped like an animal. He wears a head-dress made of wool and places a similar one on the novice's head. He then begins singing songs, swinging rattles and making all the gestures, movements and conjurations that he uses to call upon and move the spirits. His instruction continues day after day, sometimes by night as well. He has to keep to a certain diet. Roast maize in particular is usually prescribed. Now and again spirits appear and talk with the novice, encouraging him, not least by expounding how great are the advantages of being a piache, and how rich the presents he receives. 756 [352] [262]

One day the spirit announces that the first period of instruction is over and the novice ready for examination. This is an intermediary examination, for the instruction is not complete. So far it has only included spells and magical songs, and the novice has no knowledge of herbs and poisons. (Knowledge of medicinal herbs is common to all by family tradition.) The songs, gestures and spells have been repeated till the novice knows them all perfectly. [824]

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

881 invitation. Again cattle are butchered, and there is drinking
584 and dancing and horse-racing. Numbers of men come to see if they would like to put themselves forward as suitors. The more eminent guests are received in the house itself, and the girl is now present. Her shorn hair has grown and been trimmed to a page-boy cut, and she wears her best clothes
[754 and new ornaments. She hides her hair clippings carefully
826] in a bag, for she does not want to risk anyone getting hold of them and using them to acquire power over her by the arts of magic. Later, she will secretly bury them under a
[789 cow pat. That will help to increase her herds. The droppings
514] of various animals play a great part in the magic of the Guajiro, and it would seem that there is negro influence here as well.

881 The girl has now been born again—she is a new person, a woman. She knows all that an adult woman needs to know and can do everything that a wife and mother should be able to do. Pale and lovely, she steps out into life once more and inquisitive young men swarm round her. The rich give a big feast, the poor provide simpler fare, but it is always a great occasion.

[582] A Guajiro man will never marry a girl before she has undergone this period of confinement, which means that people seldom marry too early. It is said that in the old days
[595 rich old men with several wives sometimes bought little
831] poor girls as concubines, believing that that would enhance their virility.

The girl's long segregation is intended to protect her from the supernatural dangers that are thought to threaten her, especially during this sensitive period of transition from childhood to womanhood. The girl can also be dangerous to others through being exposed to attack by spirits. It is only practical that during this period she should practise handicrafts.

262 Going back to the house, we found the women at the fires, which there were protected by special small cactus
[354] screens. There was no need to have them under a roof at that time of the year, only to shelter them from the wind. The pots stood over the fire supported on three stones.

/213 cont./

231 in this by the availability of water. For these reasons dwellings
423 continued to be mobile and transitory, though not so improvised as before, since some were built in regions that served as general headquarters while they were absent with their herds.

231 In order to take full advantage of pasture in some regions
312 where water was scarce during the summer, the community would
423 dig wells and even build small dams to collect rain water which could be made use of by all those who had co-operated in the construction or by those who legally had access to them. Land which the new well or dam brought into use could be used by all those who had rights to it to water their livestock, a legal form practiced to this day.

At the present time we find on the land of each clan a variable number of wells which generally have been made by communal labor; all members of the family group are permitted access to them. Based on this indispensable need for water the Indians have built more stable, secure, and comfortable housing around these watering places, which are to be found on the best grazing land without encroaching on agricultural land and avoiding causing harm to their neighbors' pasturage. In this way every clan member in any region has ample pasture land at his disposal situated /214/ near his dwelling, on which he can graze his livestock during normal times in the peninsula without having to drive them to other pasture with the change of seasons or interfering in the economic life of his close neighbors.

However, as La Guajira suffers from periods of drought
231 during prolonged summers which totally destroy all grass and
423 dries up the sources of water, the Guajiro is forced to migrate
361 from one place to another in search of food and drink for his herds. In these movements he calls at the traditional clan lands situated in different parts of the peninsula, to which he has legal access by marriage rights; or, as a last resort, he va de remonta, that is, he drives his herds to the pasture lands of the clan groups living in the mountains where the winter arrives earlier than in the other regions and consequently is ready for earlier grazing; hence they can lend their aid to the men of the plains /llanura/ who

/214 cont./

231 find themselves in difficulties. In payment for this benefit of
361 pasturage and use of water a cow /res/ or goat is given on enter-
423 ing. Also, it is customary voluntarily to give another animal when leaving, or a personal gift to the head of the region visited.

423 Recently a new aspect of this general situation has risen:
Small but well-to-do families construct a well near their dwell-
425 ings or in the adjacent pasture land without any assistance from
178 the community. The other Guajiro admit that the family who made this well has first right to its use but affirm that they are under obligation to permit it to be used by others when in need. Nevertheless, it is becoming common for well-to-do families to deny its use even to needy individuals of their own clan, with whom they no longer wish to recognize family ties that would otherwise bind them.

These phenomena have made the concept of communal land ownership evolve. By depriving others of access to the sources of water supply, rich families usurp for themselves the common lands to which this water source is essential. In this way zones of private property are established which permit more sedentary stock raising as well as the construction of sounder and more comfortable dwellings. These new landowners are beginning to fence off their property into veritable haciendas, a state of affairs which were never before seen in the former stages of social evolution.

Another fact that is giving rise to private ownership of land is the reclaiming of wasteland by the construction of wells, since whoever makes one becomes the individual owner of the land involved, land which can be transmitted by inheritance according to the norms of inheritance already studied. /215/

In addition to the cases noted, there is another system of acquiring land, and it is the usurpation of the property of those conquered in a war provoked by the breaking of the regimen for personal security and collective stability of a clan group. Such land, distributed with all the other goods taken from those conquered, goes to enrich the family property of the victors.

[2 cont.]

133 The greater part of the coast of La Guajira, which measures in all some 350 kilometers, belongs to Colombia. It starts from the Río Hacha in the west and extends to Lake Maracaibo in the east. It may be divided into two general parts, one low and liable to flooding, the other highland rising sheer from the coast. The low part starts from Pajaina Channel, which flows into Lake Maracaibo in front of San Carlos Island and continues approximately to the port of Cojoro. From there onward the land rises from the sea in the form of cliffs roughly to the level of Castilletes, a point where the coast level descends slightly to rise again near Punta Espada due to the eastern spurs from the Sierra de Macuira, which, as we have noted in previous paragraphs, then lose themselves in the sea. From this point, going always toward the west, the coast is rocky and inaccessible because of its continental structure.

In the far western part of the La Guajira coast we find the [135 317] most important saltworks that are being exploited in the country, such as those of Pájaro, Manaure, and Bahía Honda which supply salt to the major part of the coastal departments and even to those in the interior of the republic. The coast of this part has numerous beautiful and deep bays among which Bahía Honda is outstanding. Along the coast rich fishing grounds are found, such as [136] Bahía Honda, Cabo de la Vela, Cardón, and Carrizal, centers of fishing and pearl exploitation. Unfortunately, it has not been found practicable to make use of all the commercial navigation [312] and fishing possibilities of this coast due to the absence of potable water in the vicinity. This we were well able to appreciate when we found that the water required for drinking in Carrizal and San José de Bahía Honda, during our stay in these regions, was transported distances greater than ten kilometers.

361 The most important ports of the coast of La Guajira, from 504 west to east, are Ahuyama; Manaure, center of the salt industry; Cardón and Carrizal, pearl fishing centers; San José de Bahía Honda, on the bay of the same name, also engaged in the salt industry, and Puerto Estrella, center of the maritime traffic of motorized sailing boats plying between the islands of Aruba and Curaçao, and Puerto López.

[4 cont.]

221 on the other hand, is a synonym of hunger, misery, and of death.

221 361 233 The conditions of their geographical situation and the occupation of stock grazing, to which the Indians have devoted themselves since the Conquest, have accentuated their nomadic character because of the need to bring their herds to places where the indispensable pasture and water are available. Furthermore, this need has held back the formation of towns in the true sense of the word, as what is called a rancherías ["hamlet"] in La Guajira is nothing more than two or three huts of wood and thatch, inhabited by people related to each other and which may be several kilometers away from other rancherías. The presence of water at minimum distances greatly influences the location [5] of these habitations, so that the occupants are not obliged to walk long distances.

177 361 Only in those localities where the influences of civilizados [generally, nonnatives] are greatly felt do we find what we may call urban centers, but in these the foreign element is more in evidence than the aboriginal. Such for example is the case of Uribia, capital of the Comisaría; Nazaret, a mission center; Maicao, Puerto Estrella, and Carraipía, points of trade with Venezuela, Aruba, Curaçao, and the interior of the country; and Manaure and Bahía Honda, centers of the salt industry.

* * *

175 648 The Guajiro Indian was never completely conquered. Throughout the Conquest and the colonization, he kept up a series of wars with the Spanish authorities, whom he learned always to resist, thus maintaining his independence. But he kept up his trade relations with the whites, not only Spaniards but Europeans in general, who reached his shores where they established stations for fishing and the pearl trade, as well as with the group of Spaniards resident in Ríohacha, the western limit of the peninsula.

175 177 These contacts with European civilization were slowly changing their ways of life in the major part of its aspects, whenever the Guajiro incorporated a series of relatively new elements

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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in an Appendix. With the exception of the Jirnues or Piesies, a 614
small tribe of 200 souls all told living in the valley of Macuira between Ara-ura and Itujoro, the Güaririues, a mere handful of Indians under the protectorate of the Jirnu, the Sijuanas, Seouanas, Arapainayúes, Sámuriues, Araurujunas, and the Arpusiatas, all small local tribes, strictly confined to the upper country or east of Cabo de la Vela, the other castes are distributed throughout the breadth and width of the land in the greatest confusion. Living as the Goajiro does, in continual 361
strife and warfare, whole families would speedily become poor or extinct, 614
if they did not take the precaution to separate their wealth and herds, and only keep a few in one place at a time. Scarcity of water and [312]
pasture compels them to lead a nomadic life, and makes house-building [233]
out of the question, for they are eternally changing abode, now in the [342]
upper Goajira and then in the lower or plains. Some branches among the castes have, in spite of their roving propensities, predispositions for certain spots. For example, the proud and wealthy Pushainas are chiefly found round and about Parashi and Ataipa. Urianas tiger frequent Taroa and Bahia Honda a great deal, while near Porteto, Ipuanas and Epinayues abound. In the neighbourhood of Auipana the Ipuanas and Jusayues are in great force; at the Tota nearly all are Jusayues, and near Las Guardias at Guarero, Sapuanas; these three latter are mostly all Cocina Indians. With respect to these terrible 579
Cocinas, the word in Goajira signifies robber, highwayman, or outlaw. They are neither a tribe nor even a separate caste as many have supposed, but simply a band of freebooters—Indians that, for quarrels, [681]
murder, thefts, &c., have been expelled the family, and must needs take to pillaging to earn a livelihood. For self-defence, and to better ply their nefarious calling, they are banded together with recognised chiefs, and so are able to go on their marauding expeditions in great force, pouncing on any less numerous or unprepared party, to strip them of everything. One party of Cocinas will rob another if they can. Nearly all the Goajiros have relations among them, but an Indian is only safe with that band to which his relation belongs. They have commercial intercourse with them, and often succeed in getting stolen cattle back. The Cocinas' territory *par excellence* is the Cojoro range of hills, taking in the Tota, traversing the plains in a narrow band, and occupying the Montes of Oca as a refuge while scouring the plains. The country as far east as the Macuira range is not exempt from their depredations, especially between Ciapana and the Laguna of Tucacas. The principal Cocina chiefs are Alyochipara or Yorujama, as he frequently is called, an [631]
Uriana, and rules the country about Auipana and Yuripicho—he is the worst and most feared of the lot; Porón, an Arpushaina, another devil—he has appropriated the district of Cojoro; Masapain, a Josayú, lords it all about the Tota; and Morejikko, a Sapuana, is chief of the country about Las Guardias. Once the terror of the plains, this wild beast has [648]

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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579 been completely tamed by the Venezuelans. He, with of course his
648 followers, have found honesty the best policy after all, and are now reformed and peaceful members of society, returned to breeding and agriculture. This shows what can be done with firmness combined with a little judicious tact and management.

342 The Indians build no elaborate dwelling-houses. Their best ranchos are simple, and constructed in a short time. The roof is covered with the split woody core of a tall euphorbia. This makes a good cool roof, impermeable to water and easily removed when the family flits. The
[513] rancho is seldom used for sleeping purposes; for this numerous poles (*tchepsi*) are firmly fixed all over the place for swinging hammocks, often three and four to one pole, and crossing each other. Sometimes two and three sleep in a hammock. Further off other poles (*palúmaler*)
[417] are found, to tie animals up at, and a small corral or sheep-pen for the goats and sheep is also indispensable in every well-regulated family.
● 361 The site of a rancho is always carefully chosen, much strategy being displayed in locating the whole, so that each rancho covers the other
621 without itself being seen. Although villages are never attempted, yet a family rarely lives isolated. Everybody bolsters himself with that bugbear of Goajira society, his relations. Their ranchos are always within gunshot distance, so as mutually to defend each other. One is
[712] invariably on high ground to dominate the country, the rest are hidden away in nooks and corners where least expected. If one rancho is seen, others are close at hand. In case of attack, this system prevents a whole family being exterminated. One or two ranchos may be taken, but the rest escape or fly to the rescue, as the case may be. At all events the
[552] avenger, so dear to the Indian, survives. Each rancho has a distinct name. Besides, every Indian who is anybody has several ranchos
[423] spread over the country. To collect the names of the ranchos would be paramount to taking a census of the territory. The following are
103 well-known ranchos, with usually some half-caste from Riohacha
443 trading with the Indians. In the Macuira range, six miles from Punta Espada, is Guarerpá, at the foot of Ara-ura; chief, Caijuna, a Jirnu.
592 Westwards, close to the sea-shore, Chémunao; chief, José Agustin, a
621 Jallariú, a half-caste speaking good Spanish. At the foot of Itujoro, Maguaipá, situated on a slight eminence eight miles from the sea, and is an important trading station. Paraliero, native name of Puerto Estrella, boasts twelve houses and three iron warehouses, with always two or three Riohacheros resident there. The chief, Pedro Quinto, is Epioyu, but his sister Maricla is the virtual ruler. Inland, 16 miles from Bahia Honda or Taroa is Merunay, another large trading station, usually with two or three Riohacheros established there. The eight ranchos are well located on a plain between Macuira and Parashi. The chief, Saipa, is Epioyu. This is one of the most central stations in the Goajira, and is surrounded by several important places; it is probably

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the site of the old Spanish settlement San Juan de Ipapa. On the west 103
side of the Parashi Hills in the plains is another well-known central 443
trading station Joroy; chief, Majutó, an Ipuana; probably near the old 592
site of the Spanish settlement Moscote. In the neighbourhood are: 621
Guarirpanturi; chief, Concón, an Ipuana. A Dutchman from Aruba [167]
has lived here many years, and has become quite an Indian. Aipiapá,
a few ranchos on an eminence commanding the whole valley. The
Indians here are rather mixed, but the chief is a Pushaina. The well
Kapaulera, at the base of the hill, is the finest I saw, and surrounded with
rich green vegetation similar to that of Macuira. Katunasió, the most
inland station. It is generally the traders that make a rancho known, for
the Indians do everything they can to keep their abodes, if not secret, at
any rate as much in the dark as possible. The plains being more unsettled
than the mountain district, traders do not venture to establish them-
selves in the interior, as at Morunay or Joroy, so few ranchos are known.
The most important place in the Lower Goajira is Guincua, midway 361
between Riohacha and the Venezuelan town of Las Guardias or Santa 648
Teresa. Paraguaipoa, the new Venezuelan military colony, founded in
1882, counts already 50 houses. It is situated in the plains 12 miles in
advance of Santa Teresa, which it completely covers. The garrison at
present consists of 30 men, well mounted and found in every respect,
under the orders of a commander, two secretaries, and two interpreters;
the latter for the purpose of taking statistics as to trade, &c. Altogether
it is a model establishment, and does honour to the Government of
Venezuela. The entire population of the Goajira may be about 20,000; 161
it does not exceed 25,000, and is not increasing.

As regards manners and customs and the way they enforce their old 672
peculiar laws, these Goajiros are particularly interesting. Of course, 681
like all Indians, they are singularly proficient in begging, stealing, and 628
drinking, but besides these capital vices they add a fourth, that is
demanding compensation, tear- or blood-money—principal cause of all
the strife and blood feuds between the castes, and an everlasting danger
to Indians and strangers alike. Whereas about one-quarter of the male
population die a violent death from its result, another quarter are killed
by drink and its effects. The laws that govern these compensation cases
are very intricate, their number is legion. First is the terrible law of
retribution, that makes a whole caste responsible for the acts of any
single member. As the Spaniards or white men are considered by the [609]
Indians as belonging to one large family, the country is very unsafe for
travelling, for every white man is a sort of hostage for the good be-
haviour of the others. If an Indian should be killed in a quarrel by a
white man, the life of another white man, living leagues away, depends
upon whether the foe (relations of the dead Indian) or a friend brings
the news first. Many an innocent unconscious trader has been sacri-
ficed at one end of the peninsula for a foul murder committed at the
other end.

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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122 As a last word I may say from personal experience that the Goajira is an interesting but not a beautiful country, nor is it a desirable place for travelling, either for pleasure or for commerce. Not that there is any actual danger under ordinary circumstances, but what between drunken bloodthirsty Indians, blood- and tear-money, with all the intricacies of their own peculiar laws, travelling among them is as bad as sitting on a keg of gunpowder before a big fire. It is impossible to foretell when a mere spark, accidentally or intentionally, may blow the whole thing up.

APPENDIX.

361 614 825

List of Tribes or Castes, with their respective animals and favourite resting-places.

Uriana ..	Canahapur	Tiger	About Taroa and Bahia Honda.
" ..	Arpaná	Rabbit	About Cuco and Maracaybo coast.
" ..	Guiupiral	A singing bird ..	Everywhere.
" ..	Hokórin	Gecko (lizard) ..	Only in the plains.
Epleyú ..	Guaruscho	A species of vulture	Bahia Honda, Puerto Estrella, and plains.
Pushaina ..	Puicho ..	A species of small peccary.	Perashi, Ataipa, and plains.
Ipuana ..	Mushará ..	A sort of hawk ..	Portete Joroy, Ciapana, &c.
Jayarú ..	Er ..	Dog	Macuira and plains.
Jusayú ..	Kasiaurie	Rat-snake	Tota, Hayaro.
Arpushaina ..	Sumur ..	Vulture	Guincua and plains, Cohoro.
Sapuana ..	Garina ..	Hen	Plains, Guarero.
" ..	Cárral ..	A species of stork ..	(?)
Epinayu ..	Uyára ..	A small buck ..	Portete, Hayarure.
Jirnu or Pluí	Guarir ..	Fox	Only in the Macuira valley.
Secuana ..	Ghorgóor or Guaruscho.	Species of vulture ..	Only in the Upper Goajira.
Urariyú ..	Mára ..	Rattlesnake	Everywhere.
Pausayú ..	Hucho ..	(?)	(?)
Sijuata ..	Cóori ..	Wasp	Upper Goajira only.
Guaririn ..	Guarir ..	Fox	Only in the hills of Macuira.
Gumúriu or Guau-uriu.	Por ..	Partridge	Taroa and Upper Goajira.
Arapainayú ..	Anuwana ..	Species of vulture ..	Upper Goajira only.
Samurú ..	Hepépa ..	Owl	" "
Arpuista ..	Ischú ..	Red cardinal bird ..	" "
Uelmaiú ..	Are all Coeina Indians		Cohoro hills only.
Arauruiuna ..	A small, almost unknown tribe in the hills of Macuira.		
Ghorguoriyú	Ghorgóor or Guaruscho.	Species of vulture	Only in the hills of Upper Goajira.

[262] N.B.—The Samurides, a very small caste, eat horseflesh and donkeys. This is considered by the other Indians to be very unclean, who, until lately, did not even eat fowls. All Indians are, however, fond of a species of lizard, "guasher," and iguanas.

[pages 797-840 do not pertain to SC13 Goajiro]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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273 quarrelsome, the parting drink of spirits having had its effect. One old man after much swaying in the saddle was finally thrown off by his jibbing mule. He landed in a prickly bush and became frantic. He wanted to see blood. Luckily his weapons were on his saddle, but he managed to remove one of his spurs and began stabbing with it at those who were trying to help him up. Francisco received a jab, but he and a couple of others managed to overpower the old ruffian, whom they bound and tied to his saddle. Then his wife led him and his mount away.

609 574 One by one the groups went off in their various directions. We came to the rancho of the young Indian, our new friend. He had several big huts, built on the sand, where [361] there was no greenery or shade. He explained that when the rains came, it did not become swampy there, as in most other places, but the water ran through the sand and you could [286] walk dry-shod. There were looms in several of the open huts. At one sat our host's young, light-complexioned wife, [832] who undoubtedly was a great beauty by Guajiro standards, and in another his aged mother with a wrinkled clever face.

[272] We were offered goat's milk as a refreshment. I was always amazed at the care with which these Indians collected the small quantities of milk the goats yielded, for each gave a mere squirt. We took a gulp of goat's milk in order to avoid having to drink spirits.

The women were in a great bustle, evidently getting a spread ready. The Guajiro are hospitable, and when strangers or friends come they must have the best the house can provide. If need be, the host gives up his own hammock and lies on the ground.

439 778 Our host had plenty of hammocks. After resting a while, my wife went inside to look at the weaving, while I produced one of the pistols I had bought at an auction and demonstrated it, shooting a couple of shots, the noise and smoke of which appeared highly satisfactory to our host. Hastily he drew me aside and whispered that he had something that ought to interest me. He had *unu* and was willing to part with this precious, sought-after article in exchange for my noisy pistol. After all I had a companion without a

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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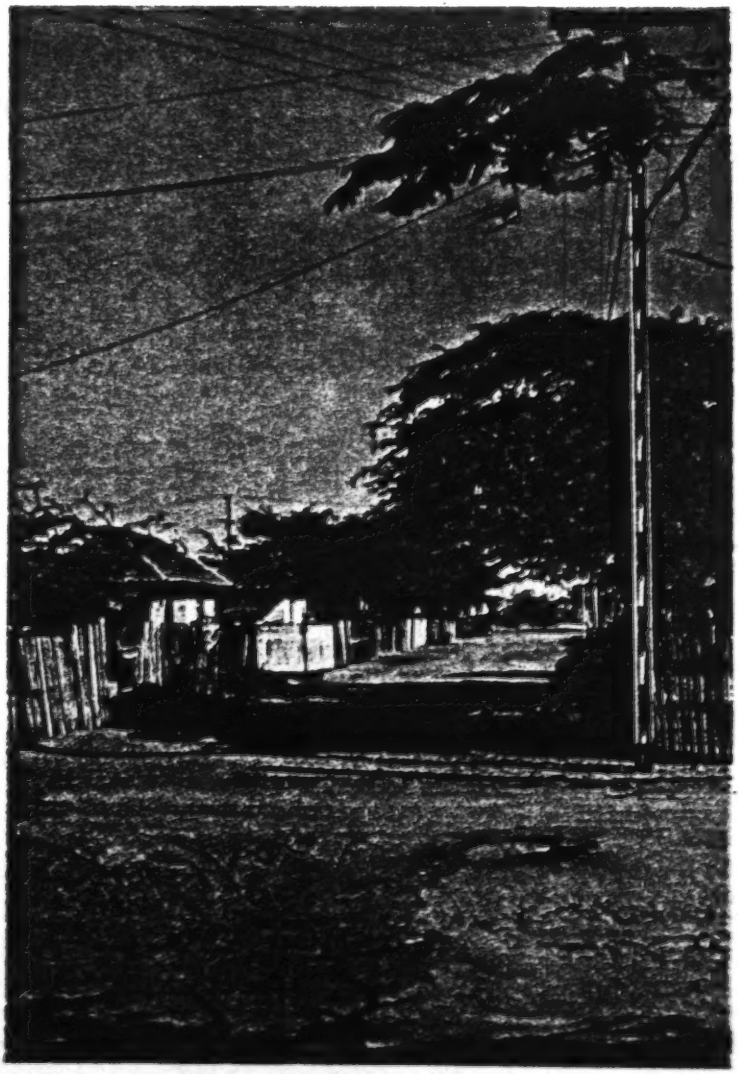

The Guajiro town at Maracaibo

[facing p. 136]

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Indians with a stolen goat near the Cusina Hills

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The white man's dangerous magic: the film-camera

Below: *Indian camp with cactus fence*

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417

[facing p. 144]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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Guajiro Indians in the leafy south. One is painted

Below: *The Indians' Venice*

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361

[Facing p. 161]

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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the chief game. The *Goajiro* who live near the coast sometimes catch 22
fish (with hook and line), lobsters, mollusks, and crabs.

Cattle raising.—The *Goajiro* are primarily nomadic cattle raisers and, 231
consequently, depend upon the water supply. In the rainy season they 221
seek natural depressions, which they sometimes enlarge artificially, where [312]
the water may gather. In case of drought they wander toward the sea,
where wells 30 to 40 feet (9 to 12 m.) deep are dug.

Besides cattle the *Goajiro* keep sheep, goats, horses (pl. 72, *bottom, left*), mules, pigs, and domestic fowls, which they take with them wherever 231
they go. An estimate gives them 100,000 cattle, 200,000 sheep and goats,
20,000 horses and mules, and 30,000 donkeys. As cattle are a measure [556]
of wealth, the Indians are reluctant to kill them for food, but they utilize [439]
the milk or export the animals to Curaçao and Aruba in exchange for
textiles and corn. Each tribe has its own cattle brand, and the annual [422]
round-up and branding is an occasion for great festivities. Horse races
and other sports take place, and large quantities of food and drink are [527]
consumed.

Food preparation.—*Goajiro* diet consists almost entirely of meat and 262
milk products. Goats and sheep are killed every day or two for meat, 252
and the milk of the cows is made into butter and cheese. This diet is supplemented by yuca, cactus fruit, sugar, rice, and plantains, the last three obtained from Colombian and Venezuelan traders in exchange for skins. Meat that is not immediately consumed is suspended from tall poles, and skins are pegged to the ground and salted in preparation for sale. Butter is made by stirring the cream with a fluted stick in a calabash or wooden bucket. To make cheese, rennet is added to skimmed milk in a trough, and the curds are put in a primitive wooden cheese press, which is weighted with a heavy rock.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Although the *Goajiro* are of a common origin, they are divided into 614
sibs ("castes" or "tribes"), each living within a rather limited area 361
(Simons, 1885, p. 796). The sibs are split into local groups, which occupy extended villages or rancherías, each with 2 to 50 houses (ranchos) and 10 to 250 or more Indians. Houses are always within gunshot distance of one another and so disposed that surprise attacks would be difficult. If a village is at all permanent, a protective cactus hedge surrounds it.

Goajiro nomadism makes elaborate houses unnecessary. Dwellings 342
are mere lean-tos, arbors, and temporary gabled roofs supported on poles.
Thatch is made from the core of the cactus, split lengthwise. Rough [352]
tables, chairs with rawhide seats, and benches are often used. The ham-
mock is always present. House walls are often lacking, but a corner [381]
of the hut may be closed off for a girl's puberty seclusion. When mi-

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The Guajiro town at Maracaibo

[facing p. 136]

/24 cont./

524 participate later in the competitions in which the child challenges his playmates to make a certain figure in the shortest time. Other forms of competition are: that of interposing difficulties in forming the figure, making a greater number of them, or the invention of new ones.

Spinning tops is another game which is played with notable intensity and variations, as the boys learn and practice the different ways known of handling this toy in their country, such as dancing it on the hand, beating the opponent by smashing his top with the opposing one, etc. For this game a special vocabulary and rules have been established as well as techniques to win when taking the offensive or tactics for defense.

They also play with glass marbles or, when lacking these, palm seeds with the edible endocarp. For example, they make "houses" by placing three marbles in the form of a triangle as a base and superimposing a fourth. The game consists in knocking them down with a fifth marble. He who manages to do this takes for himself the marbles or seeds originally placed. Another variation consists of several players placing their marbles on the floor. In strict order each one tries, by flicking his marble with his thumb levering against the index finger, to hit the marbles of his opponents or to place his own at a previously arranged distance from theirs, to win and get their marbles.

85 [369] But these games are practically only for town children or those kept in school, as the average child has little leisure to play, for from a very early age he is a valuable work unit who must concentrate his activities on carrying out some task, leaving him little time for such diversions. Also, he lives isolated in very lonely places and consequently will rarely meet companions to play with.

[526] Boys also play ball games, which they learn at school, and they learn to act in the Festival of the Kid at harvest time when they take the parts of small animals, children, gifts, or ornaments.

Imitative play activities are the pretending and exercise of adult activities. The child amuses himself, for example, by practicing /25/ hunting, stalking and killing small animals such

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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[372]

Our men making fire

Indian salt workers, men and women, at Manaure

[258
412]

[facing p. 33]

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Left: *I help an old man, who had never seen matches, to light his cigar*

142
291

Chinca, a girl of simple family, (on the left) and a well-born maiden expensively perfumed in a white tunic

[516]

Indian camp and a mestizo

[Facing p. 49]

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

411 by an empty cartridge case, to which a metal ring is sometimes attached, giving a musical note with every shot.

Feathered arrows show many designs. Bird arrows may be tipped with cartridge cases or with large, rounded, wooden knobs about 1 inch (2.5 cm.) in diameter. Heads made from nails are used for small game. Serrated metal-tipped arrows are used in warfare; but the most dangerous arrow is pointed with a sting ray tail, sharpened to a fine needlelike point and fitted into the hollow end of a light cane shaft about 4 feet (1.2 m.) long and three-eighth inch (9 mm.) thick.

[278] To prepare arrow poison, scorpions, centipedes, and poisonous spiders are mashed, snake venom is added, and the mixture is allowed to putrefy for several days. The poison will retain its potency for six months. It is kept in a short section of bamboo, which is carried around the waist, together with the arrow points, each in a hollow reed. Before shooting, an Indian dips the point into the poison and inserts it in the shaft.

[282] A decorated leather wrist strap is worn as a bowstring guard.

372 **Fire making.**—Fire is made by twirling an arrow on a cactus hearth; the spark is caught in dry grass.

TRADE

439 There is considerable trade between the *Goajiro* and foreigners. Firearms and ammunition, cloth, beads, blankets, rum, cutlery, corn, crude sugar, rice, plantains, and tobacco are imported in exchange for salt, cattle, cheese, milk, hides, pearls and pearl shells, logwood (*Haematoxylon campechianum*), and divi-divi (*Caesalpinia coriaria*).

464 During the salt season the Indians of the interior flock to Manaure, where they are paid for loading sacks of salt into the warehouse and onto ships. Both men and women take part in the work, the men filling the sacks and the women carrying them.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

614 The *Goajiro* are subdivided into 30 odd matrilineal sibs ("castes" or "tribes"), each identified with an animal. Some of the larger and more important sibs are split into smaller groups, each with a special totem. (See Simons, 1885, p. 796, and Weston, 1937, p. 139, for a list of the various sibs, together with the totem animals and the locality which they inhabit.) The members of any sib are more widely spread throughout the peninsula than previously thought, although in some localities, one sib may be found to the exclusion of all others. Each "caste," according to Petrullo (1937, p. 155), "holds sovereignty over a well-defined territory." The sib which is largest and wealthiest in livestock is that of the Urianas. It has many subdivisions, such as Uriana jaguar, Uriana rabbit, Uriana paularate (a song bird), and Uriana gecko (a lizard). The

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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cemetery, a site chosen in some solitary arid spot, and surrounded by walls of cacti. At the death of Salvador, a Pushaina from Arroyo Cardon, 120 fat oxen were killed, and the hides did not pay for the liquor drunk. Two of the same family meeting for the first time after the death of a relation, must squat down on their hands in front of each other, and sob and weep, for at least a quarter of an hour, the louder the better. 764 765

The Indians are very punctilious in saluting. Calling at a rancho, visitors must wait until spoken to, if this is not done soon, it is evident they are not welcome, so ride away. The words used never seem to be the same. The most frequent are "Intishi-pia" (you have come), or "Eiguare pia" (so you have arrived). In eating and drinking the Indians are extremely cleanly. The principals all eat separately; receiving their allowance in an earthenware dish, *posú*, with a gourd spoon, *pushú*. The remains, with an addition, serve for the lower members of the family. Water is invariably given after, to wash the mouth and fingers. Even if a drink of milk is taken, a little water is tendered after. As to their hospitality, it has, I believe, been rather exaggerated. There is no doubt that the Goajiro is more hospitable than the Arhuaco of the Sierra Nevada, but then he is also far more cunning and diplomatic, and his hospitality is a mere question of self-interest. He will willingly give a sheep or a goat as a present, provided there is a chance of claiming an ox in return. He is chivalresque in his donations. When he does give a sheep, it is a fat one, his best, and given whole, without reserve, skin and all. If eating, on the arrival of a stranger, he may offer food to him, but certainly will give if requested, as is the custom, always begging. One thing a guest may rely upon receiving in a rancho is a hammock, even if the owner has to sleep on the ground. Lastly, among curious customs, is that of parents assuming the names of their children with the prefix *nushi* or *sushi* if the father, and *ni* or *si* if the mother. Thus the father of Juan would call himself "Nushijuan," or if a daughter, "Sushijuana." The mother of Juan would be called "Nijuan," and if a daughter, "Sijuana." 574 [264] [415] [431] 551

The dress of the Goajiros is extremely simple, and probably similar to his savage luxury of three centuries ago, when Alfinger devastated the land, except that his own quiet blacks and browns—for he is cunning in the art of dyeing—have given way to the gorgeous blues, reds, and yellows of European wool. His every day working costume is simply a strip of cloth from three inches wide upwards, called *caiches*. When paying visits, receiving company, or travelling, he does his best—a large loincloth with many folds, and the home-woven mantle *shé*, with a magnificent sash, *si-ira*. The mantle is managed with wonderful elegance, now letting it fall about him in voluptuous folds, or dropping it from his shoulders, and tucking it into his immense sash, where his arrows are carried. The hair, which is jet black, thick, and cut short, is kept back in a very æsthetic style by a ring or crown, 291 [326] [177] 302 291

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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302 called *para* if made of plaited straw, and *capanase* if made of wool,
291 with large tassel (worn behind). The two can be combined and adorned with a couple of feathers in front. When made entirely of feathers, it becomes *toróma*. An Indian's toilet would not be complete without
[293] a *kapiquito*, a piece of leather fastened round the left wrist by a twist of wool to receive the recoil of the bow-string when shooting. Paint is
302 common to both sexes, and in excess. They assert that it saves their complexions from the sun. The last thing an Indian does, on mounting horse for the day's journey, is to call for the powder-box, and plentifully besprinkle his face. The powders *mapuatepo* or *marua* are rotten wood;
● [386] *guanapai*, a black stain from a wild nut; and *parisa*, very popular among the fairer sex, is the colour extracted from a leaf and mixed with fat.

291 The woman's dress is invariably, at present, made from foreign cotton,
[177] and is a plain sack with a hole for the head and two others for the arms. With the wind it blows out and makes her look like a balloon. The white cotton is dyed black with divi-divi, or yellowish-brown with mora
[386] (yellow wood), or reddish-brown with the suckers of mangroves. The Indians are exceptionally clean and nice in their dress, and, however
[515] poor, keep a reserve suit for state occasions. Women alone wear the *púna* and the *sirapo*. The púna are like a pair of braces; long strings
301 of beads passing over each shoulder to cross each other on the breast and back, held in position at the waist by the sirapo, a sort of sash or belt made of beads likewise. Small strings a few ounces in weight are placed on the female child a few months after birth, and gradually increased, according to the strength of the child and the purse of the parents. Pánas are made with any beads except black, a red variety with white eye (*iachón*) preferred, and weigh from 2 to 10 lbs. With sirapos any coloured bead will do, *pinar* or black ones the rule, and they weigh from 1 to 10 lbs. A married woman may wear the púna until
[844] her first confinement, when it is laid aside. Poor Indians who cannot afford beads for the púna make it of cotton dyed black and brabled. Among the many necklaces, tumas are the most valuable. These curious
[172] perforated stones are only found in the graves of prehistoric races, both in the peninsula itself and the Sierra Nevada. There are many varieties. The round ones varying in size from a large marble to a pea are *tóma* (a name generalised by the Spaniards); those in shape of small charm-barrels are *amurará*; the pear-shaped, according as they are long or dumpy, *perinya*, and *guariraiuya*; the bugle is *parauria*, &c. Mineralogically they are bits of red jasper, cornelian, and reddish sardonyx. Their value depends upon the intensity of red and size. A large one at
[435] present is worth a head of cattle; a necklace has from 15 to 30, varying in size. Bracelets are as varied and in as much profusion as necklaces; they are called *hápusa*, from *shapo*, the hand. On the feet they also wear strings of cornelians and beads. They have two names, the aristocratic *cushihendr* and the common *guaurihesa*.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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551 told that among my own people I was a sort of medicine-man and chief combined.

Nowadays most of the Indians in Guajira acquire three first names: a Spanish one that the white men give them, a nickname, and their true, Indian name, which is secret except to members of their immediate family. When a girl is born, her father names her after her mother or some near female relative, but for everyday use she has a pet name [553] which is only dropped when she reaches marriageable age. She then acquires a new name, which she keeps for the rest of her life.

563 The Creoles called those in the border areas who were not 101 Indians '*gente*', or just 'people'. They could scarcely be called white, for many were as good as pure black, being the descendants of former slaves. When they told us in Rio Hacha that there were not any 'people' living in this or that village, they meant that there were none but Indians there. Those who were not Indians, that is those who wore trousers, also called themselves '*civilisados*', while the Indians called them arijuna.

We called our two old Indians Gaffer and Gammer, and 115 the youngest 'The Lad'. We liked The Lad especially. He was 124 strong, merry and did the work of two. The fourth, who, strangely enough, had a crew cut and was supposed to be our interpreter, we called 'Bristles', and he learned to answer to that. He knew a little Spanish, but as an interpreter he was no use. When the Gaffer had been talking to us for a long time and we asked Bristles what he had said, the answer always was: 'Nothing'. Perhaps that was what the other's talk amounted to, but we should have preferred to have judged that for ourselves. We noticed, too, that if we had to scold the Gaffer, Bristles did not dare repeat what we said. With gestures and the few Guajiro words we knew we could make Gaffer realize that we were annoyed with him, but not always why.

291 The men wore nothing but the usual piece of cloth and ● 386 belt, the *núrcte*, or, in Spanish, guayuco, which really means crupper, and sandals to protect their feet from the cactus spikes lying on the ground, but the Gammer was enveloped

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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in a wide woman's tunic, dyed black with divi-divi. Her face was painted black, too. At her age that could scarcely have been necessary to save her complexion, but such painting is also a protection against dangerous spirits. The Gaffer carried his ceremonial dress with him, tucked away somewhere. This consisted of an oblong piece of cloth sewn up along one side and with a hole for the head at the top. It is worn draped in such a way that the chest is bare.

Thus our caravan made its way along. The animals' shadows contracted further and further. Soon the sun would be right overhead. The very air seemed to have melted in the heat, and the blue hills in the distance had begun to dissolve. Here and there grew a cactus, otherwise there was nothing but sand and salt to be seen. Slowly the caravan crept along. We spurred our mules and rode on ahead, but after a while we had to turn back in order not to go astray. We found the Gaffer riding and the Gammer walking. The Gaffer could hardly stick on. He swayed in the saddle, for he was as drunk as a lord, having smuggled with him a calabash containing spirits instead of water.

He was just about to take another pull as we came galloping up, and he was so frightened that he dropped the calabash, which smashed and the spirits ran out. At that we searched the old couple's baggage, despite their protests, and found another calabash of spirits. We gave the Gaffer a large coin for it. The two young ones were delighted at his misfortune, for his baggage had given them a lot of trouble. It was obvious that the Gaffer had started drinking early, for the loads on the donkeys in his charge were badly secured and danced about, so that one after the other had to be lashed on afresh.

We told the Gammer that she must restrain her old man, an order which the interpreter undoubtedly passed on, probably with some comments of his own. The Gammer was not popular with the two young ones, and Bristles would not lack the courage to tell a woman a few home truths. Gradually the Gaffer sobered up, and a good thing he did, for we were approaching an Indian rancho, where he would have to act as spokesman for me.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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those we had left, but just as simple. Inside were hammocks slung this way and that. Along the walls were carrying-nets filled with things, and earthenware vessels lay scattered about the floor of hard-trodden sand. Some of these vessels were grey, others reddish-brown, some had necks and handles. One was an obvious imitation of a Dutch liqueur jar. It was not far to Puerto Estrella, to which schooners from the Dutch islands came.

Most of the earthenware vessels had red decoration. Some, with wavering lines, were obviously the work of the oldest of the women, who was frail and almost blind; but there was no fault in the shape of the vessel. The woven cloths were hung up in a special shelter. The warp hung vertical and ran like an endless belt over an upper and a lower pole. Several related tribes, members of the Aruak family, use the same method. When the cloth is finished, it forms a ring, and is then cut up.

They were working on a man's belt or sash. The everyday belt was only a couple of inches wide, but sashes intended for more solemn occasions were some eighteen inches broad and very colourful. They used red, yellow, black and white yarn and the pattern was most interesting. Ceremonial cloaks are also woven for the men, just as colourful as the sashes, but, to my sorrow, I was never able to acquire a really fine specimen. They were simply too expensive. The rich chiefs collected them, but custom decreed that they must be wrapped in all their cloaks when they died, which meant that none were inherited. The men's everyday cloaks I have already described; they pulled them on and then twisted them so that their chest was bared. The women's dress was considerably more Spartan: it was a wide tunic, made like a sack with holes for the head and arms, and dyed black with divi-divi or brown with stuff from some other plant. Their loin-cloth only became visible when they were working in the shade or indoors and removed their tunics. It too was black or undyed. They themselves thought that there was no call to use a nice patterned cloth for underclothes. Little girls often had patterned loin-cloths, but then they did not wear tunics

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until they reached marriageable age. Even when they were 291
little they wore belts of seed pearls which were added to
with the years, and other strings of beads were put round [301]
their shoulders and across their chests. A girl of eight or
ten might carry fifteen or twenty pounds weight of beads
and pearls. The string round the waist was made of black
beads, but those on the upper part of the body had to be of
different colours.

The rich used gold and coral. Necklaces of gold beads 301
were traditional, but every other bead had to be black and [556]
be either a seed-pearl or of glass. Poor girls used plaits of
cotton threads on their torsos instead of strings of beads. [271]
All who could, wore sandals with pompoms to protect
their feet against the thorns on the ground.

Women slaves and slave-workers were often not given 291
protective tunics by their masters and therefore went about 567
perpetually half-naked. Being unable to protect themselves
from the sun, they become darker skinned than the others.

The women's dress was thus colourless—unless they had 302
bought some coloured cloth from a white trader. To make
up for this, they painted their faces with patterns, mostly [386]
using the violet dye of a fruit called *genipa*. The men
painted themselves too, but restricted this to a few lines.
Only the women took real pains about painting themselves.
It was mainly their faces they painted, but on occasion their
arms and legs could also be covered with patterns. When on
a journey, the women painted their noses and cheeks all
over with black or red paint. This was not done for the [751]
sake of appearance, but to protect themselves against sun-
burn. We tried the method ourselves and found it excellent.
If one did not follow the Indians' example there, one easily
got badly burned. The Indians regard this protective effect [788]
as supernatural—all paint is magical and the pattern has
secret significance. The women showed my wife red and
brown powders that they had and advised her to try them.

All at once the women were in a hurry. They had 881
remembered that the men were due and hastened to the fires
and their pots. We roamed around and came across a small
hut, entirely closed, standing just behind the big houses.

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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When migrating from one locality to another the *Goajiro* generally dismantle their houses and take them along, piling the poles and thatch on the backs of burros. Sometimes, however, they leave them for their own or someone else's use in the future.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Goajiro dress has changed little since the time of Nicolás de la Rosa (18th century). Men normally wear only a breechcloth, a necklace, and a head band with feather attached (pl. 72, *top*); but when traveling, paying visits, or receiving company they wear a large loincloth with many folds, a mantle (nowadays of bright colors), and an immense sash, in which they carry their arrows. A knitted string bag is hung from the waistband. In towns trousers and shirts are worn. The women wear a cotton dress, sometimes made like a simple sack with holes cut for the head and arms. The puna—long strings of beads passing over both shoulders, crossing each other on the breast and back and held in place by a sash or belt of beads (the sirapo)—is placed on a female child a few months after birth and gradually augmented according to the parents' wealth and the child's age. Black beads are generally used for the sirapo, colored ones for the puna. A married woman wears the puna until her first confinement. After her seclusion at puberty, a robe, sometimes containing 8 or 10 yards of embroidered material, is also worn by a *Goajiro* woman, but the loosely folded cloth which was her sole covering before puberty is still worn beneath it. Women, unlike men, are modest and avoid being seen naked.

Some young girls have as many as 100 turns of beads around their waists, as well as many around their wrists and ankles. Red coral is preferred, but most beads are made from seeds or coconut shell and are cut out by means of a hollow metal reamer twirled rapidly between the palms. The perforated shell may then be used as a colander. Glass and porcelain beads and earrings are also worn. The most prized ornaments are the tumas—polished and perforated stone ornaments found in some of the old graves. On dress occasions necklaces of beads and gold ornaments are worn. These, found in *Tairona* graves, are fashioned in the form of tiny animals, frogs, turtles, etc.

The men, except the medicine men, wear their hair short, kept back by a ring or crown made of plaited straw, or of wool with a tassel behind. Often the two are combined and adorned with a couple of feathers in front; or the whole may be made of feathers. For protection against mosquitos and sun both sexes paint their skin with powders made from rotten wood, a black stain made from a wild nut, and another color extracted from leaves and mixed with fat. After puberty women cut their hair short, keeping the shorn tresses in a bag hung from the roof; henceforth they never let it grow beyond the neck. They make designs on

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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They make designs on
their skin with black stain and tattoo themselves, especially on the arms 302 304
and legs, with charcoal dust pigment. At least one of the marks is [619]
the same as the tribal brand.

MANUFACTURES

Women have a rather definite daily routine. They arise before day- 512
break, milk the cows, and prepare the morning meal for the men, who 462
then go off to fish, hunt, fight, or merely loaf and drink chicha. They fill their jugs at the water hole and then spend the rest of the day collecting wild cotton, spinning, weaving, making ropes, grinding corn, making butter, cheese, and chicha, and performing other household duties. They milk again in the evening.

Textiles are probably the best *Goajiro* manufactures. Their other 286
products are pottery (which is the virtual monopoly of a few sibs), bows 32
and arrows, and saddles and harnesses.

Spinning and weaving.—Wild cotton is collected, the seeds removed 283
by hand, and small wads are rolled around a thin stick to form small tubes about half an inch (12.5 mm.) in diameter and 6 inches (15 cm.) long. These tubes are then spun into thread with the use of a spindle, one end of which rests in a calabash bowl on the ground. Yarns are [384]
colored with vegetable dyes, especially divi-divi.

Almost every household owns a loom, before which the women sit for 286
hours weaving hammocks and bright-colored belts for men and horses. The warp is made from one long continuous thread wound around two thick horizontal poles, the upper one firmly attached to two uprights, the lower one hanging loose and maintaining the tension. As the work progresses, the cloth is moved forward around the poles, so that an endless strip of cloth is produced, which is then cut. Shuttles are passed through by hand, the warp being shifted by means of a threading arrangement which takes hold of alternate strands. On a piece of cloth about 2 yards wide an inch of weave every three hours is considered very fast work.

Containers.—Most cooking utensils are made of crude earthenware by 323
a few tribes in the vicinity of the Teta, a peak near the middle of the 415
peninsula. Spoons and forks are cut out of calabashes. Some Indians 439
possess enameled mugs and pots obtained from itinerant traders.

Weapons.—Almost every man possesses a good rifle. Cartridges are 411
scarce and expensive and must be smuggled in. Firearms are consequently reserved mainly for warfare, and the bow and arrow is the everyday weapon.

The bow is made from the hard, springy wood of the black palm. It is almost round in cross section, 5 to 6 feet (1.7 to 2 m.) long, and strung with a special sisal cord. The end which rests on the ground is protected

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/206 cont./

628 At last the amount of the payment is definitively stipulated; so many animals, so many ornaments etc. The offenders fix a date on which they hope to have everything gathered together in the house of their leading man. The arbitrator goes there on that date, and through their arbitrator, or cacique, they hand over to him in a solemn manner each one of the things they have promised to pay, so that it can be finally and duly noted. The representative then gathers together everything that has been handed over and counts it very carefully in full view of everyone. He receives the ornaments agreed upon and puts them away.

He asks for help in taking the animals given in payment and the other objects to the lands of the others. Members of the group accept this charge at the order of their leader and drive the animals to the borders of the litigants' property, and then return. From there the livestock are taken by members of the offended clan to the house of the murdered man's mother or to that of his maternal uncles. The head of the family group receives from the hands of the arbitrator the stipulated payment and distributes it in a way that we shall see later on, in the pertinent section.

When feelings run very high on both sides and when after postponing and holding several different meetings no agreement is reached /207/ between the two groups, due to the exaggerated greediness of one side and the bad will of the other, the moment arrives when the arbitrator can do no more, and as the problem remains without a peaceful solution, that is, without an agreement to pay, war becomes the only acceptable formula between the two enemy groups, a defensive war on the part of the group to which the murderer belongs, an offensive war on the part of the offended group. Before they know if there is a possibility of a peaceful
•411 solution, the men of each group begin to arm themselves quickly;
278 they take animals to town to trade them for guns and equipment, and they quickly make bows and arrows, especially those with a point made from the sting ray which are used in war; they prepare poisons from poisonous animals, which they leave to rot and then use to put on the points of these arrows; and in addition, they seek, if possible, magic arrows in order to obtain an easy conquest of their enemy.

[44 cont.]

764 784 778 him on his journey and which remain his only possessions, since the rest will be distributed among his heirs — take on the quality of untouchables.

782 789 2. The poisoned arrow. The second sacrifice about which we gathered information has a greater importance than the previous one for two reasons: first, because it is the sacrifice of a human being, and second, because it is linked to a series of ceremonies set in motion to obtain a certain end, the deadly power of the imára, or poisoned arrow, or better said, the magic arrow.

This sacrifice, so far as we could observe, is no longer 101 105 184 782 practiced in La Guajira. According to the information gathered, it was practiced exclusively by the Kusina Indians, inhabitants of the sierra of that name. They were bellicose Indians, warriors, robbers, and animal stealers, who kept the other communities of the peninsula in an incessant state of tension by their attacks and evil-doings. We think it interesting to point out here that these Indians, commonly known as Cocina, according to all the information obtained did not constitute in themselves a separate cultural group. Their language was the same as that of the other Guajiro; their customs were relatively the same, and their physical type identical. Everything seems to indicate that they were no more than social outcasts, all those who, for crimes committed and not paid for in accordance with established laws, had found it necessary to unite themselves into societies outside the law. The question is not entirely clear, and it will be difficult to make it so because Kusina Indians are no longer found in La Guajira.

411 Bows and arrows stood out among the arms used by the Guajiro, (We say "stood" out because now they chiefly use rifles of foreign make). One of these arrows, which they call poisoned, bears the name of imára. The shaft of this arrow is made of a thin piece of wood taken from the tree called parára and measures approximately 80 centimeters in length. At the upper end of this sharpened shaft is placed poison of a ray 411 or the bone of a poisonous serpent. This imára is what the Kusina 668 Indians used as a last resort in their battles with Whites or with 921

[44 cont.]

some of the Guajiro communities during their pillaging expeditions.

The value of the arrow, considered to be infallible, stemmed from the extremely important fact that its tip was anointed with the blood of a sacrificed child. The arrow took into itself, by magic contamination, the sacred and impure quality of the sacrificial ceremony performed on the child, [45] a quality of extreme value when one realizes that the child's own father performed the sacrifice.

The process is as follows: The Kusina, according to the story of our informant, an Indian woman from the Sierra de Jarara who had heard from her parents a great deal about the customs of these Indians, with whom the people of the Sierra had had dealings, were accustomed to take a male child from their own family. They carried him off to some distant hills situated in the interior of the Cocina sierra. They took him up a particular mountain, and on its summit under a pó (a special tree) they killed him. He was killed in this way: They blocked up his nostrils and squeezed his throat with their hands, that is, they strangled him, and with a pointed stone they struck his forehead several times continuously until blood flowed from it. This blood, which was exactly what they wished to obtain in the sacrifice, was not allowed to spill, but was gathered very carefully in a very clean utensil. In recent times the blood was collected in an empty tin such as those used for sardines or salmon, but it is to be supposed that in olden times a special ceramic container was used. Once the blood had been collected, they put it to boil in the same utensil in which it had been collected. Next they put it in another that in modern times was a glass container, although in former times it must have been of some other material, in order to preserve it. This utensil which contained the boiled blood of the boy was kept in the woods among stones which they collected for this purpose. The executioner, who was none other than the boy's father, had prepared beforehand a quantity of arrows tipped with the poison of a ray, which he later anointed with the blood and distributed among the rest of the Kusina natives or the Guajiro in general, in exchange for livestock. The price that had to be paid for one of these arrows was

[45 cont.]

782 quite high, which also gives us an idea of their value in the opinion of the Indians since they considered that the fact of their points being impregnated with the blood of the sacrificed child made them both more poisonous and more accurate.

766 The body of the boy, who had to be between four and six years old, was brought by the father to the hamlet after these magic operations were finished and was buried in the clan cemetery. The burial and the death of the child were secrets. Nobody must know about it. We could not discover if the secret nature of the ceremony was due to the fact that the community [682 might punish the murderer, the mother or maternal aunt, or 789] some member of the child's family on the maternal side, collecting the corresponding sum for his death in accord [46] with customary Guajiro law, or if the reason was that secrecy strengthened the malevolent qualities of the poison on the arrows. It is to be presumed that the latter hypothesis is the more acceptable, since the disappearance of the child and the sale of magic arrows by the father would point him out as the author of the sacrifice.

682 In any case we cannot overlook the aspects of blood in 683 the child sacrifice just mentioned. Spilling blood is one of the 826 crimes most severely punished. Blood, according to everything one can deduce, has great value for the natives, as it is considered an integral part of their human personality, even to confounding it, so to speak, with personality itself, as they do in the case of names. Hence, for the same reason, he who voluntarily or involuntarily sheds the blood of another person is stigmatized and becomes an outcast from society. He becomes unclean, and in consequence has to make the corresponding reparation which at the present time is complied with by paying to the offended party or to his family a determined [411] quantity of valuable objects or animals. For this same reason, arrows contaminated with the blood of the child sacrificed by his father have, or ought to have, according to the Guajiro mentality, an incalculable value due to their participation in 411 the sacrifice and spilling of blood, thanks to its presence on 435 their points. Moreover, if we take into account what the 775 dead man means to the Guajiro as a spirit capable of doing harm

[46 cont.]

411 when the respect due to his status is not shown (Cf. "Magic
435 and Funerals"), and particularly the spirit of those dead through
775 violence, we can better understand the high value they place on the imára, or magic arrow.

593 It will be well to explain again the position of the father
611 in relation to his son in La Guajira. The family in this society follows matrilineal descent, and therefore the father is not really considered as father to his sons but is to his nephews, his sister's sons. The family ties between father and son are so weak that they do not exist except in certain secondary aspects of the family economic organization.

411 The use of the poisoned arrow among the Kusina Indians
539 is shown by the following fragment of a story told by the same
789 woman informant who supplied us with the data on which this present study is based and which refers to the struggle between a Guajiro Indian named Kurfra-páta and some Kusina Indians who arrived at his hamlet one night to steal his stock. The section dealing with the magic arrow, translated literally from the Guajiro text, is as follows: [47] "The Kusina shot (with a rifle) at Kurfra-páta, who came upon them from behind. They wounded him in the thigh. 'Now, it isn't possible to do anything,' said K.P. 'Let's kill him to end this once and for all,' said the Kusina. K.P. lifted himself on to his sound knee. He shot at them (with his rifle), killing one. Then the Kusina said, 'Let's kill him with the imára (poisoned arrow).'"

411 The fragment of this story corroborates the existence of
789 the magic arrow among the Kusina, and also, as previously stated, the fact that the poisoned arrow,— magic arrow to us — was the last recourse utilized by these Indians when their other weapons did not produce the desired result.

The area of distribution of this cultural element, as we have seen, was in the Sierra de Cocinas, and it was frequently used in Jarara, where it was obtained by purchase or by barter from the makers. This class of weapon used to be employed in this latter region — Jarara — in times of war. Now it is no longer used in either of the two areas mentioned for two reasons.
[797 First, the evangelizing action of the Capuchin fathers in the
778] Sierra de Jarara, who have, in the main, mitigated the warlike

[47 cont.]
character of the inhabitants of Jarara; and second, the complete disappearance (according to all sources) of the Kusina Indians in the last 20 to 25 years for various reasons. In other words, the arrows which may still exist but of which we could not obtain a sample are those preserved by the aged Indians of Jarara, purchased from the makers in times past.

Sacrifice to forestall the effects of dreams. In the Guajiro mentality dreams are considered to be revelations of the future, coming from a benign spirit who seeks in this way to show his protection to a certain person. When the shaman himself has the revealing dreams then these acquire greater importance, as we have already seen. For the same reason, when one of these shamans has a special dream, he informs the interested party and adds to it the necessary instructions or special ceremonies that he should arrange in order to counteract the prognostication. If such ceremonies are not carried out or are not totally complied with, the dream will become converted to reality. The Guajiro has immense faith in dreams, particularly in those of shamans, and very few persons will leave themselves open to suffer the consequences of the nonfulfillment of the rituals indicated, as experience, according to them, has [48] shown that noncompliance with the indications of the shamans has resulted in many deaths and disasters when the events foretold have taken place.

As the aspect of dreams is treated in a special section, we will here only refer to the theme which interests us and which is related to sacrifices. In this respect we quote the narrative of one of our informants.

This occurred in Jarara. A woman shaman dreamed that a member of the Pushaina family clan was threatened with a fatal tragedy; he would die by the hand of one of his own family group. The shaman immediately informed him of it and ordered him, in order to avert the danger, to organize a fiesta of horse racing and, above all, to sacrifice a black male goat and to bathe himself in its blood. The Indian did not want to carry out the shaman's instructions, and within a short time he was killed by a member of his own group of inferior economic standing. The reprisals taken against the

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

In weapons the Goajiro uses the old-fashioned bow and arrow, along with the latest breech-loading rifle. He never strolls ten yards from the rancho without his arrows stuck in his sash and the inseparable bow in his hand. Arrows are of three classes: *kalta* for killing birds and lizards, *kata*, having a nail or piece of hard wood for a head neatly covered with wax; arrows proper, for killing game and war, *siyarrai*, with iron heads made from old knives filed and worked into shape; and thirdly the terrible poisoned rays, *simerd*: these are an ordinary arrow-shaft, with two inches of the bony weapon of the sting-ray (*guaguasi*) heavily fastened to the end, well covered with poison. To prevent accidents, each head is covered by a cane sheath. The poison is putrefied animal matter—toads, snakes, and other reptiles allowed to putrefy and boiled down. When newly done the poison is said to be weak, the same when too old, so the arrows have to be re-dipped at stated intervals (about nine months). Death subsumes from three to twelve days afterwards, a sort of blood-poisoning, and is tolerably certain if the ray-bone has not been got out (a most difficult operation) and the wound well cauterised with a red-hot nail. The Cacinas of Yurijuho are reputed the best makers, and enjoy a sort of monopoly. A bunch of twenty-four arrows is sold by them for a dress out of cotton (eight yards. None of the arrows are feathered; the shafts are made from cane, reeds, and also solid wood. As to firearms the Indian prefers the old "Crown" or "Tower" flintlock (*carabina*) to the Remington rifle, on account of the uncertainty of getting cartridges. The American flintlock (*carabina*, regular pattern) is also much liked.

The principal industries among the Goajiros are collecting brazil-nuts, divi-divi, and salt, and breeding horses, mules, donkeys, cattle, and goats, with the accompanying sale of hides. Their animals are celebrated in the neighbouring provinces for being docile, having been all brought up as it were by hand, for the Indian spares neither time nor trouble on his flocks.

With regard to the language, a small grammar was published in 1878 by Rafael Celedon. Unfortunately it was printed in Paris, while the author was in America, and is replete with errors in consequence. The language is a much richer one than is generally supposed, and taken as a whole has a euphonious, pleasing effect on the ear, much more so than the neighbouring Arhuaco. I have no space here to dwell upon its beauties, but cannot dismiss the subject without giving the following three examples of much-used words:—

Ashinga, a name.	Ita, a cup (gourd).	Tura, a headdress.
Tashinga, my name.	Tshita, my cup.	Tshipura, my headdress.
Pashinga, your name.	Pshita, your cup.	Pshipura, your headdress.
Washinga, his name.	Wshita, his cup.	Wshipura, his headdress.
Nashinga, her name.	Nshita, her cup.	Nshipura, her headdress.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

lost their loads and the mule throwing the photographer, but we were all tired and not easily amused.

I did not want to stay at that rancho. Their reception had been friendly, but they had something against the Gaffer. I thought they had hesitated to receive him, and caution suggested that we ought to camp by ourselves, as long as we had people on whom we could not rely. Evening came and with it a slight, cooling breeze. Travelling was pleasant then without the heat of the sun. Knowing that the moon would rise early, we decided to go on as long as we could.

At midnight we halted in bright moonlight, lit a fire and made coffee. A couple of Indians came uninvited and squatted nearby. The coastal Indians had become infected with the vices of civilization and stole like jackdaws. We had already lost a number of small things at Arema and the other places on the coast, and had no wish to lose more. In Guajira you must take the law into your own hands.

We produced our firearms and set about cleaning them. We each had a rifle and a pistol, and also I had a number of pistols that I had bought cheap at auctions after the war and intended to use as objects of barter. We put up our camp beds under the open sky, laid our weapons beside them and told our Indians to 'sleep with one eye open', a phrase they themselves used. We assured them that we should do the same, and that our open eyes would be fixed on our baggage.

We knew that the Indians would be constantly starting up and looking round. No sound escaped their trained ears. We were not suspicious of their being in a conspiracy with the other Indians; in fact, they were quite frightened.

When we woke at daybreak, all was well. We packed up and set off again at once. Now and again we met naked Indians armed with bows and arrows. We gave tobacco to them all, as custom dictates. It is almost a sort of tax which white people have to pay in order to be able to travel in peace in Guajira. If you happen to be smoking one of the country's thin cigars and meet an Indian, you can, if you are in a hurry, take the cigar from your mouth and stick it into his, mutter a greeting, receive an answer, and ride on.

Although I had a compass and a map, such as it was,

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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123 musical bow. It was quite small. He held one end between
534 his lips and struck the strings with a stick. If the reed-flute was introduced by the Moors in those early days, the musical bow must have come with negro slaves. Stringed instruments were not known in South America before the arrival of the white man. The Indians knew nothing of all that, but neither of these two originally foreign instruments were used in their rites, which supports the conclusion that they were introduced late.

123 The concert was interrupted by the women announcing
262 that a meal awaited us. This began with the oily, somewhat
264 nauseous berries which the Creoles call olives. We did not like their taste and never did more than just sample them. We had also heard that they might be injurious. The main dish—one could almost say, naturally—consisted of boiled dried goat's meat, the standard fare in the peninsula, and we were given water that also tasted of goat—we preferred not to know why.

251 In Guajira it is possible to dry meat in the sun without salting it, providing you cut it in strips and remove all bone. In moister parts of the Caribbean countries meat has to be properly salted before it can be preserved by drying, but in the dry air of Guajira that can be dispensed with. Salt, too, is a thing of which they have more than enough.

123 Having four young men present, I thought I would
526 arrange a competition for marksmanship with bow and arrow and with a sling. The prizes were an empty biscuit tin, a handkerchief and a needle. These were all desirable things and the contestants did their best. The fourth received a Swedish ten öre piece as consolation prize.

• 411 I took the opportunity to take a closer look at their weapons. The bows were powerful and had round sections; the arrows had iron heads shaped like a lancet. An old man said that in the old days the heads used to be made of bamboo. Some of the arrows, those intended for smaller birds, had blunt points made of wood or wax. The quarry was meant to be stunned by the force of the impact. They showed us arrows equipped with cross-pieces to prevent them becoming lost when used in the scrub. The cross-

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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piece made the arrow stick in a bush, instead of piercing through it. Other arrows were realy harpoons. The head was fastened to the shaft by a string wound round it; it loosened on impact, and the shaft with its cross-piece stuck in the bush, preventing the wounded animal from escaping. One of the youths shot arrows that whistled when they flew through the air. The sound was made by a small hollow seed-case fixed to the shaft. I asked about poisoned arrows and after some hesitation, they produced one, the only one they had. They would not part with it. 411

Here, at last, was one of the notorious poisoned arrows for which both the Indians themselves and the white men entertained the greatest respect. As usual with South American arrows, this one was made of a light reed shaft, into which was stuck a plug of wood to which the actual head was fastened. This consisted of the tail-barb of a sting-ray. The early conquerors of this part of South America encountered Indians who used arrows with heads made of fish-spines. The point of these arrows is roughly four inches long; it is thin and narrow and has fine barbs. It is stuck into the wooden plug, which is split vertically, and secured with a binding of thread. The Indians showed us how easily it became detached. The barbs made it difficult to pull out, and they said that it often broke off, leaving a piece in the wound. [825]

Sting-rays are not uncommon in the lagoons of the border areas of Guajira, and during the rains they are to be found everywhere. They follow the rivers up from the sea and seem to like shallow water, where they lie treacherously buried in the mud of the bottom. If you tread on one, it gives you a very nasty sting. Are they poisonous? Some people say that they are. Some travel writers of the present day have tried to give their readers that impression, but it is not correct. The wound, however, is painful and difficult to heal. It becomes easily infected, which is due to the membranes adhering to the sting. That is what the well-known toxicologist who made an exhaustive examination of my Guajiro arrows when I returned home stated. He pointed out that the sting-ray is also found in the Mediterranean, 136 136 411

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

136 and that one classic Greek author says that Odysseus him-
● 411 self died as the result of a thrust from a spear which had a ray's sting for a head. If that were the case, the head must have been poisoned, or else there was infection. The sting of the Mediterranean ray is not poisonous in itself. Guajiro arrows, however, are poisoned with a grey-yellow substance
411 adhering to the head. The Indians carefully removed the reed case protecting the head and showed me the poison. I asked what the stuff was made of, but they did not know. That, they said, was the secret of the piaches, the medicine men; and they also said that they did not even know where the arrows came from, nor who prepared the poison. Francisco later assured us that they were telling the truth. Poisoned arrows were rare nowadays, he said, and difficult to come by. I told him to inquire about such arrows everywhere, and that I should gladly pay well for them. This he did, and I had got quite a little collection before I left Guajira. It is now priceless. The manufacture of poisoned arrows seems to have ceased a few years later.

The accounts of the Indians and white people agreed that no effect of the poison was felt until some days later; the wounded person had violent attacks of cramp which quickly caused death. The wound made by the brittle point was not serious in itself and never mortal, which made the effects of it seem all the more mysterious and fateful.

Celedon, a priest who wrote a description of the arrows in the nineteenth century, and several later writers, have said that the poison is prepared by pounding poisonous creatures, snakes, frogs, spiders and ants to a pulp, which is allowed to lie and rot. Eventually the pulp is boiled, and all sorts of precautions are taken, the preparation of poison being generally considered a hazardous undertaking. The details these writers give of all the poisonous animals used would seem to be apocryphal. The Indians like telling fantastic stories about the arrows, and even the early conquerors were regaled with them. However, if a mass consisting of rotting animal remains is thoroughly boiled there cannot be any live bacteria left to cause an infection, and as long as there was an interval before the 'poison' took

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

effect, it must have been a case of infection. The idea of animal pulp as poison for arrows dates back to the time of the conquistadores and the same tale has been repeated right up to our own day. 411

Examination of the substance on the poisoned arrows that I took back with me revealed that there were no animal remains to be seen under the microscope, despite all the talk of snakes and frogs, but there were vegetable fibres. Experiments on animals showed that frogs and mice reacted in the same way as people wounded by the arrows, dying after a while with symptoms similar to those of lock-jaw. Bacteriological examination resulted in the discovery of the spore and bacilli of tetanus. The astounding conclusion was that those wounded were simply infected with tetanus. The stuff on the arrow heads was dry and old, but the bacilli were evidently still active.

No other dangerous or poisonous components could be found; so it was obvious that the Indians somehow or other had managed to put something into the stuff that caused tetanus. This, it was considered, could not have been fortuitous, but must have been deliberate, since the effect was always the same. The Indians had told me, too, that lock-jaw was common in certain parts, and you had to be careful.

The Guajiros' bacteria-arrows, if we may call them that, were thus a weapon that did not have an immediate effect. The brittle arrowhead merely inflicted a painful wound, which normally would not incapacitate the person receiving it. These arrows were used, therefore, when a cruel revenge was to be exacted, the wounded person knowing that, inevitably, he would die in torment. That is the refinement of malice. A bullet is much more merciful. The expert who examined the arrows wrote: 'One must admit that the Guajiro arrows are made with satanic ingenuity.' The thin head with its delicate barbs easily breaks off and remains in the wound. It is mixed with a stuff that causes a disease which kills in a few days through painful attacks of cramp.

It would appear that the poisoned arrows came from the Cojoro Hills. At least several Indians stated that that was

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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so. One writer says that an old woman from those hills claimed to know how the arrows were poisoned. Otherwise, she said, only the Cusina knew the secret. That seems most doubtful, for the Cusina brigands are neither a class nor a clan which might possess special secrets, but merely a collection of outlawed criminals. There were many indications that they made considerable use of poisoned arrows and that they were firmly convinced of their efficacy. Even if death had been inflicted already by other means, they usually shot their victims with poisoned arrows as well, as an additional safeguard against their escaping. The Cusina and Cojoro Hills belong to the same complex.

The old woman in the Cojoro Hills said that the secret in the Cusina's way of preparing the arrows was a human sacrifice. A small boy was taken to a lonely place, where he was killed and some of his blood taken. This was later cooked and the arrows dipped in it. The old woman's account made this ritual murder even more gruesome, in that it made the boy's father the executioner. Of course, in Guajira a father has quite a different relationship to his children to that we know, being scarcely accounted in the same family, yet even *from the Indian point of view*, that must seem cruel. It would be different if the child were one who had been captured in war or bought as a slave.

There is no confirmation of the old woman's statement and it may well have been invented. There are many legends about these poisoned arrows. The woman's account does not mean that the arrows were poisoned by means of the sacrifice, merely that their strength was increased. Blood is always a magical element. If such rites really took place, that would surely point to an African influence brought by runaway negro slaves. The old woman's story, however, scarcely explains how the poison contained tetanus germs. Simmons, the traveller to whom she gave that account of what happened, also said that the poisoned arrows, *imard*, were sold by the Cusina, who asked eight *varas*, or ten yards, of cotton cloth for twenty-four. How these tetanus arrows were made remains a mystery that, perhaps, may never be solved.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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They were of black earthenware ornamented with figures. 252
The women were making maize gruel. There, close to the green valleys, they ought to have been able to get any [262] vegetables or roots they liked, yet they clung to their diet of maize and goat's meat. They had obviously put the pots on because they expected the men, and sure enough a 412 couple of naked horsemen came galloping up, so at one with their horses that they looked like centaurs. The Guajiro Indians can be born on a horse in the literal sense, if their mothers have to be on a journey at the time. They look well on horseback, and even the old men rode well. [412] The younger men were muscular and well-made, and more pleasing to our eye than the women.

The men had been out enjoying themselves. They had 224 been hunting and their clan mark was painted in blue on 617 their thighs. They must have done that to amuse themselves 304 before they left, for normally both men and women have 302 their clan marks tattooed.

We asked the men what they had hunted with, for they 224 carried neither bows nor firearms, and also what they had 411 hunted, for they did not seem to have got anything. They *laughed and explained* that they had had no luck, and showed us slings of plaited bast. They had been out after doves or rabbits, but had seen nothing. (The Creoles call the animal in question a rabbit, but its Latin name is *Sylvilagus cunicularius*.) They showed us the short throwing clubs with which they hunted this and made some practice throws. They were expert at hitting the target with both club and sling, but only at distances of twenty to thirty yards.

A youth showed us a whistle that he said would unfail- 247 ingly entice a deer if you blew it—provided there was a deer nearby, as he hastened to add. Judging by the expression on the women's faces he was no famous hunter. A 435 couple of men also arrived and we were able to think of doing business. We had no difficulty in buying what we wanted, provided we paid well. Prices were our great difficulty, yet these men were less spoiled than elsewhere in the peninsula. The Guajiro not only trafficked with the

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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Warrior with poisoned arrows

Below: A chief's mother surrounded by female slaves

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[Facing p. 129]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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291 Bowman
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Below: *Mule caravan near the Indian border*

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[Facing p. 160]

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

They make designs on their skin with black stain and tattoo themselves, especially on the arms and legs, with charcoal dust pigment. At least one of the marks is the same as the tribal brand.

MANUFACTURES

Women have a rather definite daily routine. They arise before day-break, milk the cows, and prepare the morning meal for the men, who then go off to fish, hunt, fight, or merely loaf and drink chicha. They fill their jugs at the water hole and then spend the rest of the day collecting wild cotton, spinning, weaving, making ropes, grinding corn, making butter, cheese, and chicha, and performing other household duties. They milk again in the evening.

Textiles are probably the best *Goajiro* manufactures. Their other products are pottery (which is the virtual monopoly of a few sibs), bows and arrows, and saddles and harnesses.

Spinning and weaving.—Wild cotton is collected, the seeds removed by hand, and small wads are rolled around a thin stick to form small tubes about half an inch (12.5 mm.) in diameter and 6 inches (15 cm.) long. These tubes are then spun into thread with the use of a spindle, one end of which rests in a calabash bowl on the ground. Yarns are colored with vegetable dyes, especially divi-divi.

Almost every household owns a loom, before which the women sit for hours weaving hammocks and bright-colored belts for men and horses. The warp is made from one long continuous thread wound around two thick horizontal poles, the upper one firmly attached to two uprights, the lower one hanging loose and maintaining the tension. As the work progresses, the cloth is moved forward around the poles, so that an endless strip of cloth is produced, which is then cut. Shuttles are passed through by hand, the warp being shifted by means of a threading arrangement which takes hold of alternate strands. On a piece of cloth about 2 yards wide an inch of weave every three hours is considered very fast work.

Containers.—Most cooking utensils are made of crude earthenware by a few tribes in the vicinity of the Teta, a peak near the middle of the peninsula. Spoons and forks are cut out of calabashes. Some Indians possess enameled mugs and pots obtained from itinerant traders.

Weapons.—Almost every man possesses a good rifle. Cartridges are scarce and expensive and must be smuggled in. Firearms are consequently reserved mainly for warfare, and the bow and arrow is the everyday weapon.

The bow is made from the hard, springy wood of the black palm. It is almost round in cross section, 5 to 6 feet (1.7 to 2 m.) long, and strung with a special aloe cord. The end which rests on the ground is protected

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

● 411 by an empty cartridge case, to which a metal ring is sometimes attached, giving a musical note with every shot.

Feathered arrows show many designs. Bird arrows may be tipped with cartridge cases or with large, rounded, wooden knobs about 1 inch (2.5 cm.) in diameter. Heads made from nails are used for small game. Serrated metal-tipped arrows are used in warfare; but the most dangerous arrow is pointed with a sting ray tail, sharpened to a fine needlelike point and fitted into the hollow end of a light cane shaft about 4 feet (1.2 m.) long and three-eighth inch (9 mm.) thick.

[278] To prepare arrow poison, scorpions, centipedes, and poisonous spiders are mashed, snake venom is added, and the mixture is allowed to putrefy for several days. The poison will retain its potency for six months. It is kept in a short section of bamboo, which is carried around the waist, together with the arrow points, each in a hollow reed. Before shooting, an Indian dips the point into the poison and inserts it in the shaft.

[282] A decorated leather wrist strap is worn as a bowstring guard.

372 **Fire making.**—Fire is made by twirling an arrow on a cactus hearth; the spark is caught in dry grass.

TRADE

439 There is considerable trade between the *Goajiro* and foreigners. Firearms and ammunition, cloth, beads, blankets, rum, cutlery, corn, crude sugar, rice, plantains, and tobacco are imported in exchange for salt, cattle, cheese, milk, hides, pearls and pearl shells, logwood (*Haematoxylon campechianum*), and divi-divi (*Caesalpinia coriaria*).

464 During the salt season the Indians of the interior flock to Manaure, where they are paid for loading sacks of salt into the warehouse and onto ships. Both men and women take part in the work, the men filling the sacks and the women carrying them.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

614 The *Goajiro* are subdivided into 30 odd matrilineal sibs ("castes" or "tribes"), each identified with an animal. Some of the larger and more important sibs are split into smaller groups, each with a special totem. (See Simons, 1885, p. 796, and Weston, 1937, p. 130, for a list of the various sibs, together with the totem animals and the locality which they inhabit.) The members of any sib are more widely spread throughout the peninsula than previously thought, although in some localities, one sib may be found to the exclusion of all others. Each "caste," according to Petrullo (1937, p. 155), "holds sovereignty over a well-defined territory." The sib which is largest and wealthiest in livestock is that of the Uriana. It has many subdivisions, such as Uriana jaguar, Uriana rabbit, Uriana pauhuaia (a song bird), and Uriana gecko (a lizard). The

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1997
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[392]

Our men waiting for

Indian sub-workers, men and women, at Manaure

[251
N2]

[facing p. 33]

/537 cont./

65 knows precisely which animals belong to him and which
212 property belongs to other clan-members.
231 In a way also customary among us (for example, the
422 burning on of the steed-brand for foals), the clan-symbol
in Guajira is pressed into the skin of the domestic animal
with a branding iron, usually on the rear leg, sometimes on
[413] the lower neck. The branding iron is a rod as thick as a
finger and about a meter long, on whose lower end the brand,
made in iron, is fixed. This is highly heated and briefly
set on the skin of the animal with moderate pressure (9).

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9. Everyone knows that many livestock-raising primitive peoples use the method described here for "branding" their domestic animals, and, to be sure, do it primarily with the intention of indicating the individual possessor or a group consisting of several men as the owner. M. Merker (p. 163) reports this for the Masai. H. Field collected more than a thousand such markings (Figs. 24-43) among the Bedouin and related tribes in the Near East. It might seem surprising that individual ones among them are very similar to the brands of the Guajiro. This correspondence, however, can easily be traced back to the mentality of the natives and their undeveloped technical skill, as well as to the brittle wrought-iron itself. The "branding iron" probably goes back to an earlier period of mankind; from its place of invention, it went on its way

/12 cont./

In this way the replacement is gradual without organic or other complications for the child. c) When breast feeding is kept on overlong and the child is already eating normally and assimilating adult food, the breast is then simply a diversion that is, at times, voluntarily abandoned by the child. In this category may be included the younger children, or sharé, who considerably prolong the period of breast feeding. d) Very exceptionally it may happen that the mother gets annoyed with her child for biting her nipple and as punishment takes it away, but this punishment occurs only when the child is big, as logically, when the child is small, he cannot so bite.

When the mother is not able to travel, in order to deprive the child she wants to wean, or when it will not take a refusal, she rubs her nipple with the sour juice of a plant called wawé [$24] and offers her breast to the child, who /13/ on tasting it cries and rejects it. This practice is repeated several times until the child refuses to respond when the breast is offered. This step is taken when the child is two or three years old and it is considered shameful to continue breast feeding so long, or when the child is small and special circumstances oblige the mother to act in this way.

When the child starts to take other food as a substitute for his mother's milk, she feeds him liquids from a vessel made from a gourd /totuma/ (1) which she holds, at the same time [$15 177]

1. At present, some use nursing bottles.

training him to hold it also so that he can learn to feed himself; she gives him soup from a spoon, and she puts solid food into his hand. When he is very small she gives him lukewarm food, but later she gives it to him at the temperature it comes from the hearth, warning him to be careful. At two years the child is self-sufficient in these matters.

857 /44 cont./
462 an activity he should practice from an early age as he is obliged
231 to find all animals that wander away; to make bows and arrows and stalk animals when hunting. On his own part, with his
857 small friends he organizes hunts for machorros (2) and various
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2. Edible lizard.

kinds of birds and makes traps in the wells for pigeons. He helps catch the seasonal birds which arrive at harvest time, keeps watch during the night on traps set for deer, learns to slaughter the animals required for household consumption and to make the best use of them.

857 In agricultural work he helps in the task of clearing his
462 maternal uncle's land of trees, and later looks after his own
241 piece if he has such, clearing it and leaving it ready for the women to sow the seed; he also plants fruit trees and creepers and attends to weeding. Harvesting work is done by the women. In places where fishing is practiced, he takes part, when he is about ten years old, in related activities, such as opening to extract pearls. He also takes part in making farm tools, sacks, harnesses, hats, coconut-husk necklaces, etc., when his elders are employed in these activities.

857 To the boy falls the preparation of gourd vessels, basins,
462 cups, plates, etc., used for different domestic purposes. The
415 job of preparing the gourd dishes includes all the processes from picking the fruit when /45/ ripe, opening it and taking out the pith, and, when the rind is still tender, incising decorative
[531] designs on it with a metal knife or the sharp point of a bone or stone. These designs are usually of his own personal invention.

857 Lastly, he may be given odd jobs to do such as the deliver-
462 ing of a message, the fetching of some necessary article or other, accompanying someone sent from his home, etc., but fundamentally he devotes himself to his pasturing, the constant occupation of the Guajiro.

/46 cont./

264 giving him a portion that is larger and better than the others,
592 which is grumbled at and envied by the rest. When there are numerous daughters and only one boy in the family, he is the favored one and, in the absence of the father, is served in his place: on the dishes the father customarily uses for his food and is served first as is done with /47/ the latter. When there are several sons these privileges go to the eldest. When food is scarce the elders are the first to get it, and whatever remains is divided among the children of middle years. The same occurs when there are special dishes, which the children may occasionally taste if the father or uncle gives them some. But usually there is not enough for the child; when he grows up and is a man he will have his share of these special dishes. This makes the boys envious, and they will snatch whatever one of them may receive, or the eldest will leave the smallest without food after having eaten his share as quickly as possible, and it also explains the theft of food and provisions in spite of the punishments inflicted by the mother, which have been enumerated in another section.

Should the child have a noticeable liking for a certain kind of food, the mother indulges him when possible, giving him a larger portion of it, but this behavior cannot always be repeated as the boy must learn to eat everything, as it is not possible for him to be allowed to eat just the food he considers
[415 most appetizing. Furthermore, each child has his own dishes
422] and cutlery for eating, such as gourd plates and spoons, etc., which he recognizes and insists on being served from. These articles are usually their private property.

862 The child of middle years shares fully in adult food by gradual change from his infant diet after weaning and by the adequate rationing of his new foods, so that his organism becomes accustomed to them and more readily assimilates them. First of all, the mother's milk is replaced by goat's milk and later by thin mazamorra prepared with a little milk, until he gets only this. They gradually feed him the various kinds of

/49 cont./

291 855 (Guajiro sandals made at home) to protect their feet from the hot, sandy soil. They very rarely use a hat, and at a more advanced age, and at times it is replaced by a kióra /headband/, [342] but without feathers, as these are a special privilege of the adult to be used on feast days. They go about, then, generally bareheaded and exposed to the strong rays of the sun. Almost at the period of transition from childhood to puberty, [415] Guajiro boys begin to make use of small woven woolen pouches which are attached to the belt and which serve /50/ as a purse and a depository for charms /contras/ (in the case of adults), small objects for personal use, etc.

301 778 855 Boys do not use necklaces. Only, and with the sense of their being a protection rather than an ornament, they wear when they are small jet beads on their wrists, small pieces of coconut husk or coral, a piece of wood of medicinal value to prevent grippe, or some object of magic value, things they leave off using toward their fifth or sixth year.

291 855 With a girl the period of complete nakedness is shorter than with a boy, although there are regions in the peninsula where they may be older, owing to the poverty of the relatives, who are unable to supply them with clothes until they are past the average age for dressing. The girl is dressed in a garment which is practically a man's guayuco and which, later when an adult, she uses as an undergarment, like a pair of pants. It is a belt of white or striped cloth, doubled and placed between the legs, held at the ends to the waist by what is called a sirapo, a kind of wide, heavy belt made of glass beads or seed-glass beads of all colors. The girl's trunk remains naked until much later. During the prepubertal period, when the development of the mammary glands begins to be marked, she puts on a sort of blouse made with the technique for hammocks (horizontal threads held together by some cross threads), which is intended, as the girl is already beginning to be initiated into the art of weaving and consequently is in a stooping position much of the time, to keep her from becoming hump-backed; also for reasons of modesty and because this blouse, as

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

cemetery, a site chosen in some solitary arid spot, and surrounded by walls of cacti. At the death of Salvador, a Pushaina from Arroyo Cardon, 120 fat oxen were killed, and the hides did not pay for the liquor drunk. Two of the same family meeting for the first time after the death of a relation, must squat down on their hands in front of each other, and sob and weep, for at least a quarter of an hour, the louder the better. 764 765

The Indians are very punctilious in saluting. Calling at a ranchos, visitors must wait until spoken to, if this is not done soon, it is evident they are not welcome, so ride away. The words used never seem to be the same. The most frequent are "Intishi-pia" (you have come), or "Eiguare pia" (so you have arrived). In eating and drinking the Indians are extremely cleanly. The principals all eat separately; receiving their allowance in an earthenware dish, pour, with a gourd spoon, pushi. The remains, with an addition, serve for the lower members of the family. Water is invariably given after, to wash the mouth and fingers. Even if a drink of milk is taken, a little water is tendered after. As to their hospitality, it has, I believe, been rather exaggerated. There is no doubt that the Goajiro is more hospitable than the Arhuaco of the Sierra Nevada, but then he is also far more cunning and diplomatic, and his hospitality is a mere question of self-interest. He will willingly give a sheep or a goat as a present, provided there is a chance of claiming an ox in return. He is chivalrous in his donations. When he does give a sheep, it is a fat one, his best, and given whole, without reserve, skin and all. If eating, on the arrival of a stranger, he may offer food to him, but certainly will give if requested, as is the custom, always begging. One thing a guest may rely upon receiving in a rancho is a hammock, even if the owner has to sleep on the ground. Lastly, among curious customs, is that of parents assuming the names of their children with the prefix sushi or sushi if the father, and si or si if the mother. Thus the father of Juan would call himself "Sushijuan," or if a daughter, "Sushijuana." The mother of Juan would be called "Sijuan," and if a daughter, "Sijuana." 574 [264] [265] 551

The dress of the Goajiro is extremely simple, and probably similar to his savage luxury of three centuries ago, when Alfinger devastated the land, except that his own quiet blacks and browns—for he is cunning in the art of dyeing—have given way to the gorgeous blues, reds, and yellows of European wool. His every day working costume is simply a strip of cloth from three inches wide upwards, called cuichu. When paying visits, receiving company, or travelling, he does his best—a large hiamoth with many folds, and the home-woven mantle ché, with a magnificent sash, ché-ra. The mantle is managed with wonderful elegance, now letting it fall about him in voluptuous folds, or dropping it from his shoulders, and tucking it into his luxurious sash, where his arrows are carried. The hair, which is jet black, thick, and cut short, is kept back in a very aquilotic style by a ring or crown, 291 [286] [271] 302 291

7;Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

You always rein in before a rancho and wait for those inside to call to you. If no one comes, it is best to continue on your way, for either you are not welcome or your prospective host is not at home. We halted outside this rancho and after a short wait a friendly voice called '*aushi pia*' 'You have come?' and we answered '*ai*', yes. We were then invited to halt and entertained with sour goat's milk and boiled goat's meat. In exchange we gave them a little maize, which is an expensive article there and not easily come by. Vegetables and fruit are even greater rarities. Naturally they eat the fruit of the fig-cactus during its season. It has a faint smell, but is refreshing. There is also a tree with fruit like olives, and which the whites call olives, and the Indians eat them, but they are said to be poisonous, at least in large quantities. This tree has the great advantage that, to all intents and purposes, it never withers. At that time we were not yet tired of goat's meat and could eat the fare they offered us. It is the staple food of Guajira, however, and in the end we got more than enough of it. Even at this place we thought that everything tasted or smelled of goat, not only the meat and milk, but the water, the huts and the surroundings as well.

We went with our animals when they were to be watered, to see that they got enough. Many Indians and quite a number of cattle had gathered round the casimba, for it was to one of those we went. They had dug deep into the river bed, making a funnel-shaped hole several score feet in circumference and, as far as we could see, some thirty feet deep. During the rains this casimba overflowed and normally it was half full, they told us, but now there was only a little running in at the bottom.

The sand was firm enough there for them to have cut steps, and the Indians were climbing up and down the whole time with large jars which they emptied into troughs made of long, hollowed divi-divi trunks, from which the animals drank greedily.

The women fetched their water there in calabashes or earthenware vessels. An Indian who spoke a little Spanish told us how desperate their plight had been a few years

7;Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajira SC13

those we had left, but just as simple. Inside were hammocks slung this way and that. Along the walls were carrying-nets filled with things, and earthenware vessels lay scattered about the floor of hard-trodden sand. Some of these vessels were grey, others reddish-brown, some had necks and handles. One was an obvious imitation of a Dutch liqueur jar. It was not far to Puerto Estrella, to which schooners from the Dutch islands came.

Most of the earthenware vessels had red decoration. Some, with wavering lines, were obviously the work of the oldest of the women, who was frail and almost blind; but there was no fault in the shape of the vessel. The woven cloths were hung up in a special shelter. The warp hung vertical and ran like an endless belt over an upper and a lower pole. Several related tribes, members of the Arawak family, use the same method. When the cloth is finished, it forms a ring, and is then cut up.

They were working on a man's belt or sash. The everyday belt was only a couple of inches wide, but sashes intended for more solemn occasions were some eighteen inches broad and very colourful. They used red, yellow, black and white yarn and the pattern was most interesting. Ceremonial cloaks are also woven for the men, just as colourful as the sashes, but, to my sorrow, I was never able to acquire a really fine specimen. They were simply too expensive. The rich chiefs collected them, but custom decreed that they must be wrapped in all their cloaks when they died, which meant that none were inherited. The men's everyday cloaks I have already described; they pulled them on and then twisted them so that their chest was bared. The women's dress was considerably more Spartan: it was a wide tunic, made like a sack with holes for the head and arms, and dyed black with divi-divi or brown with stuff from some other plant. Their loin-cloth only became visible when they were working in the shade or indoors and removed their tunics. It too was black or undyed. They themselves thought that there was no call to use a nice patterned cloth for underclothes. Little girls often had patterned loin-cloths, but then they did not wear tunics

?:Bollinder 7-5 (1926, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

Work-hut with warp set up for a man's sash

The thin Indian dogs licked the last out of the pot

Below: *Indian chiefs, in ceremonial clothes, on their way to a purchi*

[facing p81]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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A Guajiro man, dressed and painted as a woman. He lived with another man and performed all the tasks of the housewife

Little girl with gold beads round her neck and ankles

After-burial: woman weeping by the urn containing the dead man's bones

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[Facing p. 112]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

hands to their faces. From one and all rose the lugubrious, shrill lament that had to sound uninterruptedly as long as the dead man was above ground. (For some time after the funeral, the man's nearest relatives would begin the day with a song of lament.) After some time the wailers nearest to the bier began to make way for others, and then we too began lamenting, imitating the sound as best we could, as politeness required that every guest should.

One of the men now turned and pulled the cloak from his face. It was our host. He was very glad to see us and, above all, seemed to be flattered that my wife had come. He was already slightly under the weather, swaying a little on his feet, and in one hand he held an enamel chamberpot. He looked so comical that my wife had to hold her handkerchief over her mouth so that none should see what difficulty she was having in keeping a straight face. Our host thought she was very moved and at once ordered one of his fattest sheep to be given her to 'dry her tears', as it is called. He always called her majayura, maiden, remarking: 'She is far too young and lovely to be married.' This, of course, was meant as a compliment. He added that he knew very well what we usually ate. He knew that we were from the same part of the world as the monks and that these people lived on bread, sugar and potatoes. He had tasted them in Nazaret. But perhaps we also liked meat? We assured him that we did, and he promised us large pieces of beef and as much maize beer as we wished. Then he had to go and attend to his other guests.

Burials are big affairs. A good proportion of the dead person's livestock has to be slaughtered to accompany him into the hereafter. The guests feast on this meat, and afterwards each is given some to take home. We walked round to look at the many camps, some under cactus trees, others in the open. There were several hundred Indians assembled there. Everywhere sheep were being slaughtered, meat was being roasted and people were feasting. One old woman was stuffing congealed blood from a calabash with both hands. The whole place smelt of blood, maize beer and spirits. Here and there someone was galloping on a horse. Many of

T:Bollinder T.-S (1926, 1955) 1957
SC13 Genjiro SC13

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A professional manner

Below: The daily butchering

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[facing p. 128]

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

They make designs on
their skin with black resin and tattoo themselves, especially on the arms and legs, with charcoal dust pigment. At least one of the marks is the same as the tribal brand.

MANUFACTURES

Women have a rather definite daily routine. They arise before daybreak, milk the cows, and prepare the morning meal for the men, who then go off to fish, hunt, fight, or merely loaf and drink chicha. They fill their jugs at the water hole and then spend the rest of the day collecting wild cotton, spinning, weaving, making ropes, grinding corn, making butter, cheese, and chicha, and performing other household duties. They milk again in the evening.

Textiles are probably the best Goajiro manufactures. Their other products are pottery (which is the virtual monopoly of a few clans), bows and arrows, and mallets and harrows.

Spinning and weaving.—Wild cotton is collected, the seeds removed by hand, and small wads are rolled around a thin stick to form small tubes about half an inch (12.5 mm.) in diameter and 6 inches (15 cm.) long. These tubes are then spun into thread with the use of a spindle, one end of which rests in a calabash bowl on the ground. Yarns are colored with vegetable dyes, especially dividivi.

Almost every household owns a loom, before which the women sit for hours weaving hammocks and bright-colored belts for men and boxes. The warp is made from one long continuous thread wound around two cloth horizontal poles, the upper one firmly attached to two uprights, the lower one hanging loose and maintaining the tension. As the work progresses, the cloth is moved forward around the poles, so that an endless strip of cloth is produced, which is then cut. Shuttles are passed through by hand, the warp being shifted by means of a threading arrangement which takes hold of alternate strands. On a piece of cloth about 2 yards wide an inch of weave every three hours is considered very fast work.

Crucibles.—Most cooking utensils are made of crude earthenware by a few tribes in the vicinity of the Tota, a peak near the middle of the peninsula. Spoons and forks are cut out of calabashes. Some Indians possess enameled mugs and pots obtained from itinerant traders.

Weapons.—Almost every man possesses a good rifle. Cartridges are difficult to secure and expensive and must be smuggled in. Firearms are consequently reserved mainly for warfare, and the bow and arrow is the everyday weapon.

The bow is made from the hard, springy wood of the black palm. It is almost round in cross section, 5 to 6 feet (1.7 to 2 m.) long, and strung with a special shell cord. The end which rests on the ground is protected

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

bed of a watercourse. As the season advances, and the water recedes, they either dig after it or search for a lower level. Wells of 30 to 40 feet are very common. The water is reached by a staircase cut in the sand with an easy incline. Wells are easily distinguishable from a distance by the water-troughs, hollowed out of divi-divi trees, and called canoes. These are of the most distorted and grotesque shapes, and serve to water the herd. This is very hard work for the poor Indians during the summer months, and usually employs the whole day. Water from wells if taken early in the morning is always clear and cool. When bathing at a well the Indian uses a canoe; if he stops to drink, a bath invariably follows. Every well has a canoe, and the country is perforated by them like a mining camp. The wells of Chimare are phenomenal; dug out on the sea-shore, on a narrow strip of sand 100 yards in breadth, with the sea on one side and the salt-pans of Chimare, with layers of salt many feet thick, on the other, the water is, notwithstanding, perfectly fresh. There are seven holes about 10 feet deep. I may mention that Tuiuchi is the name of a celebrated well dug in the river that drains the eastern flank of Itsma. It means "salt," probably because the water is brackish.

Second in importance are the water-tanks or cisterns. These are sometimes natural, as a small lake at the foot of Itsma and the cisterns of Cojoa, filtrations from the river Nelson, forming a large lake in the rainy season and many small dirty pools in summer, but nature aided by art is the rule. Some are immense undertakings, and large sheets of water, calculated to last a summer though if not too severe; such as Ariapi, the cisterns of Puerto Estrella, a large crescent-shaped piece of water of about a quarter of a square mile. The water of these cisterns is always muddy and filthy for drinking purposes. The herds are driven in, and every Indian that passes is sure to bathe, so that in time almost a skin of green forms on the top; and yet in places where they are it is the only water to be had, truly meat and drink combined.

The Goajira coast abounds in harbours and bays, but none of much importance. Between Rio Hacha and Cabo de la Vela, in the extensive bay formed by the latter, anchorage is found almost all along the coast. Numerous residentials have become known through the commerce with the Indians, and quite a large trade is carried on in the small coasting schooners. Further along the coast are three large bays. The first, or Portete, is a large bay, well protected from the easterly trades, and is certainly the best port along the coast. Unfortunately the entrance is narrow, intricate, and with shoals. The next, Bahia Honda, is almost a complete oval, some eight miles long by three miles broad, and with an entrance of nearly three miles broad. It is separated from the sea by a stone wall from 60 to 90 feet at the highest, but not enough to protect the bay from the strong easterly winds that blow with such force here. It makes but a poor harbour, the surf inside during the afternoons pro-

S: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

579 been completely tamed by the Venezuelans. He, with of course his
648 followers, have found honesty the best policy after all, and are now
reformed and peaceful members of society, returned to herding and
agriculture. This shows what can be done with firmness combined
with a little judicious tact and management.

The Indians build no elaborate dwelling-houses. Their best ranchos
342 are simple, and constructed in a short time. The roof is covered with
the split woody core of a tall euphorbia. This makes a good and roof,
impervious to water and easily removed when the family flits. The
rancho is seldom used for sleeping purposes; for this numerous poles
[519] (t-kopai) are firmly fixed all over the place for swinging hammocks,
often three and four to one pole, and crowing each other. Sometimes
two and three sleep in a hammock. Further off other poles (pulisaiu)
● [417] are found, to tie animals up at, and a small corral or sheep-pen for the
goats and sheep is also indispensable in every well-regulated family.
The site of a rancho is always carefully chosen, much strategy being
561 displayed in locating the whole, so that each rancho covers the other
621 without itself being seen. Although villages are never attempted, yet
a family rarely lives isolated. Everybody isolates himself with that
haughtiness of Goajira society, his relations. Their ranchos are always
within greatest distance, so as mutually to defend each other. One is
invariably on high ground to dominate the country, the rest are hidden
[712] away in nooks and corners where least expected. If one rancho is seen,
others are close at hand. In case of attack, this system prevents a whole
family being exterminated. One or two ranchos may be taken, but the
rest escape or fly to the rancho, as the case may be. At all events the
[552] savages, no doubt to the Indian, survives. Each rancho has a distinct
name. Besides, every Indian who is anybody has several ranchos
[422] spread over the country. To enumerate the names of the ranchos would
be paramount to taking a census of the territory. The following are
103 well-known ranchos, with usually some half-caste from Riohacha
443 trading with the Indians. In the Macuira range, six miles from Punta
Espada, is Guarepá, at the foot of Aca-ura; chief, Guijana, a Jiron.
592 Westwards, close to the sea-shore, Chiruma; chief, José Agustin, a
621 Jallerita, a half-caste speaking good Spanish. At the foot of Itojura,
Negualpá, situated on a slight eminence eight miles from the sea, and
is an important trading station. Pueblero, native name of Punta
Estrella, boasts twelve houses and three large warehouses, with always
two or three Riohachanos resident there. The chief, Pedro Quinto, is
Epiayu, but his sister Manuela is the virtual ruler. Island, 16 miles
from Punta Honda or Tarra is Moronay, another large trading station,
usually with two or three Riohachanos established there. The eight
ranchos are well located on a plain between Monina and Pumahi. The
chief, Seiyu, is Epiayu. This is one of the most central stations in the
Goajira, and is surrounded by several important places; it is probably

?:Bollinder T-5 (1930, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

115 And her eyes those at the recollection of the now for-
685 bidden pleasures of her girlhood.

When I went on trips in the surrounding country I
125 usually had Francisco with me and often my wife. Anita had then to be ready to feed us when we came home, whether it were the same day, or the next, or three days later. In such things Indian women have patience. They know how to wait, and they are never surprised.

We began our exploration of the brown hills and green
129 valleys of Marains with a long trip on foot. Laboriously
55½ we waded through the fine sand. This is almost firm when it is damp, but it was then the dry season and the sand was loose. We were going to visit relatives of Francisco, simple people, but not actually poor. To us who had already had a certain amount to do with Indians, it was a surprise to find ourselves dealing in such categories as 'rich', 'poor', 'well-to-do', etc., just as though we were concerned with white people. Among all other Indians the difference in economic status between individuals had been relatively insignificant, as, presumably, it had been among the Goajiro before they took to herding cattle.

133 The Indians we were to visit lived in a beautiful place, just on the fringe of a wooded valley between purple brown heights, with the peak of Inshor dominating the landscape. The valley was like a green Bengal fire against its parched
3½ background. There were two huts, built of cactus wood and with roofs of the same material. They were saddle-backed and linked by a wall, which acted as a shield against the wind, that there always blows in the same direction. In front of this wall, that is between the two houses, were the
[47] fires. Round about were shelves covered with grass and erected on four poles. The Creoles call these *trojas*. You can sit under them and be out of the sun, and cooking utensils and stores can be kept on them out of reach of animals.
[50] Here and there were hammocks stretched between poles stuck in the ground, and there were other poles used in the all but daily butchering of a goat or sheep. Round these there were dark patches on the ground.

133 Having Francisco with us we were naturally well re-
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Indian with a cable car near the Centre Hills

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The white man's dangerous magic the film-camera

Below: Indian camp with cane-fence

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[facing p. 194]

422

[illegible] PROPERTY IN GENERAL—ordinarily defined categories of domestic in g., food stores, personal clothing and ornaments, artifacts, domestic animals, domestic objects; management types of title or tenure, rights, privileges, and powers incident to each; relations of types of title to categories of domestic; management types of ownership in g., individual, collective, corporate; legal and statistical distribution of types of ownership according to categories of domestic, types of title, and classes of persons; records of ownership in g., property marks, registrations, etc. See also:

Wealth of living	[illegible]	Tenure	[illegible]
Inventories of wealth	[illegible]	Whole-agent society	[illegible]
Trade name	[illegible]		

/46 cont./

giving him a portion that is larger and better than the others, which is grumbled at and envied by the rest. When there are numerous daughters and only one boy in the family, he is the favored one and, in the absence of the father, is served in his place on the dishes the father customarily uses for his food and is served first as is done with /47/ the latter. When there are several sons these privileges go to the eldest. When food is scarce the elders are the first to get it, and whatever remains is divided among the children of middle years. The same occurs when there are special dishes, which the children may occasionally taste if the father or uncle gives them some. But usually there is not enough for the child; when he grows up and is a man he will have his share of these special dishes. This makes the boys envious, and they will snatch whatever one of them may receive, or the elders will leave the smallest without food after having eaten his share as quickly as possible, and it also explains the theft of food and provisions in spite of the punishments inflicted by the mother, which have been enumerated in another section.

Should the child have a noticeable liking for a certain kind of food, the mother indulges him when possible, giving him a larger portion of it, but this behavior cannot always be repeated as the boy must learn to eat everything, as it is not possible for him to be allowed to eat just the food he considers most appetizing. Furthermore, each child has his own dishes and cutlery for eating, such as gourd plates and spoons, etc., which he recognizes and insists on being served from. These articles are usually their private property.

The child of middle years shares fully in adult food by gradual change from his infant diet after weaning and by the adequate rationing of his new foods, so that his organism becomes accustomed to them and more readily assimilates them. First of all, the mother's milk is replaced by goat's milk and later by thin mazamorra prepared with a little milk, until he gets only this. They gradually feed him the various kinds of

/89 cont./

583 They also send a part to the most friendly neighbors who have marriageable daughters, because they hope that when one of these marries the present will be amply repaid. It is customary when they are distributing the marriage payment, if they have friends who have no daughters, for them to send them nothing, because they say: "These people have no daughters and so they will never be able to return our gift."

The goods obtained from the sale of the other daughters who marry go to the maternal patrimony, although, as we have seen, the bridegroom's relatives participate because a goat or a sheep is presented to each of the women who intervene in the handing over of the animals. The necklaces which are given on betrothal are for the girl's mother, who in /90/ turn must supply one to each of her sons when they become engaged to be married.

Moreover, there is a special payment which is always made to the mother of the bride, and this is for the matrimonial hammock made by her. Generally, the price is ten cows in rich families, and when this payment is made, which is done personally by the bridegroom to his mother-in-law, it signifies that he is going to take possession of the woman he has bought, and she is then indirectly handed over to him, since the place (a neighboring room) is pointed out where he will find the hammock and the woman who will be his wife. This payment gives him the right to the conjugal bed and to cohabit with the woman whom he has bought and must be paid to the mother, partly because she made the hammock and partly because she brought up her daughter, bearing all the costs of rearing her and educating her. No one else shares in this amount.

When a female bond servant or slave is getting married, the product of the sale goes to her master exclusively, without having to be shared with anyone, first because the price is low, and 847 #22 second because the ownership of a slave or a bond servant is individual.

When the marriage payment has been arranged to be paid in installments and the second of these is not forthcoming in the

/173 cont./

619 animal, or the reverse, etc., according to the nature and the
787 particular details of the dream.

* * *

619 1. We find the origin of clan marks also commemorated
in the preceding narratives. Every group of individuals with
622 the same name living in the same place had the problem of
304/176/ distinguishing their animals from those near by or at a
distance. Maretiwa did not want this situation to give rise to
problems. Along with each group of animals, he gave the
corresponding name and representative animal and the property
mark, which he engraved on a stone. At the present time they
still recognize the generic mark of each *cosia* used to brand the
animals and /mark/ the individuals belonging to it. Nevertheless, a variation of this original idea is to be found. Clan
marks are degenerating into family marks, and in a process
even further advanced we find individual marks, sometimes
sometimes by a special sign or by the owner's initials branded
by a hot iron on some visible part of the body of the animal,
or a special cut or nick in the ears of sheep or goats. Tattooing
the clan mark on individuals is becoming more and more rare,
it is more common in the lower than in the higher classes, and
among the less acculturated than among those brought into contact with whites. Regional and family variations are found in
the same clan. The clan mark persists in some localities but
as an adornment, a "luxury," as they say when questioned.
To this end they replace the totem by a schematic figure of the
animal, and among the mestizos, by the initial of the name.
The parts of the body where these marks are generally located
are the upper part of the thigh on men, and the upper surface
of the forearm on women.

619 Sometimes they will place the totem mark of the clan on
622 objects of domestic use, (gourds, pottery, bags). But this
practice is not very common. At the present time, articles of

/174 cont./

personal property are marked with letters, especially such items as clay and gourd vessels and parts of the harness of riding animals and their hammocks /chinchurros and hamacas/.

3. Naming. According to mythology, every clan had its personal name given to it by Maleiwa directly or was inspired by him. It covers all the individuals belonging to the same clan and is the indication of blood relationship. Clan disintegration at the present time has made it necessary to add to this generic name the name of the locality and the name of the most outstanding family head (cacique).

At the present time a Guajiro individual feels that in spite of being linked to another by an identical name he is not a relative /of that person/, and he makes a distinction within the same clan of diverse groups with more or less prestige. However, at a time when attacked by another group, they may make /175/ common cause if their co-operation is needed. Furthermore, the introduction of the Catholic marriage has given equal value to naming by using the personal surname followed by the maternal surname, although in a stage of transition the second of these has greater value.

* * *

4. Consanguinity. Consanguinity plays an important role in the Guajiro concept of kinship, which embraces all individuals joined in a chain through common female ancestors, that is, uterine kinship. In this way they set aside the paternal branch, which may be found in opposition and enmity, because in the Guajiro mentality the father-son biological bond, although it exists, does not count in determining kinship. The common tie that embraces all the individuals of a clan is the mother's blood in the biological act and in the process of gestation. From this premise the Guajiro derives the importance of the spilling of blood through thunderbolts or outsiders, because it represents the destruction of the kinship tie and of the vital element. This relation is the outstanding concept in the regimen for social mobility in the culture.

[30 cont.]

for his services as a curer; the flesh of animals sacrificed during anyone's wake or during the ceremony of the second burial, especially if it is the remains of a shaman which are to be exhumed; ordinary food during the days on which he is carrying out his profession when he should limit himself to a small portion of corn masamorro [cooked crushed corn] and water. Hence, the cattle he receives at his spirit's request in exchange for his cures are used in an indirect manner, being kept for breeding purposes.

We also find that the food taboo among shamans is characteristic among the Cashinawa Indians, according to the text published by Capistrano de Abreu and cited by Métraux. According to them the souls (spirits) say to the initiate: "I have inoculated you with the magic substance. Do not, therefore, eat carelessly any sort of nourishment or you will lose your magic power (feitico). Eat sparingly. Drink soup, eat cooked bananas and fish. Eat nothing but that!"

They say: "When you do not eat [sic]. Do not eat the tapir, do not eat the deer, do not eat the peccary, do not eat jaguar, do not eat nambú, do not eat the jacau, do not eat the cujubim, do not eat the coati, do not eat the guariba, do not eat the monkey. These are the foods that you may not eat. If you do eat them [31] we will kill you, say the spirits. Among vegetables do not eat sweet potatoes, sweet manioc, or the inamen." (32) [Cited in French.]

31. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 204.

So far as the other objects that the shaman receives as payment for his work, neither may he use these directly. He simply keeps them, or he gives them to his children [hijos] as he does with the cattle. These objects, if they are not handed over while he is alive, will be divided up after his death among his heirs in accordance with Goajiro customary law....

Death of a shaman. When a shaman becomes ill he has to call in a colleague to practice on him all the ceremonies and rites indispensable for fending off the illness, since curers have the power to cure others but are not able to cure themselves.

[105 cont.]

178 [422] The owners of this idol — that no one is allowed to look at — keep it jealously guarded in a coffer, from which no one can withdraw it. With it they carry out on certain occasions some curious rituals such as carefully washing it and then exposing it to the sun's rays. When the summers are harsh and long, they bathe the idol, which they say makes it happy, and they then can ask it to send rain.

175 174 The small number of these little idols and the ignorance of the natives regarding their origin makes us believe that they are a foreign element, at least with regard to formal representation, which we consider to be the product of acculturation. The possibility that these objects have come from the ancient Arhuaco is also very remote, as we have found no trace in the literature dealing with this group of anything similar to such small idols.

175 325 [428] Moreover, objects of gold are so few that at present they are restricted to necklaces, which are highly esteemed and inherited through the maternal line. But it appears that previously there were other golden ornaments other than the necklaces, as Ensign José Nicolás de la Rosa affirms that on a certain occasion "all the population of Río de la Hacha went to war against them, and the struggle was so fierce and bloody that the Guajiro asked for a truce, offering never again to act so treacherously toward the subjects of the King of Spain, and as a sign of this intention and as compensation for the death of Tomás (Quintero), they delivered to his Majesty [106] a two-headed golden eagle, the jewel being deposited as a hostage to assure the keeping of the peace in the Royal Treasury." (62)

62. De la Rosa, José Nicolás. Floresta de la Santa Iglesia Catedral de Santa Marta [Treasures of the St. Marta Cathedral], 2d., IV, 213.

174 178 Up to now we have not been able to discover the historic value of the small idol called guará or guale, and we continue to incline toward our first opinion that it is a product of acculturation.

[129 cont.]

526 this moment the owner of the goats arrives to look over his flock,
535 and he states in his song that none of his animals are missing,
796 they are fat because pasture is fresh and abundant, and he an-
851 nounces that he is about to mark them. He starts by taking out
each female goat one by one and pretends to cut its ear, which
[420] is the way to mark such animals. He keeps up his song, referring
to what he is doing. "I have many goats and now I shall lack
neither meat nor milk; I am rich...."

e) We would add to the above the fact that Indian girls of
[554] the wealthy class do not take part in these gatherings, or they
796 do so on very rare occasions, as their prestige [130] would
786 diminish seriously in consequence of the opinion held of the fiesta
that only those girls go to it who want to get a husband readily
or to satisfy their sexual urges. Besides, it is the obligation of
each man to flirt with or treat with familiarity the girl who be-
comes his partner in the dance, and her obligation is to supply
him during the dance with roasted corn, bread, meat, chicha, etc.

Summarizing up to this point, we can state that the Dance of the Kid is a festival in which the Guajiro Indians seek to propitiate the rains at the same time that it celebrates their arrival and fecundity: fecundity in fruits; fecundity in animals, as dramatized in the ceremonies just described; and fecundity among men, in human beings, who are free from the restrictions which are imposed on them by the community in ordinary daily life to maintain social order.

• • •

536 Theatrical representations. "Drama is particularly difficult to classify because so often it gets mixed up with religion.... On the other hand, dramatic scenes can be executed for collective entertainment or as farces with no special pretentions, as for example in a Tahitian pantomime which represents the theft of a basket of food from a sleeping servant; although it can occur, on occasion, that these simple and uncertain experiments develop into real dramas." (65)

65. Lowie. Antropología Cultural [Cultural Anthropology], XI, 194-195.

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
SC13 Goajiro SC13

Reciprocal Relations of Maternal Uncle and Nephew

604 The general attitude of the maternal uncle toward his nephew is one of giving; and that of the nephew, one of receiving.

428 Let us first deal with inheritance. Theoretically, the rule
604 is that the maternal uncle must leave all of his property, both
183 personal and in the form of cattle, to his oldest sister's oldest son.
431 All his other nephews,—other sons of the same sister or sons of other sisters,—are left out of the inheritance. This is the rule. However, in practice it seldom works, as the maternal uncle during his life continues to transfer his property in the form of gifts to his own male children, so that at the time of his death there is nothing, or very little, left of his property to be inherited by his nephew, unless the uncle is a very rich man. Only among the wealthy class has the uncle always something left to bequeath to his nephew. For this he does not need a will as it falls within the prescribed rule mentioned above. The following cases are illustrative.

428 Ilaro is the eldest son of a man named Rafael living at Urihin,
431 and, like his mother, belongs to the Arpushaina sib. Ilaro's
604 mother is the elder of the two sisters of Calleja, who in turn is the eldest of five siblings,—two sisters and three brothers. Thus Ilaro, his mother, and his uncle Calleja are all seniors. Calleja is not looked upon as a rich man, although he is well
[556] fixed and belongs to the middle class. Ilaro, however, does not expect much, if any, inheritance from his uncle and is aware
[234] that the latter has been transferring most of his cattle,—the most valuable possession in Guajiro eyes,—in the form of gifts to his own sons. The writer visited Ilaro's uncle who lives
[422] nearby and saw the cattle already branded with his son's personal brand. Ilaro is not at all concerned about the property of his other uncles as their property will pass automatically to their own children.

This next case illustrates a different situation. Pacheco is a very rich man who lives in Carraipia. He has a nephew,—the senior maternal nephew,—who lives there also. Pacheco has a son of his own and the present writer observed that some of Pacheco's cattle have already been branded for his son, but

7;Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajira SC13

231 Later that day we reached the coast at Castilletes. It was desert country there, dreary, full of sand-dunes and furrowed with salt water channels. There we came across an emaciated horse, a poor brute that had obviously strayed and was now desperately looking for water and grazing that did not exist. It stopped and drank sea-water. It must have been dying, and the kindest thing would have been to shoot it, but that could have cost us dear. The owner would have demanded unreasonable compensation. Instead, the Indians went to see what clan mark it had, so that they could report to their fellows in Castilletes. News spreads quickly among the Indians. The owner would not have much joy of his horse, for the hide could not be worth much, but he would learn where it was to be found.

Francisco got us to Castilletes easily. He had been there often before, even once on our behalf—to fetch gold, literally, for we were expecting a transfer of money from Caracas and it came in the form of gold, American, Venezuelan and Colombian gold and silver coinage circulated in Guajira, but the Indians would have nothing to do with notes.

There was, of course, a certain risk in conveying several hundred gold coins through Guajira from a slave-port like Castilletes, where there were plenty of shady characters. The money, however, was packed in boxes made for photographic plates and the same schooner from Maracaibo brought some packages for the monks, to whom our money was also addressed. The boxes interested neither Customs nor others. Francisco rode a wretched horse and had dressed in his worst jacket and a pair of indecently ragged trousers, so that he did not look as though he were carrying large sums on him, while his horse would not have tempted any thief. Thus, all had gone well, Francisco had not been nervous, though we had.

Castilletes was the only place on the south coast where white people lived and to which whites frequently came. Schooners from Venezuela put in there. The frontier between Colombia and Venezuela ran between the houses, of which there were about a dozen in those days. The sur-

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

the chief game. The *Goajiro* who live near the coast sometimes catch 22
fish (with hook and line), lobsters, mollusks, and crabs.

Cattle raising.—The *Goajiro* are primarily nomadic cattle raisers and, 231
consequently, depend upon the water supply. In the rainy season they 231
seek natural depressions, which they sometimes enlarge artificially, where [232]
the water may gather. In case of drought they wander toward the sea, where wells 30 to 40 feet (9 to 12 m.) deep are dug.

Besides cattle the *Goajiro* keep sheep, goats, horses (pl. 72, *bottom, left*), mules, pigs, and domestic fowls, which they take with them wherever 231
they go. An estimate gives them 100,000 cattle, 200,000 sheep and goats, 30,000 horses and mules, and 30,000 donkeys. As cattle are a measure [233]
of wealth, the Indians are reluctant to kill them for food, but they utilize [231]
the milk or export the animals to Curaçao and Aruba in exchange for textiles and corn. Each tribe has its own cattle brand, and the annual [232]
round-up and branding is an occasion for great festivities. Horse races and other sports take place, and large quantities of food and drink are [232]
consumed.

Food preparation.—*Goajiro* diet consists almost entirely of meat and 252
milk products. Goats and sheep are killed every day or two for meat, 252
and the milk of the cows is made into butter and cheese. This diet is supplemented by yuca, cactus fruit, sugar, rice, and plantains, the last three obtained from Colombian and Venezuelan traders in exchange for skins. Meat that is not immediately consumed is suspended from tall poles, and skins are pegged to the ground and salted in preparation for sale. Butter is made by stirring the cream with a flatted stick in a calabash or wooden bucket. To make cheese, rennet is added to skimmed milk in a trough, and the curds are put in a primitive wooden cheese press, which is weighted with a heavy rock.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Although the *Goajiro* are of a common origin, they are divided into 19
alos ("castes" or "tribes"), each living within a rather limited area 32
(Simons, 1885, p. 796). The alos are split into local groups, which occupy extended villages or rancherías, each with 2 to 50 houses (ranchos) and 10 to 250 or more Indians. Houses are always within gunshot distance of one another and so disposed that surprise attacks would be difficult. If a village is at all permanent, a protective cactus hedge surrounds it.

Goajiro nomadism makes elaborate houses unnecessary. Dwellings 392
are mere lean-tos, arbors, and temporary gabled roofs supported on poles. Thatch is made from the core of the cactus, split lengthwise. Rough [362]
tables, chairs with rawhide seats, and benches are often used. The hammock is always present. House walls are often lacking, but a corner [361]
of the hut may be closed off for a girl's puberty seclusion. When mi-

S:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

Chiefs are polygynous and have many daughters, for
whom very high bride prices are paid—sometimes thousands of animals,
worth $[illegible] to $[illegible]. Such rich chiefs take great pride in their
daughters, dressing them in fine silken robes and necklaces of gold and
pearls and providing them with personal servants.

There is a class of slaves who are beneath the chiefs' retainers in the social hierarchy. It consists of people born into this status and of captives.

PROPERTY

All cattle, though individually owned, belong in theory to the local group as a whole and are wanted for the common benefit of all. For example, the cattle paid as a bride price when a girl marries within her own sib go to a new owner, but the milk, butter, cheese, and hides from them continue to be shared by everyone in the sib. When a woman receives cattle as a bride price for her daughter any new stock born to them belongs to the daughter's husband and his sons, and when the animals are rounded up for the annual branding each son is allowed to brand a certain number of them.

ETIQUETTE

The Goajiro are in general unfriendly to strangers but have a well-established code of hospitality. Strangers calling at a house must wait until invited in. Inside a house a bowl of chicha or rum (coffee when available) is the first gift offered the visitor, who is thereafter given a hammock and treated as a member of the family. A special feast may be arranged if there are many guests. A guest of high rank is feasted, and some of the young girls of the house may be placed at his disposal.

LAW AND ORDER

The chiefs have little power outside their own local group, where they settle minor disputes. The solution of many disputes and transgressions of custom are left to the parties concerned. The laws of group responsibility and group retaliation lead to frequent intertribal feuds. A person without a strong sib to protect him is helpless, for others may use any act which may conceivably be interpreted as harmful as pretext for demanding indemnity. For example, a person injured while intoxicated may demand payment from the person who sold him the rum, or a person injured by a borrowed animal may demand payment from the owner of the animal; a thief who hurts himself when trespassing on the property of his intended victim will demand compensation of him; and anyone aiding a sick or wounded person who subsequently dies incurs a liability. If a person injures himself he must make an expiatory gift to the members of his own sib and a lesser gift to his father's relatives. If a child dies when under the care of one parent, this parent must reimburse

/536/cont./

114 two wives of the influential and intelligent Cacique Brícol
614 (alias Antonio Juan López); from both I was given the assur-
ance that it is known to nearly all of their people. In a subse-
178 quent conversation with still other women it became clear
614 that the social and juristic role of the clan system had become
simplified and dulled in the course of the centuries up to the
present, and above all that the original rigor of its demands
had become milder and in part even lost. Certain practices
still maintained and various fragments of tradition permit
one to piece together an adequately clear picture of the
totemistic organization in Guajira, despite many manifestations
of mother-right.

614 Our Indians have a mythological explanation of how the
whole Guajiro people was originally divided into many clans
[3n] (8). Each totem-clan has its individual symbol, comparable

8. Petrullo (p. 155) supplements this by confirming: "Casta [is] the major social grouping in Guajiro society. Each casta claims a mythological origin and holds sovereignty over a well-defined territory" /cited in English/.

to a monogram. Every clan-member marks himself and his
614 personal goods, predominately domestic animals, with it.
212 The Indians paint this symbol with ordinary watercolor on a
● 422 stone, carve it in wooden objects (plates, style of a mattock,
231 house posts), tattoo it on their arms, etc., all in plain fun
and without any serious intention of demonstrating their right
of ownership. On the other hand, the same symbol, which is
peculiar to a clan, is branded without exception on every
domestic animal that the individual clan-member owns.
Obviously it is the same sign for all the animals of all the
members of a particular clan; yet the animals remain /537/
the personal property of their owner, and the latter himself

/537 cont./

64 212 231 422 knows precisely which animals belong to him and which property belongs to other clan-members.

In a way also customary among us (for example, the burning on of the stud-brand for foals), the clan-symbol in Guajira is pressed into the skin of the domestic animal with a branding iron, usually on the rear leg, sometimes on the lower neck. The branding iron is a rod as thick as a [413] finger and about a meter long, on whose lower end the brand, made in iron, is fixed. This is highly heated and briefly set on the skin of the animal with moderate pressure (9).

171 251 422

9. Everyone knows that many livestock-raising primitive peoples use the method described here for "branding" their domestic animals, and, to be sure, do it primarily with the intention of indicating the individual possessor or a group consisting of several men as the owner. M. Merker (p. 163) reports this for the Masai. H. Field collected more than a thousand such markings (Figs. 24-43) among the Bedouin and related tribes in the Near East. It might seem surprising that individual ones among them are very similar to the brands of the Guajiro. This correspondence, however, can easily be traced back to the mentality of the natives and their undeveloped technical skill, as well as to the brittle wrought-iron itself. The "branding iron" probably goes back to an earlier period of mankind; from its place of invention, it went on its way

/527 cont./

around the world simultaneously with the domestic animals themselves.

The branding described was probably learned by the Indians from the Spaniards themselves, simultaneously with the adoption of the first European domestic animals, and has been retained since then. It is all the more surprising that the branding iron (hierro) appears in an old myth which far in part clearly states where the customary individual clan-signs came from. The following version (according to V. Gutiérrez, p. 168) is common in the northern part of the peninsula:

Not far from Nazareth (10) a hill rises behind Irajoro.

10. This post lies only several kilometers south of Puerto Estrella and is actually a small Catholic mission station. Cf. Stutzer, pp. 131 ff., and Barranquilla, pp. 151 ff.

Here, under an oil tree, Mareigua (11) came into the world.

11. That is the spelling of this mythological name that I felt to be correct, as did V. Gutiérrez (p. 168). Chaves (1946, p. 307) explains in the myth concerning "Las Serranías de la Guajira," among other things: "Mareigua [is] one of the principal deities of the Guajiro people, who with his supernatural power converts persons into hills, separates the

/510 cont./

614 212 773 [521] returned to them. He distributed among them the seeds of the watermelon (Citrullus vulgaris), maize (Zea), squash, and all the other vegetables with which the Guajiro nourish themselves. Until that time no Guajiro had laid out a seeded field; before that anyone who wished to eat had reached for the fruit that grew by itself. Maeiwa gathered all the pancalagas (thin-legged gallinaceus) and weaver birds; he commanded a flock of them to go far away and feed on iguanyas (cereals) and the fruit of the Indian fig (Opuntia). He likewise summoned a flock of rock pigeons; they brought hepechi cherries. Then he distributed the birds over all of Guajira. With their excrement they were to make the simultaneously eliminated seeds germinate; the latter were to grow and cover the whole land with a blanket of plants on which fruit would ripen and serve the people for food.

614 212 773 825

Maeiwa handed over to each native man a pair of goats, donkeys, cattle, horses, and pigs. Then he assembled all the people with their animals in the district of Arachi near Siapana. There, on a cliff, he engraved the symbols, one of which he intended to assign to each of the family groups, the children of Ikrunka. They are still visible today on that cliff.

54 212 773 [521]

Thus he established there the sign-patterns for the Epiayú, Ipuana, Uriana, Sapuana, Jayariyú, Apshana, Sijuana, Urariyú, Epinayú, Jinú, Sutiyú, Pasayú, Uriyú, Wutyú, Uremanaka, Marpishana, Uyacayú, Wariuyú, Juayú, Worshoruyú, and others. Maeiwa handed over these property marks to the people in order that the movable property of one group would not be mistaken for that of the others.

[522]

Each group has its animal-sign by means of which it distinguishes its property from that of the other groups. This happened for the following reason: these animals were to have become Indians. But they saw the herds that Maeiwa had assigned to each group. As punishment he left them in their animal state as symbols of the individual groups which

614 212 773 825 [522]

/720 cont./

614 had been resulted or harmed by them. Thus, the leader of
613 the black vultures /Cathartes atratus Linnaeus/ had eaten a
713 head of cattle of the Epieyú, and he therefore remained the
615 symbol for this group. The caracara /Beneficus Linnaeus/ re-
613 mained an animal of the Ipuana group. The Uriana people
now have as their totem-animal the jaguar (Felis onca). The
Sapuana group claims for itself the alcaraván /name unknown/
(Burhinus bistriatus vocifer), the Jayayúl people the dog, the
Apshana the kite, the Bijana the wasp, the Uaciyúl the
rattlesnake (Crotalus terrificus), the Jiral people the fox
(Canis azarae), the Iaciyúl people the cuacaya (macaw, Ara),
the Pasayúl the black wasp, the Uyacayúl the deer (Cervus
elaphus), etc.

614 /720/ V. Gusinde (p. 170) then presents another myth.
713 This describes how the individual totem-clans were assigned
their names and definite districts of residence after a fateful,
tragic sense of disobedience of the creatures against their
creator took place. This report, too, emphatically brings
out the fact that Maréiwa personally, by his will and authority,
introduced a nomadic way of life for the first living beings
in Guajira. The myth has the dramatic conclusion: "For the
last time Maréiwa spoke with them /the totem groups/ in
order to take his leave. He therefore addressed them: It was
my will that you should live here! I am leaving now; I shall
be watching you from heaven."

614 The individual totem-districts with the thirty-four clan
101 names are noted on the map (14).[1] The appropriate clan-

193 14. The spelling and pronunciation
194 of the clan designations favored here
614 by and large resemble the Spanish
sound. Young Indians today feel
a marked uncertainty in using the
correct Spanish names for individual
totem-animals; even in the pro-
nunciation of the Guajiro designations

[1] [see p.9.—Analyst]

/97/

583 (7) b) The responsibility for the support of the home also falls to the man, not only in regard to food for himself, his wife, and the children, but also for clothing for them all.

c) The Guajiro marriage, as the base of all social organization, necessarily holds sway over inheritance laws. If a couple marry in the Catholic church, they break with this law, and Colombian law is substituted for the laws of the peninsula which no longer cover them. In this way, on the death of the father, his goods are not inherited by his maternal nephews, but rather, in accordance with the Colombian law in force, by his wife and children, obligatory heirs. The custom of gifts to the uncs from the father during his lifetime may go on, but these never constitute the whole of the inheritance.

583 (7) 483 d) Traditional Guajiro organization in respect to land makes of it communal property divided among the various family groups, who are permitted use and usufruct, but with alienation expressly forbidden. These rights to settle, to cultivate arable land, to pasture, to use the sources of water supply, to take advantage of the products of the woods, etc., are all denied to the couple who have married in accordance with the Catholic church.

583 (7) e) There are also appreciable changes in residence of the newly married pair, which will be seen in the paragraph about it in this chapter.

f) Catholic marriage, as is known, gives primacy among us to the transmission of the father's surname, but a marriage consecrated with the Guajiro rite does not, since in this case the children belong to the mother, are of her blood, and use her name exclusively. This fact shows clearly how, by accepting the Catholic bond, the woman isolates her children from the group to which she belonged, because from then onward they do not bear her name, the expression of her family affiliation, and for this reason her maternal relatives do not have to give them economic aid or social backing when they need it. On their part, the maternal relatives of the father have difficulty accepting the children of one of their menfolk as their children in place of their

/176 cont./

178 In the second place, we observed a limitation in the exten-
602 sion of the clan's function. The concept of consanguineous kin-
614 ship between all its members has relaxed to the point that con-
sanguineous ties are considered to exist only among the closest
relatives. An individual's kinsmen have become limited to his
mother and her female ascendant, and to his mother's brothers
and sisters together with their offspring. Some extend kinship
to include relatives of the fourth degree of collateraity, and
then to the brothers, sisters, and their descendants. By limit-
ing the concept of kinship, all obligations attached to those no
longer considered consanguineous are lost. Consequently, clan
unity begins to disintegrate.

178 Another change in the concept of kinship has been intro-
747 duced by Catholic marriage. It implies the abolition of the
602 uterine affiliation, the basis of clan organization. It introduces
614 the paternal branch into the kinship system and places it on a
superior place since the father's name and not the mother's, as
it was traditionally, comes first in the offspring. /According
to the Spanish custom of compound surnames, one's father's
surname comes first. --Ed./ Furthermore, it destroys the
authority and predominance of the maternal uncle because that
of the father replaces and surpasses it.

178 5. Exogamy. The Guajiro clan was essentially exogamous.
614 Acculturation has made marriage possible and legal between
582 members of the same clan. In other words, clan exogamy has
disappeared, and only family exogamy is followed.

6. Location. With respect to clan settlement the myths
614 already quoted resolve the problem by assigning fixed regions to
● 423 each of the groups which Mareiwa created. These lands are
178 held in common by each clan, which also works them com-
munally. The /177/ improvements introduced, such as roads,
wells, and cemeteries, are made with the assistance of all the
clan members who will make use of them. At the present time
individual solution of the water problem has permitted the
splitting up of the communal pasturage land. Furthermore,
there is a strong trend toward the breaking up of agricultural land.

/310 cont./

628 Long after these payments have been made, sometimes 30 years or more later, some Guajiro groups of relatives have reassessed the family past and with it have remembered the deaths which took place. As a consequence of this renewal of crimes goes by, some of the present-day descendants, without having known their distant relatives, want to make demands for payment from the descendants, also distant, of the homicide group, and it has happened sometimes that the latter, intimidated, have paid again the debt that their ancestors had already paid to vendetta. /page 310 blank/

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XIV

LAND

623 With regard to ownership, land in La Guajira Peninsula is divided into three classes: a) land that belongs to the civil and ecclesiastical authorities and to some whites and mestizos, whose ownership is governed by the Colombian code; b) Indian land of clan ownership; c) wasteland. We will study the last two types which are those related to this study.

Clan land. Clan land includes the territories occupied by different groups of relatives and their ownership is determined by oral tradition which indicates the places where their ancestors were established in accordance with legends associated with Mareiwa (Cf. The Clan). However, the lands of each clan are not circumscribed to a particular region but are rather more or less extensive properties spread over various places in the peninsula. A single clan group can have property in Upper La Guajira and in Lower La Guajira and at the same time in different places in each of these, which in great measure has facilitated the gradual dismemberment of the clan. Each portion is subdivided into land suitable for planting crops, grassland for pasturing, woods, and wasteland zones.

/111 cont./

423 The geographical conditions of the region limit the likelihood
428 of agricultural land, which is reduced to strips on the banks of streams or even to the beds of these streams, which are dry during the summer months, and to the immediate environs of wells. As a consequence this limitation has resulted in these arable portions being traditionally in the hands of a number of small families of the clan group, who hold them among themselves, and the right of usufruct is passed from uncle to nephew following the maternal line, in such a manner that, within the common ownership which governs clan land, these plots are a kind of private family property. It is for this reason that a man owning a piece of this land will parcel it out to his nephews, the sons of his sister, when these youths reach an age in which their capacity for labor fits them for agricultural work. Thus it is true that by this system /111/ of inheritance, the ownership of agricultural land is kept in the clan, but held also by a particular family of the clan.

423 One can also mention a second form of access to arable land when the father cedes to his sons a part of his ownership for its usufruct and in order that they may help to maintain the home. But the use of this plot can be in effect only during the father's lifetime because when he dies his nephews, the sons of his sister and his legitimate heirs, will take definitive possession of the land. [111] Only in the process of acculturation does this system break down, since with Catholic marriage it is the father's sons and not the nephews who become the recognized heirs of such property.

One may also obtain possession of plots of agricultural land by the opening up of new land, which occurs when the traditional family lands lose their fertility or are reduced in size due to successive inheritances. But for some years this phenomenon has been quite rare for two reasons: the prolongation of summers, which makes agricultural work impossible, and emigration, of which we have already spoken extensively in this study.

The agricultural plot, which is almost individual property,
423 can be demarcated by its owner. We say almost individual
425 ownership because the right to it may be sold. /But/ there is this fundamental principle with reference to immovable property:

/212 cont./

423 It is inalienable. That is, it cannot be sold or given to another group or to a white, as the sale or gift would have no legal value. The only element that is marketable in the property is the right of usufruct. Thus with regard to land, ownership is established as follows: 1) Agricultural products are the sole individual property, with conditions of use and abuse. The individual may sell it, give it away, destroy it, etc. 2) Traditional agricultural land is also almost individual property because anyone may dispose of it within the circle of his immediate consanguineous relatives by willing it. What can be inherited, however, is not the land itself but the right to cultivate it. And this right is reduced to a limited number of families within the clan.

23/ 423 Another aspect which we should consider in the distribution of clan land is that of the pasturing zones. Nomadic pasturing is the most important occupation in the economic life of La Guajira, but it is subject to the geographic conditions of the peninsula, and it is especially determined by the presence or absence of water, as this element is indispensable for making use of the territories /213/ available for pasture; in addition, the concept of wasteland is likewise ruled by lack of water. Water, furthermore, after the introduction of stock raising, which was initiated during the time of the Colony, caused the evolution of the concept of ownership in communal land. We shall see how.

We know that before the introduction of stock raising into La Guajira, land was distributed among the different clan groups, and that among them there existed communal use for hunting and collecting, activities that still subsist. It would appear that in that epoch the zones of greatest value were under the dominion of certain families who regularly enjoyed their usufruct. Dwellings under the special conditions of their economic activities were very mobile and improvised. On accepting stock raising as the chief activity in their economy, the Guajiro, forced by the physical and climatic conditions of the land, continued the nomadic life he was accustomed to, driving his herd at different seasons to the regions of best pasturage when this was scarce, and being guided

/213 cont./

231 423 is this by the availability of water. For these reasons dwellings continued to be mobile and transitory, though not so improvised as before, since some were built in regions that served as general headquarters while they were absent with their herds.

231 312 423 In order to take full advantage of pasture in some regions where water was scarce during the summer, the community would dig wells and even build small dams to collect rain water which could be made use of by all those who had co-operated in the construction or by those who legally had access to them. Land which the new well or dam brought into use could be used by all those who had rights to it to water their livestock, a legal form practiced to this day.

At the present time we find on the land of each clan a variable number of wells which generally have been made by communal labor; all members of the family group are permitted access to them. Based on this indispensable need for water the Indians have built more stable, secure, and comfortable housing around these watering places, which are to be found on the best grazing land without encroaching on agricultural land and avoiding causing harm to their neighbors' pasturage. In this way every clan member in any region has ample pasture land at his disposal situated /214/ near his dwelling, on which he can graze his livestock during normal times in the peninsula without having to drive them to other pasture with the change of seasons or interfering in the economic life of his close neighbors.

231 423 361 However, as La Guajira suffers from periods of drought during prolonged summers which totally destroy all grass and dries up the sources of water, the Guajiro is forced to migrate from one place to another in search of food and drink for his herds. In these movements he calls at the traditional clan lands situated in different parts of the peninsula, to which he has legal access by marriage rights; or, as a last resort, he va de remonta, that is, he drives his herds to the pasture lands of the clan groups living in the mountains where the winter arrives earlier than in the other regions and consequently is ready for earlier grazing; hence they can lend their aid to the men of the plains /llanura/ who

/214 cont./

231 find themselves in difficulties. In payment for this benefit of-
361 pasturage and use of water a cow /res/ or goat is given on enter-
423 ing. Also, it is customary voluntarily to give another animal when leaving, or a personal gift to the head of the region visited.

423 Recently a new aspect of this general situation has risen:
425 Small but well-to-do families construct a well near their dwell-
178 ings or in the adjacent pasture land without any assistance from the community. The other Guajiro admit that the family who made this well has first right to its use but affirm that they are under obligation to permit it to be used by others when in need. Nevertheless, it is becoming common for well-to-do families to deny its use even to needy individuals of their own clan, with whom they no longer wish to recognize family ties that would otherwise bind them.

These phenomena have made the concept of communal land ownership evolve. By depriving others of access to the sources of water supply, rich families usurp for themselves the common lands to which this water source is essential. In this way zones of private property are established which permit more sedentary stock raising as well as the construction of sounder and more comfortable dwellings. These new landowners are beginning to fence off their property into veritable haciendas, a state of affairs which were never before seen in the former stages of social evolution.

Another fact that is giving rise to private ownership of land is the reclaiming of wasteland by the construction of wells, since whoever makes one becomes the individual owner of the land involved, land which can be transmitted by inheritance according to the norms of inheritance already studied. /215/

In addition to the cases noted, there is another system of acquiring land, and it is the usurpation of the property of those conquered in a war provoked by the breaking of the regimen for personal security and collective stability of a clan group. Such land, distributed with all the other goods taken from those conquered, goes to enrich the family property of the victors.

/215 cont./

423 Within the legal system regarding pasture land we must consider the aspect of the rights that each individual acquires to visit land other than those of his own clan as a result of newly contracted marriages and those that are legally ceded to him according to customary Guajiro law.

Referring to the last, we have seen that the herdsmen of the plains /llanura/ at the end of summer have the right to visit the grassy regions in the mountains where the pasture has recovered because of the earlier winter. This fact is to be found in the oral literature and is a theme of theatrical representation during the celebration of the Festival of the Kid, in which the appearance of the rains and the ripening of the harvests are celebrated.

The rights conceded by marriage alliances refer not only to pasturage but in general to all the ways of making full use of the land, including forest exploitation, collecting, and hunting. Thus the man who has married in conformity with the traditional rite of La Guajira has the right to establish his dwelling, cultivate the land, dig a well to supply himself with water, etc., on his wife's relatives' land because this is authorized in the payment he has made for his wife at the time of his marriage. This right is extended to the maternal relatives of the man because, as we have amply seen, all of these contribute their quota to the marriage. Reciprocally he /the husband/ has territorial rights on the landed property of each one of the wives of his maternal relatives. When boys of the new marriage grow up, they establish themselves, by custom, on their mother's land although they may also do so on that of the father. Once they contract marriage they go to live, like their father, on the land of the wife.

Another aspect that has to be considered because of its relation to the distribution of land is the application of sanctions for an infraction of the regimen for social stability. The clan wars which these infractions give rise to cause the Guajiro, fearful of being stripped of his property (Cf. Delicts of aggression), to spread his herds all over the peninsula on the land legally at his disposal with the end of defending them from a surprise attack.

/215 cont./

423 Some clan groups possess very widely dispersed land, which gives rise to the splitting up of the groups, causing them in time to lose /216/ cohesion to the point that members of the same name living traditionally in different districts end up by not identifying with each other in practice, in their legally ascribed rights and attributes.

The right of usufruct of the forest and sterile lands belongs by act and by law to every member of the clan, and those who are tied by matrimonial unions. The case can arise when dealing with the collecting of wild fruit or divi-divi that members of the clan oppose the latter's usufruct of their right, but this is comparatively rare, since in general the abundance of fruit does not give rise to disputes of this nature.

423 499 Furthermore, every Guajiro has the right of passage over clan lands and to use it to connect some territories with others when the land of an outsider comes in between. When it is a matter, for example, of the opening of a road, the regional heads of each of the proprietary clans get together in order to reach an agreement on a plan that will satisfy the needs of all parties. With all of the men of the two clans interested, they construct a preliminary path to mark out its course, and then from either end they begin the final work, determining in advance the place where they will meet; that is, the point where the work of each should reach. Each group must pay for the labor force and feed its men until the work is finished. Such roads can be used by all the Guajiro.

423 Related to land and its distribution, as we have seen, are the sources of water, which can be of two kinds, natural and artificial. To the first, every member of the proprietary clan of the land where it is situated, as well as those tied to the clan by marriage alliances, has access. To the second kind, the same may also have access or only those members of a specific family, according to the case; in other words, if the well has been made with the aid of all the members of the clan, then its usufruct is common, but if it has been built by one family alone it is reserved for its exclusive use.

/216 cont./

423 The cemetery is also very closely related to land rights be-
764 cause every individual hopes to die on his own land, that is, in the place where his elders live and his ancestors lived: on clan territory; and he also hopes to be buried in the communal cemetery. These wishes and hopes of every Guajiro are what elicit long journeys with corpses relatives who died on alien land to give them burial in the cemetery of their ancestors. For this each clan owns a cemetery in certain places of its territory where /217/ the bodies of the deceased members or their bones after the celebration of the ceremony of the second burial may be buried. But in recent times many families who have outstanding social and economic position in the social collectivity have constructed private cemeteries or mausoleums in the vicinity of their family lands for their exclusive use. /page 218 is blank/

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XV

LAWS OF INHERITANCE

428 In the present state of the Guajiro culture it is extremely
768 difficult to make a basic study of the laws of inheritance because with the process of acculturation taking place in the community, there has been introduced a series of new practices which, combined with the primitive and traditional forms, make the present system a structure difficult to mark off and to subject to fixed norms. We will confine ourselves to giving a few indications of what constitutes what we might call the code of inheritance, but we must make clear that the information we give is by no means complete, and it is possible that certain statements made may have to be rectified later. In general, we can affirm that they constitute the law for that section of the Guajiro community with which we have been in contact. With this in mind we continue our study.

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

579 been completely tamed by the Venezuelans. He, with of course his
648 followers, have found honesty the best policy after all, and are now reformed and peaceful members of society, returned to breeding and agriculture. This shows what can be done with firmness combined with a little judicious tact and management.

The Indians build no elaborate dwelling-houses. Their best ranchos
342 are simple, and constructed in a short time. The roof is covered with the split woody core of a tall euphorbia. This makes a good cool roof, impermeable to water and easily removed when the family flits. The rancho is seldom used for sleeping purposes; for this numerous poles
[513] (*sikpa*) are firmly fixed all over the place for swinging hammocks, often three and four to one pole, and crossing each other. Sometimes two and three sleep in a hammock. Further off other poles (*palúmaler*)
[417] are found, to tie animals up at, and a small corral or sheep-pen for the goats and sheep is also indispensable in every well-regulated family. The site of a rancho is always carefully chosen, much strategy being
361 displayed in locating the whole, so that each rancho covers the other
621 without itself being seen. Although villages are never attempted, yet a family rarely lives isolated. Everybody bolsters himself with that bugbear of Goajira society, his relations. Their ranchos are always within gunshot distance, so as mutually to defend each other. One is
[712] invariably on high ground to dominate the country, the rest are hidden away in nooks and corners where least expected. If one rancho is seen, others are close at hand. In case of attack, this system prevents a whole family being exterminated. One or two ranchos may be taken, but the rest escape or fly to the rescue, as the case may be. At all events the
[552] avenger, so dear to the Indian, survives. Each rancho has a distinct name. Besides, every Indian who is anybody has several ranchos
[423] spread over the country. To collect the names of the ranchos would be paramount to taking a census of the territory. The following are
103 well-known ranchos, with usually some half-caste from Riohacha
443 trading with the Indians. In the Macuira range, six miles from Punta Espada, is Guarerpá, at the foot of Ara-ura; chief, Caijuna, a Jirnu.
592 Westwards, close to the sea-shore, Chómunao; chief, José Agustin, a
621 Jallarú, a half-caste speaking good Spanish. At the foot of Itujoro, Magualpá, situated on a slight eminence eight miles from the sea, and is an important trading station. Paraliero, native name of Puerto Estrella, boasts twelve houses and three iron warehouses, with always two or three Riohacheros resident there. The chief, Pedro Quinto, is Epieyu, but his sister Mauricia is the virtual ruler. Inland, 16 miles from Bahia Honda or Taroa is Morunay, another large trading station, usually with two or three Riohacheros established there. The eight ranchos are well located on a plain between Macuira and Parashi. The chief, Salpa, is Epieyu. This is one of the most central stations in the Goajira, and is surrounded by several important places; it is probably

inherit. They hold him in great respect. A man's chief heir 614
is thus his eldest nephew and he takes particular care of him. [604]
During his lifetime a well-to-do man will give his sons [428]
enough cattle to ensure that they will not be left destitute
when he dies. Each clan has its name and its symbol: the [431]
jaguar, rattle-snake, king vulture, dog, etc., but this has no
connection with totemism or magic. The Indians think no
more of their name's meaning than we do, when people
have animal names. They often joke about them.

A number of the clans are large and powerful, others
small and weak, sometimes entirely dependent on one of
the big clans. Those born into a big clan are fortunate, for
they have power behind them and can count on support
and help if they are insulted, threatened or robbed, for the
members of a clan stick together whatever happens, united
by the bond of blood. The same blood flows in all their
veins. The Indians imagine that the human grows from a
drop of the mother's blood, and that the foetus feeds on [843]
the new vital fluid—for they know that menstruation
ceases during pregnancy.

A man does not possess the right to dispose of his blood [752]
or his life. They both belong to the clan. If he hurts himself
so that blood flows he must pay damages to his clan for
shedding their blood. Suicide is also punishable, though [762]
not at all unusual. After an unsuccessful attempt at suicide,
the clan will claim damages, even if no blood has been
shed. An Indian wanting to take his own life hangs himself.
Such importance is attached to the shedding of blood, that, 683
if someone strikes another and makes his nose bleed, this is 614
regarded as an aggravating circumstance and increases the
compensation the victim demands. His whole clan will
consider itself insulted. In fact, one can really say that an
Indian only has the usufruct of his life and blood.

It is the same with the land. The land in the peninsula is 423
owned by the clans, each of which has its own defined terri- 614
tory. The cultivable areas are not large and lie round the
few water-courses that are not dry during most of the year.
These plantations are traditionally exploited by certain
families in each clan and are inherited by the eldest nephews.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

423 614 It is, of course, only the usufruct that is inherited. The land can neither be sold nor given away, for it belongs to the clan. All members of a clan have the right to pasture their herds in the clan's territories, and every man also has the right to graze his beasts and to use wood and water in the lands belonging to his wife's clan. That is one of the advantages he acquires in return for the bride-price he has paid. 565 614 There has developed a class distinction unusual among Indians on the primitive level. A man of simple origins can sometimes marry into a high-born family, but he does not become any the better for that, though his children belong to their mother's aristocratic clan. It is, however, seldom that a man of humble family can get himself a girl from the upper classes—that could only happen if he had inherited or had relatives who could help him pay the bride-price. 583 614 This is so high that a young man almost always has to have the help of his clan to pay it. The relatives of a girl of really good family may demand £2000 worth of cattle, while a girl of humbler stock can be had for £50 worth. The amount can be paid in money, but that is only done in the south, in the areas belonging to Venezuela, where the Indians are more accustomed to coins and have confidence in gold.

It must not be imagined that this is a question of purchase like buying a donkey, a cow or a slave. It is a transaction that concerns both clans. One should not marry within one's [178] own clan. In the old days that was forbidden, but now they are not so strict, since the clans are often split into local sub-groups. The whole marriage transaction is well adapted to the social and economic system. (When, during the first oil rush, white workers from the Maracaibo oil fields bought poor girls, usually of half-breed parents, those were transactions whose legality under Guajiro law was merely fictitious.) The bridegroom's family helps him to pay the bride-price and contributes generously if the girl is of good family. The bride-price is to some extent regarded as compensation for what the family expended on the girl while she was growing up.

When a couple's first daughter marries, the father asks

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

796 to marry his partner, he must pay for her in the normal
786 way. Otherwise the young men and girls just give each other mementoes.

One of the games forming part of the dance of the kid is the so-called virginity test. The girls gather round a singer who improvises a variation of the theme: 'Let us see, pretty maid, if you have kept your innocence, if any man's hands have touched your body.' He then runs his hands over each girl in turn from the tip of her big toe, over her leg, knee, crotch, belly, chest and neck to the crown of her head, all the while trying to tickle her. Whoever neither laughs nor moves is declared a virgin and lauded by the singer. She goes and stands on one side, while those who cannot keep from laughing and so are not virgins, go to the other. Afterwards pretence presents are given to the 'virgins'.

796 When young people are gathered together as during the
842 dance of the kid festival, all sorts of dance-games and
524 pantomimes are performed. Some are connected with fertility rites, as those imitating the mating-play of turtles and goats. In the latter, the girl 'goats' are enclosed in a ring of men who try to prevent the male 'goats' from getting inside it. If any of the youths manage to leap in, they behave exactly like billy goats, pursuing the 'nannies', nosing at them and pretending to mount them. A number of the games have no erotic connection, but refer to all sorts of events in the lives of men and animals. Animals are imitated most faithfully.

One of the games depicts a meeting between the low-
796 landers and highlanders of Guajira. Each of the two sides
524 has a singing leader. They exchange greetings and then each describes the situation in their homes: in the one plenty of rain, good harvests, plenty to eat and fat cattle; in the other drought, starvation and misery.

Those who are lucky with their climate then invite the others to their territory, and they all dance off in the same
[423] direction. The game is a reference to the fact that the low-
[231] landers have the right against payment to send their herds to upper Guajira at certain times of the year to graze.

/539 cont./

193 a foreign observer encounters
194 slight variations — as has just
614 been mentioned. For this reason,
in the table (p. 5) I put in the
[128] names corresponding with pre-
cisely the sounds that I heard
most frequently; I have taken
the map (p. 9) unchanged from
the original.

614 marks are found in the table. Every Guajiro knows them.
101 As an established tradition, every generation has taken over
the details from the others, either as clan property or as a
178 duty. But as a result of so many hostile encounters of the
101 clans with one another — the Guajiro even in early times
57 made themselves known as very quarrelsome — the boundaries
614 of the individual clan-districts have shifted. Some clans
have actually disappeared, either because their members were
entirely destroyed or because individuals from them were
incorporated into other clans. Therefore, the number and
boundaries of the individual clan-districts were and are sub-
ject to insignificant fluctuations. I was unable to ascertain
when the map provided — taken from a Colombian authority
— was drawn; it appears to have come out around 1935. It
is also found in V. Gutiérrez (p. xvi).

3. Concluding Remarks

614 Spanish writers have reported on "castas" in Guajira
from the early colonial period; the designation corresponds
to actual totemistic clans. Recently it could be demonstrated
that some thirty of them have existed since antiquity. The
members of any one clan were entitled by common law to
move freely over the whole peninsula without being hindered
[423] by the boundaries. When Petrullo (p. 155) states unmistakably,

/539 cont./

"Each caste holds sovereignty over a well-defined territory" /cited in English/, he correctly presents each clan area as common property. Earlier observers must have already been aware of such circumstances, for they /540/ have represented them with desirable clarity. Such a definite clan-localization is based on the mythology.

In Guajira only well-known animals, toward which no reverent veneration is shown, are known as totems; also, avoidance rules do not exist. Clan membership is determined by the mother. Many matriarchal laws and customs are observed strictly and conscientiously by the Indians; they have been described in detail by Sinons, Ernst, Petrullo, Santa Cruz, Armstrong-Métraux, Gutiérrez, Crist (1959), and others.

It should be added here that particular kinship-terms were first gathered and published recently by J. Wilbert (p. 59). There are twenty-six basic terms and "most terms are applied to more than one relative so that the system is classificatory in type" /cited in English/.

Finally, the question as to whether the Guajiro feel themselves connected by kinship to their totem-animal is still to be answered. As the first, Jahn (p. 145) expressed himself on this: "Each faction regards some animal as its 'totem' or coat-of-arms. It has not been possible to find out whether they believe that they are descended from it; rather it appears to be a symbolic or heraldic emblem" /translated from the Spanish/. V. Gutiérrez (p. 173) expresses herself more decisively and informatively: "Actually there is no belief that they [the Guajiro] descended from it [= totem], nor is there any special prohibition against harming or killing it. The idea that in the representative animal is found the genesis does not seem to have existed even in the remote past. The origins that are come across in the legends do not include this idea. At present they laugh when one asks about the animal of his 'casta'; many confide... that they belong to the jaguar, to the bee, to the rattlesnake... They claim to be as brave as that animal..." /translated from the Spanish/.

[106 cont.]

782 Magic prayers. As a matter of interest we transcribe below without any comment the following statement we recorded: 424 there are a few special prayers only known to certain natives, 789 the verbal formula of which they sell at times to whoever may need it, on the understanding that these prayers will be used in all good faith and belief in their magic power, prayers that serve to cure whatever plagues may occur, and frequently do occur, in the cotton fields.

538 Magic charms in the oral literature. From the stories we were able to collect among the Guajiro natives relating to their 789 daily life, there is one that has a clear connection with magic 755 charms. It is the one which refers to the struggle of the Indian Kurĩta-Páta, of Jarara, with some Kusina Indians who had come to rob him of his livestock. In this struggle the Jarara Indian was wounded in the thigh, and his cure was effected through a dream in which it was communicated to him that he should swallow a charm (a tuma, "a precious stone") and leave his wife to exchange her for a slave. Kurĩta-Páta obeyed these injunctions and was cured.

We have then a new magic charm which has a medicinal function and which must be added to those we have already noted throughout this chapter. Its magic action is combined with a social act of great importance within the Guajiro community: that of a man leaving his own wife and replacing her with a slave, descending thereby in the social scale, as there is [567] a great difference in status between a free woman and a common slave or bond servant. A new magic object, the tuma, appears as the possessor of supernatural powers capable of warding off those evils that can overpower an individual.

789 Summary and classification. 1) What we have called magic charms [contras mágicas] in this chapter include three classes of known magic objects: fetishes, amulets, and talismans. [107]

2) All these possess in greater or lesser degree a magic power capable of working either good or evil.

3) Their action in the majority of cases can be controlled and directed by their owners, especially in the case of doing ill

/211 cont./

423 The geophysical conditions of the region limit the likelihood
428 of agricultural land, which is reduced to strips on the banks of streams or even to the beds of these streams, which are dry during the summer months, and to the immediate environs of wells. As a consequence this limitation has resulted in these arable portions being traditionally in the hands of a number of small families of the clan group, who hold them among themselves; and the right of usufruct is passed from uncle to nephew following the maternal line, in such a manner that, within the common ownership which governs clan land, these plots are a kind of private family property. It is for this reason that a man owning a piece of this land will parcel it out to his nephews, the sons of his sister, when these youths reach an age in which their capacity for labor fits them for agricultural work. Thus it is true that by this system /212/ of inheritance, the ownership of agricultural land is kept in the clan, but held also by a particular family of the clan.

423 One can also mention a second form of access to arable land: when the father cedes to his sons a part of his ownership for its usufruct and in order that they may help to maintain the home. But the use of this plot can be in effect only during the father's lifetime because when he dies his nephews, the sons of his sister and his legitimate heirs, will take definitive possession of the land.
[177] Only in the process of acculturation does this system break down, since with Catholic marriage it is the father's sons and not the nephews who become the recognized heirs of such property.

One may also obtain possession of plots of agricultural land by the opening up of new land, which occurs when the traditional family lands lose their fertility or are reduced in size due to successive inheritance. But for some years this phenomenon has been quite rare for two reasons: the prolongation of summers, which makes agricultural work impossible, and emigration, of which we have already spoken extensively in this study.

The agricultural plot, which is almost individual property,
423 can be demarcated by its owner. We say almost individual
425 ownership because the right to it may be sold. /But/ there is this fundamental principle with reference to immovable property:

/212 cont./

423 It is inalienable. That is, it cannot be sold or given to another
426 group or to a white, as the sale or gift would have no legal value. The only element that is marketable in the property is the right of usufruct. Thus with regard to land, ownership is established as follows: 1) Agricultural products are the sole individual property, with conditions of use and abuse. The individual may sell it, give it away, destroy it, etc. 2) Traditional agricultural land is also almost individual property because anyone may dispose of it within the circle of his immediate consanguineous relatives by willing it. What can be inherited, however, is not the land itself but the right to cultivate it. And this right is reduced to a limited number of families within the clan.

Another aspect which we should consider in the distribution
23/ of clan land is that of the pasturing zones. Nomadic pasturing is
423 the most important occupation in the economic life of La Guajira, but it is subject to the geographic conditions of the peninsula, and it is especially determined by the presence or absence of water, as this element is indispensable for making use of the territories /213/ available for pasture; in addition, the concept of wasteland is likewise ruled by lack of water. Water, furthermore, after the introduction of stock raising, which was initiated during the time of the Colony, caused the evolution of the concept of ownership in communal land. We shall see how.

We know that before the introduction of stock raising into La Guajira, land was distributed among the different clan groups, and that among them there existed communal use for hunting and collecting, activities that still subsist. It would appear that in that epoch the zones of greatest value were under the dominion of certain families who regularly enjoyed their usufruct. Dwellings under the special conditions of their economic activities were very mobile and improvised. On accepting stock raising as the chief activity in their economy, the Guajiro, forced by the physical and climatic conditions of the land, continued the nomadic life he was accustomed to, driving his herd at different seasons to the regions of best pasturage when this was scarce, and being guided

/214 cont./

231 find themselves in difficulties. In payment for this benefit of
361 pasturage and use of water a cow /res/ or goat is given on enter-
423 ing. Also, it is customary voluntarily to give another animal when leaving, or a personal gift to the head of the region visited.

423 Recently a new aspect of this general situation has risen: Small but well-to-do families construct a well near their dwell-
425 ings or in the adjacent pasture land without any assistance from
178 the community. The other Guajiro admit that the family who made this well has first right to its use but affirm that they are under obligation to permit it to be used by others when in need. Nevertheless, it is becoming common for well-to-do families to deny its use even to needy individuals of their own clan, with whom they no longer wish to recognize family ties that would otherwise bind them.

These phenomena have made the concept of communal land ownership evolve. By depriving others of access to the sources of water supply, rich families usurp for themselves the common lands to which this water source is essential. In this way zones of private property are established which permit more sedentary stock raising as well as the construction of sounder and more comfortable dwellings. These new landowners are beginning to fence off their property into veritable haciendas, a state of affairs which were never before seen in the former stages of social evolution.

Another fact that is giving rise to private ownership of land is the reclaiming of wasteland by the construction of wells, since whoever makes one becomes the individual owner of the land involved, land which can be transmitted by inheritance according to the norms of inheritance already studied. /215/

In addition to the cases noted, there is another system of acquiring land, and it is the usurpation of the property of those conquered in a war provoked by the breaking of the regimen for personal security and collective stability of a clan group. Such land, distributed with all the other goods taken from those conquered, goes to enrich the family property of the victors.

[16 cont.]

*756 over, the young shaman [17] was secluded for two months in her home. She dedicated this period to practicing chewing tobacco, and the act of invoking the spirits, the way of curing the sick, bringing rainfall, "shamanizing," animals, keeping pestilence away, etc. The maraca and the crown (kiara, in Guajiro) were made by her during this seclusion, although they could have been bought or ordered to be made by others. At the end of this two *756 months' seclusion, it was essential, in order to terminate the 787 young shaman's cycle of initiation into shamanism, to prepare 796 ten containers of corn chicha and to invite many Indians from different sections to be present at the true graduation of the initiate. That night, while the others danced and drank, the young shaman remained practicing her arts. It is common on these occasions for the spirit to approach the aspiring shaman and say, for example: "Go look for an animal of such-and-such characteristics (it describes the desired animal minutely in all its details) and kill it. If you disobey me you will faint, have an attack, and you will never become a shaman." The young initiate then passes on the order to her relatives, who must hasten to look for the animal described by the spirit and sacrifice it. When the celebration has ended, the spirit returns to tell the young girl: "Hang up ten necklaces in your room so that I may [304] come down and help you." (These necklaces must be made of *726 gold beads). The aspiring shaman acquires these necklaces with the help of her relatives and friends, even on loan, and hangs them in her room so that she can "shamanize." The spirit, [792] grateful for her ready obedience and for the offering, approaches her once again and says: "Now you will make a truly good shaman." And it warns her: "Now you may not sleep (cohabit) [834] with your husband."

*756 Exercising the profession. When all these rites and cere-
787 monies preparatory to entering the way of life of the shaman have been complied with, the person chosen, as his protector spirit affirm, may then dedicate himself to that calling. The spirit itself has conferred such power. Better still, it has descended into the novice; it has entered his body to accompany him in every professional act, to communicate the arts indispensable or

[99 cont.]

[117] 789 The previous statement is borne out to such a point that even in native communities that are quite homogeneous, anthropologically speaking, as in La Guajira, it is difficult to learn which beliefs, which practices of magic or of sorcery, are autochthonous and which are acculturations due to contacts with the neighboring mestizos who, given the circumstances we have noted of being in the greater part mulattos, have a considerable collection of this type of beliefs and practices inherited largely from their Negro ancestors.

As it is totally impossible for us to make a list of the origin of all and each one of the autochthonous Guajiro beliefs, we shall have to confine ourselves to showing the similarities which they have in the whole of Colombian folklore. It is clear that this similarity will not always indicate acculturation, but only similarity due to the influence of other native groups that have disappeared but who once lived in Colombian territory, or exact beliefs which reached there from other continents and which can only be explained by the general evolutionary process of human mentality.

789 Characteristics of charms. 1. Some charms can be lost by their owner to another person, if both the owner and [99] the
● [124] borrower are of the same sex and if the charm is to be used by the borrower so that he may benefit by its virtues.

[126] 2. To make use of them, the individual during the period of action must submit himself to a special, very strict diet. The breaking of any one of the norms will cancel the effect and bring about serious prejudice to health, if not results contrary to what he had looked for and expected. The way to carry out this diet will be found described in the following section, "Application and Effects."

3. It is sufficient for a stranger to look at the magic object belonging to someone else for all its magic power to be transferred to him. For this reason it is an indispensable requisite to keep it safely from other people's sight and always to be wary of this type of violation.

438 789 675 4. It is very difficult to obtain a true charm because while those who sell these are old women very practiced in this art, many unscrupulous women often devote themselves to the trade

[50 cont.]
in charms, which usually have no magic value and are a complete fraud. These women are accustomed to putting in a small wool bag something that has the appearance of a charm and selling it as the legitimate article.

5. A love charm is worth about 300 Colombian pesos, and just the loan of it for a few days to a friend for him to get the desired results is paid for. Such a temporary loan is worth 100 Colombian pesos.

6. Besides the love charms which are strictly Guajiro, there are others that the so-called "Gorda" women sell. There are many of these women in Riohacha and Zulia. Unfortunately, we could not obtain any special data about these makers of magic charms, of whom there are many on the eastern borders of La Guajira.

7. The charms serve equally for either sex; what varies is in general terms the effects of the charm.

8. Some personal objects, such as hair, sandals, etc., may form the basis of a love charm of great magic potential. This potential is above all due to the possession of a part of the personality of the person whom one wishes to harm.

9. Different love charms can be mixed together.

10. Charms may be acquired among civilizados. This kind of magic material is carefully kept in glass containers made especially for this purpose. [96]

Love charms. The Guajiro Indian, man or woman, knows and uses different charms to attract or repel love. They have them of different classes as regards form, preparation, and raw material. Some of them are the following:

a) One has the shape and general appearance of the excrement of the machuro, (a species of lizard). It has been stated that one of the magic objects used by the shaman is a small wool bag containing a paste prepared by a herbalist that is in the shape of goat excrement and is used to attract the spirits.

b) Another, which is kept inside a small glass receptacle, looks like a stone and is accompanied by some small pieces of coral.

c) Another is made in the following way: The root of a herb, very abundant on Itojaro Hill, is ground and [the paste]

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

whom to exercise his begging propensities. To mention the dead before the relations is a dreadful offence, often punished by death; for if it happens in the dead person's rancho, with nephew or uncle present, they will assuredly kill the offender on the spot if possible. If not on the spur of the moment, it resolves itself into a heavy fine, usually two or more oxen. Even if none of the dead person's relations are present, any friend can carry the news to the relations, and compensation is at once required. When not given it is forcibly taken, probably resented, and the two castes are at war. It is not wise to mention names of any sort in the Goajira in mixed company. 551 628 689

Another peculiar case: if a child dies in the custody of the mother or father, and they are living separate at the time of its death, then tear-money has to be paid by the one, under whose care the child died, to the other. This is "Taguira suchírua tachón," "My tears on account of my child." To demand payment for debts, *achecaha*, is one thing, and to demand compensation, *manga*, is another. They are generally pretty punctual in paying debts; should the debtor die, the creditor is secure, for the relations will suffer anything rather than allow the name of their dead to be abused. The following case of murder I witnessed in Ataipa. Some Pushaimas drinking, one got on to a strange horse, and was ordered off by the owner, on not complying he was shot dead. Both parties being poor and near relations, it was arranged as follows: First payment, eight sheep, two oxen, one horse, two necklaces of cornelian beads, two sirapos of black beads (about 16 lbs.). Six months afterwards, second payment, similar to first. A few months after a third payment is asked, but is more an extra than anything else. After second payment all animosity ceases, and the two families can look again at each other on meeting. Should an Indian in attempting to kill another be wounded or killed, his family demand the same as though no attempt were made. 672 682 [426] [626] [628]

Among domestic customs, the one that calls most attention is shutting up their young girls on arriving at womanhood. The custom is religiously carried out throughout the country. Each girl is enclosed in a separate little hut by herself. She is stripped of all her ornaments, even to her beads and sirapo, and all her clothing with the exception of the long loose cotton gown, nor is she allowed to cut her hair. For the first couple of days, drinking water is denied her, the only food being *hagaape*, a composition of medicinal herbs. According to birth, a rigorous diet is observed the first month, no meat being allowed. She can be freely mentioned and is merely alluded to by her relations as "surtiso suru pauru," "she is shut up in her house." The term of retirement varies according to the wealth and rank of her family. Poor people cannot afford to keep girls idle more than a couple of weeks or a month; whereas the rich enclose them for one, two, or even four years. It is while in this state that she learns all women's requirements— 881 [278] [262] [556] [868]

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851 Birth and death of the first-born. The father must pay the expenses of pregnancy and delivery, as well as those occasioned by the celebration of the birth of his first child, and he is expected to offer a special feast at his own expense at the place where the birth occurred. The news of the birth of the child spreads rapidly and draws relatives and friends from all parts. At midday the dance, which lasts all night, begins, in which the [534] single women and all the men take part. The rhythm is supplied [535] by a double-headed drum made of deer or goat hide. The dancing takes place within a large circle, around the edges of which the couples participating and the curious onlookers gather. The women attend in their finest dresses without forgetting their ornaments (necklaces, bracelets, and anklets) and wear wound round the head a handkerchief, which falls over the shoulder, and have their faces very carefully painted. The men wear broad belts wonderfully embroidered and feather headpieces.

[273] The father must supply his guests with Guajiro rum or with smuggled foreign liquor. Also chicha (made from chewed corn) is prepared and is served liberally. Apart from the dancing [541] there may be horse racing, if the people are rich, and for this they bring their finest animals. At dawn the next day cattle, if the father is rich, and goats are slaughtered, which are prepared and divided among the participants according to their importance in the family, the group, and the total collectivity in general. All the participants return to their homes by sunrise.

In addition to the father, the maternal and paternal relatives [431] join in the celebration of the birth, bringing gifts for the newly born. The father also makes him a present of heads of livestock, which constitute almost the only inheritance he will get during [428] his lifetime, as it is the nephews of the father, (sons of his sister) who inherit the capital and not the sons, according to law, when the marriage has been carried out according to the Guajiro rite.

851 The paternal grandfather also shows his recognition and 431 generosity toward his grandson. If he owns livestock, he is 603 obliged to give a pair of each -- horses, burros, cows, goats,

/39 cont./

604 presents of livestock the boy received at his birth or later or the legacies from his father, takes him under his care. He, the uncle, is not only responsible for looking after his social conduct and for instructing him in normal behavior while he is under his 868 care but also for teaching him the work of pasturing. He takes 604 the boy with him /40/ when he is so occupied, and he passes on his knowledge in order that the boy may become a well-trained owner of livestock or, if he is poor, that he may learn how to look after them, because it is not infrequent that a Guajiro has in his charge the livestock of some rich man, and with these he teaches his nephew.

As the preference of a Guajiro for one special type of livestock shows up early in his life, the uncle should guide him along those lines, giving him every kind of advice in the best way to care for them, with practice to prove his theories.

867 During this time the uncle not only passes on his knowledge 604 of stock raising to the boy but, when talking to him of the past of his group or family, when he recounts some incident, when correcting him or telling him a story, he passes on the strict traditions of the community. For it is the uncle at this period who is responsible for his nephew, and as he considers him his actual son, he tries to make of him someone similar to himself.

868 Another of the uncle's responsibilities is to show the young- 604 ster how to carry out agricultural duties at the right seasons. If he owns agricultural land he will usually give him a plot so that the boy can till it when he acquires the strength to do so; or else he continues to teach him on his own piece of land until he is trained in these activities. This handing over of a plot of land, as well as of his livestock when the boy is considered capable of handling his personal property successfully, is the basis of his family and economic independence and the road toward the purchase of his first wife, by which the boy becomes a man and is ready to live his life as an adult. This plot of [428] land, for which he inherits rights of cultivation, gives him a certain prestige because arable land of fertile quality is scarce,

868 /40 cont./
604 and if he inherits a piece he will acquire the status of the uncle
728 who has made him the owner.

The boy also learns from the uncle skill in certain tasks in which the latter is practiced, such as the making of harness and weapons, housebuilding, and other accomplishments like horse riding, lassoing, horse racing, etc.

867 Another very important function also learnt from the uncle,
604 although it might be self-taught, is that of arbitrator or cacique. From the uncle the boy takes in the legal tradition of the peninsula, and, listening to stories of acts which have occurred in the past, he learns the line of reasoning observed, the psychology, and the problems of his kin, the mastery of the language, all essential requirements for success when the responsibility passes into his hands.

While living with the uncle the boy also becomes adept
868 at hunting, as he accompanies him on his expeditions, during
604 which he learns all the necessary details until he becomes expert in all /41/ respects, including laying traps to catch the animals that damage the crops. And secondarily, in addition to hunting and livestock or pastoral activity, the boy learns the art of stalking, which in hunting is important in order to get better results and is useful in stock raising also, for various reasons, such as finding a lost animal or following up thieves who attack his herd, etc.

Also, in war he is on this relative's side, because, accord-
868 ing to traditional Guajiro law, war unites the consanguineous
721 relatives on the maternal side. So he learns, when warlike
604 deeds are spoken of, how to carry them out, and it is not unusual for him personally to experience the conclusions. He puts these ideas into practice when his kin go to war, headed by the maternal uncle of highest standing or the consanguineous head of most prestige. He goes with them to swell their ranks, so putting into practice what his theoretical education has taught him. Indirectly he has been training for the fray when employed in making weapons for hunting and perfecting himself

/84 cont./

583 and offers them hospitality in his own house. The small bull, the best of the herd, serves to make a special dish and is also divided among those who have come so that each takes with him a good portion, /85/ the higher the guest's standing the better the piece. In the afternoon they return home. If they come to make the payment in the evening, then the attentions are [273] different. They must have a great quantity of chicha made of masticated corn and yucca, which is accompanied by pieces of meat and bollos /corn rolls/. The bridegroom's companions sleep in the bride's house and leave at dawn after breakfast, for which an animal is slaughtered, the meat of which is distributed among the visitors.

In the first case when women attend, they must each be presented with the gift of a goat or a sheep to take home with them; in both cases there must be an abundant quantity of rum for the men.

The bridegroom does not come at this time either, but when he wants to make the girl his wife, he brings more cattle (ten cows when the girl is of high standing), which he hands over to the mother in payment for the matrimonial hammock; with this payment he has fulfilled the final requirements for access to his bride, who awaits him in a neighboring house, and there they hang up their matrimonial hammock, which serves them as a marriage bed.

Sociological significance of the marriage payment. Through the payment the matrimonial tie is strengthened and its legal organization is passed on to the descendants of the new family cell. Thus the laws of inheritance are structured by it: The man [428] pays for his wife with the co-operation of his relatives, and for this reason the children, who belong to the mother's blood, are deprived of the right to inherit the father's goods at his death, because they are not consanguineous relatives, and, moreover, the mother and her maternal relatives received the purchase price. The children take the surname of their mother, a further [551] proof of their bond with the maternal clan, in which they find all the economic and social backing they need.

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428 of agricultural land, which is reduced to strips on the banks of streams or even to the beds of these streams, which are dry during the summer months, and to the immediate environs of wells. As a consequence this limitation has resulted in these arable portions being traditionally in the hands of a number of small families of the clan group, who hold them among themselves; and the right of usufruct is passed from uncle to nephew following the maternal line, in such a manner that, within the common ownership which governs clan land, these plots are a kind of private family property. It is for this reason that a man owning a piece of this land will parcel it out to his nephews, the sons of his sister, when these youths reach an age in which their capacity for labor fits them for agricultural work. Thus it is true that by this system /212/ of inheritance, the ownership of agricultural land is kept in the clan, but held also by a particular family of the clan.

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423 can be demarcated by its owner. We say almost individual
425 ownership because the right to it may be sold. /But/ there is this fundamental principle with reference to immovable property:

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423 764 The cemetery is also very closely related to land rights because every individual hopes to die on his own land, that is, in the place where his elders live and his ancestors lived: on clan territory; and he also hopes to be buried in the communal cemetery. These wishes and hopes of every Guajiro are what elicit long journeys with corpses relatives who died on alien land to give them burial in the cemetery of their ancestors. For this each clan owns a cemetery in certain places of its territory where /217/ the bodies of the deceased members or their bones after the celebration of the ceremony of the second burial may be buried. But in recent times many families who have outstanding social and economic position in the social collectivity have constructed private cemeteries or mausoleums in the vicinity of their family lands for their exclusive use. /page 218 is blank/

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XV

LAWS OF INHERITANCE

428 178 In the present state of the Guajiro culture it is extremely difficult to make a basic study of the laws of inheritance because with the process of acculturation taking place in the community, there has been introduced a series of new practices which, combined with the primitive and traditional forms, make the present system a structure difficult to mark off and to subject to fixed norms. We will confine ourselves to giving a few indications of what constitutes what we might call the code of inheritance, but we must make clear that the information we give is by no means complete, and it is possible that certain statements made may have to be rectified later. In general, we can affirm that they constitute the law for that section of the Guajiro community with which we have been in contact. With this in mind we continue our study.

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428 Laws of inheritance in La Guajira are determined by marriage. It follows that if the traditional Guajiro union is complied with, the customary laws of inheritance will hold. Let us see how the system works in its different aspects.

In the first place, inheritance is determined by the law of uterine affiliation. Thus the child does not inherit from his father but from his mother. The goods that belong to the father pass at his death under the control of his maternal ascendants, if any, of his brothers and sisters and of his nephews /and nieces? sobrinos/, children of his sister. If it is the mother who has died, her goods pass into the hands of her children, her maternal ascendants, her brothers and sisters, and the latters' descendants. If a person -- man or woman -- should die before marrying, his goods go under the control of his mother, if she is still alive, to his brothers /and sisters, hermanos/ to descendants through the female line, to the maternal uncles /and aunts? tíos/, to the children of the mother's sisters, etc. We give below a number of cases of inheritable goods and the system involved.

a) The surname is inherited from the mother, as we have explained fully in previous chapters. /220/

b) On the death of an individual his debts and obligations are inherited by his relatives, who are categorically responsible for them and who try to satisfy them as rapidly as possible for three reasons: to maintain respect for the memory of their dead relative; to avoid possible slanderous talk from the creditors or any other members of the community; and to avoid any loss of prestige for the individual in particular and the clan group in general.

428 587 c) The wives of the deceased are transferred as a possession to his heirs. Inheritance of the women generally falls to the maternal brothers of the deceased, though by preference they should go to the youngest of these, particularly if he is still unmarried. To him they will give the youngest wives. This part of the inheritance may provoke conflicts between the brothers and nephews of the deceased, who also have a right to the wives. To illustrate this point we mention the following occurrence: An

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428 587 influential Guajiro of Upper La Guajira had contracted marriage with two women from each of the two clan groups of La Guajira. Becoming very ill and feeling his last hours approaching, it pained him that his illness did not permit him to buy a prepubescent girl he desired so that after his death his nephews would have a motive for quarreling; he was extremely sorry that he would not be able to be present at their squabbles.

The possession of women by inheritance has been gradually weakened, especially in cases where they would have young men as future owners, they being already mature. However, the social precept is maintained that if they wish to contract marriage, the man who wants them must give an agreed-upon sum to their new owner.

d) Bond servants, slaves, and their descendants pass under 428 the control of the consanguineous relatives of the deceased in accordance with the special rules of inheritance. This human property passes under the new ownership under the same special conditions of low status under which they were living previously.

e) As regards land, we can say that usufruct of communal property is inherited as well as the right to usufruct of the family agricultural plot, following the uncle to maternal nephew succession in this case.

f) With respect to the dwelling we have the following situation: Every important family usually locates itself in a place of easy access with abundant water, or at least sufficient for their needs, and at the center of the regions of pasture land. The consanguineous members of these families usually form /221/ their new family cells around this primary nucleus. On the death of the owners the original house becomes the property of their descendants through the maternal line.

• • •

428 A particular form of inheritance that we ought to consider 431 in this study is that of gifts made while the owner is alive, gifts

/221 cont./

428 of livestock, jewelry, and personal objects, made by the mother
431 and uterine relatives on one hand and the father and his ascendants on the other.

As regards jewelry and personal objects, there are two things that move the native to make these gifts while alive: 1) Because these elements of material culture must be buried with the owner, and this custom prevents their distribution in the form of inheritance, so that their acquisition can only be accomplished by gifts made during /the owner's/ life. 2) Because the father and his ascendants do not consider themselves consanguineous relatives of the son, and for this reason he has no right to inherit from them. The payment that the man makes for his wife to her uterine relatives indemnifies her descendants for this exclusion from participation in his legacy. But nevertheless the culture allows and insists that jewelry and personal objects on the part of the maternal relatives and livestock on the part of the paternal relatives should be given to the children, and it establishes special opportunities for doing so, such as the following: when the young women emerge from their seclusion during the initiation ceremony; at the time of marriage in order to make up a suitable dowry for the young wife in accord with her status and that of her husband; also when a man is about to contract marriage, as we explained in the pertinent section; and, finally, when any one of the members of the group has violated the regimen for social stability and it is necessary to indemnify the offended party, when donations have to be provided by the relatives through the maternal line.

The gift of livestock on the part of the father and his relatives takes place on successive occasions. When the first-born arrives, he receives a gift from the paternal grandfather, who "has the obligation of giving him a horse, burro, cow, goat, sheep, and hen" (pairs of these animals for breeding). The father should give as much again on the birth of each succeeding child. And on successive occasions he gives each one of the children some animal as a reward or stimulus. When the boy comes of age,

/221 cont./

428 that is, when he gets married, his father must hand over to him all the animals that are his personal property. It is then that
431 the largest of the gifts is given. /222/ If this is not given, the boy is always waiting for his father to give it on some other occasion, but should the father die before having given it, the paternal relatives will not concede it to the young man, even though this may be a cause of fighting between the two clan groups.

428 The payment in livestock which the wife receives from the husband for inconveniences suffered during her pregnancy and for each childbirth can also be considered as indirect participation in his goods.

We know that funeral customs establish that when a man dies livestock that is his property must be slaughtered and distributed among the friends who attend the wake at the time of the death and those who attend the second burial. In order to comply with this norm the Guajiro has established gifts of livestock from the maternal relatives, the same as the father does with his children. When a new family member is born, the maternal uncles, especially the one most looked up to by the mother, make a present of livestock to the child which constitute, with the gifts he receives from the paternal relatives, his initial patrimony. These goods keep on growing with successive calving and with the addition of the gifts he receives from his mother, his maternal grandmother, and from other relatives when he becomes capable of caring for them himself. Finally, on marrying for the first time (we must keep in mind that polygamy exists), all the animals destined for him are handed over.

The daughters receive the larger portion of livestock on getting married, especially when they belong to groups of high status and they have been bought at a high price to be consistent with this high value and to maintain the social and economic standing of their family.

428 It should be emphasized, finally, that at the present time
178 the laws of inheritance, as we stated at the beginning, are no longer uniform, due to the steady process of acculturation in the

/222 cont./

428 178 Guajiro community. As a consequence, this phenomenon has brought about a series of struggles among family groups related by marriage ties, as the children now expect to inherit from their fathers, and they consider themselves to have more right to it than the maternal nephews /sobrinos maternos/ and the other obligatory traditional heirs. The situation of conflict has reached such extremes of malevolence and rancor that many times the maternal relatives of the deceased will not resist such claims but will relinquish their rights to the dead man's descendants. /223/

XVI

WORK

461 476 There are two forms of communal work, depending on the ends in view.

a) Communal work with the object of carrying out a job of general utility or utility to the clan.

b) Private work that benefits an individual and his immediate family.

In the first class we have the example of the construction of roads, dams, wells, cemeteries, etc. In La Guajira passage is free over all roads. Consequently, their construction benefits the social collectivity and, more particularly, those groups who wish to be connected by means of them. To open a new road, the beneficiaries most concerned get together with the aim of coming to an agreement on the plans, the preliminary location, and the distribution of the span of the work which will be handled by each group. The collaborators, on their part, redistribute the cost and execution. Thus one day one family supplies food and drink to all the workers; the following day another family, and so on successively until the work is finished.

[30 cont.]

*756 for his services as a curer; the flesh of animals sacrificed during
262 anyone's wake or during the ceremony of the second burial, especially if it is the remains of a shaman which are to be exhumed; ordinary food during the days on which he is carrying out his profession when he should limit himself to a small portion of corn mazamorro [cooked crushed corn] and water. Hence, the cattle
[423] he receives at his spirit's request in exchange for his cures are used in an indirect manner, being kept for breeding purposes.

171 We also find that the food taboo among shamans is characteristic among the Cashinawa Indians, according to the text
262 published by Capistrano de Abreu and cited by Métraux. Accord-
*756 ing to them the souls (spirits) say to the initiate: "I have innoculated you with the magic substance. Do not, therefore, eat carelessly any sort of nourishment or you will lose your magic power (feitico). Eat sparingly. Drink soup, eat cooked bananas and fish. Eat nothing but that!"

They say: "When you do not eat [sic]. Do not eat the tapir, do not eat the deer, do not eat the peccary, do not eat jaguar, do not eat nambú, do not eat the jaeau, do not eat the cujubin, do not eat the coati, do not eat the guariba, do not eat the monkey. These are the foods that you may not eat. If you do eat them [31] we will kill you, say the spirits. Among vegetables do not eat sweet potatoes, sweet manioc, or the innames." (25) [Cited in French.]

25. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 204.

*756 So far as the other objects that the shaman receives as pay-
422 ment for his work, neither may he use these directly. He simply keeps them, or he gives them to his children [hijos] as he does
● [428] with the cattle. These objects, if they are not handed over while he is alive, will be divided up after his death among his heirs in accordance with Guajiro customary law....

*756 Death of a shaman. When a shaman becomes ill he has to
765 call in a colleague to practice on him all the ceremonies and rites indispensable for fending off the illness, since curers have the power to cure others but are not able to cure themselves.

[62 cont.]

825 whole period of pregnancy. The duality of childbirth-serpent
843 is brought to our notice with an insistence and disconcerting realism which we will endeavor to explain.

If we look into the Guajiro family organization we can
596 see how that community taken as a homogeneous whole is
621 divided into series of extended family groups which follow the line of maternal filiation. Belonging to a family group are the mother, the sons and daughters of the mother, the sons and daughters of the mother's daughters, and so on successively. The administration of the family is not in the hands of the father, who is not considered as such, but in those of the maternal uncles, the eldest of these being predominant. Inheritance also
428 is determined by this system, and sons inherit nothing from their natural father, but from their mother or their maternal uncles. The property of the father is split up among his nephews, sons of his sister, whom he considers as sons. Patrilocality and
591 matrilocality exist, the former predominating. The family group, wrongly named by some authors casta is very much
614 extended, and to it belong all those bearing the same surname. Each large family group has its own property mark or brand and a representative animal. Thus, for example: [63]

Family groups	Representative animals
Uriána (41)	jaguar

[104]

41. For the convenience of our readers we have adapted the phonetics of all these Guajiro names to Spanish orthography, using the most apparent sounds.

Urériyú	rattlesnake
Uriyú	snake
Woúriyú	partridge
Uyárayú	cauquero (a species of deer)
Ípwana	cari-cari
Sápwana	bittern

[105 cont.]

178 The owners of this idol – that no one is allowed to look
[402] at – keep it jealously guarded in a coffer, from which no one can withdraw it. With it they carry out on certain occasions some curious rituals such as carefully washing it and then exposing it to the sun's rays. When the summers are harsh and long, they bathe the idol, which they say makes it happy, and they then can ask it to send rain.

175 The small number of these little idols and the ignorance
174 of the natives regarding their origin makes us believe that they are a foreign element, at least with regard to formal representation, which we consider to be the product of acculturation. The possibility that these objects have come from the ancient Arhuaco is also very remote, as we have found no trace in the literature dealing with this group of anything similar to such small idols.

175 Moreover, objects of gold are so few that at present they
325 are restricted to necklaces, which are highly esteemed and in-
[428] herited through the maternal line. But it appears that previously there were other golden ornaments other than the necklaces, as Ensign José Nicolás de la Rosa affirms that on a certain occasion "all the population of Río de la Hacha went to war against them, and the struggle was so fierce and bloody that the Guajiro asked for a truce, offering never again to act so treacherously toward the subjects of the King of Spain, and as a sign of this intention and as compensation for the death of Tomás (Quintero), they delivered to his Majesty [106] a two-headed golden eagle, the jewel being deposited as a hostage to assure the keeping of the peace in the Royal Treasury." (62)

62. De la Rosa, José Nicolás. Floresta de la Santa Iglesia Catedral de Santa Marta [Treasures of the St. Marta Cathedral], 2d., IV, 213.

174 Up to now we have not been able to discover the historic
178 value of the small idol called guará or guale, and we continue to incline toward our first opinion that it is a product of acculturation.

3: Wilbert E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 SC13 Goajiro SC13

Twenty six fundamental kinship terms by which the Goajiro designate their relatives were recorded. Most terms are applied to more than one relative so that the system is classificatory in type. Among the Goajiro, kinship terms are almost exclusively used in reference, while in addressing a person teknonyms are employed, e.g.; nĭshi pĭichí – father of pĭichí (nĭ – prefix, 3rd pers. singl. masc.; (a)shi – father; pĭichí – baciro). The term corresponds to a male person who is the father of a boy child. This practice of teknonymy presupposes the presence of personal names. Either sex can be given a name in remembrance of an event which occurred on their birthday, e.g., "the one of the full moon," "the one of the blossoms of that tree," "the one of the war between . . .," etc. More frequently, however, personal names differ from each other by sex. Boys are called after strong and wild animals, such as baciro (pĭichí), tiger (karáira), pig (pĭrĭkĭ), wild cat (músĭ), while girls' names are ornamental and flattering, e.g., "brilliant one" (hʌrótsĭ), brownish one (muráachong), etc. 601 551

The teknonym employed to address a person is derived from the name of the eldest son, and in default of sons, from that of the eldest daughter. Personal names are used in addressing unmarried persons. It is a disgrace, however, for an adult not to have children. Grandparents may be called by a teknonym referring either to a son or to a grandchild. [842]

Kinship terms are never employed in the forms as listed above, but only with possessive prefixes, e.g., tashí – my father; pĭishii – your father; nĭishí – his father; sĭishí – her father; washí – our father; hashí – your (pl.) father; nashí – their father. In the table, kinship terms are represented by their root forms. As a friendly gesture, people may address each other by general terms such as "brother," "sister," etc., or they may call any small child "son" or "grandchild." 601 [572] [576]

Of particular interest is the distinction the Goajiro make between "blood-relatives" and "flesh-relatives." Blood-relatives are all patrilineally related persons, whereas "flesh-relatives" are related to Ego through the mother's line. Kinship ties between flesh-relatives are considered to be stronger than those existing between blood-relatives. In practical life this would mean that Ego would have to help his maternal uncle in a fight against his own father. Among all kinsmen the maternal uncle possesses the greatest authority and his word counts most in all domestic affairs. Frequently, therefore, we find the extended family clustered around the homestead of the maternal uncle, which makes the Goajiro a matrilineal avunculocal society. Otherwise residence is matrilocal. Any one of the three aráur-relatives (maternal uncle), as listed in the table above, may replace the true maternal uncle in case of his death. But only his sister's children can be heirs of his possessions (including his wife or wives). 601 602 611 [604] [591] [768] [428]

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
SC13 Goajiro SC13

father's relatives who would eat the meat and drink the rum 574
immediately, a feast to which the mother's relatives might be 626
invited as a gesture of courtesy. The offering of rum and 602
meat is voluntary, and even a friend may ask for something as 672
an indication of deep personal interest in the welfare of the injured person. If the injured man makes no offering, no action is taken by anyone to make him do so, but he will acquire a 'bad name.' A Guajiro has a moral obligation to avoid shedding his own blood, but not a legal obligation. Since the father takes care of his son during his lifetime, this obligation is directed towards him and his relatives, but is extended to include any good friend.

Another example of the same distinction is the case where a 431
son asks his father for a particular horse or object possessed by 593
the latter, as a gift. The father is morally bound to grant the request, but there is no legal compulsion to do so. I gave a cacique a fine hunting knife which pleased him greatly. To my surprise his son was proudly wearing it the following day. On inquiring about it the cacique told me that his eldest son had asked for it. Had he refused to give it he would have [626]
been considered a bad father. The son inherits nothing from [428]
his father on the death of the latter, but while he is alive the son may beg anything within certain limits set by precedent. This moral obligation to give up a prized possession when [572]
asked for by one's sons is extended to include close friends.

Allowing the Guajiro to make their own distinctions, let us 671
turn to a consideration of their 'laws.' The commission of certain acts, which in our society would give rise to criminal prosecution, in Guajiro society are considered matters to be settled by the parties concerned. Criminal law is practically non-existent. There is no body politic, properly speaking, that metes out punishment whether or not the injured party seeks redress, and social pressure can hardly be of any importance in a society that protects the individual through the instrument of family and casta membership. In only one case 628
does there seem to be an approach to concerted social action. 681
If an individual has caused his family much trouble and is in- 672
corrigible, if his family has been called upon to pay for his mis-

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
SC13 Goajiro SC13

Reciprocal Relations of Maternal Uncle and Nephew

604 The general attitude of the maternal uncle toward his nephew is one of giving; and that of the nephew, one of receiving.

428 Let us first deal with inheritance. Theoretically, the rule
604 is that the maternal uncle must leave all of his property, both
183 personal and in the form of cattle, to his oldest sister's oldest son.
431 All his other nephews,—other sons of the same sister or sons of other sisters,—are left out of the inheritance. This is the rule. However, in practice it seldom works, as the maternal uncle during his life continues to transfer his property in the form of gifts to his own male children, so that at the time of his death there is nothing, or very little, left of his property to be inherited by his nephew, unless the uncle is a very rich man. Only among the wealthy class has the uncle always something left to bequeath to his nephew. For this he does not need a will as it falls within the prescribed rule mentioned above. The following cases are illustrative.

428 Ilaro is the eldest son of a man named Rafael living at Uribia,
431 and, like his mother, belongs to the Arpushaina sib. Ilaro's
604 mother is the elder of the two sisters of Calleja, who in turn is the eldest of five siblings,—two sisters and three brothers. Thus Ilaro, his mother, and his uncle Calleja are all seniors.
[556] Calleja is not looked upon as a rich man, although he is well fixed and belongs to the middle class. Ilaro, however, does not expect much, if any, inheritance from his uncle and is aware
[231] that the latter has been transferring most of his cattle,—the most valuable possession in Guajiro eyes,—in the form of gifts to his own sons. The writer visited Ilaro's uncle who lives
[422] nearby and saw the cattle already branded with his son's personal brand. Ilaro is not at all concerned about the property of his other uncles as their property will pass automatically to their own children.

This next case illustrates a different situation. Pacheco is a very rich man who lives in Carraipia. He has a nephew,—the senior maternal nephew,—who lives there also. Pacheco has a son of his own and the present writer observed that some of Pacheco's cattle have already been branded for his son, but

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
SC13 Goajiro SC13

as his herds are large there are quite a number still unbranded. 408
Pacheco informed me that at the time of his death, those left 431
unbranded will automatically—following the inheritance rule 604
—go to his nephew.

The attitudes of these two nephews, Ilaro on one hand, and 604
Paco, Pacheco's nephew, on the other, are quite different. Ilaro has very little to do with his uncle. He seldom visits him, although they live quite near each other, and their relations are somewhat detached. However, there is no animosity between them and the writer noticed that they speak of each other, not badly, but with indifference. In the case of Pacheco and his nephew the relationship is very close. They pay each other visits with regularity, and Pacheco shows a paternalistic attitude [574] toward his nephew and is always willing to help him in every way possible. On the other hand Paco never shows any hesitation in going to his uncle for whatever he needs regardless of whether his own father is able to help him or not.

Pacheco has other nephews, brothers of Paco and others, but he has practically no relations with them. They never go to him for any assistance and he does not expect them to do so. Regarding inheritance they, of course, receive nothing whatever from Pacheco at his death.

It appears that generally the attitude of a senior nephew toward his senior maternal uncle largely depends on what he expects from him in the way of inheritance. There are cases, however, where mutual understanding and regard and affection are strong ties regardless of what the nephew expects. Such is the following case. Camilo is the only son of a poor man living at Cardon. He has a senior maternal uncle living at Manaure who is also poor. Although living at quite a distance, Camilo often goes to pay a visit to his uncle, and is often visited by him. Camilo shows great respect toward his uncle and speaks of him as being a very good man, who would do anything for him if he could, but he is aware that his uncle can do very little for him. The writer visited the uncle at Manaure and verified the impression of him given by Camilo. He holds his nephew in high regard, is very much concerned in all that Camilo does and in how he is getting along in life.

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
SC13 Goajiro SC13

604 593 having asked the permission of his uncle, and when he had finished he asked his uncle's opinion on the subject, something he had not asked of his father prior to his uncle's arrival. In every way Ilaro showed respect toward his uncle, although as has been previously pointed out, contacts between the two are neither close nor numerous. At one time the uncle made a remark which apparently was not in agreement with Ilaro's opinion. However, Ilaro did not speak until his uncle was gone, which was a good two hours later. Ilaro remembered the remark, however, and reverting to it, gave his opinion, asking the present writer not to mentioned it to his uncle. The matter was of little importance, having to do with the proper selection of a bough for the manufacture of a bow. A breach of this prescribed pattern of behavior would have brought public criticism, and the guilty party would have had no excuse.

604 As regards the behavior between an individual and all his other uncles, data were secured on various occasions. One illustration will suffice. It again concerns Ilaro. The day before his departure the writer was given a feast by Rafael, to which the latter invited nearly all of his relatives by blood and by marriage who could come. Consequently there was plenty of opportunity to observe the behavior of Ilaro toward his uncles. Toward Calleja, Ilaro's behavior was exactly the same as on the occasion described above. Toward his other uncles a certain deference was shown, but not nearly as much as toward Calleja. For example, Ilaro showed no hesitation in interrupting his other uncles' speech, which he did on various occasions. This gave rise to no criticism of him.

So far we have been dealing with the behavior in public between the senior nephew and his senior maternal uncle. Naturally no such observation was possible in regard to the private relations between the two, that is, when nephew and uncle are together by themselves. However, judging from what informants said, it appears that the behavior of the nephew in private 604 626 is very much the same as in public, if he expects inheritance from his uncle, because were he to depart from the conventional, the uncle would disinherit him. On the other hand, if the nephew expects no such inheritance, and the uncle is thus

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
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unable to punish his nephew by disinheriting him, the nephew's 604
behavior is very much dictated by the ties of regard or affection 626
that exist or are lacking between the two. The private behavior [428]
of the uncle toward his nephew is almost wholly controlled by the same ties, as there would be no way for the nephew to retaliate if his uncle were to break the rule. There is one control, however, that both the nephew and the uncle have over each other. It has nothing to do with either regard or affection or with the possibility of inheritance. It is the fear that if either the nephew or the uncle break the rule the offended one may circulate the news in the community. If such news were circulated the reaction of the community would depend on the standing in the community of both parties concerned. If, for example, the offended had good standing while the offender had [554]
not, the reaction would be highly condemnatory. In the reverse situation, the news would be taken lightly.

From the evidence gathered, three primary factors condition the actual attitudes and behavior of a senior nephew and his senior maternal uncle. The first is the economic interest that the nephew may have in his uncle's property. The second is the fear of public opinion. The economic factor may or may not be operative; the fear of public opinion is always present. The third factor is regard or affection or similar personal sentiments. These three factors may go hand in hand and then it is very difficult to say which is the strongest. In some cases, as in that of Camilo and his uncle, mutual affection and regard are undoubtedly the dominant factor.

To sum up: when the senior maternal uncle is rich, he is the giver, and the senior nephew the receiver, of benefits. As to actual behavior, however, a nephew is obliged to show deference in a particular manner to his senior maternal uncle, and the uncle in turn must show a certain amount of respect for his nephew. Fear of public opinion makes for conformity in behavior regardless of economic interest or personal regard.

Reciprocal Relations of Maternal Uncle and Niece

The relationship here is just the reverse of the uncle-nephew 604
relationship. Here the uncle is the receiver of the benefits and

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
SC13 Goajiro SC13

604 the niece the giver. Another difference is that while the giving-receiving relation in the uncle-nephew situation is between the senior nephew and his senior maternal uncle, in the uncle-niece situation it is between the senior maternal uncle and all the daughters of all his sisters.

In the senior maternal uncle-niece relationship the whole [428] question of inheritance is out of the picture, as in Guajiro culture the woman, regardless of her status, cannot inherit. The nieces never expect and never get anything from any of their uncles in the way of inheritance or otherwise. Consequently we can dismiss economic expectations on the part of the niece as a motivating factor. Their behavior toward their senior maternal uncle is the resultant of other factors. The senior maternal uncle being on his part the receiver of benefits may act from affection or regard, or from selfish or other motives, or combinations thereof.

604 583 The senior maternal uncle receives material profits from all of his sisters' daughters through the bride price. The bride price, however big or small, must be paid to the senior maternal uncle of the bride, while he on the other hand does not contribute anything toward the dowry which the bride must present to the bridegroom. The bride price must always be paid in cattle, while the dowry usually consists of gifts of clothing, household goods, hammocks, etc. Consequently the senior maternal uncle is very much interested in the marriage of his nieces and sees that they marry advantageously. He may accept or reject [584] a prospective bridegroom at will, and the girl has to conform [183] and to say nothing in the matter. This is the theory and to a great extent the practice, although there are cases in which the uncle has given in on the insistence of the niece or of the prospective bridegroom or of both, and a few cases of elopement have also come to the notice of the present writer. As previously mentioned, all of this concerns only the senior maternal uncle and all the daughters of all his sisters: the other uncles, maternal or other, have no say in the matter.

604 584 The following cases will serve as illustrations. Estrella is the daughter of Ramoncito's oldest sister. They all belong to the wealthy class. She is now of marriageable age—about 15

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

567 sider themselves entitled to the female slaves. The owner, however, is bound to give a slave enough food from his own kitchen or to provide maize or other raw ingredients for him or her to cook. He must also provide a male slave [435] with a wife, either giving him a female slave or buying a girl for him from some poor clan for ten goats. The state of [428] slavery is hereditary; thus the children of slaves belong to the owner of their parents. If the owner of a male slave should buy a poor free girl to make him a wife, her children [611] will be free, since relationship is reckoned on the female side. If a free man pays a bride-price for a slave, she becomes free; but if he merely buys her for a house-slave she remains a slave. Male slaves are set to work in the fields or with the herds. Female slaves perform domestic occupations. Sometimes a female slave becomes nurse to the owner's children. [574] The laws of Guajira hospitality require that the master of a 837 house place a female slave at his guests' disposal for the night.

The Indians, of course, have the right to punish their slaves, but the chastisement is seldom excessive. Slaves are treated as superior domestic animals, or perhaps I ought to say, as we treat domestic animals, for the Creoles, the Indians' neighbours, are not animal-lovers. Naturally there are cruel Indians too. The monks once came across a poor little slave girl out in the wilds. Her hands were so badly burned that she could not use them. She had been trying to keep herself alive by gnawing at cactus with her mouth. They took her back with them. It transpired that her mistress had lost her temper with her, thrust her hands into the fire and then driven her away.

The Indians make a distinction between slaves taken in war, who are their master's property, and dependent workers. These latter have to do what their master tells them, but he does not dispose of their persons. I called them slave-workers. They can be sold, but in theory it is only their labour that is transferred.

735 In times of distress the poor not infrequently have to get 567 rid of members of the family who are unable to contribute to their own support, and this they do by selling them. This

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

upon to pay damages by their wives' clans if they do. They will give their sons cattle—sons do not inherit from their fathers—and these they have to look after themselves from the age of fifteen or sixteen. In the better families youths of this age are often rather wild, trying to imitate the older men, drinking more than they can take, being noisy and butting in when their elders are talking. The grown-ups take this quite calmly, pretending they are not there. 'They grow out of it,' they say.

The young men usually settle down when they marry. They must then stand on their own feet and assume family responsibilities.

We now had a much better idea of life in Guajira. As we slowly waded through the sand back to the mission station, Gladtvet said:

'One ought to ride on camels here.'

Perhaps the Indians ought to have had camels. That would have made another reason to call the peninsula the Arabia of South America.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

inherit. They hold him in great respect. A man's chief heir 614
is thus his eldest nephew and he takes particular care of him. [604]
During his lifetime a well-to-do man will give his sons [428]
enough cattle to ensure that they will not be left destitute [431]
when he dies. Each clan has its name and its symbol: the jaguar, rattle-snake, king vulture, dog, etc., but this has no connection with totemism or magic. The Indians think no more of their name's meaning than we do, when people have animal names. They often joke about them.

A number of the clans are large and powerful, others small and weak, sometimes entirely dependent on one of the big clans. Those born into a big clan are fortunate, for they have power behind them and can count on support and help if they are insulted, threatened or robbed, for the members of a clan stick together whatever happens, united by the bond of blood. The same blood flows in all their veins. The Indians imagine that the human grows from a [843]
drop of the mother's blood, and that the foetus feeds on the new vital fluid—for they know that menstruation ceases during pregnancy.

A man does not possess the right to dispose of his blood [752]
or his life. They both belong to the clan. If he hurts himself so that blood flows he must pay damages to his clan for shedding their blood. Suicide is also punishable, though [762]
not at all unusual. After an unsuccessful attempt at suicide, the clan will claim damages, even if no blood has been shed. An Indian wanting to take his own life hangs himself. Such importance is attached to the shedding of blood, that, 683
if someone strikes another and makes his nose bleed, this is 614
regarded as an aggravating circumstance and increases the compensation the victim demands. His whole clan will consider itself insulted. In fact, one can really say that an Indian only has the usufruct of his life and blood.

It is the same with the land. The land in the peninsula is 423
owned by the clans, each of which has its own defined territory. The cultivable areas are not large and lie round the 614
few water-courses that are not dry during most of the year. These plantations are traditionally exploited by certain families in each clan and are inherited by the eldest nephews.

9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
SC13 Goajiro SC13

the individual who was to provide the raw material for this article. This is more or less a biography of the man who was at the same time guide, interpreter, and driver for the author and with whom extensive conversations, both formal and informal, took place.[2]

Guajiro culture, like most native cultures in the New World, has suffered great acculturation due to the impact with European ways of life. Some of these cultures have been more resistant to change than others; and within one culture, certain aspects have remained closer to the traditional forms than have others. In Guajiro culture, it is perhaps the social organization, with all of its ramifications, that has resisted recent acculturation more than the other aspects of the culture. We know very little of the pre-cattle culture of the Guajiro and even Juan de Castellanos, writing at the beginning of the seventeenth century, describes them as having numerous herds of domestic animals. Nowhere in the literature on the Guajiros is there an example of status having been acquired outside the traditional way and the present writer, in his two field trips to the region, has found only the case here described.

As it is not the purpose of this article to give a full description of the social organization of the Guajiro, it will be sufficient to state that the tribe is divided into some twenty-five matrilineal clans, of which about eleven are large and rather powerful in their socio-economic aspects, and the rest—due mainly to the fact of having a small number of members—are weak, and relatively unimportant. Inheritance is along the mother's line, an individual acquiring property from his maternal uncle. The avunculate in all its social and economic aspects, is a very important institution (Santa Cruz, 1941).

Traditionally the clans are exogamous with incest taboos and punishments for those who break them. This exogamic characteristic of the clan is apparently disappearing, as several cases of endogamous unions were found among the Guajiro living in the outskirts of the city of Maracaibo. No endogamous marriages, however, were found in the Guajiro proper by the present writer, although Gregorio Hernandez de Alba (1936) has

[2] Proper names, especially of the subject, have all been disguised in some way, so as to spare personal feelings.

159 Venezuelan Guajiro. As his wealth grew so did his prestige.
554 About twenty years ago the then leader of the Uriana clan died
556 leaving no heirs, as he had no brothers and no direct nephews.
622 Guajiro tradition establishes that, if upon the death of a clan leader and wealthy man there are no close heirs, even though
[428] there be distant ones, a council of elders (informally chosen
623 among the oldest and more respected men of the clan) will meet and select the individual who shall take over not only the leadership of the clan but the wealth of the deceased as well. These cases are very infrequent (actually the writer could only find, in the memory of the oldest men, two instances of a council of elders meeting to select a leader; one is the case mentioned in this article, and the other occurred among the Epieyú clan, in Colombia, about fifty or sixty years ago). Fernandez
[557] now confesses, quite candidly, that at the time of the meeting of the council of elders, he distributed a number of gifts among them, thus succeeding in having them select him as clan leader and heir to the wealth of the dead chief.

177 It is interesting to note—and it shows how much acculturation
192 Guajiro culture has undergone with the assimilation of the cattle complex—that the true Guajiro term for leader or chief (which also means "old man") *alat'laa* is almost all but forgotten and practically never used, having been substituted by the word *to'olo* a corruption of the Spanish word *toro* meaning BULL.
[194] (Stops are not glottal, but simple stoppage of the sound to be renewed with the coming vowel. Phonetic transcription have followed those given by Dr. Martha Hilderbrand's work on the Guajiro language published by the Comisión Indigenista, Venezuela, in 1958).

622 The role of Fernandez as leader of the Uriana clan is an
627 exact replica of Silva's. He acts as advisor, settles disputes, makes arrangements for the payments of torts, bride-prices, etc. His day is fully as busy as that of Silva and he attends to all these matters besides his personal affairs.

554 Here we have, then, the two traditional ways of acquiring status in Guajiro society that the present writer has been able to investigate; one through inheritance, as in the case of Panchito Silva; and the other, through selection by a council of elders, as in the case of José de la Rosa Fernandez. It is doubtful that

/8 cont./

Birth and death of the first-born. The father must pay the 851 expenses of pregnancy and delivery, as well as those occasioned by the celebration of the birth of his first child, and he is expected to offer a special feast at his own expense at the place where the birth occurred. The news of the birth of the child spreads rapidly and draws relatives and friends from all parts. At midday the dance, which lasts all night, begins, in which the [534 single women and all the men take part. The rhythm is supplied 535] by a double-headed drum made of deer or goat hide. The dancing takes place within a large circle, around the edges of which the couples participating and the curious onlookers gather. The women attend in their finest dresses without forgetting their ornaments (necklaces, bracelets, and anklets) and wear wound round the head a handkerchief, which falls over the shoulder, and have their faces very carefully painted. The men wear broad belts wonderfully embroidered and feather headpieces.

[273] The father must supply his guests with Guajiro rum or with smuggled foreign liquor. Also chicha (made from chewed corn) is prepared and is served liberally. Apart from the dancing [541] there may be horse racing, if the people are rich, and for this they bring their finest animals. At dawn the next day cattle, if the father is rich, and goats are slaughtered, which are prepared and divided among the participants according to their importance in the family, the group, and the total collectivity in general. All the participants return to their homes by sunrise.

In addition to the father, the maternal and paternal relatives [431] join in the celebration of the birth, bringing gifts for the newly born. The father also makes him a present of heads of livestock, which constitute almost the only inheritance he will get during [428] his lifetime, as it is the nephews of the father, (sons of his sister) who inherit the capital and not the sons, according to law, when the marriage has been carried out according to the Guajiro rite.

851 The paternal grandfather also shows his recognition and 43 generosity toward his grandson. If he owns livestock, he is 603 obliged to give a pair of each -- horses, burros, cows, goats,

/8 cont./

851 431 [603] sheep, fowl. The maternal grandfather has a similar obligation, and he is expected to give as much as the other. It is customary for the most notable /connotado/ maternal uncle to show his affection and recognition of his nephew -- his veritable son -- by making him a special gift of heads of livestock. /9/

In addition, the female neighbors and friends of the mother come to visit her, and they do not fail to bring some present for the new infant, such as balls of thread to make his hammock, his swaddling clothes, etc.

With the livestock received at his birth the child starts his capital. His animals are cared for by his father, together with those belonging to the mother, or by the most outstanding maternal uncle who has shown most affection for his nephew activities until the boy becomes capable of looking after his own interests.

* * *

766 The death of the first-born child is an event of outstanding importance because of the consequences it may bring about. This is one of the reasons why the father is greatly concerned about the first pregnancy of his wife and why he endeavors to take her to the home of her relatives in order that her child may be born there, placing on them the responsibility he seeks to avoid. This is cause enough for later births not to be attended by the maternal relatives, and in the long run the woman may have to give birth alone through force of circumstances.

The wife and her relatives acknowledge responsibility for the first-born's death and not only for his death as such but also as it may bear upon the birth of future children. When the first-born dies he is placed in a clay pitcher head downward, covered with the base of a new clay jar, and buried in the woods, not in the clan cemetery but certainly in land belonging to his family, at the foot of a pole called huruwá, so that the other children to be born will not also die. All ceremonies usual at

/15 cont./

854 /ajuar/ for the coming child. Many times the mother is forced to improvise items by using old robes to wrap him in or a bag made of agave fiber for his hammock to protect him from the cold at night.

The Guajiro woman who is in contact with civilization and is comfortably off economically prepares a hammock for the arrival of the child, or weaves it or has it made afterward, using the hanks of cotton thread she has received as gifts. Children 854 wear clothes only when they go on trips. If they are baptized 291 in the Catholic faith, they receive their outfit /ajuar/ from their [608 godmother, who is also expected to present a dress to the mother. 431] As the child usually goes about naked, they do not make any clothes to wear. Some rather long cloths useful as swaddling clothes and coverlets are prepared and serve various purposes. Wherever possible the mothers try to avoid the child's dirtying them with his excretions, in order to lighten the problem of cleanliness, since water is scarce. /16/

854 Neither are the Guajiro mothers in the habit of wrapping bellybands round their infants. The navel is left exposed even [164] when it is not completely healed. For this reason ruptures are frequent as well as the death of the newly born due to infection of the navel. But they do use a kind of awning fixed over the [136] child's hammock to protect him from falling centipedes, snakes, and scorpions that abound in the roofs of the huts, which are covered with plant materials.

* * *

Care, training, and treatment of young children. From birth the child is looked after by people other than his mother, as she is obliged to seek such assistance to be able to attend to her other domestic obligations or to rest and have someone to whom she can delegate this care. When she goes to a place relatively near by, the mother does not take the child but leaves it in the care of his older brothers and sisters or her relatives, when they

/153 cont./

755 him with a series of magic remedies and medicinal plants which have been fully described in the article /154/ previously cited. Also at the present time it is not uncommon for them to call in the services of a white doctor, either in Uribia, the capital of the peninsula, or in the near-by cities of Venezuela, such as Maracaibo, or in the neighboring Colombian department of Magdalena.

But their culture possesses a traditional institution that 756 answers these requirements: the shaman, whose essential 755 activity has been fully treated in the work which we cited at 177 the beginning of this chapter and to which we refer the reader. This institution, perhaps the most powerful in Guajiro culture, has been losing value for various reasons already studied in the article we have cited, but it still occupies an outstanding place within the social and cultural whole, to the point that when an Indian is gravely ill, his relatives think immediately of the shaman as the most advisable means of curing the sick man, as this functionary (the shaman) possesses considerable magic powers due to his having been selected by the benevolent spirits to be their intermediary in their frequent contacts with the community. For this reason, to obtain the aid of the shaman is to have in one's favor the friendship and co-operation of the well-wishing spirits who can save the patient from death, [163] because for the Guajiro, illness is caused by the action of pernicious spirits who want to cause harm and to avenge themselves.

755 The first necessary condition for the shaman to take charge of the cure is the gift to him of a piece of jewelry, an orna- [431] ment of gold, generally a necklace, /the value of/ which should be in relation to the family status of the patient as well as the standing of the shaman. A second condition is the tacit submission to the shaman's demands and instructions.

The shaman, once he has decided to take charge of the cure of the patient, goes to his house and submits the sick man to the customary ritual. His practices, which last several

/220 cont./

428 influential Guajiro of Upper La Guajira had contracted
587 marriage with two women from each of the two clan groups of La Guajira. Becoming very ill and feeling his last hours approaching, it pained him that his illness did not permit him to buy a prepubescent girl he desired so that after his death his nephews would have a motive for quarreling; he was extremely sorry that he would not be able to be present at their squabbles.

The possession of women by inheritance has been gradually weakened, especially in cases where they would have young men as future owners, they being already mature. However, the social precept is maintained that if they wish to contract marriage, the man who wants them must give an agreed-upon sum to their new owner.

428 d) Bond servants, slaves, and their descendants pass under the control of the consanguineous relatives of the deceased in accordance with the special rules of inheritance. This human property passes under the new ownership under the same special conditions of low status under which they were living previously.

e) As regards land, we can say that usufruct of communal property is inherited as well as the right to usufruct of the family agricultural plot, following the uncle to maternal nephew succession in this case.

f) With respect to the dwelling we have the following situation: Every important family usually locates itself in a place of easy access with abundant water, or at least sufficient for their needs, and at the center of the regions of pasture land. The consanguineous members of these families usually form /221/ their new family cells around this primary nucleus. On the death of the owners the original house becomes the property of their descendants through the maternal line.

* * *

428 A particular form of inheritance that we ought to consider
431 in this study is that of gifts made while the owner is alive, gifts

/221 cont./

428 of livestock, jewelry, and personal objects, made by the mother
431 and uterine relatives on one hand and the father and his ascendants on the other.

As regards jewelry and personal objects, there are two things that move the native to make these gifts while alive: 1) Because these elements of material culture must be buried with the owner, and this custom prevents their distribution in the form of inheritance, so that their acquisition can only be accomplished by gifts made during /the owner's/ life. 2) Because the father and his ascendants do not consider themselves consanguineous relatives of the son, and for this reason he has no right to inherit from them. The payment that the man makes for his wife to her uterine relatives indemnifies her descendants for this exclusion from participation in his legacy. But nevertheless the culture allows and insists that jewelry and personal objects on the part of the maternal relatives and livestock on the part of the paternal relatives should be given to the children, and it establishes special opportunities for doing so, such as the following: when the young women emerge from their seclusion during the initiation ceremony; at the time of marriage in order to make up a suitable dowry for the young wife in accord with her status and that of her husband; also when a man is about to contract marriage, as we explained in the pertinent section; and, finally, when any one of the members of the group has violated the regimen for social stability and it is necessary to indemnify the offended party, when donations have to be provided by the relatives through the maternal line.

The gift of livestock on the part of the father and his relatives takes place on successive occasions. When the first-born arrives, he receives a gift from the paternal grandfather, who "has the obligation of giving him a horse, burro, cow, goat, sheep, and hen" (pairs of these animals for breeding). The father should give as much again on the birth of each succeeding child. And on successive occasions he gives each one of the children some animal as a reward or stimulus. When the boy comes of age,

/221 cont./

428 that is, when he gets married, his father must hand over to him all the animals that are his personal property. It is then that
431 the largest of the gifts is given. /222/ If this is not given, the boy is always waiting for his father to give it on some other occasion, but should the father die before having given it, the paternal relatives will not concede it to the young man, even though this may be a cause of fighting between the two clan groups.

428 The payment in livestock which the wife receives from the husband for inconveniences suffered during her pregnancy and for each childbirth can also be considered as indirect participation in his goods.

We know that funeral customs establish that when a man dies livestock that is his property must be slaughtered and distributed among the friends who attend the wake at the time of the death and those who attend the second burial. In order to comply with this norm the Guajiro has established gifts of livestock from the maternal relatives, the same as the father does with his children. When a new family member is born, the maternal uncles, especially the one most looked up to by the mother, make a present of livestock to the child which constitute, with the gifts he receives from the paternal relatives, his initial patrimony. These goods keep on growing with successive calving and with the addition of the gifts he receives from his mother, his maternal grandmother, and from other relatives when he becomes capable of caring for them himself. Finally, on marrying for the first time (we must keep in mind that polygamy exists), all the animals destined for him are handed over.

The daughters receive the larger portion of livestock on getting married, especially when they belong to groups of high status and they have been bought at a high price to be consistent with this high value and to maintain the social and economic standing of their family.

428 It should be emphasized, finally, that at the present time
178 the laws of inheritance, as we stated at the beginning, are no longer uniform, due to the steady process of acculturation in the

[18 cont.]

*756 to bring on lactation, to gain weight, etc., are partly public
755 knowledge and partly privately known by a few families who tra-
[208 ditionally preserve the secret of their use for their personal benefit.
847] By what has been previously stated we see how the cere-
mony of healing is a perpetual invocation of the spirit, a con-
tinual fear that it might withdraw its aid for whatever motive,
and a perennial anxiety to satisfy its slightest wish in order to
obtain the success sought. To give evidence for this we shall
see how the Guajiro shaman effects a cure when he has been
called in to handle one.

First of all, before he initiates such activities, he demands
[431] a gift. For this reason whenever a native needs the services of
the shaman for magico-medical attention for some relative, he
goes to present himself to the shaman with a gold necklace or
some other valuable present.

171 Each time the shaman goes to cure a sick person he takes
*756 with him two maracas. This custom is rather widespread in
755 South America, where the magic power of the maraca appears
to be extraordinary and is commonly accepted, although with
some variations from tribe to tribe whether in the [19] quality
of its different parts, in the artifacts adornment, in the manner
of using it, etc. To corroborate this it is sufficient to quote
Professor Métraux again, who says, in reference to the apprentice
shaman: "During his initiation the novice learns to make use of
the accessories indispensable to the magic art. The most im-
portant of all, that which in some manner symbolizes the profes-
sion is the maraca or rattle made from a calabash containing some
seeds or pebbles and provided with a handle." (15) [Cited in
French.]

15. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 217.

[352] The medicine man accommodates himself in a seat especially
reserved for such occasions and carved in wood in the form of an
animal, but if such an artifact is lacking, he will use any con-
venient seat. The custom of using a seat of this type is also found
in the Guianas. "The wooden seat is an equally indispensable
accessory for the shaman of the Guianas. It is often carved in the
form of a jaguar, an animal that plays an important part in the

[123 cont.]

796 aspects: 1) it shows ability in theatrical representations; 2) dancing, such as we have described in previous paragraphs, accompanied by songs; 3) a very interesting sexual aspect, in which the cultural patterns which govern Guajiro society are [786] broken, permitting the possibility of a certain sexual freedom without the consequences attached to such in normal times. We will begin with this last aspect, leaving for later a discussion of what their songs, plays, or drama really are.

Sexual aspect. a) The man, when the moment for dancing 796 arrives, takes a partner who usually accompanies him on every 786 evening of the dance. When they end by liking each other, as a result of dancing together, the couples leave the dancing group and withdraw to the forest to satisfy their sexual desires.

In normal times in the community this act would lead to 684 outbreaks of fighting in which the clans of the two participants 628 would clash. The man would be summoned and would be under an obligation to pay a large sum for the harm done and a further sum for the dangers and pains of childbirth in case of pregnancy; or he would find himself obliged to buy the woman for wife in reparation for the fault he had committed. In case he failed to comply with one of these requirements, vengeance and war would follow. But none of this happens during this time of fiesta. 796 If a man who has been with a woman during these nights of 786 dancing (which can go on for three or four months) cares to take her as his wife, he must pay for her the price arranged with her relatives, but if he does not want to do this, his total obligation [431] is limited to a present of a robe. She on her part will give him a similar gift or simply a belt for his loincloth. Afterward they do not meet each other except on casual occasions.

Furthermore, if, owing to intimacies during the dance between unmarried couples, a child should be born, the father has [848] no responsibility toward it or to the girl's relatives. The child is accepted by the girl's family; it is not looked down on, and it participates under conditions of equality with the legitimate heirs in all the duties and rights of the other members of the family group.

[125 cont.]

524 the singer says to her: "You are not a virgin, I would never
796 have believed this of you, but it is true. A pity, my pretty
831 majayura, that you have not your virginity and that men have had their bodies over yours." He than places her in a place separate from the virgins. When he finishes doing this with all the girls in the group, he distributes prizes to the virgins, to
[431] those who have triumphed in the trial, and he eulogizes them again. The girls later return the presents which are only simulated gifts.

114 The French writer Roger Callois has interpreted these fiestas carried out from ancient to present times in a chapter called [126] "La transgresión sagrada. Teoría de la Fiesta" [The Sacred Sin. Theory of the Fiesta], and he says in this respect: "To their normal way of life, occupied with their daily work, peaceful, surrounded by a system of prudent prohibitions where the maxim quieta non movere maintains law and order in their world, there is opposed the effervescence of the fiesta. This, if only its external aspects are considered, shows identical reactions at every civilized level. It implies a great number of excited, noisy people. These conglomerations of masses greatly influence the starting of and the contagion of an exultation which spends itself in shouts and gestures and encourages the uncontrolled abandonment of all to the most irresponsible impulses. Even today when without doubt the now impoverished fiestas have very little effect on the greyish background of the monotonous everyday life of the people and appear to be sporadic, spread out, almost stagnated, there may still be distinguished in their celebrations some miserable vestiges of the collective abandonment which characterized these ancient riotous celebrations." And later he states: "In the so-called primitive civilizations the contrast is very much more clearly marked. The fiesta lasts several weeks, even several months, interrupted by intervals of rest of from four to five days. At times it required several years to gather together the quantity of comestibles and delicacies which would be not only consumed or despatched ostentatiously but also destroyed and wasted purely and simply because waste and destruction are forms of excess

3: Wilbert E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 SC13 Goajiro SC13

582 As for the sanctioned forms of cousin marriage, Ego (m. and f.) may marry any cousins on either side except for mother's sister's children. Ego (m. and f.) may also marry any kinsman of the third degree with the exception of a mother's sister's daughter's child. All relatives of the fourth degree are potential spouses. [595] Polygyny is practiced and is definitely a mark of status and rank. Sororate is sanc- [554] tioned although it very rarely occurs. The data indicate, then, a very typical system [587] of Crow type.

602 No avoidance taboos were said to exist in Goajiro society, but great attention is paid to respectful behavior between kinsmen. In the family parents are respected [593] equally highly by the children, whereas among siblings the brother enjoys greater authority than his sisters, and an elder than a younger brother. In the presence of the maternal uncle nobody is supposed to speak up unquestioned; this rule applies especially to the younger people. Grandparents maintain close and friendly relations with their grandchildren. They make gifts to the latter: horses, bows and [431] arrows, drums, rifles, etc., and the grandchildren assist the old after having grown up. The father-in-law is respected greatly by his daughter-in-law. When visiting she serves him before she serves her mother-in-law. She does not, however, attend her own mother. Cousins are completely free to meet without being obliged to observe any avoidance regulations.

608 Artificial kin relations were said to be missing altogether among the Goajiro. Non-relatives are treated with great friendliness and may even be accepted as 609 step-parents of an orphan of the group. Orphans usually join a family on the 597 father's side.

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4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
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father's relatives who would eat the meat and drink the rum 574
immediately, a feast to which the mother's relatives might be 626
invited as a gesture of courtesy. The offering of rum and 602
meat is voluntary, and even a friend may ask for something as 672
an indication of deep personal interest in the welfare of the injured person. If the injured man makes no offering, no action is taken by anyone to make him do so, but he will acquire a 'bad name.' A Guajiro has a moral obligation to avoid shedding his own blood, but not a legal obligation. Since the father takes care of his son during his lifetime, this obligation is directed towards him and his relatives, but is extended to include any good friend.

Another example of the same distinction is the case where a 431
son asks his father for a particular horse or object possessed by 593
the latter, as a gift. The father is morally bound to grant the request, but there is no legal compulsion to do so. I gave a cacique a fine hunting knife which pleased him greatly. To my surprise his son was proudly wearing it the following day. On inquiring about it the cacique told me that his eldest son had asked for it. Had he refused to give it he would have [626]
been considered a bad father. The son inherits nothing from [428]
his father on the death of the latter, but while he is alive the son may beg anything within certain limits set by precedent. This moral obligation to give up a prized possession when [572]
asked for by one's sons is extended to include close friends.

Allowing the Guajiro to make their own distinctions, let us 671
turn to a consideration of their 'laws.' The commission of certain acts, which in our society would give rise to criminal prosecution, in Guajiro society are considered matters to be settled by the parties concerned. Criminal law is practically non-existent. There is no body politic, properly speaking, that metes out punishment whether or not the injured party seeks redress, and social pressure can hardly be of any importance in a society that protects the individual through the instrument of family and casta membership. In only one case 628
does there seem to be an approach to concerted social action. 681
If an individual has caused his family much trouble and is in- 672
corrigible, if his family has been called upon to pay for his mis-

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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demetery, a site chosen in some solitary arid spot, and surrounded by walls of cacti. At the death of Salvador, a Pushaina from Arroyo Cardon, 120 fat oxen were killed, and the hides did not pay for the liquor drunk. Two of the same family meeting for the first time after the death of a relation, must squat down on their hands in front of each other, and sob and weep, for at least a quarter of an hour, the louder the better. 764 765

The Indians are very punctilious in saluting. Calling at a rancho, visitors must wait until spoken to, if this is not done soon, it is evident they are not welcome, so ride away. The words used never seem to be the same. The most frequent are "Intishi-pia" (you have come), or "Eiguare pia" (so you have arrived). In eating and drinking the Indians are extremely cleanly. The principals all eat separately; receiving their allowance in an earthenware dish, *posá*, with a gourd spoon, *pushi*. The remains, with an addition, serve for the lower members of the family. Water is invariably given after, to wash the mouth and fingers. Even if a drink of milk is taken, a little water is tendered after. As to their hospitality, it has, I believe, been rather exaggerated. There is no doubt that the Goajiro is more hospitable than the Arhuaco of the Sierra Nevada, but then he is also far more cunning and diplomatic, and his hospitality is a mere question of self-interest. He will willingly give a sheep or a goat as a present, provided there is a chance of claiming an ox in return. He is chivalresque in his donations. When he does give a sheep, it is a fat one, his best, and given whole, without reserve, skin and all. If eating, on the arrival of a stranger, he may offer food to him, but certainly will give if requested, as is the custom, always begging. One thing a guest may rely upon receiving in a rancho is a hammock, even if the owner has to sleep on the ground. Lastly, among curious customs, is that of parents assuming the names of their children with the prefix *nushi* or *sushi* if the father, and *ni* or *si* if the mother. Thus the father of Juan would call himself "Nushijuan," or if a daughter, "Sushijuana." The mother of Juan would be called "Nijuan," and if a daughter, "Sijuana." 574 [264] [415] [431] 551

The dress of the Goajiros is extremely simple, and probably similar to his savage luxury of three centuries ago, when Alfinger devastated the land, except that his own quiet blacks and browns—for he is cunning in the art of dyeing—have given way to the gorgeous blues, reds, and yellows of European wool. His every day working costume is simply a strip of cloth from three inches wide upwards, called *cuichra*. When paying visits, receiving company, or travelling, he does his best—a large loincloth with many folds, and the home-woven mantle *shi*, with a magnificent sash, *si-ira*. The mantle is managed with wonderful elegance, now letting it fall about him in voluptuous folds, or dropping it from his shoulders, and tucking it into his immense sash, where his arrows are carried. The hair, which is jet black, thick, and cut short, is kept back in a very aglactic style by a ring or crown, 291 [386] [177] 302 291

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
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Reciprocal Relations of Maternal Uncle and Nephew

604 The general attitude of the maternal uncle toward his nephew is one of giving; and that of the nephew, one of receiving.

428 Let us first deal with inheritance. Theoretically, the rule
604 is that the maternal uncle must leave all of his property, both
183 personal and in the form of cattle, to his oldest sister's eldest son.
431 All his other nephews,—other sons of the same sister or sons of other sisters,—are left out of the inheritance. This is the rule. However, in practice it seldom works, as the maternal uncle during his life continues to transfer his property in the form of gifts to his own male children, so that at the time of his death there is nothing, or very little, left of his property to be inherited by his nephew, unless the uncle is a very rich man. Only among the wealthy class has the uncle always something left to bequeath to his nephew. For this he does not need a will as it falls within the prescribed rule mentioned above. The following cases are illustrative.

428 Ilaro is the eldest son of a man named Rafael living at Uribia,
431 and, like his mother, belongs to the Arpushaina sib. Ilaro's
604 mother is the elder of the two sisters of Calleja, who in turn is the eldest of five siblings, — two sisters and three brothers. Thus Ilaro, his mother, and his uncle Calleja are all seniors. Calleja is not looked upon as a rich man, although he is well
[556] fixed and belongs to the middle class. Ilaro, however, does not expect much, if any, inheritance from his uncle and is aware
[231] that the latter has been transferring most of his cattle,—the most valuable possession in Guajiro eyes,—in the form of gifts to his own sons. The writer visited Ilaro's uncle who lives
[422] nearby and saw the cattle already branded with his son's personal brand. Ilaro is not at all concerned about the property of his other uncles as their property will pass automatically to their own children.

This next case illustrates a different situation. Pacheco is a very rich man who lives in Carraipia. He has a nephew,—the senior maternal nephew,—who lives there also. Pacheco has a son of his own and the present writer observed that some of Pacheco's cattle have already been branded for his son, but

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
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as his herds are large there are quite a number still unbranded. Pacheco informed me that at the time of his death, those left unbranded will automatically—following the inheritance rule —go to his nephew. 408 431 604

The attitudes of these two nephews, Ilaro on one hand, and Paco, Pacheco's nephew, on the other, are quite different. Ilaro has very little to do with his uncle. He seldom visits him, although they live quite near each other, and their relations are somewhat detached. However, there is no animosity between them and the writer noticed that they speak of each other, not badly, but with indifference. In the case of Pacheco and his nephew the relationship is very close. They pay each other visits with regularity, and Pacheco shows a paternalistic attitude toward his nephew and is always willing to help him in every way possible. On the other hand Paco never shows any hesitation in going to his uncle for whatever he needs regardless of whether his own father is able to help him or not. 604 [574]

Pacheco has other nephews, brothers of Paco and others, but he has practically no relations with them. They never go to him for any assistance and he does not expect them to do so. Regarding inheritance they, of course, receive nothing whatever from Pacheco at his death.

It appears that generally the attitude of a senior nephew toward his senior maternal uncle largely depends on what he expects from him in the way of inheritance. There are cases, however, where mutual understanding and regard and affection are strong ties regardless of what the nephew expects. Such is the following case. Camilo is the only son of a poor man living at Cardon. He has a senior maternal uncle living at Manaure who is also poor. Although living at quite a distance, Camilo often goes to pay a visit to his uncle, and is often visited by him. Camilo shows great respect toward his uncle and speaks of him as being a very good man, who would do anything for him if he could, but he is aware that his uncle can do very little for him. The writer visited the uncle at Manaure and verified the impression of him given by Camilo. He holds his nephew in high regard, is very much concerned in all that Camilo does and in how he is getting along in life.

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
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or 16 years old—and it is entirely up to Ramoncito to find a suitable mate for her. As yet there is no prospective bridegroom but when he is found he will be entirely Ramoncito's choice. Ramoncito may seek the advice of Estrella's parents, but the final say rests with him. Even the girl has little or nothing to do with the selection. Ramoncito will settle the bride price and collect it all for himself. He will not share it with his other brothers nor will the girl's parents receive any part of it. Ramoncito concerns himself greatly about Estrella and seldom lets a day pass without paying her a visit. Estrella comes to visit her uncle quite frequently too, either alone—for they live close by—or with her mother, and she always brings a little gift for Ramoncito's only child. Ramoncito has another sister whose daughter is already married. In this case it was Ramoncito again who made all the arrangements for the marriage, selecting a wealthy bridegroom, settling the bride price, and collecting it. He kept all of it for himself as he is supposed to do. None of the other relatives had anything to say regarding the marriage.

The following is another case, one from a different level of society. Carmelina is the daughter of a poor man who lives at San Antonio. She has only one maternal uncle, who is also poor. About a year ago her uncle insisted upon her marrying the bridegroom whom he had already selected for her. The bride price was arranged and collected by her uncle, but he being a wasteful man—according to Carmelina—went to Venezuela, sold the cattle there and spent all of his money. Since that time this uncle has been trying to get some cattle from Carmelina's husband, but, as he has no further claim on his niece, they have refused him. Carmelina, apparently is happy in her marriage and glad to be out of her uncle's reach. He pays frequent visits to his niece, but as he is received with cool indifference his visits are less frequent than they used to be.

Now for the actual pattern of behavior. The present writer was able to observe personally the mode of behavior between Estrella and Ramoncito and between Carmelina and her uncle. Let us take Estrella's case first. Apart from the fact that in the Guajira whenever we find a mixed group the women in-

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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lost their loads and the mule throwing the photographer, but we were all tired and not easily amused.

I did not want to stay at that rancho. Their reception had been friendly, but they had something against the Gaffer. I thought they had hesitated to receive him, and caution suggested that we ought to camp by ourselves, as long as we had people on whom we could not rely. Evening came and with it a slight, cooling breeze. Travelling was pleasant then without the heat of the sun. Knowing that the moon would rise early, we decided to go on as long as we could.

At midnight we halted in bright moonlight, lit a fire and made coffee. A couple of Indians came uninvited and squatted nearby. The coastal Indians had become infected with the vices of civilization and stole like jackdaws. We had already lost a number of small things at Arema and the other places on the coast, and had no wish to lose more. In Guajira you must take the law into your own hands.

We produced our firearms and set about cleaning them. We each had a rifle and a pistol, and also I had a number of pistols that I had bought cheap at auctions after the war and intended to use as objects of barter. We put up our camp beds under the open sky, laid our weapons beside them and told our Indians to 'sleep with one eye open', a phrase they themselves used. We assured them that we should do the same, and that our open eyes would be fixed on our baggage.

We knew that the Indians would be constantly starting up and looking round. No sound escaped their trained ears. We were not suspicious of their being in a conspiracy with the other Indians; in fact, they were quite frightened.

When we woke at daybreak, all was well. We packed up and set off again at once. Now and again we met naked Indians armed with bows and arrows. We gave tobacco to them all, as custom dictates. It is almost a sort of tax which white people have to pay in order to be able to travel in peace in Guajira. If you happen to be smoking one of the country's thin cigars and meet an Indian, you can, if you are in a hurry, take the cigar from your mouth and stick it into his, mutter a greeting, receive an answer, and ride on.

Although I had a compass and a map, such as it was,

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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upon to pay damages by their wives' clans if they do. They will give their sons cattle—sons do not inherit from their fathers—and these they have to look after themselves from the age of fifteen or sixteen. In the better families youths of this age are often rather wild, trying to imitate the older men, drinking more than they can take, being noisy and butting in when their elders are talking. The grown-ups take this quite calmly, pretending they are not there. 'They grow out of it,' they say.

The young men usually settle down when they marry. They must then stand on their own feet and assume family responsibilities.

We now had a much better idea of life in Guajira. As we slowly waded through the sand back to the mission station, Gladtvet said:

'One ought to ride on camels here.'

Perhaps the Indians ought to have had camels. That would have made another reason to call the peninsula the Arabia of South America.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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inherit. They hold him in great respect. A man's chief heir 614
is thus his eldest nephew and he takes particular care of him. [604]
During his lifetime a well-to-do man will give his sons [428]
enough cattle to ensure that they will not be left destitute
when he dies. Each clan has its name and its symbol: the [431]
jaguar, rattle-snake, king vulture, dog, etc., but this has no
connection with totemism or magic. The Indians think no
more of their name's meaning than we do, when people
have animal names. They often joke about them.

A number of the clans are large and powerful, others
small and weak, sometimes entirely dependent on one of
the big clans. Those born into a big clan are fortunate, for
they have power behind them and can count on support
and help if they are insulted, threatened or robbed, for the
members of a clan stick together whatever happens, united
by the bond of blood. The same blood flows in all their
veins. The Indians imagine that the human grows from a [843]
drop of the mother's blood, and that the foetus feeds on
the new vital fluid—for they know that menstruation
ceases during pregnancy.

A man does not possess the right to dispose of his blood [752]
or his life. They both belong to the clan. If he hurts himself
so that blood flows he must pay damages to his clan for
shedding their blood. Suicide is also punishable, though [762]
not at all unusual. After an unsuccessful attempt at suicide,
the clan will claim damages, even if no blood has been
shed. An Indian wanting to take his own life hangs himself.
Such importance is attached to the shedding of blood, that, 683
if someone strikes another and makes his nose bleed, this is 614
regarded as an aggravating circumstance and increases the
compensation the victim demands. His whole clan will
consider itself insulted. In fact, one can really say that an
Indian only has the usufruct of his life and blood.

It is the same with the land. The land in the peninsula is 423
owned by the clans, each of which has its own defined terri- 614
tory. The cultivable areas are not large and lie round the
few water-courses that are not dry during most of the year.
These plantations are traditionally exploited by certain
families in each clan and are inherited by the eldest nephews.

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562
riage. A Guajiro woman has no right to sell her body. The [548]
law does not recognize prostitution.

A married woman's relatives and clan do not leave her 562
entirely in her husband's hands. He may not do as he likes 614
with her, nor cause her suffering. Suffering and discomfort 844
she is bound to experience in childbirth, however, and of
that he is the primary cause; thus whether as a result of
legal or illegal relations, the man must compensate the [431]
mother for her confinement by giving her family a few
cattle. The woman herself may not eat their meat under
any circumstances.

Originally the Guajiro clans were exogamous; members 582
were not allowed to marry within the clan. That is no 614
longer insisted upon, but not only brothers and sisters,
but maternal males and cousins on the mother's side, are
still reckoned among the forbidden degrees. It is unthinkable that an Indian girl should marry her maternal uncle;
that would be like having her father for her husband. It once
happened that an uncle and niece had a secret relationship 835
and the girl became pregnant. A monk married them, but
the Indians regarded the relationship as a heinous crime
and the whole district reacted so violently that the couple [626]
had to leave the peninsula and go far away, where there was
no risk of meeting members of their tribe.

There is nothing to prevent an Indian getting himself [595]
several wives. Infrequently white men have married into 648
Guajiro families and they too have had to pay a bride-price. 582
A number of poor Creoles have contracted Guajiro marriages with poor girls. I have already mentioned how foreign
oil workers made Guajiro marriages. In those early days
there were no arrangements made for employees' families,
and the Guajiro girls suited those primitive conditions very
well, though as a rule such marriages with Indian girls
were very short-lived, as those of the Creoles with them
still are. The girl is soon abandoned, if that can be done
without risk, the girl's family in such cases being powerless.
So the Indians told me.

The monks had already told us that where Creoles had
married Guajiro girls of good family, those marriages had

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622 would not have been pleased if we had not managed to get
142 her looking nice and pale. In reality her complexion was perhaps a shade too dark. Mauana asked if everyone in our country was as fair-skinned as my wife, and when I assured him that they were, he wondered whether he should not send his daughter to Sweden for a time to let her become lighter. The girl did not appear to be so very young. Francisco told us that Mauana was not finding it easy to marry her off. Being the greatest and richest chief in the Macuira Hills, with plantations that were always watered, the price he must ask for her was considerable by Indian standards, and though there had been no lack of inquiries, no deal had yet been made. All this according to Francisco. The price could not be lowered. The girl's uncle insisted on that, as she did too. Every Indian girl is proud of commanding a high price. That not only shows that she is of good family, but also that her mother and grandmother cost a lot too, in other words that she is of an old, propertied family.

581 'You often hear people say,' Francisco added, 'that it is better to pay little for a wife from a poor family who has been taught to work well, than to give much for a rich girl who only wants to be waited upon. But the fact is that the rich girl's family will provide her with what she might need to live according to her status even after she has married. She will still be supported from home. That, of course, lightens the husband's duties: so it isn't so silly to marry a rich wife,' and he sighed heavily.

584 Mauana then joined us and he too began discussing marriage. We had heard a certain amount on this subject already, but listened nonetheless attentively. A suitor does not go in person to ask for a girl's hand; he sends a proxy, his eldest maternal uncle or, if possible, a chief on his mother's side. His mother usually goes as well, Sometimes a whole deputation arrives, to be given a ceremonial reception.

[431] The delegates bring with them gifts in the form of necklaces of gold beads and tuma stones. A man like Mauana could expect several of these. If the gifts are accepted, as almost always they are, they at once start discussing the

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764 hands to their faces. From one and all rose the lugubrious, shrill lament that had to sound uninterruptedly as long as the dead man was above ground. (For some time after the [765] funeral, the man's nearest relatives would begin the day with a song of lament.) After some time the wailers nearest to the bier began to make way for others, and then we too [576] began lamenting, imitating the sound as best we could, as politeness required that every guest should.

One of the men now turned and pulled the cloak from his face. It was our host. He was very glad to see us and, above all, seemed to be flattered that my wife had come. He was [273] already slightly under the weather, swaying a little on his [415] feet, and in one hand he held an enamel chamberpot. He looked so comical that my wife had to hold her handkerchief over her mouth so that none should see what difficulty she [431] was having in keeping a straight face. Our host thought she [609] was very moved and at once ordered one of his fattest sheep to be given her to 'dry her tears', as it is called. He always called her majayura, maiden, remarking: 'She is far too young and lovely to be married.' This, of course, was meant as a compliment. He added that he knew very well what we usually ate. He knew that we were from the same part of the world as the monks and that these people lived on bread, sugar and potatoes. He had tasted them in Nazaret. But perhaps we also liked meat? We assured him that we did, and he promised us large pieces of beef and as much maize beer as we wished. Then he had to go and attend to his other guests.

Burials are big affairs. A good proportion of the dead person's livestock has to be slaughtered to accompany him into the hereafter. The guests feast on this meat, and afterwards each is given some to take home. We walked round to look at the many camps, some under cactus trees, others in the open. There were several hundred Indians assembled [262] there. Everywhere sheep were being slaughtered, meat was being roasted and people were feasting. One old woman was stuffing congealed blood from a calabash with both hands. The whole place smelt of blood, maize beer and spirits. Here and there someone was galloping on a horse. Many of

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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him that can give the alarm. For a long time he has to refrain 775
from all association with his friends and keep away from
feasts. In the end, if agreement on compensation is not 682
reached with the dead man's family, he will have to leave the district for a period of years. This precaution is to protect the slayer from the spirit of the man he killed, which would look for him in his normal haunts and would not recognize him under the new conditions, but it is also a protection against the dead man's nearest relatives, who will thirst for vengeance as long as compensation has not been agreed and paid.

We mounted and rode away from our first burial feast. 775
On the fringe of the area stood six Indians armed, some with 765
guns, others with bows and arrows. Their task was to shoot
after all departing guests in order to scare off any dangerous 431
spirits that might be intending to keep them company. Here,
a deputy-host presented us with a live heifer. Every guest [554]
was to have a present of an animal according to his rank. We also had the meat that had been distributed that morning. It was considered quite all right either to eat it or to take it to eat on the way home. Several others were doing
as we and there was a long line of departing guests, the men [492]
on horseback, the women mostly on donkeys. We all kept together for quite a distance.

Spirits rose as the heat increased, for drink had been 765
handed out along with the meat, the Indians believing, as
did the Creoles, that spirits were the best protection against 565
the dangers of the hot sun.

A young Indian rode up to us. He wore a cloak with a beautiful pattern and was mounted on a splendid mare, which showed that he was of well-to-do family. He was in a
bad mood, however, having been forgotten in the distribu- [678]
tion of parting gifts and had not been given even a sheep. For that reason he was highly incensed with his neglectful hosts, whom he obviously scarcely knew.

We rode past an old man on foot dragging a calf behind
him. The old man was obviously sober, but he kept mutter- [578]
ing imprecations to himself. He too had been forgotten.

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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water but is given an herbal purgative. Her hair is cut short. Generally 881
several of her relatives stay around the door of the hut, and strangers and men with an eye to matrimony may look in. During this period the girl is taught the duties of married life and such skills as weaving, sewing, and making hammocks. When she emerges, stout and bleached, a special festival is held, when she resumes her ornaments and puts on the adult clothes that she has made during her confinement. She is now considered marriageable. The length of her confinement depends on her status, though theoretically it lasts until her hair again reaches the [554
nape of her neck. Poor girls are secluded only a few weeks, rich girls 556]
up to 2 years.

Sexual life and marriage.—Little is known about the sexual life of 836
the *Goajiro*. A certain amount of promiscuous love making occurs among the young people at the biweekly festivals. Dances also provide an opportunity for sexual advances.

There are some male transvestites who carry on only female activities 838
and are ridiculed by the men.

When a man desires to marry he sends his father or uncle as inter- 584
mediary, then pays a bride price which has been set by the girl's relatives. 583
The payment is usually in cattle, but goats, pearls, liquor, cotton cloth, 602
and gold ornaments also are used. The father retains the purchase price only when his first daughter marries; the income of subsequent marriages goes to the girl's senior maternal uncles. The mother also receives part of the income. A son obtains the cattle for the bride payment from the increase of his father's herds.

Intermarriage between the sibs is frequent, and many of the *Goajiro* 582
give their daughters to "civilizados" from Maracaibo and Río Hacha, who pay higher prices and find such a tie with the Indians useful in their trading relations.

The marriage ceremony consists of a series of feasts and exchanges of 585
presents between the two families. The wedding night is spent at the [431]
rancheria of the bride's mother, but the nuptial hammock (specially woven by the female relatives of the bride) is hung from a tree some distance away from the house. For a period of days and even months the bridegroom leaves his bride at dawn and returns only after sunset. In [606]
this way the groom shows respect to his mother-in-law.

Polygyny is general. The number of wives depends on the economic 595
status of the husband, some men having as many as 20. Each wife lives in her own house, where her husband occasionally visits her. The man, as head of the polygynous household, supervises the daily slaughter of [592]
animals and the distribution of meat and corn to each household according to the number of its members.

If a wife shirks her domestic duties she may be divorced and her hus- 586
band may claim the return of the bride price cattle, plus their increase and

/76 cont./

548 and unmarried women come for periods from the country to the
167 urban centers; they settle in shacks on the outskirts, live by easy virtue for a time to procure enough to purchase new robes and food, and return home until these provisions have been used up, when they again return to the centers and to the sex market.

In addition to the summers which have made the traditional
548 economic life impossible, the situation is made more acute by
● 434 the fact that provisions have to be brought in from the neighbor-
167 ing department of Magdalena, since of all that is consumed in the peninsula nothing can be grown there. But the contraband agricultural produce smuggled from this area to Maracaibo, where for various reasons they pay a higher price for these products, encourages the export of these from the country, so increasing the problem of hunger in La Guajira, as the cost of provisions rises and the trader, on his part, increases his price to cover what he considers his due as middleman. In this way the basic things required by the Guajiro, corn and panela, reach an exorbitant price, especially in the more remote places where the source of supply is in the hands of one trader.

Furthermore, the woman finds few sources of income in the
548 centers. Only those women of upper La Guajira /La Alta Guajira/
167 who have been educated in the Capuchin mission can work different kinds of woven cloth which find acceptance in the markets of Maracaibo and in the department of Magdalena. Practically no one wants to work in domestic service because their natural independence unsuits them to accommodate themselves to the demands. Some collect divi-divi in season, others help their husbands in the saltworks, but there the wages paid are so low that they are almost worthless and not encouraging.

Having little to occupy themselves with, their domestic work being reduced to a minimum, they pass the time in incredible idleness, gossiping among themselves, lying in their hammocks, and in the evenings going into the urban centers, if they live near by, to offer themselves to the natives of the civilizados /nonnatives, see below/ who at that hour are leaving their work.

[45 cont.]
782 quite high, which also gives us an idea of their value in the opinion of the Indians since they considered that the fact of their points being impregnated with the blood of the sacrificed child made them both more poisonous and more accurate.

766 The body of the boy, who had to be between four and six years old, was brought by the father to the hamlet after these magic operations were finished and was buried in the clan cemetery. The burial and the death of the child were secrets. Nobody must know about it. We could not discover if the secret nature of the ceremony was due to the fact that the community [682 might punish the murderer, the mother or maternal aunt, or 789] some member of the child's family on the maternal side, collecting the corresponding sum for his death in accord [46] with customary Guajiro law, or if the reason was that secrecy strengthened the malevolent qualities of the poison on the arrows. It is to be presumed that the latter hypothesis is the more acceptable, since the disappearance of the child and the sale of magic arrows by the father would point him out as the author of the sacrifice.

682 In any case we cannot overlook the aspects of blood in 683 the child sacrifice just mentioned. Spilling blood is one of the 826 crimes most severely punished. Blood, according to everything one can deduce, has great value for the natives, as it is considered an integral part of their human personality, even to confounding it, so to speak, with personality itself, as they do in the case of names. Hence, for the same reason, he who voluntarily or involuntarily sheds the blood of another person is stigmatized and becomes an outcast from society. He becomes unclean, and in consequence has to make the corresponding reparation which at the present time is complied with by paying to the offended party or to his family a determined [411] quantity of valuable objects or animals. For this same reason, arrows contaminated with the blood of the child sacrificed by his father have, or ought to have, according to the Guajiro mentality, an incalculable value due to their participation in 411 the sacrifice and spilling of blood, thanks to its presence on 435 their points. Moreover, if we take into account what the 775 dead man means to the Guajiro as a spirit capable of doing harm

[46 cont.]

411 when the respect due to his status is not shown (Cf. "Magic
435 and Funerals"), and particularly the spirit of those dead through
775 violence, we can better understand the high value they place on the imára, or magic arrow.

593 It will be well to explain again the position of the father
611 in relation to his son in La Guajira. The family in this society follows matrilineal descent, and therefore the father is not really considered as father to his sons but is to his nephews, his sister's sons. The family ties between father and son are so weak that they do not exist except in certain secondary aspects of the family economic organization.

411 The use of the poisoned arrow among the Kusina Indians
539 is shown by the following fragment of a story told by the same
789 woman informant who supplied us with the data on which this present study is based and which refers to the struggle between a Guajiro Indian named Kurfra-páta and some Kusina Indians who arrived at his hamlet one night to steal his stock. The section dealing with the magic arrow, translated literally from the Guajiro text, is as follows: [47] "The Kusina shot (with a rifle) at Kurfra-páta, who came upon them from behind. They wounded him in the thigh. 'Now, it isn't possible to do anything,' said K.P. 'Let's kill him to end this once and for all,' said the Kusina. K.P. lifted himself on to his sound knee. He shot at them (with his rifle), killing one. Then the Kusina said, 'Let's kill him with the imára (poisoned arrow).'"

411 The fragment of this story corroborates the existence of
789 the magic arrow among the Kusina, and also, as previously stated, the fact that the poisoned arrow,— magic arrow to us — was the last recourse utilized by these Indians when their other weapons did not produce the desired result.

The area of distribution of this cultural element, as we have seen, was in the Sierra de Cocinas, and it was frequently used in Jarara, where it was obtained by purchase or by barter from the makers. This class of weapon used to be employed in this latter region — Jarara — in times of war. Now it is no longer used in either of the two areas mentioned for two reasons.
[797 First, the evangelizing action of the Capuchin fathers in the
778] Sierra de Jarara, who have, in the main, mitigated the warlike

[93 cont.]
in charms, which usually have no magic value and are a complete fraud. These women are accustomed to putting in a small wool bag something that has the appearance of a charm and selling it as the legitimate article.

5. A love charm is worth about 300 Colombian pesos, and just the loan of it for a few days to a friend for him to get the desired results is paid for. Such a temporary loan is worth 100 Colombian pesos.

6. Besides the love charms which are strictly Guajiro, there are others that the so-called "Gocha" women sell. There are many of these women in Maracaibo and Zulia. Unfortunately, we could not obtain any special data about these makers of magic charms, of whom there are many on the eastern borders of La Guajira.

7. The charms serve equally for either sex; what varies is in general terms the effects of the charm.

8. Some personal objects, such as hair, sandals, etc., may form the basis of a love charm of great magic potential. This potential is above all due to the possession of a part of the personality of the person whom one wishes to harm.

9. Different love charms can be mixed together.

10. Charms may be acquired among civilizados. This kind of magic material is carefully kept in glass containers made especially for this purpose. [94]

Love charms. The Guajiro Indian, man or woman, knows and uses different charms to attract or repel love. They have them of different classes as regards form, preparation, and raw material. Some of them are the following:

a) One has the shape and general appearance of the excrement of the machorro, (a species of lizard). It has been stated that one of the magic objects used by the shaman is a small wool bag containing a paste prepared by a herbalist that is in the shape of goat excrement and is used to attract the spirits.

b) Another, which is kept inside a small glass receptacle, looks like a stone and is accompanied by some small pieces of coral.

c) Another is made in the following way: The root of a herb, very abundant on Itojoro Hill, is ground and [the paste]

[102 cont.]

777 prayers and special acts of magic with which the charm is endowed by its maker to give it its magic powers.

789 Charms to obtain respect, prestige, and affection. These charms, which are for male use exclusively, are much sought after by the local caciques and by the arbitrators in claims between two enemy groups. The popular native belief [103] assigns the possession of this type of charm to such men as have great influence over them, that is, their natural headmen or direct superiors, and they are convinced that the greater the personal influence or power of such a headman, so much greater is the magic power of the charm he possesses. Hence the efforts of every influential Indian to obtain a charm superior in such qualities to any that may be in the possession of his rivals.

The possession of one of these charms inspires respect in others who would never dare to conspire against its holder's life or character because the charm would protect him and would [435 556] cause grave danger to the offender. It must be remembered that the possession of this amulet implies a condition of considerable wealth as it is only obtainable at a very high price, a fact which definitively influences [the degree of] fear and respect due its owner, owing to the established social custom of relating the social status of an individual with his degree of wealth.

When the native owner of this magic charm has to leave home in connection with some difficult mission such as, for example, taking part in the negotiation of compensation payment or settling a payment between two groups who have become enemies for some reason or other, or when he has to mix with a considerable number of natives among whom he wishes to assure his personal prestige, or when he hopes to overcome some difficult situation, he locks himself in his room hidden from all outside onlookers, gets his charm, uncovers it, and, looking fixedly at it for a moment, he then lifts it momentarily in his hand and vehemently wishes that all the magic power of the charm will inspire and defend him in the adventure he is about to undertake. [262] He then replaces the charm and starts on the diet indicated for the charm to have its effect. He should not eat roast meat or roasted corn for a period of three days, or bathe, for should he do so he will become mad.

S: Simons K-S (ca. 1882) 1885
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302 called *pava* if made of plaited straw, and *capenas* if made of wool,
291 with large tassel (worn behind). The two can be combined and adorned with a couple of feathers in front. When made entirely of feathers, it becomes *teréma*. An Indian's toilet would not be complete without
[293] a *kapiquita*, a piece of leather fastened round the left wrist by a twist of wool to receive the recoil of the bow-string when shooting. Paint is
302 common to both sexes, and in excess. They assert that it saves their complexions from the sun. The last thing an Indian does, on mounting horse for the day's journey, is to call for the powder-box, and plentifully besprinkle his face. The powders *mapanipo* or *marna* are rotten wood;
[386] *guanapai*, a black stain from a wild nut; and *parina*, very popular among the fairer sex, is the colour extracted from a leaf and mixed with fat.

291 The woman's dress is invariably, at present, made from foreign cotton,
[177] and is a plain sack with a hole for the head and two others for the arms. With the wind it blows out and makes her look like a balloon. The white cotton is dyed black with divi-divi, or yellowish-brown with mora
[386] (yellow wood), or reddish-brown with the suckers of mangroves. The Indians are exceptionally clean and nice in their dress, and, however
[515] poor, keep a reserve suit for state occasions. Women alone wear the *pána* and the *sirapo*. The pána are like a pair of braces; long strings
301 of beads passing over each shoulder to cross each other on the breast and back, held in position at the waist by the sirapo, a sort of sash or belt made of beads likewise. Small strings a few ounces in weight are placed on the female child a few months after birth, and gradually increased, according to the strength of the child and the purse of the parents. Pánas are made with any beads except black, a red variety with white eye (*inchis*) preferred, and weigh from 2 to 10 lbs. With sirapos any coloured bead will do, *pinar* or black ones the rule, and they weigh from 1 to 10 lbs. A married woman may wear the pána until
[844] her first confinement, when it is laid aside. Poor Indians who cannot afford beads for the pána make it of cotton dyed black and beaded. Among the many necklaces, tumas are the most valuable. These curious
[172] perforated stones are only found in the graves of prehistoric races, both in the peninsula itself and the Sierra Nevada. There are many varieties. The round ones varying in size from a large marble to a pea are *tómas* (a name generalised by the Spaniards); those in shape of small charm-barrels are *amarard*; the pear-shaped, according as they are long or dumpy, *periqua*, and *guarirainga*; the bugle is *pereuria*, &c. Mineralogically they are bits of red jasper, cornelian, and reddish sardonyx. Their value depends upon the intensity of red and size. A large one at
[435] present is worth a head of cattle; a necklace has from 15 to 30, varying in size. Bracelets are as varied and in as much profusion as necklaces; they are called *hápana*, from *ahapa*, the hand. On the foot they also wear strings of cornelians and beads. They have two names, the aristocratic *cashkandr* and the common *guarikera*.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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567 sider themselves entitled to the female slaves. The owner, however, is bound to give a slave enough food from his own kitchen or to provide maize or other raw ingredients for him or her to cook. He must also provide a male slave [435] with a wife, either giving him a female slave or buying a girl for him from some poor clan for ten goats. The state of [428] slavery is hereditary; thus the children of slaves belong to the owner of their parents. If the owner of a male slave should buy a poor free girl to make him a wife, her children [611] will be free, since relationship is reckoned on the female side. If a free man pays a bride-price for a slave, she becomes free; but if he merely buys her for a house-slave she remains a slave. Male slaves are set to work in the fields or with the herds. Female slaves perform domestic occupations. Sometimes a female slave becomes nurse to the owner's children. [574] The laws of Guajira hospitality require that the master of a 837 house place a female slave at his guests' disposal for the night.

The Indians, of course, have the right to punish their slaves, but the chastisement is seldom excessive. Slaves are treated as superior domestic animals, or perhaps I ought to say, as we treat domestic animals, for the Creoles, the Indians' neighbours, are not animal-lovers. Naturally there are cruel Indians too. The monks once came across a poor little slave girl out in the wilds. Her hands were so badly burned that she could not use them. She had been trying to keep herself alive by gnawing at cactus with her mouth. They took her back with them. It transpired that her mistress had lost her temper with her, thrust her hands into the fire and then driven her away.

The Indians make a distinction between slaves taken in war, who are their master's property, and dependent workers. These latter have to do what their master tells them, but he does not dispose of their persons. I called them slave-workers. They can be sold, but in theory it is only their labour that is transferred.

735 In times of distress the poor not infrequently have to get 567 rid of members of the family who are unable to contribute to their own support, and this they do by selling them. This

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so. One writer says that an old woman from those hills claimed to know how the arrows were poisoned. Otherwise, she said, only the Cusina knew the secret. That seems most doubtful, for the Cusina brigands are neither a class nor a clan which might possess special secrets, but merely a collection of outlawed criminals. There were many indications that they made considerable use of poisoned arrows and that they were firmly convinced of their efficacy. Even if death had been inflicted already by other means, they usually shot their victims with poisoned arrows as well, as an additional safeguard against their escaping. The Cusina and Cojoro Hills belong to the same complex.

The old woman in the Cojoro Hills said that the secret in the Cusina's way of preparing the arrows was a human sacrifice. A small boy was taken to a lonely place, where he was killed and some of his blood taken. This was later cooked and the arrows dipped in it. The old woman's account made this ritual murder even more gruesome, in that it made the boy's father the executioner. Of course, in Guajira a father has quite a different relationship to his children to that we know, being scarcely accounted in the same family, yet even from the Indian point of view, that must seem cruel. It would be different if the child were one who had been captured in war or bought as a slave.

There is no confirmation of the old woman's statement and it may well have been invented. There are many legends about these poisoned arrows. The woman's account does not mean that the arrows were poisoned by means of the sacrifice, merely that their strength was increased. Blood is always a magical element. If such rites really took place, that would surely point to an African influence brought by runaway negro slaves. The old woman's story, however, scarcely explains how the poison contained tetanus germs. Simmons, the traveller to whom she gave that account of what happened, also said that the poisoned arrows, *imard*, were sold by the Cusina, who asked eight *varas*, or ten yards, of cotton cloth for twenty-four. How these tetanus arrows were made remains a mystery that, perhaps, may never be solved.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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wife and he perhaps could do with it. I knew what unu was, but had never expected to be offered a secret magical object by an Indian who scarcely knew me. 439 778

Unu was one of the many *cóntra* or instruments of magic used by the Indians either to protect or help the possessor. Unu stimulated love. The Guajiro have not only their old Indian magic, but some of Spanish-Moorish and African negro origin. Where these cóntra are concerned, it would be most interesting, though difficult, to find out which were of red, black or white origin. They differ in character, but one and all can be lent or hired to a person of the same sex and can be used by that person with as much effect as when used by the owner himself. 778 [751 832]

A unu love magic was most difficult and expensive to acquire. The equivalent of £30 or £40 was the current price, while the owner will normally charge £10 or £15 if he hires it out. A cóntra must not be shown to any unauthorized person, as its power may then transfer itself to the person who happens to see it. 778 832 [435]

Love talismans were of different kinds. That considered to be of the best quality was a tiny pouch containing small pieces of what looked like the droppings of some sort of lizard. The magic stuffs of Guajira often imitate the excrement of various animals. Others consist of little stones in a glass bottle, or a decoction of herbs, which the person on whom the magic is to be worked has to take or wash in. One powerful and unfailing love specific is the hair clippings of the confined majayura girl, mixed with the blood of humming birds and other ingredients, but that can only be used on the girl in question. With her, however, it cannot fail.

The love magic the young Indian now said he would give me was one of those little pouches, thus very precious. He was willing to let it go because he liked my pistol so much. He had no further need of a love specific now that he had got himself a beautiful wife with its help—and, he might have added, thanks to a good supply of cattle. And if he ever wanted another cóntra, well, he knew where to get one. But he would not get any more wives. He was a

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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726 on equal terms. He then approached the enemy from the left while making quick movements, jumps, and turns, with his legs apart and his knees bent. More recently, according to Ernst (1887 c), war is not declared, attempts being made to take the enemy by surprise.

[797] Wars last indefinitely, sometimes being broken by a peace brought about by an influential "civilizado" or the Capuchin monks, the latter sometimes paying the retribution demanded out of their own pockets.

579 Some tribes, such as the *Cosina* of Serranía Cosina (actually a conglomeration of outcastes rather than a sib), make their living almost entirely by robbery and pillage, destroying houses, stealing cattle, and killing or enslaving their enemies.

LIFE CYCLE

843 **Birth and childhood.**—During pregnancy a woman continues to do her heavy work up to the very hour of delivery. At childbirth, the shaman pronounces various spells over the patient and applies poultices made of

844 [156] dried flowers, roots, etc. A large, heavy stone placed over the womb and vigorous massaging bring about the birth. If the placenta is not soon expelled, the woman drinks a medicine concocted by the medicine man. As soon as the child is safely delivered the father serves rum and chicha

[484] to all his relatives. If the pains of childbirth appear when the sib is on the march, the woman mounts and rides ahead so that when the sib catches up the event is practically over. The husband cuts the cord with his machete and cauterizes its ends with a glowing ember. The woman

[854] then continues on the march with the child in a sling on her back. When the permanent camp is reached she washes herself and the child.

851 Baptism is a Christian ceremony which the *Goajiro* have adopted, and

551 most of the Indians are called by Spanish names, as their real names may

177 not be mentioned. Teknonymy is practiced; a parent is addressed by its child's name plus a prefix, nushi or sushi for the father, ni or si for the mother. Thus, a father may be called Nushijuan after a son or Sushijuana after a daughter.

857 At 6 or 7, girls learn to grind salt, pick cotton, and tend the smaller

868 animals; the boys imitate their fathers.

855 Parents are said to show little affection for their children, sometimes

[835] selling them at Sinamaica. They receive $10 or $15 for a child of 8 or 9 years. The purchaser becomes the child's guardian, teaches him the Catholic faith, and keeps him until he is 17 years old. These children

[536 rarely return home. Abandoned children are taken to the San Antonio

797] orphanage, where the girls continue to wear their *Goajiro* dress, but the boys are put into jackets and pants.

881 **Girls' puberty.**—At her first menstruation a girl is isolated in a small dark hut and stripped of all her ornaments. She lies in a hammock, sometimes hoisted near the roof. For the first 2 days she drinks no

/80 cont./

583 thread or spinning and dyeing cotton. They bring in logs, which serve as seats, they make the harness for the burros and horses. In other words, in some places the woman tries to become self-sufficient, and in other places, according to the established division of labor, she sells whatever she makes and with the proceeds buys the food, clothes, and utensils she may need in the home; or more simply she relies on barter to gain her object.

583 177 The problem is different in the case of mestizos, if the marriage is not carried out under Guajiro law, and in that of whites who have married Guajiro women in accordance with the rite established for the community. In both cases the man provides, besides the house, all that is essential for the home such as furniture and domestic utensils according to the custom of civilizados /nonnatives/, and later, as they wear out, he substitutes new ones. With respect to the dowry, we may say that the man may take charge of his wife's animals, if she so wishes, but he may not arbitrarily dispose /81/ of them. The capital acquired between them is the inheritance of their children, as we have seen. It does not devolve, as in Guajiro practice, to its original source (the wife's maternal relatives). Since he did not make a marriage payment, it is up to the man to shoulder the responsibility and provide for all the necessities of the home. /83/ /page 82 is blank/

V

MARRIAGE

583 436 Purchase procedure. The traditional Guajiro marriage is brought into being through the purchase of the woman from her maternal relatives, payment being made in animals and ornaments and, at the present time, in bolivars because of the influence of trade with Venezuela.

[43 cont.]

755 of the same – the bone which is left to dry and then cooked –
764 which also participates in its power, because in the primitive
778 mentality the part is accepted as the whole, or at least shares in the power of the whole, even at a distance.

556 Another meaning that the sacrifice of animals has is that related to the status of the individual in his other life. One of
436 the points of reference of status in La Guajira is wealth, which
437 is nearly always equivalent to the possession of a larger or lesser number of heads of livestock. Livestock represents, in certain aspects, Guajiro currency, since interchanges, blood payments, etc., are always based on a definite number of heads of livestock, besides of course necklaces of tuma, gold, etc.

556 Naturally, if an individual occupies a certain social posi-
764 tion in life, it is logical that when he goes to the other life, to
775 the world of the dead, he occupies an identical position or tries to better the one he had in life. This, then, is one of the reasons why certain of his possessions are placed near or in his tomb, and to complete his "equipment" for the next world, a number of animals are sacrificed, the higher his position in society the greater the number, so that these may give him the desired social position in the world of the spirits.

764 The association, then, is easy to establish: If the individ-
775 ual in dying passes to a new life similar to the one he led on
825 earth, then the animal, a living being with a soul like the man, on dying must also pass on to occupy a place in the other world. This, of course, is only our own supposition. But we find no other explanation of the Guajiro statement that the animals should be sacrificed so that they can accompany their owner to the other world and give him an advantageous position among the other spirits.

764 The sacrifice implies above all an act of magic. The fact
784 that the dead man's close relatives must not eat the meat of the
778 sacrificed animals, because it would be like eating the flesh of their relative himself, establishes the relation between the owner and his property in the sense that the latter shares his personality. And as the dead man is sacred, or at least taboo, that is, sacred in the sense of being untouchable, so also are the things that he owned; the animals – which are [44] to accompany

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The Guajiro not only trafficked with the
439 whites, but they did a lively trade with each other, using
436 cattle as their currency. Thanks to this there was a form of
incipient specialization. Pottery and weapons were the main
articles of trade. The rich bought those made by specially
586 skilled craftsmen, who made so much money that they con-
463 centrated largely on producing things to sell. The poor had
to make all their own things. Everywhere there were people
who could weave and spin, and make pottery, but those
who could afford it liked to buy what was best and loveliest.

We wanted to buy articles in general use, but the irritating thing was that the rich did not need to sell and only did so if it amused them, or if they got an especially good price; while the poor had nothing to sell. Those who made these articles as a craft liked to use materials bought from the whites. In the old days they used to weave their textiles of homespun cotton thread dyed with vegetable dyes; now they not infrequently bought dyed woollen yarn from the whites, but in that remote part of the peninsula they had not yet begun to do so. We saw that they had plenty of hammocks made of bast and cotton yarn. These were larger and more comfortable than was usual and were made with a different technique. The hammock is the genuine Indian
513 bed, invented in the jungles of South America before the white man ever came there, and has the advantage of being easy to take about and cool to lie in, while the sleeper is protected from all the unpleasant and dangerous insects of the ground.

Throughout the journey we had slept in hammocks—you have to get used to them before you find them comfortable—as long as there was somewhere to hang them. We now told the Indians that we wanted proper hammocks, the kind they themselves used, for we had bought ours from the whites. That started the bargaining.

There was seldom any question of buying for cash—they
439 did not have much confidence in the white man's money—
436 so we had to barter for what we wanted. We soon discovered that apart from our knives, the Indians undervalued all our goods. If we had not had a large case of knives we would never have managed to assemble the collections

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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we wanted to make. After knives, maize was the best 439
medium of exchange, and we could buy that from the monks 436
as long as we used the mission station as our headquarters, but once we went further afield we were not able to carry any to use for barter. Cloth was also in demand. We had a couple of bales of the white material the Indians usually bought. Unfortunately we had not been able to get the best barter commodity of all: tuma beads. These are large polished stone beads of different sizes made of cornelian and other stones, for all of which the Guajiro has special names. Tuma beads are found in old Indian graves, especially in and around Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, [172] though these graves are also said to exist in Guajira. However, it was not advisable, we were told, to try and prove that or to embark on archaeological excavations. To do so might easily lead to trouble.

Later we made a rich find of tuma beads in graves in Sierra Nevada, but then we were not able to go back to Guajira. The richer Indians especially valued tuma very highly and often paid as much as a horse for one bead. We could not have used anything as precious for our small deals, but they would have been useful for getting riding and pack-animals. As it was we bought a couple of hammocks and some earthenware vessels.

One must be careful not to do a Guajiro over a deal. That 439
can involve one in difficulties and a claim for damages. It goes without saying that, in the Indians' view, it was we who came off second best, and we would not have had it otherwise.

We took leave of our hosts feeling slightly guilty because 500
of that photograph which was a secret between us, the girl and her guardian, but also satisfied with our first expedition in Macuira. We loaded a donkey with our purchases which an Indian drove direct to Nazaret, for we were to make a detour in order to visit another rancho. The sand made very heavy going and we decided for the future we would ride, especially as we should be going further afield.

As soon as we drew near the next rancho, we realized that something was afoot. We could hear a buzz of voices

[43 cont.]

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5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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In weapons the Goajiro uses the old-fashioned bow and arrow, along 411
with the latest breech-loading rifle. He never strolls ten yards from the
rancho without his arrows stuck in his sash and the inseparable bow in [177]
his hand. Arrows are of three classes: bolts for killing birds and lizards, *kata*, having a nail or piece of hard wood for a head neatly covered with wax; arrows proper, for killing game and war, *siguarrai*, with iron heads made from old knives filed and worked into shape; and thirdly the terrible poisoned rays, *aissará*: these are an ordinary arrow-shaft, with two inches of the bony weapon of the sting-ray (*guaraguai*) heavily fastened to the end, well covered with poison. To prevent accidents, each head is covered by a cane sheath. The poison is putre- [278]
fied animal matter—toads, snakes, and other reptiles allowed to putrefy
and boiled down. When newly done the poison is said to be weak, the [825]
same when too old, so the arrows have to be re-dipped at stated intervals (about nine months). Death subvenes from three to twelve days afterwards, a sort of blood-poisoning, and is tolerably certain if the ray-bone has not been got out (a most difficult operation) and the wound [752]
well cauterised with a red-hot nail. The Cuenas of Yuripicho are reputed the best makers, and enjoy a sort of monopoly. A bunch of
twenty-four arrows is sold by them for a dress cut of cotton (eight [437]
yards. None of the arrows are feathered; the shafts are made from cane, reeds, and also solid wood. As to firearms the Indian prefers the
old "Crown" or "Tower" flintlock (*carrabaso*) to the Remington rifle, [177]
on account of the uncertainty of getting cartridges. The American flintlock (*carrabaso cagato-pasabaso*) is also much liked.

The principal industries among the Goajiras are collecting [illegible] [222]
divi-divi, and salt, and breeding horses, mules, donkeys, cattle, and 233
goats, with the accompanying sale of hides. Their animals are celebrated in the neighbouring provinces for being docile, having been all brought up as it were by hand, for the Indian spares neither time nor trouble on his flocks.

With regard to the language, a small grammar was published in 114
1878 by Rafael Calcoen. Unfortunately it was printed in Paris, while the author was in America, and is replete with errors in consequence. The language is a much richer one than is generally supposed, and taken 194
as a whole has a euphonious, pleasing effect on the ear, much more so than the neighbouring Arbuaco. I have no space here to dwell upon its beauties, but cannot dismiss the subject without giving the following three examples of much-used words:—

192

Ashinga, a name.	Ita, a cap (general).	Tapa, a headdress.
Tashinga, my name.	Tshita, my cap.	Tshipaa, my headdress.
Pashinga, your name.	Pshita, your cap.	Pshipaa, your headdress.
Nishinga, his name.	Nshita, his cap.	Nshipaa, his headdress.
Nashinga, her name.	Nshita, her cap.	Nshipaa, her headdress.

[44 cont.]

411 some of the Guajiro communities during their pillaging expedi-
648 tions.
721

The value of the arrow, considered to be infallible,
411 stemmed from the extremely important fact that its tip was
anointed with the blood of a sacrificed child. The arrow took
798 into itself, by magic contamination, the sacred and impure
782 quality of the sacrificial ceremony performed on the child,
[45] a quality of extreme value when one realizes that the
child's own father performed the sacrifice.

The process is as follows: The Kusina, according to the
782 story of our informant, an Indian woman from the Sierra de Jarara
who had heard from her parents a great deal about the customs
of these Indians, with whom the people of the Sierra had had
dealings, were accustomed to take a male child from their own
family. They carried him off to some distant hills situated in
the interior of the Cocina sierra. They took him up a particular
mountain, and on its summit under a pó (a special tree) they
killed him. He was killed in this way: They blocked up his
nostrils and squeezed his throat with their hands, that is, they
strangled him, and with a pointed stone they struck his forehead
several times continuously until blood flowed from it. This
blood, which was exactly what they wished to obtain in the
sacrifice, was not allowed to spill, but was gathered very care-
fully in a very clean utensil. In recent times the blood was col-
lected in an empty tin such as those used for sardines or salmon,
but it is to be supposed that in olden times a special ceramic
container was used. Once the blood had been collected, they
put it to boil in the same utensil in which it had been collected.
Next they put it in another that in modern times was a glass con-
tainer, although in former times it must have been of some other
material, in order to preserve it. This utensil which contained
the boiled blood of the boy was kept in the woods among stones
[593] which they collected for this purpose. The executioner, who was
none other than the boy's father, had prepared beforehand a
[278] quantity of arrows tipped with the poison of a ray, which he later
[438] anointed with the blood and distributed among the rest of the
Kusina natives or the Guajiro in general, in exchange for live-
stock. The price that had to be paid for one of these arrows was

[92 cont.]

177 The previous statement is borne out to such a point that
789 even in native communities that are quite homogeneous, anthropologically speaking, as is La Guajira, it is difficult to learn which beliefs, which practices of magic or of sorcery, are autochthonous and which are acculturations due to contacts with the neighboring mestizos who, given the circumstances we have noted of being in the greater part mulattos, have a considerable collection of this type of beliefs and practices inherited largely from their Negro ancestors.

As it is totally impossible for us to make a list of the origin of all and each one of the autochthonous Guajiro beliefs, we shall have to confine ourselves to showing the similarities which they have in the whole of Colombian folklore. It is clear that this similarity will not always indicate acculturation, but only similarity due to the influence of other native groups that have disappeared but who once lived in Colombian territory, or exact beliefs which reached there from other continents and which can only be explained by the general evolutionary process of human mentality.

789 Characteristics of charms. 1. Some charms can be lent by
their owner to another person, if both the owner and [93] the
[426] borrower are of the same sex and if the charm is to be used by the borrower so that he may benefit by its virtues.

[267] 2. To make use of them, the individual during the period of action must submit himself to a special, very strict diet. The breaking of any one of the norms will cancel the effect and bring about serious prejudice to health, if not results contrary to what he had looked for and expected. The way to carry out this diet will be found described in the following section, "Application and Effects."

3. It is sufficient for a stranger to look at the magic object belonging to someone else for all its magic power to be transferred to him. For this reason it is an indispensable requisite to keep it safely from other people's sight and always to be wary of this type of violation.

●438 4. It is very difficult to obtain a true charm because while
789 those who sell these are old women very practiced in this art,
675 many unscrupulous women often devote themselves to the trade

[93 cont.]
458 in charms, which usually have no magic value and are a com-
789 plete fraud. These women are accustomed to putting in a small
673 wool bag something that has the appearance of a charm and selling it as the legitimate article.

632 5. A love charm is worth about 300 Colombian pesos, and
435 just the loan of it for a few days to a friend for him to get the
426 desired results is paid for. Such a temporary loan is worth 100 Colombian pesos.

632 6. Besides the love charms which are strictly Guajiro,
[791] there are others that the so-called "Gocha" women sell. There are many of these women in Maracaibo and Zulia. Unfortunately, we could not obtain any special data about these makers of magic charms, of whom there are many on the eastern borders of La Guajira.

7. The charms serve equally for either sex; what varies is in general terms the effects of the charm.

8. Some personal objects, such as hair, sandals, etc., may form the basis of a love charm of great magic potential. This potential is above all due to the possession of a part of the personality of the person whom one wishes to harm.

9. Different love charms can be mixed together.

10. Charms may be acquired among civilizados. This kind of magic material is carefully kept in glass containers made especially for this purpose. [94]

Love charms. The Guajiro Indian, man or woman, knows and uses different charms to attract or repel love. They have them of different classes as regards form, preparation, and raw material. Some of them are the following:

a) One has the shape and general appearance of the excrement of the machorro, (a species of lizard). It has been stated that one of the magic objects used by the shaman is a small wool bag containing a paste prepared by a herbalist that is in the shape of goat excrement and is used to attract the spirits.

b) Another, which is kept inside a small glass receptacle, looks like a stone and is accompanied by some small pieces of coral.

c) Another is made in the following way: The root of a herb, very abundant on Itojoro Hill, is ground and [the paste]

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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273 method the maize is finely pulverized by hammering on a flat stone, instead of being masticated. Beer is drunk in large quantities, as is rum received by trade.

276 Both sexes commonly smoke long narrow cigarettes, which the women make of bundles of 8 or 10 leaves. Formerly, at least in the western portion of the country, the *Goajiro* chewed coca (hayo) with lime, which stained their teeth black. Coca is still grown, but there is no mention of this custom in recent times.

RELIGION

776 *Goajiro* religion is imperfectly known. Mareigua (Maleiwa) seems to have been the Creator and Culture Hero. He caused the first *Goajiro* to emerge from the ground and taught the tribe how to produce fire with a drill. He saved them during the flood by raising the Cerro Pozoro where they had taken refuge and by driving the jaguars away. As a Supreme Being he shows some moral preoccupation, in the past having punished those who lived in incest. He sends rain and all the good things which the *Goajiro* expect from nature (Hernández de Alba, 1936, p. 44).

Yoluba (Yorja) has been thought to signify the god of thunder, lightning, and drought, but the term probably does not designate a single deity but bad spirits or ghosts in general. These are feared at night when
776 the sky is clouded; to prevent their inroads the *Goajiro* stretch a thin cord
789 between two poles reaching above the roof. They attach to this cord, at regular intervals, fishhooks which serve to entangle the Yoluba and make their stay unpleasant. Sometimes when sounds coming from the bush are thought to have been made by spirits, the Indians light embers and throw stones at them.

787 The *Goajiro* give considerable importance to dreams. A dream may
●438 cause the desertion of a camp, a war, or a consultation with a shaman. The *Goajiro* carry charms which they buy from shamans.

SHAMANISM

756 *Goajiro* shamans (pinche) are of both sexes. Aside from their long hair shamans differ little in external appearance from ordinary persons, but their power is reputed to be considerable and people avoid offending them. They are said to cause the heart of a person to stop beating unless they are paid enough.

A shaman keeps his cures secret and divulges them only to a successor, who undergoes a long period of training and who pays his instructor a certain number of cattle. When the training is complete, there is a public initiation with dancing and drinking, at which the novice is seized by fits as demonstration of his new power. The instructor chants spells

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462 Fishing, an activity of relative unimportance in Guajiro economic life, is also done by the men. It is limited to obtain-
[226] ing certain edible species or to gathering oysters for the pearl trade, and, as in hunting, it is the men who manufacture the necessary equipment and implements.

Agricultural work is divided between the two sexes. The man is responsible for the preparation of the land for sowing: cutting, clearing and burning, and the tasks of weeding and hilling. Although planting is women's work, certain vegetables have to be planted by men because according to their magic beliefs if these plants are sown by women they will never give a good crop either in quantity or quality; such plants are, for example, fruit trees and creeping plants such as the water melon, melon, calabashes, etc. It is also men's work to fence in their plots of land.

The migration of many males to Venezuela and to other regions bordering on the peninsula, due to the climatic conditions already mentioned, has made it permissible for the women to take part in agricultural tasks normally considered suitable only for men.

The Guajiro man is the one who builds the dwelling. He obtains the help he needs in the form of communal labor, and with this aid he transports the materials and builds his house without any aid from his wife.

In leisure moments or during the hottest hours of the day,
462 while resting on hammocks, young Guajiro men apply themselves
32 to carving rings, beads for necklaces or bracelets, and amulets or small figures to hang round the neck or wrist, which yield a small income; to make these he uses broom handles, small plastic combs, ram and goat horns, coconut shells and coral. During these moments or whenever the opportunity arises, he also makes toe pieces for his sandals, using a small loom. This
[439] occupation has an economic end in the towns where such articles find a ready sale.

[5 cont.]

175 177 into his culture, especially into the economy, some of their social institutions, and even in the aspect of their racial composition. Acculturation has been greatly accelerated in recent years due to the ever increasing presence of foreign elements in [648] La Guajira Peninsula, facilitated by the intervention of the government in this administrative section, by the development of communication, and by the commercial possibilities that dealing with the natives presents.

105 175 177 The fundamental change in the Guajiro's life occurred in their economy. Until the arrival of the conquistadors, according to the data available, the Guajiro were a hunting and fishing people who lived in a constant state of nomadism to the point of having no true habitations, as has been stated by different chroniclers of Conquest times. They also practiced a rudimentary agriculture, mainly the cultivation of corn and yucca, the bases of their vegetable food and of their principal drinks.

With the establishment of stock raising centers by the [648] Spaniards in the regions bordering on La Guajira, the natives found a new source of subsistence. They started a series [6] of thefts from the haciendas which enabled them to obtain animals suited for raising, which adapted wonderfully to the normal conditions of their territory, where during the winter season pasture grows spontaneously, pasture which previously had served only to feed the deer and other herbivorous animals which form part of the fauna of La Guajira.

With the introduction of this new economic element the native began, step by step, to change his economy of fishing, hunting, and rudimentary agriculture into a new system based principally on stock grazing. His state of a nomadic hunter was transformed to that of herdsman, also nomadic because of the geographic conditions we have just described in previous paragraphs. They also changed their mode of transport by learning to use horses and asses, and even their tactics of war were appreciably changed once they could make use of horses in their battles, placing them thereby on an equal footing with the Spanish conquistador; as in addition to this decisive element, [439] they could also count on firearms obtained in the pearl trade with foreign ships which came up their coast.

[8 cont.]

114 now present it embodied under this title Aspectos de la Magia en
121 la Guajira, a title which not only covers what has been known as magic to the Indian but also many of his mental and sentimental attitudes, the classification of which would be difficult in any other way. [9] [Maps of La Guajira Comisaría on p. 9. Page 10 is blank.]

[11] II

Life Cycle of the Guajiro Shaman

#7756 Symptomatology. A woman shaman [piache], referring to
787 the bodily symptoms which presented themselves as an indication of her calling, mentioned the following: She began to see before her eyes a kind of little star which fell upon her in the manner of a golden rain, the first sign, according to her, of her person being possessed by a spirit. Her sight became clouded, and she fell to the ground in a faint; she remained stretched out there for some time. Then she very slowly regained consciousness. After this first attack of possession, she felt quite well for two or three days, after which she woke up one morning with a sensation of intense cold such as one feels at the beginning of an attack of malaria; she also broke out in a sticky sweat all over her body; then she was overcome, vomited blood, and remained unconscious until afternoon, lying like one dead in her hammock. She began to recover again, and the spirit came down to her, for she
[27% #39] seemed to hear a voice that ordered her, "Eat manilla (2), for if

2. A tobacco paste imported by the natives from Riohacha (Colombia) or from Maracaibo (Venezuela).

#7756 you do not, you will die." On receiving this order, she immediately told her relatives to bring her manilla, and one of them went with a gold necklace of hers to look for an old woman shaman that she might come to see if our informant had a spirit and, if it were true,

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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bed of a watercourse. As the season advances, and the water recedes, they either dig after it or search for a lower level. Wells of 30 to 40 feet are very common. The water is reached by a staircase cut in the sand with an easy incline. Wells are easily distinguishable from a distance by the water-troughs, hollowed out of divi-divi trees, and called canoes. These are of the most distorted and grotesque shapes, and serve to water the herd. This is very hard work for the poor Indians during the summer months, and usually employs the whole day. Water from wells if taken early in the morning is always clear and cool. When bathing at a well the Indian uses a canoe; if he stops to drink, a bath invariably follows. Every well has a canoe, and the country is perforated by them like a mining camp. The wells of Chimare are phenomenal; dug out on the sea-shore, on a narrow strip of sand 100 yards in breadth, with the sea on one side and the salt-pans of Chimare, with layers of salt many feet thick, on the other, the water is, notwithstanding, perfectly fresh. There are seven holes about 10 feet deep. I may mention that Furashi is the name of a celebrated well dug in the river that drains the eastern flank of Rosa. It means "salt," probably because the water is brackish.

Second in importance are the water-tanks or cuimbas. These are sometimes natural, as a small lake at the foot of Rosa and the cuimbas of Cojua, filtrations from the river Naiua, forming a large lake in the rainy season and many small dirty pools in summer, but nature aided by art is the rule. Some are immense undertakings, and large sheets of water, calculated to last a summer through if not too severe; such as Ariapi, the cuimba of Puerto Estrella, a large crescent-shaped piece of water of about a quarter of a square mile. The water of these cuimbas is always muddy and filthy for drinking purposes. The herds are driven in, and every Indian that passes is sure to bathe, so that in time almost a skin of grease forms on the top; and yet in places where they are it is the only water to be had, truly meat and drink combined.

The Goajira coast abounds in harbours and bays, but none of much importance. Between Rio Hacha and Cabo de la Vela, in the extensive bay formed by the latter, anchorage is found almost all along the coast. Numerous rendezvous have become known through the commerce with the Indians, and quite a large trade is carried on in the small coasting schooners. Further along the coast are three large bays. The first, or Portete, is a large bay, well protected from the easterly trades, and is certainly the best port along the coast. Unfortunately the entrance is narrow, intricate, and with shoals. The next, Bahia Honda, is almost a complete oval, some eight miles long by three miles broad, and with an entrance of nearly three miles broad. It is separated from the sea by a stone wall from 60 to 80 feet at the highest, but not enough to protect the bay from the strong easterly winds that blow with such force here. It makes but a poor harbour, the surf inside during the afternoons pro-

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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Our provisions were at an end. We had been too generous and not rationed them strictly, the men having complained of hunger the whole time. Now we were suffering for it.

Away in the distance, well out of range, we saw a *venado*, a deer, making off through the cactus with graceful bounds. Where did the deer drink? Surely they would not dare approach the Indians' water-holes, which were either guarded or covered.

'Deer do not drink,' said the Indians. 'They are content with the dew they can lick out of the cactus flowers.'

We were thus without both food and water. We whites had tinned food, but the Indians only appreciated the empty tins. The Lad then offered to get us some food and water. He had not been away more than an hour, when he returned with a young girl carrying a live kid in her arms. She wore nothing but the remnants of a woman's loin cloth, and apparently knew that white people did not approve of nakedness, for she tried to hide her charms behind the kid. We therefore gave her a piece of white cloth in payment, although it was really a pity to let her cover herself, for she was the shapeliest Indian girl we had yet seen in the peninsula. The cloth would protect her from the sun and make her fair-skinned and beautiful, so she was overjoyed and offered to show us the way to what she said was a much better water hole.

This new water hole was shaded by some divi-divi trees—the trees were withered and their shade sparse—and surrounded by reddish hillocks. It was not very deep and a couple of women were bathing in it. They paid no attention to us, nakedness in the bath being considered decent. Our Indians and animals were able to drink as much as they liked there, and we also filled our water-containers. Then we moved on looking for a suitable place in which to eat our goat in peace.

Gladtvet, our photographer, put up the tent to give us a little shade, and meanwhile the Indians slaughtered the kid and cut it up. My wife cooked the pieces we had taken for ourselves, helped by the little girl who had come with us. She was now wearing the piece of cloth like a pinafore and

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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garden. In the morning the Indians came and demanded the 628
body. The monks refused, not wishing to lend themselves 727
to violation of the dead, and said that they would only 797
treat with the chief. He, however, was not in the vicinity. 648
The Indians threatened to burn the mission station. Fortunately the chief arrived at this juncture, and told his braves that they must not use violence against the monks.

'Never to kill and just to rescue those condemned to death as you do, does not fit in with our laws,' he said to the monks. 'You Capuchins lack any sense of reality. But I shall do you no harm, since you never harm others.'

It sometimes happens that the victor instead of killing 567
his male prisoners will sell them as slaves to the white 439
men, preferably to places at some distance from the peninsula, such as the Dutch islands of Aruba and Curaçao, Zulia in Venezuela, or the Magdalena department of Colombia. The Indians deal in slaves among themselves; they also sell them to the white men and these, too, traffic in them among themselves.

Legally, a slave sold to a white person should become free, but in reality the owner of the *hacienda* treats him as a serf, branding his own mark on him, depriving him of his clan name and giving him his own. To sell a prisoner into slavery is not always to hear the last of him; for some have escaped from the Dutch islands, stowing away on boats, and on their return have exacted vengeance. It is not easy for hacienda slaves to escape. They are often hunted like animals.

There was a considerable sale of young girls to the whites, 548
a scandalous traffic. In Indian territory this was mainly in 567
the hands of quasi-chiefs, generally mestizos and other half-breeds with no right to the title, who cleverly saw how to exploit the Guajiro laws to earn a lot of money. The Guajiro customary law was never intended to apply to export.

The monks were the chief opponents of the slave-traffic. 567
They received a special grant from the government of 648
Colombia to enable them to purchase the freedom of slave children. The white men made no distinction between slave

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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567 and slave-worker, whichever they bought, they treated
alike. In times of famine, so-called recruiting-agents, usually
648 half-breeds, appeared on the scene and bought up workers for the haciendas. Even those Creoles who were not directly engaged in this shameful traffic considered slavery a phenomenon about which there was nothing to be done. After all it was an ancient institution. Slave-workers with Creoles never became free, unless they could manage to escape, for the Creoles did not respect the Guajiro law according to which a slave-worker's servitude ceases when he has paid his debt. Those white people, mestizos or mulattos who had bought slave-workers saw to it that they never got away once they had put their clan mark to a contract, the purport of which they did not understand.

The central chain of hills, Sierra de Jarará, and Maicao in
567 the western low country, were usually accounted the centre
797 of this slave traffic. If a poor man stole a bullock or a goat to feed himself and his family, he was often punished by being sold as a slave-worker—having nothing with which to pay the owner compensation.

The monks are needed there all right. They calculated that during the five years they had been working there, some
[563] three thousand slaves had been sold. In the old days the Guajiro also had negro slaves, as is apparent from Antonio Julian's description of the country written at the end of the eighteenth century. According to him, the Indians used to
[439] obtain firearms, spirits, wine and slaves in Rio Hacha, in exchange for their pearls. The pearl fishery was entirely in the Indians' hands. Elsewhere, negro slaves were bartered for pearls from boats lying off the coast. Antonio Julian expressed concern at the fact that with the addition of negroes and negresses not only would the Indians increase in numbers, but also that they would acquire an additional population of mulattos, mestizos and zambos, who would make common cause with them and make them 'even more terrible, insolent and difficult to conquer'.

When he visited the peninsula he was met by a chief who was attended by two negro slaves, splendidly got up, like lackeys, and that obviously impressed him greatly.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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They were of black earthenware ornamented with figures. 252
The women were making maize gruel. There, close to the
green valleys, they ought to have been able to get any [262]
vegetables or roots they liked, yet they clung to their diet
of maize and goat's meat. They had obviously put the pots
on because they expected the men, and sure enough a 412
couple of naked horsemen came galloping up, so at one
with their horses that they looked like centaurs. The
Guajiro Indians can be born on a horse in the literal sense,
if their mothers have to be on a journey at the time. They
look well on horseback, and even the old men rode well. [142]
The younger men were muscular and well-made, and more
pleasing to our eye than the women.

The men had been out enjoying themselves. They had 224
been hunting and their clan mark was painted in blue on 614
their thighs. They must have done that to amuse themselves 304
before they left, for normally both men and women have 302
their clan marks tattooed.

We asked the men what they had hunted with, for they 224
carried neither bows nor firearms, and also what they had 411
hunted, for they did not seem to have got anything. They
laughed and explained that they had had no luck, and
showed us slings of plaited bast. They had been out after
doves or rabbits, but had seen nothing. (The Creoles call
the animal in question a rabbit, but its Latin name is
Sylvilagus cunicularius.) They showed us the short throwing
clubs with which they hunted this and made some practice
throws. They were expert at hitting the target with both
club and sling, but only at distances of twenty to thirty
yards.

A youth showed us a whistle that he said would unfail- 224
ingly entice a deer if you blew it—provided there was a
deer nearby, as he hastened to add. Judging by the expres-
sion on the women's faces he was no famous hunter. A 431
couple of men also arrived and we were able to think of
doing business. We had no difficulty in buying what we
wanted, provided we paid well. Prices were our great
difficulty, yet these men were less spoiled than elsewhere in
the peninsula. The Guajiro not only trafficked with the

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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The Guajiro not only trafficked with the
439 whites, but they did a lively trade with each other, using
[438] cattle as their currency. Thanks to this there was a form of incipient specialization. Pottery and weapons were the main articles of trade. The rich bought those made by specially
[556 skilled craftsmen, who made so much money that they con-
463] centrated largely on producing things to sell. The poor had to make all their own things. Everywhere there were people who could weave and spin, and make pottery, but those who could afford it liked to buy what was best and loveliest.

We wanted to buy articles in general use, but the irritating thing was that the rich did not need to sell and only did so if it amused them, or if they got an especially good price; while the poor had nothing to sell. Those who made these articles as a craft liked to use materials bought from the whites. In the old days they used to weave their textiles of homespun cotton thread dyed with vegetable dyes; now they not infrequently bought dyed woollen yarn from the whites, but in that remote part of the peninsula they had not yet begun to do so. We saw that they had plenty of hammocks made of bast and cotton yarn. These were larger and more comfortable than was usual and were made with a different technique. The hammock is the genuine Indian
[513] bed, invented in the jungles of South America before the white man ever came there, and has the advantage of being easy to take about and cool to lie in, while the sleeper is protected from all the unpleasant and dangerous insects of the ground.

Throughout the journey we had slept in hammocks—you have to get used to them before you find them comfortable—as long as there was somewhere to hang them. We now told the Indians that we wanted proper hammocks, the kind they themselves used, for we had bought ours from the whites. That started the bargaining.

There was seldom any question of buying for cash—they
439 did not have much confidence in the white man's money—
436 so we had to barter for what we wanted. We soon discovered that apart from our knives, the Indians undervalued all our goods. If we had not had a large case of knives we would never have managed to assemble the collections

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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we wanted to make. After knives, maize was the best 437
medium of exchange, and we could buy that from the monks 436
as long as we used the mission station as our headquarters, but once we went further afield we were not able to carry any to use for barter. Cloth was also in demand. We had a couple of bales of the white material the Indians usually bought. Unfortunately we had not been able to get the best barter commodity of all: tuma beads. These are large polished stone beads of different sizes made of cornelian and other stones, for all of which the Guajiro has special names. Tuma beads are found in old Indian graves, especially in and around Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, [72] though these graves are also said to exist in Guajira. However, it was not advisable, we were told, to try and prove that or to embark on archaeological excavations. To do so might easily lead to trouble.

Later we made a rich find of tuma beads in graves in Sierra Nevada, but then we were not able to go back to Guajira. The richer Indians especially valued tuma very highly and often paid as much as a horse for one bead. We could not have used anything as precious for our small deals, but they would have been useful for getting riding and pack-animals. *As it was we bought a couple of hammocks* and some earthenware vessels.

One must be careful not to do a Guajiro over a deal. That 439
can involve one in difficulties and a claim for damages. It goes without saying that, in the Indians' view, it was we who came off second best, and we would not have had it otherwise.

We took leave of our hosts feeling slightly guilty because two
of that photograph which was a secret between us, the girl and her guardian, but also satisfied with our first expedition in Macuira. We loaded a donkey with our purchases which an Indian drove direct to Nazaret, for we were to make a detour in order to visit another rancho. The sand made very heavy going and we decided for the future we would ride, especially as we should be going further afield.

As soon as we drew near the next rancho, we realised that something was afoot. We could hear a buzz of voices

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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quarrelsome, the parting drink of spirits having had its effect. One old man after much swaying in the saddle was finally thrown off by his jibbing mule. He landed in a prickly bush and became frantic. He wanted to see blood. Luckily his weapons were on his saddle, but he managed to remove one of his spurs and began stabbing with it at those who were trying to help him up. Francisco received a jab, but he and a couple of others managed to overpower the old ruffian, whom they bound and tied to his saddle. Then his wife led him and his mount away.

One by one the groups went off in their various directions. We came to the rancho of the young Indian, our new friend. He had several big huts, built on the sand, where there was no greenery or shade. He explained that when the rains came, it did not become swampy there, as in most other places, but the water ran through the sand and you could walk dry-shod. There were looms in several of the open huts. At one sat our host's young, light-complexioned wife, who undoubtedly was a great beauty by Guajiro standards, and in another his aged mother with a wrinkled clever face.

We were offered goat's milk as a refreshment. I was always amazed at the care with which these Indians collected the small quantities of milk the goats yielded, for each gave a mere squirt. We took a gulp of goat's milk in order to avoid having to drink spirits.

The women were in a great bustle, evidently getting a spread ready. The Guajiro are hospitable, and when strangers or friends come they must have the best the house can provide. If need be, the host gives up his own hammock and lies on the ground.

Our host had plenty of hammocks. After resting a while, my wife went inside to look at the weaving, while I produced one of the pistols I had bought at an auction and demonstrated it, shooting a couple of shots, the noise and smoke of which appeared highly satisfactory to our host. Hastily he drew me aside and whispered that he had something that ought to interest me. He had *saw* and was willing to part with this precious, sought-after article in exchange for my noisy pistol. After all I had a companion without a

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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wife and he perhaps could do with it. I knew what unu was, but had never expected to be offered a secret magical object by an Indian who scarcely knew me. 439 778

Unu was one of the many *cóntra* or instruments of magic used by the Indians either to protect or help the possessor. Unu stimulated love. The Guajiro have not only their old Indian magic, but some of Spanish-Moorish and African negro origin. Where these cóntra are concerned, it would be most interesting, though difficult, to find out which were of red, black or white origin. They differ in character, but one and all can be lent or hired to a person of the same sex and can be used by that person with as much effect as when used by the owner himself. 778 [751 832]

A unu love magic was most difficult and expensive to acquire. The equivalent of £30 or £40 was the current price, while the owner will normally charge £10 or £15 if he hires it out. A cóntra must not be shown to any unauthorized person, as its power may then transfer itself to the person who happens to see it. 778 832 [435]

Love talismans were of different kinds. That considered to be of the best quality was a tiny pouch containing small pieces of what looked like the droppings of some sort of lizard. The magic stuffs of Guajira often imitate the excrement of various animals. Others consist of little stones in a glass bottle, or a decoction of herbs, which the person on whom the magic is to be worked has to take or wash in. One powerful and unfailing love specific is the hair clippings of the confined majayura girl, mixed with the blood of humming birds and other ingredients, but that can only be used on the girl in question. With her, however, it cannot fail.

The love magic the young Indian now said he would give me was one of those little pouches, thus very precious. He was willing to let it go because he liked my pistol so much. He had no further need of a love specific now that he had got himself a beautiful wife with its help—and, he might have added, thanks to a good supply of cattle. And if he ever wanted another cóntra, well, he knew where to get one. But he would not get any more wives. He was a

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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the chief game. The *Goajiro* who live near the coast sometimes catch 22
fish (with hook and line), lobsters, mollusks, and crabs.

Cattle raising.—The *Goajiro* are primarily nomadic cattle raisers and, 231
consequently, depend upon the water supply. In the rainy season they 221
seek natural depressions, which they sometimes enlarge artificially, where [312]
the water may gather. In case of drought they wander toward the sea, where wells 30 to 40 feet (9 to 12 m.) deep are dug.

Besides cattle the *Goajiro* keep sheep, goats, horses (pl. 72, *bottom, left*), mules, pigs, and domestic fowls, which they take with them wherever 231
they go. An estimate gives them 100,000 cattle, 200,000 sheep and goats, 20,000 horses and mules, and 30,000 donkeys. As cattle are a measure [55]
of wealth, the Indians are reluctant to kill them for food, but they utilize [439]
the milk or export the animals to Curaçao and Aruba in exchange for textiles and corn. Each tribe has its own cattle brand, and the annual [422]
round-up and branding is an occasion for great festivities. Horse races and other sports take place, and large quantities of food and drink are [527]
consumed.

Food preparation.—*Goajiro* diet consists almost entirely of meat and 262
milk products. Goats and sheep are killed every day or two for meat, 252
and the milk of the cows is made into butter and cheese. This diet is supplemented by yuca, cactus fruit, sugar, rice, and plantains, the last three obtained from Colombian and Venezuelan traders in exchange for skins. Meat that is not immediately consumed is suspended from tall poles, and skins are pegged to the ground and salted in preparation for sale. Butter is made by stirring the cream with a fluted stick in a calabash or wooden bucket. To make cheese, rennet is added to skimmed milk in a trough, and the curds are put in a primitive wooden cheese press, which is weighted with a heavy rock.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Although the *Goajiro* are of a common origin, they are divided into 6,14
sibs ("castes" or "tribes"), each living within a rather limited area 8,1
(Simons, 1885, p. 796). The sibs are split into local groups, which occupy extended villages or rancherías, each with 2 to 50 houses (ranchos) and 10 to 250 or more Indians. Houses are always within gunshot distance of one another and so disposed that surprise attacks would be difficult. If a village is at all permanent, a protective cactus hedge surrounds it.

Goajiro nomadism makes elaborate houses unnecessary. Dwellings 342
are mere lean-tos, arbors, and temporary gabled roofs supported on poles. Thatch is made from the core of the cactus, split lengthwise. Rough [362]
tables, chairs with rawhide seats, and benches are often used. The hammock is always present. House walls are often lacking, but a corner [381]
of the hut may be closed off for a girl's puberty seclusion. When mi-

They make designs on
their skin with black stain and tattoo themselves, especially on the arms 302
and legs, with charcoal dust pigment. At least one of the marks is 304
the same as the tribal brand. [219]

MANUFACTURES

Women have a rather definite daily routine. They arise before day- 512
break, milk the cows, and prepare the morning meal for the men, who 462
then go off to fish, hunt, fight, or merely loaf and drink chicha. They fill their jugs at the water hole and then spend the rest of the day collecting wild cotton, spinning, weaving, making ropes, grinding corn, making butter, cheese, and chicha, and performing other household duties. They milk again in the evening.

Textiles are probably the best *Goajiro* manufactures. Their other 284
products are pottery (which is the virtual monopoly of a few sibs), bows 52
and arrows, and saddles and harnesses.

Spinning and weaving.—Wild cotton is collected, the seeds removed 283
by hand, and small wads are rolled around a thin stick to form small tubes about half an inch (12.5 mm.) in diameter and 6 inches (15 cm.) long. These tubes are then spun into thread with the use of a spindle, one end of which rests in a calabash bowl on the ground. Yarns are [284]
colored with vegetable dyes, especially divi-divi.

Almost every household owns a loom, before which the women sit for 286
hours weaving hammocks and bright-colored belts for men and horses. The warp is made from one long continuous thread wound around two thick horizontal poles, the upper one firmly attached to two uprights, the lower one hanging loose and maintaining the tension. As the work progresses, the cloth is moved forward around the poles, so that an endless strip of cloth is produced, which is then cut. Shuttles are passed through by hand, the warp being shifted by means of a threading arrangement which takes hold of alternate strands. On a piece of cloth about 2 yards wide an inch of weave every three hours is considered very fast work.

Containers.—Most cooking utensils are made of crude earthenware by 323
a few tribes in the vicinity of the Teta, a peak near the middle of the 415
peninsula. Spoons and forks are cut out of calabashes. Some Indians 439
possess enameled mugs and pots obtained from itinerant traders.

Weapons.—Almost every man possesses a good rifle. Cartridges are 411
scarce and expensive and must be smuggled in. Firearms are consequently reserved mainly for warfare, and the bow and arrow is the everyday weapon.

The bow is made from the hard, springy wood of the black palm. It is almost round in cross section, 5 to 6 feet (1.7 to 2 m.) long, and strung with a special steel cord. The end which rests on the ground is protected

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

by an empty cartridge case, to which a metal ring is sometimes attached, giving a musical note with every shot.

Feathered arrows show many designs. Bird arrows may be tipped with cartridge cases or with large, rounded, wooden knobs about 1 inch (2.5 cm.) in diameter. Heads made from nails are used for small game. Serrated metal-tipped arrows are used in warfare; but the most dangerous arrow is pointed with a sting ray tail, sharpened to a fine needlelike point and fitted into the hollow end of a light cane shaft about 4 feet (1.2 m.) long and three-eighth inch (9 mm.) thick.

To prepare arrow poison, scorpions, centipedes, and poisonous spiders are mashed, snake venom is added, and the mixture is allowed to putrefy for several days. The poison will retain its potency for six months. It is kept in a short section of bamboo, which is carried around the waist, together with the arrow points, each in a hollow reed. Before shooting, an Indian dips the point into the poison and inserts it in the shaft.

A decorated leather wrist strap is worn as a bowstring guard.

Fire making.—Fire is made by twirling an arrow on a cactus hearth; the spark is caught in dry grass.

TRADE

There is considerable trade between the *Goajiro* and foreigners. Firearms and ammunition, cloth, beads, blankets, rum, cutlery, corn, crude sugar, rice, plantains, and tobacco are imported in exchange for salt, cattle, cheese, milk, hides, pearls and pearl shells, logwood (*Haematoxylon campechianum*), and divi-divi (*Caesalpinia coriaria*).

During the salt season the Indians of the interior flock to Manaure, where they are paid for loading sacks of salt into the warehouse and onto ships. Both men and women take part in the work, the men filling the sacks and the women carrying them.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The *Goajiro* are subdivided into 30 odd matrilineal *ala* ("maternal" or "tribes"), each identified with an animal. Some of the larger and more important *ala* are split into smaller groups, each with a special totem. (See Simons, 1885, p. 796, and Weston, 1937, p. 130, for a list of the various *ala*, together with the totem animals and the locality which they inhabit.) The members of any *ala* are more widely spread throughout the peninsula than previously thought, although in some localities, one *ala* may be found to the exclusion of all others. Each "mate," according to Perrella (1937, p. 151), "holds sovereignty over a well-defined territory." The *ala* which is largest and wealthiest in livestock is that of the Uriana. It has many subdivisions, such as Uriana jaguar, Uriana rabbit, Uriana paraburro (a song bird), and Uriana gaster (a lizard). The

/233 cont./

472 f) As a hobby. During the hottest hours of the day or during
463 his spare time, he makes at home small objects that can be sold to his fellow Indians or to whites, such as tools, harness, figures of coconut shell and of plastic material, necklaces, bags, sandals, weapons, hats, etc.

Along with the profession of shaman in which both sexes participate, and that of diviner, we find the occupation of arbitrator, which demands the personal qualities already enumerated in the pertinent chapter and which gives to the individual who exercises it not only prestige among his relatives and compatriots but also the right to remuneration.

Another trade that has become remunerative is that of harness and saddle making. Although some women compete successfully in the manufacture, the culture considers them intruders, because this is an activity recognized traditionally as belonging to the masculine sex.

441 As a product of acculturation through whites and facilitated
178 by civilization and the closeness of Venezuela as well as by the decline in traditional economic activities, commercial activity has developed among the Guajiro. It is not so much the pure native as it is the mestizo of some economic means who devotes himself to this /commerce/; the fact should be noted that women, under equal conditions, participate actively in the exploitation of this economic source. They go to Aruba and Curaçao and obtain cheap merchandise on credit, which they bring in by smuggling to sell in Colombia, following the route to Riohacha or Valledupar or continuing on the route to Venezuela. Some do not work directly as owners of the goods but as carriers across the peninsula to deliver them at their destination.

Women find remunerative work especially in domestic service,
472 such caring for children, preparing food, carrying water and
463 firewood, cleaning, etc. They also work in the capacity of maids with the obligation of living in the home where they work. The Guajiro woman does not willingly work under these latter conditions as she prefers the free life of her own home, although food

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

been completely tamed by the Venezuelans. He, with of course his followers, have found honesty the best policy after all, and are now reformed and peaceful members of society, returned to herding and agriculture. This shows what can be done with firearms combined with a little judicious tact and management.

The Indians build no elaborate dwelling-houses. Their best ranchos are simple, and constructed in a short time. The roof is covered with the split woody core of a tall euphorbia. This makes a good cool roof, impermeable to water and easily removed when the family flits. The rancho is seldom used for sleeping purposes; for this numerous poles (ukapai) are firmly fixed all over the place for swinging hammocks, often three and four to one pole, and crossing each other. Sometimes two and three sleep in a hammock. Further off other poles (pulimaler) are found, to tie animals up at, and a small corral or sheep-pen for the goats and sheep is also indispensable in every well-regulated family. The site of a rancho is always carefully chosen, much strategy being displayed in locating the whole, so that each rancho covers the other without itself being seen. Although villages are never attempted, yet a family rarely lives isolated. Everybody isolates himself with that bugbear of Goajira society, his relations. Their ranchos are always within gunshot distance, so as mutually to defend each other. One is invariably on high ground to dominate the country, the rest are hidden away in nooks and corners where least expected. If one rancho is seen, others are close at hand. In case of attack, this system prevents a whole family being exterminated. One or two ranchos may be taken, but the rest escape or fly to the rescue, as the case may be. At all events the avenger, so dear to the Indian, survives. Each rancho has a distinct name. Besides, every Indian who is anybody has several ranchos spread over the country. To collect the names of the ranchos would be paramount to taking a census of the territory. The following are well-known ranchos, with usually some half-caste from Riohacha trading with the Indians. In the Macuira range, six miles from Punta Espada, is Guaruyá, at the foot of Aw-ara; chief, Guijana, a Jiraa. Wantwanda, close to the sea-shore, Chiaramao; chief, José Agustín, a Jaliarik, a half-caste speaking good Spanish. At the foot of Dujaw, Mogwaipá, situated on a slight eminence eight miles from the sea, and is an important trading station. Paraliaw, native name of Punta Espada, boasts twelve houses and three two warehouses, with always two or three Riohachanos resident there. The chief, Pedro Quintín, is Epiayu, but his sister Macrinda is the virtual ruler. Inkanú, 18 miles from Bahía Honda or Tarra is Mirouay, another large trading station, usually with two or three Riohachanos established there. The eight ranchos are well located on a plain between Macuira and Puraché. The chief, Salpa, is Epiayu. This is one of the most central stations in the Goajira, and is surrounded by several important places; it is probably

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajira SC13

the site of the old Spanish settlement San Juan de Iyapo. On the west side of the Paraiki Hills in the plains is another well-known central trading station Jawy; chief, Majuti, an Iyaoua; probably near the old site of the Spanish settlement Hiaoria. In the neighbourhood are: Omaiyapaiyari; chief, Gomin, an Iyaoua. A Dutchman from Arabia has lived here many years, and has become quite an Indian. Alighed, a few miniles on an eminence commanding the whole valley. The Indians here are rather mixed, but the chief is a Paiaiman. The well Kayaiduri, at the base of the hill, is the finest I saw, and surrounded with rich green vegetation similar to that of Maraiva. Kaiwanali, the most inland station. It is generally the traders that make a market known, for the Indians do everything they can to keep their shadow, if not secret, at any rate as much in the dark as possible. The plains being more unsettled than the mountain district, traders do not venture to establish themselves in the interior, as at Moroomy or Jawy, so few markets are known. The most important place in the Lower Goajira is Guiaiva, midway between Riohacha and the Venezuelan town of Los Guacillos or Santa Teresa. Paraguaipoa, the new Venezuelan military colony, founded in 1882, seems already 30 leagues. It is situated in the plains 12 miles in advance of Santa Teresa, which is completely secure. The garrison at present consists of 30 men, well mounted and found in every respect, under the orders of a commandant, two sergeants, and two lieutenants; the latter for the purpose of taking statistics as to trade, &c. Altogether it is a model establishment, and does honour to the Government of Venezuela. The entire population of the Goajira may be about 30,000; it does not exceed 35,000, and is not increasing.

As regards manners and customs and the way they enforce their old patriarchal laws, these Goajiros are particularly interesting. Of course, like all Indians, they are singularly proficient in hunting, stealing, and drinking, but besides these capital vices they add a fourth, that is demanding compensation, tear or blood-money—principal cause of all the strife and blood feuds between the castes, and an everlasting danger to Indians and strangers alike. Whatever about one-quarter of the male population die a violent death from its result, another quarter are killed by drink and its effects. The laws that govern these compensations seem are very intricate, their counterpart in Ireland. First in the terrible law of retaliation, that makes a whole caste responsible for the acts of any single member. As the Spaniards or white men are considered by the Indians as belonging to one large family, the country is very unsafe for travelling, for every white man is a sort of hostage for the good behaviour of the others. If an Indian should be killed in a quarrel by a white man, the life of another white man, living longer away, depends upon whether the kin (relations of the dead Indian) or a friend brings the news first. Many an innocent commercial traveler has been murdered at one end of the peninsula for a foul murder committed at the other end.

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614 7. Work. Labor is obligatory and communal for carrying
461 out work necessary for the general well-being of the group.
476 In the case of labor on property held by a single individual, aid is voluntarily lent by all the others, including men who may not belong to the same clan. The aid is reciprocated by the return of identical service when it may be requested.

614 8. Location of the dwelling. We have already spoken about the location of the home of the new family cell (Cf. Marriage residence in the chapter on Marriage).

614 9. The clan cemetery. Every clan group has a cemetery
764 on its own land, built by the co-operative work of its members. In it all the members of the clan should be buried; if it is not possible to do so at the time of the first burial, it is mandatory that the ashes /sic/ at least be taken there. With the individualization of property, the small families have constructed private niches situated in sites near the family house to be used as the temporary resting place of the remains of their closest relatives.

614 10. Group feeling. The consanguineous tie between all
571 the members of the same clan group had brought about a natural feeling of group unity. This feeling included a series of mutual duties and a number of rights they all could enjoy. The principal and most outstanding of the first was that of presenting a solid front in the face of any breaking down of the regimen for social stability when they felt injured by an offense or when one of the members had broken some cultural pattern, an act for which the whole clan had to bear responsibility. To get satisfaction and to give it as a total collectivity was their essential duty, as it was also to keep in force their prestige and status through adequate compliance of each of those functions which put the clan to the test.

The disintegration of the clan unit into more or less large family cells broken down the group feeling and transfered it to the family as an independent unit. /page 178 is blank/

/222 cont./

423 174 Guajiro community. As a consequence, this phenomenon has brought about a series of struggles among family groups related by marriage ties, as the children now expect to inherit from their fathers, and they consider themselves to have more right to it than the maternal nephews /sobrinos maternos/ and the other obligatory traditional heirs. The situation of conflict has reached such extremes of malevolence and rancor that many times the maternal relatives of the deceased will not resist such claims but will relinquish their rights to the dead man's descendants. /223/

XVI

WORK

● 441 476 These are two forms of communal work, depending on the ends in view.

a) Communal work with the object of carrying out a job of general utility or utility to the clan.

b) Private work that benefits an individual and his immediate family.

In the first class we have the example of the construction of roads, dams, wells, cemeteries, etc. In La Guajira passage is free over all roads. Consequently, their construction benefits the social collectivity and, more particularly, those groups who wish to be connected by means of them. To open a new road, the beneficiaries most concerned get together with the aim of coming to an agreement on the plans, the preliminary location, and the distribution of the span of the work which will be handled by each group. The collaborators, on their part, redistribute the cost and execution. Thus one day one family supplies food and drink to all the workers; the following day another family, and so on successively until the work is finished.

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chronologically because of things that happen or because an alteration in appearance gives rise to such a change, which supplant the former one.

Games. On general lines, the play /Iddicas/ activities in which children take part are in direct relation to the division of labor by sex. Thus, it is strictly forbidden for them to amuse themselves in games which in real life do not correspond to their sex. Boys, for instance, are not allowed to play with dolls or to cook, and girls must not practice archery. The father will openly oppose and invoke all his authority in the small family, to keep his sons, even in play, from doing girl's work. This sense of the division of work which controls their games causes the child, alone or backed up by the influence of his father and of his maternal uncles, to refuse to do anything which does not correspond to the activities of his sex, as it is believed that games or pastimes different from those traditionally established for each sex create a liking for, or a tendency toward, the work of the opposite sex. The Guajiro wants his men to have all the accepted masculine attributes, and his women to be wholly feminine. One of the ways of violating this ideal is shown by intervening in activities of the other sex, either in play when children or in work when adult. Thus, the father will say to the little girl, "You are not to practice archery. Are you a tomboy that you should do such a thing?" And the woman who works on harnesses for animals they also consider very mannish and lowered in her standing as a woman.

Children -- both male and female -- in La Guajira take part in two kinds of play Iddicas: games properly so called and pastimes /24/ which serve as an apprenticeship and training for their work as adults.

Among the first and as a pursuit for boys, one may include games with ropes which, although they do develop manual quickness and ability, are not played for this purpose. These games are practiced either alone or in a group. In the former case, the object is to gain command of the technique and to learn to

/42 cont./

593 With respect to the training of girls, the mother and the maternal relatives play an overwhelming part. When the family lives an isolated life, the influence of the maternal relatives diminishes, as we previously had occasion to see, but as the girl approaches puberty, she may be sent to the home of her grandmother or maternal aunts with whom she will live and whose influence will surround her at this period. We should moreover consider the occupations of a girl as she passes through different phases. When she is very young, in the poorer Guajiro 868 home, she is counted on as a helpmate to assist and replace the mother in her domestic duties so that with her and the other adult women of the family she learns to take her part in household activities: care of the children, drawing water and fetching firewood, cooking food, keeping up the fire, cleaning house, washing clothes, etc.

868 Later comes the time for her to help in the agricultural 869 work. As emigration has reduced the population of La Guajira 867 in the past few years, women have found themselves obliged to carry out work traditionally done by men. Thus there is a need to employ all hands available, and the girls of prepubertal age must contribute their help in the work. Although clearing away trees and underbrush and plowing are men's work, these are now being done by women in addition to the traditional jobs usually expected of them, such as sowing and harvesting, in which latter activity they are more effective than the men. The girls are trained in all these operations alongside the older women until they become completely expert.

868 Another angle of feminine economic life is weaving. 868 Only when she is at the prepubertal age, do the mother and 813 her female uterine relatives take charge of training the girl, as they consider that at this age her babyhood is over and it is necessary that she should give up the freedom she has so far enjoyed in order to take an interest in weaving. If there is an aunt skilled /at weaving/ at home, she will teach the girl; if not, she goes to the home of some kinswomen and stays with

/42 cont./

868 them for long spells, working at her apprenticeship in the art,
883 which she must perfect and complete during the time of seclusion at her initiation, very likely under the vigilant care of the same women. /43/

867 Also, from her elder maternal kinswomen the girl acquires all the cultural legacy of the group as well as the particular traditions of her extended family. She experiences and participates in the daily cult of the dead, and at times when an exhumation or wake takes place she attends, accompanying the women of her family, so becoming initiated into all the ceremonies and prescriptions. She also goes with them when she is approaching the threshold of puberty to be company for them on their visits in order to learn comportment in social life; she also learns the norms of hospitality when visitors come to her home, and she has to assist her kin in fulfilling them adequately. Slowly, by indirect participation, she learns the use of love cóntras /charms/ in the feminine struggle for predominance in the polygamous household, and she comes to know of these problems as she sees them being worked out in the lives of her mother and her relatives. She also gets to know of the intergroup struggles and their consequences; of migration; of magic in all its intensity; of legal norms; things she learns by constant repetition of cases which have occurred in the peninsula and which she hears referred to by her relatives and friends, men and women who frequent the house.

All this cultural life reaffirms and completes the special training received during the seclusion which follows her first menstruation, when she is committed to the care of her kinswomen, who will give her detailed private and personal techniques and information and the specialties traditionally entrusted to certain families, if she is a member of such, such as, for example, the making of pottery, medicinal and magical knowledge of herbs, preparation of charms of various sorts, etc.

857 Childhood occupations. The occupations of the child are
42 determined by its sex, just as in the matter of games, so that

/43 cont./

857 462 they are oriented toward and are practiced in terms of this biological division. Let us analyze this separately:

a) Boys: We saw when speaking of games how adult men are opposed to a mother's obliging a boy to carry out feminine jobs as they think that such work degrades him, means a loss of manly dignity, will cause him to become effeminate, and will militate against their making of him a brave man, the ideal of the Guajiro. The boy begins the activities corresponding to his sex at an early age, almost as soon as he can follow his father or favorite maternal uncle about in their daily pastoral work, especially the first-born, the father, as we have already noted, expresses his wish for the first-born to be a boy so that he can join him in his comings and goings.

857 462 231 So from the time he is very young, the boy rises at three in the morning, goes in search of the livestock that sleep in the corrals or fields /44/ near by, and drives them to water. During the day he keeps the herd together in the places where there is grass, not going too far away from the wells, watching them continually to prevent thefts, especially of the young calves by wild animals, or those entangled in brambles; during the long summer he learns the job of casimbero /"water controlled" -- Tr./, that is to say, to wait at the edge of the casimba (1) for the arrival of the animals who are in search of

1. An artificial well.

water, in order to give them enough, putting it in the troughs that surround the well. He learns to milk, a job that is generally given to the men, though in grand houses it is frequently done by the female bond servants and slaves. He also learns from the grownups to whose care he is entrusted how to handle newly born animals and sick ones, to lasso them, to master them in order to brand them; to mark goats by a cut in the ear; to break in horses; to recognize the good points of a saddle horse; to track an animal that is lost by the tracks it leaves,

/44 cont./

857 462 231 at. activity he should practice from an early age as he is obliged to find all animals that wander away: to make bows and arrows and stalk animals when hunting. On his own part, with his small friends he organizes hunts for machorros (2) and various

857 462 234

2. Edible lizard.

kinds of birds and makes traps in the wells for pigeons. He helps catch the seasonal birds which arrive at harvest time, keeps watch during the night on traps set for deer, learns to slaughter the animals required for household consumption and to make the best use of them.

857 462 241 In agricultural work he helps in the task of clearing his maternal uncle's land of trees, and later looks after his own piece if he has such, clearing it and leaving it ready for the women to sow the seed; he also plants fruit trees and creepers and attends to weeding. Harvesting work is done by the women. In places where fishing is practiced, he takes part, when he is about ten years old, in related activities, such as opening to extract pearls. He also takes part in making farm tools, sacks, harnesses, hats, coconut-husk necklaces, etc., when his elders are employed in these activities.

857 462 415 To the boy falls the preparation of gourd vessels, basins, cups, plates, etc., used for different domestic purposes. The job of preparing the gourd dishes includes all the processes from picking the fruit when /45/ ripe, opening it and taking out the pith, and, when the rind is still tender, incising decorative [531] designs on it with a metal knife or the sharp point of a bone or stone. These designs are usually of his own personal invention.

857 462 Lastly, he may be given odd jobs to do such as the delivering of a message, the fetching of some necessary article or other, accompanying someone sent from his home, etc., but fundamentally he devotes himself to his pasturing, the constant occupation of the Guajiro.

/46 cont./

857 462 A joint duty of children of both sexes is the care of their younger brothers or sisters when circumstances require it, though this is mainly performed by girls when there are any of the right age.

b) Girls. Little girls five years old are given small tasks, such as carrying messages, going to the fields to take some small item to the father or an uncle, drawing water in vessels so that the elders may bring it on burros up to the house. At six or seven they begin to do some cooking. From ten to twelve years, that is to say at, the prepubertal age, they are initiated into the different ways of weaving, and they can go alone from [835] one settlement to another. It is at this time that they occasionally have sexual relations with their brothers or with their father.

857 462 252 Almost from the time she can look after herself -- toward three or four years of age -- the girl assists her mother in all her work, especially when she is the eldest and when she belongs to a family with few economic resources. In the kitchen she learns to prepare food such as mazamorra, bollos /rolls/, and arepa /ground-corn griddlecakes/; to hull corn and grind it with the traditional equipment, the pestle and mortar made of stone; to light and keep the fire going; to handle the pots on it and build new hearths; and, in time, to prepare the various kinds of chicha and the customary soups for special occasions, to make use of the different fruits, both wild and cultivated, and to serve up various local dishes such as sancocho de chivo /goat-meat stew/, the way of preparing meat etc., until, having arrived at the moment of puberty, she is on the whole acquainted with all the customary culinary procedures.

Other work they are taught to do quite young is fetching water and firewood as well as a series of household chores such as house cleaning, taking care of the younger children, and at times feeding them and keeping them clean. They are sent to the woods to bring in the burros that are used for carrying water or fruit or serve for the women to ride on. /46/

857 462 222 They also start to lend a hand in the harvest and accompany the women when they collect wild fruits such as olives,

/46 cont./

857 182 333 [illegible] iguarayat, and trupillo pods, as well as in gathering divi-divi, which is sold in the port towns for export; their labor is used for portering (women's work): they carry on their backs or shoulders the collected fruit, the firewood, and the water when the family does not own the necessary animals.

When ten or over the girl, taught by her elder kinswomen, starts to handle the spindle and loom, work in which she perfects herself during the seclusion of her initiation.

857 189 556 In general her occupations during childhood are affected by the economic and social position of her relatives, since a child of a well-to-do family will spend her childhood playing, without occupying herself with domestic chores except occasionally, since she is not considered as a small-sized adult as happens among poor families, but as a little girl, and she is treated as such. Certain light duties might be imposed but never a definite or clear-cut responsibility. She is expected to obey, mainly so that she recognize the authority of her elders, but when she enters the prepubertal age her mother and relatives start to take a more personal interest in her and to think it to be the opportune time to start training her in the duties pertaining to her position and her sex, teaching her all the household occupations that she will later improve on and become expert in during her seclusion, which will last longer the greater the wealth of the family.

264 592 Food, sleep, dress, and ornaments. Even before weaning, when this is delayed beyond the first year, or at times before, the child starts being fed adult food. By that time he asks his mother for food and she gives it to him, when he is small, more generously than she can at a later date; but later on he himself looks for it and, in order to satisfy his hunger, frequently steals food from his mother that she has put away, and this obliges the mother to hide it. (Cf. Punishment, Chap. II.)

The apportioning of food in a Goajiro household is done by the mother, who serves each one his share, starting with the husband, afterward the children, she being the last to eat. If she has a preference for a child, she shows it at this time by

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give his co-operation on occasions like these, so that later, if he asks for his help, he also refuses.

There is one type of communal activity carried out by the women; it is that connected with the work of chewing which they contribute in the preparation of chicha of wild yucca or of corn used at all their festivals or on the eve of male communal work. On such occasions the women's assistance is requested, and they all gather, very pleased with the work they have to do, by virtue of which once finished they receive rum or chicha as recompense, and can eat large quantities of yucca and corn cakes on the sly while they are doing their job. The two types of communal work are substantially different. The first benefits all the community or at least a clan group, while the second affects only one individual and his immediate relatives. The participation of the individual and of the family in true community work acquires in some cases the character of an obligation inherent in the position of a member of a given clan group. In others his co-operation depends on the benefit he is likely to derive from it, the use of a cemetery, wells for water supply, etc.

In the second type, on the contrary, the individual participant derives no benefit from the work in itself, but from the reciprocal co-operation that the beneficiary on that occasion must give to each of those who have helped him. To refuse to participate is an infraction of a norm that may isolate the man from society. What is accomplished by the co-operative work of various groups acquires for this reason a communal character in its utilization. In the second case it is individual or family private property.

For the first, the Guajiro gives his aid in labor, the loan of tools, the maintenance of laborers, the handing over of part of the construction materials, etc. For the second, he gives nothing more than his labor and the use of his tools because the maintenance of the men is the direct concern of the party benefited.

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Domestic work. The division of activities by sex is one of the primary classifications that can be made in La Guajira in

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•462 relation to domestic work. We have to bear in mind that this traditional separation is strictly complied with, because anyone doing [558] the customary work of the opposite sex loses personal value. And in order not to be seen as an object of ridicule to others, Guajiro men and women try to avoid carrying out any function identified with the opposite sex, even as a diversion, as in the case of children, who may not play games of make-believe other than those ascribed to their sex.

All work related to the care and nomadic pasturing of various classes of livestock is traditionally masculine work. Each Guajiro who owns livestock or who has them en cuido /lit., "in his care"/ (an exchange which means he has a herd from another Indian in order to pasture it in exchange for which he receives payment) gets up at daybreak with his nephews or sons and drives the livestock in search of pasture. During the day he guards them closely to prevent them from being stolen by men or harmed by carnivorous animals. At nightfall he waters the herd at the wells /casimbas or jagüeyes/ and then shuts them in the corrals of the house, after checking that all are there. Combined with these activities there are, for example, the treatment of sick animals, their branding, helping the shaman who treats by magic animals attacked by pests, breaking in the young colts for pack or saddle horses, making all necessary harness from saddles to reins and straps with their diverse variations and, finally, the slaughter of animals with the exception of domestic poultry.

Another traditional male activity is hunting. From childhood the Guajiro practice hunting small birds and animals, which is also a preparatory exercise for war, an employment which requires mastery in the use of firearms. Neither women nor children are allowed to participate in hunting expeditions.

Connected with the activity of hunting are fabrication of weapons, which comprises making bows and arrows, head guards, and various magic charms to make the hunt easy and productive; making and placing traps used to protect the sown fields from harmful animals or as a means of collecting edible animals.

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•462 Fishing, an activity of relative unimportance in Guajiro economic life, is also done by the men. It is limited to obtain-
[22] ing certain edible species or to gathering oysters for the pearl trade, and, as in hunting, it is the men who manufacture the necessary equipment and implements.

Agricultural work is divided between the two sexes. The man is responsible for the preparation of the land for sowing; cutting, clearing and burning, and the tasks of weeding and hilling. Although planting is women's work, certain vegetables have to be planted by men because according to their magic beliefs if these plants are sown by women they will never give a good crop either in quantity or quality; such plants are, for example, fruit trees and creeping plants such as the water melon, melon, calabashes, etc. It is also men's work to fence in their plots of land.

The migration of many males to Venezuela and to other regions bordering on the peninsula, due to the climatic conditions already mentioned, has made it permissible for the women to take part in agricultural tasks normally considered suitable only for men.

The Guajiro man is the one who builds the dwelling. He obtains the help he needs in the form of communal labor, and with this aid he transports the materials and builds his house without any aid from his wife.

In leisure moments or during the hottest hours of the day,
462. while resting on hammocks, young Guajiro men apply themselves
32 to carving rings, beads for necklaces or bracelets, and amulets or small figures to hang round the neck or wrist, which yield a small income; to make these he uses broom handles, small plastic combs, ram and goat horns, coconut shells and coral. During these moments or whenever the opportunity arises, he also makes toe pieces for his sandals, using a small loom. This
[439] occupation has an economic end in the towns where such articles find a ready sale.

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The Guajiro boy has the job of carving the gourd vessels used as domestic utensils, and it is also the men who make the hats and headpieces, or *biáro*, which pure Indians still use as an adornment in their festivals.

As war is essentially a masculine occupation, men make the weapons used, arrows and poisons, even those of magic value.

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The heads of each family, and in their absence the sons in chronological order, or the nephews, sons of a sister, are those in charge of directing and ordering the daily work, especially when free or communal labor is not available and paid labor is used.

We may also consider as masculine occupations in La Guajira participation in community work and in mutual help such as making wells, dams, cemeteries, roads, etc.

The woman, on her part, has in her charge a multiplicity of activities, among which we can enumerate the following as the principal ones:

Weaving. This activity includes spinning, dyeing, and weaving the cloth itself. At the present time this occupation is dying out, particularly spinning, because the ease of obtaining imported thread makes this laborious work almost unnecessary. With respect to the weaving itself, foreign-made cloth and the trade in Colombian cloth supply the natives, especially the women, with dresses of various colors and diverse quality, which has caused a decline in this feminine activity, at least with regard to the use of homemade material for apparel. But, on the other hand, the acquisition of new techniques and the improvement of autochthonous ones in the Capuchin mission school has brought about greater development in the weaving of hammocks and bags, which, going beyond domestic needs, bring a good price in the markets outside and even within the peninsula, and in this way constitutes an appreciable source of income for the women. In addition to this, certain items of clothing such as the Guajiro belt, traditionally worn by the men and woven at

/228 cont./

452 284 home, have not found a substitute and have to be made by the maternal relatives or by the wife.

Among the items that have survived we should include the hammocks used by girls of prepubertal age.

The application of weaving by the women extends to the manufacture of some parts of the harness for horses, such as cinches, surcingles, saddle blankets, croup belts, etc., in the making of which they employ diverse techniques and both autochthonous methods and those introduced through acculturation.

While the manufacture of saddles, trappings, and accoutrements of horses is done by the men, the women make the adornments for them and the headstalls of the halters and blinders, with the complicated system of knots and tassels which indicates the standing and wealth of the rider. /229/

[442] [559]

Finally, it is strictly the women's task to make all the utensils used in weaving, from the most elementary type of loom made with two vertical sticks and used for making the classical Indian hammock /chinchorro/, to the more complicated, such as those used for weaving double-faced hammocks; and from the wooden bobbins to the vegetable colors and mordants used in dyeing the fabric or the thread.

Domestic work is also women's work, and it includes obtaining and preparing food and drink, and serving, storing, and preserving it, as well as killing small mammals and domestic birds, and cleaning and seasoning the intestines and other offal of cattle, sheep, and goats.

Within the Guajiro dwelling the women maintain cleanliness and order, and she is also held responsible for making, repairing, and washing the articles of clothing of her husband, her children, and herself.

[298]

The care of minor children occupies much of the Guajiro woman's time (Cf. Chap. II) as does their training, and it is exclusively the women's function to look after and instruct the girls during the traditional seclusion at puberty. Also, it is their responsibility to teach feminine tasks to their young female consanguineous relatives.

/222 cont./

The woman usually takes charge of the care of all sick persons in the home whether they are being submitted to treatment by the shaman or are just simple cases. She remains by their side and gives them all necessary attention.

The Goajiro woman should carry out two general functions in her home, functions that acquire more or less importance according to the standing she has. One of them is to see that all the chores and work of the home are adequately done; she must carry out these personally or be assisted in them by her daughters or other consanguineous female relatives with whom she lives, or be assisted by female servants, hired servants, or slaves. In the first case, the activities are distributed by mutual agreement; and in the second, she must take charge of the ordering, the overseeing, and the direction of all work and of the personnel who assist her.

The second of these functions is that of fully satisfying the traditional norms of courtesy and hospitality, attentions that must be shown by giving lodging and meals, etc., to every visitor who comes to the Goajiro home, because the visitor is a guest, because considerations of friendship or blood tie him to his hosts, and because of reciprocity for similar hospitality received previously, which for the sake of prestige, /223/ the host must repay in equal or in greater measure. In all these tasks the woman can count on the aid of her consanguineous relatives and on the female staff she has under her orders. Furthermore, every wife personally carries out for her husband or a male relative certain gestures of hospitality and care (when he is a head), which their culture requires from each of them and which not only cannot be delegated but have an obligatory character within the conjugal life.

Normally, the man, head of the house, directs the family activities that must be accomplished each day in the different branches of work. He does this personally or with the aid of his relatives or staff. When the head of the house and his sons are absent from home, it is up to the wife to direct the activities that are usually in the hands of the husband, or to carry them out in the same way as the man would.

/230 cont./

We find that some of the feminine activities are carried out jointly with the man, as in agriculture in which the woman's part is to place the seed in a hole, which is made by the man with a sower's tool for this purpose (but not in the case of planting creeping plants and fruit trees); and to collect fruit when it is all ripe, or little by little as the fruit becomes ready. Besides these regular activities, the women collect wild edible fruits which constitute practically the only source of nourishment during the summer in some regions. They also collect some forest products that the whites buy from them, such as the divi-divi, which constitute a source of money income.

Transportation is an activity that traditionally has been done by the Guajiro woman. Before they raised pack animals, the women did such work themselves. Nowadays, it can be said that it is rare to find a home that does not have an animal, generally a burro, at their disposal, on which they can transport from place to place their small children and the provisions and utensils, etc., which they require. Nevertheless, we do still see some families who lack this means of transport and have to make use of feminine labor.

Ceramics also is an activity that is assigned to women. In the regions where raw materials are abundant and of good quality, the women of some families apply themselves to this craft, in which they reach quite a high standard of perfection; the technique is transmitted from generation to generation so that the craft becomes a traditional family occupation.

When the families of potters are forced to emigrate to urban centers, they carry there the raw material /231/ required for their work from its original source. With this they provide the family with domestic utensils and use the rest for barter with others.

The empirical knowledge of the magic and curative properties of plants is known, apart from the shaman, by some women who usually live in places where contact with whites is less frequent. They transmit such knowledge to their descendants, most frequently to the eldest daughter.

/231 cont./

The care of women at the time of childbirth has also been culturally assigned to women (Cf. Marriage). However, in certain cases the husband may be present at the birth to give secondary assistance, but only at the request of the expectant mother and the midwife.

When recently born infants develop illnesses of gastro-intestinal types, it is a custom in La Guajira to obtain the services of a woman, who attempts to deduce the magic cause of the illness from different characteristics of the /child's/ excrements.

Tattooing, generally used to mark the different clans, and other kinds of markings, in some cases initials or names, are carried out by Guajiro women.

Remunerative work. This form of work, a consequence of the process of acculturation, is developing, especially in urban zones and their environs; it has not, however, broken the traditional distribution of labor by sex but has become subordinate to it, so that the men work for wages in activities appropriate to their sex and women do the same.

Among the remunerative occupations in which the Guajiro man is employed we can point out the following.

a) Pearl fishing, in the zones in which oysters are very abundant such as in the ports of Carón, Ahuyama, and Carrizal. The native either fishes on his own account and sells the pearls on the open market, or he works for a wage under orders given by a white or a mestizo who hires him as diver. He also participates in small shellfishing for cockles and other species in the northern coastal zone, although sporadically, with the idea of selling his catch on his own account, or as a paid assistant of the whites who are in this business for profit. /232/

b) As a day laborer. At some ports where the loading and unloading ships is of some importance, as happens in Puerto Estrella and in Riohacha, it is the native, who, provided with a boat of his own or one belonging to a merchant, contracts to transport cargo from the ships to land and vice versa. He collaborates especially in the commercial moving of contraband which forms the base of the economic life of these ports.

[114 cont.]

nights and repeating this at sunrise; or shooting their arrows -- or a more modern procedure, their shotguns -- toward the clouds to make them discharge their moisture. In the first case, it seems as if the drums endeavor to reproduce the sound of thunder during the months that are usually associated with rain. The native believes that by creating one of the concomitant factors he will bring about the whole desired condition, that is, the production of the whole phenomenon; for him, thunder and rain are two equal and inseparable things, so by obtaining one he will automatically attain the other.

* * *

Men and women participate equally in sowing crops with a division of labor which corresponds to the combined magico-biological whole. The men have charge of preparing the soil and making the holes for the seed; the women do the planting and the covering up of the seed. They say that if the grain is planted by the woman, it will have a better chance of growing and developing, and the harvest will be more abundant. The woman is considered as a symbol of fecundity through accomplishing the generation of the child, and that force she transmits to the seed at the moment she plants it.

* * *

During eclipses of the sun or moon the natives cry disconsolately because they fear that these heavenly bodies will not continue fulfilling their functions; in crying they implore them not to abandon them nor leave the world plunged in darkness. To oblige them to return to normal, the Indians shoot their rifles at them, and in the more remote areas of La Guajira they organize a great noisy shooting, crying and shooting their arrows at the sky, so that the new day will triumph.

* * *

When there is a great deal of lightning during the rainy season, the old Guajiro who still retain a great fear of this natural

Magic shows itself to be one of the strongest institutions of Goajiro culture despite the fact that, as we have shown throughout this study, it is gradually losing in importance in proportion to the lowering of the shaman's prestige as the spiritual leader of the group. This is due to the already mentioned factors of proletarizing and acculturation on a rising scale, brought about by the influence of a continually increasing number of civilizado elements in the peninsula, as well as by the consequences of the acculturation experienced by the members of the society. However, it is magic that still dominates many of the aspects of the native's daily life, not to say the greater part, and it is this that we are trying to synthesize and briefly explain in this chapter.

1. Economy. The Goajiro's life, as we saw in the introduction is entirely dependent on the tyrannically demanding climate, given the conditions of the peninsula where this community lives, relying as they do on the seasonal fluctuations of rain to which they have adapted their system of agriculture and stock grazing, essential source of their economy. As the people's livelihood directly depends on these, the Goajiro, lacking the higher techniques of irrigation and water conservation, puts his hope of survival in methods of magic, whether they be personal, collective, or directly exercised by the rain-magician of the community. These are no other than the exercises carried out by the latter to attract the rains in the long summer by invoking his protector spirits and especially Maraiwa, the personification of good and of rain; or the adoration and veneration to honor of the ignaca carried out by private individuals with the same end in view; or, in short, all the methods of magic we have enumerated in connection with the natural phenomenon of rain.

Also in respect to the economy we must remember the presence of women when the sowing of crops is done, which establishes a division of work by sex based on the magic association of the resemblance of feminine fecundity to the seeds.

[186] Moreover, faced with the new phenomenon of stock grazing, the native has adapted his magic methods to this, imposing the same or similar treatments used for the members of the

[illegible] weaving, milling, dyeing, basketry, [illegible], &c., sewing, and all the little [illegible] Indian lore as well.

The enclosure is not so laborial as it seems, generally several of her female relatives are round the door with the enclosed, who of course become rather short, much [illegible], almost white, and some exceedingly beautiful. Strangers and men are not excluded from peeping in through the door, always with an eye to matrimony, and she can be sold and [illegible] at seen, though her husband if rich prefers having her to complete her term of schooling. On [illegible] to society again, a special festival, [illegible], is held with dancing, &c. An ox is killed, and the girl is treated to the clothes she has made; her hair is cut and she removes all her beads, necklaces, bracelets, and other ornaments.

Women are much respected by the Gaujiow. In a quarrel or brawl between women often were blindfolded by stepping in and tearing the weapons out of their husband's or brother's hand. Travelling with women is consequently perfectly safe, and in case of danger, if one undertakes to protect a stranger, he may rely upon coming out all right.

Matrimony is a mere case of barter. The girl is sold for a certain price, fixed by the father. This is paid by the intended husband, and divided by the father, who appropriates the lion's part for himself and his relatives, the rest going to the wife's relatives. As it is chiefly in cattle, these are killed and a kind of bridal festival held. There is no other ceremony. A wife is under obligation to support her husband, find him in food, clothes, &c. She does most of the cooking, and a married male with an Indian is overtlown, should his better half signify, the Indian cannot inflict bodily injury on his wife, for he becomes liable to her relatives, and should she die during childbirth, he has to repay the father what he gave for her. But if the wife is serious in her conscience, he demands from the father the price he paid for her, who if he cannot refund, helps him to recover from the relatives, plus tear or compensation from his mother-in-law. At the husband's death, the wife becomes a legacy to his brother, usually the youngest; if there are none, then his nephew inherits her. The daughter of a chief is worth, according to his wealth and power (i.e. the number of cattle he can dispose of to a fight) from 5 to 100 head of cattle (10L to 200L).

When a person dies, a general drinking festival is given, that both or long as there is anything to drink—dogs and even snakes, with the exception. These latter are buried twice, and have two funerals. A dish powers is always buried in the mouth, and on the spot where he was born, being often carried for that purpose between distances. A fire is lighted every night from sunset to sunrise in front of the grave, for the sake of the dead. Immense piles of wood are gathered for this purpose, as the body is kept two years in the house. Then all the relatives are used on a certain day, and the sound that takes place, when the bones are carefully gathered, placed in a jar, and consigned to the

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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They make designs on their skin with black stain and tattoo themselves, especially on the arms and legs, with charcoal dust pigment. At least one of the marks is the same as the tribal brand.

MANUFACTURES

Women have a rather definite daily routine. They arise before daybreak, milk the cows, and prepare the morning meal for the men, who then go off to fish, hunt, fight, or merely loaf and drink chicha. They fill their jugs at the water hole and then spend the rest of the day collecting wild cotton, spinning, weaving, making ropes, grinding corn, making butter, cheese, and chicha, and performing other household duties. They milk again in the evening.

Textiles are probably the best Goajiro manufacture. Their other products are pottery (which is the virtual monopoly of a few clans), bows and arrows, and saddles and harnesses.

Spinning and weaving.—Wild cotton is collected, the seeds removed by hand, and small wads are rolled around a thin stick to form small tubes about half an inch (12.5 mm.) in diameter and 6 inches (15 cm.) long. These tubes are then spun into thread with the use of a spindle, one end of which rests in a calabash bowl on the ground. Yarns are colored with vegetable dyes, especially divi-divi.

Almost every household owns a loom, before which the women sit for hours weaving hammocks and bright-colored belts for men and horses. The warp is made from one long continuous thread wound around two thick horizontal poles, the upper one firmly attached to two uprights, the lower one hanging loose and maintaining the tension. As the work progresses, the cloth is moved forward around the poles, so that an endless strip of cloth is produced, which is then cut. Shuttles are passed through by hand, the warp being shifted by means of a threading arrangement which takes hold of alternate strands. On a piece of cloth about 2 yards wide an inch of weave every three hours is considered very fast work.

Containers.—Most cooking utensils are made of crude earthenware by a few tribes in the vicinity of the Tera, a peak near the middle of the peninsula. Spoons and forks are cut out of calabashes. Some Indians process concealed snags and pots obtained from itinerant traders.

Weapons.—Almost every man possesses a good rifle. Cartridges are scarce and expensive and must be smuggled in. Firearms are consequently reserved mainly for warfare, and the bow and arrow is the everyday weapon.

The bow is made from the hard, springy wood of the black palm. It is almost round in cross section, 5 to 6 feet (1.7 to 2 m.) long, and strung with a special steel cord. The end which rests on the ground is protected

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b) As a day laborer. At some ports where the loading and unloading ships is of some importance, as happens in Puerto Estrella and in Riohacha, it is the native, who, provided with a boat of his own or one belonging to a merchant, contracts to transport cargo from the ships to land and vice versa. He collaborates especially in the commercial moving of contraband which forms the base of the economic life of these ports.

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c) Mechanic. The Guajiro has a special capacity for learning manual and mechanical work. As a result he rapidly becomes skilled as hauler and even as chauffeur on the roads that cross the peninsula, in the neighboring republic of Venezuela, and in the zone of banana plantations. This activity is very popular among the natives.

d) As an agricultural peon. Another part of the Guajiro labor force finds work in agricultural activities, although agricultural tasks in themselves are not particularly attractive to the native. However, they take up this kind of work more frequently around Riohacha, toward the zone of the so-called "Province" (department of Magdalena), and in Venezuela.

Within the peninsula the Guajiro carries out these activities for mutual assistance and only on rare occasions for payment of wages on the haciendas of rich mestizo or native families. In stock raising there is a special form of remunerative activity for the poor Guajiro who looks after the herds of more well-to-do owners. This form consists of the animals (carefully counted) being handed over to the herdsman to be pastured in exchange for the use of the products from the livestock, milk, hides, and meat of those that die -- some are raised and, sporadically a little corn, cloth for a robe, etc. As we see, it offers a special form of remuneration.

e) As paid laborer. The native works in the saltworks of the Bank of the Republic established on the north coast of La Guajira. Following the traditional division of labor by sex, the men pick and shovel the lumps of salt from the deposits and leave the rest of the work to the women. They do not receive a daily fixed wage but a sum in accordance with the amount done during the day. They also work on a daily paid basis either for a private concern or for one of the various branches of government, working /331/ in trades such as that of bricklayer, salesman, laborer in the making of bricks, burning of lime and charcoal, cutting of material, excavation of wells in the Water Supply section, or messenger or servant in the houses of the families of civilizados /nonnatives/ in the urban centers.

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472 f) As a hobby. During the hottest hours of the day or during
83 his spare time, he makes at home small objects that can be sold to his fellow Indians or to whites, such as tools, harness, figures of coconut shell and of plastic material, necklaces, bags, sandals, weapons, hats, etc.

Along with the profession of shaman in which both sexes participate, and that of diviner, we find the occupation of arbitrator, which demands the personal qualities already enumerated in the pertinent chapter and which gives to the individual who exercises it not only prestige among his relatives and compatriots but also the right to remuneration.

Another trade that has become remunerative is that of harness and saddle making. Although some women compete successfully in the manufacture, the culture considers them intruders, because this is an activity recognized traditionally as belonging to the masculine sex.

471 As a product of acculturation through whites and facilitated
78 by civilization and the closeness of Venezuela as well as by the decline in traditional economic activities, commercial activity has developed among the Guajiro. It is not so much the pure native as it is the mestizo of some economic means who devotes himself to this /commerce/; the fact should be noted that women, under equal conditions, participate actively in the exploitation of this economic source. They go to Aruba and Curaçao and obtain cheap merchandise on credit, which they bring in by smuggling to sell in Colombia, following the route to Riohacha or Valledupar or continuing on the route to Venezuela. Some do not work directly as owners of the goods but as carriers across the peninsula to deliver them at their destination.

Women find remunerative work especially in domestic service,
472 such caring for children, preparing food, carrying water and
83 firewood, cleaning, etc. They also work in the capacity of maids with the obligation of living in the home where they work. The Guajiro woman does not willingly work under these latter conditions as she prefers the free life of her own home, although food

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472 there may be scarce; living in her employer's home, while it may
463 satisfy her basic needs, imposes on her a discipline to which she is not accustomed. For this reason, she looks for a way to combine both systems and sells firewood and water in the urban centers, carries messages, washes clothes, clears away rubbish, sells coal, /234/ milk, and foodstuffs, or cooks at some house. But in the evening she returns to her home, /usually/ an enramada /a shelter of branches/ on the outskirts of the city.

Toward the north coast of the peninsula, in the wooded lands of this zone, divi-divi occurs in sufficient quantity to enable the Guajiro woman to collect and sell it to the whites, who send it to the interior.

The women also take part in the work in the saltworks, as we have seen, in order to assist their husbands in the transport of the material.

The women of Jarara have been the principal makers of pottery, since they have abundant raw material at their disposal, which is lacking in other regions. For this reason, at the present time, they try to supply the entire peninsula by making a considerable supply with which they travel through the country and obtain an adequate remuneration either by barter or by sale.

Weaving of cloth, as we have said, supplies the women with
286 a source of income. Some well-to-do Indian and mestizo women
463 have organized a /specialized/ division of labor to supply the
472 demand for hammocks and bags in the markets of Maracaibo and in some towns in the department of Magdalena.

These women, well informed about the state of the market, prepare in their homes hammocks of fashionable colors and regulation size. They hand over a design of their own or one copied from a magazine to a poor Guajiro woman who takes it to her house and works it up on her own loom during her spare time. Once the central part is woven the owner hands it on to a worker expert in finishing, then a third one with her spinning tackle makes the cords. While these portions are being made in sequence, the fringes to match the color of the central part have been made by

/234 cont./

472 one or more other women, who if required will complete the
463 work by making the tassels that adorn it. Each one of these
226 women workers is controlled by the owner, of the raw material from whom they receive it. They do it in their respective homes. The completed work is paid for in accordance with the skill and quality /of its execution/ and not by the time spent on it. The finished product is the property of the owner of the raw material, who can sell it at her convenience. The tools and equipment employed belong to the workers. Another common practice is for some poor women to weave the cloth on their own account, and later to sell it to a rich woman who has facilities for bringing the product to the market. The cloth is always sold at a lower price to give the intermediary a margin of profit. /235/

A third form consists of receiving orders and weaving personally, or using weavers who receive wages and who work at home, hammocks, bags, and items of harness previously ordered by the merchants.

An occupation that allows the Guajiro woman to obtain some
472 income is dressmaking. Guajiro women learn to sew the robes
463 for both masculine and feminine use, and other articles of apparel, which they sew not only for their home needs and their relatives but also to fill orders from customers.

In the Sierra de Jarara and the Sierra de Macuira and in other places distant from urban centers, some old women live who are acquainted with the magic and curative properties of various plants. This knowledge is usually transmitted from mother to eldest daughter and is much sought after and remunerated in proportion to the importance of the case, its efficacy, and the prestige of the herbal expert who prescribes it, and the importance of the person who requests it.

Another profession is that of midwife, who receives payment in relation to her ability and the means of whoever applies for her services.

Unfree work. This is done by bond-servant or slave labor. See chapter /VIII/ Slavery and Bond Service. /page 236 is blank/

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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The Guajiro did only trade with the
[439] whites, but they did a lively trade with each other, using
[516] cattle as their currency. Thanks to this there was a form of
incipient specialization. Pottery and weapons were the main
articles of trade. The rich bought those made by specially
[556] skilled craftsmen, who made so much money that they con-
[463] centrated largely on producing things to sell. The poor had
to make all their own things. Everywhere there were people
who could weave and spin, and make pottery, but those
who could afford it liked to buy what was best and loveliest.

We wanted to buy articles in general use, but the irritat-
ing thing was that the rich did not need to sell and only did
so if it amused them, or if they got an especially good price;
while the poor had nothing to sell. Those who made these
articles as a craft liked to use materials bought from the
whites. In the old days they used to weave their textiles of
homespun cotton thread dyed with vegetable dyes; now
they not infrequently bought dyed woollen yarn from the
whites, but in that remote part of the peninsula they had not
yet begun to do so. We saw that they had plenty of ham-
mocks made of bast and cotton yarn. These were larger and
more comfortable than was usual and were made with a
different technique. The hammock is the genuine Indian
[513] bed, invented in the jungles of South America before the
white man ever came there, and has the advantage of being
easy to take about and cool to lie in, while the sleeper is
protected from all the unpleasant and dangerous insects of
the ground.

Throughout the journey we had slept in hammocks—you
have to get used to them before you find them comfort-
able—as long as there was somewhere to hang them. We
now told the Indians that we wanted proper hammocks,
the kind they themselves used, for we had bought ours
from the whites. That started the bargaining.

There was seldom any question of buying for cash—they
[439] did not have much confidence in the white man's money—
[436] so we had to barter for what we wanted. We soon dis-
covered that apart from our knives, the Indians under-
valued all our goods. If we had not had a large case of knives
we would never have managed to assemble the collections

[7 cont.]

Consequently at this time, the Indian faces a situation of misery that has brought him to seek monetary income either as a worker in the maritime saltworks or as a herdsman in the neighboring haciendas of Venezuela and Colombia; or if he is obstinate in his attachment to his native soil, he has to put up with conditions of hunger, bond service, and even slavery in his own territory.

The lack of water has been the main factor leading to the mass emigration of entire native families to the nearest centers of trade and work; there they enroll themselves as paid farm workers; or simply beg for charity, which is frequently seen in the streets and plazas of Maracaibo; or apply themselves to some other trade such as the making of charcoal to be sold in Riohacha; or work in the loading and unloading of ships in neighboring ports.

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All these facts that we have been describing and the little that was known of this interesting Colombian aboriginal community led the Institute of Ethnology and Archaeology of the Ministry of National Education of Colombia to organize an expedition to study for a reasonable period of time the greater part of the characteristic social phenomena of this group of people, the actual social situation of the natives confronted by the new conditions of life, the anthropological aspect, the language, etc. This decision was put into effect with the ethnographic expedition of 1947, which, during the months of July, August, and September, traveled over a great part of the territory making the corresponding studies. [8] This expedition was composed of: the investigators, Licenciate Milciades Chaves, Licenciate Virginia Gutiérrez de Pineda Giraldo, Señora María Rosa de Recasens, and the author.

The result of these investigations is the work we now present, the first of a series of publications which will cover the major part of the aspects of the material and spiritual life of the Guajiro.

The work to which these few lines serve as an introduction is based on facts carefully gathered by us in the field, especially by my wife Licenciate Virginia Gutiérrez de Pineda Giraldo, who kindly handed over data to be studied and added to ours, and we

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611 by an empty cartridge case, to which a metal ring is sometimes attached, giving a musical note with every shot.

Feathered arrows show many designs. Bird arrows may be tipped with cartridge cases or with large, rounded, wooden knobs about 1 inch (2.5 cm.) in diameter. Heads made from nails are used for small game. Iron and metal-tipped arrows are used in warfare; but the most dangerous arrow is poisoned with a sting ray tail, sharpened to a fine needlelike point and fitted into the hollow end of a light cane shaft about 4 feet (1.2 m.) long and three-eighth inch (9 mm.) thick.

[illegible] To prepare arrow poison, scorpions, centipedes, and poisonous spiders are mashed, snake venom is added, and the mixture is allowed to putrefy for several days. The poison will retain its potency for six months. It is kept in a short section of bamboo, which is carried around the waist, together with the arrow points, each in a hollow reed. Before shooting, an Indian dips the point into the poison and inserts it in the shaft.

[illegible] A decorated leather wrist strap is worn as a bowstring guard.

[illegible] Fire making.—Fire is made by twirling an arrow on a cactus hearth; the spark is caught in dry grass.

TRADE

[illegible] There is considerable trade between the *Goajiro* and foreigners. Firearms and ammunition, cloth, beads, blankets, rum, cutlery, corn, crude sugar, rice, plantains, and tobacco are imported in exchange for salt, cattle, cheese, milk, hides, pearls and pearl shells, logwood (*Haematoxylon campechianum*), and divi-divi (*Caesalpinia coriaria*).

[illegible] During the salt season the Indians of the interior flock to Manaure, where they are paid for loading sacks of salt into the warehouse and onto ships. Both men and women take part in the work, the men filling the sacks and the women carrying them.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

[illegible] The *Goajiro* are subdivided into 30 odd matrilineal sibs ("castes" or "tribes"), each identified with an animal. Some of the larger and more important sibs are split into smaller groups, each with a special totem. (See Simons, 1885, p. 796, and Weston, 1937, p. 139, for a list of the various sibs, together with the totem animals and the locality which they inhabit.) The members of any sib are more widely spread throughout the peninsula than previously thought, although in some localities, one sib may be found to the exclusion of all others. Each "caste," according to Paredes (1937, p. 155), "holds sovereignty over a well-defined territory." The sib which is largest and wealthiest in livestock is that of the Uriana. It has many subdivisions, such as Uriana jaguar, Uriana rabbit, Uriana parakeet (a song bird), and Uriana gecko (a lizard). The

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853 she runs up against the difficulty of accustoming the child to this kind of food, which may cause its death; furthermore, a wet nurse is often out of the question, for unless she is a relative who will do it without charge, it is almost impossible for a poor woman to meet the cost. For this reason the arrival of twins in a poor family is a hard blow, but in these circumstances every Guajiro woman whose services as wet nurse are solicited will consent, as she believes that a refusal would involve her in a double delivery in the future.

Thus, recourse to a wet nurse is limited to mothers with economic resources, who obtain the services of one with a child of an age approximately the same as their own and bring her into the home. The wet nurse receives a payment which has [465] been agreed upon beforehand, either in money, clothes, or animals, as well as her food, in which the mother takes special interest for the benefit of her own child, as also her clothes, which the mother also supplies. The wet-nurse's child is usually left with her relatives, who feed him by bottle on goat's milk, mazamorra, and other food which substitute for the mother's breast, and even if he stays with his mother, he is weaned in order to give a greater amount of breast milk to the other child. Sometimes he is given the breast, but the child of the house in which the mother serves is always given preference. His sustenance, in this case, is included in the payment agreed on.

Generally, the wet nurse engaged by a Guajiro wife is of lower social standing, and she gives her services in exchange for the personal advantages that accrue, since her situation in the house is good for the reasons mentioned, and her standing in the family collectivity is improved, because in a certain physical sense she is comparable with the mother, as on her depends the rearing and the health of the child. This establishes a link and a mutual relationship between them, and the wet nurse acquires a certain superiority as well as a physical bond with the child whom she nourishes. By this, if she is a slave, her position is eased and improved, and she gains in consideration and status. The same conditions apply if she is a bond servant.

could not have paid the price in the first place, and besides B's family would have little to fear from them.

The father and maternal uncle of the slain man take the initiative in seeking payment which goes to the mother's family.

If A and B had been workmen or retainers of C, a cacique, and A's family could not have paid the price of composition, then C would have paid B's family and in compensation would have endowed A and his family. Payment for killing a person is 10 asses, 50 to 100 sheep, and 10 steers.

Case IV: A was working for B. In the course of the work through no fault of B, A was hurt. B paid A's family for the injury. A's family took care of A.

Case V: A and B were working for C. Through accident B hurt A. B's family had to settle the injury with A's family. Had A been hurt in the course of the work without B acting as the instrument, then C, the employer, would have had to pay.

This case is similar to the one described by Simons. If A lends a horse to B and B is hurt through the instrumentality of the horse, A has to pay. If A gives rum to B and B injures C, A is held responsible.

Case VI: A wants to marry B. B or B's family reject his suit. A goes to B's rancho at night and commits suicide there. B's family has to pay A's family for the death of A, B being considered as the direct instrument that caused A's death.

Case VII: A injures or kills B, caught *in flagrante delicto* with A's wife. A has to pay B's family a price minus an amount considered fair value for the sexual privilege that B exercised on A's wife.

These illustrations point to the absolute nature of Guajiro law. No extenuating circumstances are allowed to enter into settlement of cases of battery or other trespass on the rights of an individual. The case is different in so far as public sympathy and moral censure or approbation are concerned. Furthermore, society as a whole takes no action in righting wrongs. The family of the injured person must seek composition, and if it is not powerful enough to demand a high price it has to be satisfied with a smaller one. Conversely, there is

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In the following laws it must be borne in mind that it is not the injured individual that demands compensation, but his relations, usually on the mother's side as a rule. From this has arisen the common error that the father is ignored; as will be seen further on, this is not the case. In compensation it is the caste that suffers, and the caste is always the mother's side. For example, a Pueblina man marries an Uriana girl; the children are Urianas. If one of these now should kill an Epiayu, for example, the whole caste of Urianas is at war with all the Epiayuas, unless the matter is amicably settled by paying blood-money.

Case No. 1. Personally inflicted wounds. If an Indian accidentally cuts himself, say with his own knife, breaks a limb, or otherwise does himself an injury, his family on the mother's side immediately demands blood-money. Being of their blood, he is not allowed to spill it without paying for it. The father's relations demand tear-money, not so much. Friends present demand compensation to repay their sorrow at seeing a friend in pain. If anybody present can seize the instrument that caused the accident it is appropriated. The pay is in ratio to the injury. A slightly cut finger is settled with a little Indian corn, a kid, or such trifle. A bad cut requires at least a goat or a sheep, with other sundries. In all cases of compensation where the Indian has not the wherewith to satisfy his creditors, he goes round begging until it is obtained.

Case No. 2. Damage done by animals. Suppose an Indian borrows a mule or other animal, and is thrown by it, doing himself bodily injury, then his relations demand compensation from the lender, the argument being, had he not lent the animal the accident could not have happened. Should the beast belong to the thrown man himself, then he has to pay. Case of No. 1 in fact.

Case No. 3. General liability all round. This covers an enormous field. The most curious. Everybody selling rum or anything else is answerable for all the damage done by its instrumentality. Unfortunately this law is only, like many others, enforced when it is possible. As the traders know it very well, they never take rum into the interior for barter without being fully able to protect themselves. I was lent a servant as guide by a trader, who requested me not to let the man have any drink, for should anything happen to him he would be responsible to the family. Indians in employment rendering any damage the employer becomes liable; and so on. Wherever the Indian can only make the ghost of a claim he wants tear-money, blood-money, or some other money, and if not satisfied, helps himself with what he can lay his hands on.

Case No. 4. Mentioning names. This is very serious. The Indians object to have their true names mentioned, and demand heavy compensation in aggravated cases. They generally go by a Spanish name—José Antonio, Agustin, Vicente, &c., for an Indian dearly loves to be baptised, that is, he likes the attending feast and having god-fathers on

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462 The care of women at the time of childbirth has also been culturally assigned to women (Cf. Marriage). However, in certain cases the husband may be present at the birth to give secondary assistance, but only at the request of the expectant mother and the midwife.

When recently born infants develop illnesses of gastro-intestinal types, it is a custom in La Guajira to obtain the services of a woman, who attempts to deduce the magic cause of the illness from different characteristics of the /child's/ excrements.

Tattooing, generally used to mark the different clans, and other kinds of markings, in some cases initials or names, are carried out by Guajiro women.

462 Remunerative work. This form of work, a consequence of the process of acculturation, is developing, especially in urban 472 zones and their environs; it has not, however, broken the traditional distribution of labor by sex but has become subordinate to it, so that the men work for wages in activities appropriate to their sex and women do the same.

Among the remunerative occupations in which the Guajiro 472 man is employed we can point out the following:

463 a) Pearl fishing, in the zones in which oysters are very abundant such as in the ports of Cardón, Ahuyama, and Carrizal. The native either fishes on his own account and sells the pearls on the open market, or he works for a wage under orders given by a white or a mestizo who hires him as diver. He also participates in small shellfishing for cockles and other species in the northern coastal zone, although sporadically, with the idea of selling his catch on his own account, or as a paid assistant of the whites who are in this business for profit. /232/

b) As a day laborer. At some ports where the loading and unloading ships is of some importance, as happens in Puerto Estrella and in Riohacha, it is the native, who, provided with a boat of his own or one belonging to a merchant, contracts to transport cargo from the ships to land and vice versa. He collaborates especially in the commercial moving of contraband which forms the base of the economic life of these ports.

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c) Mechanic. The Guajiro has a special capacity for learning manual and mechanical work. As a result he rapidly becomes skilled as hauler and even as chauffeur on the roads that cross the peninsula, in the neighboring republic of Venezuela, and in the zone of banana plantations. This activity is very popular among the natives.

d) As an agricultural peon. Another part of the Guajiro labor force finds work in agricultural activities, although agricultural tasks in themselves are not particularly attractive to the native. However, they take up this kind of work more frequently around Riohacha, toward the zone of the so-called "Province" (department of Magdalena), and in Venezuela.

Within the peninsula the Guajiro carries out these activities for mutual assistance and only on rare occasions for payment of wages on the haciendas of rich mestizo or native families. In stock raising there is a special form of remunerative activity for the poor Guajiro who looks after the herds of more well-to-do owners. This form consists of the animals (carefully counted) being handed over to the herdsman to be pastured in exchange for the use of the products from the livestock, milk, hides, and meat of those that die -- some are raised and, sporadically a little corn, cloth for a robe, etc. As we see, it offers a special form of remuneration.

e) As paid laborer. The native works in the saltworks of the Bank of the Republic established on the north coast of La Guajira. Following the traditional division of labor by sex, the men pick and shovel the lumps of salt from the deposits and leave the rest of the work to the women. They do not receive a daily fixed wage but a sum in accordance with the amount done during the day. They also work on a daily paid basis either for a private concern or for one of the various branches of government, working /233/ in trades such as that of bricklayer, salesman, laborer in the making of bricks, burning of lime and charcoal, carting of material, excavation of wells in the Water Supply section, or messenger or servant in the houses of the families of civilizados /nonatives/ in the urban centers.

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472 83 1) As a hobby. During the leisure hours of the day or during his spare time, he makes at home small objects that can be sold to his fellow Indians or to whites, such as seats, harness, figures of coconut shell and of plastic material, necklaces, bags, sandals, weapons, hats, etc.

Along with the profession of shaman in which both sexes participate and that of diviner, we find the occupation of artisan-ess, which demands the personal qualities already enumerated in the previous chapter and which gives to the individual who exercises it not only prestige among his relatives and contemporaries but also the right to remuneration.

Another trade that has become remunerative is that of harness and sandle making. Although some women compete successfully in the manufacture, the culture considers them intruders, because this is an activity recognized traditionally as belonging to the masculine sex.

491 78 As a product of acculturation through whites and facilitated by civilization and the closeness of Venezuela as well as by the decline in traditional economic activities, commercial activity has developed among the Guajiro. It is not so much the pure native as it is the mestizo of some economic means who devotes himself to this /commerce/; the fact should be noted that women, under equal conditions, participate actively in the exploitation of this economic source. They go to Aruba and Curaçao and obtain cheap merchandise on credit, which they bring in by smuggling to sell in Colombia, following the route to Riohacha or Valledupar or continuing on the route to Venezuela. Some do not work directly as owners of the goods but as carriers across the peninsula to deliver them at their destination.

472 483 Women find remunerative work especially in domestic service, such caring for children, preparing food, carrying water and firewood, cleaning, etc. They also work in the capacity of maids with the obligation of living in the home where they work. The Guajiro woman does not willingly work under these latter conditions as she prefers the free life of her own home, although food

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them may be scarce. Living in her employer's home, which is may certainly her basic needs, imposes on her a discipline to which she is not accustomed. For this reason, she looks for a way to combine both systems and sells firewood and water in the urban centers, carries messages, washes clothes, clears away rubbish, sells coal, /[illegible]/ milk, and handcrafts, as needs at some hours. But in the evening she returns to her home, /usually/ on wayfreight /a dozen of branches/ on the outskirts of the city.

Toward the north coast of the peninsula, in the wooded lands of this zone, divi-divi occurs in sufficient quantity to enable the Guajiro women to collect and sell it to the whites, who send it to the interior.

The women also take part in the work in the salinerie, as we have seen, in order to assist their husbands in the transport of the material.

The women of Jarara have been the principal makers of pottery, since they have abundant raw material at their disposal, which is lacking in other regions. For this reason, at the present time, they try to supply the entire peninsula by making a considerable supply with which they travel through the country and obtain an adequate remuneration either by barter or by sale.

Weaving of cloth, as we have said, supplies the woman with a source of income. Some well-to-do Indian and mestiza women have organized a /specialized/ division of labor to supply the demand for hammocks and bags in the markets of Maracaibo and in some towns in the department of Magdalena.

These women, well informed about the state of the market, prepare in their homes hammocks of fashionable colors and regulation size. They hand over a design of their own or one copied from a magazine to a poor Guajiro woman who takes it to her house and works it up on her own loom during her spare time. Once the central part is woven the owner hands it on to a weaver expert in finishing, then a third one with her spinning tackle makes the cords. While these portions are being made in sequence, the fringes to match the color of the central part have been made by

/234 cont./

471 one or more other women, who if required will complete the
463 work by making the tassels that adorn it. Each one of these
226 women workers is controlled by the owner, of the raw material from whom they receive it. They do it in their respective homes. The completed work is paid for in accordance with the skill and quality /of its execution/ and not by the time spent on it. The finished product is the property of the owner of the raw material, who can sell it at her convenience. The tools and equipment employed belong to the workers. Another common practice is for some poor women to weave the cloth on their own account, and later to sell it to a rich woman who has facilities for bringing the product to the market. The cloth is always sold at a lower price to give the intermediary a margin of profit. /235/

A third form consists of receiving orders and weaving personally, or using weavers who receive wages and who work at home, hammocks, bags, and items of harness previously ordered by the merchants.

472 An occupation that allows the Guajiro woman to obtain some
463 income is dressmaking. Guajiro women learn to sew the robes for both masculine and feminine use, and other articles of apparel, which they sew not only for their home needs and their relatives but also to fill orders from customers.

In the Sierra de Jarara and the Sierra de Macuira and in other places distant from urban centers, some old women live who are acquainted with the magic and curative properties of various plants. This knowledge is usually transmitted from mother to eldest daughter and is much sought after and remunerated in proportion to the importance of the case, its efficacy, and the prestige of the herbal expert who prescribes it, and the importance of the person who requests it.

Another profession is that of midwife, who receives payment in relation to her ability and the means of whoever applies for her services.

Unfree work. This is done by bond-servant or slave labor. See chapter /VIII/ Slavery and Bond Service. /page 236 is blank/

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price. Thus the well-to-do send slaves or servants to the dances. 796 786

These dances also have a practical significance. They take place at the start of the rains when vegetation shoots up and help is needed in keeping weeds under. Those taking part in the dance must weed their host's ground during the day, as a return for their food and the dancing at night. They have to do something during the feast which lasts for weeks at a time. Naturally holding such a dance-feast is a costly business, but as a compensation the giver has work done for him. Therefore the feast moves from rancho to rancho, while there is work to be done. [474]

Actually all the dancers ought to be at home working during this time, for all plantations will become overgrown if they are neglected, but the young people are tempted by the feast, the dancing and love-making, and the opportunity to get free of the bonds of strict convention for a time. The fertility of the crops is promoted by different erotic performances, although the Indians no longer seem fully aware that this is their significance. These are typical magical fertility rites.

The actual dance of the kid is performed in different ways. Sometimes the couples are in lines one behind the other, the men holding the girl in front round the waist. First they all dance forwards, and then they turn. At each turn they change partners, the men singing: 'Lend me your partner for my travelling companion.' Another way of performing the dance is very like a long-dance in Sweden. Each group of dancers is led by a singer who always improvises his song, so that the words are always new. [535]

The dance begins at sunset and continues for several hours, after which the dancers all make off into the darkness, two by two, and spend the night with each other. Usually, a couple will stick together throughout the feast. Intercourse must be of the girl's own free will, but involves the man in no obligations, neither compensation for her lost virginity nor damages if a child should result. This is recognized by the girl's family, because it is a result of the freedom allowed during the dance of the kid. If, after the feast, a man wishes [833]

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614 7. Work. Labor is obligatory and communal for carrying
461 out work necessary for the general well-being of the group.
476 In the case of labor on property held by a single individual, aid is voluntarily lent by all the others, including men who may not belong to the same clan. The aid is reciprocated by the return of identical service when it may be requested.

614 8. Location of the dwelling. We have already spoken about the location of the home of the new family cell (Cf. Marriage residence in the chapter on Marriage).

614 9. The clan cemetery. Every clan group has a cemetery
764 on its own land, built by the co-operative work of its members. In it all the members of the clan should be buried; if it is not possible to do so at the time of the first burial, it is mandatory that the ashes /sic/ at least be taken there. With the individualization of property, the small families have constructed private niches situated in sites near the family house to be used as the temporary resting place of the remains of their closest relatives.

614 10. Group feeling. The consanguineous tie between all
571 the members of the same clan group had brought about a natural feeling of group unity. This feeling included a series of mutual duties and a number of rights they all could enjoy. The principal and most outstanding of the first was that of presenting a solid front in the face of any breaking down of the regimen for social stability when they felt injured by an offense or when one of the members had broken some cultural pattern, an act for which the whole clan had to bear responsibility. To get satisfaction and to give it as a total collectivity was their essential duty, as it was also to keep in force their prestige and status through adequate compliance of each of those functions which put the clan to the test.

The disintegration of the clan unit into more or less large family cells broken down the group feeling and transfered it to the family as an independent unit. /page 178 is blank/

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428 178 Guajiro community. As a consequence, this phenomenon has brought about a series of struggles among family groups related by marriage ties, as the children now expect to inherit from their fathers, and they consider themselves to have more right to it than the maternal nephews /sobrinos maternos/ and the other obligatory traditional heirs. The situation of conflict has reached such extremes of malevolence and rancor that many times the maternal relatives of the deceased will not resist such claims but will relinquish their rights to the dead man's descendants. /223/

XVI

WORK

461 476 There are two forms of communal work, depending on the ends in view.

a) Communal work with the object of carrying out a job of general utility or utility to the clan.

b) Private work that benefits an individual and his immediate family.

In the first class we have the example of the construction of roads, dams, wells, cemeteries, etc. In La Guajira passage is free over all roads. Consequently, their construction benefits the social collectivity and, more particularly, those groups who wish to be connected by means of them. To open a new road, the beneficiaries most concerned get together with the aim of coming to an agreement on the plans, the preliminary location, and the distribution of the span of the work which will be handled by each group. The collaborators, on their part, redistribute the cost and execution. Thus one day one family supplies food and drink to all the workers; the following day another family, and so on successively until the work is finished.

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476 The male members of the clan group take part in carrying out the work, bringing their own tools and contributing to the supply of essential materials. They all give their co-operation in order to have the right to benefit by the work, secondarily, in order to be well fed at the time of the work, an aspect that attracts them.

In the construction of wells or dams they take into account the utility they will have and the neighborhood to be benefited, so that the /residents of the/ latter will give their co-operation both with labor and with economic aid, with the upkeep of the workmen, or empirical aid in the search for /potential sources of/ drinking water.

The system that is followed in this class of labor is very similar to the previous one /road construction/. The families who stand to benefit take turns in feeding the workers; all the men to benefit contribute with their labor, their tools, and the necessary materials. /224/

With respect to clan cemeteries, as these are of interest only to a restricted group, all of the same name, it is exclusively its members that take part in the construction, either actively or by paying for the upkeep of wage-earning peons.

The second type of communal work generally refers to the carrying out of work that benefits only one small family, but for which the assistance of others is sought since the family finds it impossible to accomplish the necessary work by itself alone. All give their co-operation willingly and as an obligation which authorizes reciprocity when aid is solicited /later by any of the participants/. While the work is in progress, the Guajiro who has asked for communal co-operation procures food for the participants in the best way possible and supplies abundant liquor, by which he hopes to pay for part of the services received. In this way they clear the ground of trees and bushes for sowing, build fences around crops, cultivate a plot of land, harvest the crops, and build dwellings. The Indian who needs the help of others to carry out personal work advises his friends and relatives beforehand

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476 of the date work will begin and asks for their co-operation. Meanwhile at his house abundant food is prepared for the occasion and drink in considerable quantity: chicha made from chewed wild yucca or from corn. And each Indian who decides to lend a hand brings the tools required for the job and arrives at sunrise. At night he returns to his dwelling after working all day, generally drunk from the great quantity of chicha or rum which he has drunk. This cycle repeats itself daily during all the time necessary to finish the work. The owner of the house, or one of the volunteers of most experience, assumes direction of all the activities and gives orders which are quickly carried out. We will take as an 476 example the case of the construction of a dwelling. For this, 942 necessary plant materials are located beforehand in the woods of the clan property or in wasteland, and the services of an individual 824 acquainted with the method of housebuilding is also secured beforehand and the work carried out under his direction. The according to the ability of each of the workers, tasks are distributed; some prepare yotojoro (1), which is the roofing material; some

1. The woody part of the cactus called cardón.

lay the roof while others cover the walls with the bark of the trupillo /Mimosaceae family/, with grass stems, or with bahareque /small sticks with canes and clay, sometimes also called bareque/, according to the region or taste /of the owner/. In this way /225/ the work is finished in a short time. By the same procedure the excavation of a well or the building of a dam for rain water is carried out.

476 When it is a matter of preparing ground for sowing or any other agricultural work, the activity is carried out in an identical manner. Some go to give their services to a friend so that once they have finished work on his agricultural land, the friend will [626] immediately reciprocate by lending his assistance on their land. The Guajiro keeps very much in mind the person who refuses to

/225 cont./

476 give his co-operation on occasions like these, so that later, if he
[626] asks for his help, he also refuses.

There is one type of communal activity carried out by the women; it is that connected with the work of chewing which they contribute in the preparation of chicha of wild yucca or of corn used at all their festivals or on the eve of male communal work. On such occasions the women's assistance is requested, and they all gather, very pleased with the work they have to do, by virtue of which once finished they receive rum or chicha as recompense, and can eat large quantities of yucca and corn cakes on the sly while they are doing their job. The two types of communal work are substantially different. The first benefits all the community or at least a clan group, while the second affects only one individual and his immediate relatives. The participation of the individual and of the family in true community work acquires in some cases the character of an obligation inherent in the position of a member of a given clan group. In others his co-operation depends on the benefit he is likely to derive from it: the use of a cemetery, wells for water supply, etc.

In the second type, on the contrary, the individual participant derives no benefit from the work in itself, but from the reciprocal co-operation that the beneficiary on that occasion must give to each of those who have helped him. To refuse to participate is
[681] an infraction of a norm that may isolate the man from society.
[626] What is accomplished by the co-operative work of various groups acquires for this reason a communal character in its utilization. In the second case it is individual or family private property.

For the first, the Guajiro gives his aid in labor, the loan of tools, the maintenance of laborers, the handing over of part of the construction materials, etc. For the second, he gives nothing more than his labor and the use of his tools because the maintenance of the men is the direct concern of the party benefited.

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462 Domestic work. The division of activities by sex is one of the primary classifications that can be made in La Guajira in

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854 live together, or her mother if she lives near by. If the mother does not return in time to feed the child, the relatives who are taking care of him will try to initiate him into taking some new food. When the trips are for a long time, the mother takes her little ones along seated on the burro which serves as their transport, in order to avoid the problem of starting them off on a new kind of food when they are very small or when she has no one in whose care she can leave them.

Frequently, the child will attach himself to a relative who shows him kindnesses or small attentions, but he prefers the care and company of his mother above all others and shows his happiness in her presence. This situation can change when the child passes his third year, an age when he begins to lose his devotion to his mother and to show it for a maternal uncle or aunt to whom he becomes attached and whom he follows as they carry out their various duties, even leaving his mother for long periods.

If the mother is poor and has no assistance in bringing up her child -- because she lives far away from her relatives and cannot afford the services of a female slave or bond servant -- she has to take care of him by herself. When the child is very small she [482] carries him in her arms except when he is sleeping, although at times he sleeps in her lap. When he has grown bigger and can sit up, his hammock is tied at the top to prevent his falling out when he wakes up.

The fourth month, when he starts to sit up, she carries him [482] during the day astride her hip and held by her arm. /17/ It must be noted that during the first month he is carried on her shoulder in an upright position, and he is seated on her legs, recumbent on her lap. At two months she does not give him this support for his back, and it is not unusual at four months for her to seat him [145] on the ground. From this time onward he begins to crawl, and it is then that the mother starts giving him slightly less personal attention as she lets him crawl about without worrying about what [145] he picks up to eat or drink, so that it is at this age that the greatest number of stomach troubles and an increase in infantile mortality occur.

/46 cont./

857 462 222 462 iguarayas, and trupillo pods, as well as in gathering divi-divi, which is sold in the port towns for export, their labor is used for portering (women's work): they carry on their backs or shoulders the collected fruit, the firewood, and the water when the family does not own the necessary animals.

When ten or over the girl, taught by her elder kinswomen, starts to handle the spindle and loom, work in which she perfects herself during the seclusion of her initiation.

857 184 556 In general her occupations during childhood are affected by the economic and social position of her relatives, since a child of a well-to-do family will spend her childhood playing, without occupying herself with domestic chores except occasionally, since she is not considered as a small-sized adult as happens among poor families, but as a little girl, and she is treated as such. Certain light duties might be imposed but never a definite or clear-cut responsibility. She is expected to obey, mainly so that she recognize the authority of her elders, but when she enters the prepubertal age her mother and relatives start to take a more personal interest in her and to think it to be the opportune time to start training her in the duties pertaining to her position and her sex, teaching her all the household occupations that she will later improve on and become expert in during her seclusion, which will last longer the greater the wealth of the family.

264 592 Food, sleep, dress, and ornaments. Even before weaning, when this is delayed beyond the first year, or at times before, the child starts being fed adult food. By that time he asks his mother for food and she gives it to him, when he is small, more generously than she can at a later date; but later on he himself looks for it and, in order to satisfy his hunger, frequently steals food from his mother that she has put away, and this obliges the mother to hide it. (Cf. Punishment, Chap. II.)

The apportioning of food in a Guajiro household is done by the mother, who serves each one his share, starting with the husband, afterward the children, she being the last to eat. If she has a preference for a child, she shows it at this time by

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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576 You always rein in before a rancho and wait for those inside to call to you. If no one comes, it is best to continue on your way, for either you are not welcome or your prospective host is not at home. We halted outside this rancho
574 and after a short wait a friendly voice called '*anshi pia*' 'You
262 have come?' and we answered '*aa*', yes. We were then invited to halt and entertained with sour goat's milk and boiled goat's meat. In exchange we gave them a little maize, which is an expensive article there and not easily come by. Vegetables and fruit are even greater rarities. Naturally
262 they eat the fruit of the fig-cactus during its season. It has a faint smell, but is refreshing. There is also a tree with fruit like olives, and which the whites call olives, and the Indians eat them, but they are said to be poisonous, at least in large quantities. This tree has the great advantage that, to all intents and purposes, it never withers. At that time we were not yet tired of goat's meat and could eat the fare they offered us. It is the staple food of Guajira, however, and in the end we got more than enough of it. Even at this place we thought that everything tasted or smelled of goat, not only the meat and milk, but the water, the huts and the surroundings as well.

312 We went with our animals when they were to be watered, to see that they got enough. Many Indians and quite a number of cattle had gathered round the casimba, for it was to one of those we went. They had dug deep into the river bed, making a funnel-shaped hole several score feet in circumference and, as far as we could see, some thirty feet deep. During the rains this casimba overflowed and normally it was half full, they told us, but now there was only a little running in at the bottom.

The sand was firm enough there for them to have cut
[482] steps, and the Indians were climbing up and down the whole time with large jars which they emptied into troughs made of long, hollowed divi-divi trunks, from which the animals drank greedily.

[415] The women fetched their water there in calabashes or
312 earthenware vessels. An Indian who spoke a little Spanish
731 told us how desperate their plight had been a few years

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A chichamaya *in full swing*

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First burial. The dead person's bier is being carried out from its shelter

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The after-burial. A medicine man guarding the urns containing the dead person's bones

[facing p. 96]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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known of his clan. The road across the hills was bad, and at times we had to dismount and walk. Now and again we met Indians; the well-to-do leading their riding-mules, the poor followed by half-naked women carrying loads. The men carried lots of arrows. The road was reputed unsafe. The leader of each such company received a little tobacco. We heard that they were all coming from the funeral, which evidently was one of importance and would last quite a while yet. Our companion, the rich Indian, said that he expected to reach the house of mourning in six days. He thought that we ought to go there too, but the place lay a good distance off our route and we had had our fill of Indian feasts for the time being.

Francisco had travelled with Father Crispin and knew the district. He advised us to halt for the night early in an Indian rancho ringed with a stout cactus palisade, where friendly people lived. We could have gone farther, and the Indians with us who were going to the funeral carried on, but then, according to Francisco, they would not have been welcome at the rancho. We never learned the ins and outs of the Indians' friendships and enmities.

At the rancho we bartered a piece of raw sugar against a sheep. Both our pack and riding animals were already tired. They had had far too little fodder and the water was salt. The Indians were up before cock-crow, as always, and we let them get the mules ready. If we could just get to Castilletes, they should have fodder and decent water: we needed provisions ourselves. But what about the sheep, asks the attentive reader. That went the same evening we bought it, our hosts partaking of it as heartily as our own people. It went, offal, guts and all. When nothing but the bones were left, these were split and the marrow sucked out. Then the women gathered up the remains for broth. That sheep cost the equivalent of fourpence-halfpenny. Our means were limited, but at such prices we could at least afford to feed our men. The difficulty was in getting hold of things to eat. The Indians know how to tighten their belts and are prepared to starve for a while, if need be, but they must have a blow-out now and again.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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Goajiro Indians in the leafy south. One is painted

Below: The Indians' Venice

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[Facing p. 161]

751 [101 cont.]
823 breaks, thus counteracting the evil. In other words, the magic
855 action of the eyes is deviated toward the jet, which directly re-
754 ceives the effect, so liberating its owner from it.

For the same purpose they also use a mineral called salta piedra ["jumping stone"], which is hung by a string from children's wrists. It is yellow and shining.

Pieces of coral, which the women use in their necklaces, [777] bracelets, and anklets as ornaments and bringers of happiness, health, and good fortune, are suspended from children's wrists to forestall the evil eye and some other sicknesses. The mestizos who live in La Guajira wear it attached to their waists by means of a cord.

751 It is also very common to find, as a preventative of this
754 evil, "oxeye" seeds hung by a small cotton string from some
824 part of the body.

Also coconut shell in the shape of a little hand is frequently seen, a shape which is probably more effective made in jet.

754 The evil eye, according to native belief, is exercised by certain people who have a special power in their eyes which causes sickness in those they look at if these are weak, such as children and sick persons, but this harmful action is involuntary in the majority of cases, though some do knowingly use their power and put it into practice with the manifest intention of causing evil. The effects of these "eyes" also extends to plants and animals.

The sickness shows itself in the form of stomach troubles, diarrhea, vomiting, fever, and by general eruptions on the skin. Animals also sicken and die, and plants cease to develop naturally and in the end dry up.

751 Method of warding off the wanurú. Near native habita-
825 tions the owners place horses' skulls, which they say serve to drive off sickness both in children and adults, as they have the effect of frightening away the wanurú. We believe that this attitude is closely allied to another native belief which convinces them that the neighing of horses frightens the spirits that [484] wander on the roads at night. For this reason, when the Indians travel at night, as we saw personally, the horsemen always [102]

751 [102]
825 head the party, and these insist that the rest of the caravan who
[184] are riding on burros or are on foot follow them closely.

If the wamurú fears the neighing of horses, it is also afraid in the presence of its skull. The important element in this belief is that its appearance must date from the Post-conquest period, since the natives did not have horses before that event. It is thus a belief acquired through acculturation. Our hypothesis is
171 that it was introduced by the Negroes, as similar beliefs are
175 found in the mining regions of Antioquia, as we can show by
751 quoting Tomas Carrasquilla in his work La Marquesa de Yolombó
825 [The Marchioness of Yolombó], the plot of which is unfolded in colonial times in these regions. He speaks of the popular belief in demonic monsters, especially by the Negro slaves who worked the mines, and refers particularly to a special being whom the simple people named the pate-tarro [pata de tarro, "can foot"], "a giant who had only one foot of flesh and bone. If it were not that this great scoundrel was scared to death by skulls of cows, there would not have remained alive a single pawpaw tree in these mountainous cultivated lands."

The similarity is obvious: A cow's skull keeps away evil spirits and averts their wickedness. The difference lies in something of minor importance — one is the skull of a cow, the other that of a horse. The beings against whom they direct their evil are different by reason of mere accommodation to the cultural atmosphere in which the belief is implanted.

777 Charms for becoming rich. This charm is acquired, as are all others, by purchase from a Guajiro woman experienced in the matter. Almost always the owner of such a charm is a man who by means of its power has acquired considerable wealth, because his charm will not allow him to do any bad business; it counsels him on what operations he must accomplish, it points out to him the profits that he could obtain from certain financial operations, and, above all, it guarantees him success in whatever business he undertakes.

The charm is kept inside a small wool bag, and with it he keeps a gold bead and at times a gold necklace. The part of the charm that we might call nonmaterial is produced by the various

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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neither was much help. Our route went in a zig-zag from 080
water hole to water hole. I did not feel altogether sure that the Gaffer would find the mission station. From what I could understand of the interpreter's inadequate Spanish and floods of Guajiro, it seemed that when the old man made his trip to the Macuira Hills, there was not yet a mission station there. I knew that it was of relatively recent date. If we could only get to Macuira, we could ask our way to the monks, I felt sure of that. Otherwise we should have to try and find our way to the little harbour of Puerto Estrella on the east coast of the peninsula. To go there involved a detour, but there would certainly be a white person or at least a mestizo there, who would be able to show us the way to Amúruru.

It seemed to us that our baquiano not only wandered round in search of water holes, but also avoided certain ranchos. What, we wondered, was the position with his clan? Was it engaged in a feud just then? I knew little of clan quarrels and blood-feuds, then.

The Gaffer now began asking everyone we met the way to 484 ●
Macuira. It was obvious that he did not know where he 151
was and that we had a bad guide. The Guajiro have a 823
wonderful sense of direction. They find their way unerringly about their trackless cactus steppes, where every place looks alike. They know every depression in the ground, every eminence, and they all have names. Like the Arabs in the desert, they never forget a way they have once travelled, so it was obvious that the Gaffer had never before been where we were then, that he had simply gone astray. The Indians' ability to follow tracks is also amazing. [224]
They can see by the hoof prints when a strange horse has been in among a herd, and they can track down a strayed bullock, even if it has joined company with others. An Indian can see whether others belong to his clan or not from a long distance off, even when he does not know them personally. They have a clan mark tattooed, or sometimes [302
painted on their thighs, it is true, but an Indian seems to [304]
know to which clan they belong, even when you cannot 614]
distinguish those marks through field glasses.

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

When wi-
grating from one locality to another the *Goajiro* generally dismantle their houses and take them along, piling the poles and thatch on the backs of burros. Sometimes, however, they leave them for their own or someone else's use in the future.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 *Goajiro* dress has changed little since the time of Nicolás de la Rosa (18th century). Men normally wear only a breechcloth, a necklace, and a head band with feather attached (pl. 72, *top*); but when traveling, paying visits, or receiving company they wear a large loincloth with many folds, a mantle (nowadays of bright colors), and an immense sash, in which they carry their arrows. A knitted string bag is hung from the waistband. In towns trousers and shirts are worn. The women wear a cotton dress, sometimes made like a simple sack with holes cut for the head and arms. The puna—long strings of beads passing over both shoulders, crossing each other on the breast and back and held in place by a sash or belt of beads (the sirapo)—is placed on a female child a few months after birth and gradually augmented according to the parents' wealth and the child's age. Black beads are generally used for the sirapo, colored ones for the puna. A married woman wears the puna until her first confinement. After her seclusion at puberty, a robe, sometimes containing 8 or 10 yards of embroidered material, is also worn by a *Goajiro* woman, but the heavily folded cloth which was her sole covering before puberty is still worn beneath it. Women, unlike men, are modest and avoid being seen naked.

301 Some young girls have as many as 100 turns of beads around their waists, as well as many around their wrists and ankles. Red coral is preferred, but most beads are made from seeds or coconut shell and are cut out by means of a hollow metal reamer twirled rapidly between the palms. The perforated shell may then be used as a colander. Glass and porcelain beads and earrings are also worn. The most prized ornaments are the tumas—polished and perforated stone ornaments found in some of the old graves. On dress occasions necklaces of beads and gold ornaments are worn. These, found in *Tairona* graves, are fashioned in the form of tiny animals, frogs, turtles, etc.

302 The men, except the medicine men, wear their hair short, kept back by a ring or crown made of plaited straw, or of wool with a tassel behind. Often the two are combined and adorned with a couple of feathers in front; or the whole may be made of feathers. For protection against mosquitos and sun both sexes paint their skin with powders made from rotten wood, a black stain made from a wild nut, and another color extracted from leaves and mixed with fat. After puberty women cut their hair short, keeping the shorn tresses in a bag hung from the roof; henceforth they never let it grow beyond the neck. They make designs on

726 on equal terms. He then approached the enemy from the left while making quick movements, jumps, and turns, with his legs apart and his knees bent. More recently, according to Ernst (1887 c), war is not declared, attempts being made to take the enemy by surprise.

[741] Wars last indefinitely, sometimes being broken by a peace brought about by an influential "tíotíoashi" or the Capuchin monks, the latter sometimes paying the retribution demanded out of their own pockets.
679 Some tribes, such as the *Caoina* of Serranía Cosina (actually a conglomeration of outcastes rather than a sib), make their living almost entirely by robbery and pillage, destroying houses, stealing cattle, and killing or enslaving their enemies.

LIFE CYCLE

143 **Birth and childhood.**—During pregnancy a woman continues to do her heavy work up to the very hour of delivery. At childbirth, the shaman pronounces various spells over the patient and applies poultices made of
144 [154] dried flowers, roots, etc. A large, heavy stone placed over the womb and vigorous massaging bring about the birth. If the placenta is not soon expelled, the woman drinks a medicine concocted by the medicine man. As soon as the child is safely delivered the father serves rum and chicha to all his relatives. If the pains of childbirth appear when the sib is
[155] on the march, the woman mounts and rides ahead so that when the sib catches up the event is practically over. The husband cuts the cord with his machete and cauterizes its ends with a glowing ember. The woman
[156] then continues on the march with the child in a sling on her back. When the permanent camp is reached she washes herself and the child.

[95] Baptism is a Christian ceremony which the *Goajiro* have adopted, and
55 most of the Indians are called by Spanish names, as their real names may
177 not be mentioned. Teknonymy is practiced; a parent is addressed by its child's name plus a prefix, nushi or sushi for the father, ni or si for the mother. Thus, a father may be called Nushijuan after a son or Sushijuana after a daughter.

157 At 6 or 7, girls learn to grind salt, pick cotton, and tend the smaller
161 animals; the boys imitate their fathers.

155 Parents are said to show little affection for their children, sometimes
[156] selling them at Sinamaica. They receive $10 or $15 for a child of 8 or 9 years. The purchaser becomes the child's guardian, teaches him the Catholic faith, and keeps him until he is 17 years old. These children
[136 rarely return home. Abandoned children are taken to the San Antonio
79] orphanage, where the girls continue to wear their *Goajiro* dress, but the boys are put into jackets and pants.

131 **Girls' puberty.**—At her first menstruation a girl is isolated in a small dark hut and stripped of all her ornaments. She lies in a hammock, sometimes hoisted near the roof. For the first 2 days she drinks no

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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known of his clan. The road across the hills was bad, and at times we had to dismount and walk. Now and again we met Indians; the well-to-do leading their riding-mules, the poor followed by half-naked women carrying loads. The men carried lots of arrows. The road was reputed unsafe. The leader of each such company received a little tobacco. We heard that they were all coming from the funeral, which evidently was one of importance and would last quite a while yet. Our companion, the rich Indian, said that he expected to reach the house of mourning in six days. He thought that we ought to go there too, but the place lay a good distance off our route and we had had our fill of Indian feasts for the time being.

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/158 cont./

764 554 The distribution of animals and drink is made according to the standing of the visitor. Those of high class should be given cattle, mules, or horses (already mature), and rum or brandy in abundance; the poor, goats and sheep, and drink in lesser quantity and quality. In some cases a piece of meat is distributed among them so that they can eat during the funeral gathering.

It is customary to retain a reserve of animals for the second burial, which in a certain way is a repetition of the first.

When the personal property of the dead man is not sufficient to maintain adequately the status of the clan group, his consanguineous relatives, headed and directed by the family head, start a collection which is obligatory in nature to gather together livestock and drink in order to sustain the prestige of the collectivity and that of the dead man in particular. This collection is repeated for the second burial.

764 Once all the livestock of the deceased has been distributed, the family orders the burial. If the death occurred outside the lands of his consanguineous relatives where the clan cemetery [492] is located, he is carried there, tied on a horse. All those attending the wake accompany the corpse, on horseback or on foot, drinking incessantly during the whole procession. The grave has been opened previously by a very close and dear relative of the dead man, usually /159/ a nephew, his sister's son, who feels honored with this responsibility. If he should [689] refuse to do it, it would imply the greatest offense to his group, but we found no such case of refusal to comply with this honorable duty. (The influence of the mission in Upper La Guajira has caused the Indians there to place the body in a crude coffin of wood of the pionillo, a leguminous tree which is very abundant in the region. In Lower La Guajira the body is wrapped in the fresh skin of one of the slaughtered animals, one or two /sic/, which preserves it from putrefaction for a longer time.)

In front of the open grave the funeral procession halts while the children related to the deceased, and later the adults, walk over it, with the idea that this will delay /the return of/ death.

/228 cont./

462 home, have not found a substitute and have to be made by the
286 maternal relatives or by the wife.

Among the items that have survived we should include the blouses used by girls of prepubertal age.

The application of weaving by the women extends to the manufacture of some parts of the harness for horses, such as cinches, surcingles, saddle blankets, croup belts, etc., in the making of which they employ diverse techniques and both autochthonous methods and those introduced through acculturation.

While the manufacture of saddles, trappings, and accoutrements of horses is done by the men, the women make the adorn-
[492] ments for them and the headstalls of the halters and blinkers,
[554] with the complicated system of knots and tassels which indicate the standing and wealth of the rider. /229/

Finally, it is strictly the women's task to make all the utensils used in weaving, from the most elementary type of loom made with two vertical sticks and used for making the classical Indian hammock /chinchorro/, to the most complicated, such as those used for weaving double-faced hammocks; and from the wooden bobbins to the vegetable colors and mordants used in dyeing the fabric or the thread.

462 Domestic work is also women's work, and it includes obtaining and preparing food and drink, and serving, storing, and preserving it, as well as killing small mammals and domestic birds, and cleaning and seasoning the intestines and other offal of cattle, sheep, and goats.

Within the Guajiro dwelling the woman maintains cleanliness
[296] and order, and she is also held responsible for making, repairing, and washing the articles of clothing of her husband, her children, and herself.

The care of minor children occupies much of the Guajiro woman's time (Cf. Chap. II) as does their training, and it is exclusively the women's function to look after and instruct the girls during the traditional seclusion at puberty. Also, it is their responsibility to teach feminine tasks to their young female consanguineous relatives.

/230 cont./

462 We find that some of the feminine activities are carried out jointly with the man, as in agriculture in which the woman's part is to place the seed in a hole, which is made by the man with a sower's tool for this purpose (but not in the case of planting creeping plants and fruit trees); and to collect fruit when it is all ripe, or little by little as the fruit becomes ready. Besides [262 these regular activities, the women collect wild edible fruits 222] which constitute practically the only source of nourishment during the summer in some regions. They also collect some forest products that the whites buy from them, such as the divi-divi, which constitute a source of money income.

Transportation is an activity that traditionally has been done by the Guajiro woman. Before they raised pack animals, the [492 women did such work themselves. Nowadays, it can be said that it is rare to find a home that does not have an animal, generally a burro, at their disposal, on which they can transport from place to place their small children and the provisions and utensils, etc., which they require. Nevertheless, we do still see some families who lack this means of transport and have to make use of feminine labor.

Ceramics also is an activity that is assigned to women. In the regions where raw materials are abundant and of good quality, the women of some families apply themselves to this craft, in which they reach quite a high standard of perfection; the technique is transmitted from generation to generation so that the craft becomes a traditional family occupation.

When the families of potters are forced to emigrate to urban centers, they carry there the raw material /231/ required for their work from its original source. With this they provide the family with domestic utensils and use the rest for barter with others.

The empirical knowledge of the magic and curative properties of plants is known, apart from the shaman, by some women who usually live in places where contact with whites is less frequent. They transmit such knowledge to their descendants, most frequently to the eldest daughter.

[65 cont.]

843 and very carefully wash it [in water]. Giving the woman this
845 water to drink will permit her to deliver the child immediately.

If a Guajiro father has to set off on a long journey on
751 horseback, leaving behind his newborn son, he must comply
854 with another custom of a magic nature, which requires him to
492 wrap the cinch of his horse about the child for a few minutes. If he fails to do this, the child will be very ill and complain pitifully during the time his father is absent. An equivalent form under the same circumstances is the father's customarily placing his foot on the newborn baby's chest for a brief moment. If this obligation is not complied with, either through forgetfulness or all will on the part of the father, the mother, or some close relative of the child, must find the father's old sandals and place them on the child's chest for a few moments in order to obtain the effect desired, which the ritual action if performed by the father would have accomplished.

751 We venture to attempt an explanation of the last two
854 phenomena as follows: The object that is sought in the fulfillment of these two traditional customs is to drive away from the child the presence of the wanurú or the evil spirit of sickness. The pressure exercised by the father's foot or, lacking this, [66] by
[753 the father's old sandals, symbolizes his presence in the child
826] precisely in the place where the spirits in order to attain their evil designs often lodge in the child's body, i.e., its chest, as we shall have occasion to see in the following chapter. This symbolic presence of the father prevents the spirits from approaching near the child to work it harm. Lastly, the custom of wrapping the cinch of [the harness of] the horse on which the father will be traveling around the body of the child is intimately linked
[825] with the belief of these natives that the horse has the power to frighten away the wanurú, or spirit of sickness, with its snorting; more simply this same protection is achieved by placing a horse's skull in a place near the houses. (Cf. "Amulets, Fetishes, Talismans." Also, in this case there is a substitution of the magic formula (using the cinch instead of the horse), a substitution that has exactly similar effects and the action of which could be based on one of the laws of magic established by Sir J. G. Frazer

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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492 *Our caravan makes a temporary halt*

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137 *Resting in the sparse shade of a divi-divi tree. My wife is stirring the pot. I am on the extreme right*

312 *A casimba, or water-hole, dug by the Indians*

[FACING p. 48]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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Above left: *Youth playing a flute*

Above right: *Little girl with beads*

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Right: *Riders*

[Facing p. 64]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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Chief Mauana

Mauana's daughter, ceremonially painted, beside her mule

[493
531]

[Facing p. 80]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SCB

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Work-at with warp set up for a man's sash

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415

The thin Indian dogs licked the last out of the pot

Below: *Indian chiefs, in ceremonial clothes, on their way to a* purchi

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[Facing p.81]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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They were of black earthenware ornamented with figures. 252
The women were making maize gruel. There, close to the
green valleys, they ought to have been able to get any [262]
vegetables or roots they liked, yet they clung to their diet
of maize and goat's meat. They had obviously put the pots 492
on because they expected the men, and sure enough a
couple of naked horsemen came galloping up, so at one
with their horses that they looked like centaurs. The
Guajiro Indians can be born on a horse in the literal sense,
if their mothers have to be on a journey at the time. They
look well on horseback, and even the old men rode well. [142]
The younger men were muscular and well-made, and more
pleasing to our eye than the women.

The men had been out enjoying themselves. They had 224
been hunting and their clan mark was painted in blue on 614
their thighs. They must have done that to amuse themselves 304
before they left, for normally both men and women have 302
their clan marks tattooed.

We asked the men what they had hunted with, for they 224
carried neither bows nor firearms, and also what they had 411
hunted, for they did not seem to have got anything. They
laughed and explained that they had had no luck, and
showed us slings of plaited bast. They had been out after
doves or rabbits, but had seen nothing. (The Creoles call
the animal in question a rabbit, but its Latin name is
Sylvilagus cumanicus.) They showed us the short throwing
clubs with which they hunted this and made some practice
throws. They were expert at hitting the target with both
club and sling, but only at distances of twenty to thirty
yards.

A youth showed us a whistle that he said would unfail- 224
ingly entice a deer if you blew it—provided there was a
deer nearby, as he hastened to add. Judging by the expres-
sion on the women's faces he was no famous hunter. A 439
couple of men also arrived and we were able to think of
doing business. We had no difficulty in buying what we
wanted, provided we paid well. Prices were our great
difficulty, yet these men were less spoiled than elsewhere in
the peninsula. The Guajiro not only trafficked with the

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

142
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302

A dance partner

Indian girls in their tunics

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492

Women on a journey, well wrapped up against the sun

[Facing p. 97]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

him that can give the alarm. For a long time he has to refrain 775
from all association with his friends and keep away from
feasts. In the end, if agreement on compensation is not 682
reached with the dead man's family, he will have to leave the district for a period of years. This precaution is to protect the slayer from the spirit of the man he killed, which would look for him in his normal haunts and would not recognize him under the new conditions, but it is also a protection against the dead man's nearest relatives, who will thirst for vengeance as long as compensation has not been agreed and paid.

We mounted and rode away from our first burial feast. 775
On the fringe of the area stood six Indians armed, some with 765
guns, others with bows and arrows. Their task was to shoot
after all departing guests in order to scare off any dangerous 431
spirits that might be intending to keep them company. Here,
a deputy-host presented us with a live heifer. Every guest [554]
was to have a present of an animal according to his rank.
We also had the meat that had been distributed that morning. It was considered quite all right either to eat it or to take it to eat on the way home. Several others were doing
as we and there was a long line of departing guests, the men [492]
on horseback, the women mostly on donkeys. We all kept together for quite a distance.

Spirits rose as the heat increased, for drink had been 765
handed out along with the meat, the Indians believing, as
did the Creoles, that spirits were the best protection against 565
the dangers of the hot sun.

A young Indian rode up to us. He wore a cloak with a beautiful pattern and was mounted on a splendid mare, which showed that he was of well-to-do family. He was in a
bad mood, however, having been forgotten in the distribu- [678]
tion of parting gifts and had not been given even a sheep. For that reason he was highly incensed with his neglectful hosts, whom he obviously scarcely knew.

We rode past an old man on foot dragging a calf behind
him. The old man was obviously sober, but he kept mutter- [578]
ing imprecations to himself. He too had been forgotten.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

known of his clan. The road across the hills was bad, and at times we had to dismount and walk. Now and again we met Indians; the well-to-do leading their riding-mules, the poor followed by half-naked women carrying loads. The men carried lots of arrows. The road was reputed unsafe. The leader of each such company received a little tobacco. We heard that they were all coming from the funeral, which evidently was one of importance and would last quite a while yet. Our companion, the rich Indian, said that he expected to reach the house of mourning in six days. He thought that we ought to go there too, but the place lay a good distance off our route and we had had our fill of Indian feasts for the time being.

Francisco had travelled with Father Crispin and knew the district. He advised us to halt for the night early in an Indian rancho ringed with a stout cactus palisade, where friendly people lived. We could have gone farther, and the Indians with us who were going to the funeral carried on, but then, according to Francisco, they would not have been welcome at the rancho. We never learned the ins and outs of the Indians' friendships and enmities.

At the rancho we bartered a piece of raw sugar against a sheep. Both our pack and riding animals were already tired. They had had far too little fodder and the water was salt. The Indians were up before cock-crow, as always, and we let them get the mules ready. If we could just get to Castilletes, they should have fodder and decent water: we needed provisions ourselves. But what about the sheep, asks the attentive reader. That went the same evening we bought it, our hosts partaking of it as heartily as our own people. It went, offal, guts and all. When nothing but the bones were left, these were split and the marrow sucked out. Then the women gathered up the remains for broth. That sheep cost the equivalent of fourpence-halfpenny. Our means were limited, but at such prices we could at least afford to feed our men. The difficulty was in getting hold of things to eat. The Indians know how to tighten their belts and are prepared to starve for a while, if need be, but they must have a blow-out now and again.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

142
291 | Bowman
411

Below: *Mule caravan near the Indian border*

492

[facing p. 160]

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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[492
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341]

PLATE 72.—Goajiro Indians. (Courtesy American Museum of Natural History.)

[Facing p. 380]

/215 cont./

423 Some clan groups possess very widely dispersed land, which gives rise to the splitting up of the groups, causing them in time to lose /216/ cohesion to the point that members of the same name living traditionally in different districts end up by not identifying with each other in practice, in their legally ascribed rights and attributes.

The right of usufruct of the forest and sterile lands belongs by act and by law to every member of the clan, and those who are tied by matrimonial unions. The case can arise when dealing with the collecting of wild fruit or divi-divi that members of the clan oppose the latter's usufruct of their right, but this is comparatively rare, since in general the abundance of fruit does not give rise to disputes of this nature.

423 Furthermore, every Guajiro has the right of passage over
499 clan lands and to use it to connect some territories with others when the land of an outsider comes in between. When it is a matter, for example, of the opening of a road, the regional heads of each of the proprietary clans get together in order to reach an agreement on a plan that will satisfy the needs of all parties. With all of the men of the two clans interested, they construct a preliminary path to mark out its course, and then from either end they begin the final work, determining in advance the place where they will meet; that is, the point where the work of each should reach. Each group must pay for the labor force and feed its men until the work is finished. Such roads can be used by all the Guajiro.

Related to land and its distribution, as we have seen, are
423 the sources of water, which can be of two kinds, natural and artificial. To the first, every member of the proprietary clan of the land where it is situated, as well as those tied to the clan by marriage alliances, has access. To the second kind, the same may also have access or only those members of a specific family, according to the case; in other words, if the well has been made with the aid of all the members of the clan, then its usufruct is common, but if it has been built by one family alone it is reserved for its exclusive use.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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Pile-dwellings with a kitchen garden

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Indians wait patiently while the leader of the expedition sleeps in his hammock

Below: *Flock being driven over the steppe*

231

[facing p. 176]

[2 cont.]

133 The greater part of the coast of La Guajira, which measures in all some 350 kilometers, belongs to Colombia. It starts from the Río Hacha in the west and extends to Lake Maracaibo in the east. It may be divided into two general parts, one low and liable to flooding, the other highland rising sheer from the coast. The low part starts from Pajaina Channel, which flows into Lake Maracaibo in front of San Carlos Island and continues approximately to the port of Cojoro. From there onward the land rises from the sea in the form of cliffs roughly to the level of Castilletes, a point where the coast level descends slightly to rise again near Punta Espada due to the eastern spurs from the Sierra de Macuira, which, as we have noted in previous paragraphs, then lose themselves in the sea. From this point, going always toward the west, the coast is rocky and inaccessible because of its continental structure.

In the far western part of the La Guajira coast we find the [135 317] most important saltworks that are being exploited in the country, such as those of Pájaro, Manaure, and Bahía Honda which supply salt to the major part of the coastal departments and even to those in the interior of the republic. The coast of this part has numerous beautiful and deep bays among which Bahía Honda is outstanding. Along the coast rich fishing grounds are found, such as [136] Bahía Honda, Cabo de la Vela, Cardón, and Carrizal, centers of fishing and pearl exploitation. Unfortunately, it has not been found practicable to make use of all the commercial navigation [312] and fishing possibilities of this coast due to the absence of potable water in the vicinity. This we were well able to appreciate when we found that the water required for drinking in Carrizal and San José de Bahía Honda, during our stay in these regions, was transported distances greater than ten kilometers.

361 The most important ports of the coast of La Guajira, from 504 west to east, are Ahuyama; Manaure, center of the salt industry; Cardón and Carrizal, pearl fishing centers; San José de Bahía Honda, on the bay of the same name, also engaged in the salt industry, and Puerto Estrella, center of the maritime traffic of motorized sailing boats plying between the islands of Aruba and Curaçao, and Puerto López.

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

bed of a watercourse. As the season advances, and the water recedes, they either dig after it or search for a lower level. Wells of 30 to 40 feet are very common. The water is reached by a staircase cut in the sand with an easy incline. Wells are easily distinguishable from a distance by the water-troughs, hollowed out of divi-divi trees, and called canoes. These are of the most distorted and grotesque shapes, and serve to water the herd. This is very hard work for the poor Indians during the summer months, and usually employs the whole day. Water from wells if taken early in the morning is always clear and cool. When bathing at a well the Indian uses a canoe; if he stops to drink, a bath invariably follows. Every well has a name, and the country is perforated by them like a mining camp. The wells of Chimaro are phenomenal; dug out on the sea-shore, on a narrow strip of sand 100 yards in breadth, with the sea on one side and the salt-pans of Chimaro, with layers of salt many feet thick, on the other, the water is, notwithstanding, perfectly fresh. There are seven holes about 10 feet deep. I may mention that Parashi is the name of a celebrated well dug in the river that drains the eastern flank of Ruma. It means "salt," probably because the water is brackish. 312 [417] [233] [515] [552] [317]

Second in importance are the water-tanks or *casimbas*. These are sometimes natural, as a small lake at the foot of Ruma and the casimbas of Cojua, filtrations from the river Naima, forming a large lake in the rainy season and many small dirty pools in summer, but nature aided by art is the rule. Some are immense undertakings, and large sheets of water, calculated to last a summer through if not too severe; such as Ariapá, the casimba of Puerto Estrella, a large crescent-shaped piece of water of about a quarter of a square mile. The water of these casimbas is always muddy and filthy for drinking purposes. The herds are driven in, and every Indian that passes is sure to bathe, so that in time almost a skin of grease forms on the top; and yet in places where they are it is the only water to be had, truly meat and drink combined. [133] [233] [515]

The Goajira coast abounds in harbours and bays, but none of much importance. Between Rio Hacha and Cabo de la Vela, in the extensive bay formed by the latter, anchorage is found almost all along the coast. Numerous roadsteads have become known through the commerce with the Indians, and quite a large trade is carried on in the small coasting schooners. Further along the coast are three large bays. The first, or Portete, is a large bay, well protected from the easterly trades, and is certainly the best port along the coast. Unfortunately the entrance is narrow, intricate, and with shoals. The next, Bahia Honda, is almost a complete oval, some eight miles long by three miles broad, and with an entrance of nearly three miles broad. It is separated from the sea by a stone wall from 60 to 80 feet at the highest, but not enough to protect the bay from the strong easterly winds that blow with such force here. It makes but a poor harbour, the surf inside during the afternoons pre- 133 504 [439]

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

133 venting anything being landed dry. The Colombian Government
●504 erected a guard-house at the entrance of this bay last year, but I am afraid it will have to be abandoned as untenable. Puerto Estrella makes a very bad port, the small trading schooners having to lie in under the breakers. This is the last recognised Colombian port, at least pending the arbitration question. The next good port is the Laguna de Tucacas, in the Gulf of Maracaybo. This place is much frequented by Venezuelans, and a trade has sprung up that if not checked will ruin the already drooping commerce of Rio Hacha. The last port on the coast is that of Cojoro, and spoken of as the future port of Maracaybo, with which it would have to be connected by rail, an engineering feat of not much difficulty. The *ensenada* or bay of Calabozo has an inaccessible, heavy, surf-beaten coast.

The peninsula is inhabited by only one tribe of Indians. These are
614 subdivided into many families or castes, bearing much analogy to the ancient "clans" of Scotland. Each caste or rather family circle is united against all comers, taking up the quarrel of any one of its members to make it general. The Goajiros are strictly conservative and aristocratic
556 in their ideas, wealth and interest are omnipotent. A poor man may be
[578] insulted with impunity, when the same to a rich man would cause certain bloodshed. They have no veritable rulers, but each community
[622] recognises the wealthiest of its members as the chief or corporal, as he has been dubbed by the Spaniards, and look to him for protection. An Indian born poor, cannot become wealthy and great. Whatever herds he may accumulate, his humble origin would never be forgotten; he
[557] could, however, marry into a high caste family, having the means, and his children could become, through their mother's relations, great chiefs.
614 Besides the name, each caste or family represents some animal, and many of the minor castes, over and above their own symbol, adopt another of some more powerful denomination, to enjoy the privilege of a good protector. There are at present, altogether, some thirty odd castes among the Goajiros. Of these I was able to discover the names of twenty-two. The remainder are insignificant, little known castes, chiefly inhabiting the hills. There are about ten of importance, chief among these the "Urianas." This, the largest caste in the Goajiro, has subdivided or split up into many ramifications, such as Uriana tiger, Uriana rabbit, Uriana paularate (a song bird), Uriana gecko (lizard). This family is at present not only by far the most numerous, but also the richest; due to its connections by marriage with the Pushainas, formerly the wealthiest of the land. The Pushainas are to-day still
[556] great holders of tumas and ornaments, but with the Indian, only cattle, mules, and horses are real estate. The Urianas on receiving the tumas, sold out for cattle, The second in numbers are the Epieynes, as a rule they are poor. Under their protection are the Seonanas, again under these the small caste of the Guorgnorlynes. A full list will be given

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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142
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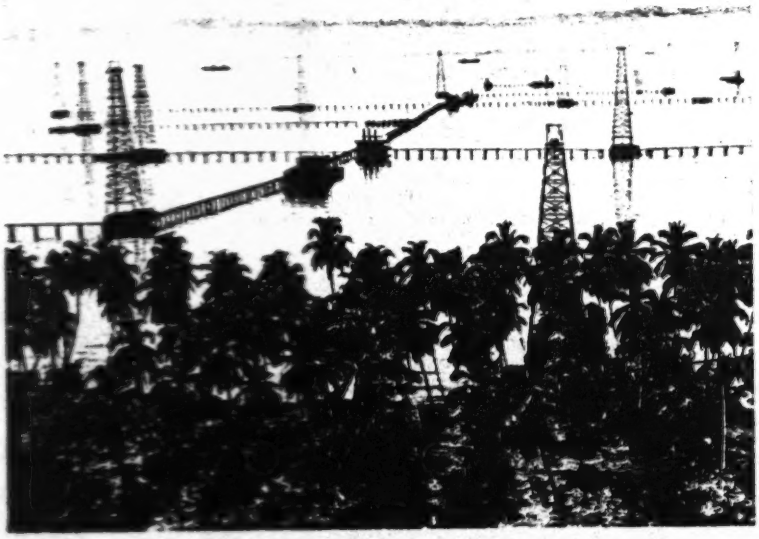
The ferry-man on the Calancala River

Derricks in Lake Maracaibo



[Facing p. 177]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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I have had to anticipate to tell how the secret of the arrows' effect was discovered. Let me now go back to where we were sitting on our stools talking with the Indians. It was late in the day and Francisco suggested that we should stay the night and go on at daybreak to another place where lived some prosperous Indians who had many materials and earthenware vessels. They had hammocks that we could borrow. It was a good suggestion and our hosts were more than agreeable. They wanted to vacate one of their huts, but we preferred to sleep in one of their open sheds. It was cool and, being tired, we fell asleep while the Indians were still sitting round the fire.

We were awakened by plaintive singing. It was still night. The Guajiro are excessively early risers. In the tropics you become accustomed to getting up at daybreak, but there on the peninsula everybody woke at three o'clock, when there were still a couple of hours of darkness left. Three o'clock was even a suitable visiting-hour. They liked to take advantage of the coolest part of the day, which was from three to six in the morning. The singing came from the big hut beside us. It was followed by a spoken rigmarole. The whole was as dreary as a funeral mass, and the voice was an old woman's. I discovered that it was a sort of pagan morning prayer for the children, used all over Guajira, in which an old woman recalled the memory of departed relations. If any of these had been killed and left unavenged, she would not neglect to remind the children of the fact and point out the guilty person. It ended with yet another wailing song.

What the old woman told them about their ancestors and injuries received was impressed upon the children's minds by hearing it repeated every morning in this way. Thus is a blood feud perpetuated from generation to generation.

We made ourselves porridge and took our departure as day was breaking, Then we tramped on through the sand to the next rancheria. There only the women were at home, but as it is the women who make the things we wished to see, that suited us quite well. The huts were larger than

/11 cont./

853 of white education or medical prescription, try to regulate the feeding of their children, but they break the rule frequently, lengthening or shortening the interval in accordance with the [805] appetite of the child and guiding themselves by the position of the sun.

The child has his first meal of the day approximately at three o'clock in the morning, the time that the Guajiro begins [512] his daily work, the last meal at bedtime. At this latter meal the child nurses until, either satiated or sleeping, he lets go of his mother's breast. However, every Guajiro mother habitually feeds her child during the night if he wakes up and cries.

The mother feeds her child herself unless abnormal circumstances prevent this. If the milk completely satisfies the child in quantity and quality, the mother does not add other food, nor does she substitute it during the first six to eight months. From then onward she adds to his diet thin corn mazamorra with 862 a little milk, preferably goat's milk, oat soup, milk, and, much later, cheese and meat. If the mother's milk begins to fail soon after the child's birth, she endeavors to supplement this lack by other suitable food such as sweetened mazamorra or simple dishes of rice meal, mixed with goat's milk, later this same milk alone, until she gradually weans her child to adult food, going through the process just outlined. She also tries to reserve her own milk to give to the child during the night and so avoid having to prepare food during the hours of rest. The first meal at dawn, however, may be a prepared one, as the Guajiro mother, as we have already stated, is an early riser in order to take advantage of the cooler hours of the day to do her work. Before weaning, if the mother's milk supply keeps up, the child learns to eat other foods such as cow's milk and goats milk, corn griddlecake, bread -- if it is to be had, mazamorra, and fruit such as the iguaraya, mamoncillo /honey berry/, olive, and mango. When the child begins to sit up, the mother holds him in her arms during mealtime and gives him bites of food. The child learns to want and ask for food. Thus once he is weaned,

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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They make designs on 302
their skin with black stain and tattoo themselves, especially on the arms 304
and legs, with charcoal dust pigment. At least one of the marks is [619]
the same as the tribal brand.

MANUFACTURES

Women have a rather definite daily routine. They arise before day- 512
break, milk the cows, and prepare the morning meal for the men, who 462
then go off to fish, hunt, fight, or merely loaf and drink chicha. They fill their jugs at the water hole and then spend the rest of the day collecting wild cotton, spinning, weaving, making ropes, grinding corn, making butter, cheese, and chicha, and performing other household duties. They milk again in the evening.

Textiles are probably the best *Goajiro* manufactures. Their other 286
products are pottery (which is the virtual monopoly of a few sibs), bows 32
and arrows, and saddles and harnesses.

Spinning and weaving.—Wild cotton is collected, the seeds removed 283
by hand, and small wads are rolled around a thin stick to form small tubes about half an inch (12.5 mm.) in diameter and 6 inches (15 cm.) long. These tubes are then spun into thread with the use of a spindle, one end of which rests in a calabash bowl on the ground. Yarns are [386]
colored with vegetable dyes, especially divi-divi.

Almost every household owns a loom, before which the women sit for 286
hours weaving hammocks and bright-colored belts for men and horses. The warp is made from one long continuous thread wound around two thick horizontal poles, the upper one firmly attached to two uprights, the lower one hanging loose and maintaining the tension. As the work progresses, the cloth is moved forward around the poles, so that an endless strip of cloth is produced, which is then cut. Shuttles are passed through by hand, the warp being shifted by means of a threading arrangement which takes hold of alternate strands. On a piece of cloth about 2 yards wide an inch of weave every three hours is considered very fast work.

Containers.—Most cooking utensils are made of crude earthenware by 323
a few tribes in the vicinity of the Teta, a peak near the middle of the 415
peninsula. Spoons and forks are cut out of calabashes. Some Indians 439
possess enameled mugs and pots obtained from itinerant traders.

Weapons.—Almost every man possesses a good rifle. Cartridges are 411
scarce and expensive and must be smuggled in. Firearms are consequently reserved mainly for warfare, and the bow and arrow is the everyday weapon.

The bow is made from the hard, springy wood of the black palm. It is almost round in cross section, 5 to 6 feet (1.7 to 2 m.) long, and strung with a special sisal cord. The end which rests on the ground is protected

/48 cont./

252 at the heart, which they eat, for by cooking in this way it be-
262 comes soft and digestible. They also include in their diet soups and special dishes made of beans.

264 The boys employed in work other than pasturing, who stay
262 at home or can readily return there, take the usual breakfast upon rising; later, when the hours of heat begin and the Guajiro returns to his home to rest on his hammock in the shade of his enramada /a bough-covered shelter/, he eats a meal which is more or less similar to that described above, and, toward seven at night, another.

A boy will add to his usual meals what he can find by picking wild fruit, hunting small animals or birds, by stealing food at home, and by drinking the milk he can obtain from the goats or other animals he has in his care.

264 We must add in conclusion that in no case does the woman occupy the first place when food is being served if there are men in the family. At the most she may occupy her mother's place if no older female relatives are present, it falling on her in this case to serve the food. If there are female slaves or bond servants or maids in the home these will carry out this duty under her supervision. These cases when the mother is replaced by the daughters in the task of serving the meals to the family are not frequent, as it is customary for the head woman not to leave her post for any lengthy interval without placing her responsibilities in the hands of a person competent to replace her.

* * *

855
513 The child of middle years keeps the same hours for sleep-
ing as the adult. Generally, the child possesses from his birth
[352] onward an Indian-style hammock /chinchorro or hamaca/ /49/,
that is to say, one made of cords of twisted agave fibers arranged
[863] in horizontal rows. This type of hammock is meant for young children, because bed-wetting at night is frequent in some cases, but especially because it is strong, cheap, and readily replaceable. We never heard of a case of a child sleeping on the ground.

/49 cont./

855 Sometimes they may share their hammock with a brother, not
513 a common occurrence, or sleep on occasion in that of an adult.

The hours of sleep are regularly those from eight at night to three in the morning, when the child takes up his pastoral duties. During the hours of midday heat, he may return (when pasturing near by) to sleep under the bough-covered shelter /enramada/ at home, or drowse in the woods under the trees. If he is not a herder, he may get up later in the morning and will also take a siesta during the hot part of the day. He sleeps in his usual clothes, the guayuco /loincloth/, only loosening somewhat the belt at his waist which holds it, to lessen the tension.

In the regions of the mountains, where it is cold in the early morning, hammocks are placed near the hearth where a fire has been left burning or which is lit during the night to temper the low temperature, and no one sleeps outside the house but inside. At times a sheepskin or that of some other animal or a robe /manta, "robe, usually worn by women"/ is thrown on the hammock, or for want of these, they get up and huddle round the fire to warm up and then go back to their hammocks and try to sleep until the intense cold obliges them to repeat the process.

* * *

291 The boy goes about naked up to a certain age, variable
855 according to the group. For instance in regions which are in contact with the whites, when around six or seven years old, they wear a guayuco very similar to that of an adult, held up by a homemade belt. They use no other addition, unless occasionally they get some other item of clothing, generally from a white source, which they keep on until it is worn out. When they are old enough to put on the guayuco /loincloth/ and even before if they to pasture the cattle, they start to use quaireñas "

[82 cont.]

775 formalities agreed upon with the victim's family, find that it imposes on them a sort of punishment, a rhythm of life totally different from that to which they were normally accustomed and which can be interpreted in two ways: (a) as a purification rite; (b) as a change of personality, in order to avoid the mortifying presence of the spirit face to face with the murderer. [83] To us the second interpretation appears clearer and more acceptable as we do not know of any other rites of purification in La Guajira which can show reason for the first assumption.

682 783 A repentant murderer, according to the statement collected by our colleague and expedition companion, Licentiate Milcíades Chaves Ch., is punished by his own will as well as by the decision of his family through norms imposed by his uncles and aunts. He voluntarily submits to them so as not to commit a second time the same delict which constituted his own ruin and that of his family, who like himself are liable to become victims of the retaliation of the murdered man's relatives in revenge for the murder. This punishment is executed in the following way:

1) The murderer must spend five or six days hiding in the selva or some distant mountain.

[262] 2) He must take no solid food. He is only allowed to take hot drinks or very thin mazamorro (corn chicha), and water.

3) He must not speak to anyone and must be on the alert all the time, with his rifle ready to defend himself from his enemies.

4) He must disguise himself: cut his hair, wear special belts and fringes, and wear a robe, black in color. (This robe is so small and short that it barely covers the top part of his body.)

[513] 5) In the forest he must sleep on the ground at night. Above all, he should not sleep face upward because the soul of [775] his victim may climb into his mouth and press on his chest, even to the extent of killing him by asphyxia. He may only return to his home for a short time to rest in a hammock, but this must be so small that he cannot lie comfortably on it, and due to this inconvenience he is unable to sleep for long.

6) He must eat and sleep very little and be continually [231] alert, having for his only companion a dog, whose senses will warn him of the approach of danger

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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579 been completely tamed by the Venezuelans. He, with of course his
648 followers, have found honesty the best policy after all, and are now reformed and peaceful members of society, returned to breeding and agriculture. This shows what can be done with firmness combined with a little judicious tact and management.

The Indians build no elaborate dwelling-houses. Their best ranchos
342 are simple, and constructed in a short time. The roof is covered with the split woody core of a tall euphorbia. This makes a good cool roof, impermeable to water and easily removed when the family flits. The rancho is seldom used for sleeping purposes; for this numerous poles
● [513] (*tchepsi*) are firmly fixed all over the place for swinging hammocks, often three and four to one pole, and crossing each other. Sometimes two and three sleep in a hammock. Further off other poles (*palúmaler*)
[417] are found, to tie animals up at, and a small corral or sheep-pen for the goats and sheep is also indispensable in every well-regulated family. The site of a rancho is always carefully chosen, much strategy being
361 displayed in locating the whole, so that each rancho covers the other
621 without itself being seen. Although villages are never attempted, yet a family rarely lives isolated. Everybody bolsters himself with that bugbear of Goajira society, his relations. Their ranchos are always within gunshot distance, so as mutually to defend each other. One is
[712] invariably on high ground to dominate the country, the rest are hidden away in nooks and corners where least expected. If one rancho is seen, others are close at hand. In case of attack, this system prevents a whole family being exterminated. One or two ranchos may be taken, but the rest escape or fly to the rescue, as the case may be. At all events the
[552] avenger, so dear to the Indian, survives. Each rancho has a distinct name. Besides, every Indian who is anybody has several ranchos
[423] spread over the country. To collect the names of the ranchos would be paramount to taking a census of the territory. The following are
103 well-known ranchos, with usually some half-caste from Riohacha
443 trading with the Indians. In the Macuira range, six miles from Punta Espada, is Guarerpá, at the foot of Ara-ura; chief, Caijuna, a Jirnu.
592 Westwards, close to the sea-shore, Chémunao; chief, José Agustin, a
621 Jallariú, a half-caste speaking good Spanish. At the foot of Itujoro, Magualpá, situated on a slight eminence eight miles from the sea, and is an important trading station. Paraliero, native name of Puerto Estrella, boasts twelve houses and three iron warehouses, with always two or three Riohacheros resident there. The chief, Pedro Quinto, is Epieyu, but his sister Mauricia is the virtual ruler. Inland, 16 miles from Bahia Honda or Turon is Merunay, another large trading station, usually with two or three Riohacheros established there. The eight ranchos are well located on a plain between Macuira and Parashi. The chief, Saipa, is Epieyu. This is one of the most central stations in the Goajira, and is surrounded by several important places; it is probably

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By the shore. Held by father and sister, these were the only twins we ever saw. The Guajiro let twins live

Right: *Indian girls*

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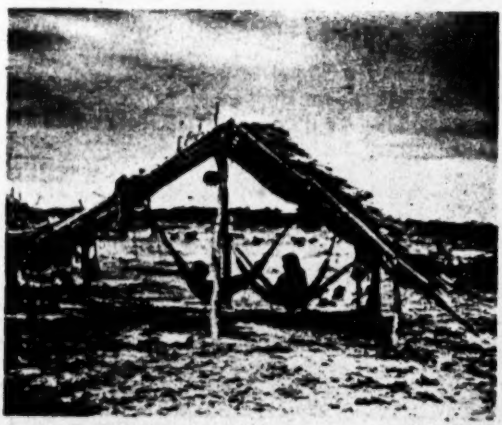
352 *A simple Indian hut*



[Facing p. 32]

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We had gone round Sierra Chimare to the north. Understandably enough, since it was the monks' name, nobody seemed to have heard of Nazaret, but they did not react to Amúruru either.

Macuira is quite a large complex of hills, and if the Indians were going to be unable to help us, it might prove quite difficult to find the mission station. Suddenly a man came up on a horse. He was wearing trousers. He was so astonished to see us that he nearly tumbled off and his horse became restive. We told him who we were and where we were going, and his face lit up.

'Let us camp together,' he suggested. 'I have a camp under a tree that is large enough for you as well. I have a herd of goats that I am driving home.'

We went with the man, who was a mestizo—and had two Indian wives, who helped my wife make goat stew.

In Guajira you can sleep in the open perfectly well during most of the year, but it is more pleasant to lie under a tree. The mestizo was able to tell us exactly how to get to Nazaret.

We broke camp at daybreak, before the sun had begun to send its shafts through the sparse leaves of the tree. We three whites started off at a good pace, and soon the mestizo with his goats and our own pack animals had dropped behind. Before long we came in among hillocks sparsely clad with divi-divi and other bushes and trees that did not mind drought. This sort of vegetation the Indians call a wood. The hours passed; the sun was unmercifully hot, as it always was. Our tongues were stuck to our gums by thirst, and a persistent breeze filled our ears with sand. We did not mind, however, for paradise was not far away.

The trees were all withered and leafless. Then we came to valleys filled with white sand, that in places formed terraces. The mules' hooves sank in deep. I realized why we came across sand so far from the sea: all that part of the hills had sunk into the sea during the quarternary period, and had then risen again carrying the sand with it.

Then a hill like a sugar-loaf emerged. That was Ituhor, about which we had been told, and we knew that we were

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I have had to anticipate to tell how the secret of the arrows' effect was discovered. Let me now go back to where we were sitting on our stools talking with the Indians. It was late in the day and Francisco suggested that we should stay the night and go on at daybreak to another place where lived some prosperous Indians who had many materials and earthenware vessels. They had hammocks that we could borrow. It was a good suggestion and our hosts were more than agreeable. They wanted to vacate one of their huts, but we preferred to sleep in one of their open sheds. It was cool and, being tired, we fell asleep while the Indians were still sitting round the fire. 574

We were awakened by plaintive singing. It was still night. The Guajiro are excessively early risers. In the tropics you become accustomed to getting up at daybreak, but there on the peninsula everybody woke at three o'clock, when there were still a couple of hours of darkness left. Three o'clock was even a suitable visiting-hour. They liked to take advantage of the coolest part of the day, which was from three to six in the morning. The singing came from the big hut beside us. It was followed by a spoken rigmarole. The whole was as dreary as a funeral mass, and the voice was an old woman's. I discovered that it was a sort of pagan morning prayer for the children, used all over Guajira, in which an old woman recalled the memory of departed relations. If any of these had been killed and left unavenged, she would not neglect to remind the children of the fact and point out the guilty person. It ended with yet another wailing song. 765 511 513 765

What the old woman told them about their ancestors and injuries received was impressed upon the children's minds by hearing it repeated every morning in this way. Thus is a blood feud perpetuated from generation to generation. [628]

We made ourselves porridge and took our departure as day was breaking. Then we tramped on through the sand to the next rancheria. There only the women were at home, but as it is the women who make the things we wished to see, that suited us quite well. The huts were larger than 123 342

The Guajiro not only trafficked with the
439 whites, but they did a lively trade with each other, using
[436] cattle as their currency. Thanks to this there was a form of incipient specialization. Pottery and weapons were the main articles of trade. The rich bought those made by specially
[556] skilled craftsmen, who made so much money that they con-
463] centrated largely on producing things to sell. The poor had to make all their own things. Everywhere there were people who could weave and spin, and make pottery, but those who could afford it liked to buy what was best and loveliest.

We wanted to buy articles in general use, but the irritating thing was that the rich did not need to sell and only did so if it amused them, or if they got an especially good price; while the poor had nothing to sell. Those who made these articles as a craft liked to use materials bought from the whites. In the old days they used to weave their textiles of homespun cotton thread dyed with vegetable dyes; now they not infrequently bought dyed woollen yarn from the whites, but in that remote part of the peninsula they had not yet begun to do so. We saw that they had plenty of hammocks made of bast and cotton yarn. These were larger and more comfortable than was usual and were made with a different technique. The hammock is the genuine Indian
[513] bed, invented in the jungles of South America before the white man ever came there, and has the advantage of being easy to take about and cool to lie in, while the sleeper is protected from all the unpleasant and dangerous insects of the ground.

Throughout the journey we had slept in hammocks—you have to get used to them before you find them comfortable—as long as there was somewhere to hang them. We now told the Indians that we wanted proper hammocks, the kind they themselves used, for we had bought ours from the whites. That started the bargaining.

There was seldom any question of buying for cash—they
439 did not have much confidence in the white man's money—
436 so we had to barter for what we wanted. We soon discovered that apart from our knives, the Indians undervalued all our goods. If we had not had a large case of knives we would never have managed to assemble the collections

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our hammocks to sleep. When I was a student, one of the stock questions asked by our professor of geography was: 'Why don't the Indians of Patagonia sleep in hammocks?' The correct answer was: 'The trees are too few and far between.' The Indians of Guajira took stakes with them, which they drove into the hard ground when they made camp; but we could not give our animals such an extra burden and so had to sleep on the ground where there were ants and giant millipedes. Cactus bushes could suddenly come to life and a branch stretch towards one with spikes jutting, ready to sting, so good was their camouflage when sitting on a cactus.

We now met some very friendly Indians. As they sat by their fire they began telling myths and legends, and when they noticed that we were interested they continued. We learned that some blocks of stone that we would see the next morning and which had human shape, were really white people who had been petrified. They had died of thirst. Arijuna, the white ones, cannot stand thirst. The Indians can go three days without water, but the white man will endure only one. Therefore Mareiwa, the rain-spirit, said to the white people: 'You live for ever dying of thirst.'

We agreed with that.

We could hear the roar of surf. Calimaule, the old Bearded One, told us that the noise really came from wild cattle bellowing out there, having been hunted and finally driven out into the water where some were transformed into turtles, others into rocks.

'There are dangers, here,' the old man went on. There's a majayura, a maiden, lives in a cave in one rock, and lures men to their doom. No living person can enter the cave, but the siren—we can call her that—roams around in rich and beautiful clothes. (She shows similarities, like her Moorish counterpart, to our water- or wood-nymphs.) The majayura now and again emerges by day as well, shows herself to someone she likes, leads him astray and to her grotto, where she lets him taste of her mysteries. He is so enchanted by his experiences that he never returns. That

/17 cont./

854 863 With regard to the training of the child in carrying out his bodily functions, it is the mother or whoever is responsible for him who teaches him; it is usually the mother or his wet nurse. The child learns /18/ shortly after birth to be clean because his mother is concerned with making do with the few pieces of cloth and a scarcity of soap or water to wash them with. Moreover, as the child goes bare, there is little difficulty, when he shows signs of wishing to relieve himself, in taking advantage of the moment to see that he does it in the proper place. Also, she will see that her small child does these necessary functions shortly after feeding, and as she has him in her arms for long periods when he is small, at the least sign of his need she holds him in the right position. If she is seated on the ground or on some object near to the ground, she crosses her legs leaving an opening over which she seats the child so that his excrement falls on the sandy soil, and later she cleans it up. This operation is carried out when the child finishs his meal or whenever he shows signs of needing relief. In this way the child associates the position with the action of fulfilling his need, and he forms the habit of cleanliness, until there comes a time that he is cross or cries if he is not placed in the accustomed position. As he grows, his bodily functions become more regular, and when he starts to walk, it becomes more simple; he learns to squat and later to withdraw to some spot outside the house or to cry out to be taken to such a spot if he is still too small. He also learns to call this function by its proper name or by a special one of his own invention. Later, between three and four he fulfils these necessities without outside help.

The training with reference to urinating is also simple and is a lesser problem for the mother. It worries her less than the former function and follows more or less an identical training process. She moves him to one side so that he does not wet her, [514] and later she shows him, if a boy, how to take the Adult position, or if a ghl, to sit on her heels. As the child is naked, the problem is very simple. The child wets his bed for a while, and

/53 cont./

88| light-colored skin; For this reason, during the period of seclu-
832 sion the girl is bathed every morning with this water by the woman charged with looking after her. There was some talk of a second bathing at nightfall, but we could find no confirmation of this.

88| After being lowered, the girl is confined in a room separate from the house, the walls of which are sufficiently thick to prevent her being seen from outside, or, more generally, she is placed in a small room communicating with the house by a small opening so low and narrow that one can only enter it by crawling and which is closed off by a wooden door or a cloth to keep the adolescent from being seen. This room is built or improvised by the male relatives of the girl, who from this moment /54/ may not see her while the seclusion lasts. During all this period she is taken care of by one of her maternal kinswomen who is thoroughly acquainted with this rite of passage, who has the time to spare to devote to this service, who enjoys the full confidence of the family, and possesses all the ideal qualities of an adult woman, so that she may make of the novice someone similar to herself. It is also essential that she should know well the whole corpus of Guajiro culture so as to be able to instruct the initiate in it, especially the aspects relating to marriage and maternity. And, finally, she is required to be well practiced in domestic duties, especially in weaving. However, in these technical matters she may be replaced by, or receive help from, another close female relative in the training of the novice.

This woman bears the responsibility for the diet and medical care of the girl; she must herself prepare the prescribed
[514] foods and serve them to her, look after her hygiene, supplying her with a utensil to satisfy her body needs (a wooden box with a little sand), and require of her pupil that she keep her head
[832] covered with a kerchief, so that her growing hair may grow very black and shiny, which is of particular importance within their ideal of feminine beauty and also because this hair, as

/159 cont./

764 The corpse is lowered into the grave with ropes, with the greatest care taken not to bang it or lower it roughly to the bottom of the grave. This would mean an offense to the dead man, who in some way would show his annoyance at this lack of care, which is in itself an insult; and the relatives would feel considerably offended at the want of respect shown to one who was of their blood and at a time so important to the Guajiro as that of burying a kinsman. It represents, to his way of thinking, an insult almost as great as to refuse to dig his grave, to speak ill of a dead relative, or to pronounce his name.

764 The same individual who digs the grave covers it with the excavated earth, doing his work with extreme care. Then he 783 goes to his home where he is submitted for some time to a purification ceremonial. The people who formed the procession return to their homes, after shooting off their firearms while the burial is in progress with the idea of frightening off all evil spirits. In times past they shot arrows repeatedly. Upon return the relatives also go through a purification ceremony, and generally, gathered together, they slaughter an animal for themselves from among those which had not been presented nor had belonged to the deceased.

764 For the dead man they place a supply of food and drink in the grave (his favorite food), and if while alive he liked to get drunk, they place an abundance of liquor. His most valued [514 personal utensils, especially his chamber pot, an indication 554] that the owner was of high status, are placed on his grave, as are his cups and dishes, which also give prestige to the dead man.

765 During a more or less lengthy period his closest relatives go frequently to visit his grave, taking with them food which they eat over it, after weeping there for a long time and asking the dead person to join them. On the eighth day after his death it is mandatory /160/ to make such a visit, later, at the end of each lunar month after the occurrence of the death. These visits are made with more frequency when the relatives believe

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881 invitation. Again cattle are butchered, and there is drinking
584 and dancing and horse-racing. Numbers of men come to see if they would like to put themselves forward as suitors. The more eminent guests are received in the house itself, and the girl is now present. Her shorn hair has grown and been trimmed to a page-boy cut, and she wears her best clothes
[754 and new ornaments. She hides her hair clippings carefully
826] in a bag, for she does not want to risk anyone getting hold of them and using them to acquire power over her by the arts of magic. Later, she will secretly bury them under a
[789 cow pat. That will help to increase her herds. The droppings
514] of various animals play a great part in the magic of the Guajiro, and it would seem that there is negro influence here as well.

881 The girl has now been born again—she is a new person, a woman. She knows all that an adult woman needs to know and can do everything that a wife and mother should be able to do. Pale and lovely, she steps out into life once more and inquisitive young men swarm round her. The rich give a big feast, the poor provide simpler fare, but it is always a great occasion.

[582] A Guajiro man will never marry a girl before she has undergone this period of confinement, which means that people seldom marry too early. It is said that in the old days
[595 rich old men with several wives sometimes bought little
831] poor girls as concubines, believing that that would enhance their virility.

The girl's long segregation is intended to protect her from the supernatural dangers that are thought to threaten her, especially during this sensitive period of transition from childhood to womanhood. The girl can also be dangerous to others through being exposed to attack by spirits. It is only practical that during this period she should practise handicrafts.

252 Going back to the house, we found the women at the fires, which there were protected by special small cactus
[354] screens. There was no need to have them under a roof at that time of the year, only to shelter them from the wind. The pots stood over the fire supported on three stones.

/190 cont./

684 682 When the abortion is provoked by the woman when she is in an advanced stage of pregnancy, the husband demands compensation payment, and the act is considered a homicide.

684 838 An offense of a very grave character for an individual and his relatives is the attempt made by a homosexual to abuse him. Generally, this aggressive act is directed against defenseless young boys, who can be physically forced to submit. Their relatives demand compensation payment, not only for the physical molestation suffered by their relative but for the psychological and social significance of the offense, which completely devolves on them.

684 839 Exhibitionism of a sexual type is considered a punishable act because it entails an offense against the modesty of those present, and if /191/ the spectator is a person of high standing, it implies moreover a grave offense to his high status which demands respect from others; in this case the payment is greater and may cause strong reprisals to be taken against the offender's relatives. These offenses may refer to homosexual practices, suggestions or representations real or imaginary of copulation, or exhibition of the genital organs. Both sexes may undress in [515 public without the spectators feeling offended, as happens at 831] the public baths, where the women bathe without concern, taking care to cross their legs. The man holds the penis to his waist in a way that his hairiness covers him and so does not offend the modesty of the bystanders.

684 Other aspects which have to be taken into consideration are the offenses that the woman can inflict on the man during married life. Let us remember that Guajiro women, even to this day, are bought without their wishes being taken into account, and that those who cannot avoid this marriage -- by means of suicide, flight, or breaking with the community -- may refuse to cohabit with the husband imposed on them or to satisfy his sexual desires. The man then abandons such a woman or demands compensation payment for the pain her attitude has caused him and refuses to resume his position as

[21cont.]

755 When the patient shows signs of improving, a fiesta is or-
796 ganized consisting of chicha-maya dances and feasting. For this event they prepare in advance all that will be offered to the participants; chicha made from chewed corn, plain or sweetened with panela according to the economic situation of the sick man's family. The dance lasts one or more days and nights, as ordered [534] by the shaman, the only musical instrument used being the drum. In order to end the fiesta, two or three steers and several goats and sheep are killed if the hosts are rich. At four or five o'clock in the morning, according to the shaman's wishes, the sick per-
[515] son is taken from his bed, and the curer himself bathes him with soap and water, after which he is again carried indoors and is permitted to stay up, but not to leave his dwelling. Slowly he resumes normal living and the everyday diet. If the patient should have a relapse, [22] the treatment is repeated. The process of these cures may last up to two months, according to the patient's condition.

No one is actually invited to the fiesta which is organized [574] by order of the shaman when he has succeeded in curing a patient. When people find out that such a fiesta is about to be given from the characteristic beating of the drum, they approach without being invited and take part, joining in dancing [273] the chich-amaya. The women are offered a bowl of chicha made from chewed corn to take to their homes to drink there with their families. Men are given rum or chicha. The women wear with
291 great pride their long ample robes, which cover them to the
755 ankles, their waireñas, or leather sandals with toe pieces made
796 of knitted wool and adorned with large tassels of the same ma-
556 terial, and a pañuelo around their heads, the corners of which hang down their backs. If they are wealthy enough, they complete their personal adornment with anklets and bracelets of coral and necklaces of gold or tuma. The men also wear their finest robes, which, hanging from one of their shoulders, cover the upper part of their bodies. This is complemented by a wide sash used to support the loincloth [guayuco], wider than the one commonly used, that is, than that used in their daily
755 work. If animals are sacrificed — which depends on the wealth
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5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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bed of a watercourse. As the season advances, and the water recedes, they either dig after it or search for a lower level. Wells of 30 to 40 feet are very common. The water is reached by a staircase cut in the sand with an easy incline. Wells are easily distinguishable from a distance by the water-troughs, hollowed out of divi-divi trees, and called canoes. These are of the most distorted and grotesque shapes, and serve to water the herd. This is very hard work for the poor Indians during the summer months, and usually employs the whole day. Water from wells if taken early in the morning is always clear and cool. When bathing at a well the Indian uses a canoe; if he stops to drink, a bath invariably follows. Every well has a name, and the country is perforated by them like a mining camp. The wells of Chimaro are phenomenal; dug out on the sea-shore, on a narrow strip of sand 100 yards in breadth, with the sea on one side and the salt-pans of Chimaro, with layers of salt many feet thick, on the other, the water is, notwithstanding, perfectly fresh. There are seven holes about 10 feet deep. I may mention that Parashi is the name of a celebrated well dug in the river that drains the eastern flank of Ruma. It means "salt," probably because the water is brackish.

Second in importance are the water-tanks or *casimbas*. These are sometimes natural, as a small lake at the foot of Ruma and the casimbas of Cojua, filtrations from the river Naima, forming a large lake in the rainy season and many small dirty pools in summer, but nature aided by art is the rule. Some are immense undertakings, and large sheets of water, calculated to last a summer through if not too severe; such as Ariapá, the casimba of Puerto Estrella, a large crescent-shaped piece of water of about a quarter of a square mile. The water of these casimbas is always muddy and filthy for drinking purposes. The herds are driven in, and every Indian that passes is sure to bathe, so that in time almost a skin of grease forms on the top; and yet in places where they are it is the only water to be had, truly meat and drink combined.

The Goajira coast abounds in harbours and bays, but none of much importance. Between Rio Hacha and Cabo de la Vela, in the extensive bay formed by the latter, anchorage is found almost all along the coast. Numerous roadsteads have become known through the commerce with the Indians, and quite a large trade is carried on in the small coasting schooners. Further along the coast are three large bays. The first, or Portete, is a large bay, well protected from the easterly trades, and is certainly the best port along the coast. Unfortunately the entrance is narrow, intricate, and with shoals. The next, Bahia Honda, is almost a complete oval, some eight miles long by three miles broad, and with an entrance of nearly three miles broad. It is separated from the sea by a stone wall from 60 to 80 feet at the highest, but not enough to protect the bay from the strong easterly winds that blow with such force here. It makes but a poor harbour, the surf inside during the afternoons pre-

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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302 called *pura* if made of plaited straw, and *capanas* if made of wool,
291 with large tassel (worn behind). The two can be combined and adorned with a couple of feathers in front. When made entirely of feathers, it becomes *toróma*. An Indian's toilet would not be complete without
[293] a *kapiquito*, a piece of leather fastened round the left wrist by a twist of wool to receive the recoil of the bow-string when shooting. Paint is
302 common to both sexes, and in excess. They assert that it saves their complexions from the sun. The last thing an Indian does, on mounting horse for the day's journey, is to call for the powder-box, and plentifully besprinkle his face. The powders *mapuatepo* or *marua* are rotten wood;
[386] *guanapai*, a black stain from a wild nut; and *parisa*, very popular among the fairer sex, is the colour extracted from a leaf and mixed with fat.

291 The woman's dress is invariably, at present, made from foreign cotton,
[177] and is a plain sack with a hole for the head and two others for the arms. With the wind it blows out and makes her look like a balloon. The white cotton is dyed black with divi-divi, or yellowish-brown with mora
[386] (yellow wood), or reddish-brown with the suckers of mangroves. The Indians are exceptionally clean and nice in their dress, and, however
[515] poor, keep a reserve suit for state occasions. Women alone wear the
301 *pána* and the *sirapo*. The pána are like a pair of braces; long strings of beads passing over each shoulder to cross each other on the breast and back, held in position at the waist by the sirapo, a sort of sash or belt made of beads likewise. Small strings a few ounces in weight are placed on the female child a few months after birth, and gradually increased, according to the strength of the child and the purse of the parents. Pánas are made with any beads except black, a red variety with white eye (*iserhóa*) preferred, and weigh from 2 to 10 lbs. With sirapos any coloured bead will do, *pisur* or black ones the rule, and they weigh from 1 to 10 lbs. A married woman may wear the pána until
[844] her first confinement, when it is laid aside. Poor Indians who cannot afford beads for the pána make it of cotton dyed black and braided. Among the many necklaces, tumas are the most valuable. These curious
[172] perforated stones are only found in the graves of prehistoric races, both in the peninsula itself and the Sierra Nevada. There are many varieties. The round ones varying in size from a large marble to a pea are *tóma* (a name generalised by the Spaniards); those in shape of small charm-barrels are *amurud*; the pear-shaped, according as they are long or dumpy, *peringa*, and *guariuinga*; the bugle is *parauria*, &c. Mineralogically they are bits of red jasper, cornelian, and reddish sardonyx. Their value depends upon the intensity of red and size. A large one at
[435] present is worth a head of cattle; a necklace has from 15 to 30, varying in size. Bracelets are as varied and in as much profusion as necklaces; they are called *hápana*, from *ahapo*, the hand. On the foot they also wear strings of cornelians and beads. They have two names, the aristocratic *cushikandr* and the common *guauriheza*.

Our provisions were at an end. We had been too generous and not rationed them strictly, the men having complained of hunger the whole time. Now we were suffering for it.

Away in the distance, well out of range, we saw a *venado*, a deer, making off through the cactus with graceful bounds. Where did the deer drink? Surely they would not dare approach the Indians' water-holes, which were either guarded or covered.

'Deer do not drink,' said the Indians. 'They are content with the dew they can lick out of the cactus flowers.'

We were thus without both food and water. We whites had tinned food, but the Indians only appreciated the empty tins. The Lad then offered to get us some food and water. He had not been away more than an hour, when he returned with a young girl carrying a live kid in her arms. She wore nothing but the remnants of a woman's loin cloth, and apparently knew that white people did not approve of nakedness, for she tried to hide her charms behind the kid. We therefore gave her a piece of white cloth in payment, although it was really a pity to let her cover herself, for she was the shapeliest Indian girl we had yet seen in the peninsula. The cloth would protect her from the sun and make her fair-skinned and beautiful, so she was overjoyed and offered to show us the way to what she said was a much better water hole.

This new water hole was shaded by some divi-divi trees—the trees were withered and their shade sparse—and surrounded by reddish hillocks. It was not very deep and a couple of women were bathing in it. They paid no attention to us, nakedness in the bath being considered decent. Our Indians and animals were able to drink as much as they liked there, and we also filled our water-containers. Then we moved on looking for a suitable place in which to eat our goat in peace.

Gladtvet, our photographer, put up the tent to give us a little shade, and meanwhile the Indians slaughtered the kid and cut it up. My wife cooked the pieces we had taken for ourselves, helped by the little girl who had come with us. She was now wearing the piece of cloth like a pinafore and

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Indian women in the national dress of today with large woollen pompons on their sandals

[P. 2]
[P. 1 contains no text which is not reproduced elsewhere]

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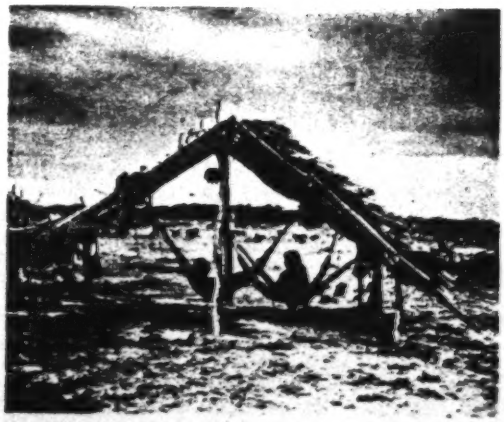
By the shore. Held by father and sister, these were the only twins we ever saw. The Guajiro let twins live

Right: *Indian girls*

342
513
352 *A simple Indian hut*



[Facing p. 32]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

302
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●516
[372]

Our men making fire

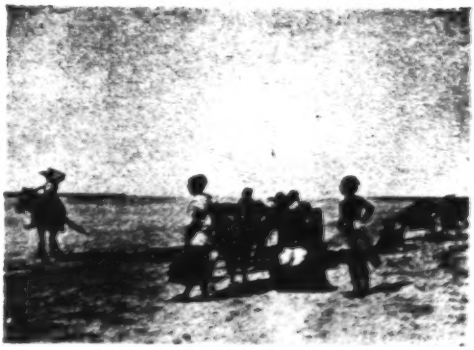
Indian salt workers, men and women, at Manaure

[258
412]

[facing p. 33]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

291
492 *Our caravan makes a temporary halt*



291
516
137 *Resting in the sparse shade of a divi-divi tree. My wife is stirring the pot. I am on the extreme right*

312 *A casimba, or water-hole, dug by the Indians*

[FACING p.48]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

123
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Left: *I help an old man, who had never seen matches, to light his cigar*

142
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Chinca, a girl of simple family, (on the left) and a well-born maiden expensively perfumed in a white tunic

[516]

Indian camp and a mestizo

[FACING p. 49]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

142
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● 516
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Above left: *Youth playing a flute*

Above right: *Little girl with beads*

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Right: *Riders*

[facing p. 64]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

142
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283

Majayura, the virgin confined in order to be prepared for marriage. Contrary to the rules, she was allowed out for a moment to be photographed

Old woman spinning

142
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301
302
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Children are not undernourished in Macuira

[facing p. 65]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

838
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301
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415
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A Guajiro man, dressed and painted as a woman. He lived with another man and performed all the tasks of the housewife

Little girl with gold beads round her neck and ankles

After-burial: woman weeping by the urn containing the dead man's bones

764
765
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415

[FACING p. 112]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

142
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The medicine men liked to have a good drink before a seance

A piache, or wise woman, curing a boy by burning him with a red-hot arrow head

[755
516]

[Facing p. 113]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

767
142
302
291

A professional mourner

Below: *The daily butchering*

252
516
415

[Facing p. 128]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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411
516

Warrior with poisoned arrows

Below: *A chief's mother surrounded by female slaves*

291

[Facing p. 129]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

342
241
501

Pile-dwellings with a kitchen garden

231
123
343
516

Indians wait patiently while the leader of the expedition sleeps in his hammock

Below: *Flock being driven over the steppe*

231

[facing p. 176]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

142
291
● 516
505

The ferry-man on the Colomcala River

Derricks in Lake Maracaibo

780

[Facing p. 177]

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

142
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[442
231
341]

PLATE 72.—Goajiro Indians. (Courtesy American Museum of Natural History.)

[Facing p. 380]

4: Preuss--203 E-5 (1914-1915) 1926 SC7 Cagaba SC7
Goajiro SC13

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←
G
142
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→

Ill. 1. My traveling companion, Telesforo Gutierrez, with a headdress (Sánkale), which, for dancing, has feathers stuck in it and is wound with a colored belt, from the temple of Takina.

Ill. 2. Goajiro man.

G
142
291
302

Ill. 3a, b. Goajiro woman, from the front and from the side.

/186 cont./

683 An insult is taken as an offense that has legal sanction. We note the case of two co-wives who did not get on well. One day they met unexpectedly on the road. One insulted the other with obscenities (in Spanish) and spat on the ground when she passed. This led to her being considered the author of an aggressive act and having to pay an indemnity for the moral offense caused.

When obscenities refer to a woman's honor they are specially injurious, the more so when they refer to her genital organs or to the sex act.

To show open suspicion of another person is also an offensive action which is punished. The story is told how in the Nazaret orphanage some clothes which had been left all night in one of the interior patios to dry were stolen. The Father Superior, looking for the thief, walked around the vicinity visiting the huts and obtaining information. He wanted to find out indirectly who was the thief, and in each house he got new data. In one of these huts, the owners were away and only the servants were there, for which reason he did not enter but only looked in from the outside in a guarded way. This action was noticed, however, by a bond servant, who told his master, a laborer who worked at the orphanage. Time passed and the Father needed someone to accompany him on a trip and when he asked the Indian, the latter openly refused to go with him. Asked why, he said that he was terribly resentful because the suspicion expressed in the Father's act of curiosity had pained him profoundly. If he was not paid for the pain thus caused, he would not go with him. The Father had to indemnify him.

683 522 Another act considered offensive in the Guajiro mentality is to ridicule someone. The Indian has a jocular nature, but to make someone openly the butt of his jests may cause such a feeling of offense that the man whose feelings have been wounded demands payment. It is not unusual that they joke among themselves, especially under the effects of alcohol, but it is also not unusual for their feelings to be hurt very easily, and a simple joke may cause offense, even between very close friends. To erase the effect of the hurt and /187/ sorrow (as the Guajiro says) caused by

/187 cont./

683 being put in a ridiculous position, the individual demands a pay-
[522] ment that compensates him for what was said.

It is also considered offensive and therefore contrary to the regimen for personal safety if one man hits another without wounding him. There are two aspects to be considered in this act as aggravations: the physical, that is, the blow in itself, and the psychological, for the Guajiro thinks that by being hit in this way he has been reduced to the status of a slave or bond servant; and consequently he has not only been lowered in his standing as a free man but has also been placed on a plane of dependence with respect to the person who hit him. The indemnity must satisfy both offenses.

To tear someone's robe also has a double significance as an aggressive act: the material damage caused, which must be replaced by buying a new one (conduct of a drunken husband); and the psychological damage, as it is like injuring the person himself, since a person is identified with the clothes he wears.

Any damage to the property of a person is an aggressive act and punishable as such, and the indemnity should be greater than the loss, since the excess represents the grievance suffered.

• • •

689 The transgression of the legal norms illustrated in the above
191 aggressive acts against the regimen for stability in La Guajira must be paid for both by a member of the society as well as by an outsider. But there are two things which can only apply to a native individual, an active member of the Guajiro community. These two things are the following.

a) Language. The Indian very much values his native language and tries to preserve it at all cost. His women do not want to learn Spanish and pretend they do not know it when they are questioned. It constitutes in itself a grave offense if one native speaks to another in Spanish instead of his native tongue. The story is told of a Guajiro who spoke to a relative in Spanish during

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

CHAPTER 4

Towards a Mirage

Our donkey caravan tripped along between the sand 821
dunes at a gentle trot. The sun poured what the Indians call its molten gold over us in fierce waves. The donkeys were slow, but our riding-mules were fresh and even tried a trick or two, throwing our photographer, who was no expert, into a cactus bush. That was a pity, for the 522
spikes were as long as knitting needles and unpleasantly hard and sharp. The Indians laughed heartlessly. It was perhaps the only amusing thing that happened to them on the whole trip.

We had no idea what our men were called. As I have 551
already mentioned, the Indians' first names are secret. They always say: 'I have no name' or 'Call me what you like'. Your name is part of your personality. You cannot surrender it to strangers. If you know another's name, you can acquire a certain hold over him, just as you can harm him, [754]
if you had some of his hairs or nail-clippings with which to work magic. The family name, that of the clan, is naturally public. White people usually give Spanish names to the Indians with whom they have to deal, and there are plenty of Juans and Josés in the peninsula now. Usually, however, you give a nickname to the Indians you have temporarily in your service, just as they give their employers nicknames. We discovered that they had christened our photographer [123]
'The Red One'. He was not red-headed at all, but very fair, and because of that, his face was always highly coloured in the heat. I could not get out of them what they called my wife and me. I suppose they thought that we would be offended or regard it as insubordination. They had been

/23 cont./

551 chronologically because of things that happen or because an alteration in appearance gives rise to such a change, which supplant the former one.

Games. On general lines, the play /lúdicas/ activities in 857 which children take part are in direct relation to the division of 462 labor by sex. Thus, it is strictly forbidden for them to amuse themselves in games which in real life do not correspond to their sex. Boys, for instance, are not allowed to play with dolls or to cook, and girls must not practice archery. The father will openly oppose and invoke all his authority in the small family, to keep his sons, even in play, from doing girl's work. This sense of the division of work which controls their games causes the child, alone or backed up by the influence of his father and of his maternal uncles, to refuse to do anything which does not correspond to the activities of his sex, as it is believed that games or pastimes different from those traditionally established for each sex create a liking for, or a tendency toward, the work of the opposite sex. The Guajiro wants his men to have all the accepted masculine attributes, and his women to be wholly feminine. One of the ways of violating this ideal is shown by intervening in activities of the other sex, either in play when children or in work when adult. Thus, the father will say to the little girl, "You are not to practice archery. Are you a tomboy that you should do such a thing?" And the woman who works on harnesses for animals they also consider very mannish and lowered in her standing as a woman.

Children -- both male and female -- in La Guajira take part in two kinds of play lúdicas: games properly so called and pastimes /24/ which serve as an apprenticeship and training for their work as adults.

Among the first and as a pursuit for boys, one may include 524 games with ropes which, although they do develop manual quickness and ability, are not played for this purpose. These games are practiced either alone or in a group. In the former case, the object is to gain command of the technique and to learn to

/24 cont./

524 participate later in the competitions in which the child challenges his playmates to make a certain figure in the shortest time. Other forms of competition are: that of interposing difficulties in forming the figure, making a greater number of them, or the invention of new ones.

Spinning tops is another game which is played with notable intensity and variations, as the boys learn and practice the different ways known of handling this toy in their country, such as dancing it on the hand, beating the opponent by smashing his top with the opposing one, etc. For this game a special vocabulary and rules have been established as well as techniques to win when taking the offensive or tactics for defense.

They also play with glass marbles or, when lacking these, palm seeds with the edible endocarp. For example, they make "houses" by placing three marbles in the form of a triangle as a base and superimposing a fourth. The game consists in knocking them down with a fifth marble. He who manages to do this takes for himself the marbles or seeds originally placed. Another variation consists of several players placing their marbles on the floor. In strict order each one tries, by flicking his marble with his thumb levering against the index finger, to hit the marbles of his opponents or to place his own at a previously arranged distance from theirs, to win and get their marbles.

857 But these games are practically only for town children or
[369] those kept in school, as the average child has little leisure to play, for from a very early age he is a valuable work unit who must concentrate his activities on carrying out some task, leaving him little time for such diversions. Also, he lives isolated in very lonely places and consequently will rarely meet companions to play with.

[526] Boys also play ball games, which they learn at school, and they learn to act in the Festival of the Kid at harvest time when they take the parts of small animals, children, gifts, or ornaments.

Imitative play activities are the pretending and exercise of adult activities. The child amuses himself, for example, by practicing /25/ hunting, stalking and killing small animals such

[124 cont.]

585 c) There is another very important fact in this sexual aspect of the fiesta that we are describing, which is what we might call proof of virginity. [125]

Virginity in woman is highly valued by the natives in spite of the fact that at the present time, due to economic ac- [836 178] culturative factors, it is increasingly difficult to find virgins among marriageable women, a state of affairs that the Indian male is well aware of. But it is always a matter of pride and something to be boasted of for a Guajiro man to find on his marriage night that his bride is a virgin. It is the custom, [583] furthermore, that if the man marries not knowing that his wife has lost her virginity and has the consequent disillusion on his wedding night, the bride's relatives have to return a part of the livestock which the man paid for her, especially the family neck- [578 273] lace. The Indian's concern about this matter, which remains hidden when he is in a normal state, comes to the surface during his drunken bouts, when he will sing about his wife, extolling her and boasting of having had a virgin in his marriage hammock, or insulting and degrading her in coarse improvisations when he considers that he has been defrauded.

● 524 796 831 This attitude toward sex on the part of the native, or better said this value he places on the virginity of his future wives, is expressed in a sort of game which is played at the Dance of the Kid. To play it, the girls gather in a group about a singer who [539] sings such a song as this: "Let us see, my pretty miss, if you are a virgin, if truly you have not run around too freely, if no young male has put his hands on your body." He then passes his hands over each girl's body, tickling her. He starts at her big toe and goes upward, touching her instep, calves, knees, thighs, genitals, hips, stomach, torso, breasts, armpits, and continues up her neck until he reaches the top of her head. The girl who remains quiet, indifferent, without laughing and without even a smile wins the test and is declared a virgin. The singer then sings again: "You are indeed a virgin, my lovely majayura....," and chants a veritable song of flattery and finishes by escorting her to a set place. He then continues with the rest of the girls gathered there, repeating the same routine. When a girl moves or laughs,

[125 cont.]

524 the singer says to her: "You are not a virgin, I would never
726 have believed this of you, but it is true. A pity, my pretty
majayura, that you have not your virginity and that men have
831 had their bodies over yours." He than places her in a place separate from the virgins. When he finishes doing this with all the girls in the group, he distributes prizes to the virgins, to
[431] those who have triumphed in the trial, and he eulogizes them again. The girls later return the presents which are only simulated gifts.

114 The French writer Roger Callois has interpreted these fiestas carried out from ancient to present times in a chapter called [126] "La transgresión sagrada. Teoría de la Fiesta" [The Sacred Sin. Theory of the Fiesta], and he says in this respect: "To their normal way of life, occupied with their daily work, peaceful, surrounded by a system of prudent prohibitions where the maxim quieta non movere maintains law and order in their world, there is opposed the effervescence of the fiesta. This, if only its external aspects are considered, shows identical reactions at every civilized level. It implies a great number of excited, noisy people. These conglomerations of masses greatly influence the starting of and the contagion of an exultation which spends itself in shouts and gestures and encourages the uncontrolled abandonment of all to the most irresponsible impulses. Even today when without doubt the now impoverished fiestas have very little effect on the greyish background of the monotonous everyday life of the people and appear to be sporadic, spread out, almost stagnated, there may still be distinguished in their celebrations some miserable vestiges of the collective abandonment which characterized these ancient riotous celebrations." And later he states: "In the so-called primitive civilizations the contrast is very much more clearly marked. The fiesta lasts several weeks, even several months, interrupted by intervals of rest of from four to five days. At times it required several years to gather together the quantity of comestibles and delicacies which would be not only consumed or despatched ostentatiously but also destroyed and wasted purely and simply because waste and destruction are forms of excess

[128 cont.]

796 requirement being the girl's consent; and she, in spite of the
786 loss of her virginity, in spite of her illegal maternity, does not descend in status nor bring into her community a new being inferior in standing in any way to the others. [129]

This in large part explains the large attendance of youths of both sexes at the ceremony of the Dance of the Kid, which pleases the patron who sponsors the rite because it gives a greater solemnity to the rite and in that way aids in the propitiation of the rains, and, in consequence, the harvests will be of good quality and more abundant.

d) A proof that these ceremonies break away from the
535 sexual order established in the community is the frequent rep-
524 resentation of the sexual act of animals combined with other
786 dramatizations which we shall study later. Here are some exam-
831 ples.

The hawksbill turtle. Participants arrange themselves in a long line, or chain, firmly clasping each others' waists. They symbolize in this manner the sexual act of the hawksbill turtle. This line belongs to one singer who says in his song that his turtles are performing their sexual act as they are in heat. Another band is also headed by its singer. Their role consists in trying to separate the turtles, by tugging, each one separately, at the chain made by the turtles. The turtle that is separated from its team is taken over as a trophy by the other team, but if this group is unable to pull them away it loses the match. The activity lasts until all the turtles of the chain have been separated from their team or until the opposite band that is attempting to do this declares itself beaten.

The kid. This game is played on a cleared field. A group
526 of Indians holding each others' hands form a circle, making be-
535 lieve it is a corral in which female goats are kept at night. Out-
831 side the corral are the male goats represented by other Indians
786 who, in full view of the animals enclosed, march round the corral and make successive attempts to enter. The Indians who represent the fence fend them off but finally one or two males are able to force their way in. Once inside, they imitate and copy all the attitudes of the male when aroused; they chase the females, pursue and smell them, and end by simulating the sexual act. At

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

796 to marry his partner, he must pay for her in the normal
786 way. Otherwise the young men and girls just give each other mementoes.

One of the games forming part of the dance of the kid is the so-called virginity test. The girls gather round a singer who improvises a variation of the theme: 'Let us see, pretty maid, if you have kept your innocence, if any man's hands have touched your body.' He then runs his hands over each girl in turn from the tip of her big toe, over her leg, knee, crotch, belly, chest and neck to the crown of her head, all the while trying to tickle her. Whoever neither laughs nor moves is declared a virgin and lauded by the singer. She goes and stands on one side, while those who cannot keep from laughing and so are not virgins, go to the other. Afterwards pretence presents are given to the 'virgins'.

796 When young people are gathered together as during the
842 dance of the kid festival, all sorts of dance-games and
524 pantomimes are performed. Some are connected with fertility rites, as those imitating the mating-play of turtles and goats. In the latter, the girl 'goats' are enclosed in a ring of men who try to prevent the male 'goats' from getting inside it. If any of the youths manage to leap in, they behave exactly like billy goats, pursuing the 'nannies', nosing at them and pretending to mount them. A number of the games have no erotic connection, but refer to all sorts of events in the lives of men and animals. Animals are imitated most faithfully.

796 One of the games depicts a meeting between the low-
524 landers and highlanders of Guajira. Each of the two sides has a singing leader. They exchange greetings and then each describes the situation in their homes: in the one plenty of rain, good harvests, plenty to eat and fat cattle; in the other drought, starvation and misery.

Those who are lucky with their climate then invite the others to their territory, and they all dance off in the same
[423] direction. The game is a reference to the fact that the low-
[231] landers have the right against payment to send their herds to upper Guajira at certain times of the year to graze.

/24 cont./

524 participate later in the competitions in which the child challenges his playmates to make a certain figure in the shortest time. Other forms of competition are: that of interposing difficulties in forming the figure, making a greater number of them, or the invention of new ones.

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831 side the corral are the male goats represented by other Indians
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[129 cont.]

526 this moment the owner of the goats arrives to look over his flock,
535 and he states in his song that none of his animals are missing,
786 they are fat because pasture is fresh and abundant, and he an-
851 nounces that he is about to mark them. He starts by taking out
each female goat one by one and pretends to cut its ear, which
[522] is the way to mark such animals. He keeps up his song, referring
to what he is doing. "I have many goats and now I shall lack
neither meat nor milk; I am rich...."

e) We would add to the above the fact that Indian girls of
[554] the wealthy class do not take part in these gatherings, or they
786 do so on very rare occasions, as their prestige [130] would
786 diminish seriously in consequence of the opinion held of the fiesta
that only those girls go to it who want to get a husband readily
or to satisfy their sexual urges. Besides, it is the obligation of
each man to flirt with or treat with familiarity the girl who be-
comes his partner in the dance, and her obligation is to supply
him during the dance with roasted corn, bread, meat, chicha, etc.

Summarizing up to this point, we can state that the
Dance of the Kid is a festival in which the Guajiro Indians seek
to propitiate the rains at the same time that it celebrates their
arrival and fecundity: fecundity in fruits; fecundity in animals,
as dramatized in the ceremonies just described; and fecundity
among men, in human beings, who are free from the restrictions
which are imposed on them by the community in ordinary daily
life to maintain social order.

• • •

536 Theatrical representations. "Drama is particularly difficult
to classify because so often it gets mixed up with religion.... On
the other hand, dramatic scenes can be executed for collective
entertainment or as farces with no special pretentions, as for ex-
ample in a Tahitian pantomime which represents the theft of a
basket of food from a sleeping servant; although it can occur, on
occasion, that these simple and uncertain experiments develop
into real dramas." (65)

65. Lowie. Antropología Cultural [Cul-
tural Anthropology], XI, 194-196.

[131 cont.]

796 summer and over sicknesses, pestilences, and deaths which occur
821 as a consequence of it. But we have no work to sustain this affirmation. Also one must take into account the fact that the
[609] natives are not willing that strangers be present at their Fiesta of the Kid; and when they are, the play is much repressed in its natural expression and becomes a pale copy, artificial, almost we might say a special product for exportation. Missionaries
[797] have contributed greatly to this since they are opposed to the fiesta, considering it amoral or immoral because of the sexual freedom which is shown during its performance and the representation of natural scenes of the procreative life of animals. All the
[114 data that we have are not the product of our own personal observation
127] of the fiesta but are reports collected from different sources in diverse parts of La Guajira. They have, at the very least, the value of data verified several times over.

All this leads us to think that even though the Dance of the Kid is directly related to the rains since it always starts when the rains begin even though it is specially dedicated to Mareiwa, the divinity of the rains, as we shall prove in the coming chapter, even though its name [132] appears to be derived from the stellar constellation of the Seven Kids, iwa, whose association with rain we shall also note in the following chapter, it is primarily a ceremony dedicated to fecundity, fecundity of the soil shown by the sprouting of plant life brought about by the rains. Fecundity and rain are seen, then, as two inseparable factors, two terms in the same equation: life.

526 We spoke of the aspect of demonstration of ability in
796 theatrical representations when we delimited the areas of study of the ceremonial of the Kid. In effect, according to narrations we have at our disposal about the representative games, which we shall describe in detail in the latter part of this chapter, at the end of each one, out of the two sides which have taken part in the development, one side is seen to triumph over the other due to its greater skill or ability in movement or to the physical strength of those taking part when it is a matter of representations of struggles, as we saw in the game of the hawksbill turtle, and as we shall see in the representation of scenes introducing animals,

526 [132 cont.]
796 men and animals, or men alone, as in the description of a
putchi, or interclan war. This demonstration of skill and ability
535 in their plays is shown very clearly in the chicha-maya dance,
796 which will be fully detailed in the descriptive aspect of Guajiro
culture shortly to be published. This dance, in general terms,
is restricted to a veritable struggle between the man and the
woman who are partners, a struggle in which the woman en-
deavors to overthrow the man.

536 However, in the plays of a mythical nature the scene is
more limited and always ends in the same way. It is static in
796 the sense that its conclusion cannot be changed by the ability
of the players but is determined by a prearranged plot, rigidly
imposed for each occasion it is played. This we believe is
what gives it its true mythical nature. It is part of the oral tradi-
tion of the group, and for this reason it cannot be subject to
variations determined by the moment.

Having made these general statemenns about their theatri-
cal plays, or dramas, we will now describe them one by one,
showing first those that refer to social life, then those relative to
the mythical aspect, and finally those in which animals only,
or animals with men, appear.

1. Visit between Upper and Lower La Guajira. Two groups
take part in this play, each composed of men and women. The
first represents Upper La Guajira, the other, Lower La Guajira.
The groups line up in two parallel rows [133] spaced a cuadra
apart. The components of each group hold each other round the
waist, face to face, with a small space between them. The
536 singer who heads the team of Indians that represents Upper La
539 Guajira begins by addressing the visitors from Lower Guajira,
796 "Amsh pis (Have you arrived?)." "Aaa (Yes)," replies the other.
"Kasschicki (What's new?)," asks the first singer. "Nohots
(Nothing new)," replies his opposite number from the south coun-
try. Again he of the north asks, "How goes the winter? Have the
expected rains finally arrived?" The other answers, "we are well
content. The rains have come to our crops are in good condition.
We have collected food in plenty, and there is still a quantity
left to collect. The pastures, like the trees, are green again;
our herds have water to satisfy their thirst in the wells and water

[137 cont.]

536 to, always making their peculiar call. In this way they pass over
796 the place where the hammock men are in position; they are arranged two by two in a semicircle, hands held right in left, forming quadrilaterals. The birds reach this point running at the greatest speed possible, when the hammock men stop them by surrounding them to prevent their escape. They struggle, but in the end the semicircle begins to close until it becomes a circle, and the birds are imprisoned inside. An Indian then comes to kill the birds. He does so by taking them one by one by the arm as if this were the wing and by pretending to wring their necks. Once all the birds are taken out from the net the scene ends.

8. Jaguars and dogs. This theatrical game is intended to
[725] show the fortitude and courage of the jaguar and its superiority over dogs. For this reason it requires much care in the selection of the Indians who will take part in it because they must struggle fiercely with each other, and it is essential that the team that
[773] plays the part of jaguars be the conquerors. This has caused us to believe in the mythical value of the jaguar, which actually appears in their legends related to Mareiwa as well as in clan nomenclature. The game consists in engaging in a severe struggle in which the jaguar always manages to overcome the dogs and dominate them through being stronger. The complete description can be summed up thus: The group of jaguars pretends to be settled in a tree; sometimes they actually are. The group representing the dogs arrives, following the scent and the trail until they come to the foot of the tree [138] in which the jaguars are all lurking. On finding them, the dogs bark furiously beneath the tree and provoke the jaguars until they jump down, and it is then that the terrible struggle takes place. When in the end a dog falls to the ground, the jaguar pretends to bite it to pieces, clawing its breast open and attacking its throat, where he starts to devour it. The dog whimpers painfully, goes into convulsions, and stays motionless, as if dead. The jaguar gets up satisfied as he has triumphed, and so ends the play.

9. Dogs and peccaries. Two groups are formed, each one
[533] composed of ten men arranged in line and captained, as is customary, by a singer, who is the chief of the group. One group rep-
[524] resents the peccaries, the other the dogs which are going to hunt them.

[138 cont.]

536 The play starts when the peccaries gather in a group, pretending
796 by their position and their movements that they are inside the
526 cave which is their refuge. The chief of the dog group begins to sing while these gather round him, and he harangues them to go in and kill the peccaries and not let themselves be beaten by them. The group of peccaries answer threateningly and hasten to defend themselves. The dogs approach their prey cautiously and single out one from among the group. A struggle starts between a dog and one of the peccaries, both fighting desperately for mastery, each player striving to grab his adversary by his loincloth to lift him in the air and throw him to the ground. The struggle is fierce and stubborn, because they usually select the most hardened fighters and well-muscled men to represent both the peccaries and the dogs. It continues until one of the combatants is floored by the other, in which case he admits defeat. The winner's group marks up one point. When the first pair have finished their match, a new one is started between two other Indians, and so on successively until all the representatives of the two groups have participated. In the development of the personal struggles between dog and peccary, each singer incites his man, exhorts him to greater efforts, etc. Finally, they add up the score of points obtained by each group, and the winner receives a prize, consisting generally of food.

10. The fox and the rabbit. Three personages take part in this act: one who acts as a fox, one as a rabbit, and a child who has the role of a watermelon [patilla]. The game consists in seeing which of the two animals, the fox or the rabbit, will get the watermelon they are fighting for. Both of them want to steal it. So each one of them seizes the child (who is twelve or thirteen years old) by an arm, and he who can pull him away from the other is considered the winner. [139]

To better understand this play, it is well to state that while in La Guajira we collected a story about the fox and the rabbit which is published in Revista de Folklore (67) in which there is also

67. Pineda Giraldo, Roberto. "La Chama, un mito guajiro" [The Chama, a Guajiro Myth].

[139 cont.]
shown a test of cunning between these two animals. In this tale, the rabbit is the winner.

11. The man and the wild boar. One man takes the part of a wild boar, the other that of the man who stalks it. The hunter follows the boar, which runs swiftly away, dodging the hunter's arrows in its flight. In this trial of dexterity, the hunter will be the winner if in the end he wounds the boar with one of the arrows he shoots; or it will be the boar that triumphs if it is able to tire out its persecutor and dodge all the arrows shot at it.

12. The hunter, the dog, and the rabbit. This play is another trial of dexterity, as the end in view is to try the ability of each actor in the role assigned to him. It represents, in short, a hunting party, in which the man and the dog try to capture and kill the rabbit. The dog tries to catch it and tear it to pieces, while the man follows at a greater distance, throwing stones at it. If he manages to hit it, the rabbit acts as if killed, giving the victory to the huntsman. The result is the same if the dog is successful in catching his prey with his claws, but if the rabbit should evade both of them, showing greater ability and speed than the other two, he becomes the winner of the test.

13. The song of the serpent. We have left this section to terminate our study of the theater in La Guajira because it presents characteristics different from all the other representations which we have described. It does not involve a demonstration of skill or force, nor does it require the intervention of contending groups in any way. In consequence there is no dialogue, but there is a monologue sung by the leader of the group followed by all the actors, in which the deeds of the serpent are recounted

As a clarifying note we refer our reader to the chapter "Sickness and Medicine," in which this reptile's magic power is clearly evident, especially in relation to pregnant women and all that surrounds them. We also would recall that, as in the case of the jaguar, the serpent [140] figures in the naming of the clans, at times in close association with the jaguar.

The act develops as follows: A line is formed of alternate men and women who take each other's hands. They run with short steps, undulating to copy the motion of a serpent when

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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123 musical bow. It was quite small. He held one end between
534 his lips and struck the strings with a stick. If the reed-flute was introduced by the Moors in those early days, the musical bow must have come with negro slaves. Stringed instruments were not known in South America before the arrival of the white man. The Indians knew nothing of all that, but neither of these two originally foreign instruments were used in their rites, which supports the conclusion that they were introduced late.

The concert was interrupted by the women announcing
123 that a meal awaited us. This began with the oily, somewhat
262 nauseous berries which the Creoles call olives. We did not
264 like their taste and never did more than just sample them. We had also heard that they might be injurious. The main dish—one could almost say, naturally—consisted of boiled dried goat's meat, the standard fare in the peninsula, and we were given water that also tasted of goat—we preferred not to know why.

259 In Guajira it is possible to dry meat in the sun without salting it, providing you cut it in strips and remove all bone. In moister parts of the Caribbean countries meat has to be properly salted before it can be preserved by drying, but in the dry air of Guajira that can be dispensed with. Salt, too, is a thing of which they have more than enough.

Having four young men present, I thought I would
123 arrange a competition for marksmanship with bow and
524 arrow and with a sling. The prizes were an empty biscuit tin, a handkerchief and a needle. These were all desirable things and the contestants did their best. The fourth received a Swedish ten öre piece as consolation prize.

411 I took the opportunity to take a closer look at their weapons. The bows were powerful and had round sections; the arrows had iron heads shaped like a lancet. An old man said that in the old days the heads used to be made of bamboo. Some of the arrows, those intended for smaller birds, had blunt points made of wood or wax. The quarry was meant to be stunned by the force of the impact. They showed us arrows equipped with cross-pieces to prevent them becoming lost when used in the scrub. The cross-

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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In another game the dangerous spirit Yoruyá attacks and kills Indian after Indian till he is set upon by them all and killed; in yet another the Indians hide in a cloud made of cloaks, when the spirit forces its way in, but it is captured by the cloud and vanquished. 796 526 [776]

Horse-racing is one of the Indians' greatest pleasures at their festivities, but they also indulge in it—without horses—as a game in connection with the dances. Very amusing and picturesque is a game in which they imitate hunting a kind of bird that plunders the seed in their fields. The Indians pretend to be trying to scare them and catch them in nets. Here the seed is represented by some children, some of the men are the birds, others the hunters who catch the birds in their hammocks and then wring their necks! [541]

Another game represents a fight between jaguars and dogs. The strongest of the men are made the jaguars, for these have to win. Then there is a snake game in which men and women crawl along together, imitating the movements of a snake and singing the snake song: 'I am the snake. I creep along the ground. I do harm to none, but punish those who try to trample me. Long must he suffer, who tramps upon me because he thinks me defenceless since I creep on the ground. He must suffer and die.' There are endless variations; but a dance lasts so long that a little variety is necessary.

Once the upper-class dance, the chichamaya, was over, Mauana's people gladly showed us all their games and dances even though it was not the right time of year. [565]

As we were riding home the next day we encountered several companies of Indians returning from a burial-feast. Among them was a young man in a beautifully woven mantle, who joined up with us. He spoke good Spanish and obviously belonged to the upper class. Francisco told him about us, and he was eager that we should be his guests that same day, since his rancho lay on our route. He said that he had a few things that I might well find interesting and he himself would like to see one of my pistols. (Francisco had evidently described how they smoked and made a bang.) Some of the Indians accompanying us now became 115 273

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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The *Goajiro* believe that after death the deceased in ethereal form 775
wander about the country, their favorite meeting place being in the vicinity of Bahía Honda in the extreme north of the peninsula. There is some evidence that the Indians look forward to a happier existence after death. From this belief in the afterlife stems the practice of mutilating the body of a slain enemy, for once his body is broken and scattered it is not possible to reassemble his soul, and the slayer is protected from a vengeance-seeking spirit.

The dead are highly respected or feared; consequently, it is a serious 769 551
offense to mention a dead person by name.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Games.—The *Goajiro* have various athletic sports, such as horse racing, 526
wrestling, and archery. Contestants shoot at a skin ball or a fruit tossed into the air or at targets; they are very accurate up to 125 yards. Tournaments are held in which the contestants pair off, the victor of each round winning an arrow and continuing to compete.

Feasts and dances.—The *Goajiro* are fond of feasts and hold them 574
whenever opportunity offers—at funerals, when they have received their 756
pay for loading salt, at baptisms, or when a person completes his training as a medicine man. Weston (1937) describes a festival held on the last-mentioned occasion. For 2 days the big drum was sounded by relays of players, spreading the news. The dance, practiced beforehand, took place in a circle some 25 feet (7.5 m.) in diameter around which some 200 Indians gathered. A man, nude except for his waist cloth and head band [292
with ornamental plume, with his face painted red in a crisscross pattern, 535]
danced backward from a girl dressed in a voluminous robe and wearing a large red handkerchief on her head. The girl attempted to overtake and head off the man, who retreated before her in a circle with a peculiar double step, almost a hop and a skip. As one pair tired another took its place, the dance continuing indefinitely.

Musical instruments.—*Goajiro* musical instruments are few. A 534
calabash filled with stones or peas serves as a rattle for dance accompaniment. The clarinet is about 2 feet (0.6 m.) long, made of telescoped (?) sections of reed with a bell consisting of calabash and a vibrating reed in the mouthpiece. It is side blown. The large drum is carved from a hollow section of tree, 15 inches (38 cm.) in diameter and 24 inches (60 cm.) long, and has both ends covered with sheepskin. It is slung from the rafters, a branch, or from the player's neck. Singing among the *Goajiro* is virtually nonexistent.

Narcotics and stimulants.—To make chicha beer, maize may be mas- 273
ticated by the women and spat into a large earthenware bowl, with water and crude sugar added. After 3 days it is strained and drunk. By another

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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the chief game. The *Goajiro* who live near the coast sometimes catch 22
fish (with hook and line), lobsters, molluska, and crabs.

Cattle raising.—The *Goajiro* are primarily nomadic cattle raisers and, 231
consequently, depend upon the water supply. In the rainy season they 221
seek natural depressions, which they sometimes enlarge artificially, where [512]
the water may gather. In case of drought they wander toward the sea,
where wells 30 to 40 feet (9 to 12 m.) deep are dug.

Besides cattle the *Goajiro* keep sheep, goats, horses (pl. 72, *bottom,* 231
left), mules, pigs, and domestic fowls, which they take with them wherever
they go. An estimate gives them 100,000 cattle, 200,000 sheep and goats,
20,000 horses and mules, and 30,000 donkeys. As cattle are a measure [54]
of wealth, the Indians are reluctant to kill them for food, but they utilize [43]
the milk or export the animals to Curaçao and Aruba in exchange for
textiles and corn. Each tribe has its own cattle brand, and the annual [522]
round-up and branding is an occasion for great festivities. Horse races
and other sports take place, and large quantities of food and drink are [527]
consumed.

Food preparation.—*Goajiro* diet consists almost entirely of meat and 262
milk products. Goats and sheep are killed every day or two for meat, 252
and the milk of the cows is made into butter and cheese. This diet is
supplemented by yuca, cactus fruit, sugar, rice, and plantains, the last
three obtained from Colombian and Venezuelan traders in exchange for
skins. Meat that is not immediately consumed is suspended from tall
poles, and skins are pegged to the ground and salted in preparation for
sale. Butter is made by stirring the cream with a fluted stick in a calabash or wooden bucket. To make cheese, rennet is added to skimmed
milk in a trough, and the curds are put in a primitive wooden cheese
press, which is weighted with a heavy rock.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Although the *Goajiro* are of a common origin, they are divided into 619
sibs ("castes" or "tribes"), each living within a rather limited area 36
(Simons, 1885, p. 796). The sibs are split into local groups, which
occupy extended villages or rancherías, each with 2 to 50 houses
(ranchos) and 10 to 250 or more Indians. Houses are always within
gunshot distance of one another and so disposed that surprise attacks
would be difficult. If a village is at all permanent, a protective cactus
hedge surrounds it.

Goajiro nomadism makes elaborate houses unnecessary. Dwellings 392
are mere lean-tos, arbors, and temporary gabled roofs supported on poles.
Thatch is made from the core of the cactus, split lengthwise. Rough [502]
tables, chairs with rawhide seats, and benches are often used. The ham-
mock is always present. House walls are often lacking, but a corner [511]
of the hut may be closed off for a girl's puberty seclusion. When mi-

857 462 231 /44 cont./
an activity he should practice from an early age as he is obliged to find all animals that wander away; to make bows and arrows and stalk animals when hunting. On his own part, with his
857 462 224 small friends he organizes hunts for machorros (2) and various

2. Edible lizard.

kinds of birds and makes traps in the wells for pigeons. He helps catch the seasonal birds which arrive at harvest time, keeps watch during the night on traps set for deer, learns to slaughter the animals required for household consumption and to make the best use of them.

857 462 241 In agricultural work he helps in the task of clearing his maternal uncle's land of trees, and later looks after his own piece if he has such, clearing it and leaving it ready for the women to sow the seed; he also plants fruit trees and creepers and attends to weeding. Harvesting work is done by the women. In places where fishing is practiced, he takes part, when he is about ten years old, in related activities, such as opening to extract pearls. He also takes part in making farm tools, sacks, harnesses, hats, coconut-husk necklaces, etc., when his elders are employed in these activities.

857 462 415 To the boy falls the preparation of gourd vessels, basins, cups, plates, etc., used for different domestic purposes. The job of preparing the gourd dishes includes all the processes from picking the fruit when /45/ ripe, opening it and taking out the pith, and, when the rind is still tender, incising decorative [531] designs on it with a metal knife or the sharp point of a bone or stone. These designs are usually of his own personal invention.

857 462 Lastly, he may be given odd jobs to do such as the delivering of a message, the fetching of some necessary article or other, accompanying someone seat from his home, etc., but fundamentally he devotes himself to his pasturing, the constant occupation of the Guajiro.

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Indian women in the national dress of today with large woollen pompons on their sandals

[P.2]
[P.1 Continues on text which is not reproduced elsewhere]

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those we had left, but just as simple. Inside were hammocks slung this way and that. Along the walls were carrying-nets filled with things, and earthenware vessels lay scattered about the floor of hard-trodden sand. Some of these vessels were grey, others reddish-brown, some had necks and handles. One was an obvious imitation of a Dutch liqueur jar. It was not far to Puerto Estrella, to which schooners from the Dutch islands came.

Most of the earthenware vessels had red decoration. Some, with wavering lines, were obviously the work of the oldest of the women, who was frail and almost blind; but there was no fault in the shape of the vessel. The woven cloths were hung up in a special shelter. The warp hung vertical and ran like an endless belt over an upper and a lower pole. Several related tribes, members of the Arusk family, use the same method. When the cloth is finished, it forms a ring, and is then cut up.

They were working on a man's belt or sash. The everyday belt was only a couple of inches wide, but sashes intended for more solemn occasions were some eighteen inches broad and very colourful. They used red, yellow, black and white yarn and the pattern was most interesting. Ceremonial cloaks are also woven for the men, just as colourful as the sashes, but, to my sorrow, I was never able to acquire a really fine specimen. They were simply too expensive. The rich chiefs collected them, but custom decreed that they must be wrapped in all their cloaks when they died, which meant that none were inherited. The men's everyday cloaks I have already described; they pulled them on and then twisted them so that their chest was bared. The women's dress was considerably more Spartan: it was a wide tunic, made like a sack with holes for the head and arms, and dyed black with divi-divi or brown with stuff from some other plant. Their loin-cloth only became visible when they were working in the shade or indoors and removed their tunics. It too was black or undyed. They themselves thought that there was no call to use a nice patterned cloth for underclothes. Little girls often had patterned loin-cloths, but then they did not wear tunics

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Chief Mamma

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Mamma's daughter, ceremonially painted, beside her mate

[Fig
531]

[Facing p. 80]

[104 cont.]

226 751 [177 184] Never again during our visit did we come across this type of magic object, which leads us to believe that it does not belong to the Guajiro cultural whole, but that it is due rather to the influence of the mulattoes of the coast who, as is well known, are extremely superstitious.

*756 778 Charms used to call spirits. The use of these charms, to which we have referred on other occasions, is limited to shamans. They use them to facilitate the arrival of their protector spirits when they are in a curing trance or are carrying out any of the functions related to their status. Up to the present we have not arrived at a satisfactory explanation of their influence on the spirits, but we might now bring together the few data we do have. One of the female shamans who served us as informant and who [776] came from the Sierra [de] Jarara possessed charms to attract her spirits. She explained to us that as those spirits are assistants, some to young shamans, some to old ones, the charms to facilitate the arrival of their spirits are also of two classes: for young shamans and the other for old ones.

The charm is made from the leaf of a plant called in Guajiro [824] morõno, which is found in abundance on Itojoro Hill. A woman expert in such articles makes them there [105] by grinding the leaves of the plant to a paste and shaping this into a rounded form which she keeps in a small bag of red thread. The larger ones are reserved for the older shamans, and the others, combined with some of the former, are for the younger.

778 788 The guará or guale. The guará or guale, difficult to find at present, is a kind of idol made from solid gold or silver and of which only a few examples exist as they are no longer made. This [325] small idol is an anthropomorphic representation in fetal position, [532] and it does not seem to be an autochthonous product of the Guajiro as they themselves assert that these idols come from their [173] distant ancestors, by which they mean the Arhuaco of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta.

This fetish is known sometimes by the name Mareiwa, a divinity or spirit similar to the idea of God but which appears to be nothing else than the spirit of Rain, as we shall see further ahead (cf. "Mareiwa and Wanurí").

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On two occasions I went out with some hunters who had 778
hunting cóntras. Two had talismans for hares; these were 224
small pellets fastened to the leather shield that protects the 789
arm against the bow string. The pellets were shaped like rabbit's excrement and contained a herb the leaves of which resembled rabbit's ears and which the so-called rabbits were fond of! Another man had a deer cóntra prepared from a creeper. It resembled deer's droppings.

The hunters were quite convinced that the cóntra would give them good hunting, and that by its power their game would be unable to escape them. Thus those cóntra were doubly effective. On neither occasion, however, did we get anything, much to the consternation of the hunters. I think they assumed that my presence had prevented the charms working, and they were astounded when I bought them.

Of other talismans there was one intended to help its 778
owner win races. This consisted of some rattling fruits to 789
tie beside the horse's ear. There was a cóntra for warriors called *ressia*, which gave its bearer courage and made him invulnerable. Another, which was very expensive, was said to give the possessor luck in business and gradually make him rich. Having become rich, he could then purchase the most expensive charm of all, that which would bring him respect and power. This latter was strictly personal: an outsider could be harmed by seeing it, especially a thief, and it was not effective except in the hands of its rightful owner. It was contained inside several small bags, one within the other, and what was inside the inmost one was known only to the piache who prepared it. In the talisman that brought wealth there were supposed to be links of gold, the power of which lay in the spells spoken over them. Similarly pearls and little figures made of coconut over which the wise women had spoken spells served as amulets. Amongst other things they protect the wearer against the [789]
evil eye, belief in which the Indians had evidently adopted [177]
from the Spanish–Moorish superstitions of their conquerors. [532]
You can find too the small carved hands that are so typically Moorish, and the most powerful means of averting the evil eye. Yet another is more in the negro style. The skulls of

/20 cont./

§54 affection are not so apparent, and the child develops into a small adult, obeying family authority in his activities and conduct. Now start his training in work, punishments, and learning to put his physical strength to practical use in family life, as he is given responsibilities and duties in the home.

We have already seen how the mother carries her child in her arms while he is not yet sitting up or crawling. It is at this period that she shows him her affection. If he cries or is fretful, she places him upright on her shoulder and gently pats his arms to quieten him and get him to sleep; she lays him horizontally on her lap to put him to sleep, or puts him in his hammock and rocks and lulls him to sleep. While she is working and the child is comfort, she lays him on rags or matting near to her work, chats to him in baby language and loving pet names. If the child becomes fretful, she lifts him up, offers him the breast, or holds him in her lap while trying to carry on with her work.

To satisfy the child's need to move and to develop his muscles, she seats him on her legs when he is quite small and later helps him to stand up and take steps, stimulating his endeavors with words and cries or laughing at his attempts or tumbles. Lullabies

§55 are very common, and there are typical ones with conventional words and music, or extemporaneous ones, which are in the nature of the description of some action, fable, or story that is hit upon, or simply one that tells the child that she is busy and he should be good and go to sleep. The tune may be one of those generally used for such lullabies or that of any favorite Guajiro song.

When the child wakes the mother picks him up from his hammock, speaks to him in baby language, pets him, and calls him endearing names /21/ This is the time to feed him, and while she does this she calls him some pet name and pats his shoulders rhythmically. Sometimes she will tickle him, she will teasingly take away her nipple to replace it playfully at once, thus stopping his protests. She lets him play with her hair and even allows him to try to grip her face. The other relatives,

/196 cont./

a peculiar characteristic of the Guajiro Indian. They steal from the time they are children, since the scarcity of food in La Guajira makes the child steal food from his younger brother, from his relatives, and from outsiders; and he eats it immediately or takes it away and hides it in the woods to use when it is possible and convenient to his need.

This means that they are punished when they steal food from their own homes and praised when they steal it from outsiders. Even men frequently steal from the sown fields at night, and there is hardly a stock breeder who does not have to exercise scrupulous vigilance over his livestock day and night to avoid being the victim of thieves. At night the livestock must be shut up in well-fenced corrals, annexed to the houses, but even so they are frequently stolen. During the day the flocks are never allowed to pasture without someone looking after them. The Guajiro knows and can distinguish from others the tracks of his animals, which permits him to track them over long distances, helped by the sandy soil, until he finds where they are. The tracker follows the thief until he finds him, and if he discovers him with the stolen animal it is not unusual for him to kill him. If he knows who the thief is, he goes at once to this man's closest relatives, demanding indemnity, which they will certainly pay, because if they do not, the wronged man will take advantage of any opportunity to recuperate his loss and damages by his own hand.

When they wish to know who the rustler is, they frequently have recourse to the diviner, who takes a cigarette, a wand, or a firebrand, according to his speciality, and lights it. In the wisps of smoke and in the way the flame consumes the burning article, he believes that he can find, after long observation, the thief and the place where the stolen thing can be found. /197/

When they recover an important object, the family that had lost it give a small feast in which an animal is slaughtered to divide among attending friends; chicha and rum are drunk, and a drum is beaten with the monotonous, prolonged rhythm to which they dance the chicha maya for several nights.

[20 cont.]

755 wanurú spirits of the dead, who have arrows similar to those used
[753] by the Indians for hunting, which are shot at individuals to cause
them sickness and pain.) The chant of the shaman is suspended
only while he is sucking the affected parts of the sick person's
body; then he immediately continues it again and returns to the
spitting, the rubbing, and the sucking of the painful areas. The
755 sick person should be confined to his home, and furthermore his
758 bed should be enclosed by curtains in the manner of a second
room within the main one. None may enter this place without
the express consent of the shaman. However, the witch some-
times permits the presence of a relative of the sick person, gen-
erally the sister or the wife, who can act as nurse, especially
during the moments when the shaman is resting. When he renews
his curative acts, they must withdraw again.

755 The songs which the shaman intones tell how his spirit is
753 searching for the soul of the sick man which the spirit of sick-
[533] ness and death has carried away to unknown regions which are
known only to it and to the spirit of the shaman. Often the
sick person's spirit does not let itself be caught by the shaman,
or it can happen that his soul is imprisoned, held by act and
wish of the wanurú, which can cause the shaman a great deal of
work. When through the intervention of his protector spirit he
succeeds in recovering the spirit of the patient, he must pay the
755 wanurú that held it prisoner a ransom for its liberation. This
782 spirit will then ask through the mouth of the shaman for whatever
gifts it may fancy. The shaman on his part transmits the op-
pressing spirit's demands to the sick man's relatives. These de-
mands take the form of requests for animals — cattle, goats,
sheep, etc., — of a certain color and special markings; orna-
ments of certain sizes and shapes; cloth, food and, at times,
things very difficult to find. The sick man's relatives hurry
to look everywhere for the requested items, and once found they
present them to the shaman and place them, if they are animals,
near him where he is "shamanizing." Other objects, such as
necklaces, cloth, etc., are placed in his hands. If the orders
*756 are not immediately complied with and in accordance with the
755 slightest detail, the shaman suffers very severe fits and attacks
and has to withdraw from assisting the patient. This is because,

[121 cont.]

128 differentiation between magic and religion, and between play as such and drama. But these four things are so interlaced that it is not possible to take each one of these aspects separately for analysis or even for presentation. If the whole appears clear we shall be satisfied. Our intention in this study has been to present facts in the most objective manner possible without neglecting, obviously, to interpret at times when it has seemed necessary or when we have felt capable of doing so.

536 As we have said, whether what is presented in the Dance of the Kid is magic or religion, it is a matter that might lend itself to Byzantine discussions by which nothing of the subject would be cleared up. On the contrary, they would further confuse it and take away opportunities to make known one of the most interesting aspects of the spiritual life of the Guajiro, in which are broken many of their social traditions, or rather their everyday cultural patterns, and in which they have an opportunity to show their dexterity more than their capacity as actors, since it must not be thought that what we have described as theater is such in the true sense of the word but rather corresponds to the beginnings of that art, the beginning of representations, without finality in themselves but as propitiation of rain and good harvests, as integral parts of a complete ritual which includes dances, songs, and representations of natural scenes or incidents taken from mythology.

536 What has given us occasion to call this theater or, if one
916 prefers, drama is the concurrence in the representation of scenes of a small number of the participants at the Fiesta, or Dance, of the Kid and the presence of a great number of the other participants who fill the role of spectators. [122]

It also frequently occurs that each group that takes part in the play is headed by a minstrel, or singer, who narrates each event as it occurs; the language he employs is dramatic, and he uses the most attractive turns of speech. The verbal music is added to the drama though not in the form of massed choirs but is expressed by each of the leaders who guide the actions of the par-
[533] ticipants in the scene that is being represented. Unfortunately, these songs have not been traditionally preserved but are rather improvised for the occasion. Only the music has endured

[123 cont.]

946 533 539 b) Of the songs which are sung in this ceremony of propitiation of rain, there are some of a simple, humorous character making fun of neighboring native groups, pointing out their defects, such as we transcribe below: [124]

I do not love the men of Riohacha
Because they like to smoke tobacco;
I do not like the men of Nazaret,
Because they have a very sweet tooth.

But there are others of a typical erotic flavor, sung by the [251] men, which are nothing more than an invitation to love, the story of their manliness, of their value as males. We translate literally a fragment which we heard in Uribia:

Come to me, my sister.
Come to me, my woman.
I am a male.

Do not look at him
—At that youngster —
Walk straight and correctly.
Walk straight and correctly.
Walk straight and correctly.

I am here.
I am the male.
I bring with me my rifle
And my revolver.
I am a male.
You were very charming, my love.

Oh, that I may take an Indian girl!
I will pay for her
Because I am rich.

Many songs such as this are sung at the Dance of the Kid, but we were unable to take down the words because, as we have said, songs do not exist as such. They are not stereotyped and established with definite words and unchangeable form but are improvised, making use of every recourse, especially stories of past incidents, to which they adapt a well-known tune.

[127 cont.]

536 so, always making their peculiar call. In this way they pass over
746 the place where the hammock men are in position; they are arranged two by two in a semicircle, hands held right in left, forming quadrilaterals. The birds reach this point running at the greatest speed possible, when the hammock men stop them by surrounding them to prevent their escape. They struggle, but in the end the semicircle begins to close until it becomes a circle, and the birds are imprisoned inside. An Indian then comes to kill the birds. He does so by taking them one by one by the arm as if this were the wing and by pretending to wring their necks. Once all the birds are taken out from the net the scene ends.

8. Jaguars and dogs. This theatrical game is intended to
[125] show the fortitude and courage of the jaguar and its superiority over dogs. For this reason it requires much care in the selection of the Indians who will take part in it because they must struggle fiercely with each other, and it is essential that the team that
[773] plays the part of jaguars be the conquerors. This has caused us to believe in the mythical value of the jaguar, which actually appears in their legends related to Maresiwa as well as in clan nomenclature. The game consists in engaging in a severe struggle in which the jaguar always manages to overcome the dogs and dominate them through being stronger. The complete description can be summed up thus: The group of jaguars pretends to be settled in a tree; sometimes they actually are. The group representing the dogs arrives, following the scent and the trail until they come to the foot of the tree [128] in which the jaguars are all lurking. On finding them, the dogs bark furiously beneath the tree and provoke the jaguars until they jump down, and it is then that the terrible struggle takes place. When in the end a dog falls to the ground, the jaguar pretends to bite it to pieces, clawing its breast open and attacking its throat, where he starts to devour it. The dog whimpers painfully, goes into convulsions, and stays motionless, as if dead. The jaguar gets up satisfied as he has triumphed, and so ends the play.

9. Dogs and peccaries. Two groups are formed, each one
[533] composed of ten men arranged in line and captained, as is customary, by a singer, who is the chief of the group. One group rep-
[524] resents the peccaries, the other the dogs which are going to hunt them.

536 [139 cont.]
53
96

shows a test of cunning between these two animals. In this tale, the rabbit is the winner.

11. The man and the wild boar. One man takes the part of a wild boar, the other that of the man who nails it. The hunter follows the boar, which runs swiftly away, dodging the hunter's arrows in its flight. In this trial of dexterity, the hunter will be the winner if in the end he wounds the boar with one of the arrows he shoots; or it will be the boar that triumphs if it is able to tire out its persecutor and dodge all the arrows shot at it.

12. The hunter, the dog, and the rabbit. This play is another trial of dexterity, as the end in view is to try the ability of each actor in the role assigned to him. It represents, in short, a hunting party, in which the man and the dog try to capture and kill the rabbit. The dog tries to catch it and tear it to pieces, while the man follows at a greater distance, throwing stones at it. If he manages to hit it, the rabbit acts as if killed, giving the victory to the hunnman. The result is the same if the dog is successful in catching his prey with his claws, but if the rabbit should evade both of them, showing greater ability and speed than the other two, he becomes the winner of the test.

536
96

13. The song of the serpent. We have left this section to terminate our study of the theater in La Guajira because it presents characteristics different from all the other representations which we have described. It does not involve a demonstration of skill or force, nor does it require the intervention of contending groups in any way. In consequence there is no dialogue, but there is a monologue sung by the leader of the group followed by all the actors, in which the deeds of the serpent are recounted

[539]

As a clarifying note we refer our reader to the chapter "Sickness and Medicine," in which this reptile's magic power is clearly evident, especially in relation to pregnant women and all that surrounds them. We also would recall that, as in the case of the jaguar, the serpent [140] figures in the cosmos of the class, at times in close association with the jaguar.

[540]

The act develops as follows: A line is formed of alternate men and women who take each other's hands. They run with short steps, undulating to copy the motion of a serpent when

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arived. They brought out stools carved with animals' heads 123
and tails for us to sit on, and then four young men hastened 352
to entertain us with music. I had happened to ask about 534
musical instruments and it appeared that we had come to a musical family. They all played the flute, which there was usually small, of reed or wood, and ornamented with carved figures. There was also a larger flute which had a mouthpiece and reed, like a child's trumpet, and a calabash at the other end. This instrument buzzed and droned like a bumble-bee. It was extraordinary. It did not seem a South American instrument at all. In fact, it was quite simply an offshoot of the eastern snake-charmer's flute, which I had seen in Morocco. How had it got to America? Perhaps through the [171]
Moors. The early Spanish discoverers had Moorish slaves and servants with them, and, as we shall see, this flute was not the only indication of Moorish influence.

Guajira is often called the Arabia of South America, 100
because it too is an arid peninsula with a population largely consisting of nomad herdsmen. In the distance a Guajiro caravan looks thoroughly eastern, and who knows from whom the Guajiros' forebears acquired their knowledge of how to ride and to rear cattle?

Not wishing to spoil the concert, I said nothing of all this. 123
I myself am quite unmusical, but my wife gave the per- 533
formers full marks. The pieces had names that suited the evening: 'The Little Goat seeks its Mother', 'The Horses are driven Home', 'By the Ripplling Water'. The four also sang. To European ears their singing was considerably less attractive than the music, but the words were often poetical and lovely. 'The little goat laments and says: the water that I drink is salt and salt are the plants I have to eat. And just as it begins to drink, the little goat's salt tears fall along with the other drops upon the salt ground.' In that perhaps was a little too much salt, but it was typically Guajiran. Even a goat can get too much of what others seek so avidly elsewhere.

They showed us other musical instruments: a drum that 123
was played for dancing and a whistle made of calabash, in- 534
tended for signalling. One of the four also produced a

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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bride-price. (A refusal by the girl's family to accept the offerings can lead to a serious conflict between the two families.) The deputation then returns home and informs the suitor. He does not try to haggle. That is not done. Also he has a fairly good idea beforehand what he will be asked to pay. If his relatives can afford it, the price is paid in a lump sum in cows, which is the grandest method of payment. The cows are driven to the bride's house by slaves and followed by the bridegroom's maternal uncles, who are responsible for making settlement. They are given a festive reception and return with gifts of meat from a freshly slaughtered animal. The bridegroom does not go on this occasion either. He arrives later with some cows for his mother-in-law, which constitute a reward for the bridal bed, a beautiful hammock she has woven. This symbolizes his right of possession of the girl. 584

In the old days it was considered that a bride ought to be virgin, although now that manners are not so strict, this is not so strictly insisted upon. The white man usually explains the girl's period of confinement as being intended to protect her innocence; yet she would surely have more opportunity to kick over the traces when living by herself in a little hut, than if she were with her family and always under their eye. Among the better families at least, a husband can demand return of part of the bride-price if he discovers that he is not the first to enjoy the girl's favours. A bride who is not a virgin should thus command a lower price than a virgin. A girl with a child, or a wife another man has returned, commands even less, just as with the Moors, though that is not to say that the custom came from them. 585 836

Nowadays a sensible girl tells her intended husband if she has had an affaire, before the bride-price is settled, and thereby complications are avoided. A young man will seldom hesitate to marry a girl making such a confession.

A man's inmost thoughts often emerge under the influence of intoxication, when he sits in his hammock improvising a song, as the Indians do. Scornfully he may chant: 'Ah, ah, ah, ah, when I married my wife was not a maid.' If she was, he will sing: 'Ah, ah, ah, my bride was innocent.' [533]

/8 cont./

[851] Birth and death of the first-born. The father must pay the expenses of pregnancy and delivery, as well as those occasioned by the celebration of the birth of his first child, and he is expected to offer a special feast at his own expense at the place where the birth occurred. The news of the birth of the child spreads rapidly and draws relatives and friends from all parts. At midday the dance, which lasts all night, begins, in which the [534] single women and all the men take part. The rhythm is supplied [535] by a double-headed drum made of deer or goat hide. The dancing takes place within a large circle, around the edges of which the couples participating and the curious onlookers gather. The women attend in their finest dresses without forgetting their ornaments (necklaces, bracelets, and anklets) and wear wound round the head a handkerchief, which falls over the shoulder, and have their faces very carefully painted. The men wear broad belts wonderfully embroidered and feather headpieces.

[275] The father must supply his guests with Goajiro rum or with smuggled foreign liquor. Also chicha (made from chewed corn) [541] is prepared and is served liberally. Apart from the dancing there may be horse racing, if the people are rich, and for this they bring their finest animals. At dawn the next day cattle, if the father is rich, and goats are slaughtered, which are prepared and divided among the participants according to their importance in the family, the group, and the total collectivity in general. All the participants return to their homes by sunrise.

In addition to the father, the maternal and paternal relatives [431] join in the celebration of the birth, bringing gifts for the newly born. The father also makes him a present of heads of livestock, which constitute almost the only inheritance he will get during [428] his lifetime, as it is the nephews of the father, (sons of his sister) who inherit the capital and not the sons, according to law, when the marriage has been carried out according to the Goajiro rite.

[851] [431] [428] The paternal grandfather also shows his recognition and generosity toward his grandson. If he owns livestock, he is obliged to give a pair of each -- horses, burros, cows, goats,

[21cont.]

When the patient shows signs of improving, a fiesta is organized consisting of chicha-maya dances and feasting. For this event they prepare in advance all that will be offered to the participants: chicha made from chewed corn, plain or sweetened with panela according to the economic situation of the sick man's family. The dance lasts one or more days and nights, as ordered by the shaman, the only musical instrument used being the drum. In order to end the fiesta, two or three steers and several goats and sheep are killed if the hosts are rich. At four or five o'clock in the morning, according to the shaman's wishes, the sick person is taken from his bed, and the cures himself bathes him with soap and water, after which he is again carried indoors and is permitted to stay up, but not to leave his dwelling. Slowly he resumes normal living and the everyday diet. If the patient should have a relapse, [22] the treatment is repeated. The process of these cures may last up to two months, according to the patient's condition.

No one is actually invited to the fiesta which is organized by order of the shaman when he has succeeded in curing a patient. When people find out that such a fiesta is about to be given from the characteristic beating of the drum, they approach without being invited and take part, joining in dancing the chich-amaya. The women are offered a bowl of chicha made from chewed corn to take to their homes to drink there with their families. Men are given rum or chicha. The women wear with great pride their long ample robes, which cover them to the ankles, their wairuas, or leather sandals with toe pieces made of knitted wool and adorned with large tassels of the same material, and a mitrula around their heads, the corners of which hang down their backs. If they are wealthy enough, they complete their personal adornment with anklets and bracelets of coral and necklaces of gold or tuma. The men also wear their finest robes, which, hanging from one of their shoulders, cover the upper part of their bodies. This is complemented by a wide sash used to support the loincloth [gayuco], wider than the one commonly used, that is, than that used in their daily work. If animals are sacrificed -- which depends on the wealth

Above left: Youth playing a flute

Above right: Little girl with book

Right: Rubber

[Facing p. 69]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1933) 1937
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ceived. They brought out stools carved with animals' heads and tails for us to sit on, and then four young men hastened to entertain us with music. I had happened to ask about musical instruments and it appeared that we had come to a musical family. They all played the flute, which there was usually small, of reed or wood, and ornamented with carved figures. There was also a larger flute which had a mouthpiece and reed, like a child's trumpet, and a calabash at the other end. This instrument buzzed and droned like a bumble-bee. It was extraordinary. It did not seem a South American instrument at all. In fact, it was quite simply an offshoot of the eastern snake-charmer's flute, which I had seen in Morocco. How had it got to America? Perhaps through the Moors. The early Spanish discoverers had Moorish slaves and servants with them, and, as we shall see, this flute was not the only indication of Moorish influence.

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musical bow. It was quite small. He held one end between his lips and struck the strings with a stick. If the reed-flute was introduced by the Moors in those early days, the musical bow must have come with negro slaves. Stringed instruments were not known in South America before the arrival of the white man. The Indians knew nothing of all that, but neither of these two originally foreign instruments were used in their rites, which supports the conclusion that they were introduced late.

The concert was interrupted by the women announcing that a meal awaited us. This began with the oily, somewhat nauseous berries which the Creoles call olives. We did not like their taste and never did more than just sample them. We had also heard that they might be injurious. The main dish—one could almost say, naturally—consisted of boiled dried goat's meat, the standard fare in the peninsula, and we were given water that also tasted of goat—we preferred not to know why.

In Guajira it is possible to dry meat in the sun without salting it, providing you cut it in strips and remove all bone. In moister parts of the Caribbean countries meat has to be properly salted before it can be preserved by drying, but in the dry air of Guajira that can be dispensed with. Salt, too, is a thing of which they have more than enough.

Having four young men present, I thought I would arrange a competition for marksmanship with bow and arrow and with a sling. The prizes were an empty biscuit tin, a handkerchief and a needle. These were all desirable things and the contestants did their best. The fourth received a Swedish ten öre piece as consolation prize.

I took the opportunity to take a closer look at their weapons. The bows were powerful and had round sections; the arrows had iron heads shaped like a lancet. An old man said that in the old days the heads used to be made of bamboo. Some of the arrows, those intended for smaller birds, had blunt points made of wood or wax. The quarry was meant to be stunned by the force of the impact. They showed us arrows equipped with cross-pieces to prevent them becoming lost when used in the scrub. The cross-

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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756 If cattle, these are tethered beside the hut where the
757 seance is being held; if ornaments they are handed to the piache.

If the piache does not receive what he demands—or rather what the spirit demands—attacks compel him to stop treatment. If the patient recovers, the piache retains the gifts on behalf of the spirit; but if the patient dies, then he is not supposed to get anything. Sometimes, however, he apparently knows his fee on various pretexts—threats that the spirit might be angry, etc.

The piache observes his patient closely during treatment. An experienced medicine man will perhaps see that the patient has scarcely any hope of recovery and will pronounce him doomed.

During these seances the spirits often speak with the piache about the life to come. They tell him that in another existence he will come to a land with many villages that he
[178] has never seen before, in a countryside well watered by blue rivers—a glorious prospect from the Guajiro point of view. It seems that the spirits are here speaking of the piaches' special heaven. Ordinary Indians, perhaps, have to be content with a less well-watered paradise. If the patient recovers, the piache orders a chichamaya dance. The maize beer for this is prepared either by chewing or by adding raw sugar,
[519] *panela*. Those taking part remain in as soon as the drum, the only instrument, begins to sound. Nobody is invited; people just come as they wish. In the houses of the well-to-do they will be regaled with beef, one or more cattle being slaughtered for this. All will be in their finery. The dance will last one day or more, as the piache orders. The piache then washes his patient, who must still keep indoors.

756 When a child falls ill, the parents will often consult some neighbour who dabbles in fortune-telling to find out what the cause is. It will be cheaper to let her try, than at once to call in a professional sooth-sayer or a piache. The old woman will often burn the child with a red-hot needle or arrow-head, which in certain abnormal mental states, perhaps could provide a beneficial shock. The woman will often

S:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (to date) 1948
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The *Guajiro* believe that after death the deceased in ethereal form wander about the country, their favorite meeting place being in the vicinity of Bahía Honda in the extreme north of the peninsula. There is some evidence that the Indians look forward to a happier existence after death. From this belief in the afterlife stems the practice of mutilating the body of a slain enemy, for once his body is broken and scattered it is not possible to reassemble his soul, and the slayer is prevented from a vengeance-seeking spirit. 775

The dead are highly respected or feared; consequently, it is a serious offense to mention a dead person by name. 767 [illegible]

SPORTING AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Games.—The *Guajiro* have various athletic sports, such as horse racing, wrestling, and archery. Contests shoot at a skin ball or a fruit tossed into the air or at targets; they are very accurate up to 125 yards. Tournaments are held in which the contestants pair off, the victor of each round winning an arrow and continuing to compete. 124

Feasts and dances.—The *Guajiro* are fond of feasts and hold them whenever opportunity offers—or favorable, when they have received their pay for hauling salt, at baptisms, or when a person completes his training as a medicine man. Wenner (1937) describes a festival held on the last-mentioned occasion. For 2 days the big drum was sounded by relays of players, spreading the news. The dance, practiced beforehand, took place in a circle some 25 feet (7.5 m.) in diameter around which some 200 Indians gathered. A man, made except for his water cloth and head band, with ceremonial plants, with his face painted red in a crisscross pattern, danced backward from a girl dressed in a voluminous robe and wearing a large red handkerchief on her head. The girl attempted to overtake and lead off the man, who retreated before her in a circle with a peculiar double step, almost a hop and a skip. As one pair tired another took its place, the dance continuing indefinitely. 779 780 [illegible] 13 17

Musical instruments.—*Guajiro* musical instruments are few. A calabash filled with stones or peas serves as a rattle for dance accompaniment. The clarinet is about 2 feet (0.6 m.) long, made of telescoped (?) sections of reed with a bell consisting of calabash and a vibrating reed in the mouthpiece. It is side blown. The large drum is carved from a hollow section of tree, 15 inches (38 cm.) in diameter and 36 inches (90 cm.) long, and has both ends covered with sharkskin. It is slung from the rafters, a branch, or from the player's neck. Singing among the *Guajiro* is virtually nonexistent. 139 ●

Narcotics and alcoholics.—To make chicha beer, maize may be moistened by the women and spit into a large earthenware bowl, with water and crude sugar added. After 3 days it is strained and drunk. By another 773

/130 cont./

Finally, it remains to be discovered whether a people neighboring the Bakonsa is familiar with the musical bow. I have already said that this was not the case among the rest of the Arhuaco.

Among the Guajira Indians, along with the "mouth," a musical bow with bamboo string is used. One end of the bow is put in the mouth, and a narrow, uneven stick is drawn over the string. The strange material of the string already /130/ points to bow influence; there are various African traits in the Guajira culture, as I shall try to show in a future monograph. Moreover, the musical bow here is small, poorly made, and is used mainly by boys. Among the Mexican Indians on the Isthmus, too, boys play a jew harp (*zumbadora*). There are most likewise reasons that the Indians learned how to use it only in pre-Columbian times, probably from the Indonesian living in the Far country.

As far as the Chimila are concerned, De Brettes says that he saw hanging on the entrance of a hut a small bow 30 centimeters long, with accompanying arrows. He does not know what this is used for (1.93). I myself, during my brief visit among these

192 /from p. 107 of the foreign text/. De Brettes, p. 465.

Indians, did not see such a bow, but they told me that in connection with the weaning of boys they use a bow decorated with feathers. Among the Ipa, the "spouse" pacifies the little child with a tiny bow of palm wood. Generally, this is no more intended as a musical instrument than the Chimila bow. Since the bow was already used in former times as religious instrument, which is not uncommon in South America, one can at least imagine that a musical bow, which even in due course close to the syrinx bow, might easily find some use as dance. The ceremonial must be observed, one must not forget anything, but no addition is really achieved. The argument of Lundstedt is therefore not conclusive, as I have noted earlier. An instrument second materials

/8 cont./

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473 generosity toward his grandson. If he owns livestock, he is
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/196 cont./

a peculiar characteristic of the Guajiro Indian. They steal from the time they are children, since the scarcity of food in La Guajira makes the child steal food from his younger brother, from his relatives, and from outsiders, and he eats it immediately or takes it away and hides it in the woods to use when it is possible and convenient to his need.

This means that they are punished when they steal food from their own homes and praised when they steal it from outsiders. Even men frequently steal from the cows fields at night, and there is hardly a stock breeder who does not have to exercise scrupulous vigilance over his livestock day and night to avoid being the victim of thieves. At night the livestock must be shut up in well-fenced corrals, annexed to the houses, but even so they are frequently stolen. During the day the flocks are never allowed to pasture without someone looking after them. The Guajiro knows and can distinguish from others the tracks of his animals, which permits him to track them over long distances, helped by the sandy soil, until he finds where they are. The tracker follows the thief until he finds him, and if he discovers him with the stolen animal it is not unusual for him to kill him. If he knows who the thief is, he goes at once to this man's closest relatives, demanding indemnity, which they will certainly pay, because if they do not, the wronged man will take advantage of any opportunity to recuperate his loss and damages by his own hand.

When they wish to know who the curiler is, they frequently have recourse to the diviner, who takes a cigarette, a wand, or a firebrand, according to his speciality, and lights it. In the wisps of smoke and in the way the flame consumes the burning article, he believes that he can find, after long observation, the thief and the place where the stolen thing can be found. /197/

When they recover an important object, the family that had lost it give a small feast in which an animal is slaughtered to divide among attending friends, chicha and rum are drunk, and a drum is beaten with the monotonous, prolonged rhythm to which they dance the chicha maya for several nights.

[138 cont.]

unchanged, composed by some Indian, namely by an inhabitant from the Jarara district -- which is the cradle of their poetry and their music, according to the statements of these same natives. They adapt the verbal part of the play to this music as the representation progresses.

The Dance of the Kid is celebrated when the rains arrive, when the *ahuyamas*, the watermelons, and the kidney beans are growing. It is practically a ceremonial rite by which they celebrate the beginning of the rains and the appearance of fruit. At this dance, which is celebrated at night and during consecutive weeks and even months, whoever wishes to do so joins in, since the invitation consists of the beat of the drum, a characteristic of these occasions.

There are two special dances which are performed in the following way: In the first, each Indian moves united with a female partner, in line one behind the other, and holding each other by the waist, they walk in the direction taken by the leading couple. The song which may go like this begins: "Lend me your partner so I may travel with her." They then make a turn. On doing this, the first Indian takes the partner of the second, and so on successively down the line. The dance continues with these turns and progresses forward until the first pair are reunited.

In the other dance each man takes a partner, an unmarried woman as a general rule. They take hold of hands, doing the same with the other couples that join in the dance. Once hands are grasped, they all walk in line but neither forward nor backward but to right and left. Then, hands still grasped, they run in circles, having the first in the line as the axis, until they fall to the ground impelled by the speed their racing around has given them. then they rise and start the dance over again.

The dance begins at about six in the afternoon and lasts until midnight. At this hour all the participants return to their homes but come back again on the following and every succeeding night until the cycle of the beginning of the rains, the collecting of the crops, or the ripening of the fruit has been fulfilled. [139]

The ceremony we have been describing has three special

[128 cont.]

746 requirement being the girl's consent; and she, in spite of the
746 loss of her virginity, in spite of her illegal maternity, does not descend in status nor bring into her community a new being inferior in standing in any way to the others. [129]

This in large part explains the large attendance of youths of both sexes at the ceremony of the Dance of the Kid, which pleases the patron who sponsors the rite because it gives a greater solemnity to the rite and in that way aids in the propitiation of the rains, and, in consequence, the harvests will be of good quality and more abundant.

535 d) A proof that these ceremonies break away from the
527 sexual order established in the community is the frequent rep-
746 resentation of the sexual act of animals combined with other
83 dramatizations which we shall study later. Here are some examples.

The hawksbill turtle. Participants arrange themselves in a long line, or chain, firmly clasping each others' waists. They symbolize in this manner the sexual act of the hawksbill turtle. This line belongs to one singer who says in his song that his turtles are performing their sexual act as they are in heat. Another band is also headed by its singer. Their role consists in trying to separate the turtles, by tugging, each one separately, at the chain made by the turtles. The turtle that is separated from its team is taken over as a trophy by the other team, but if this group is unable to pull them away it loses the match. The activity lasts until all the turtles of the chain have been separated from their team or until the opposite band that is attempting to do this declares itself beaten.

The kid. This game is played on a cleared field. A group
526 of Indians holding each others' hands form a circle, making be-
535 lieve it is a corral in which female goats are kept at night. Out-
83 side the corral are the male goats represented by other Indians
746 who, in full view of the animals enclosed, march round the corral and make successive attempts to enter. The Indians who represent the fence fend them off but finally one or two males are able to force their way in. Once inside, they imitate and copy all the attitudes of the male when aroused; they chase the females, pursue and smell them, and end by simulating the sexual act. At

[129 cont.]

526 this moment the owner of the goats arrives to look over his flock,
535 and he states in his song that none of his animals are missing,
796 they are fat because pasture is fresh and abundant, and he an-
831 nounces that he is about to mark them. He starts by taking out
each female goat one by one and pretends to cut its ear, which
[420] is the way to mark such animals. He keeps up his song, referring
to what he is doing. "I have many goats and now I shall lack
neither meat nor milk; I am rich...."

e) We would add to the above the fact that Indian girls of
[554] the wealthy class do not take part in these gatherings, or they
796 do so on very rare occasions, as their prestige [130] would
786 diminish seriously in consequence of the opinion held of the fiesta
that only those girls go to it who want to get a husband readily
or to satisfy their sexual urges. Besides, it is the obligation of
each man to flirt with or treat with familiarity the girl who be-
comes his partner in the dance, and her obligation is to supply
him during the dance with roasted corn, bread, meat, chicha, etc.

Summarizing up to this point, we can state that the
Dance of the Kid is a festival in which the Guajiro Indians seek
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arrival and fecundity: fecundity in fruits; fecundity in animals,
as dramatized in the ceremonies just described; and fecundity
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536 Theatrical representations. "Drama is particularly difficult
to classify because so often it gets mixed up with religion.... On
the other hand, dramatic scenes can be executed for collective
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ample in a Tahitian pantomime which represents the theft of a
basket of food from a sleeping servant; although it can occur, on
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65. Lowie. Antropología Cultural [Cul-
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526 [132 cont.]
796 men and animals, or men alone, as in the description of a
putchi, or interclan war. This demonstration of skill and ability
535 in their plays is shown very clearly in the chicha-maya dance,
796 which will be fully detailed in the descriptive aspect of Guajiro
culture shortly to be published. This dance, in general terms,
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536 However, in the plays of a mythical nature the scene is
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Having made these general statements about their theatri-
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showing first those that refer to social life, then those relative to
the mythical aspect, and finally those in which animals only,
or animals with men, appear.

1. Visit between Upper and Lower La Guajira. Two groups
take part in this play, each composed of men and women. The
first represents Upper La Guajira, the other, Lower La Guajira.
The groups line up in two parallel rows [133] spaced a cuadra
apart. The components of each group hold each other round the
waist, face to face, with a small space between them. The
536 singer who heads the team of Indians that represents Upper La
537 Guajira begins by addressing the visitors from Lower Guajira,
796 "Amsh pif (Have you arrived?)." "Aaa (Yes)," replies the other.
"Kasfchicki (What's new?)," asks the first singer. "Nohots
(Nothing new)," replies his opposite number from the south coun-
try. Again he of the north asks, "How goes the winter? Have the
expected rains finally arrived?" The other answers, "we are well
content. The rains have come so our crops are in good condition.
We have collected food in plenty, and there is still a quantity
left to collect. The pastures, like the trees, are green again;
our herds have water to satisfy their thirst in the wells and water

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

great ring and several of them were wiping their mouths in evident satisfaction—presumably having just been regaled with some drink.

The drum thundered a long time in vain before a young Indian stepped into the ring, removed his cloak and sandals and began to walk round in a circle—a challenge to the members of the fair sex.

Almost at once a girl appeared in the ring; removed her sandals and held her tunic spread wide with her hands. The two then began dancing: he in front, she a few yards behind. Suddenly the man gave a shout and the tempo increased. Turning swiftly the girl came sweeping down towards the man who danced away, moving backwards. She must try to get close enough to tramp on his feet and make him fall, but she must not barge him. If she managed to make her partner fall, there was great jubilation, and then a new couple took the stage. Otherwise, the girl would probably challenge her partner to a few more turns, while he answered contemptuously:

'Fetch your little sister.' (Inferring that she would manage better.)

In this way a dance continues without interruption, couple following couple. It could go on for weeks.

The well-bred Indian considers the chichamaya the only suitable dance. The monks also approved of it, since it was perfectly decent, the two dancers remaining apart the whole time. The dance is not genuinely Indian, containing both Spanish and African features, but even in its present form it retains its religious-magical significance and is part of the ritual used in certain family ceremonies and on other important occasions.

The dance of the kid is a pure folk dance. It is really a whole complex of games, dances and typical fertility rites. The good families do not allow their daughters to attend them. The law's strict sexual prohibition does not apply to those taking part in the dance of the kid, who enjoy an otherwise forbidden erotic licence. This is not approved of by the well-to-do, who still hold by the rule that a bride should be a virgin, since it can have an effect on the bride-price.

7:Bellinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

price. Thus the well-to-do send slaves or servants to the dances.

These dances also have a practical significance. They take place at the start of the rains when vegetation shoots up and help is needed in keeping weeds under. Those taking part in the dance must weed their host's ground during the day, as a return for their food and the dancing at night. They have to do something during the feast which lasts for weeks at a time. Naturally holding such a dance-feast is a costly business, but as a compensation the giver has work done for him. Therefore the feast moves from rancho to rancho, while there is work to be done.

Actually all the dancers ought to be at home working during this time, for all plantations will become overgrown if they are neglected, but the young people are tempted by the feast, the dancing and love-making, and the opportunity to get free of the bonds of strict convention for a time. The fertility of the crops is promoted by different erotic performances, although the Indians no longer seem fully aware that this is their significance. These are typical magical fertility rites.

The actual dance of the kid is performed in different ways. Sometimes the couples are in lines one behind the other, the men holding the girl in front round the waist. First they all dance forwards, and then they turn. At each turn they change partners, the men singing: 'Lend me your partner for my travelling companion.' Another way of performing the dance is very like a long-dance in Sweden. Each group of dancers is led by a singer who always improvises his song, so that the words are always new.

The dance begins at sunset and continues for several hours, after which the dancers all make off into the darkness, two by two, and spend the night with each other. Usually a couple will stick together throughout the feast. Intercourse must be of the girl's own free will, but involves the man in no obligations, neither compensation for her lost virginity nor damages if a child should result. This is recognised by the girl's family, because it is a result of the freedom allowed during the dance of the kid. If, after the feast, a man wishes

7:Bolinder 7-5 (1925, 1955) 1957
SC13 Gosjiro SC13

During this period of confinement the novice is always having to chew tobacco, and it is during periods of nicotine-intoxication that the spirits appear to him. After his first examination the novice is given a diadem and a rattle, *maracas*, as symbols of his new dignity.

The novice's family must now arrange a dance and sacrifice sheep or goats. A *chichamaya* is performed during one or two days and nights. Those taking part are ceremoniously painted. The animals are slaughtered and offered to the spirits who partake of them during the night. After that the dancers can eat. No one, however, may touch the meat till it has lain, wrapped in leaves, at the spirits' disposition and thereafter been dedicated by the *piache*, who spits tobacco juice upon it and pronounces spells over it.

The apprenticeship, of course, is not over, and again the novice is shut away from the world. Now comes a period of instruction in the art of chewing tobacco, that is to say, how, where and when that is to be done and what are correct ways to summon spirits, cure illness, make rain, protect cattle, halt epidemics and much more that the medicine man may be called upon to do. The instructing *piache* transfers his spirit to the apprentice, and exhorts the former not to start by trying to cure adults, but to practise on children. The spirit also forbids erotic association.

After a few months the apprentice will be ready to qualify. Large quantities of maize beer are then prepared and invitations sent out.

While the guests are drinking and dancing the novice sits, still isolated, practising. The spirit comes and orders him or her to send for a beast of certain colour and with specific markings, which is to be sacrificed to the spirit. When that has been done, and it must be done, the spirit demands some necklaces of gold beads—any number up to ten—which have to be hung up in the novice's hut. As soon as these have been collected with the help of relatives—often as a loan—the spirit pronounces himself satisfied and informs them that the novice's apprenticeship is over. He or she can now begin to practise. But, the spirit adds, there

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

The *Goajiro* believe that after death the deceased in ethereal form 775
wander about the country, their favorite meeting place being in the vicinity of Bahía Honda in the extreme north of the peninsula. There is some evidence that the Indians look forward to a happier existence after death. From this belief in the afterlife stems the practice of mutilating the body of a slain enemy, for once his body is broken and scattered it is not possible to reassemble his soul, and the slayer is protected from a vengeance-seeking spirit.

The dead are highly respected or feared; consequently, it is a serious 769
offense to mention a dead person by name. 551

RECREATIONAL AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Games.—The *Goajiro* have various athletic sports, such as horse racing, 526
wrestling, and archery. Contestants shoot at a skin ball or a fruit tossed into the air or at targets; they are very accurate up to 125 yards. Tournaments are held in which the contestants pair off, the victor of each round winning an arrow and continuing to compete.

Feasts and dances.—The *Goajiro* are fond of feasts and hold them 574
whenever opportunity offers—at funerals, when they have received their 736
pay for leading salt, at baptisms, or when a person completes his training as a medicine man. Wenner (1937) describes a festival held on the last-mentioned occasion. For 3 days the big drum was sounded by relays of players, spreading the news. The dance, practiced beforehand, took place in a circle some 25 feet (7.5 m.) in diameter around which some 200 Indians gathered. A man, nude except for his waist cloth and head band [282
with ornamental plume, with his face painted red in a crisscross pattern, 535
danced backward from a girl dressed in a voluminous robe and wearing a large red handkerchief on her head. The girl attempted to overtake and head off the man, who retreated before her in a circle with a peculiar double step, almost a hop and a skip. As one pair tired another took its place, the dance continuing indefinitely.

Musical instruments.—*Goajiro* musical instruments are few. A 534
calabash filled with stones or peas serves as a rattle for dance accompaniment. The clarinet is about 2 feet (0.6 m.) long, made of telescoped (?) sections of reed with a bell consisting of calabash and a vibrating reed in the mouthpiece. It is side blown. The large drum is carved from a hollow section of tree, 15 inches (38 cm.) in diameter and 24 inches (60 cm.) long, and has both ends covered with sheepskin. It is slung from the rafters, a branch, or from the player's neck. Singing among the *Goajiro* is virtually nonexistent.

Narcotics and stimulants.—To make chicha beer, maize may be mas- 273
ticated by the women and spat into a large earthenware bowl, with water and crude sugar added. After 3 days it is strained and drunk. By another

[121 cont.]

126 differentiation between magic and religion, and between play as such and drama. But these four things are so interlaced that it is not possible to take each one of these aspects separately for analysis or even for presentation. If the whole appears clear we shall be satisfied. Our intention in this study has been to present facts in the most objective manner possible without neglecting, obviously, to interpret at times when it has seemed necessary or when we have felt capable of doing so.

536 As we have said, whether what is presented in the Dance of the Kid is magic or religion, it is a matter that might lend itself to Byzantine discussions by which nothing of the subject would be cleared up. On the contrary, they would further confuse it and take away opportunities to make known one of the most interesting aspects of the spiritual life of the Guajiro, in which are broken many of their social traditions, or rather their everyday cultural patterns, and in which they have an opportunity to show their dexterity more than their capacity as actors, since it must not be thought that what we have described as theater is such in the true sense of the word but rather corresponds to the beginnings of that art, the beginning of representations, without finality in themselves but as propitiation of rain and good harvests, as integral parts of a complete ritual which includes dances, songs, and representations of natural scenes or incidents taken from mythology.

536 What has given us occasion to call this theater or, if one prefers, drama is the concurrence in the representation of scenes 916 of a small number of the participants at the Fiesta, or Dance, of the Kid and the presence of a great number of the other participants who fill the role of spectators. [122]

It also frequently occurs that each group that takes part in the play is headed by a minstrel, or singer, who narrates each event as it occurs; the language he employs is dramatic, and he uses the most attractive turns of speech. The verbal music is added to the drama though not in the form of manned choirs but is expressed by each of the leaders who guide the actions of the par-
[535] ticipants in the scene that is being represented. Unfortunately, these songs have not been traditionally preserved but are rather improvised for the occasion. Only the music has endured

[122 cont.]

unchanged, composed by some Indian, namely by an inhabitant from the Jarara district -- which is the cradle of their poetry and their music, according to the statements of these same natives. They adapt the verbal part of the play to this music as the representation progresses.

The Dance of the Kid is celebrated when the rains arrive, when the ahuyamas, the watermelons, and the kidney beans are growing. It is practically a ceremonial rite by which they celebrate the beginning of the rains and the appearance of fruit. At this dance, which is celebrated at night and during consecutive weeks and even months, whoever wishes to do so joins in, since the invitation consists of the beat of the drum, a characteristic of these occasions.

There are two special dances which are performed in the following way: In the first, each Indian moves united with a female partner, in line one behind the other, and holding each other by the waist, they walk in the direction taken by the leading couple. The song which may go like this begins: "Lend me your partner so I may travel with her." They then make a turn. On doing this, the first Indian takes the partner of the second, and so on successively down the line. The dance continues with these turns and progresses forward until the first pair are reunited.

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[559] 96 786 c) We would add to the above the fact that Indian girls of the wealthy class do not take part in these gatherings, or they do so on very rare occasions, as their prestige [130] would diminish seriously in consequence of the opinion held of the Ilanas that only those girls go to it who want to get a husband readily or to satisfy their sexual urges. Besides, it is the obligation of each man to flirt with or treat with familiarity the girl who becomes his partner in the dance, and her obligation is to supply him during the dance with roasted corn, bread, meat, chicha, etc.

Summarizing up to this point, we can state that the Dance of the Kid is a festival in which the Guajiro Indians seek to propitiate the rains at the same time that it celebrates their arrival and fecundity: fecundity in fruit, fecundity in animals, as dramatized in the ceremonies just described, and fecundity among men, in human beings, who are free from the restrictions which are imposed on them by the community in ordinary daily life to maintain social order.

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[138 cont.]

Lewis's words, which we have just quoted, serve us well for what we have wished to call theatrical representations in La Guajira, as these also are but simple forms in which they seek to represent some act in the life of the community, in their mythology, or from scenes from the natural life surrounding them, in the midst of the ceremonies that are organized to celebrate the arrival of the rains, the propitiation of them, and the ripening of the fruits [of the soil]. Naturally, as we stated at the beginning, this ceremony is an inseparable whole up to a certain point, a totality in which the most trivial diversions, such as these unimportant representations and some games, are mixed with astoundingly important actions such as the transgression of social persons in the satisfaction of sensual impulses, which we have just described and analyzed and in which the organization norms are utterly discarded, tradition is broken, and they give free rein to wantonness and [139] pleasure. It is above all a rite. But as Lewis himself affirms: "It is frequent that these important rituals present dramatic elements, because of which it was sometimes believed that a ceremony was nothing more than a dramatized myth. Now we know that when myth and ritual are found associated, most frequently the former has been added later, whether or not it be more ancient.... In short, the ceremonial of primitives at times is something more than pomp, and it can raise itself to the height of a true theatrical representation." (66)

66. Lewis. Op. cit., XVII, 316.

It is curious, nevertheless, that in the celebration of this fiesta dedicated to the propitiation of the rains, nothing related to the myths about them is to be found. Representations of fecundity abound in many of its aspects, as we have just seen in the description of the sensual aspect. But there is no representation related to the rains, at any rate none known to us, unless it be one where the devil and a cloud intervene, or the devil and smoke, as the word to designate the two concepts -- cloud and smoke -- is the same in Guajiro, sirima. In this dramatization, which we shall describe later, the cloud triumphs over the devil. It could be interpreted as the triumph of the rains over the long

526 [132 cont.]
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[133 cont.]

536 539 546 holes. They are fat and have increased. We are neither short of meat nor milk nor fruit...." He from the north then speaks, saying, "I, my friend, am full of woe. I suffer from anxiety, fearing hunger this coming winter. My herds died of thirst beside the dry wells. I have no other food than the fruit of the cardon and the prickly pear. I have to travel long and painful distances so that my hungry herds can find pasture and water. The summer is cruel. The sun burnt the seedlings and the grass." He of the south again intervenes, this time to invite his friend in these or similar words, "Seeing things are thus with you, my brother, why not come with us to our country, to Lower La Guajira. There you will find green pastures and overflowing water holes for your herds. Come with your wife and nephews [and nieces, sobrinos] because there will be food for you all. There the winter is good; we shall expect you."

Finally the one from Upper La Guajira says "Yes, I will go with you. I will leave here with my starving herds and with my people who are in dire need and poverty...." After this the two groups unite, embrace each other at the waist, and walk off together in the direction of Lower La Guajira. So ends the play.

2. Interclan war. As in the previous case, two teams are formed headed by their singing leaders, but this time women do not take part directly. The play starts when a player of one of the teams walks up to the other and pretends to kill one of its members. The latter acts as if he were wounded, twists and squirms on the ground, then dies. The assailant leaves him lying there and flees to his own group and hides himself. The singer then starts up his song, stating that the cause of the killing was jealousy because the victim was attempting to make love to the killer's wife, or he was the lucky rival in winning a girl they were both courting. The other team sees the death of their member and hastens [134] to pick him up. They make grand gestures of fury and demand vengeance, and the singer of this group expresses the rage of his clan; he threatens the opposite group whom he accuses in insulting language and ends by declaring his bitter enmity. Shortly afterward comes the scene of the compensation payment negotiations in which the arbitrator of the murdered man's clan visits the aggressor group to demand payment for the

[136 cont.]

offense received, asking for a very large sum, stating how passionately angry his clan is and warning them that if the sum demanded is not met war will be the inevitable consequence. The singer continues: "Pay for my nephew because you have spilled his blood and by that you have caused us great sorrow. I ask in a kindly manner that you do so unless you want to bring upon yourselves our hatred. If you do not want us to kill your nephews and despoil your people of their herds, to fill up your wells and burn down the homes of your relatives. If our just claim is not met we will carry off your women, your children and nephews and nieces as slaves. Pay!"

The aggressor band collects a number of children -- who are to represent cattle -- necklaces, etc., and hand these over to the contendors. But their singer states that it is too little, that his clan demands more. He orders the other clan to take back their offering and states that as they have not complied with the stipulations of their agreement that they must prepare to pay their debt with their own blood. War is declared. Each band concentrates on arming itself; they collect young cardons which they split in strips to serve as weapons.

The singer of the murdered man's clan again sings: "Get ready, my sons and nephews. We are about to attack our enemies, to collect for the blood of our brother as they have not paid us what they owe. But do not thoughtlessly expose yourselves. Be careful. Attack, but keep well protected behind trees and cardons. Take careful aim. Do not let yourselves be beaten, or we in future will be called cowards and will not be respected. No one then will pay us for our women, and we shall be despised by all. In all La Guajira they will know the story of our defeat, which will be converted into mockery and contempt."

The leader of the group to which the killer belongs sings: "My nephews, be prepared. Very soon these people will arrive to attack us, so be ready for war. Do not be neglectful even for one minute because they will arrive suddenly with the intention of burning our homes, of stealing our herds, destroying our sources of water, and taking our women and children for slaves. Fight and aim well. We shall destroy them."

[136 cont.]

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After the leaders of each group have sung these harangues, which are characteristic of those delivered by the chiefs in war, the attack comes. Those who engage in the combat pretend to leave at dawn (all this the leader relays to in his song) in order to fall suddenly on their enemies. With the piles of cardons they shoot at each other. The defenders run away, leaving the field covered [136] with the dead. In the combat they will incite each other. On throwing the cardon they imitate the noise of the explosion and the whistle of the bullets when fired. Each one seeks shelter where he can find it and dodges blows. Those that are touched by thrown missiles fall, screaming that they are wounded, and pretend to die. The chiefs harangue their men: "Shoot well my nephews or else they will think we are cowards."

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When all the projectiles are used up, each band gathers its bodies. The one with the most casualties has lost the battle. At this moment the women come on the scene to mourn the dead of their clan. They cover their faces with pañuelos and, kneeling over a corpse, they cry painfully. Then they go to bury their dead, and so ends the representation of the puichi.

3. The devil and the Indians. In this dramatization a male Indian covers himself with a black robe, imitating the devil, or yuvijá. The devil appears walking in the fields, and an Indian steps out to meet him. The devil with great experiment grips him by the nostrils with his thumb and first finger and throws him to the ground. The Indian is killed. This scene in which the devil always participates but each time with different Indians is repeated three times with the same result, until in the end all the Indians who act in the play unite against the devil and kill him. The devil disappears, but after a short interval he returns to the scene. A new struggle starts up, but this time the devil wins because he kills all the Indians, men and women, who take part in the fight. Later he withdraws and takes off the robe, thus ending the play.

4. The devil and the cloud. The Indians take off their robes and make a kind of tent with them into which they all go. This tent is meant to represent smoke or a cloud. Inside, the Indians

[136 cont.]

pressed to be resting and playing tranquilly. The devil, another Indian, taking advantage of the carelessness of the men who are occupied with their fun, and covered as always with his black robe, causes the cloud to do them evil. Immediately a fight starts up between the Indians and the devil. In the end the cloud traps the devil and emerges triumphant in the play.

5. The horse race. Horse racing is the sport or trial of prowess most practiced in the ordinary life of the Guajiro. In this sport they try to bring to the fore the name of the horse and the skill of the jockey. In all the large fiestas a number of horse races are always staged, and such is their enthusiasm for them that they are frequently mentioned in some manner told by the natives. [138]

During the Fiesta of the Kid two groups are formed which, as in the previous cases, are under the direction of their respective leaders. Each group has assigned to it an equal number of men, representing as many race horses. The race course having been previously marked out with its starting point and finishing post, one of the singers begins by referring to the goodness of his horse, praising its speediness. The other replies in an identical note, using eulogistic concepts regarding his animal. They were arrange a match which they put into practice. One of them says: "There goes my race horse, he is swifter than the clouds and the wind and heavier than any other in La Guajira." The other sings: "This is my chestnut horse. I am sure that he will win because he is swifter than the deer." They start off their horses and run the race. Following them, race another pair, then another, until all the competitors have taken part.

The bees and the fruit thieves. There is a kind of small bee in the peninsula which the Indians call wáya. These bees make their nests in trees or in hollow tree trunks. If a blow is struck near the hive, the bees swarm out, attacking and getting into the hair of anybody standing nearby. They get inside the intruders' clothes and swarm all over them, crawling over their bodies, buzzing angrily, bothering their enemies until they are in a state of desperation. The Indians have a habit of collecting hives of these bees and placing them at the entrance to their fields, making use of the bees to defend their harvest from thieves.

[136 cont.]

536 796 In the scene two groups appear: one representing the bees in the hive; the other, the thieves who want to steal the crops of the field. The bee group is placed at the entrance to the field, arranged in compact form to look like the hives. The robbers begin to arrive and try to enter the field to steal the ripe fruit, but in the attempt they brush against the hives. The bees swarm out, buzzing and attacking the thieves, who decamp pursued by the bees. These punish the men to the best of their ability and thus prevent the harvest being stolen.

7. Hunting the jirijir. The natives know a small bird 223 called jirijir that appears in La Guajira during harvest time and devours the products of the fields. The Indians hunt them assiduously in order to defend their crops as well as to use them for [042] food, since they are fat and pleasant tasting. The method they use to catch them is as follows. This small bird generally always flies in a straight line, entering invariably at some determined point and leaving by another in a precise manner. The Indian takes advantage of this [137] observation; hence when he goes to his crops at the times these birds are settling, he provides himself with hammocks or large nets. He places his hammocks at the point where the birds will fly out and then waits their arrival. He frightens them and immediately with great rapidity covers their point of exit, and the birds are trapped in the net, falling into it by the hundreds.

536 796 This scene is represented in the ceremony that we are describing. At the beginning, various Indians who will act as the hammocks, that is, as those who will attempt to trap the birds in their nets are found in a group apart. Some children are grouped in the middle of the space to represent the field, and a third band formed of adults will act as birds.

When everything is ready, the last group begins to move, and they approach making motions as if flying and making a peculiar noise, imitating the call of the jirijir. They fall on the group of children, that is, on the field. A new group, this time composed of women, intervene in the scene to frighten the birds with yells and noisy clapping of hands. The birds try to escape as a flock, following the straight line of flight they are accustomed

[137 cont.]

[536] [796] to, always making their peculiar call. In this way they pass over the place where the hammock men are in position; they are arranged two by two in a semicircle, heads held right in left, forming quadrilaterals. The birds reach this point running at the greatest speed possible, when the hammock men map them by surrounding them to prevent their escape. They struggle, but in the end the semicircle begins to close until it becomes a circle, and the birds are imprisoned inside. An Indian then comes to kill the birds. He does so by taking them one by one by the arm as if this were the wing and by pretending to wring their necks. Once all the birds are taken out from the net the scene ends.

8. Jaguars and dogs. This theatrical game is intended to [125] show the fortitude and courage of the jaguar and its superiority over dogs. For this reason it requires much care in the selection of the Indians who will take part in it because they must struggle fiercely with each other, and it is essential that the team that plays the part of jaguars be the conquerors. This has caused us to [773] believe in the mythical value of the jaguar, which actually appears in their legends related to Mareiwa as well as in clan nomenclature. The game consists in engaging in a severe struggle in which the jaguar always manages to overcome the dogs and dominate them through being stronger. The complete description can be summed up thus: The group of jaguars pretends to be settled in a tree; sometimes they actually are. The group representing the dogs arrives, following the scent and the trail until they come to the foot of the tree [138] in which the jaguars are all lurking. On finding them, the dogs bark furiously beneath the tree and provoke the jaguars until they jump down, and it is then that the terrible struggle takes place. When in the end a dog falls to the ground, the jaguar pretends to bite it to pieces, clawing its breast open and attacking its throat, where he starts to devour it. The dog whimpers painfully, goes into convulsions, and stays motionless, as if dead. The jaguar gets up satisfied as he has triumphed, and so ends the play.

9. Dogs and peccaries. Two groups are formed, each one [533] composed of ten men arranged in line and captained, as is custom- [526] ary, by a singer, who is the chief of the group. One group represents the peccaries, the other the dogs which are going to hunt them.

[138 cont.]

536 The play starts when the peccaries gather in a group, pretending
796 by their position and their movements that they are inside the
526 cave which is their refuge. The chief of the dog group begins to sing while these gather round him, and he harangues them to go in and kill the peccaries and not let themselves be beaten by them. The group of peccaries answer threateningly and hasten to defend themselves. The dogs approach their prey cautiously and single out one from among the group. A struggle starts between a dog and one of the peccaries, both fighting desperately for mastery, each player striving to grab his adversary by his loincloth to lift him in the air and throw him to the ground. The struggle is fierce and stubborn, because they usually select the most hardened fighters and well-muscled men to represent both the peccaries and the dogs. It continues until one of the combatants is floored by the other, in which case he admits defeat. The winner's group marks up one point. When the first pair have finished their match, a new one is started between two other Indians, and so on successively until all the representatives of the two groups have participated. In the development of the personal struggles between dog and peccary, each singer incites his man, exhorts him to greater efforts, etc. Finally, they add up the score of points obtained by each group, and the winner receives a prize, consisting generally of food.

10. The fox and the rabbit. Three personages take part in this act: one who acts as a fox, one as a rabbit, and a child who has the role of a watermelon [patilla]. The game consists in seeing which of the two animals, the fox or the rabbit, will get the watermelon they are fighting for. Both of them want to steal it. So each one of them seizes the child (who is twelve or thirteen years old) by an arm, and he who can pull him away from the other is considered the winner. [139]

To better understand this play, it is well to state that while in La Guajira we collected a story about the fox and the rabbit which is published in Revista de Folklore (67) in which there is also

67. Pineda Giraldo, Roberto. "La Chama, un mito guajiro" [The Chama, a Guajiro Myth],

526 [139 cont.]
536 shown a test of cunning between these two animals. In this tale,
546 the rabbit is the winner.

11. The man and the wild boar. One man takes the part of a wild boar, the other that of the man who stalks it. The hunter follows the boar, which runs swiftly away, dodging the hunter's arrows in its flight. In this trial of dexterity, the hunter will be the winner if in the end he wounds the boar with one of the arrows he shoots; or it will be the boar that triumphs if it is able to tire out its persecutor and dodge all the arrows shot at it.

12. The hunter, the dog, and the rabbit. This play is another trial of dexterity, as the end in view is to try the ability of each actor in the role assigned to him. It represents, in short, a hunting party, in which the man and the dog try to capture and kill the rabbit. The dog tries to catch it and tear it to pieces, while the man follows at a greater distance, throwing stones at it. If he manages to hit it, the rabbit acts as if killed, giving the victory to the huntsman. The result is the same if the dog is successful in catching his prey with his claws, but if the rabbit should evade both of them, showing greater ability and speed than the other two, he becomes the winner of the test.

536 13. The song of the serpent. We have left this section to
546 terminate our study of the theater in La Guajira because it presents characteristics different from all the other representations which we have described. It does not involve a demonstration of skill or force, nor does it require the intervention of contending groups in any way. In consequence there is no dialogue, but
[533] there is a monologue sung by the leader of the group followed by all the actors, in which the deeds of the serpent are recounted

As a clarifying note we refer our reader to the chapter "Sickness and Medicine," in which this reptile's magic power is clearly evident, especially in relation to pregnant women and all that surrounds them. We also would recall that, as in the case of
[614] the jaguar, the serpent [140] figures in the naming of the clans, at times in close association with the jaguar.

The act develops as follows: A line is formed of alternate men and women who take each other's hands. They run with short steps, undulating to copy the motion of a serpent when

536 [140 cont.]
776 moving along the ground. Headed by their leader they all continue to sing the song of the serpent, saying more or less the following: "I am the snake. I drag myself along the ground.
[539] I do harm to no one. But he who dares to step on me because I am on the ground gets his punishment. I bite him and wound him. At times I kill him. He has to stay in bed and suffer for a long time as a punishment for having trodden on me and for thinking that I am helpless because I drag myself along the ground...." This song is repeated several times. [141]

IX

Mareiwa and Wanurú

or

Notions of Good and Evil

771 Through all the preceding chapters we have tried to explain clearly what constitutes the magic life of the Guajiro, which is almost the same as saying his spiritual life, and in passing we have mentioned the presence and activities of beings with higher powers than ordinary mortals, able to do good or evil according to which being intervenes in each particular case. We have thus touched on two fundamental ideas: good and evil.

776 Our interest is now concentrated in trying to elucidate the
177 quality of these spirits, or supernatural beings. These can be very seriously confused owing particularly to the influence of acculturation and more specifically to the pressure exerted by missionaries in their prosletyzing function. So great is the misapplication of terms and concepts in this world of ideas that we might call the religious, that even the Guajiro mythology has been transformed by the use of terms which have a pejorative and degrading effect on the Guajiro people (68).

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68. This statement is based on the legend which we obtained orally from

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622 1. The cacique's maternal family must be strong in masculine elements who are ready to back up his decisions and enforce compliance to his will.

2. He must be a Guajiro and of high social standing. /136/

3. He as well as his relatives must be rich, possessing goods, represented above all by animals, which is what gives most prestige in the eyes of the other natives.

4. He must tener palabra /literally, "have word"), that is
622 to say, he must have oratorical talents (Cf. Valuation of the
537 Woman, in chapter on Premarital Considerations; and Compensation payment for death, in chapter on Law), because from this skill he derives one of his principal attributes: acting as intermediary in the putchis, or wars between clans, and in all quarrels between groups and individuals. Tener palabra is the primary and basic talent for the acquisition of prestige as a cacique, for on this gift of oratory, on the practical knowledge of native psychology and of traditional law which guides him in his decisions, depends the success of his arbitrations.

The opinions of the cacique, mediator, or orator /Spanish
622 palabra, lit. "word"/ -- all of which titles he has -- are respected; his counsel is asked for, his help is solicited in time of need, his opinion is consulted in the varying circumstances of the life of his kin and of others who know him. His accurate deductions and prudence keep strengthening his power until he becomes the headman of a district, which sees in him its representative and lawyer in all its problems and expects from him in exchange for the submission made to him, that he be capable of winning every time and easily dominating every abnormal situation that might arise.

In every family group one of these caciques will be found in power and one or more others capable of succeeding him, but circumstances will eliminate competitors until only one remains.

The authority of a headman is recognized primarily by his extended family group, but outstanding qualities of one of these family heads may cause his influence to be extended to other groups who, by considering him more powerful and influential

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567 conquered group they lack all rights in their society, since they are exiled from their original home, without consanguineous relatives because of the extinction of their clan or because of its poverty; consequently, they remain marginal to society in the class of pariahs; for this reason, women, on returning, resort almost without exception to prostitution. (3) The children of a slave woman and free father retain the mark of the mother unless she has been bought as a wife.

Manumission. The three forms of manumission of slaves known to us are the following:

1. By flight from the home of their masters. The slave, nevertheless, remains in a rather difficult position.

2. By purchase of female slaves as wives for free men.

3. By purchase of girl and boy slaves by the Capuchin mission to educate them in an orphanage and give them their freedom.

567 538 Slavery in oral literature. Slavery is mentioned in the oral narratives of the natives that refer to legends as much as it is in those that have the character of true histories. Of these we can present two: One is connected with the Kusina Indians /renegade Guajiro, more commonly spelled Cocina. -- Ed./ who one night decided to steal the livestock of an Indian called Kurírapáta of the Sierra de Jarará, who, while defending himself was shot in the thigh by the marauders. The story relates that Kurírapáta was picked up by his sisters and taken to their home, and that one night he dreamt that he should swallow a charm (a túma, "precious stone") and leave his wife, taking in exchange for her one of his female slaves. He carried out what his dream had commanded him; he swallowed the túma and called in one of his slaves, saying to her, "Come with me; you are to be my wife." In this way he cured his ailment.

In the narration of the Guajiro myth, the shaman Umaralá recounts how he received on the death of his aunt -- who had a great affection for him -- all her possessions as inheritance, and among them, her slaves. Disillusioned by sorrow over

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567 the death of his aunt, Umaralá dedicated himself to living in
538 a hut in the near-by woods where his aunt lay buried. There he fed on roots and wild fruit picked in the woods and only received a visit from time to time from his male slave, from whom he had also parted. /146/

175 Negro slavery in the eighteenth century. A most interest-
567 ing aspect of slavery in La Guajira is that related to Negro
648 slavery among these natives, which was at its height during the period of colonization, especially during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and was due to Negro commerce and to pearl fishing. Unfortunately, there remain only a few notes about these happenings, written by Father Julián in the
[114] eighteenth century, which have aided us in writing this last section regarding slavery. In the following lines we transcribe these notes which confirm the first case known up to the present in the history of all American Indians regarding the presence of Negro slaves among them. Father Julián says: "The fishermen of such pearls are the Guajiro Indians, who are in control of all this coast from the Río de la Hacha almost up to the famous lake of Maracaybo. These are the fishermen and owners of the pearls. It is they who sell them, who carry them to the Río de la Hacha, who trade them with foreigners who come in their brigs to these waters or anchor in the Bahía Honda. For the pearls they bring in, these Indians receive firearms, alcohol, wines, and even slaves, all of which they procure, becoming richer and ever more insolent and less conquerable." (1)

1. Julián, Antonio:
La Perla de América, Provincia de Santa Marta, reconocida, observada y expuesta en discursos históricos /The Pearl of America: Province of Santa Marta, checked, observed, and explained in historical

[37 cont.]

703 until one night when he was weeping for his dead aunt, she ap-
539 peared to him and said: "Go, my son, to the region of Jarara, take my cape and my maraca, visit the sick, and "shamanize" them, and only thus will you find the true path. But first you must change your name ... to that of Umaralá." (We see here another sign of apparent death, the change of name.) "The vision disappeared, and Umaralá felt obliged to obey what he had heard. He visited the sick, "shamanized" them, and drove away their sicknesses, and his fame as a great doctor ran throughout all La Guajira." (35)

35. Chaves. Op. cit., 322.

The story goes on to tell the amazing cures accomplished by Umaralá and in general the story of his life as a shaman until the moment of his death.

+756 What interests us in this story is simply the proof in the
538 oral legendary literature of La Guajira of what we have been expounding throughout this chapter, that is, the symptomatology of the vocation of shaman represented by special sicknesses — usually of a hysterical [38] type — in which are involved the loss of speech and consciousness; delirium, possibly feverish, accompanied by visions and attacks; the initiation by an old shaman familiar with the tasks of curing; the presence of a protector spirit who has complete mastery over the pupil and dominates his will completely; the presence likewise of the magic objects of the shaman; the maraca and certain items of dress, etc.; the total lack of free will on the part of the individual about becoming a shaman, a profession which makes him strictly subject to the wishes of the spirits whom he must obey blindly. We have only to remember the words of his aunt to Umaralá and especially the words of the story, "Umaralá felt obliged to obey what he had heard ...": the fact that the protector spirit is generally that of a dead shaman who continues to exercise his functions, his true functions of curing, through an intermediary: the living shaman. In other words, the shaman is really converted into a benefactor, or better still into a true

[38 cont.]

538 *756 medicine man, after his death, and it is only then that he can himself exercise his profession by himself, having at his service a terrestial intermediary, to whom he communicates by various means his methods of curing, events of the future, etc. This equally confirms our thesis, fully expounded previously, that the shaman is a man of two worlds: the world of the living and the world inhabited by the spirits of the dead. Lastly, it reaffirms what we have said in reply to Métraux's statement, that the feminine institution of shamanism in La Guajira is not due to the influence of European culture (which is only now beginning to be strongly felt) but is as ancient as their oral literature.

174 565 Present position of the shaman. If we consider socio-economic conditions in La Guajira in the Pre-conquest epoch, which placed the natives in a position of a people engaged essentially in hunting and in fishing on the coasts (36), we have to

36. Restrepo Tirado says: "The Guajiro and Cocina [Kusina] Indians occupy La Guajira Peninsula. They were nomads and lived by hunting and fishing in improvised encampments, which they moved from one site to another." (Historia de la Provincia de Santa Marta [History of the Province of Santa Marta], 1st, I, 15.)

accept as a fact a virtual equality between the different clans which composed the community. The superiority of one or various clans over the rest was possibly due to their greater aptitudes for war or the greater number of fighting men they had at their command. Riches would be represented by valuable adornments, necklaces of gold or of tuma, pearls, etc. [39]

174 554 *756 In such a state of affairs under the primitiveness which we can presume existed in the Guajiro community of that time, the shaman must have occupied the first place in the social hierarchy. His undiminished supernatural powers, his position as intermediary between the community and the world of the dead, the fears which his powers provoked were all sufficient reasons for him to be respected and feared above all and by all.

[48 cont.]

682 murderer's family after the crime were extremely cruel, as was to be expected given the Guajiro social organization. Their homes were burned down, their sources of water supply demol-
[567] ished, three men and four women were killed, and their children enslaved.

782 The interesting part of the subject we are now dealing with
751 lies in the sacrifice of animals. These apparently serve as
761 substitutes for the individuals whose sentence has been revealed in a dream. They take their place and are sacrificed in their stead. As a death has taken place, the evil spirit which had enslaved the future criminal in order to carry out its determination to harm him is now mollified by this act of propitiation. Moreover, as the animal (the black male goat in this case) shares the qualities of its owner by reason of such ownership, a part of the personality of the person sentenced to be punished in the dream is also sacrificed. The individual thus suffers two processes, death in part through the sacrifice of the animal and participation in the sacrifice by bathing in its blood.

171 Possible vestiges of this native belief still persist in
761 Colombian folklore in some parts of the departments of Antioquia,
825 Boyacá, Nariño, and Santander. There the people hold the be-
538 lief that when a domestic animal dies, especially if it is an animal that has been much loved by the people of the house, it is a sign that some member of the household had been about to die. The sentence of death which lay on that person, according to the explanation given in all cases, was transferred to the animal by a special concession from God, [49] thus avoiding a greater calamity to the family. In Nariño this belief, according to information from the Licentiate Chaves, appears in popular oral literature. There is in reality a story which tells of a recently married couple who felt or knew (we cannot say how) that they would die very shortly. To avoid this, the wife dedicated herself to breeding cuyes (curíes) [conejillo de Indias, a mammal of the order of rodents], which one by one died off; then she hastened to breed chickens, which also successively died; she then devoted herself to dogs, which also died. With the successive deaths of the animals, they were able to elude their own fate and lived happily together for a long time, free

171 [49 cont.]
538 from the menace of death that had weighed on them, and later
761 they were able to raise their domestic animals with greater
825 success than up to then.

000 Propitiation of the shaman's protector spirit. The sacrifice of animals as propitiation or thanksgiving offering to the spirit or spirits that have taken over the protection of the shaman is fully explained in the previous chapter, for which reason we abstain from making further reference to it.

782 Conclusions. We have the following facts regarding the
174 place of such sacrifices within Guajiro social organization: (a) Sacrifice of animals, of two kinds: one of a ritual funeral character and the other as a prevention of the fulfillment of dreams. (b) Human sacrifice, which may now be considered to have disappeared due to various circumstances which have already been described. (c) The first two exist at times in their original form, and at other times as mere survivals disguised in social rather than ritualistic forms, as happens for example in the sacrifice of animals during the secondary burial or the wake in the ceremony of the first burial. (d) But in any case the three show a distinct magic nature. (e) With respect to the sacrifice of animals we may suppose that in ancient times the animal sacrificed must have been a wild one from the forest obtained by hunting, as the Guajiro Indians, the same as all Colombian Indians and American Indians in general, were completely without, or almost without, any domestic animals, which were acquired only after the Conquest when the colonizing Spaniards imported them from the [Iberian] Peninsula to set up their ranches; (f) Based on this same socio-economic fact, we may presuppose quite an appreciable change in the content and form of certain types of ceremony, because the passing from one economy to another, particularly when it is so radical as [50] that of the
782 Guajiro, who changed his character of nomad hunter to that of herdsman and stock grazer, implies a very appreciable transformation in the general social organization. (g) In the sacrifice of children, and in that of animals in order to ward off the evils foreseen in dreams, we have to admit the contaminating effect of spilled blood — a very important taboo in La Guajira — which increases the malevolent effect of the magic

[60 cont.]

825 If in this same condition the woman sees a serpent under
843 a stone or in a hole, her delivery will be delayed, and it will be
845 difficult and long. As in the case immediately preceding this, prevention depends on the indifference shown by the woman toward the snake: She should immediately look away from the creature. But the coincidence of seeing a snake and its being in a hole or under a stone brings about a new complication, since two elements are involved: first, the snake as such as we have seen in the previous accounts; and second, its apparently difficult position, which is transmitted to the woman in the moment of childbirth in the form of delay in the birth and the physical difficulty of its accomplishment.

Also, the childbirth will be delayed several days and will be extremely painful if during her pregnancy the woman's husband commits the imprudence of killing a snake of any kind.

843 [61] The snake then, as we noted at the beginning and
825 as we have been able to confirm by means of the examples sub-
[538] mitted, exercises a special magic influence on pregnant women. The position of the snake when seen, either directly by the woman or by the husband, makes this influence greater. We also heard from a story told to us that another belief exists related to the snake and women's pregnancy. We cannot say whether it really exists or if it is the product of imagination and legend because the two elements seem to be mixed up. It concerns a certain serpent that attacks people by jumping at them from a tree and forcing its tail into their ears, and the fact that it only attacks women at a certain period of their pregnancy or a pregnant woman's husband at the same period.

According to the story related to us, during the first three months of pregnancy the woman may be attacked by a very exceptional male serpent with three colors: green, black, and white, placed dorsally in the form of an X. (The female of the species, according to the story, has only one color: green.) The male serpent attacks the wife during the early months of pregnancy, as well as her husband. The creature is usually found hidden in the branches of trees which shade paths and can spring like an arrow from its place of ambush, attacking people with great accuracy. With a spring it settles on its victim's head,

[81 cont.]

158 individual is not capable of distinguishing between the merely
775 fictitious, the imaginary and the real. To him, the image so
787 faithfully rebuilt in his imagination is as real as the living image of the deceased. The explanation of the phenomenon, then, according to his mentality, is that the dead man has appeared before him for some reason or other.

775 This fact is complicated in addition by the belief that every dead person "retraces his steps," that is, he treads again all the paths he traveled during his life; he returns to places where he had been at different times; this is why he is "felt" very often. Many times the individual feels the presence of the dead, even if he does not see it. This Guajiro belief is [171 also found to be very prevalent in all Colombian folklore. The 536] phenomenon that the Colombian people call "retracing his steps" corresponds exactly to the Guajiro version which we have just transcribed. Of course, according to popular legends, the dead "retrace their steps" when they are dying or a few moments or even days before their death. To hear strange noises [87] without apparent logical explanation, to see shadows, etc., are for the people evident signs that one of their relatives or friends, or even some person who in the past has lived in these parts, is dying or will die from one moment to the next. For the same reason they avoid walking alone along certain places when they know that someone who has lived there is close to death's door.

Degrees of danger in spirits. The Guajiro murderer suffers
682 a double punishment; first, the claim for compensation payment
775 for blood presented by the dead man's relatives, which involves his own death if he does not pay the sum agreed on; and second, the constant presence of the dead man's spirit, which never leaves him. For this reason, the murderer cannot enter a home where there are small children because the spirit of the dead man follows him, will climb over them, squeeze them, and make them [753] cry. If the children are sick, the murderer's presence is even more dangerous because the spirit will rapidly cause their death. If they are well they usually become ill. [82]

The death of a fellow being becomes a tremendous obsession with the Guajiro; the murderer is convinced that the [753] dead man's spirit follows him everywhere. When he is ill he has

[106 cont.]

Magic prayers. As a matter of interest we transcribe below without any comment the following statement we recorded: there are a few special prayers only known to certain natives, the verbal formula of which they sell at times to whoever may need it, on the understanding that these prayers will be used in all good faith and belief in their magic power, prayers that serve to cure whatever plagues may occur, and frequently do occur, in the cotton fields.

Magic charms in the oral literature. From the stories we were able to collect among the Guajiro natives relating to their daily life, there is one that has a clear connection with magic charms. It is the one which refers to the struggle of the Indian Kurfta-Pśta, of Jarara, with some Kusina Indians who had come to rob him of his livestock. In this struggle the Jarara Indian was wounded in the thigh, and his cure was effected through a dream in which it was communicated to him that he should swallow a charm (a tuma, "a precious stone") and leave his wife to exchange her for a slave. Kurfta-Pśta obeyed these injunctions and was cured.

We have then a new magic charm which has a medicinal function and which must be added to those we have already noted throughout this chapter. Its magic action is combined with a social act of great importance within the Guajiro community: that of a man leaving his own wife and replacing her with a slave, descending thereby in the social scale, as there is a great difference in status between a free woman and a common slave or bond servant. A new magic object, the tuma, appears as the possessor of supernatural powers capable of warding off those evils that can overpower an individual.

Summary and classification. 1) What we have called magic charms [contras mágicas] in this chapter include three classes of known magic objects: fetishes, amulets, and talismans. [107]

2) All these possess in greater or lesser degree a magic power capable of working either good or evil.

3) Their action in the majority of cases can be controlled and directed by their owners, especially in the case of doing ill

[135 cont.]

536 796 pretend to be eating and playing tranquilly. The devil, another Indian, taking advantage of the carelessness of the men who are occupied with their fun, and covered as always with his black robe, enters the cloud to do them evil. Immediately a fight starts up between the Indians and the devil. In the end the cloud traps the devil and emerges triumphant in the play.

5. The horse race. Horse racing is the sport or trial of 541 536 796 prowess most practiced in the ordinary life of the Guajiro. In this sport they try to bring to the fore the name of the horse and the skill of the jockey. In all the large fiestas a number of horse races are always staged, and such is their enthusiasm for them [538] that they are frequently mentioned in some stories told by the natives. [136]

During the Fiesta of the Kid two groups are formed which, 536 539 796 as in the previous cases, are under the direction of their respective leaders. Each group has assigned to it an equal number of men, representing so many race horses. The race course having been previously marked out with its starting point and finishing post, one of the singers begins by referring to the goodness of his horse, praising its speediness. The other replies in an identical tone, using eulogistic concepts regarding his animal. They soon arrange a match which they put into practice. One of them says: "There goes my roan horse; he is swifter than the clouds and the wind and braver than any other in La Guajira." The other sings: "This is my chestnut horse. I am sure that he will win because he is swifter than the deer." They start off their horses and run the race. Following them, race another pair, then another, until all the competitors have taken part.

The bees and the fruit thieves. There is a kind of small 825 241 536 796 bee in the peninsula which the Indians call wáya. These bees make their nests in trees or in hollow tree trunks. If a blow is struck near the hive, the bees swarm out, attacking and getting into the hair of anybody standing nearby. They get inside the intruders' clothes and swarm all over them, crawling over their bodies, buzzing angrily, bothering their enemies until they are in a state of desperation. The Indians have a habit of collecting 536 796 hives of these bees and placing them at the entrance to their fields, making use of the bees to defend their harvest from thieves.

/167 cont./

592 has some authority over them because, if during his absence some carelessness on /168/ the part of the mother causes the death of one of them, he can collect a compensation payment from his wife's maternal relatives. But at the present time, among mestizos and especially among those who contract Catholic marriages, the father's authority is immediately felt in accordance with the custom of our culture. He represents the home and the children before the other individuals of the social totality as was previously done by the uncle.

This authority has reference not only to the home and to the compliance with certain norms of courtesy, such as those of hospitality for example, but also to the decisive events in family life, such as the marriage of a son, the compensation payment for an offense, the purchase of a daughter, etc. His will is consulted, and the wife obeys it, even against the personal insistence of her mother; in other words, the mother loses authority and responsibility with regard to her children, who now use the father's name and with this the new ascribed kin relationship. /169/

XI

THE CLAN

614 On studying clan organization we wish to present it as it apparently must have functioned in the past and to show the changes it has undergone up to the present. To this end, we make use of mythology to clarify happenings in the remote past.

614 A story from Upper La Guajira runs as follows: "Not far
773 from Nazaret there is a hill lying behind Itojoro. There
539 Mareiwa was born under an olive tree. There he was found as a tiny infant, and he kept growing and growing as rapidly as

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/169 cont./

an Indian. He ate tuuma and wore a Guajiro robe. His mother was an old woman. There she had her home. The father was one Saramai who, it is also said, was a god. As Mareiwa was born under an olive tree, the tree never loses its green leaves during any summer. And when there is a storm the Indians make shelter beneath its branches because lightning cannot penetrate there.

"Mareiwa ordered that there should be an Indian girl whom they called Borunka who was the mother of all the Guajiro Indians. Mareiwa gave her a husband by whom she became pregnant, but when the time of her delivery arrived she was not able to give birth. She had already suffered three days of labor pains without birth taking place. The cause was that her genital organ had teeth. Mareiwa extracted them, and later he took from the husband two ribs, the lower ones from each side of his body, to place in Borunka so that she could give birth to children without difficulty, though not without pain.

"Since there is always some loss of blood when there is a childbirth, Mareiwa called together all the little birds: the one called Sangre de Toro /Bull's Blood/ or pincwait he ordered to go and bathe at the spot where the birth had taken place. Also /he called/ the troupial, the ioó with black wings and a red breast and crest, and the macaws. The woodpecker arrived late at the bath. Mareiwa said to him: "You came late but I will anoint your crest," and he painted it. For this reason, all these birds have red patches.

"Borunka had several children, and thus the Guajiro went on multiplying. When they became numerous, Mareiwa returned and distributed among them seeds of watermelon, corn, and melon, all of which the Guajiro eat to this day. Until this /170/ time the Guajiro had not sown seed, but had collected only the wild fruits of the forest. Mareiwa brought together all the troupials and woodcocks /zancalargas/. A flock of these he sent far away, very far away, and there they

/170 cont./

539 617 773 are prickly pear and iguaraya. He also called a flock of pigeons of the woods that brought cherries from Hepechi. Then Mareiwa dispersed these little birds all over La Guajira, who with their excrements showered seeds, which germinated in the earth, covering it with plants which bore fruit and served as food for the Indians.

"To each male Indian Mareiwa gave a pair of animals: goats, burros, cows, horses, and pigs. Then he brought them all together with their animals at a place called Arachi, near Siapana, (to the S. W. of Nazaret), and on a stone he engraved the marks he gave to each group of Indians, sons of Berunka. And even today the marks on that stone can be seen.

"There he formed the Epiayú, Ipuana, Uriana, Sapuana, Jayariyú, Apshana, Sijuana, Urariyú, Epinayú, Jimú, Soriyú, Pausayú, Uriyú, Wariyú, Urenanaka, Marpishana, Uyarayú, Wariruyú, Jusayú, Worubaruyú, etc. Mareiwa gave them these marks so that the livestock of one would not be confused with those of another.

"Each group has an animal which distinguishes it from the others. These animals (the present-day totems) according to the creation myth were to have become Indians, but they ate the livestock that Mareiwa had distributed to each group and he, then, to punish them left them in their primitive condition as a symbol of the group they had offended. Thus, the royal turkey buzzard for example ate a cow /res/ belonging to the Epiayú so for this reason it became the symbol of that group. The caricari ate an Ipuana animal and so remained with them. The Uriana have the jaguar /as totem/ because it did the same. The Sapuana group have the bittern; the Jayariyú, the dog; the Apshana, the buzzard; the Sijuana, the wasp; the Urariyú, the rattlesnake; the Jimú, the fox; the Soriyú have the cataneja; the Pausayú, the bee; the Uyarayú, the stag /Venado Caqueno/, etc."

Another story relates: "... as there was nothing on the Earth, Mareiwa said: 'What shall I do so that there may be something and so that I may then return to Heaven?'

/170 cont./

●539 614 773 "He then said to the birds, who were Indians at that time, 'Make your homes and your enramadas /bough-covered shelters/ as I am going to Heaven and I will return.' He went away then, and a few days later he was back again from Heaven. Heaven was then like the Earth today with similar trees and fruits. The birds, who were Indians, did not carry out the order of Mareiwa as they neither built houses nor enramadas. When he returned, Mareiwa found out that what they had built were nests in the trees. /171/ Mareiwa told them angrily: 'Turn into birds and be Indians no longer since you did not obey, and from this originated the different kinds of birds.

"After cursing the birds, Mareiwa took up a quantity of clay and began to make dolls like those that are made now at Jarara and various other kind. He sent for the cucarachero /in Colombia and Venezuela, a songbird which eats cockroaches. -- Ed./ to sing to the dolls while he was making them. The bird did so and in its song mentioned the color and kind of clay of which they were made. He later called for the woodpecker and said to him: 'Go and look for my grandfather,' and when he had come he ordered the bird: 'Name the clan of each one of these dolls.' He said: 'This is Apshana; this Epiayú: this Uriana, etc., etc., etc.' In payment for having named the clans so well, Mareiwa gave him a white necklace which he still wears. Finally, the bird said: 'The Ipuanas and Sapuanas will be allies in matters of putchi (war); the Epiayú with the Apshana.' 'Very good,' said Mareiwa.

"All the groups having been named, the clay dolls were converted into real men and women. Mareiwa then distributed the women and sites so that there should be no fighting afterward. Thus he said: 'You will live with your wife there; you here, etc.' Nowadays the men look for and take more women, but in those days Mareiwa gave each only one. These are latter-day customs. He put the Ipuana in Jarara, the Epinayú in Lower La Guajira, the Urariyú in the region of Nazaret, the Epiayú in the region of Puerto Estrella, and so on with all the rest who were distributed

/171 cont./

539 throughout La Guajira. Mareiwa spoke with them for the last
614 time to bid them farewell. Thus he spoke to them: 'That is
773 what I wanted, that you should live here. I am going away now, but will continue to watch over you from Heaven.'"

• • •

614 To better understand their mythology, it is essential to know the organization of La Guajira. Let us see this in brief.

The whole peninsula is divided among diverse groups having special characteristics, which have received in popular language the name of castas /"race," "breed"/. These castas are really clan groups whose most outstanding traits are the following:

1. Each one, as we were able to see in the preceding stories, has a totemic animal which serves to group together all the individuals belonging to the same clan. With respect to the totem animals we find the following:

Clan	Representative animal
Epiayú	Royal turkey buzzard /172/
Ipuana	Caricari
Uriana	Jaguar

Alfred Jhan[a] (1) adds for this same clan group the following

1. Alfred Jhan:[a] Los aborígenes del Occidente de Venezuela /The Natives of Western Venezuela/, p. 144.

totemic animals:

Uriana	Jaguar (Zone of Taroa and Bahía Honda)
"	Rabbit (Cruce coast of Maracaibo) /Las Cruces.--Ed./

[a] [25, should read Jahn. - Analyst]

[36 cont.]

*756 828 attacks which are considered as an apparent death, a separation of the soul from the body of the shaman in order that he may obtain a better communication with the spirit. These attacks take place frequently in the ordinary life of the shaman and appear especially when he is interrupted in his state of ecstasy or of illumination, in his moments of spiritual conversation, and suggest, in a certain way, an elation, a way of escaping from the [37] earthly life to inhabit for a few moments the world of the dead, which is his real world to which he belongs through the express decision of his protector spirits.

773 539 The shaman in oral literature: Our colleague Licentiate Chaves collected in La Guajira a series of stories which were published in the Boletín de Arqueología, one of which refers to the shaman Umaralá. This story tells us that in "former times there were bad shamans who collected much and did not cure." (33) The one who changed this situation was Umaralá, making

33. Chaves. Op. cit., 321.

use of certain secrets for cures, accompanied by chants and shaking of the maraca. He was initiated into the magic arts by his aunt, who was a good shaman. His initiation coincided precisely with a relapse from an illness which he had contracted during a period of pestilence in La Guajira. The symptoms described in the story are the following: "He lost his power of speech, suffered continuous attacks, lost consciousness." His aunt dedicated herself to his care, and he "heard the arguments that his aunt sustained in her chants with the spirit of the dead, who was none other than Jirairai, who however criticized all the old shaman's chants. He clearly heard the spirit say: "Either you die or your son dies." (34) The shaman invoked the help

34. Chaves. Op. cit., 321-322.

of a new spirit, but in the end she died in order to save her nephew.

The latter, together with his bond servant, buried his aunt and complied with all the ceremonies pertaining to the dead,

[37 cont.]

773 until one night when he was weeping for his dead aunt, she ap-
539 peared to him and said: "Go, my son, to the region of Jarara, take my cape and my maraca, visit the sick, and "shamanize" them, and only thus will you find the true path. But first you must change your name ... to that of Umaralá." (We see here another sign of apparent death, the change of name.) "The vision disappeared, and Umaralá felt obliged to obey what he had heard. He visited the sick, "shamanized" them, and drove away their sicknesses, and his fame as a great doctor ran throughout all La Guajira." (35)

35. Chaves. Op. cit., 322.

The story goes on to tell the amazing cures accomplished by Umaralá and in general the story of his life as a shaman until the moment of his death.

*756 What interests us in this story is simply the proof in the
538 oral legendary literature of La Guajira of what we have been expounding throughout this chapter, that is, the symptomatology of the vocation of shaman represented by special sicknesses — usually of a hysterical [type — in which are involved the loss of speech and consciousness; delirium, possibly feverish, accompanied by visions and attacks; the initiation by an old shaman familiar with the tasks of curing; the presence of a protector spirit who has complete mastery over the pupil and dominates his will completely; the presence likewise of the magic objects of the shaman; the maraca and certain items of dress, etc.; the total lack of free will on the part of the individual about becoming a shaman, a profession which makes him strictly subject to the wishes of the spirits whom he must obey blindly. We have only to remember the words of his aunt to Umaralá and especially the words of the story, "Umaralá felt obliged to obey what he had heard ...": the fact that the protector spirit is generally that of a dead shaman who continues to exercise his functions, his true functions of curing, through an intermediary: the living shaman. In other words, the shaman is really converted into a benefactor, or better still into a true

[46 cont.]

411 when the respect due to his status is not shown (Cf. "Magic
435 and Funerals"), and particularly the spirit of those dead through
775 violence, we can better understand the high value they place on the imára, or magic arrow.

593 It will be well to explain again the position of the father
611 in relation to his son in La Guajira. The family in this society follows matrilineal descent, and therefore the father is not really considered as father to his sons but is to his nephews, his sister's sons. The family ties between father and son are so weak that they do not exist except in certain secondary aspects of the family economic organization.

411 The use of the poisoned arrow among the Kusina Indians is shown by the following fragment of a story told by the same
539 woman informant who supplied us with the data on which this
789 present study is based and which refers to the struggle between a Guajiro Indian named Kurfra-páta and some Kusina Indians who arrived at his hamlet one night to steal his stock. The section dealing with the magic arrow, translated literally from the Guajiro text, is as follows: [47] "The Kusina shot (with a rifle) at Kurfra-páta, who came upon them from behind. They wounded him in the thigh. 'Now, it isn't possible to do anything,' said K.P. 'Let's kill him to end this once and for all,' said the Kusina. K.P. lifted himself on to his sound knee. He shot at them (with his rifle), killing one. Then the Kusina said, 'Let's kill him with the imára (poisoned arrow).'"

411 The fragment of this story corroborates the existence of
789 the magic arrow among the Kusina, and also, as previously stated, the fact that the poisoned arrow,— magic arrow to us — was the last recourse utilized by these Indians when their other weapons did not produce the desired result.

The area of distribution of this cultural element, as we have seen, was in the Sierra de Cocinas, and it was frequently used in Jarara, where it was obtained by purchase or by barter from the makers. This class of weapon used to be employed in this latter region — Jarara — in times of war. Now it is no longer used in either of the two areas mentioned for two reasons.
[797 First, the evangelizing action of the Capuchin fathers in the
778] Sierra de Jarara, who have, in the main, mitigated the warlike

[123 cont.]

796 533 539 b) Of the songs which are sung in this ceremony of propitiation of rain, there are some of a simple, humorous character making fun of neighboring native groups, pointing out their defects, such as we transcribe below: [124]

I do not love the men of Ríohacha
Because they like to smoke tobacco;
I do not like the men of Nazaret,
Because they have a very sweet tooth.

[931] But there are others of a typical erotic flavor, sung by the men, which are nothing more than an invitation to love, the story of their manliness, of their value as males. We translate literally a fragment which we heard in Uribía:

Come to me, my sister.
Come to me, my woman.
I am a male.

Do not look at him
—At that youngster —
Walk straight and correctly.
Walk straight and correctly.
Walk straight and correctly.

I am here.
I am the male.
I bring with me my rifle
And my revolver.
I am a male.
You were very charming, my love.

Oh, that I may take an Indian girl!
I will pay for her
Because I am rich.

Many songs such as this are sung at the Dance of the Kid, but we were unable to take down the words because, as we have said, songs do not exist as such. They are not stereotyped and established with definite words and unchangeable form but are improvised, making use of every recourse, especially stories of past incidents, to which they adapt a well-known tune.

[124 cont.]

585 c) There is another very important fact in this sexual aspect of the fiesta that we are describing, which is what we might call proof of virginity. [125]

Virginity in woman is highly valued by the natives in spite of the fact that at the present time, due to economic ac- [836 178] culturative factors, it is increasingly difficult to find virgins among marriageable women, a state of affairs that the Indian male is well aware of. But it is always a matter of pride and something to be boasted of for a Guajiro man to find on his marriage night that his bride is a virgin. It is the custom, [583] furthermore, that if the man marries not knowing that his wife has lost her virginity and has the consequent disillusion on his wedding night, the bride's relatives have to return a part of the livestock which the man paid for her, especially the family neck- [578 273] lace. The Indian's concern about this matter, which remains hidden when he is in a normal state, comes to the surface during his drunken bouts, when he will sing about his wife, extolling her and boasting of having had a virgin in his marriage hammock, or insulting and degrading her in coarse improvisations when he considers that he has been defrauded.

524 796 831 This attitude toward sex on the part of the native, or better said this value he places on the virginity of his future wives, is expressed in a sort of game which is played at the Dance of the Kid. To play it, the girls gather in a group about a singer who [539] sings such a song as this: "Let us see, my pretty miss, if you are a virgin, if truly you have not run around too freely, if no young male has put his hands on your body." He then passes his hands over each girl's body, tickling her. He starts at her big toe and goes upward, touching her instep, calves, knees, thighs, genitals, hips, stomach, torso, breasts, armpits, and continues up her neck until he reaches the top of her head. The girl who remains quiet, indifferent, without laughing and without even a smile wins the test and is declared a virgin. The singer then sings again: "You are indeed a virgin, my lovely majayura....," and chants a veritable song of flattery and finishes by escorting her to a set place. He then continues with the rest of the girls gathered there, repeating the same routine. When a girl moves or laughs,

526 [132 cont.]
796 men and animals, or men alone, as in the description of a putchi, or interclan war. This demonstration of skill and ability
535 in their plays is shown very clearly in the chicha-maya dance,
796 which will be fully detailed in the descriptive aspect of Guajiro culture shortly to be published. This dance, in general terms, is restricted to a veritable struggle between the man and the woman who are partners, a struggle in which the woman endeavors to overthrow the man.

536 However, in the plays of a mythical nature the scene is more limited and always ends in the same way. It is static in
796 the sense that its conclusion cannot be changed by the ability of the players but is determined by a prearranged plot, rigidly imposed for each occasion it is played. This we believe is what gives it its true mythical nature. It is part of the oral tradition of the group, and for this reason it cannot be subject to variations determined by the moment.

Having made these general statements about their theatrical plays, or dramas, we will now describe them one by one, showing first those that refer to social life, then those relative to the mythical aspect, and finally those in which animals only, or animals with men, appear.

1. Visit between Upper and Lower La Guajira. Two groups take part in this play, each composed of men and women. The first represents Upper La Guajira, the other, Lower La Guajira. The groups line up in two parallel rows [133] spaced a cuadra apart. The components of each group hold each other round the waist, face to face, with a small space between them. The
536 singer who heads the team of Indians that represents Upper La
● 539 Guajira begins by addressing the visitors from Lower Guajira,
796 "Ansh piá (Have you arrived?)." "Aaa (Yes)," replies the other. "Kasáchicki (What's new?)," asks the first singer. "Nohots (Nothing new)," replies his opposite number from the south country. Again he of the north asks, "How goes the winter? Have the expected rains finally arrived?" The other answers, "we are well content. The rains have come so our crops are in good condition. We have collected food in plenty, and there is still a quantity left to collect. The pastures, like the trees, are green again; our herds have water to satisfy their thirst in the wells and water

[133 cont.]

536 holes. They are fat and have increased. We are neither short of
539 meat nor milk nor fruit...." He from the north then speaks,
796 saying, "I, my friend, am full of woe. I suffer from anxiety, fearing hunger this coming winter. My herds died of thirst beside the dry wells. I have no other food than the fruit of the cardon and the prickly pear. I have to travel long and painful distances so that my hungry herds can find pasture and water. The summer is cruel. The sun burnt the seedlings and the grass." He of the south again intervenes, this time to invite his friend in these or similar words, "Seeing things are thus with you, my brother, why not come with us to our country, to Lower La Guajira. There you will find green pastures and overflowing water holes for your herds. Come with your wife and nephews [and nieces, sobrinos] because there will be food for you all. There the winter is good; we shall expect you."

Finally the one from Upper La Guajira says "Yes, I will go with you. I will leave here with my starving herds and with my people who are in dire need and poverty...." After this the two groups unite, embrace each other at the waist, and walk off together in the direction of Lower La Guajira. So ends the play.

2. Interclan war. As in the previous case, two teams are formed headed by their singing leaders, but this time women do not take part directly. The play starts when a player of one of the teams walks up to the other and pretends to kill one of its members. The latter acts as if he were wounded, twists and squirms on the ground, then dies. The assailant leaves him lying there and flees to his own group and hides himself. The singer then starts up his song, stating that the cause of the killing was jealousy because the victim was attempting to make love to the killer's wife, or he was the lucky rival in winning a girl they were both courting. The other team sees the death of their member and hastens [134] to pick him up. They make grand gestures of fury and demand vengeance, and the singer of this group expresses the rage of his clan; he threatens the opposite group whom he accuses in insulting language and ends by declaring his bitter enmity. Shortly afterward comes the scene of the compensation payment negotiations in which the arbitrator of the murdered man's clan visits the aggressor group to demand payment for the

[134 cont.]

536 offense received, asking for a very large sum, stating how pas-
539 sionately angry his clan is and warning them that if the sum de-
796 manded is not met war will be the inevitable consequence. The singer continues: "Pay for my nephew because you have spilled his blood and by that you have caused us great sorrow. I ask in a kindly manner that you do so unless you want to bring upon yourselves our hatred, if you do not want us to kill your nephews and despoil your people of their herds, to fill up your wells and burn down the homes of your relatives. If our just claim is not met we will carry off your women, your children and nephews and nieces as slaves. Pay!"

The aggressor band collects a number of children – who are to represent cattle – necklaces, etc., and hand these over to the contendors. But their singer states that it is too little, that his clan demands more. He orders the other clan to take back their offering and states that as they have not complied with the stipulations of their agreement that they must prepare to pay their debt with their own blood. War is declared. Each band concentrates on arming itself; they collect young cardons which they split in strips to serve as weapons.

The singer of the murdered man's clan again sings: "Get ready, my sons and nephews. We are about to attack our enemies, to collect for the blood of our brother as they have not paid us what they owe. But do not thoughtlessly expose yourselves. Be careful. Attack, but keep well protected behind trees and cardons. Take careful aim. Do not let yourselves be beaten, or we in future will be called cowards and will not be respected. No one then will pay us for our women, and we shall be despised by all. In all La Guajira they will know the story of our defeat, which will be converted into mockery and contempt."

The leader of the group to which the killer belongs sings: "My nephews, be prepared. Very soon these people will arrive to attack us, so be ready for war. Do not be neglectful even for one minute because they will arrive suddenly with the intention of burning our homes, of stealing our herds, destroying our sources of water, and taking our women and children for slaves. Fight and aim well. We shall destroy them."

[134 cont.]

536 After the leaders of each group have sung these harangues, which are characteristic of those delivered by the chiefs in war, 539 the attack comes. Those who engage in the combat pretend 796 to leave at dawn (all this the leader refers to in his song) in order to fall suddenly on their enemies. With the piles of cardons they shoot at each other. The defenders run away, leaving the field covered [135] with the dead. In the combat they will incite each other. On throwing the cardon they imitate the noise of the explosion and the whistle of the bullets when fired. Each one seeks shelter where he can find it and dodges blows. Those that are touched by thrown missiles fall, screaming that they are wounded, and pretend to die. The chiefs harangue their men: "Shoot well my nephews or else they will think we are cowards."

536 When all the projectiles are used up, each band gathers 796 its bodies. The one with the most casualities has lost the battle. At this moment the women come on the scene to mourn the dead of their clan. They cover their faces with pañuelos and, kneeling over a corpse, they cry pitifully. Then they go to bury their dead, and so ends the representation of the putchi.

3. The devil and the Indians. In this dramatization a male Indian covers himself with a black robe, imitating the devil, or yorujá. The devil appears walking in the fields, and an Indian steps out to meet him. The devil with great expertness grips him by the nostrils with his thumb and first finger and throws him to the ground. The Indian is killed. This scene in which the devil always participates but each time with different Indians is repeated three times with the same result, until in the end all the Indians who act in the play unite against the devil and kill him. The devil disappears, but after a short interval he returns to the scene. A new struggle starts up, but this time the devil wins because he kills all the Indians, men and women, who take part in the fight. Later he withdraws and takes off the robe, thus ending the play.

4. The devil and the cloud. The Indians take off their robes and make a kind of tent with them into which they all go. This tent is meant to represent smoke or a cloud. Inside, the Indians

[135 cont.]

536 pretend to be eating and playing tranquilly. The devil, another
796 Indian, taking advantage of the carelessness of the men who are occupied with their fun, and covered as always with his black robe, enters the cloud to do them evil. Immediately a fight starts up between the Indians and the devil. In the end the cloud traps the devil and emerges triumphant in the play.

5. The horse race. Horse racing is the sport or trial of
541 prowess most practiced in the ordinary life of the Guajiro. In
536 this sport they try to bring to the fore the name of the horse and
796 the skill of the jockey. In all the large fiestas a number of horse
[538] races are always staged, and such is their enthusiasm for them that they are frequently mentioned in some stories told by the natives. [136]

During the Fiesta of the Kid two groups are formed which,
536 as in the previous cases, are under the direction of their respec-
●539 tive leaders. Each group has assigned to it an equal number of
796 men, representing so many race horses. The race course having been previously marked out with its starting point and finishing post, one of the singers begins by referring to the goodness of his horse, praising its speediness. The other replies in an identical tone, using eulogistic concepts regarding his animal. They soon arrange a match which they put into practice. One of them says: "There goes my roan horse; he is swifter than the clouds and the wind and braver than any other in La Guajira." The other sings: "This is my chestnut horse. I am sure that he will win because he is swifter than the deer." They start off their horses and run the race. Following them, race another pair, then another, until all the competitors have taken part.

The bees and the fruit thieves. There is a kind of small
825 bee in the peninsula which the Indians call wáya. These bees
241 make their nests in trees or in hollow tree trunks. If a blow is
536 struck near the hive, the bees swarm out, attacking and getting
796 into the hair of anybody standing nearby. They get inside the intruders' clothes and swarm all over them, crawling over their bodies, buzzing angrily, bothering their enemies until they are in a state of desperation. The Indians have a habit of collecting
536 hives of these bees and placing them at the entrance to their
796 fields, making use of the bees to defend their harvest from thieves.

536 [140 cont.]
796 moving along the ground. Headed by their leader they all continue to sing the song of the serpent, saying more or less the following: "I am the snake. I drag myself along the ground.
[539] I do harm to no one. But he who dares to step on me because I am on the ground gets his punishment. I bite him and wound him. At times I kill him. He has to stay in bed and suffer for a long time as a punishment for having trodden on me and for thinking that I am helpless because I drag myself along the ground...." This song is repeated several times. [141]

IX

Mareiwa and Wanurú

or

Notions of Good and Evil

771 Through all the preceding chapters we have tried to explain clearly what constitutes the magic life of the Guajiro, which is almost the same as saying his spiritual life, and in passing we have mentioned the presence and activities of beings with higher powers than ordinary mortals, able to do good or evil according to which being intervenes in each particular case. We have thus touched on two fundamental ideas: good and evil.

776 Our interest is now concentrated in trying to elucidate the
177 quality of these spirits, or supernatural beings. These can be very seriously confused owing particularly to the influence of acculturation and more specifically to the pressure exerted by missionaries in their prosletyzing function. So great is the misapplication of terms and concepts in this world of ideas that we might call the religious, that even the Guajiro mythology has been transformed by the use of terms which have a pejorative and
773 degrading effect on the Guajiro people (68).

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68. This statement is based on the legend which we obtained orally from

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an Indian of the Nazaret locality relating to Mareiwa and the origin of humanity, in which are presented the beginnings of the different groups of mankind: natives and foreigners. The legend states that Mareiwa created mankind and gathered them together, inviting them to a banquet. Those who complied with the forms of social etiquette (shaking hands respectfully, sitting in the right place, behaving with composure, eating according to civilized rules, using knives and forks, washing hands, etc., were turned into arĩjuna ("white," civilizado); those who misbehaved, who did not comply with these rituals of social etiquette, that is, those who showed they were Indians, were from that time classed as wayũ ("Indians"). As can be seen, the Indian believes himself superior [sic] to the White because of these details of social etiquette, of which he is partially or totally ignorant. [142]

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The problem arises from the fact that those two notions of good and evil, represented by two classes of spirits, benign and malignant, have been changed for the Catholic or general Christian concepts of God and devil, concepts which the native, coming more and more in contact with the Christian type of civilization has gradually come to accept in the process of his conversion to new ideas.

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This affirmation is corroborated by various citations, taken from the writings of Catholic or Protestant missionaries as well as from those of travelers or of ethnologists who have been involved in the same confusion. To demonstrate the point we transcribe several such cases.

[53] Father de Carcagente referring to the church at Manaure says: "The Indians say to God 'Have pity upon us.' They know

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797 what God can do for them," phrases which the Guajiro translates
[534] in this way: "Nuchúntaca guayú numuín Maléigua 'Pumúliaja guayú.' Je natújain au tu náinjecta nau Maléigua." (69)

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69. Carcagente. Guía Goajiro [Guajiro Guide], pp. 18-19. The italics are ours.

The Protestant missionaries, on their part, published in Guajiro and in Spanish a version of the Gospel of Saint Mark throughout which the word "God" is represented in Guajiro by the word "Mareiwa" (70).

70. Máruko: Cf. Bibliography.

Father José Agustín de Barranquilla, a Capuchin missionary who traveled widely through the greater part of Guajiro territory on an evangelistic mission and collected his impressions in a book, when speaking of the qualities and moral defects of the Guajiro, uses the following terms: "He is monotheist, that is, he believes in only one Supreme Being called Mareigua (God) ... he has something similar to the devil which he calls Yarujá or Yolujá..." (71)

71. Barranquilla. Así es la Guajira [This is La Guajira], II, 57.

And further along he adds: "The Guajiro is not like other Indians, idolatrous, because vestiges have never been found among all the Guajiro antiquities either of idols that they worshiped in times past or traditions that show at any time their connection with idolatry, except for certain insignificant talismans of a domestic and family nature which they considered could render them service. They never practiced any cult rendering homage to the sun, moon, or any other visible thing. The Guajiro attributes
776 everything good that occurs in this world to Merigua (God). Mareigua is always good, never evil. He it was that created the world and all visible things. He alone. He is invisible

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Birth and death of the first-born. The father must pay the
851 expenses of pregnancy and delivery, as well as those occasioned by the celebration of the birth of his first child, and he is expected to offer a special feast at his own expense at the place where the birth occurred. The news of the birth of the child spreads rapidly and draws relatives and friends from all parts. At midday the dance, which lasts all night, begins, in which the
[534 single women and all the men take part. The rhythm is supplied
535] by a double-headed drum made of deer or goat hide. The dancing takes place within a large circle, around the edges of which the couples participating and the curious onlookers gather. The women attend in their finest dresses without forgetting their ornaments (necklaces, bracelets, and anklets) and wear wound round the head a handkerchief, which falls over the shoulder, and have their faces very carefully painted. The men wear broad belts wonderfully embroidered and feather headpieces.

[273] The father must supply his guests with Guajiro rum or with smuggled foreign liquor. Also chicha (made from chewed corn)
[541] is prepared and is served liberally. Apart from the dancing there may be horse racing, if the people are rich, and for this they bring their finest animals. At dawn the next day cattle, if the father is rich, and goats are slaughtered, which are prepared and divided among the participants according to their importance in the family, the group, and the total collectivity in general. All the participants return to their homes by sunrise.

In addition to the father, the maternal and paternal relatives
[431] join in the celebration of the birth, bringing gifts for the newly born. The father also makes him a present of heads of livestock,
[428] which constitute almost the only inheritance he will get during his lifetime, as it is the nephews of the father, (sons of his sister) who inherit the capital and not the sons, according to law, when the marriage has been carried out according to the Guajiro rite.

851 The paternal grandfather also shows his recognition and
43 generosity toward his grandson. If he owns livestock, he is
603 obliged to give a pair of each -- horses, burros, cows, goats,

[135 cont.]

536 796 pretend to be eating and playing tranquilly. The devil, another Indian, taking advantage of the carelessness of the men who are occupied with their fun, and covered as always with his black robe, enters the cloud to do them evil. Immediately a fight starts up between the Indians and the devil. In the end the cloud traps the devil and emerges triumphant in the play.

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The bees and the fruit thieves. There is a kind of small 825 241 536 796 bee in the peninsula which the Indians call wáya. These bees make their nests in trees or in hollow tree trunks. If a blow is struck near the hive, the bees swarm out, attacking and getting into the hair of anybody standing nearby. They get inside the intruders' clothes and swarm all over them, crawling over their bodies, buzzing angrily, bothering their enemies until they are in a state of desperation. The Indians have a habit of collecting 536 796 hives of these bees and placing them at the entrance to their fields, making use of the bees to defend their harvest from thieves.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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In another game the dangerous spirit Yoruyá attacks 796
and kills Indian after Indian till he is set upon by them all 526
and killed; in yet another the Indians hide in a cloud made
of cloaks, when the spirit forces its way in, but it is captured [776]
by the cloud and vanquished.

Horse-racing is one of the Indians' greatest pleasures at [541]
their festivities, but they also indulge in it—without horses
—as a game in connection with the dances. Very amusing
and picturesque is a game in which they imitate hunting a
kind of bird that plunders the seed in their fields. The
Indians pretend to be trying to scare them and catch them
in nets. Here the seed is represented by some children, some
of the men are the birds, others the hunters who catch the
birds in their hammocks and then wring their necks!

Another game represents a fight between jaguars and
dogs. The strongest of the men are made the jaguars, for
these have to win. Then there is a snake game in which men
and women crawl along together, imitating the movements
of a snake and singing the snake song: 'I am the snake. I
creep along the ground. I do harm to none, but punish
those who try to trample me. Long must he suffer, who
tramps upon me because he thinks me defenceless since I
creep on the ground. He must suffer and die.' There are
endless variations; but a dance lasts so long that a little
variety is necessary.

Once the upper-class dance, the chichamaya, was over, [565]
Mauana's people gladly showed us all their games and
dances even though it was not the right time of year.

As we were riding home the next day we encountered 115
several companies of Indians returning from a burial-feast.
Among them was a young man in a beautifully woven
mantle, who joined up with us. He spoke good Spanish and
obviously belonged to the upper class. Francisco told him
about us, and he was eager that we should be his guests
that same day, since his rancho lay on our route. He said
that he had a few things that I might well find interesting
and he himself would like to see one of my pistols. (Fran-
cisco had evidently described how they smoked and made 273
a bang.) Some of the Indians accompanying us now became

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842 177 At the present time the family concept of the woman is changing because of the conduct of mestino and even pure Indian women brought about by changes in their economic situation and by contact with whites. Gradually, the traditional organization of the marriage payment and fidelity based on the payment is being broken down, because it is the women themselves and not their relatives who receive the payment, and for their [841] activities as prostitutes. The phenomenon is noted not only in the centers of the interior which wave contacts with whites and Negroes -- principally traders and civil authorities -- but also and especially in Maracaibo and some of the towns in the department of Magdalena, to which they have been obliged to emigrate. However, they maintain the family concept of mutual assistance and share their income with their close relatives, not as before in the form of the marriage payment but as income earned in the sex market.

843 Prenatal care and birth. A woman learns that she is pregnant when she feels a loss of appetite and repugnance for food. The later disappearance of the menstrual period confirms the suspicion, and she immediately sees to it that her husband is informed of the event, so that he may know of his coming fatherhood. Also, in the case where she has had extramarital relations [835] in the absence of the husband, the woman, when she feels these early symptoms of pregnancy, goes in search of him, cohabits with him, and later can tell him of her condition, thus avoiding possible later suspicions. From the time of the ending of the first menstrual period, she begins to count the months, and she expects delivery after the eighth month.

Before the arrival of a child, the woman complies with established rules intended to avoid a lengthy and difficult delivery as well as to safeguard the new arrival from sickness which would affect his normal mental and physical well-being. Included in these prescriptions are to be found some of useful and practical value and others with a marked magic aspect. These magic observances generally affect both parents, although some only refer to the woman, /5/ others exclusively to the man (1).

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836 The virginity of the single woman is becoming very rare in La Guajira. Premarital relations have been occurring with greater frequency in recent years as a consequence of the social disintegration of this indigeneous group, caused by a multiplicity of reasons, among which stand out: the influence of the so-called white groups, among whom free union is common practice; emigration to regions such as Venezuela, where the Indian women break away from the norms of their ancestors and find an atmosphere which does not resent the sexual adventures of women but rather stimulates them; the scarcity and hunger in certain regions which push the inhabitants toward the urban centers of the peninsula, where the woman gives herself in exchange for the wherewithal to satisfy her vital needs of food and dress, an attitude which her relatives recognize and tolerate because, indirectly, it also helps them. The premarital relations forced by circumstances or encouraged by them have been creating a social class of women which previously did not exist nor could fit within her social organization: the prostitute. It must be noted that it is the mestizo woman (mixture of Indian with white or negro) who more easily takes this road.

[548] [563]

Also one has to take into account the premature premarital relations that have always existed in La Guajira and which take place between the girls and their brothers, and even their fathers, when the girls are about ten or more, when they go to the fields or the countryside in general and meet the boys who are devoting themselves to pasturing. (Cf. Chap. II.)

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836 558 178 The common type of furtive sexual relations of the adult woman causes her to drop in social esteem and particularly in that of the men, producing, indirectly, the phenomenon that virginity as a basis for marriage has become overvalued. Before, it was a fact that was logically expected as an essential, and the lack of this condition created social and psychic problems.

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684 poor groups does not call for compensation payment as it is a distinct source of income, which compensates for a payment difficult to obtain and which necessitates invoking the force of the whole family group, usually very dispersed due to migration.

It must also be made clear that the payment demanded has a special character with regard to the amount, which should not reach or be equal to a marriage payment in normal times, because in that case the man could retain the woman as his own property. Also, this payment must come from the personal capital of the guilty individual as his relatives or friends will not be disposed to bring forward livestock or jewels to accept conduct not in accord with the legal norms of the peninsula. Also, this payment is not at all large, and in a certain sense it is a sanction against lack of control in conduct and a defense against the disintegration of the family, basis of the social structure.

We have to include in this section a payment which in a certain way covers the same conditions already described. It sometimes happens that a woman is sold by her relatives under agreement to pay in two installments. On paying the first, the man has free access to cohabit with her. But if the second installment is not paid up at the end of the stipulated time, the maternal relatives of the woman take her back with any children she might have had, the man losing his right to claim the amount already paid on account, /72/ as this sum is considered a payment for abuse although it may be a higher price than that established by custom.

We should note that the Guajiro, on paying the sum claimed as indemnity for transgression of the law of marriage, considers he has terminated all his relations, and he must again pay, if he reinitiates such relations, an amount equal or greater, according to what the young girl's relatives decide. If after the payment he wants to buy her as his wife, he can claim what he has paid for the abuse as an advance payment toward the marriage payment.

548 Prostitution. Guajiro law excludes the prostitute absolutely from their society. We have seen how on reaching adult age, the

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548 woman is submitted to the ceremonies of initiation in preparation for her future life, in order to enter society without the young girl's restrictions but with all the responsibilities of a young unmarried woman. During this time she is obliged to guard her chastity, as a condition which is valued in marriage, as we have seen in the section, Valuation of virginity and of the woman, in this chapter. We have also seen that the payment for abuse is no more than an economic reparation for the illegal use of a woman, who is considered to be the personal property of her relatives, and as indemnity for the loss of prestige of the woman and of her maternal relatives. It is not a payment for services but compensation to the relatives for the offense and abuse of property.

We said, furthermore, that if a man obtains a woman through purchase with a payment in two installments and he does not comply with the second, the woman is recovered by her relatives, the installment paid being converted into a payment for abuse; and that, if the woman cohabits with a man who has not bought her, their law obliges the man to pay for her as a wife or to separate himself from her after meeting the payment demanded.

Another proof that the prostitute has no place under Guajiro law is the fact that adultery is only considered in relation to the woman, and it carries the penalty of having to return to the husband the purchase price, the children of the marriage, and a payment for the offense; besides which the lover is obliged to pay to the husband whatever he demands, or to buy the woman in question and take her for his wife.

Finally, the woman on becoming widowed is not considered to be free but becomes the property of the heirs of the husband, so that, even then, she is not able to practice prostitution freely.

Summing up, the woman is considered as private property which can be acquired by purchase and which no one except the owner may enjoy or dispose of. She is always the private property of someone: when a young unmarried woman, of her

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548 maternal relatives; when married, of her husband; and if he dies, of his heirs. In case of adultery it is her lover who must pay to have legal right to her.

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Prostitution, which is continually growing in La Guajira, has many causes, which have developed rapidly in recent times, endangering all the social organization. The principal ones are:

548 Slavery. The /social/ organization in La Guajira has
567 created for itself this class of social elements placed at the
627 very margin of life. Its origin is in the clan groups which, when weakened by economic failure and the scarcity of male elements to strengthen them, have been slowly pushed to the margin /of society/. The murder, for example, of a member of a powerful group caused by a member of one of these groups spells its ruin. The law establishes in such cases a considerable payment to the maternal relatives of the murdered man by the clan group that is responsible for his death, a payment which has to be transacted in accordance with special forms which facilitate peaceful settlement between both parties and a reasonable time limit, at the termination of which both groups renew their peaceful relations and give proofs of new friendship, although in practice these appearances show themselves to be quite false. However, when the aggressor belongs to an inferior group, these negotiations are not followed out, as it would appear that added to the sorrow over the death is the offense of the crime having been perpetrated by a group without social standing, without prestige, and without sufficient means to pay the indemnity. "These people," say the offended ones, "who have no money to pay us for the grief they have caused us have no right either to a legal negotiation." They fall on the small group in overwhelming numbers like an avalanche, on their lands and their houses, leveling them to the ground without

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548 567 627 mercy, burning their homes with the occupants in them, destroying the crops, filling up and poisoning the springs, carrying off the few livestock and personal effects there may be about. The worst fate is suffered by the children and especially the women, old women, young women, and girls, who are carried off as trophies of war to pay with their service as slaves for the crime committed by their relative.

548 567 Although these women are not to be considered as true prostitutes, their daughters are forced to suffer this illegal condition because, although they belong to their mother's master, they are strongly besieged by all the men, especially by those who have not yet been able to buy a wife and who will find /74/ satisfaction in them without economic or social responsibilities. The girls submit little by little to this situation, giving themselves to whoever gives them presents, and eventually become harlots. (Cf. Slavery and Bond Service.)

Furthermore, many of these girls are sold by their masters to be sent out of the peninsula (to Aruba, Maracaibo, Curaçao, Riohacha, etc.), but when they grow up they escape and, when it is possible for them, they return again to La Guajira, where the fate that awaits them is no better, for they have been placed, so to speak, outside the law, as they lack the two strong social bonds: land and blood. Hence, not possessing these, they are free, which is equivalent to being without protection. No one will take notice of what they do, but neither will anyone speak up for them to prevent their being the victims of force. They have no economic backing nor private means. Moreover, many of them have been started off in prostitution during their servitude. In the circumstances described, it is rare that they can raise themselves and manage to find a place again in a society that turned them out, so that they find themselves obliged to live on the margin of society, as also their offspring. In this way slavery creates the prostitute, a public property, something that does not fit within the legal norms, as we have seen throughout this chapter.

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548 566 Bond service. Bond service is different from slavery in that it is not the result of a conquest in war of one group by another, but rather the consequence of economic decline, since when a group cannot support its members, they sell them. Years ago large numbers were sold to Venezuela as farm hands to the Caribbean Islands, etc., and although the investment was never very safe, due to the escaping of the Indians, the sales were numerous, and even today they are very frequent. Furthermore, it is common practice at the present time in the Jarara region, short of resources in summer, to take the nephews and nieces of an individual who has been forced by necessity to commit robbery as bond servants to repay by their own labor what was stolen.

Women in this situation, separated from their group and unable to be helped by them, are coveted by the men. Those who are sent away, on their return, find themselves in a situation similar to that of slaves who have come back. They settle in the cities and turn to prostitution, as the whites find in them a simple solution of their problems, and they find a means of subsistence.

548 177 The mestizo. Cross breeding /mestizaje/ has not affected Guajiro culture in respect to the tradition regarding magic, language, organization, etc., but has had an effect on social morality, which /75/ is readily forsaken by the mestizo woman of lower class, commonly called cabeza loca ("madcap"), by the general run of Indians, owing to her sexual promiscuity, her easily becoming a prostitute and giving herself and living for certain periods of time with a man, (mestizo or white as a general rule) to leave him later to follow an endless chain. The pure-blooded Guajiro woman, even if she takes to prostitution, never abandons, from any motive, the established norms of modesty, [578] such as never to show herself naked, never to behave rowdily, etc., as there is no greater insult than that a man should affirm such things about her. The mestizo woman, however, does not respect these concepts. For this reason she is sought after more and more, and she freely and openly throws over the traditional

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548 177 limitations. We have said that this applies to the lower classes because the mestizo woman of the upper-class groups are as modest and conservative, or more so, than the pure Indians. The mestizo woman of lower class is not under the control of her maternal relatives, and for this reason there is no repressive power capable of making her submit to that which is right.

548 167 Geographic conditions. A natural phenomenon is basically the cause of prostitution in La Guajira: the long summers /dry season/ that the peninsula has suffered during the past five years, a period in which the winter seasons /rainy season/ have been nonexistent, so that neither stock breeding nor agriculture have been able to subsist and have dwindled to a minimum, so ruining the traditional economy of the population. The result is that the native, seeing himself without resources to live, migrates or succumbs through inanition, as we were able to observe during our stay in that region. In this state of affairs the native will go to Venezuela where he finds paid work which alleviates his situation and that of his relatives in the peninsula. Sometimes the women also migrate with their families.

When the men emigrate, the family groups lose their elements of support in difficult situations, and the women and children are left with diminished protection and control, that is to say, they depend on themselves. When the assistance from the men is limited, the families must live by any means they can, and they then feel the attraction of the /urban/ centers where they expect to be able to find the solution to their problem of making a living. They migrate, and their only opportunity is in prostitution. There the women begin a way of life foreign to their social organization, made easier by the absence of male relatives who would put a stop to that way of life, since by being absent they cannot present their claims for compensation payment, and, furthermore, they are, generally, unaware of this state of affairs. The married woman whose husband is absent over long periods, impelled by this same situation and her own sexual need, turns to prostitution without anyone /76/ to make the corresponding claim. Married

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548 167 and unmarried women come for periods from the country to the urban centers; they settle in shacks on the outskirts, live by easy virtue for a time to procure enough to purchase new robes and food, and return home until these provisions have been used up, when they again return to the centers and to the sex market.

548 434 167 In addition to the summers which have made the traditional economic life impossible, the situation is made more acute by the fact that provisions have to be brought in from the neighboring department of Magdalena, since of all that is consumed in the peninsula nothing can be grown there. But the contraband agricultural produce smuggled from this area to Maracaibo, where for various reasons they pay a higher price for these products, encourages the export of these from the country, so increasing the problem of hunger in La Guajira, as the cost of provisions rises and the trader, on his part, increases his price to cover what he considers his due as middleman. In this way the basic things required by the Guajiro, corn and panela, reach an exorbitant price, especially in the more remote places where the source of supply is in the hands of one trader.

548 167 Furthermore, the woman finds few sources of income in the centers. Only those women of upper La Guajira /La Alta Guajira/ who have been educated in the Capuchin mission can work different kinds of woven cloth which find acceptance in the markets of Maracaibo and in the department of Magdalena. Practically no one wants to work in domestic service because their natural independence unsuits them to accommodate themselves to the demands. Some collect divi-divi in season, others help their husbands in the saltworks, but there the wages paid are so low that they are almost worthless and not encouraging.

Having little to occupy themselves with, their domestic work being reduced to a minimum, they pass the time in incredible idleness, gossiping among themselves, lying in their hammocks, and in the evenings going into the urban centers, if they live near by, to offer themselves to the natives of the civilizados /nonnatives, see below/ who at that hour are leaving their work.

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548 167 Another of the aspects in which emigration influences prostitution among the Guajiro women is that when they, alone or with their husbands and their relatives, go to Venezuela, they usually settle in Maracaibo and other centers in the state of Zulia, where the civilizado element looks on the Guajiro woman as a coveted solution to their sex problems. Various causes influence this outlook: The women have no effective protection, they are healthy and easily seduced with cheap presents which they overvalue in their poverty; also, they are nearly always looked down on as inferior, as belonging to the lowest social level. This pursuit of the women for sexual purposes is so intense that the story is told of /77/ girls arriving in Maracaibo in the morning who have by afternoon received attractive offers before which they have succumbed. The missionaries endeavor to intervene, but it is useless; the cajolery and promises are more attractive than good advice and the training of their childhood and youth. When they are not public prostitutes they are bought, according to Guajiro law, by married Venezuelan men and are thus partially introduced into that society in the role of concubines until they are repudiated at the whim of their masters.

548 In addition to these reasons, the women see the apparently advantageous situation that their friends and relatives have acquired for themselves, and they think that what they have to lose is not so much when compared with the resulting benefits. The poverty they have suffered at home in their own country and the promise of an easy solution overcomes the resistance of the most reluctant. Furthermore, their friends are the first to advise them to take the step. Guajiro law is so far away it seems they are beyond its reach, and they cannot weigh the disastrous consequences of this life except from their own and immediate point of view. All these combined causes lead the Guajiro woman who migrates on the road to prostitution, which unavoidably happens sooner or later, and she will not afterward return to the normal life of her /family/ group.

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548 648 The civilizado /civilized/ element. A civilizado according to the Guajiro concept is one who does not belong to their community or the mestizo who has adopted a culture different from theirs. The classification covers people on the Atlantic coast both Columbian and Venezuelan (negroid for the most part) and some other white or mestizo groups in the interior of Columbia.

This civilizado element puts the native on an inferior plane not only where their material culture is concerned, which they despise, but also their spiritual aspect. They look with compassion and curiosity at the manifestations of this and find them difficult to accept. They regard them as savages, and they respect them only because they are strong. This has provoked in the native a feeling of suspicion and misgiving in all that is dear to him, and he has become resentful to a point that he hopes to find a similar failing in the white man in order to reproach him with it.

The cultural norms of a social and moral aspect that they receive from the civilizado are precisely what lead to the systematic destruction of their organization. Generally, the white men who go to La Guajira are men who have to be absent from their families for various reasons, and they find the solution for their biological needs in the Guajiro woman. Their temporary residence there will not permit them (as it might when they make it their permanent home) to buy a girl for a wife, because the price is high for their small means, and it would cause /78/ problems with their own families, so that a man of this type solves the situation by making an easy arrangement with an Indian woman, who gives herself to him in return for presents or a money payment on each occasion.

The Guajiro woman who has emigrated from her district sooner or later returns home and finds in the peninsula a propitious medium for the life she began when away, because beside finding it difficult to obtain a legitimate source of income, her prime needs continually demand immediate satisfaction.

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548 Consequences. The consequences that prostitution has brought to Guajiro society are various: The first and decisive one is the 177 almost absolute wreck of the social organization due to the destruction of marriage, the mainstay of social life based on the purchase of a woman, who by this transaction becomes the private property of the man in the matrimonial sense. If she is unfaithful there arise the claim for compensation payment and the whole series of consequences which we have seen previously, all tending to preserve conjugal fidelity. On the woman's turning to prostitution, the legal norms which establish that marriage payment and the very constitution of the family become useless as it erases the essential character of the family: i.e., procreation. There is an end to the principle of the establishment of new social cells and fecundation takes second place. It is the biological satisfaction that is sought, not the procreation of children, a phenomenon which constitutes a grave social problem for, although many people accept contraceptives, others through ignorance or thoughtlessness on the part of the man do not use them, and the natural consequences of pregnancy are not long delayed. Then they have recourse to all the abortives they know [847] of empirically, using the herbs whose active qualities are claimed by the old women of the Sierra de Macuira, or those they have traditionally learned from their ancestors, or they ask the assistance of a woman practiced in these matters, who for a fee provokes the abortion by traumatic massage on the abdomen of the pregnant woman and keeps the secret.

848 Besides abortives, the Guajiro woman uses potions of herbs which sterilize her for a time, up to three years, without stopping menstruation, and others which interrupt the menstrual cycle for long periods with the result that her sexual relations do not lead to pregnancy. She even appeals to magic to get this result, for example, by drinking, while fasting, a potion made from mule's [237] excrement left to soak overnight and then decanted. They believe that as this animal is sterile so will the woman who imbibes the preparation.

/79/

548 177 Furthermore, doing away with marriage by payment destroys with it the family backing which, in the economic sense, means as much to the woman, the man, and the children as to the maternal relatives through the system of payments, repayments, and compensations that are consequent on it. Above all, the woman loses the social and economic backing of her group, and the man the guarantee of her fidelity.

The woman who has migrated and has taken to this way of life while outside her native land, or who has accepted it in her own homeland, usually will not return to the country, or if she does it is only to live there while she spends the money she has earned, to return later and resume her trade. Today prostitution is a menace to all La Guajira. Young Indians who have not been able to obtain a wife or simply anyone who wants sexual satisfaction will find it with a Guajiro woman by means of a casual payment, and with prostitution has come a new scourge for the Guajiro: [164] venereal diseases, brought and spread by those who have acquired it in their relations with the civilizados. Ignorance on the part of the prostitute of hygienic precepts which would free her from these ills has resulted in the disease increasing dangerously. [757] Moreover, there exists in the peninsula no clinic where the native can go for treatment, and there is only one doctor and a poorly equipped hospital in Uribía. Hence, prostitution has aided, and still aids, not only social bankruptcy by the wreck of the institution of the family but also physical degeneration by the unrestricted spreading of venereal diseases among the youth of the country.

583 Outfit and dowry of the woman. When a Guajiro woman is bought the family gives her the inheritance, in livestock, which is hers by right. These gifts go to her in accordance with her social standing and with the amount of the marriage payment, because this establishes the prestige of the maternal relatives. They know that a man who has paid dearly for his wife expects that she has not cost so much just for the sake of the marital satisfactions she may give him, or for her known high social status, but that in her price there will be included an inheritance handed over to the bride for life and at this time. He could not

/148 cont./

566 All this indicates to us that the bond servant is an individual who in spite of not being able to freely dispose of his labor is an active member of society. His services are not voluntary, but he is ruled by the general norms which govern the community: His life is respected, his women may not be sexually assaulted nor taken as wives without their own consent, and, above all, his children are always free and all the family property remains in their hands or those of their relatives.

Rights of the master. The master has the right to make free use of his bond servants in all the manual labors he considers necessary /149/ and the right to sell them, but no matter how often the bond servant changes masters, the sale refers to the use of his labor, not to his person.

Sexual life of bond servants. Women bought as bond servants are not sexually under the control of their masters or of his family. However, when their consanguineous relatives live so far away that they cannot exercise their influence, female bond servants are taken advantage of by their masters, not by right but by act. This situation of relative sexual freedom means that they are besieged by men more than are slave women, as the latter are protected by their master. As a consequence [548] of this state of affairs, female bond servants frequently become prostitutes through not having the protection either of their masters or of their relatives.

It may happen that the owner falls in love with one of his bond servants and has sexual relations with her, in which case his wife ill-treats her and turns her out; then the master may decide to buy her from her relatives, continue to cohabit with her (polygamy), and not infrequently he may abandon his first home.

If a bond servant should become pregnant her relatives present the claim for compensation payment to the group of the man responsible for the situation.

When a man has lived with a bond servant, and her relatives present a claim for compensation payment, two possibilities

/149 cont./

566 are open to him: to pay for the abuse and the troubles caused by pregnancy and birth, thereby losing all right to the woman, or to buy her as a wife. In the latter case she is liberated from the position of bond servant, since some of the money paid for her in marriage is used to pay off the debt to her master which gave rise to her bond service. The sale of the bond servant may also be negotiated directly with the master, a sum being paid to him which makes it possible to free her, and another sum being handed over to the woman's relatives.

566 548 Prostitution. The female bond servant, like the slave who is sold to the whites, will escape from the house where she has to give her services and return to the peninsula, and if the control of her relatives in authority is absent, she readily turns to prostitution, it not being unusual that she has started this way of life during her time of service. When her relatives stand in the way, she may also prostitute herself behind their backs, trying to avoid in this way the consequences of the sexual commerce, or compensating them with part of her earnings. This situation may be considered abnormal in the Guajiro social system, as prostitution is considered to be /150/ outside the law. But when the demands of hunger are felt, due to the prolonged summer /droughts/, the situation becomes normal in the social levels less favored economically, and families have to tolerate their single women prostituting themselves and assisting with what they receive from their commerce in the maintenance of the other members.

566 Situation of the children. The children of a female bond servant are always free; frequently they work in the house of their mother's master as compensation for the cost of their keep, but legally they are free.

Trade. During the fierce summers that scorch La Guajira Peninsula, which seem to follow a 25- or 30-year cycle, the sale of human beings as bond servants becomes more intense. It is at these times that poor families are obliged to part with relatives they can do without, especially those who cannot

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554 626 In addition to bond servants and slaves who at any rate are still part of the Guajiro social conglomerate in their special status, there exist those outside society who have got into this situation as a consequence of breaking of the regimen for social stability, security, but who besides not having paid the indemnity required for their delict are cast out of the community because their clan group refuses to admit any responsibility for the crime, by which act they are excluded from the community and have to flee and go into exile. This appears to have been the case with the Kusina Indians, who have already definitely disappeared, due to the exterminating expeditions that have been launched against them by all the consanguineous Guajiro groups and by whites. They were a group of Indians ostracised for delicts committed, who had no family backing and who gathered together to live by robbery and murder of other Indians and the whites who lived in the neighborhood of their hideouts in the Sierra de los Kosina. /253/

IX

554 548 Prostitutes also can be classified among those of lowest feminine status, as their conduct is not in accord with the female cultural patterns for women in the community, which practically treats them as outcasts. Although they may enjoy a measure of individual prestige due to the satisfactions they give, they attract to themselves the contempt of society as they are constantly violating culture patterns. They are evaluated in two ways, but primarily are classified as despicable beings, violators of cultural patterns.

Nevertheless, during the summers, which are the periods of scarcity and misery, their conduct finds, if not approbation, at least excuse among their relatives, who see in their way of life a means of income which assists in part to supply the most basic necessities of life. Furthermore, with the change in ideas

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554 with respect to social questions as fundamental as marriage,
548 there has been a change in the judgment of prostitution and concubinage, two ways by which a woman escapes from legal strictures, almost always because of necessity or the special circumstances in which her group is placed.

X

554 We should note here the important fact that the functions
562 ascribed to the working Guajiro woman no longer count when
888 she has passed through her adult change of life, that is to say, when she has passed the menopause. From this moment it appears that she enjoys absolute freedom within the community to do those things that are prohibited a woman before she reaches that condition, such as to become inebriated, to smoke, to indulge in sexual liberties; certain taboos now no longer refer to her, and the cultural patterns need not be so rigorously complied with; she is not obliged to become the wife of the heirs of the dead husband, etc. Her status again becomes effective with all its attached functions after her death, as we shall see.

XI

554 The active presence of an individual in Guajiro society is
769 not lost at his death. In the concept that these natives have
775 about death, clearly expressed in the study made by my husband to which we have /254/ made reference several times, every member of the community continues being a member of it and exercises influence over his fellow men after his death. His status in the afterlife is determined by the same conditions that he had during his earthly life: the acquiring of greater wealth and of prestige confers a higher status in the world of the spirits.

[128 cont.]
of war to the death will result between the clans affected.

One has to take into account the fact that a woman who has been bought for wife is relatively valuable, and the native is not always in a position to accumulate the number of animals sufficient to pay for her, although it is considered an obligation on the part of his relatives to assist him when the time for his marriage arrives. As prostitution is so limited because of the condition of inferiority in which it places the woman who traffics in sex, the situation of the unmarried male in this respect is difficult. We repeat again that we make this statement on the basis of the facts of La Guajira social customs in normal times, and not on the basis of the present period when they are suffering from ever increasing problems of hunger, poverty, and acculturation, phenomena which are overthrowing all their traditional institutions.

Presenting the question in these terms, one can appreciate the trying position of the bachelor Guajiro native who is without slaves and without economic resources to enable him to buy a wife. He lives within a regimen of limitations and restrictions which reach even to sexual taboos which can be divided into two classes: special cases, especially applicable to the sex life of shamans, as we have seen; and general cases, applicable to the whole community and which go to the extreme of provoking curious euphemisms in the language when the word for the genital organ is phonetically similar to some other word, as in the case with the word for dog.

These restrictions must be considered in the totality of the social norms, but this is not the moment to expound on them as they will be fully covered in this review as an interpretation of the whole of Guajiro society. However, we wish to point out their presence in the Dance of the Kid, or better said their absence, since, as we have said, these restrictions disappear, and there is complete sexual freedom which permits the minstrel to caress the young maids on the pretext of deciding their virginity or loss of it, a thing that in normal times would not be permitted, and to go to the extreme of countenancing carnal union without economic or social consequences, the only

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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applies mainly to children. These then become slave-workers and by right should be liberated once they have paid off with their work the sum for which they were bought, but that may not always be done. It is the mother, the uncle or the aunts who decide when a child is to be sold. This seems cruel to us now, yet it is not so long ago that children in the country were auctioned as workers in Sweden and elsewhere. 735 567

The owner of these slave-workers is bound to provide them with food and clothing as he must his slaves; thus children sold into slavery at least do not starve to death as they well might at home. 614

An Indian who has been unable to pay his debts must in certain circumstances go and serve his creditor. That is reminiscent of our own ancient slavery for debt. The obligation to work for another can also be a punishment laid upon a thief or a robber. As long as the slave-worker's clan is able to take action against the master if he goes beyond his entitlement, the position of the slave-worker is different from that of the slave; but if his clan is weak and unable to help him, he can be utterly in his master's power. At times a whole clan may become so weak that it has to seek the support of a stronger clan, and thereby becomes bound to work for the latter and is entirely dependent upon it. 567 686 [685]

While the master of a female slave may use her as he will, he has no right to have intercourse with a female slave-worker. Nor can he prevent others from entering into relations with her. If her clan has any voice in affairs, it will require damages of anyone who seduces her; but if her clan is powerless, then the female slave-worker is without support either of her clan or her master, and not infrequently ends as a prostitute. Prostitution is contrary to Indian law, but nowadays it does exist. 567 833 614 [548]

Even if a girl's clan is insignificant it will always demand damages, if someone has had relations with the girl and made her pregnant. Usually the man will pay up, that being the decent thing to do. Perhaps he wishes to marry the girl; in that case he must first pay her master the debt

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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garden. In the morning the Indians came and demanded the 628
body. The monks refused, not wishing to lend themselves 727
to violation of the dead, and said that they would only 797
treat with the chief. He, however, was not in the vicinity. 648
The Indians threatened to burn the mission station. Fortunately the chief arrived at this juncture, and told his braves that they must not use violence against the monks.

'Never to kill and just to rescue those condemned to death as you do, does not fit in with our laws,' he said to the monks. 'You Capuchins lack any sense of reality. But I shall do you no harm, since you never harm others.'

It sometimes happens that the victor instead of killing 567
his male prisoners will sell them as slaves to the white 439
men, preferably to places at some distance from the peninsula, such as the Dutch islands of Aruba and Curaçao, Zulia in Venezuela, or the Magdalena department of Colombia. The Indians deal in slaves among themselves; they also sell them to the white men and these, too, traffic in them among themselves.

Legally, a slave sold to a white person should become free, but in reality the owner of the *hacienda* treats him as a serf, branding his own mark on him, depriving him of his clan name and giving him his own. To sell a prisoner into slavery is not always to hear the last of him; for some have escaped from the Dutch islands, stowing away on boats, and on their return have exacted vengeance. It is not easy for hacienda slaves to escape. They are often hunted like animals.

There was a considerable sale of young girls to the whites, 548 ●
a scandalous traffic. In Indian territory this was mainly in 567
the hands of quasi-chiefs, generally mestizos and other half-breeds with no right to the title, who cleverly saw how to exploit the Guajiro laws to earn a lot of money. The Guajiro customary law was never intended to apply to export.

The monks were the chief opponents of the slave-traffic. 567
They received a special grant from the government of 648
Colombia to enable them to purchase the freedom of slave children. The white men made no distinction between slave

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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562 riage. A Guajiro woman has no right to sell her body. The [548] law does not recognize prostitution.

A married woman's relatives and clan do not leave her 562 entirely in her husband's hands. He may not do as he likes 614 with her, nor cause her suffering. Suffering and discomfort 844 she is bound to experience in childbirth, however, and of that he is the primary cause; thus whether as a result of legal or illegal relations, the man must compensate the [431] mother for her confinement by giving her family a few cattle. The woman herself may not eat their meat under any circumstances.

Originally the Guajiro clans were exogamous; members 582 were not allowed to marry within the clan. That is no 614 longer insisted upon, but not only brothers and sisters, but maternal males and cousins on the mother's side, are still reckoned among the forbidden degrees. It is unthinkable that an Indian girl should marry her maternal uncle; that would be like having her father for her husband. It once 835 happened that an uncle and niece had a secret relationship and the girl became pregnant. A monk married them, but the Indians regarded the relationship as a heinous crime and the whole district reacted so violently that the couple [626] had to leave the peninsula and go far away, where there was no risk of meeting members of their tribe.

There is nothing to prevent an Indian getting himself [595] several wives. Infrequently white men have married into 648 Guajiro families and they too have had to pay a bride-price. 582 A number of poor Creoles have contracted Guajiro marriages with poor girls. I have already mentioned how foreign oil workers made Guajiro marriages. In those early days there were no arrangements made for employees' families, and the Guajiro girls suited those primitive conditions very well, though as a rule such marriages with Indian girls were very short-lived, as those of the Creoles with them still are. The girl is soon abandoned, if that can be done without risk, the girl's family in such cases being powerless. So the Indians told me.

The monks had already told us that where Creoles had married Guajiro girls of good family, those marriages had

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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515 the first wife retains a privileged position. She will be of the best family and the highest in rank. She is the hostess.

One day, when I was standing talking with Mauana, he 838 pointed to a couple walking past and said eagerly:

'You should picture those with your apparatus.'

[812] I photographed the two, who to me appeared very ordinary. The woman had her cheeks and nose painted red. Mauana whispered to me that the woman was not a woman, but that they were two men living together. Later we came across several Indian men who did women's work and wore women's dress. This was not considered really right, but it was looked upon with indulgence. In the early days of discovery gold coins were found on the coast by Santa Marta which depicted 'shameful acts contrary to Nature'. Among the Guajiros' relatives in the West Indies there were chiefs who had whole harems of boys.

'We were talking of bride-price and buying women 684 slaves,' said I, to revert to more normal things. 'What does a poor youth do, who possesses nothing?'

Everyone agreed that it was a pity about any such. The [833] law had definite regulations for intercourse between man and woman, and any infringement involved a claim for damages. If anyone seduced a woman, he must pay considerable compensation to her relatives, however willing she may have been; but if he took her against her will, it costs him considerably more. A poor man cannot pay and therefore risks losing his life as a punishment. The Indians admitted that here and there on the border there was prosti- [548] tution, but it was mostly mestizo women who lent themselves to that. In Guajira proper, there were no prostitutes. Both the chiefs and the monks told us that. Thus in the interior, a young man without means must live a life of abstinence. The time when the dances of the kid were performed would be his only opportunity of enjoying a [786] woman's favours, provided he could find a willing partner. At this time the otherwise strict code is suspended and free love permitted.

796 Mauana had promised to arrange a dance, but of another kind. The dances of the kid are performed during the rainy

/21 cont./

854 including the men, excite his attention and try to make him laugh; they repeat phrases and words praising his baby efforts, they move a homemade toy in front of him, and praise his progress in talking or crawling or walking and endeavor to stop his crying by picking him up, crooning to him, or playing games with him.

• • •

551 The name. In La Guajira everyone has several names. It appears that originally these were two, but later, with the practice of Catholic baptism, the number increased to three, as follows: a) The individual's personal name which is never used by outsiders but only by the person's closest blood relatives. b) The nickname, which actually becomes his personal name as it substitutes for the latter in order to avoid its being used by outsiders, thus giving the bearer a name for practical purposes. This nickname may be derived from some physical or mental quality or defect, from a resemblance to some object, a difference from others, from some circumstance or special occurrence in his life -- for example, at his birth -- from a distortion of his Spanish name, or from an invention of a younger brother who called his older brother by a word of his own invention or the name of an article he is able to pronounce. Both the family and outsiders usually use this name. c) The Spanish name, given at the Catholic baptism, which takes a very secondary place because, if there is a nickname, it will be used in preference to this, which is only used when having dealings with a white or for legal matters. Frequently, the Spanish name becomes so mispronounced that it is mistaken for a nickname.

One could say that every child is given different names by his mother, father, and brothers until a time comes when one is generally accepted and adopted. Although some names may refer to special occurrences or have a literal translation, others are adopted merely for the sound effect even though their translation (if such is possible) may be repugnant (for example, orko, a girl's name, meaning "horse gall").

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551 The nickname is so generally used that when a personal name is mentioned, few people recall to whom it refers. However, they give their Spanish name to a white, trying to pronounce it properly. /22/

Linked with this question of names is the problem of the Indians who emigrate to the haciendas of Venezuela, where they receive a name and surname, generally that of the hacienda, the owner, or the manager. There they are registered with these names. Moreover, some of the bond servants and slaves when sold are given the name of the master and when freed keep this name, sometimes a foreign one, which later they pass on to their children if they marry in the Catholic church.

Magic is intimately connected with the name question (1).

1. See Aspectos de la Magia en la Guajira by Roberto Pineda Giraldo, for further information. Published in Revista del Instituto Etnológico Nacional, Vol. III, No. 1.

[689] Following is a brief summary of this matter: The personal name must not be used by outsiders, and the breaking of this rule would occasion a compensation payment. At the death of a Guajiro, others of the same name change theirs, at least in the area of the habitual home of the dead man's relatives, in order to prevent that name being used in their presence, as this also would involve compensation payment. As a result of this prohibition, the same person at different times and places may have a different name by which he may be called, which can cause confusion.

The personal name is given, as mentioned above, by his parents or closest relatives. The same applies to the general Catholic or Guajiro name, according to the following rules: If the marriage is a Catholic one, the children are named by the father, whose surname is taken. The daughters are given the

/22 cont./

55| name of his mother or maternal grandmothers or favorite female cousins. Very rarely is the name of an ascendant in the direct male line given and rarer still that of a collateral female relative in this line. The name of a woman friend, however, is commonly used. For boys, the father gives his brothers' or uncles' names or one of his favorite Spanish names. If the marriage has been solemnized by the Guajiro rite, then the mother names the child, also choosing from among those of her ancestors, brothers and sisters, uncles and aunts or of a female friend. She will occasionally accept a suggestion from a female relative or the priest who asks for a Catholic name for the child.

The nickname also originates in the family, as already explained, and it is by this one that the person is identified. At the time of reaching puberty, women try to put aside the name they received when they were children, and their relatives also start dropping it, in order to call them by the one they receive at the initiation. Men, however, generally keep their name unchanged all through life. It appears that the girl, once changed into womanhood by the rite of passage of her initiation, /23/ must not be called by the nicknames she had when she was little, because they are a reminder of her age of immaturity from which she takes leave via each and all of the diverse magic experiences through which she passes, to be reborn (if one may use the word) into a new life and thus enter the world of adults with its corresponding rights and duties. Probably this is the reason why, if the childish nickname should somehow be retained, when they are questioned by a white person, they do not give their name or refuse to answer when thus addressed. However, some girls have common nicknames, but we were able to prove that these dated from after their initiation and refer to some physical characteristic, to a distortion of their name, etc. These names they will tell quite naturally to whoever asks what they are called, never refusing to answer when addressed by this name. Also, in this rests the fact that men generally receive more nicknames than women. The case may be presented that nicknames vary

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651 chronologically because of things that happen or because an alteration in appearance gives rise to such a change, which supplant the former one.

Games. On general lines, the play /lúdicas/ activities in 857 which children take part are in direct relation to the division of 462 labor by sex. Thus, it is strictly forbidden for them to amuse themselves in games which in real life do not correspond to their sex. Boys, for instance, are not allowed to play with dolls or to cook, and girls must not practice archery. The father will openly oppose and invoke all his authority in the small family, to keep his sons, even in play, from doing girl's work. This sense of the division of work which controls their games causes the child, alone or backed up by the influence of his father and of his maternal uncles, to refuse to do anything which does not correspond to the activities of his sex, as it is believed that games or pastimes different from those traditionally established for each sex create a liking for, or a tendency toward, the work of the opposite sex. The Guajiro wants his men to have all the accepted masculine attributes, and his women to be wholly feminine. One of the ways of violating this ideal is shown by intervening in activities of the other sex, either in play when children or in work when adult. Thus, the father will say to the little girl, "You are not to practice archery. Are you a tomboy that you should do such a thing?" And the woman who works on harnesses for animals they also consider very mannish and lowered in her standing as a woman.

Children -- both male and female -- in La Guajira take part in two kinds of play lúdicas: games properly so called and pastimes /24/ which serve as an apprenticeship and training for their work as adults.

Among the first and as a pursuit for boys, one may include 524 games with ropes which, although they do develop manual quickness and ability, are not played for this purpose. These games are practiced either alone or in a group. In the former case, the object is to gain command of the technique and to learn to

/84 cont./

583 and offers them hospitality in his own house. The small bull, the best of the herd, serves to make a special dish and is also divided among those who have come so that each takes with him a good portion, /85/ the higher the guest's standing the better the piece. In the afternoon they return home. If they come to make the payment in the evening, then the attentions are [273] different. They must have a great quantity of chicha made of masticated corn and yucca, which is accompanied by pieces of meat and bollos /corn rolls/. The bridegroom's companions sleep in the bride's house and leave at dawn after breakfast, for which an animal is slaughtered, the meat of which is distributed among the visitors.

In the first case when women attend, they must each be presented with the gift of a goat or a sheep to take home with them; in both cases there must be an abundant quantity of rum for the men.

The bridegroom does not come at this time either, but when he wants to make the girl his wife, he brings more cattle (ten cows when the girl is of high standing), which he hands over to the mother in payment for the matrimonial hammock; with this payment he has fulfilled the final requirements for access to his bride, who awaits him in a neighboring house, and there they hang up their matrimonial hammock, which serves them as a marriage bed.

Sociological significance of the marriage payment. Through the payment the matrimonial tie is strengthened and its legal organization is passed on to the descendants of the new family cell. Thus the laws of inheritance are structured by it: The man [428] pays for his wife with the co-operation of his relatives, and for this reason the children, who belong to the mother's blood, are deprived of the right to inherit the father's goods at his death, because they are not consanguineous relatives, and, moreover, the mother and her maternal relatives received the purchase price. The children take the surname of their mother, a further [551] proof of their bond with the maternal clan, in which they find all the economic and social backing they need.

/156 cont./

764 fixed in her ears suspended in a chain, starting with those of her greatest preference; all her necklaces, bracelets, anklets, and rings must be placed on the corresponding part of her body. If the deceased is a man, they also put on his jewelry, as his spirit
764 will need them in the other life to maintain his status beyond the grave. If he belonged to the rich class, he is shrouded in the
556 following manner: First, they cover his head with a special cloth woven by his wives; the bottom of the cloth covers his face, and the ends are fixed behind his head. Over this is placed a second cloth which reaches down to the belt and pins the arms laterally along the body. A third cloth covers the legs, and a fourth may be added to wrap the whole body, but the use of this latter has been gradually disappearing. Thus enshrouded, he is put in the enramada /bough-covered shelter/ within the coffin
[177] -- modern custom -- or enveloped in a still fresh hide and placed in a hammock. Then the lamentations begin.

The custom exists of sending to all the absent consanguineous
764 relatives, the most intimate friends, and in general all acquaintances, word of the death or of the patient's being near death, as the illness is made known from the first moment, especially
[202 to close relatives. If they are important people, runners are sent
554] as soon as the sick man worsens, so that at the time of his death, the house is already full of people. As those who arrive to show their sympathy are so many and they appreciate how impossible it is for the master and mistress of the house to offer them all adequate hospitality, the visitors arrive with their hammocks, water in large pitchers, food, etc., which they bring on their burros.

The messenger sent with the news, especially when he
764 carries it to a consanguineous relative of the deceased, knows
● 551 that he must not pronounce the dead man's name, as this would
[202] gravely offend his relatives. For that reason he usually says: "That relative of yours who lived in such-and-such a place, who did such-and-such an important thing, has died." Furthermore, none of those attending /the funeral ceremonies/ will pronounce

/156 cont./

764 551 the name of the dead man in front of anyone, again for fear of offending his relatives, /157/ who, although they may not be present, might be informed by someone looking for payment for talebearing.

764 152 [178] One by one as the persons notified arrive, they express their sympathy. The form of doing so is as follows: The /dead man's/ kinsmen are seated on the ground, or nowadays more generally in the interior of the house (the new customs require the female relatives to remain inside the house seated on the floor, with their faces covered with a large cloth black like the robe they wear). When the outsider arrives he sits down beside them. Then begins the lamentation of the mourner, who mourns with his head bent forward, covered, as is his face. He cries for a more or less prolonged time, interspersing his weeping with short phrases which refer to his sorrow and his loss. He ends his lament, which is taken up by the visitor, and once he has finished they give the traditional Guajiro salutation, initiated by the mourner. They all begin to cry again in chorus, which they suspend to recount the process of the man's death in all its details.

Around the corpse are slung a series of hammocks at graded heights, which are occupied by the closest women relatives as they take turns in the weeping or by a newly arrived one, who, after expressing her sorrow to the family, must weep near the corpse, bending forward over the coffin and placing a hand on it, a magic action which will help her to dream of the deceased. In this position, the visitor, whether outsider or consanguineous relative, weeps in that tone and manner characteristic of the culture, which rather than weeping is like an intoned, melancholy complaint. The Guajiro men weep in a different manner, giving shouts of despair at intervals, without any definite timing. They do this standing up, bending over the coffin and covering their faces with a cloth, a hat, or a hand. On asking some outsiders, participants at a wake, how they were able to cry so intensely and realistically, they explained

/174 cont./

614 422 personal property are marked with letters, especially such items as clay and gourd vessels and parts of the harness of riding animals and their hammocks /chinchorros and hamacas/.

614 551 3. Naming. According to mythology, every clan had its personal name given to it by Mareiwa directly or was inspired by him. It covers all the individuals belonging to the same clan and is the indication of blood relationship. Clan disintegration at the present time has made it necessary to add to this generic name the name of the locality and the name of the most outstanding family head (cacique).

At the present time a Guajiro individual feels that in spite of being linked to another by an identical name he is not a relative /of that person/, and he makes a distinction within the same clan of diverse groups with more or less prestige. However, at a time when attacked by another group, they may make /175/ common cause if their co-operation is needed. [197] Furthermore, the introduction of the Catholic marriage has given equal value to naming by using the paternal surname followed by the maternal surname, although in a stage of transition the second of these has greater value.

* * *

614 602 4. Consanguinity. Consanguinity plays an important role in the Guajiro concept of kinship, which embraces all individuals joined in a chain through common female ascendants, that is, uterine kinship. In this way they set aside the paternal branch, which may be found in opposition and enmity, because in the Guajiro mentality the father-son biological bond, although it exists, does not count in determining kinship. The common tie that embraces all the individuals of a clan is the mother's blood in the biological act and in the process of gestation. From this premise the Guajiro derives the importance of the spilling of blood through themselves or outsiders, because it represents the destruction of the kinship tie and of the vital element. This valuation is the outstanding concept in the regimen for social stability in the culture.

VII

Other Aspects of Magic

•551 689 The name in magic. "The prohibition against uttering a dead person's name generally is quite rigidly obeyed. Certain South American tribes consider that to pronounce the name of a dead person in the presence of his living relatives is to inflict on them a serious offense, and they apply to the offender a penalty no less rigorous than that assigned to a murder . . . ," says Freud (63), and the Guajiro is typical in this respect. Let us see

63. Freud. Totem y Tabú.

one by one the rituals followed with respect to the dead person's name when a death occurs in their community.

[553] It is imperative that every other person who bears the same name as the deceased should change it. This is done to avoid pronouncing that name in the presence of any of the dead man's relatives, because if this should happen the relatives are entitled to present a claim for compensation payment for the offense. The family considers that by mentioning the name of their deceased relative, the offender has renewed all the painful sorrow which they suffered at his death.

551 This change of names among those who are namesakes of a dead man is made for life and extends geographically over all the zone inhabited by the dead man's relatives and causes the same person at times to have different names. It is, at least, one of the reasons.

At the present time it is common among the natives for [177 797] every person to have three names: one Spanish, taken from the list of saints and given him by the priest at his baptism; a family nickname, by which he is generally known and which almost always refers to a distinctive physical or spiritual quality; and a third, intimate name, a secret for the majority of people and only known by its owner and some members of his family.

The personal name of the individual should never be [689] pronounced by anyone but his close relatives. Whoever should

[109 cont.]

551 [689] say his name and not be a close relative must pay a sum decided upon [110] as reparation for this violation of the social norm. Usually they demand in payment the delivery of several head of livestock, necklaces, and other adornments. If the sum [628] agreed upon by the arbitrators is not paid in due time, war may be provoked.

551 553 When a girl is born, the father gives her a name which may be the same as her mother's, that of her maternal grandmother, or, secondarily, that of a favorite aunt or cousin, or that of a much appreciated friend. But besides this name which is derived from family sentiment or a friendship of the father's, the girl will also have various capricious nicknames which do not necessarily correspond to natural qualities or defects in her psycho-physical personality or some special circumstance at her birth but can be any arbitrary name which may occur to her father, her mother, or her brothers [and sisters? hermanos] on the spur of the moment. So the girl may grow up with several nicknames, of which in the long run one will win out and be generally adopted.

But when the girl becomes a young woman, when her first menstruation appears and her complicated initiation ceremony is carried out, the changes she experiences in her biological functioning and her social standing also extend to the aspect of her name, and she will no longer wish to respond to the nickname by which she has been called ever since her infancy, but only to her new name, by which she will be known until her death.

551 From the above we note that in La Guajira a person's name is not used among the natives except in a very restricted sense, but on the other hand, the nickname which a person acquires when a child through the intervention of his parents or brothers [siblings? hermanos], is the true, the universal name, which may be used by all his countrymen up to the time of his death.

787 825 Omens. When a mountain cat [cougar] cries repeatedly throughout the night near the house and remains a long time prowling about, it implies the approaching death of an inmate of that house. The behavior of this animal can become maddening, as at times it will repeat its patrolling and mewing for several

3: Wilbert E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 SC13 Goajiro SC13

Twenty six fundamental kinship terms by which the Goajiro designate their relatives were recorded. Most terms are applied to more than one relative so that the system is classificatory in type. Among the Goajiro, kinship terms are almost exclusively used in reference, while in addressing a person teknonyms are employed, e.g.; nïshi pïichí – father of pïichí (nï – prefix, 3rd pers. singl. masc.; (a)shi – father; pïichí – baciro). The term corresponds to a male person who is the father of a boy child. This practice of teknonymy presupposes the presence of personal names. Either sex can be given a name in remembrance of an event which occurred on their birthday, e.g., "the one of the full moon," "the one of the blossoms of that tree," "the one of the war between . . .," etc. More frequently, however, personal names differ from each other by sex. Boys are called after strong and wild animals, such as baciro (pïichí), tiger (karáira), pig (pïrïkï), wild cat (músï), while girls' names are ornamental and flattering, e.g., "brilliant one" (hurótsï), brownish one (muráachong), etc.

The teknonym employed to address a person is derived from the name of the eldest son, and in default of sons, from that of the eldest daughter. Personal names are used in addressing unmarried persons. It is a disgrace, however, for an adult not to have children. Grandparents may be called by a teknonym referring either to a son or to a grandchild.

Kinship terms are never employed in the forms as listed above, but only with possessive prefixes, e.g., tashí – my father; pïshii – your father; nïshí – his father; sïshí – her father; washí – our father; hashí – your (pl.) father; nashí – their father. In the table, kinship terms are represented by their root forms. As a friendly gesture, people may address each other by general terms such as "brother," "sister," etc., or they may call any small child "son" or "grandchild."

Of particular interest is the distinction the Goajiro make between "blood-relatives" and "flesh-relatives." Blood-relatives are all patrilineally related persons, whereas "flesh-relatives" are related to Ego through the mother's line. Kinship ties between flesh-relatives are considered to be stronger than those existing between blood-relatives. In practical life this would mean that Ego would have to help his maternal uncle in a fight against his own father. Among all kinsmen the maternal uncle possesses the greatest authority and his word counts most in all domestic affairs. Frequently, therefore, we find the extended family clustered around the homestead of the maternal uncle, which makes the Goajiro a matrilineal avunculocal society. Otherwise residence is matrilocal. Any one of the three aráur-relatives (maternal uncle), as listed in the table above, may replace the true maternal uncle in case of his death. But only his sister's children can be heirs of his possessions (including his wife or wives).

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

611 614 628 [604] In the following laws it must be borne in mind that it is not the injured individual that demands compensation, but his relations, uncles on the mother's side as a rule. From this has arisen the common error that the father is ignored; as will be seen further on, this is not the case. In compensation it is the caste that reclaims, and the caste is always the mother's side. For example, a Pushaina man marries an Uriana girl; the children are Urianas. If one of these now should kill an Epieyu, for example, the whole caste of Uriana is at war with all the Epieyues, unless the matter is amicably settled by paying blood-money.

672 683 Case No. 1. Personally inflicted wounds. If an Indian accidentally cuts himself, say with his own knife, breaks a limb, or otherwise does himself an injury, his family on the mother's side immediately demands blood-money. Being of their blood, he is not allowed to spill it without paying for it. The father's relations demand tear-money, not so much. Friends [572] present demand compensation to repay their sorrow at seeing a friend in pain. If anybody present can seize the instrument that caused the accident it is appropriated. The pay is in ratio to the injury. A slightly cut finger is settled with a little Indian corn, a kid, or such trifle. A bad cut requires at least a goat or a sheep, with other sundries. In all cases of compensation where the Indian has not the wherewith to satisfy his creditors, he goes round begging until it is obtained.

628 672 683 Case No. 2. Damage done by animals. Suppose an Indian borrows a mule or other animal, and is thrown by it, doing himself bodily injury, then his relations demand compensation from the lender, the argument being, had he not lent the animal the accident could not have happened. Should the beast belong to the thrown man himself, then he has to pay. Case of No. 1 in fact.

Case No. 3. General liability all round. This covers an enormous field. The most curious. Everybody selling rum or anything else is answerable for all the damage done by its instrumentality. Unfortunately this law is only, like many others, enforced when it is possible. As the traders know it very well, they never take rum into the interior for barter without being fully able to protect themselves. I was lent a servant as guide by a trader, who requested me not to let the man have any drink, for should anything happen to him he would be responsible to the family. Indians in employment receiving any damage the em- [466] ployer becomes liable; and so on. Wherever the Indian can only make the ghost of a claim he wants tear-money, blood-money, or some other money, and if not satisfied, helps himself with what he can lay his hands on.

551 628 689 Case No. 4. Mentioning names. This is very serious. The Indians object to have their true names mentioned, and demand heavy compensation in aggravated cases. They generally go by a Spanish name—José Antonio, Agustin, Vicente, &c., for an Indian dearly loves to be baptised, that is, he likes the attending feast and having god-fathers on

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

whom to exercise his begging propensities. To mention the dead before the relations is a dreadful offence, often punished by death; for if it happens in the dead person's rancho, with nephew or uncle present, they will assuredly kill the offender on the spot if possible. If not on the spur of the moment, it resolves itself into a heavy fine, usually two or more oxen. Even if none of the dead person's relations are present, any friend can carry the news to the relations, and compensation is at once required. When not given it is forcibly taken, probably resented, and the two castes are at war. It is not wise to mention names of any sort in the Goajira in mixed company. 551 628 689

Another peculiar case: if a child dies in the custody of the mother or father, and they are living separate at the time of its death, then tear-money has to be paid by the one, under whose care the child died, to the other. This is "Taguira suchírua tachón," "My tears on account of my child." To demand payment for debts, *ackeaka*, is one thing, and to demand compensation, *manga*, is another. They are generally pretty punctual in paying debts; should the debtor die, the creditor is secure, for the relations will suffer anything rather than allow the name of their dead to be abused. The following case of murder I witnessed in Ataipa. Some Pushainas drinking, one got on to a strange horse, and was ordered off by the owner, on not complying he was shot dead. Both parties being poor and near relations, it was arranged as follows: First payment, eight sheep, two oxen, one horse, two necklaces of cornelian beads, two sirapes of black beads (about 16 lbs.). Six months afterwards, second payment, similar to first. A few months after a third payment is asked, but is more an extra than anything else. After second payment all animosity ceases, and the two families can look again at each other on meeting. Should an Indian in attempting to kill another be wounded or killed, his family demand the same as though no attempt were made. 672 682 [426] [626] [628]

Among domestic customs, the one that calls most attention is shutting up their young girls on arriving at womanhood. The custom is religiously carried out throughout the country. Each girl is enclosed in a separate little hut by herself. She is stripped of all her ornaments, even to her beads and sirapo, and all her clothing with the exception of the long loose cotton gown, nor is she allowed to cut her hair. For the first couple of days, drinking water is denied her, the only food being *haguape*, a composition of medicinal herbs. According to birth, a rigorous diet is observed the first month, no meat being allowed. She can be freely mentioned and is merely alluded to by her relations as "surtiso suru pauru," "she is shut up in her house." The term of retirement varies according to the wealth and rank of her family. Poor people cannot afford to keep girls idle more than a couple of weeks or a month; whereas the rich enclose them for one, two, or even four years. It is while in this state that she learns all women's requirements— 881 [278] [262] [556] [868]

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

cemetery, a site chosen in some solitary arid spot, and surrounded by walls of cacti. At the death of Salvador, a Pushaina from Arroyo Cardon, 120 fat oxen were killed, and the hides did not pay for the liquor drunk. Two of the same family meeting for the first time after the death of a relation, must squat down on their hands in front of each other, and sob and weep, for at least a quarter of an hour, the louder the better. 764 765

The Indians are very punctilious in saluting. Calling at a rancho, visitors must wait until spoken to, if this is not done soon, it is evident they are not welcome, so ride away. The words used never seem to be the same. The most frequent are "Intishi-pia" (you have come), or "Eiguare pia" (so you have arrived). In eating and drinking the Indians are extremely cleanly. The principals all eat separately; receiving their allowance in an earthenware dish, *posá*, with a gourd spoon, *pushá*. The remains, with an addition, serve for the lower members of the family. Water is invariably given after, to wash the mouth and fingers. Even if a drink of milk is taken, a little water is tendered after. As to their hospitality, it has, I believe, been rather exaggerated. There is no doubt that the Goajiro is more hospitable than the Arhuaco of the Sierra Nevada, but then he is also far more cunning and diplomatic, and his hospitality is a mere question of self-interest. He will willingly give a sheep or a goat as a present, provided there is a chance of claiming an ox in return. He is chivalresque in his donations. When he does give a sheep, it is a fat one, his best, and given whole, without reserve, skin and all. If eating, on the arrival of a stranger, he may offer food to him, but certainly will give if requested, as is the custom, always begging. One thing a guest may rely upon receiving in a rancho is a hammock, even if the owner has to sleep on the ground. Lastly, among curious customs, is that of parents assuming the names of their children with the prefix *nushi* or *sushi* if the father, and *ni* or *si* if the mother. Thus the father of Juan would call himself "Nushijuan," or if a daughter, "Sushijuana." The mother of Juan would be called "Nijuan," and if a daughter, "Sijuana." 574 [264] [415] [431] 556

The dress of the Goajiros is extremely simple, and probably similar to his savage luxury of three centuries ago, when Alfinger devastated the land, except that his own quiet blacks and browns—for he is cunning in the art of dyeing—have given way to the gorgeous blues, reds, and yellows of European wool. His every day working costume is simply a strip of cloth from three inches wide upwards, called *caiches*. When paying visits, receiving company, or travelling, he dons his best—a large loincloth with many folds, and the home-woven mantle *shé*, with a magnificent sash, *si-ira*. The mantle is managed with wonderful elegance, now letting it fall about him in voluptuous folds, or dropping it from his shoulders, and tucking it into his immense sash, where his arrows are carried. The hair, which is jet black, thick, and cut short, is kept back in a very aesthetic style by a ring or crown, 291 [386] [177] 302 291

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

CHAPTER 4

Towards a Mirage

Our donkey caravan tripped along between the sand dunes at a gentle trot. The sun poured what the Indians call its molten gold over us in fierce waves. The donkeys were slow, but our riding-mules were fresh and even tried a trick or two, throwing our photographer, who was no expert, into a cactus bush. That was a pity, for the spikes were as long as knitting needles and unpleasantly hard and sharp. The Indians laughed heartlessly. It was perhaps the only amusing thing that happened to them on the whole trip. 821 522

We had no idea what our men were called. As I have already mentioned, the Indians' first names are secret. They always say: 'I have no name' or 'Call me what you like'. Your name is part of your personality. You cannot surrender it to strangers. If you know another's name, you can acquire a certain hold over him, just as you can harm him, if you had some of his hairs or nail-clippings with which to work magic. The family name, that of the clan, is naturally public. White people usually give Spanish names to the Indians with whom they have to deal, and there are plenty of Juans and Josés in the peninsula now. Usually, however, you give a nickname to the Indians you have temporarily in your service, just as they give their employers nicknames. We discovered that they had christened our photographer 'The Red One'. He was not red-headed at all, but very fair, and because of that, his face was always highly coloured in the heat. I could not get out of them what they called my wife and me. I suppose they thought that we would be offended or regard it as insubordination. They had been 551 [754] [123]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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•551 told that among my own people I was a sort of medicine-man and chief combined.

Nowadays most of the Indians in Guajira acquire three first names: a Spanish one that the white men give them, a nickname, and their true, Indian name, which is secret except to members of their immediate family. When a girl is born, her father names her after her mother or some near female relative, but for everyday use she has a pet name [553] which is only dropped when she reaches marriageable age. She then acquires a new name, which she keeps for the rest of her life.

563 The Creoles called those in the border areas who were not 101 Indians '*gente*', or just 'people'. They could scarcely be called white, for many were as good as pure black, being the descendants of former slaves. When they told us in Rio Hacha that there were not any 'people' living in this or that village, they meant that there were none but Indians there. Those who were not Indians, that is those who wore trousers, also called themselves '*civilisados*', while the Indians called them arijuna.

115 We called our two old Indians Gaffer and Gammer, and 124 the youngest 'The Lad'. We liked The Lad especially. He was strong, merry and did the work of two. The fourth, who, strangely enough, had a crew cut and was supposed to be our interpreter, we called 'Bristles', and he learned to answer to that. He knew a little Spanish, but as an interpreter he was no use. When the Gaffer had been talking to us for a long time and we asked Bristles what he had said, the answer always was: 'Nothing'. Perhaps that was what the other's talk amounted to, but we should have preferred to have judged that for ourselves. We noticed, too, that if we had to scold the Gaffer, Bristles did not dare repeat what we said. With gestures and the few Guajiro words we knew we could make Gaffer realize that we were annoyed with him, but not always why.

291 The men wore nothing but the usual piece of cloth and 386 belt, the *núrcte*, or, in Spanish, guayuco, which really means crupper, and sandals to protect their feet from the cactus spikes lying on the ground, but the Gammer was enveloped

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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our cameras up, when a plump, middle-aged Indian came rushing up and began giving the fencers orders in a stern voice. He had not noticed us.

'That's Mauana,' Francisco whispered respectfully.

Mauana was wearing only a guayuco and brow-band, which is the genuine Guajiro garb. When he saw us, he at once spoke to us in good Spanish, which not all the chiefs know, for the Guajiro cling stubbornly to their own tongue. Mauana, of course, had heard of us. He now invited us to go with him and see how he lived.

First, we came to his plantations, which many in the peninsula must have envied him. There was a green valley, one of the oases in the semi-desert, where manioc, sugar-cane and maize grew, shaded by coconut palms, mango trees and bananas. The plots were watered by narrow canals which all came from the one stream in Guajira that never ran dry.

Mauana was obviously a strict master and he ordered his slaves about like a sergeant-major, but his plantation was a model one and he was an efficient chief who maintained order in a most commendable way. Once or twice he had caught white criminals who had hidden in the hills there and sent them back to the authorities—to their great disappointment. He lived simply, as all Guajiro do, but he had an unusually well-built house that was completely roofed.

We told Mauana of the purchi we had seen, and he used this as an excuse to give us a lesson in Indian law. Such an account of the Indians' social order and laws was both amusing and interesting, and it showed how different from ours the primitive's conception of justice can be. One knows all too well what mistakes colonial authorities have made through misunderstanding the native conception of these matters, especially of the rights of ownership.

The Indians, as has already been said, are divided into clans in which relationship follows the female line. Children thus take their mothers' names. Their fathers belong to a different clan and strictly speaking are not related to them. It is their eldest maternal uncle who is their head and guardian, and it is from him, not from their father, that they

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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4 goats, 5 pigs, 15 hens, 25 skeins of yarn, 5 bars of soap (an expensive commodity) and some mirrors and handkerchiefs. 672 Employees are very well insured, it would seem. If an employee destroys anything belonging to a third party, the employer has to pay twice its value or more. One's responsibility is not confined to what persons in one's service may do, but extends to animals and inanimate objects if one lends them. If I let an Indian ride my horse and the horse throws him off, I have to pay; and if someone cuts himself on a knife belonging to me, I have to pay—for it was my knife that did it.

It can even be risky to give advice in Guajira: for if you suggest a course of action and things go wrong, you may have to pay compensation. That is why the Indians will seldom tell you the way when you ask it.

A host is responsible to his guests, even if they are self- 672 invited. Hospitality is sacred and one cannot refuse to 574 receive someone seeking shelter. If the guest is ill, the host looks after him as best he can, but immediately sends for one of his relations. As soon as a relative arrives the host's responsibilities cease, but if the guest should die before the relative gets there, the host is liable for damages, hard as it may seem. On the other hand, if a person suffering from an infectious disease goes to someone else's house, it is the guest who is responsible and must pay his host damages.

If two guests start fighting the host is considered jointly responsible, for if he had not invited them there would never have been a fight. If the others present do not try to avert the quarrel, they must pay up too.

Insults and calumny are contrary to the law, and it is 683 especially serious if one reviles another's mother's family. Among themselves the Indians consider it disparaging [578] to be addressed in Spanish, instead of in their mother tongue.

Every Indian has a personal name used only by his 551 nearest and dearest. For an outsider to pronounce this calls 683 for a heavy penalty, as it does to speak the name of someone dead. As soon as it is learned that someone has died, all those with the same name at once change it for another. The

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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551 idea being that to speak the name renews the grief of the
683 dead person's relatives. An old man of the Uriana clan, who called himself Juan, died. Some time later some of his relatives were at an entertainment, at which too was a woman of the Jusuá clan with her little son. A Creole asked this woman what her little boy was called and without thinking, she replied: 'Juan'. The dead man's relatives then claimed damages because she had mentioned the dead man's name, and she had to pay them a bullock, even though it was a Spanish name. It was the reminder of their grief that had
[164] to be compensated. It is also an offence to tread on an Indian's grave.

683 It is more expensive to strike a person than to insult him. One should not answer an insult with a blow, but a well-to-do Indian will not infrequently do so and gladly pay the damages. If an Indian strikes another without hurting him, he must pay nonetheless, because he has treated the other as a slave—it being only one's own slaves that one has the right to strike. If anyone tears a tunic, he must not only
685 replace it, but pay for the shame the other felt at going about in rags.

A thief, if caught, must repay several times the value of what he has stolen. Not infrequently he must pay with his life, especially if the person he has robbed is a powerful personage, as he usually is, and the thief belongs to a weak clan that cannot help his family to exact blood-money.

[567] A thief can be forced to pay by working for his victim. He
682 becomes a debtor-slave. Murder, manslaughter and being the cause of another's death are the most serious crimes. They do not have these actual categories. The penalty for manslaughter is very heavy; if agreement cannot be reached on it, it can sometimes lead to war, a war in which the enemy must either be exterminated or enslaved.

628 It is on such occasions that a purchi is held, at which you can see the groups of warriors drawn up facing each other, while a chief presides.

622 The chief is a mighty person and will have been chosen
623 for his excellent qualities, yet he is not a judge, but rather advocate and mediator. His role is as conciliator. He will

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

726 on equal terms. He then approached the enemy from the left while making quick movements, jumps, and turns, with his legs apart and his knees bent. More recently, according to Ernst (1887 c), war is not declared, attempts being made to take the enemy by surprise.

[797] Wars last indefinitely, sometimes being broken by a peace brought about by an influential "civilizado" or the Capuchin monks, the latter sometimes paying the retribution demanded out of their own pockets.

579 Some tribes, such as the *Cosina* of Serranía Cosina (actually a conglomeration of outcastes rather than a sib), make their living almost entirely by robbery and pillage, destroying houses, stealing cattle, and killing or enslaving their enemies.

LIFE CYCLE

843 **Birth and childhood.**—During pregnancy a woman continues to do her heavy work up to the very hour of delivery. At childbirth, the shaman

844 pronounces various spells over the patient and applies poultices made of

[156] dried flowers, roots, etc. A large, heavy stone placed over the womb and vigorous massaging bring about the birth. If the placenta is not soon expelled, the woman drinks a medicine concocted by the medicine man. As soon as the child is safely delivered the father serves rum and chicha

[484] to all his relatives. If the pains of childbirth appear when the sib is on the march, the woman mounts and rides ahead so that when the sib catches up the event is practically over. The husband cuts the cord with his machete and cauterizes its ends with a glowing ember. The woman

[854] then continues on the march with the child in a sling on her back. When the permanent camp is reached she washes herself and the child.

851 Baptism is a Christian ceremony which the *Goajiro* have adopted, and

551 most of the Indians are called by Spanish names, as their real names may

177 not be mentioned. Teknonymy is practiced; a parent is addressed by its child's name plus a prefix, nushi or sushi for the father, ni or si for the mother. Thus, a father may be called Nushijuan after a son or Sushijuana after a daughter.

857 At 6 or 7, girls learn to grind salt, pick cotton, and tend the smaller

868 animals; the boys imitate their fathers.

855 Parents are said to show little affection for their children, sometimes

[436] selling them at Sinamaica. They receive $10 or $15 for a child of 8 or 9 years. The purchaser becomes the child's guardian, teaches him the Catholic faith, and keeps him until he is 17 years old. These children

[536 rarely return home. Abandoned children are taken to the San Antonio

797] orphanage, where the girls continue to wear their *Goajiro* dress, but the boys are put into jackets and pants.

881 **Girls' puberty.**—At her first menstruation a girl is isolated in a small dark hut and stripped of all her ornaments. She lies in a hammock, sometimes hoisted near the roof. For the first 2 days she drinks no

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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The *Goajiro* believe that after death the deceased in ethereal form 775
wander about the country, their favorite meeting place being in the vicinity of Bahía Honda in the extreme north of the peninsula. There is some evidence that the Indians look forward to a happier existence after death. From this belief in the afterlife stems the practice of mutilating the body of a slain enemy, for once his body is broken and scattered it is not possible to reassemble his soul, and the slayer is protected from a vengeance-seeking spirit.

The dead are highly respected or feared; consequently, it is a serious 769 551
offense to mention a dead person by name.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Games.—The *Goajiro* have various athletic sports, such as horse racing, 526
wrestling, and archery. Contestants shoot at a skin ball or a fruit tossed into the air or at targets; they are very accurate up to 125 yards. Tournaments are held in which the contestants pair off, the victor of each round winning an arrow and continuing to compete.

Feasts and dances.—The *Goajiro* are fond of feasts and hold them 574
whenever opportunity offers—at funerals, when they have received their 756
pay for loading salt, at baptisms, or when a person completes his training as a medicine man. Weston (1937) describes a festival held on the last-mentioned occasion. For 2 days the big drum was sounded by relays of players, spreading the news. The dance, practiced beforehand, took place in a circle some 25 feet (7.5 m.) in diameter around which some 200 Indians gathered. A man, nude except for his waist cloth and head band [292
with ornamental plume, with his face painted red in a crisscross pattern, 535]
danced backward from a girl dressed in a voluminous robe and wearing a large red handkerchief on her head. The girl attempted to overtake and head off the man, who retreated before her in a circle with a peculiar double step, almost a hop and a skip. As one pair tired another took its place, the dance continuing indefinitely.

Musical instruments.—*Goajiro* musical instruments are few. A 534
calabash filled with stones or peas serves as a rattle for dance accompaniment. The clarinet is about 2 feet (0.6 m.) long, made of telescoped (?) sections of reed with a bell consisting of calabash and a vibrating reed in the mouthpiece. It is side blown. The large drum is carved from a hollow section of tree, 15 inches (38 cm.) in diameter and 24 inches (60 cm.) long, and has both ends covered with sheepskin. It is slung from the rafters, a branch, or from the player's neck. Singing among the *Goajiro* is virtually nonexistent.

Narcotics and stimulants.—To make chicha beer, maize may be mas- 273
ticated by the women and spat into a large earthenware bowl, with water and crude sugar added. After 3 days it is strained and drunk. By another

9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
SC13 Goajiro SC13

there may be other traditional ways of acquiring status. The 554
literature mentions none, although Ernst (1887), Jahn (1927), and Hernandez de Alba (1936) make detailed comments on the two traditional ways described here.

Incidentally, these two leaders are never called by their first 551
names, not even by their closest relatives, and are referred to as 622
To'olito Silva and To'olito Fernandez.

To illustrate the new way of acquiring status in Guajiro 159
society it is best to describe quite fully how one individual, and 554
as far as the writer knows, the only one, whom we shall name José Perez, has reached a certain status though employing none of the traditional methods. As guide and interpreter of the present writer during the recent field trip, José Perez was in constant personal contact with the author, who was able to obtain valuable first hand information and observe reactions to personal and intimate questions.

First let us give a brief biographical sketch of José Perez. Perez is now 46 years old. He was born in the village of Castilletes, Venezuela, in the extreme north-eastern part of the Guajiro peninsula. His father (still living, now in the town of Paraguaipoa, Venezuela) has no trace of Indian blood and is considered in Paraguaipoa as pure white, while his mother (deceased) was a pure Indian belonging to the Uriana Clan. Perez's father took him, while still a child, to Maracaibo for schooling which included three years of high school. At that time Perez's father was quite influential in local politics in Maracaibo and was able to get the Governor of the State of Zulia interested in the youth. Perez was given a small position in the State's government, where he was employed for about ten years. During this period he married a local white girl with whom he had a child (now in his fifth year of medical college, State University of Zulia) and apparently had all but forgotten the Indian half of his heritage settling into the whites' ways of life.

Perez went into politics and was elected Prefect (an office similar to the County Sheriff in the United States) of the Paez district, Sinamaica, in the threshold of the Guajira, so to speak. He moved north to his district leaving his family in Maracaibo. This return to a semi-Indian district apparently had some influence in Perez's outlook for the future, for as soon as his term of

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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133 on a clear day can be seen from any point in it. On the west side a small hill attached spoils its beauty, seen from seawards, otherwise it is perfectly symmetrical in form. The Indians call it Jepita. It lies [103] in the Cocina district, and is the most dangerous portion of the Goajira. To visit it, I had to persuade Martin, one of the great chiefs, to ac- [115] company me with his three sons, uncles, nephews, &c. We started at daybreak, rode all day, and arrived in time to see the sunset from the [123] top. We only saw three Indians the whole day, yet Martin assured me that all our movements were watched, and pointed out to me two probable places where an ambuscade would be planned for our return. We returned by a different road, getting back at 4 A.M. tired, hungry, and thirsty. I found the height to be 1200 feet above sea-level, or 900 feet above the plain. The rock is composed chiefly of trachyte with large crystals of felspar, similar to those of the Drachenfels on the Rhine. As also belonging to this group may be considered the two isolated hills rising in front of Cardon de los Remedios and Carrizal, close to the north spur of the Cojoro range, called Jallare. They are both insignificant and do not exceed 400 feet in height. The Corros de Carpintero, a small group of hills behind the Cabo de la Vela, are of more importance, they are about 700 feet above sea-level. From Cabo de la Vela to Puerto Estrella, between the hills and the sea, are innumerable cliffs and banks rising to 200 feet, usually with very abrupt edges, and covered with rolled stones.

Rivers properly speaking there are none in the Goajira. The country is cut up in all directions by shallow, dry, sandy beds of water-courses, that during the rainy season carry off the water as fast as it falls. Not even the Macuira Hills are able to send a flowing stream to the sea during the summer, which here lasts at least eight months. It will have been remarked that the Indians have no collective name for [552] their mountains, each little projecting point rejoicing in its own name. With their rivers it is still worse, for not only every water-hole adds a new title to a river—and these are innumerable, the custom being to dig for water in the sand of the watercourses, and as these wells dry up others are dug farther up stream—but every path that crosses the watercourse has its name. Even any prominent rock or large tree is enough to add to the interminable list of river nomenclature. On the plains below the Teta the drainage is effected by numerous small streams winding about in a most bewildering manner, and although perfectly dry, they usually have pools of muddy water at the bends. As the plain is little above sea-level, the water has cut deep zigzag channels, very different from the shallow sandy beds of the hills. The water remaining dammed up, instead of gravitating to the sea, causes the great fertility of the plains.

342 The principal source of water for the Indians are wells. These are of two kinds; first, the most common, by digging, usually in the dry

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

bed of a watercourse. As the season advances, and the water recedes, they either dig after it or search for a lower level. Wells of 30 to 40 feet are very common. The water is reached by a staircase cut in the sand with an easy incline. Wells are easily distinguishable from a distance by the water-troughs, hollowed out of divi-divi trees, and called canoes. These are of the most distorted and grotesque shapes, and serve to water the herd. This is very hard work for the poor Indians during the summer months, and usually employs the whole day. Water from wells if taken early in the morning is always clear and cool. When bathing at a well the Indian uses a canoe; if he stops to drink, a bath invariably follows. Every well has a name, and the country is perforated by them like a mining camp. The wells of Chimare are phenomenal; dug out on the sea-shore, on a narrow strip of sand 100 yards in breadth, with the sea on one side and the salt-pans of Chimare, with layers of salt many feet thick, on the other, the water is, notwithstanding, perfectly fresh. There are seven holes about 10 feet deep. I may mention that Parashi is the name of a celebrated well dug in the river that drains the eastern flank of Ituma. It means "salt," probably because the water is brackish. 312 [417] [233] [515] [552] [317]

Second in importance are the water-tanks or *casimbas*. These are sometimes natural, as a small lake at the foot of Ituma and the casimbas of Cujua, filtrations from the river Naima, forming a large lake in the rainy season and many small dirty pools in summer, but nature aided by art is the rule. Some are immense undertakings, and large sheets of water, calculated to last a summer through if not too severe; such as Ariapá, the casimba of Puerto Estrella, a large crescent-shaped piece of water of about a quarter of a square mile. The water of these casimbas is always muddy and filthy for drinking purposes. The herds are driven in, and every Indian that passes is sure to bathe, so that in time almost a skin of grease forms on the top; and yet in places where they are it is the only water to be had, truly meat and drink combined. [133] [233] [515]

The Goajira coast abounds in harbours and bays, but none of much importance. Between Rio Hacha and Cabo de la Vela, in the extensive bay formed by the latter, anchorage is found almost all along the coast. Numerous roadsteads have become known through the commerce with the Indians, and quite a large trade is carried on in the small coasting schooners. Further along the coast are three large bays. The first, or Portete, is a large bay, well protected from the easterly trades, and is certainly the best port along the coast. Unfortunately the entrance is narrow, intricate, and with shoals. The next, Bahia Honda, is almost a complete oval, some eight miles long by three miles broad, and with an entrance of nearly three miles broad. It is separated from the sea by a stone wall from 60 to 80 feet at the highest, but not enough to protect the bay from the strong easterly winds that blow with such force here. It makes but a poor harbour, the surf inside during the afternoons pre- 133 504 [439]

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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579 been completely tamed by the Venezuelans. He, with of course his
648 followers, have found honesty the best policy after all, and are now reformed and peaceful members of society, returned to breeding and agriculture. This shows what can be done with firmness combined with a little judicious tact and management.

The Indians build no elaborate dwelling-houses. Their best ranchos
342 are simple, and constructed in a short time. The roof is covered with the split woody core of a tall euphorbia. This makes a good cool roof, impermeable to water and easily removed when the family flits. The rancho is seldom used for sleeping purposes; for this numerous poles
[513] (*tchepsi*) are firmly fixed all over the place for swinging hammocks, often three and four to one pole, and crossing each other. Sometimes two and three sleep in a hammock. Further off other poles (*palúmaler*)
[417] are found, to tie animals up at, and a small corral or sheep-pen for the goats and sheep is also indispensable in every well-regulated family. The site of a rancho is always carefully chosen, much strategy being
361 displayed in locating the whole, so that each rancho covers the other
621 without itself being seen. Although villages are never attempted, yet a family rarely lives isolated. Everybody bolsters himself with that leaghear of Goajira society, his relations. Their ranchos are always within gunshot distance, so as mutually to defend each other. One is
[712] invariably on high ground to dominate the country, the rest are hidden away in nooks and corners where least expected. If one rancho is seen, others are close at hand. In case of attack, this system prevents a whole family being exterminated. One or two ranchos may be taken, but the rest escape or fly to the rescue, as the case may be. At all events the
[552] avenger, so dear to the Indian, survives. Each rancho has a distinct name. Besides, every Indian who is anybody has several ranchos
[423] spread over the country. To collect the names of the ranchos would be paramount to taking a census of the territory. The following are
103 well-known ranchos, with usually some half-caste from Riohacha
443 trading with the Indians. In the Macuira range, six miles from Punta
592 Espada, is Guarerpá, at the foot of Ara-ura; chief, Caijuna, a Jirnu. Westwards, close to the sea-shore, Chómunao; chief, José Agustin, a
621 Jallarié, a half-caste speaking good Spanish. At the foot of Itujoro, Maguaipá, situated on a slight eminence eight miles from the sea, and is an important trading station. Paraliero, native name of Puerto Estrella, boasts twelve houses and three iron warehouses, with always two or three Riohacheros resident there. The chief, Pedro Quinto, is Epieyu, but his sister Mauricia is the virtual ruler. Inland, 16 miles from Bahia Honda or Tarea is Morunay, another large trading station, usually with two or three Riohacheros established there. The eight ranchos are well located on a plain between Macuira and Parashi. The chief, Saiya, is Epieyu. This is one of the most central stations in the Goajira, and is surrounded by several important places; it is probably

[109] VII

Other Aspects of Magic

551 689 The name in magic. "The prohibition against uttering a dead person's name generally is quite rigidly obeyed. Certain South American tribes consider that to pronounce the name of a dead person in the presence of his living relatives is to inflict on them a serious offense, and they apply to the offender a penalty no less rigorous than that assigned to a murder . . . ," says Freud (63), and the Guajiro is typical in this respect. Let us see

63. Freud. Totem y Tabú.

one by one the rituals followed with respect to the dead person's name when a death occurs in their community.

[553] It is imperative that every other person who bears the same name as the deceased should change it. This is done to avoid pronouncing that name in the presence of any of the dead man's relatives, because if this should happen the relatives are entitled to present a claim for compensation payment for the offense. The family considers that by mentioning the name of their deceased relative, the offender has renewed all the painful sorrow which they suffered at his death.

551 This change of names among those who are namesakes of a dead man is made for life and extends geographically over all the zone inhabited by the dead man's relatives and causes the same person at times to have different names. It is, at least, one of the reasons.

At the present time it is common among the natives for [177] every person to have three names: one Spanish, taken from the 747] list of saints and given him by the priest at his baptism; a family nickname, by which he is generally known and which almost always refers to a distinctive physical or spiritual quality; and a third, intimate name, a secret for the majority of people and only known by its owner and some members of his family.

The personal name of the individual should never be [689] pronounced by anyone but his close relatives. Whoever should

[109 cont.]

551 say his name and not be a close relative must pay a sum de-
[628] cided upon [110] as reparation for this violation of the social
norm. Usually they demand in payment the delivery of several
head of livestock, necklaces, and other adornments. If the sum
[628] agreed upon by the arbitrators is not paid in due time, war may
be provoked.

551 When a girl is born, the father gives her a name which
553 may be the same as her mother's, that of her maternal grand-
mother, or, secondarily, that of a favorite aunt or cousin, or
that of a much appreciated friend. But besides this name which
is derived from family sentiment or a friendship of the father's, the
girl will also have various capricious nicknames which do not
necessarily correspond to natural qualities or defects in her
psycho-physical personality or some special circumstance at her
birth but can be any arbitrary name which may occur to her
father, her mother, or her brothers [and sisters? hermanos] on
the spur of the moment. So the girl may grow up with several
nicknames, of which in the long run one will win out and be
generally adopted.

But when the girl becomes a young woman, when her first
menstruation appears and her complicated initiation ceremony
is carried out, the changes she experiences in her biological
functioning and her social standing also extend to the aspect of
her name, and she will no longer wish to respond to the nickname
by which she has been called ever since her infancy, but only to
her new name, by which she will be known until her death.

551 From the above we note that in La Guajira a person's
name is not used among the natives except in a very restricted
sense, but on the other hand, the nickname which a person
acquires when a child through the intervention of his parents
or brothers [siblings? hermanos], is the true, the universal name,
which may be used by all his countrymen up to the time of his
death.

787 Omens. When a mountain cat [cougar] cries repeatedly
825 throughout the night near the house and remains a long time
prowling about, it implies the approaching death of an inmate
of that house. The behavior of this animal can become maddening,
as at times it will repeat its patrolling and mewing for several

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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551 told that among my own people I was a sort of medicine-man and chief combined.

Nowadays most of the Indians in Guajira acquire three first names: a Spanish one that the white men give them, a nickname, and their true, Indian name, which is secret except to members of their immediate family. When a girl is born, her father names her after her mother or some near female relative, but for everyday use she has a pet name [553] which is only dropped when she reaches marriageable age. She then acquires a new name, which she keeps for the rest of her life.

563 The Creoles called those in the border areas who were not
101 Indians '*gente*', or just 'people'. They could scarcely be called white, for many were as good as pure black, being the descendants of former slaves. When they told us in Rio Hacha that there were not any 'people' living in this or that village, they meant that there were none but Indians there. Those who were not Indians, that is those who wore trousers, also called themselves '*civilisados*', while the Indians called them arijuna.

115 We called our two old Indians Gaffer and Gammer, and
124 the youngest 'The Lad'. We liked The Lad especially. He was strong, merry and did the work of two. The fourth, who, strangely enough, had a crew cut and was supposed to be our interpreter, we called 'Bristles', and he learned to answer to that. He knew a little Spanish, but as an interpreter he was no use. When the Gaffer had been talking to us for a long time and we asked Bristles what he had said, the answer always was: 'Nothing'. Perhaps that was what the other's talk amounted to, but we should have preferred to have judged that for ourselves. We noticed, too, that if we had to scold the Gaffer, Bristles did not dare repeat what we said. With gestures and the few Guajiro words we knew we could make Gaffer realize that we were annoyed with him, but not always why.

291 The men wore nothing but the usual piece of cloth and
386 belt, the *núrcte*, or, in Spanish, guayuco, which really means crupper, and sandals to protect their feet from the cactus spikes lying on the ground, but the Gammer was enveloped

1:Gutierrez de Pineda--1 E-5 (1947) 1950 SC13 Goajiro SC13

I

PRENATAL CARE. BIRTH. CHILDREN.

842 Valuation of children. Every Guajiro family group endeavors to increase the number of its members as much as possible. As a consequence, every birth is acclaimed with happiness so that no newborn suffers from the problem that his arrival may not be welcomed by his parents or relatives. On the contrary, he will always find his place within the group, in which it is hoped that he will play his part adequately.

614 The fact is that the importance of any group depends on the number of its members, as it can be observed that, although some groups are economically strong, the relative scarcity of men causes the loss of directive positions and influence. Relations between clan groups are on a par when they are more or less matched in the number of their males; otherwise any problem pending between them will be decided in favor of the side where the greater influence of the men weighs more. In order to balance forces, the weak group must seek alliance with other groups.

614 Notwithstanding the general eagerness to increase numerically in order to keep the balance or a more just social situation
554 throughout the peninsula, there are some groups that are not so inclined. These are those that have fallen into an inferior state which obliges them to be put at the margin of Guajiro life, where they end up suffering all kinds of injustice and ill-treatment from the others who, finding no force to withstand them, profit by this and, for any reason whatsoever, confiscate their property, deny them all rights, and burden them with demeaning situations like bond service. Such, in brief, is the lot of groups that have few male members and few economic
614 resources. This being so, as a sort of passive defense, the wom-
554 en refuse to conceive: They make use of every empirical re-
842 course to limit maternity. They use herbs which are prescribed

614 /1 cont./
554 for delaying menstruation during the seclusion following the
[842] appearance of puberty, so that the organism may become weakened and the menstrual cycle no longer appears, with which their matrimonial life does not bear fruit. They know beforehand /2/ the destiny of their children. When they become
[567] of useful age a stronger group will fall upon them to enslave them under any pretext -- such as the loss of an animal whose disappearance will be attributed to them without any outcry or civil authority aroused to impede this, and, the injustice inflicted being proved, without any punishment being applied to the aggressor group. Their daughters will be taken as wives
614 without the necessary Guajiro payment, or, simply, they will
554 abuse them, there being no family backing to oppose the de-
593 mands of the men belonging to the stronger groups. If a daughter should be bought, only a nominal payment will be made to silence the protests of her family, but later a very heavy matrimonial retribution will be demanded. Generally, the husband will brag about the way in which he ill-treats the girl, knowing that she is unprotected and that her relatives have insufficient power to demand justice. Thus it is not rare that poor wives are killed by their husbands after a life in which the unfortunate women have been subjected to cruel beatings and even mutilation. And if the family has no alliance with any powerful groups, the death is not indemnified. The mothers also know that should
614 one of their sons, accidentally or in self-defense, wound or kill
554 a member of a stronger family group, the repirsal taken will
628 not be preceded by a demand for compensation payment or any of the legal requirements usually stipulated, but that his whole group will be destroyed or enslaved and deprived of its clan lands, fields, sources of water supply, and personal effects. For such reasons these weak groups are allowing themselves to die out by reducing their birth rate to a minimum.

82 Regarding the special wishes of each group as to the sex of its future descendants, we feel the need of making an analysis of the valuation which each has in the society.

/62 cont./

581 The Guajiro woman also knows that men admire dress and
832 so endeavors to adapt hers to their taste: robes of light, attrac-
291 tive colors, amply cut, considerably ornamented (acculturation),
201 and for feast days or visiting all the collection of jewelry:
bracelets, anklets, necklaces of several strings or thick chains
with a pendant, numerous rings with big stones, especially
tumas, jewelry she was given on finishing her seclusion by her
maternal relative of the most distinction and prestige. From
then onward she begins to wear them, in smaller quantities
when she is at home, but the whole set when attending a feast
[554 or visiting. In Jarara a distinctive mark of high social standing
304 is the use of earrings /orejeras may mean earplugs. -- Trans-
lator/, because in this region the women, who are not very
careful in their dress, use this ornament which is an indication
of their social and economic position.

581 The combination, then, of dress and physical appearance
are two essential conditions of the attractiveness of the Guajiro
woman, which determine her success in order to be bought at
a good price or that her husband may not lose interest because
of other marriages. The preservation of her physical attractions
is a struggle which she maintains for these two reasons; also,
dressing well, apart from making her attractive, is a sign of
the class to which she belongs and which she must preserve at
any sacrifice, as therein lies the prestige of her kin and the
maintenance of their status. /63/.

In addition to the sexual incentive expressed in previous
paragraphs, the Guajiro seeks in his marriage an economic
value, that is to say, a woman who possesses certain qualifica-
tions that will assure him a certain latitude. The payment he
makes for a wife permits him to demand of her his keep and
that of his children, for which reason he seeks one capable
of complying with this custom by her own efforts.

The work that the woman can carry out to fulfill this eco-
nomic responsibility is of a domestic nature: the making of
hammocks /chinchorros and hamacas/, bags, belts, pottery,

/65 cont./

555 two; she increases the man's prestige because in carrying out her
581 duties as mistress of his house and representative of the home,
593 she knows by suitable attentions (agreeable talk, preparation of food according to traditional custom, hospitality appropriate to the social standing of a guest, etc.) how to win everybody's appreciation, consideration, and respect.

Furthermore, as the maintenance of prestige rests partly on the wife, the knowledge of the psychic and legal life and customs of the society in which she lives enables her to act correctly and without errors. She will maintain due solemnity in carrying out the most important acts in life, as, for example: the seclusion of young women, marriage, illness, etc., so strengthening her status. She will also rule her family more correctly and constitute herself the guardian of tradition, which is so respected by the Guajiro and in which resides the strength of their culture.

• • •

583 The price that the Guajiro man pays for his wife includes
836 several conditions among which is the assumed virginity as he will expect his wife to come to the marriage as such each time that marriage penetrates into his psychic life, and he will feel defrauded if she does not, so much more if the status of the bride is high and even more if she is his first wife.

The man takes into account various aspects of virginity:
[554] First, he finds a special attractiveness in the virgin woman for the satisfaction of deflowering her, which, apart from the sexual attractiveness, gives him in the future a reason for boasting and prestige, the halo of a fortunate man which /66/ fills him with pride and gives him a feeling of superiority. Second, and from the economic point of view, because he has paid the price asked, convinced that his wife is a property which belongs to him, wholly and exclusively. Third, because he thinks that if a woman has given herself to another man, secretly, it was because she was drawn to him by a great affection or because she is a

/83 cont./

583 Generally, the girl's family is advised by the suitor's relatives that they will come to buy her. The man, on his part, has requested his most influential maternal uncle, or one who is considered a "cacique," to go in company with his mother and other friends to arrange the purchase of the girl of his choice. They arrive dressed in their best and receive the most generous hospitality from the girl's relatives. They hand over as a sign of the engagement the so-called "prendas /"ornaments"/," which [301] are necklaces of gold set with tuma stones (1), the value and

1. A mineral quartz used as a precious stone.

number of which depend on the economic strength of the suitor, going all the way up to ten in persons of the highest standing, especially when the man is acquiring his first wife, who as we have seen is the principal one.

If the girl's relatives see that the marriage is an advantageous one, they accept the gifts. If they do not accept them, this [578] indicates a definite refusal and rarely occurs, since it implies contempt which could give rise to serious differences between the groups concerned. Once the necklaces are handed over, the spokesman for the bridegroom offers to buy the girl, and the girl's maternal relative of most authority replies, fixing the price, [554] which generally is equal to that paid by the girl's father for her mother; often they get a higher price, which increases their prestige. They argue for a short time until they arrive at an arrangement between them as to the price and the basis of payment. Then the young man's relatives leave to tell him of the arrangement made, which he respects and accepts without making any kind of objection, and he gets ready to pay the payment agreed upon in order to obtain his wife. /84/.

556 583 Payment in cows. The number of heads of livestock that a man has shows his economic position and through this his status in the family group and in the whole community, because stock

/132 cont./

844 diet and the magic preventatives required for a healthy baby and an easy delivery; they also often have a knowledge of the properties of certain herbs of which they make frequent use in the exercise of their profession, as well as the magic requisites necessary to counteract the ill-effects of the violation of some taboo during the period of pregnancy, a transgression which may cause abnormally long labor.

For this reason their services are very efficient and highly valued by the community; on their expertness and the success of the cases they handle during their career depend their reputation, their popularity, and the fee they receive.

[564] The midwife's position is an honorable one. Hers is not an occupation that can be looked down on; although it is not practiced by women of high class, it does give those who exercise it a certain elevation in their familial and general status.

Prior to the birth an arrangement is made regarding the services of the midwife. She is paid according to the economic capacity of the future mother, adding something more to the agreed-on fee when the delivery happens to be extremely prolonged and difficult, that is, when it requires greater effort and assistance than the normal case. The usual payment includes a length of material for a robe (ten yards) of the color and quality requested by the midwife; several bottles of rum (five or more), some ornament, etc. The midwife's request is not always the same but varies in accordance with her personal needs at the time. Also she must be well fed all the time that her presence is necessary in the home of the mother.

846 Postnatal regimen. Guajiro mothers follow a special regimen
556 which is in accordance with their social position. Those of strong clan groups who have at their disposal a large number of women servants and slaves can enjoy /133/ the luxury of remaining undisturbed without being bothered by any domestic duties, aided by their maternal kinswomen or those who replace these in caring for them. Guajiro women say that when the first child is born it is customary for the mother to remain in bed and out of the sunlight

/156 cont./

764 fixed in her ears suspended in a chain, starting with those of her greatest preference; all her necklaces, bracelets, anklets, and rings must be placed on the corresponding part of her body. If the deceased is a man, they also put on his jewelry, as his spirit
764 will need them in the other life to maintain his status beyond the grave. If he belonged to the rich class, he is shrouded in the
556 following manner: First, they cover his head with a special cloth woven by his wives; the bottom of the cloth covers his face, and the ends are fixed behind his head. Over this is placed a second cloth which reaches down to the belt and pins the arms laterally along the body. A third cloth covers the legs, and a fourth may be added to wrap the whole body, but the use of this latter has been gradually disappearing. Thus enshrouded, he is put in the enramada /bough-covered shelter/ within the coffin
[177] -- modern custom -- or enveloped in a still fresh hide and placed in a hammock. Then the lamentations begin.

The custom exists of sending to all the absent consanguineous
764 relatives, the most intimate friends, and in general all acquaintances, word of the death or of the patient's being near death, as the illness is made known from the first moment, especially
[202 to close relatives. If they are important people, runners are sent
554] as soon as the sick man worsens, so that at the time of his death, the house is already full of people. As those who arrive to show their sympathy are so many and they appreciate how impossible it is for the master and mistress of the house to offer them all adequate hospitality, the visitors arrive with their hammocks, water in large pitchers, food, etc., which they bring on their burros.

The messenger sent with the news, especially when he
764 carries it to a consanguineous relative of the deceased, knows
551 that he must not pronounce the dead man's name, as this would
[202] gravely offend his relatives. For that reason he usually says: "That relative of yours who lived in such-and-such a place, who did such-and-such an important thing, has died." Furthermore, none of those attending /the funeral ceremonies/ will pronounce

/157 cont./

764 152 that it was not really for the dead man that they kept vigil, because many times he might be unknown to them, but for the evocation before the corpse of the total sufferings of their group and their personal sorrows.

While visitors and part of the maternal and closest paternal relatives take their places around the deceased in order to take their turn in keeping up continual wailing, the remaining relatives of the dead man comply with the norms of hospitality and courtesy customary on such occasions, which are to receive the sympathy of those who arrive, to serve drink to the men, and to constantly maintain the funeral spirit. The maternal relatives must attend to the distribution of the /158/ livestock of the dead man, a part of which it is customary to give to the visitors who come to offer their condolences.

764 554 A wake can and should be prolonged as long as the livestock of the deceased lasts, and in the event that these are too few to maintain the prestige of the status of the dead man's consanguineous relatives, recourse must be had to contributions from the latter. From their point of view, the veritable economic-social status of the dead man is shown by the slaughter and distribution of animals which is made at this moment; also, this has its effect on his life beyond the grave, as the livestock slaughtered and the funeral outfit form the basis of the deceased's status in his other life.

In La Guajira the deaths of some of the most outstanding clan chiefs are long remembered. It is recounted, for example, that the wake of the cacique José Dolores lasted two and a half months until the animals he owned were completely slaughtered and distributed among those who came to show their sympathy. The whole /population of the/ peninsula was mobilized to accompany his kinsmen. They say that no less than 30,000 bolivars (Venezuelan money) were spent on eau de cologne to overcome the putrefaction and the bad odors given off by the corpse during such a long time in the hot climate.

/158 cont./

764 554 The distribution of animals and drink is made according to the standing of the visitor. Those of high class should be given cattle, mules, or horses (already mature), and rum or brandy in abundance; the poor, goats and sheep, and drink in lesser quantity and quality. In some cases a piece of meat is distributed among them so that they can eat during the funeral gathering.

It is customary to retain a reserve of animals for the second burial, which in a certain way is a repetition of the first.

When the personal property of the dead man is not sufficient to maintain adequately the status of the clan group, his consanguineous relatives, headed and directed by the family head, start a collection which is obligatory in nature to gather together livestock and drink in order to sustain the prestige of the collectivity and that of the dead man in particular. This collection is repeated for the second burial.

764 Once all the livestock of the deceased has been distributed, the family orders the burial. If the death occurred outside the lands of his consanguineous relatives where the clan cemetery [492] is located, he is carried there, tied on a horse. All those attending the wake accompany the corpse, on horseback or on foot, drinking incessantly during the whole procession. The grave has been opened previously by a very close and dear relative of the dead man, usually /159/ a nephew, his sister's son, who feels honored with this responsibility. If he should [609] refuse to do it, it would imply the greatest offense to his group, but we found no such case of refusal to comply with this honorable duty. (The influence of the mission in Upper La Guajira has caused the Indians there to place the body in a crude coffin of wood of the pionillo, a leguminous tree which is very abundant in the region. In Lower La Guajira the body is wrapped in the fresh skin of one of the slaughtered animals, one or two /sic/, which preserves it from putrefaction for a longer time.)

In front of the open grave the funeral procession halts while the children related to the deceased, and later the adults, walk over it, with the idea that this will delay /the return of/ death.

/159 cont./

764 The corpse is lowered into the grave with ropes, with the greatest care taken not to bang it or lower it roughly to the bottom of the grave. This would mean an offense to the dead man, who in some way would show his annoyance at this lack of care, which is in itself an insult; and the relatives would feel considerably offended at the want of respect shown to one who was of their blood and at a time so important to the Guajiro as that of burying a kinsman. It represents, to his way of thinking, an insult almost as great as to refuse to dig his grave, to speak ill of a dead relative, or to pronounce his name.

764 The same individual who digs the grave covers it with the
783 excavated earth, doing his work with extreme care. Then he goes to his home where he is submitted for some time to a purification ceremonial. The people who formed the procession return to their homes, after shooting off their firearms while the burial is in progress with the idea of frightening off all evil spirits. In times past they shot arrows repeatedly. Upon return the relatives also go through a purification ceremony, and generally, gathered together, they slaughter an animal for themselves from among those which had not been presented nor had belonged to the deceased.

764 For the dead man they place a supply of food and drink in the grave (his favorite food), and if while alive he liked to get drunk, they place an abundance of liquor. His most valued
[514 personal utensils, especially his chamber pot, an indication
554] that the owner was of high status, are placed on his grave, as are his cups and dishes, which also give prestige to the dead man.

765 During a more or less lengthy period his closest relatives go frequently to visit his grave, taking with them food which they eat over it, after weeping there for a long time and asking the dead person to join them. On the eighth day after his death it is mandatory /160/ to make such a visit, later, at the end of each lunar month after the occurrence of the death. These visits are made with more frequency when the relatives believe

/204 cont./

628 toward making a settlement and establishing a payment which will restore peace. The people, on hearing the words, are moved and applaud the facile oratory of the person who brings the "word"; they praise him and begin to give ground in their too onerous demands against the clan of the murderer; they put to one side the haughty tone with which they started the proceedings and begin to outline the basis for a settlement, which the arbitrator then transmits to the other side.

However, it may happen that the clan that has suffered the death of its relative, inflamed by the loss and also wishing to prevent the other side from thinking them afraid, boasts of its force and shows its dislike of the settlement. Thus, it declares to the other: "I am a rich Indian. My people are brave and are ready to fight. I want our people to measure their strength against yours. We are not able to forget that one of your men cowardly spilled our blood and took away a life, which was part of ours, too. His spirit cannot rest and still wanders about the places where he was slaughtered. We want to make felt in those of your blood what they have done to ours, so that you do not laugh at our pain nor think us cowards. Dying means nothing to us if for each one of ours we kill more of yours, and our nephews will multiply to avenge our deaths. We're not afraid of you, and we want to fight. We are eager to prove to you that we are capable of making you respect our pain and of avenging our spilled blood. We are not cowards; nobody can yet dominate our men, and they have the courage to make themselves respected. Yours aren't even good as women for ours. We ask for war."

628 577 554 The Guajiro Indian fears above everything else that he be thought a coward, because then the other groups would not respect his rights. His women would be easily violated without obligatory payment; his cowardice and his fear would be thrown up at him at every moment in such a way that his social life would be made impossible. On the other hand, as long as they are more brave and more cruel, they are sure of implanting fear, and with it authority and power. A group that is feared is a powerful group and one that maintains its status.

/228 cont./

462 home, have not found a substitute and have to be made by the
286 maternal relatives or by the wife.

Among the items that have survived we should include the blouses used by girls of prepubertal age.

The application of weaving by the women extends to the manufacture of some parts of the harness for horses, such as cinches, surcingles, saddle blankets, croup belts, etc., in the making of which they employ diverse techniques and both autochthonous methods and those introduced through acculturation.

While the manufacture of saddles, trappings, and accoutre-
[492] ments of horses is done by the men, the women make the adorn-
[554] ments for them and the headstalls of the halters and blinkers, with the complicated system of knots and tassels which indicate the standing and wealth of the rider. /229/

Finally, it is strictly the women's task to make all the utensils used in weaving, from the most elementary type of loom made with two vertical sticks and used for making the classical Indian hammock /chinchorro/, to the most complicated, such as those used for weaving double-faced hammocks; and from the wooden bobbins to the vegetable colors and mordants used in dyeing the fabric or the thread.

462 Domestic work is also women's work, and it includes obtain-
ing and preparing food and drink, and serving, storing, and preserving it, as well as killing small mammals and domestic birds, and cleaning and seasoning the intestines and other offal of cattle, sheep, and goats.

Within the Guajiro dwelling the woman maintains cleanliness
[296] and order, and she is also held responsible for making, repairing, and washing the articles of clothing of her husband, her children, and herself.

The care of minor children occupies much of the Guajiro woman's time (Cf. Chap. II) as does their training, and it is exclusively the women's function to look after and instruct the girls during the traditional seclusion at puberty. Also, it is their responsibility to teach feminine tasks to their young female consanguineous relatives.

/247 cont./

177 562 in relation to her sister's children, has been weakened in view of the intervention of the paternal aunts, previously unrecognized in relation to their nephews and nieces in the masculine line.

Women, considered simply as a social component, have acquired a higher position owing to the cultural changes that have affected the community due to their contacts with other civilizations. The most important advance, perhaps, is the relative liberalizing of clan rules in their relation to marriage, as the woman does not submit so voluntarily to the husband that her maternal relatives pick for her, but has sufficient strength of will, backed up by actions which are happening with ever greater frequency, to choose her man herself even though this may mean for her the breaking off of all ties which link her to family and clan organization. Furthermore, she acquires with the white marriage institution legal powers to combat polygamy.

VII

654 Having outlined the various influences of acculturation on the individual, on society, and on Guajiro culture, and having sketched in this study the life cycle of the individual and some of the most characteristic social institutions of the community, we can now refer in a general way to the conformation of the status of the native in its different aspects. /248/

The points of reference of individual status of an inhabitant of La Guajira may be summarized as follows:

1. Membership through blood in a powerful clan, and within it being the son of a woman of high position, who is a first wife (remember the presence of polygamy and its conflicts). This implies:

A. Control of sufficient wealth represented by:

a) Numerous heads of livestock, preferably cows and horses.

b) Family jewels set with tuma, the traditional stone; possession of ancient, solid gold or silver idols.

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●594 c) Control of both agricultural and pasture lands of first quality.

d) Access to wells with constant supplies of water for watering the livestock and for domestic needs.

e) Possession of numerous bond servants and slaves, who will free the women of the clan from domestic duties and provide the men with physical pleasure and a source of economic exploitation.

f) Commercial activities.

g) Holding government posts in the national official bureaucracy.

The economic solvency of the clan allows both the individual member and the family adequately to maintain its prestige in society.

With reference to the individual, because of the opportunity to have:

Expensive clothing for all occasions in accordance with the new patterns introduced by acculturation.

Modern weapons, also a new element in his culture, (guns, rifles, carbines, etc.) and poisoned and magic arrows of great value because of the supernatural powers they have and because they imply the sacrifice of children (Cf. Aspectos de la Magia en La Guajira) by Roberto Pineda Giraldo, Revista del Instituto Etnológico Nacional, Vol. III, Part 1, 1947. Bogotá, 1950).

Magic charms, especially those that are related to obtaining riches and love, prestige and affection, and /success in/ war. /249/

Numerous submissive wives, the first, who is the one who represents him socially, being of high standing.

Utensils and personal effects in accordance with his rank and with /the standards introduced by/ acculturation.

Thoroughbred horses and luxuriously adorned gear and trapping.

/249 cont./

554 With reference to the family, because it permits it as a unit to comply with the commitments it has contracted with each one of its members in particular and with society in general, as for example:

To give financial aid to its members or their friends in the outstanding moments of their lives, as for instance, in the case of a first marriage.

To entertain friends at obligatory social festivities with corresponding ostentation.

To attend to guests who visit the home in accordance with the family rank and that of the visitor, and with the idea of more than reciprocating previous hospitality received.

To be able to pay rapidly and satisfactorily any agreed-upon payment arranged with another group for the violation of the regimen for personal safety or collective stability, on the part of one of its members.

To fulfill adequately the magic sacrifices of propitiation and prevention when this is required either for the violation of a taboo or to forestall the effects of dreams, etc.

B. Numerical strength of the clan in male members of economic solvency and social prestige.

The aspects expressed in paragraphs A and B are extremely important for the individual in the family and in society.

In the family group, because with these advantages he will enjoy respect and a distinguished position among his kin which will automatically make him the head of the family.

In society, because he will receive indemnity rapidly and effectively when a violation of the regimen for individual security or collective stability has injured him directly or indirectly, and because it allows for the submission to his will of family or clan groups other than his own, who will recognize him as their cacique and whose influence they will seek at times when they are in trouble or conflict.

The second large group of conditions which affect the individual status is made up of his personal qualities, which may be subdivided in the following manner:

/250/

554 a) Physical qualities. Having a normal physical appearance, that is, conforming to the aesthetic ideal of the group; lack of defects or deformities, such as the lack of a limb or an eye, presence of visible scars, especially on the face, etc., and to be physically strong.

b) Psychic and cultural qualities. Among these qualities the following should be pointed out: 1. Capacity to bear fatigue. 2. Resistance to hunger during times of scarcity; ability to withstand prolonged thirst. 3. Cruel in reprisal. Inflexible in decisions. 4. Vindictive. 5. Spiteful. 6. Proud. 7. Fearless. 8. Introverted as much as possible. 9. Hospitable and generous. 10. Sexually insatiable. 11. A good drinker. 12. A skillful shot. 13. Possession of a life record of numerous wartime and amorous adventures. 14. A good rider. 15. Never having violated the regimen for social stability by murder or robbery. 16. Possession of a perfect understanding of the native language and bilingualism, with oratorical qualities which increases his capacity to convince others in cases when this may be necessary. 17. A clever versifier.

c) Within the division of labor to be able to fill some of the following offices: 1. Shaman. 2. Arbitrator or cacique. 3. Skillful and rich herdsman. 4. Accomplished hunter and fisherman. 5. Good harness maker. 6. Trader. 7. Public employee.

554 As to feminine status we can state that it has the same
562 essential points of reference with certain variations due to her sex, which we shall briefly enumerate:

1. Membership by consanguineous ties in a powerful clan with the same characteristics as for the man, which implies:

A. Control of sufficient wealth to maintain personal prestige represented by:

a) Abundant and costly ornaments.
b) Expensive clothes and articles of personal use.
c) Possession of charms, especially those for love.
d) Numerous staff, free or otherwise.

/250 cont./

554 562

e) The services of paid wet nurses to feed her children.

f) Good horses with the corresponding ostentations harness. /251/

g) Her own dwelling apart from that of her husband's other wives.

h) Costly outfit and dowry /on marriage/.

In her relations with her family and with society:

A free and protected childhood, that is, no material obligations to carry out until the prepubertal period.

Rites of passage in accordance with the strictest norms.

Being bought as a first wife with cows and in one payment, at a higher or equal price to that paid for her female ancestors.

Being able to give to her sons /and daughters, hijos/ and nephews /and nieces, sobrinos/ costly jewels when they are about to be married or when they have to compensate someone for an injury inflicted.

To be in a position to send her children to study at civilizado centers.

And all the other /items/ we have seen in the case of men.

B. As in the case of the man, her clan should include numerous males of socio-economic prestige.

Aspects A and B are most important for her both in the family group and in society in the following manner:

In the family group, by enjoying respect and acquiring an outstanding position, which converts her also into the first woman of the family.

In society, by likewise enjoying the respect of the community, by not /becoming involved in the/ violating the code of personal security as it refers to acts of sexual aggression against herself, her female relatives, or her female slaves and bond servants. Besides, by occupying the position of first wife in the marriage and being able to intervene as an arbitrator in interclan disputes, and being able to do her part, as head of the household, in cases of putchi /clan war/.

2. Personal qualities:

/251 cont./

554 a) Physical. As in the case of the man, to have a physique
562 in accord with/the ideals of/ cultural patterns and without outstanding physical defects.

To be sexually attractive.

To be a virgin at marriage.

b) Psychic and cultural qualities. 1. Reserved. 2. Faithful to cultural patterns. 3. Prudent. 4. Respectful. 5. Hospitable and generous. 6. Faithful wife. /252/ 7. Sisterly with her co-wives. 8. Good manager of the home. 9. Affectionate mother. 10. Capable of economic independence. 11. Mastery of the language.

c) Within the framework of the division of labor: to be a shaman or diviner; to have a knowledge of magic, particularly in the making of charms; good midwife, dressmaker, potter, herbalist, or competent maid.

VIII

554 A violation, in active or passive form, of the system of law and order by persons who are unable to pay a satisfactory indemnity for the infraction leads to their being given a special extrasocial status with very clear characteristics. They occupy the lowest place on the social scale. They are the bond servants and slaves whose general characteristics, as we have seen in the chapters referring to them, are:

Lack of family ties, since their consanguineous units have been broken up by their defeat in war as punishment for breaking the cultural rules connected with law and order.

As a consequence, lack of economic backing.

Lack of territorial connections, the land of their consanguineous unit having been taken over by the victors.

Loss of the position of being free, becoming chattel over whom their owners have the right of usufruct and abuse.

/252 cont./

554 626 In addition to bond servants and slaves who at any rate are still part of the Guajiro social conglomerate in their special status, there exist those outside society who have got into this situation as a consequence of breaking of the regimen for social stability, security, but who besides not having paid the indemnity required for their delict are cast out of the community because their clan group refuses to admit any responsibility for the crime, by which act they are excluded from the community and have to flee and go into exile. This appears to have been the case with the Kusina Indians, who have already definitely disappeared, due to the exterminating expeditions that have been launched against them by all the consanguineous Guajiro groups and by whites. They were a group of Indians ostracised for delicts committed, who had no family backing and who gathered together to live by robbery and murder of other Indians and the whites who lived in the neighborhood of their hideouts in the Sierra de los Kosina. /253/

IX

554 548 Prostitutes also can be classified among those of lowest *feminine status, as their conduct is not in accord with the female* cultural patterns for women in the community, which practically treats them as outcasts. Although they may enjoy a measure of individual prestige due to the satisfactions they give, they attract to themselves the contempt of society as they are constantly violating culture patterns. They are evaluated in two ways, but primarily are classified as despicable beings, violators of cultural patterns.

Nevertheless, during the summers, which are the periods of scarcity and misery, their conduct finds, if not approbation, at least excuse among their relatives, who see in their way of life a means of income which assists in part to supply the most basic necessities of life. Furthermore, with the change in ideas

/253 cont./

554 548 with respect to social questions as fundamental as marriage, there has been a change in the judgment of prostitution and concubinage, two ways by which a woman escapes from legal strictures, almost always because of necessity or the special circumstances in which her group is placed.

X

554 562 888 We should note here the important fact that the functions ascribed to the working Guajiro woman no longer count when she has passed through her adult change of life, that is to say, when she has passed the menopause. From this moment it appears that she enjoys absolute freedom within the community to do those things that are prohibited a woman before she reaches that condition, such as to become inebriated, to smoke, to indulge in sexual liberties; certain taboos now no longer refer to her, and the cultural patterns need not be so rigorously complied with; she is not obliged to become the wife of the heirs of the dead husband, etc. Her status again becomes effective with all its attached functions after her death, as we shall see.

XI

554 769 775 The active presence of an individual in Guajiro society is not lost at his death. In the concept that these natives have about death, clearly expressed in the study made by my husband to which we have /254/ made reference several times, every member of the community continues being a member of it and exercises influence over his fellow men after his death. His status in the afterlife is determined by the same conditions that he had during his earthly life: the acquiring of greater wealth and of prestige confers a higher status in the world of the spirits.

/254 cont./

554 His functions keep on being carried out by means of inter-
769 mediaries, as happens in the case of the piache, since the
775 shaman, or medicine man, is nothing more than an intermediary between society and the world of the spirits; his illumination is determined by the action of famous dead shamans who are reincarnated, one might say, in the living one and determine many of the actions of the community, especially those with reference to Illness and to Death. In other words, the shaman in his life is not guided by his own personality but rather by that of the shamans who have deigned to come down to him to indicate the functions that he must comply with, the rules that he must observe, and, in short, all the indispensable acts of his profession. The spiritual direction of the group is thus in the hands of the dead, who continue to look after their group in a more effective manner than when they were alive.

The gradation of status which we have seen in Guajiro society in previous paragraphs is also followed in the world of the dead, in which murderers, for example, occupy their same condition of outlaws, as also do suicides; they do not wander about freely as the other spirits do but are condemned to crawl face downward along the ground. And, if while in life they were a threat to the regimen for personal security or collective stability, they are also so after dying; from this develops the series of preventive practices relative to these spirits.

XII

554 Status is susceptible to modifications both upward and down-
558 ward. The causes of ascent are implicit in the conditions referred to, which as they are reached one by one confer on the individual an increase in his prestige, or keep it maintained. Among the sources of descent we can enumerate the following as the principal ones: a) the scarcity of male members for some reason or other in the clan unit or in the small family

/254 cont./

554 group, which implies in fact a lack of social backing; b) eco-
558 nomic losses which prevent their maintaining their clan or family rank and, therefore, their individual prestige. c) the breaking of the regimen for personal security and collective stability which implicitly carries /255/ with it the lowering of status, because when a group which has suffered considerable losses in number as well as in capital commits a punishable act against an individual of a superior clan, it becomes liable, not to the legal negotiation for indemnity but to extermination as a free unit, because the offended group, being superior, will not deal with the offenders on a legal basis. Furthermore, if the infraction wrongs a group weakened in its economy and in the number of its male members, the indemnity is not governed by legality but rests on the individual judgment of the powerful offender, in conflict with whom the offended one cannot put up sufficient coercive force to insist on an adequate indemnity.

671 This phenomenon is due to a clear and precise fact within
627 the social mesh that holds the clans together in La Guajira: questions of law are applicable only when the clan groups who are challenging each other are equally equipped in economic strength and in fighting men. It is only then that the legal action of the arbitrators can be brought into play to negotiate an arrangement equitable to both sides. Law, therefore, is regulated by equality of strength. But once this equilibrium is broken, law no longer exists as an institution if it is contrary to the will of the /stronger/ injured side, which will impose the indemnity by means of its strength and according to its personal ambition, sacrificing the offender both socially and economically, or when the injury has been inflicted on a weaker group, allowing the aggressive action to go unpunished.

[33 cont.]

114 We do not wish to question Professor Métraux's statement
197 about the influence of White contact in relation to medicine-
562 women in the other groups cited by him, as we are not objec-
*756 tively acquainted with them. But with regard to the Guajiro, we have to make the clarification that in the descriptions collected by us in the field, it is precisely the woman who really initiates magic, or better said shamanism, among the Indians, when she obliges her nephew to follow her own career. This aspect can be better understood when the reader comes to the section of this chapter entitled "The shaman in oral literature." [174] The fact that women appear as shamans in oral literature demonstrates the antiquity of the institution, as this literature faithfully preserves the most remote traditions of the group.

*756 The shaman, man of two worlds. All that we have seen in connection with the life cycle of the Guajiro shaman makes us think that he is what we have called him in the subtitle that heads these paragraphs: a man of two worlds — the world of the living and the world of the spirits of the dead. [34]

*756 The communication which he establishes after all the
554 preparatory ceremonies with one or several protector spirits who lavish on him every kind of counsel and instruction and even protect him against evil in all its manifestations: illness, enemies, public calamities, etc., make of him a man distinct from all the rest. His status is superior to that of other mortals because in his hands he has power over both good and evil. It is this duality that binds with his science a man who is both sacred and human, a being respected by all but feared at the same time, a good man, able to cure illnesses, but also a malignant being, liable to let loose the fury of the spirits beyond the grave. He is respected, loved, feared, and even, we might dare to say, profoundly hated.

[783] What predominates in him above all is the characteristic of impurity due to contamination from death. Sacred and impure become confounded in him; he is sacred because he is untouchable, and he is untouchable because of his participation with death through his protector spirits.

*756 His dual position as inhabitant of two worlds, involuntary it is true, depends on two fundamentally simple facts: first, his

[38 cont.]

538 medicine man, after his death, and it is only then that he can
*756 himself exercise his profession by himself, having at his service a terrestial intermediary, to whom he communicates by various means his methods of curing, events of the future, etc. This equally confirms our thesis, fully expounded previously, that the shaman is a man of two worlds: the world of the living and the world inhabited by the spirits of the dead. Lastly, it reaffirms what we have said in reply to Métraux's statement, that the feminine institution of shamanism in La Guajira is not due to the influence of European culture (which is only now beginning to be strongly felt) but is as ancient as their oral literature.

174 Present position of the shaman. If we consider socio-
565 economic conditions in La Guajira in the Pre-conquest epoch, which placed the natives in a position of a people engaged essentially in hunting and in fishing on the coasts (36), we have to

36. Restrepo Tirado says: "The Guajiro and Cocina [Kusina] Indians occupy La Guajira Peninsula. They were nomads and lived by hunting and fishing in improvised encampements, which they moved from one site to another." (Historia de la Provincia de Santa Marta [History of the Province of Santa Marta], 1st, I, 15.)

accept as a fact a virtual equality between the different clans which composed the community. The superiority of one or various clans over the rest was possibly due to their greater aptitudes for war or the greater number of fighting men they had at their command. Riches would be represented by valuable adornments, necklaces of gold or of tuma, pearls, etc. [38]

174 In such a state of affairs under the primitiveness which we
● 554 can presume existed in the Guajiro community of that time, the
*756 shaman must have occupied the first place in the social hierarchy. His undiminished supernatural power, his position as intermediary between the community and the world of the dead, the fears which his powers provoked were all sufficient reasons for him to be respected and feared above all and by all.

[116 cont.]

787 If someone dreams that a certain person is dead, and he sees him in that state, it is because he will be seeing a steer killed in the near future; and vice versa if in the dream he is present during the sacrifice of a steer it means that a certain person, who is then identified by the interpreter of the dream, is going to be killed by violence.

If in a dream one sees a person who lives at a distance, it fortells that within a short time he will be seen; and vice versa if the person in the dream lives in the vicinity of the dreamer, it indicates that that person will not be seen for a long time, or never; in other words, he is soon going to die.

If someone dreams that he cares greatly for a certain person, and he sees himself making demonstrations of affection toward him, that person will no longer care for him, he will forget the dreamer [117] and completely ignore him. On the other hand, if the dreamer appears to be very disdainful of an individual and shows his feelings of dislike for him, it means that the person is going to care for him passionately.

When in a dream a person is going to be murdered, this means that someone of his group will die, not the person dreamed of but some other.

If in a dream he has the sensation (nightmare) that he is falling from the hammock in which he is sleeping, that is a sure sign that when he is dead those who are carrying his body to the cemetery will let it fall and crash to the bottom of the [764] grave, when the social norm stipulates that the body of a dead [554] person should be lowered carefully and slowly to its final resting place. Such an occurrence signifies that the bearers of the body held the dead man in little esteem.

A woman who dreams that she has, or that she will have, a daughter is convinced that this means that her honor is going to be defamed, that she will be involved in vile gossip and slander; people will say that men have abused her, and when they see her with a man they will say that he is one of the many with whom she has had illicit relations. But when she dreams that the child she will bear will be male, this is a sure sign of a pauchi and that her family will be involved in an intercian war and will suffer

[148 cont.]

4. Also like the wanurú, he takes on special forms of dress, such as that of a "king," an arijuna (civilizado), and an Indian. At times flames leap from his eyes and mouth (possibly acculturation from Catholic legends about the devil).

5. There are other beliefs that refer to him, such as the one that states that when during the night a woman should find a praying mantis [mantis religiosa] she should hurriedly throw some cotton seeds and salt on the fire in order that with the flame produced when these catch fire, the malignant spirit, or yonuí, who brings the mantis with him will be frightened away. There is a similarity in this belief to the one that prescribes placing horses' skulls around to frighten the wanurú away from the vicinity of habitations.

* * *

In summary we would say that the spirits of good are represented by Máreiwa and by a series of other protector spirits, especially those of shamans, which are no other than those of dead curers. Their standing or status depends on that which they had in life, the greater that prestige as curers in this world, [149] the more important will be their position in the next as benevolent spirits. The spirits of evil are represented by dead persons and are of different degrees of danger according to the characteristics of their death. It is presumable that those called yonuí, resembling the devil, the greatest incarnation of evil as an abstract idea, are spirits of the dead of a greater degree of wickedness, while the wanurú, connected almost exclusively with sickness, are spirits of dead persons of a lesser degree of evil.

Finally, the differences between the two categories of spirits -- benevolent and malevolent -- are of two classes: 1) of a quantitive character, according to their power to do good or evil respectively; 2) of a formal character, referring to the apportion of evil spirits in various bodily forms, and the absence of such forms for good spirits. [150] [Page 150 is blank.]

[153 cont.]

182 *756 e) Defense of the community and the individual from the harmful influence of evil spirits, an influence which largely expresses itself in personal and communal illnesses.

●554 *756 In exchange for all these services given by the shaman, the community offers him as payment, on one hand, their backing, respect, admiration, and even fear, and on the other hand, material goods which consolidate his status of privilege, such as necklaces, cloth, jewels in general, animals, and money.

• • •

182 741 [154] In accordance with the previously established division between magic and the foretelling of the future in Chapter IV, we should now state that the diviner, like the shaman, serves to maintain, defend, and restore the regimen for individual security and collective stability, an affirmation which we have based on the following functions which he performs:

a) Discovery through divination of the causes of illnesses, thus permitting the prescribing of adequate medication, with great probability of success for the patient, who is generally a child.

b) Also through divination the restoration of lost objects [685] and the discovery of the thief — factor in the breaking of the regimen for personal security — so that the thief may suffer the penalties with which society punishes those who violate the cultural norms concerning personal property.

[782] c) Divination by which, when husbands are absent from home, their state of health can be ascertained and their wives can provide them with rapid and effective help.

d) Determination, in the last instance, of a novice's "vocation" or lack of "vocation" in the science of shamanism, a decision which is of great importance for the community in general, since on it depends whether the community has in its future magician a defender of its regimen for stability, a counselor and spiritual director, or, on the contrary, a charlatan on whom the protector spirits have not descended to illuminate him and who

[155 cont.]

182 individual or of the dead, in the aspect which we have called
626 "Omens and Augural Birds," in the behavior followed by individ-
789 uals who wish to call up a breeze during a windless calm at sea or to send away eclipses and lightning which, according to their belief, are malevolent.

* * *

789 A very interesting aspect of magic is its use for and against
595 some of the cultural institutions and their institutionalized patterns; for example, the use of love charms and the compliance with certain norms after the period of seclusion accompanying the ceremonies at the time of a young woman's initiation. Her aim is to fight against polygamy, with a view either to obtaining predominance over other wives or, better, to prevent the man who has acquired her for his wife from acquiring more women with whom she would have to share his life. Possibly due to the influence of acculturation, there is a tendency toward monogamy on the part of the women. The men, however, tend toward polygamy for prestige, since for it they must have a good economical position, as the price of women is high, increasingly so the greater their social position.

[177] [654]

[156] Another institution that we see directly affected by
751 magic is this same initiation of young women. We saw how
771 the death of a first-born child required a series of ceremonies
881 to prevent future children dying at birth, one after the other, and we stated that one of the principal ceremonies consisted in the observance of certain norms which bring to mind very clearly the initiation of the young mother. Their idea would seem to be that one of the causes of the death of the first-born was the deficient carrying out of the magic-biological-social ceremonial to which the girl must submit to prepare for her life as an adult.

[156]

Also the norms relating to the dead and the belief in a
764 life beyond the grave rest almost exclusively on magic, and
775 through it their prestige and their functioning are kept up. Magic
771 is also the cause of the fear and respect which relatives and friends
626 show to their dead, and it is magic which also promotes all the ceremonial rites that are celebrated in this connection.

[156 cont.]

554 556 781 3. The individual. Another interesting social aspect related to magic is in connection with the status derived from wealth, expressed by the greater or lesser number of heads of stock owned by an individual. But apart from this strictly material aspect, magic has powers which when put into action assist the individual to acquire a coveted position or to improve one he already has, as is done, for example, in the cultural aspect of language, the mastery of which with the use of fine turns of speech can give to the speaker the highly esteemed and prestigeful position of arbitrator, or intermediary, in their interclan struggles, a position that is often confused with that of chief.

Within this field of magic activity we can cite as examples the following:

a) The sacrifice of animals, which not only gives prestige to the living but also establishes the status of the deceased in his life beyond the tomb.

b) The use of diverse charms such as those for love, for making one rich, for obtaining respect, prestige, and affection, etc.

c) The custom of an individual eating the leavings of food of individuals of special physical characteristics, especially those having qualities superior to his own, as for example, a white skin, a beard, etc., with the end of becoming more outstanding and improving his status.

d) As an indirect form of elevating status, we have the case of the Indian Kurña-Pata, who swallowed a charm and took a slave girl for wife in order to heal the wounds he received from the Kustna Indians. [157] The slave, because of a dream, passed to the category of wife, thus ascending the social scale.

* * *

121 771 781 A great part of the Guajiro's personality is molded by this institution of his culture, and many of his reactions would be inexplicable without previous knowledge of the process of magic, the fields of its functioning, the ways of life it has created, the

3: Wilbert E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 SC13 Goajiro SC1b

582 As for the mentioned forms of cousin marriage, Ego (m. and f.) may marry any cousins on either side except for mother's sister's children. Ego (m. and f.) may also marry any kinsman of the third degree with the exception of a mother's sister's daughter's child. All relatives of the fourth degree are potential spouses. [598] Polygyny is practiced and is definitely a mark of status and rank. Sororate is mentioned although it very rarely occurs. The data indicate, thus, a very typical system of Crow type.

602 No evidence taboos were said to exist in Goajiro society, but great attention is paid to respectful behavior between kinsmen. In the family parents are respected [598] equally highly by the children, whereas among siblings the brother enjoys greater authority than his sisters, and an older than a younger brother. In the presence of the maternal uncle nobody is supposed to speak up unquestioned; this rule applies especially to the younger people. Grandparents maintain close and friendly relations with their grandchildren. They make gifts to the latter: horses, bows and [43] arrows, drums, rifles, etc., and the grandchildren assist the old after having grown up. The father-in-law is respected greatly by his daughter-in-law. When visiting she serves him before she serves her mother-in-law. She does not, however, attend her own mother. Cousins are completely free to meet without being obliged to observe any avoidance regulations.

605 Artificial kin relations were said to be missing altogether among the Goajiro. 606 Non-relatives are treated with great friendliness and may even be accepted as 607 stepparents of an orphan of the group. Orphans usually join a family on the father's side.

Caracas, Venezuela

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
SC13 Goajiro SC13

the men speak some Spanish in addition to their native 105
language. Some of them know how to read and write. They
are almost entirely pastoral, possessing great herds of horses, [233]
asses, sheep, goats, and cattle. They have borrowed a great
deal from the Europeans but they have also kept their own
culture to a remarkable degree. As usual, native elements
are most strongly present in the non-material phases of culture.
Unfortunately they are not united or organized into a modern
state, though against all foreigners they stand together as a
unit. Authority is acquired by certain caciques through their [554]
wealth and membership in the 'casta,' the major social group- 614
ing in Guajiro society. Each casta claims a mythological 631
origin and holds sovereignty over a well-defined territory.
Many of these castas or social groupings are further sub-
divided. Each casta has its caciques whose function is chiefly
to settle disputes and whose position is inherited, matrilineally.
The oldest of them is allowed more authority, but generally it
is the wealthiest man, and the one who can marshal more [556]
retainers, armed with rifles and revolvers, who is listened to
with greater respect. There are further divisions in Guajiro
society. At the top are the caciques and their families who are 565
rich and powerful. The next group is composed of peons or
retainers in the service of the upper stratum, and at the bottom
are the 'slaves' who have been born in that condition or have
been enslaved following an offense to some powerful group, and [567]
who can even be let out to work for planters in the sugar fields
of Zulia. The life of the poor people has not changed much
since early times. Polygamy is widely practised, as is also 595
concubinage, by the wealthier men. Each wife lives in her
own rancho and there awaits the occasional visit of her hus-
band. The children inherit property and social affiliations [611]
through the mother. Disputes that arise within a casta are
settled by arbiters chosen by the families of the litigants. [627]
Disputes inter-casta may be settled by arbitration if violence
is not desirable. Generally the killing of an individual gives [628]
rise to armed action with an eventual composition by payment.

My informants attempted to demonstrate the difference be- 671

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
SC13 Goajiro SC13

628 deeds frequently, and fears that he may bring severe disaster
672 on his relatives, he may be killed. It is interesting to know
681 that the individual may not necessarily be evil-intentioned.

We are accustomed to think that for an act of trespass on
672 the person or property the injured party can recover only if the act is considered to have been intentional or negligent.[6] Among the Guajiro there is no such qualification of a tort in order to allow legal action and to recognize legal liability. The act and the injury ensuing from it are the only considerations which have any importance.

Case I: Three boys, A, B, and C, close friends, were seated
628 on a log in the order named. B held a knife in his hand. In
672 the spirit of play A and C attempted to take it away from him.
683 In the good-natured scuffle that ensued A was slashed across the thigh accidentally.

The families of A, the injured party, and of B were on friendly terms. B's family immediately offered payment for the hurt done to A. Each family chose an arbiter, men known for their knowledge of law and their fairness, who granted A's family payment commensurate with the social position of A and the ability of B's family to pay: 60 sheep, 1 bull, 1 ass, a gold necklace, a horse.

Case II: Cacique A killed Cacique B through the accidental
628 discharge of a firearm. Their families belonged to the same
672 casta, and both being anxious to avoid armed conflict B's
682 family agreed to accept a property composition for the tort: 100 cows, 100 horses, 7 mules, 1,000 sheep.

Case III: Cacique A killed Cacique B in a quarrel. Both families being desirous of keeping the peace and both being members of the same casta, property composition was arranged.

This case would obviously fall within the class of crimes in our society and A would have been punished irrespective of the attitude of B's family. As a matter of fact, had B's family
554 been less important or had it belonged to the peon or slave
628 class, A's family may not have paid anything. On the other
672 hand had A been a peon or slave, his family would have suf-
682 fered extermination at the hands of B's relatives. A's family

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
SC13 Goajiro SC13

could not have paid the price in the first place, and besides B's family would have little to fear from them.

The father and maternal uncle of the slain man take the initiative in seeking payment which goes to the mother's family.

If A and B had been workmen or retainers of C, a cacique, and A's family could not have paid the price of composition, then C would have paid B's family and in compensation would have enslaved A and his family. Payment for killing a peon is 10 asses, 50 to 100 sheep, and 10 steers.

Case IV: A was working for B. In the course of the work through no fault of B, A was hurt. B paid A's family for the injury. A's family took care of A.

Case V: A and B were working for C. Through accident B hurt A. B's family had to settle the injury with A's family. Had A been hurt in the course of the work without B acting as the instrument, then C, the employer, would have had to pay.

This case is similar to the one described by Simons. If A lends a horse to B and B is hurt through the instrumentality of the horse, A has to pay. If A gives rum to B and B injures C, A is held responsible.

Case VI: A wants to marry B. B or B's family reject his suit. A goes to B's rancho at night and commits suicide there B's family has to pay A's family for the death of A, B being considered as the direct instrument that caused A's death.

Case VII: A injures or kills B, caught *in flagrante delicto* with A's wife. A has to pay B's family a price minus an amount considered fair value for the sexual privilege that B exercised on A's wife.

These illustrations point to the absolute nature of Guajiro law. No extenuating circumstances are allowed to enter into settlement of cases of battery or other trespass on the rights of an individual. The case is different in so far as public sympathy and moral censure or approbation are concerned. Furthermore, society as a whole takes no action in righting wrongs. The family of the injured person must seek composition, and if it is not powerful enough to demand a high price it has to be satisfied with a smaller one. Conversely, there is

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
SC13 Goajiro SC13

unable to punish his nephew by disinheriting him, the nephew's 604
behavior is very much dictated by the ties of regard or affection 626
that exist or are lacking between the two. The private behavior 428
of the uncle toward his nephew is almost wholly controlled by the same ties, as there would be no way for the nephew to retaliate if his uncle were to break the rule. There is one control, however, that both the nephew and the uncle have over each other. It has nothing to do with either regard or affection or with the possibility of inheritance. It is the fear that if either the nephew or the uncle break the rule the offended one may circulate the news in the community. If such news were circulated the reaction of the community would depend on the standing in the community of both parties concerned. If, for example, the offended had good standing while the offender had [554]
not, the reaction would be highly condemnatory. In the reverse situation, the news would be taken lightly.

From the evidence gathered, three primary factors condition the actual attitudes and behavior of a senior nephew and his senior maternal uncle. The first is the economic interest that the nephew may have in his uncle's property. The second is the fear of public opinion. The economic factor may or may not be operative; the fear of public opinion is always present. The third factor is regard or affection or similar personal sentiments. Those three factors may go hand in hand and then it is very difficult to say which is the strongest. In some cases, as in that of Camilo and his uncle, mutual affection and regard are undoubtedly the dominant factor.

To sum up: when the senior maternal uncle is rich, he is the giver, and the senior nephew the receiver, of benefits. As to actual behavior, however, a nephew is obliged to show deference in a particular manner to his senior maternal uncle, and the uncle in turn must show a certain amount of respect for his nephew. Fear of public opinion makes for conformity in behavior regardless of economic interest or personal regard.

Reciprocal Relations of Maternal Uncle and Niece

The relationship here is just the reverse of the uncle-nephew 604
relationship. Here the uncle is the receiver of the benefits and

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

the men were already quite drunk. Everyone was chattering, laughing and enjoying themselves. It was more like a fair than a funeral. The sun was in the zenith and there was no shade anywhere. Most of the men had removed their cloaks, only putting them on to go to the bier and lament; but the women kept their tunics on; there were no half-naked women to be seen there. Some of them had tunics of light bought material, and when the wind pressed the cloth against their bodies their forms stood out like reliefs and their skins shone through the thin material. Many of the men devoured them with their eyes, but the women's interest seemed riveted to the steaming boiled meat.

We met a thin and obviously poor Indian who expressed satisfaction at the number of funerals that had lately taken place. He had been attending them uninterruptedly for almost a month, had had meat every day and was beginning to put on weight. Yet he was not high in the social scale. Each person was entertained in accordance with his social rank.

There was not much sleep that night. Lamentation continued beside the bier all night, while sounds of singing, shouts and squabbling came from the Indian camp. We had been told that it would be a day or two before the dead man was buried. That is not done until all the cattle allotted for the funeral have been slaughtered. A number of beasts had been set aside to provide the meat the guests took away with them, and others were being saved for the subsequent funeral. We knew that in two years' time the dead man's bones would be dug up and another feast held.

In that climate a body should not remain above ground even two days, and yet the funerals of the rich lasted much longer. Thus they swathe the bodies of the rich in as many pieces of cloth as possible and in several cow-hides in an attempt to keep the stench from being too offensive. There was a lot of talk about the funeral of a rich chief, José Dolores, that had taken place some years before. How many cattle were slaughtered on that occasion is not known for certain—the monks said about three thousand—but it is known that the feast lasted two and a half months. The body

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

was wrapped in forty-eight beautifully woven cloaks each worth the equivalent of £20-£25. Despite this the atmosphere was not pleasant and during the feast they sent to Venezuela for so much eau de cologne that it was said to have cost thirty thousand bolivares. What we were attending was thus quite a simple funeral, but it must have cost several hundred pounds.

On the third day the body, wrapped in hides, was placed on a horse and taken out to the burial place, where one of the closest male relatives had dug a grave—a great honour that. Everyone accompanied the body. The men drank copiously as they walked along. The dead man was laid in the grave, and some of the sand that had been dug out of it was carefully shovelled in; then they let down food and drink, including a large jar of spirits, and—to our amazement—the enamel pot followed. Indians who have had a lot to do with white people like to take such pots on their journeys, and apparently it was considered that one might be needed even on a man's last journey.

After this everyone fired their guns into the air, and those who did not have firearms shot arrows. That was done in the hope of driving away any malevolent spirits who might be trying to worm their way back. A large fire was lit on the grave. This would burn every night for some time to come, in order to light the soul on its journey.

Later, the dead man's relatives would go out now and again to lament and take food and drink, which latter they would invite the dead man to share with them. Then, after a couple of years, the man's bones would be dug up and the after-funeral celebrated. We attended several of these; this second ceremony is entrusted to a few female relatives, who, swathed in tunics from head to foot, take hold of the bones with bits of cloth. The skull and skeleton are cleaned and laid on a cloth, in which they are tied up and lowered into a jar and this is taken to the house of grief, where another, though shorter funeral feast is held. After that the jar is buried again.

Those who have dug up the bones and all who have touched a dead person, must not eat with their hands for

him that can give the alarm. For a long time he has to refrain 775
from all association with his friends and keep away from 682
feasts. In the end, if agreement on compensation is not reached with the dead man's family, he will have to leave the district for a period of years. This precaution is to protect the slayer from the spirit of the man he killed, which would look for him in his normal haunts and would not recognize him under the new conditions, but it is also a protection against the dead man's nearest relatives, who will thirst for vengeance as long as compensation has not been agreed and paid.

We mounted and rode away from our first burial feast. 775
On the fringe of the area stood six Indians armed, some with 765
guns, others with bows and arrows. Their task was to shoot 431
after all departing guests in order to scare off any dangerous spirits that might be intending to keep them company. Here, a deputy-host presented us with a live heifer. Every guest [554]
was to have a present of an animal according to his rank. We also had the meat that had been distributed that morning. It was considered quite all right either to eat it or to take it to eat on the way home. Several others were doing as we and there was a long line of departing guests, the men [492]
on horseback, the women mostly on donkeys. We all kept together for quite a distance.

Spirits rose as the heat increased, for drink had been 765
handed out along with the meat, the Indians believing, as 565
did the Creoles, that spirits were the best protection against the dangers of the hot sun.

A young Indian rode up to us. He wore a cloak with a beautiful pattern and was mounted on a splendid mare, which showed that he was of well-to-do family. He was in a [578]
bad mood, however, having been forgotten in the distribution of parting gifts and had not been given even a sheep. For that reason he was highly incensed with his neglectful hosts, whom he obviously scarcely knew.

We rode past an old man on foot dragging a calf behind him. The old man was obviously sober, but he kept mutter- [578]
ing imprecations to himself. He too had been forgotten.

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

175 During the Colonial Period, the *Goajiro* were hostile toward the Span-
648 iards. After 1830, however, as a result of better treatment from the Whites, thanks in part to the efforts of Juan MacPherson, they become more friendly. Present authorities in the *Goajiro* region merely regulate frontier traffic.

797 The attempts by the Capuchin Fathers to alter their ways of life have
177 been unsuccessful. Except for the thin Catholic veneer, noticeable in baptismal rites and Spanish names, *Goajiro* social life seems to have been little affected by centuries of contact with Hispanic culture. Foreign influence is more apparent materially in iron implements, utensils, guns, textiles, and ornaments. All the domestic animals are of Spanish origin.

161 As a result of tuberculosis, smallpox, and venereal disease, the *Goajiro*
164 are gradually dying out, and the population estimates found in the literature have become smaller and smaller, the most recent indicating a scant 18,000.

PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

142 The *Goajiro* are usually described as aggressive and untrustworthy, of
[18] medium or small stature (cf. J. A. Mason, 1926, pp. 39, 52), copper colored, with jet-black hair, dark eyes rather obliquely set, a broad and blunt nose, and a large mouth (pl. 72, *bottom, right*). Within the tribes there are physical differences which seem to correspond with social status,
[365] the lower classes being smaller and more Indian in appearance, while those of higher rank are more often of a greater stature, with curlier hair and larger noses.

LANGUAGE

147 The *Goajiro* language belongs to the *Arawakan* family. There is, however, no good analysis of it. A grammar, "replete with errors" according to Simons, was published by Rafael Caledon in 1878. Various word lists have been published from time to time.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.**—The *Goajiro* have a poor opinion of agriculture, and only
[128] the poorer sibs practice it. The one fertile part of the peninsula is near Punta Espada. Here the land is well cultivated, and plantains, oregano, onions, corn, sugarcane, and grain are grown. Tobacco, bananas, maize, gourds, manioc, sweetpotatoes, millet, beans, and watermelons also are raised. Those who own cattle grow only small patches of quick-maturing corn for the purpose of making chicha beer.

22 **Hunting, fishing, and gathering.**—Hunting, fishing, and gathering occupy a minor place. Deer, armadillos, land tortoises, and rabbits are

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

Urianas are connected by marriage with the Pushaina, another wealthy "tribe" of the *Goajiro*.

Each extended village (section or ranchería) consists of related ala members who are bound by close ties and who unite against outsiders if one of them is wronged. Intermarriage among the alas is common.

The role of the maternal uncle in *Goajiro* culture is of great importance. Santa Cruz's detailed study of it (1941) will be summarized here. Types of behavior, both prescribed and unformalized, vary, not only according to the seniority of either uncle or nephew but also according to that of the nieces. The maternal uncle must leave all his property to his oldest sister's oldest son, the other nephews receiving nothing. In practice the maternal uncle transfers most of his property to his own children, and after his death little if anything remains for the nephew. The attitude of a senior nephew toward his senior maternal uncle largely depends on what inheritance he expects from him. If the nephew marries a girl from a wealthy family and has, therefore, to pay a high bride price, the senior maternal uncle is expected to make a donation to meet the price. The uncle has no authority, however, in the selection of the bride.

Etiquette requires that in company the nephew must always remain silent if his senior maternal uncle is speaking; if the nephew wishes to speak he must first ask his uncle's permission. The nephew must always show respect and conduct himself with propriety. On the other hand, a senior uncle should not criticize or laugh at his senior nephew. No such behavior is prescribed between father and son or between other uncles and nephews. Public opinion castigates any deviation from this behavior between uncle and nephew.

The relationship between a maternal uncle and his niece is just the reverse of this, for the uncle is the recipient of benefits. He receives the bride price paid for the niece, and he contributes nothing toward the dowry for the bridegroom. The maternal uncle, however, is empowered to accept or reject a prospective bridegroom, and the girl has no recourse in the matter. A girl is respectful and considerate, although less rigidly formal, toward her senior maternal uncle. Her behavior toward her other uncles depends solely on her regard for them.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

There is no central government uniting all the alas, but each ala or subdivision thereof has its chiefs who inherit their position matrilineally. The oldest chief has greatest authority and may carry a knobbed stick as symbol of his authority. He is generally the wealthiest and has most retainers. Hereditary status is very important, and a man born poor may never achieve a high position, even though he acquires much wealth. He may, however, marry a woman of high rank and his children will inherit her rank. Chiefs are polygynous and have many daughters, for

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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water but is given an herbal purgative. Her hair is cut short. Generally [§31
several of her relatives stay around the door of the hut, and strangers and men with an eye to matrimony may look in. During this period the girl is taught the duties of married life and such skills as weaving, sewing, and making hammocks. When she emerges, stout and bleached, a special festival is held, when she resumes her ornaments and puts on the adult clothes that she has made during her confinement. She is now considered marriageable. The length of her confinement depends on her status, though theoretically it lasts until her hair again reaches the [§34
nape of her neck. Poor girls are secluded only a few weeks, rich girls §34]
up to 2 years.

Sexual life and marriage.—Little is known about the sexual life of §36
the *Goajiro*. A certain amount of promiscuous love making occurs among the young people at the biweekly festivals. Dances also provide an opportunity for sexual advances.

There are some male transvestites who carry on only female activities §38
and are ridiculed by the men.

When a man desires to marry he sends his father or uncle as inter- [§39
mediary, then pays a bride price which has been set by the girl's relatives. §39
The payment is usually in cattle, but goats, pearls, liquor, cotton cloth, §42
and gold ornaments also are used. The father retains the purchase price only when his first daughter marries; the income of subsequent marriages goes to the girl's senior maternal uncles. The mother also receives part of the income. A son obtains the cattle for the bride payment from the increase of his father's herds.

Intermarriage between the sibs is frequent, and many of the *Goajiro* §42
give their daughters to "civilizados" from Maracaibo and Rio Hacha, who pay higher prices and find such a tie with the Indians useful in their trading relations.

The marriage ceremony consists of a series of feasts and exchanges of §45
presents between the two families. The wedding night is spent at the [§48
ranchería of the bride's mother, but the nuptial hammock (specially woven by the female relatives of the bride) is hung from a tree some distance away from the house. For a period of days and even months the bridegroom leaves his bride at dawn and returns only after sunset. In [§50
this way the groom shows respect to his mother-in-law.

Polygyny is general. The number of wives depends on the economic §55
status of the husband, some men having as many as 20. Each wife lives in her own house, where her husband occasionally visits her. The man, as head of the polygynous household, supervises the daily slaughter of [§62
animals and the distribution of meat and corn to each household according to the number of its members.

If a wife shirks her domestic duties she may be divorced and her hus- §64
band may claim the return of the bride price cattle, plus their increase and

9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
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the individual who was to provide the raw material for this article. This is more or less a biography of the man who was at the same time guide, interpreter, and driver for the author and with whom extensive conversations, both formal and informal, took place.[5]

Goajiro culture, like most native cultures in the New World, has suffered great acculturation due to the impact with European ways of life. Some of these cultures have been more resistant to change than others; and within one culture, certain aspects have remained closer to the traditional forms than have others. In Goajiro culture, it is perhaps the social organization, with all of its ramifications, that has resisted recent acculturation more than the other aspects of the culture. We know very little of the pre-cattle culture of the Goajiro and even Juan de Castellanos, writing at the beginning of the seventeenth century, describes them as having numerous herds of domestic animals. Nowhere in the literature on the Goajiro is there an example of status having been acquired outside the traditional way and the present writer, in his two field trips to the region, has found only the case here described.

As it is not the purpose of this article to give a full description of the social organization of the Goajiro, it will be sufficient to state that the tribe is divided into some twenty-five matrilineal clans, of which about eleven are large and rather powerful in their socio-economic aspects, and the rest—due mainly to the fact of having a small number of members—are weak, and relatively unimportant. Inheritance is along the mother's line, an individual acquiring property from his maternal uncle. The *wayuu*laate in all its social and economic aspects, is a very important institution (Santa Cruz, 1941).

Traditionally the clans are exogamous with incest taboos and punishments for those who break them. This exogamic characteristic of the clan is apparently disappearing, as several cases of endogamous unions were found among the Goajiro living in the outskirts of the city of Maracaibo. No endogamous marriages, however, were found in the Goajiro proper by the present writer, although Gregorio Hernandez de Alba (1936) has

[5] Proper names, especially of the subject, have all been disguised in some way, so as to spare personal feelings.

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The whole judiciary structure with its elaborate system of torts is based on the payment of a given number of domestic animals. There is no crime, including murder, that cannot be amiably settled by such payments (Perrulla, 1937). The acquisition of a bride is also reduced to the payment of a stipulated price, in terms of domestic animals, to be given to the maternal uncle of the girl.

Social, economic, and political status in the Guajiro society is intimately connected with the cattle complex. To have a high status an individual needs, primarily, two assets: he must possess a large number of domestic animals, in other words, he must be considered rich; and he must be an older man. If he lacks either of these requisites, he is not a leader, as he will not be sufficiently respected nor will members of his clan come to him to seek his advice. Consequently, leaders are not numerous in the Guajiro peninsula. The present writer knows only two individuals, both in Venezuela, who are today the unquestionable leaders of their respective clans. These men are Panchito Silva, of the Pushaina clan, and José de la Rosa Fernandez of the Uriana clan.

An analysis of the lives of these two men will be illustrative of the traditional methods of acquiring status among the Guajiro.

Panchito Silva, a man of about 80 years of age, lives in the native village of Sinkipao in Venezuela. During his life-time he has had eight wives (two or three at a time) and now lives with his surviving two, one about 35 years old and the other about 50. He is a full-blooded Indian as has been the case of his wives. There is no trace of race mixture in his family. He has no clear idea of how many children he has had, apart from those living with him now (two men and five women). Yet he knows definitely that he has four younger brothers—who will inherit his wealth and position before these are passed on to his nephews—three sisters and twenty-five nephews and nieces (all sons and daughters of his sisters). His lack of concern towards his own children coupled with his keen interest in his nephews and nieces seems to be a clear indication of how strong the avunculate is in traditional Guajiro society. His holdings in cattle and other domestic animals are very large. Roughly he owns around 1,000 head of cattle and most 3,000 of sheep,

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goats, mules, asses, and horses. Approximately 60% of this total he acquired through inheritance, as his maternal uncle was a wealthy man and, in his time, the leader of the Pushaina clan. The rest of his property, Panchito has acquired through the payment of bride-prices received for his nieces. Unquestionably, Panchito Silva has become wealthy and the leader of his clan through inheritance, although, through the years, as he has aged and his nieces have married he has become more firmly established in his position.

Members of the Pushaina clan come to Panchito from the most remote places of the peninsula (both from Colombia and Venezuela), to seek his advice; to ask him to settle disputes among families within the clan; to tell him about injuries received by a clan member so he can establish the amount of compensation to be paid and exact payment from the offending clan; to fix the bride-price of a given girl member of the clan; to establish how much each male member must contribute in order to pay compensation due to another clan; and for many other minor details of clan organization and function. The writer was a guest at Panchito's home for two days and, during that period, Panchito received the visit of no less than 63 clan members, who, in all, brought about 25 or 30 different clan problems to be settled.

The story of José de la Rosa Fernandez, although different from that of Panchito Silva, represents a second method of acquiring status following the traditional law of the tribe. José de la Rosa Fernandez is also a full-blooded Indian, about 65 years old. He has had seven wives, but always one at the time, except now when he has two. One of them is an old woman with whom he lives most of the time, and just recently he married a very young girl (who remains living with her mother) whom he visits once or twice a week. Fernandez's position in the Uriana clan is very similar to that of Silva in the Pushaina. The writer was not able to hold private conversations with Fernandez and, consequently, exact data regarding his property are lacking. Although he did not inherit too much property nor the clan leadership as in Silva's case, he was fortunate to have many nieces whom he has managed to marry off very well and to get large bride-prices for them. Thus he began to accumulate property and at present he is probably the richest man in the

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Venezuelan Guajiro. As his wealth grew so did his prestige. About twenty years ago the then leader of the Uriana clan died leaving no heirs, as he had no brothers and no direct nephews. Guajiro tradition establishes that, if upon the death of a clan leader and wealthy man there are no close heirs, even though there be distant ones, a council of elders (informally chosen among the oldest and more respected men of the clan) will meet and select the individual who shall take over not only the leadership of the clan but the wealth of the deceased as well. These cases are very infrequent (actually the writer could only find, in the memory of the oldest men, two instances of a council of elders meeting to select a leader; one is the case mentioned in this article, and the other occurred among the Epieyú clan, in Colombia, about fifty or sixty years ago). Fernandez now confesses, quite candidly, that at the time of the meeting of the council of elders, he distributed a number of gifts among them, thus succeeding in having them select him as clan leader and heir to the wealth of the dead chief.

It is interesting to note—and it shows how much acculturation Guajiro culture has undergone with the assimilation of the cattle complex—that the true Guajiro term for leader or chief (which also means "old man") *alat'laa* is almost all but forgotten and practically never used, having been substituted by the word *ta'ala* a corruption of the Spanish word *toro* meaning BULL. (Stops are not glottal, but simple stoppage of the sound to be renewed with the coming vowel. Phonetic transcription have followed those given by Dr. Martha Hildebrand's work on the Guajiro language published by the Comisión Indigenista, Venezuela, in 1958).

The role of Fernandez as leader of the Uriana clan is an exact replica of Silva's. He acts as advisor, settles disputes, makes arrangements for the payments of torts, bride-prices, etc. His day is fully as busy as that of Silva and he attends to all these matters besides his personal affairs.

Here we have, then, the two traditional ways of acquiring status in Guajiro society that the present writer has been able to investigate; one through inheritance, as in the case of Panchito Silva; and the other, through selection by a council of elders, as in the case of José de la Rosa Fernandez. It is doubtful that

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there may be other traditional ways of acquiring status. The literature mentions none, although Ernst (1887), Jahn (1927), and Hernandez de Alba (1936) make detailed comments on the two traditional ways described here.

Incidentally, these two leaders are never called by their first names, not even by their closest relatives, and are referred to as Ti'ulito Silva and Ti'ulito Fernandez.

To illustrate the new way of acquiring status in Guajiro society it is best to describe quite fully how one individual, and as far as the writer knows, the only one, whom we shall name José Perez, has reached a certain status through employing none of the traditional methods. As guide and interpreter of the present writer during the recent field trip, José Perez was in constant personal contact with the author, who was able to obtain valuable first hand information and observe reactions to personal and intimate questions.

First let us give a brief biographical sketch of José Perez. Perez is now 46 years old. He was born in the village of Castilete, Venezuela, in the extreme north-eastern part of the Guajiro peninsula. His father (still living, now in the town of Paraguaipoa, Venezuela) has no trace of Indian blood and is considered in Paraguaipoa as pure white, while his mother (deceased) was a pure Indian belonging to the Uriana Clan. Perez's father took him, while still a child, to Maracaibo for schooling which included three years of high school. At that time Perez's father was quite influential in local politics in Maracaibo and was able to get the Governor of the State of Zulia interested in the youth. Perez was given a small position in the State's government, where he was employed for about ten years. During this period he married a local white girl with whom he had a child (now in his fifth year of medical college, State University of Zulia) and apparently had all but forgotten the Indian half of his heritage striving into the whites' ways of life.

Perez went into politics and was elected Prefect (an office similar to the County Sheriff in the United States) of the Paez district, Sinamaica, in the threshold of the Guajira, so to speak. He moved north to his district leaving his family in Maracaibo. This return to a semi-Indian district apparently had some influence in Perez's outlook for the future, for as soon as his term of

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office expired (in two years time) he sought and obtained a position in the Federal Ministry of Public Works in a project which was seeking the best places to drill water wells all over the Guajira peninsula. He held this job for about a year and half. He is now employed in the Guajira office, in Paraguaipoa, of the Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry and is "ad honorem" agent of the Comisión Indigenista in the Guajira. In these two jobs he gets paid only when he performs certain work, such as when he recently acted as guide and interpreter for the present writer.

During his term as Prefect of Puerto (Sinamaica) he married, according to the Guajira tradition and law, one of the daughters of To'ulito Fernandez, for whom he had to pay a very high price, as the girl was the daughter of an important chief. Following Guajira law the price for the bride was gathered among the members of the Uriana clan to which Perez belongs due to his mother's heritage. Incidentally, as Fernandez also belongs to the Uriana clan he had to contribute to the collection of the bride-price of his own daughter although, of course, the amount collected did not go to him but to the girl's maternal uncle. This was a typical exogamous marriage as the girl belongs to the Gouajaiyú clan, that being her mother's clan. At present, Perez keeps two households, one in Maracaibo with his white wife and son, whom he visits once or twice a week, if he is not doing any special work for the ministries; the other, in his native household at the Laguna del Pájaro, Guajira, where he remains most of his time. He has had no children with his Indian wife. His two simultaneous marriages have brought him no trouble with the law, as according to Guajira tradition polygamy is perfectly acceptable, and according to Venezuelan law he has only one legitimate wife.

It is interesting to note at this point that Perez denies having a white wife in Maracaibo, although he does not deny having the son and shows pride in saying that his son is in medical school. The present writer was not able to fathom the reasons behind this denial. Data regarding his Maracaibo marriage was obtained from Perez's father who was also unable to furnish good motives for the fact that Perez tries to hide that he has a household in that city. To top this point the writer, after the

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will go to have him fall in disgrace. Whether these accusations are true or false is not our concern in this article.

Summing up Pero's position in Guajiro society we find the following facts: Among the older and more influential men, Pero is not considered as one of them and their attitude towards him is not a respectful one. He on the contrary is quite respectful towards them. No one, however, among this group can be classified as his enemy, and they do seek him out for advice in their dealings with Government officials. Among his contemporaries he enjoys a very influential position and practically everyone seeks his friendship. His true friends are to be found, without question, among this group, and, as far as it could be investigated, he has no real enemies among them, although there may be a few who envy his position. The younger generations are clearly divided into two groups—one group which truly respects and looks up to him, and another which is composed of his bitter enemies.

From the many formal and informal conversations the present writer has had with Pero—at his home, while traveling, when visiting some one else, etc.—the following analysis may be made of his behavior and position. While in Maracaibo, Pero was became aware that he could attain no high status within a white culture where competition is always very keen. As Pedro of Gonzalez he clearly saw the possibilities of climbing up the ladder in Guajiro society and the first step he took towards that goal was to marry a full-blooded Indian girl from an important family, and to marry her in accordance with the traditional Guajiro law. There was very little chance for him to obtain the necessary wealth and to attain leadership status through property, but he saw the opportunity his semi-official position gave him to become the point of contact between the Guajiro and white cultures, culturating both and becoming an almost indispensable person in the dealings the true native had with the authorities. Whether his marriage to the Guajiro girl was purely for interest or whether there was any love involved is, of course, very difficult to say. As the writer made his headquarters in Pero's household at the Laguna del Pájaro, during his stay in the Guajiro, he was able to observe, at first hand, the relationship between Pero and his native wife. There were always

/64 cont./

have a serious stain placed on his prestige as a man in good financial standing and one who complies with Guajiro law. So they test, unconsciously perhaps, the feelings of the two groups who are seeking the alliance: trust on one side and solvency and good faith of the other. It is a test of friendship in which each side puts in evidence the wish of surpassing the other.

Also figured in the social valuation of a woman is her knowledge of the language as this means in Guajiro that she has palabra /literally, "word"/ (Cf. Caciques), that is to say, that she has a wide knowledge of the language and can use it adequately in delicate situations in which it is necessary to bring to bear every oratorical gift and know how to measure her words and the customary phrases in order to attain her end or to guide the discussion to a level where the facts will follow the legal line. A woman, when she has these qualities, may act as a mediator in a quarrel, and on the result favorable to the person she has represented will depend her personal aggrandizement, by which she acquires prestige and is called in to mediate in even more complicated matters, /65/ by this means increasing her personal position and that of her group and converting other clans into satellites, submissive to her will, in payment for benefits received, thus still further increasing her power which indirectly extends to her husband. This acquisition is a cause for vanity and pride in the husband.

From this talent of tener palabra /literally, "to have word"/ there emerges a series of sequences which build up the social aspect of a home. A woman who possesses that quality knows the Guajiro social protocol and can fully comply with it, thus avoiding conflicts with other groups; she also knows the legal system of the peninsula and by such knowledge can protect the interests of her family group, including her husband, as she will confine his conduct to that which is established, which eases the husband's life and his relationships with his feminine relatives. She makes possible the knitting together of these two disparate elements and creates the bond of union between the

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555 two; she increases the man's prestige because in carrying out her
531 duties as mistress of his house and representative of the home,
545 she knows by suitable attention (agreeable talk, preparation of food according to traditional custom, hospitality appropriate to the social standing of a guest, etc.) how to win everybody's appreciation, consideration, and respect.

Furthermore, as the maintenance of prestige rests partly on the wife, the knowledge of the psychic and legal life and customs of the society in which she lives enables her to act correctly and without errors. She will maintain due solemnity in carrying out the most important acts in life, as, for example: the seclusion of young women, marriage, illness, etc., so strengthening her status. She will also rule her family more correctly and constitute herself the guardian of tradition, which is so respected by the Guajiro and in which resides the strength of their culture.

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583 The price that the Guajiro man pays for his wife includes
636 several conditions among which is the assumed virginity as he will expect his wife to come to the marriage as such each time that marriage penetrates into his psychic life, and he will feel defrauded if she does not, so much more if the status of the bride is high and even more if she is his first wife.

The man takes into account various aspects of virginity: First, he finds a special attractiveness in the virgin woman for the satisfaction of deflowering her, which, apart from the sexual attractiveness, gives him in the future a reason for boasting and prestige, the halo of a fortunate man which /86/ fills him with pride and gives him a feeling of superiority. Second, and from the economic point of view, because he has paid the price asked, convinced that his wife is a property which belongs to him, wholly and exclusively. Third, because he thinks that if a woman has given herself to another man, secretly, it was because she was drawn to him by a great affection or because she is a

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857 162 [illegible] 551 iguarayas, and trupillo pods, as well as in gathering divi-divi, which is sold in the port towns for export; their labor is used for portering (women's work): they carry on their backs or shoulders the collected fruit, the firewood, and the water when the family does not own the necessary animals.

When ten or over the girl, taught by her elder kinswomen, starts to handle the spindle and loom, work in which she perfects herself during the seclusion of her initiation.

857 189 554 In general her occupations during childhood are affected by the economic and social position of her relatives, since a child of a well-to-do family will spend her childhood playing, without occupying herself with domestic chores except occasionally, since she is not considered as a small-sized adult as happens among poor families, but as a little girl, and she is treated as such. Certain light duties might be imposed but never a definite or clear-cut responsibility. She is expected to obey, mainly so that she recognize the authority of her elders, but when she enters the prepubertal age her mother and relatives start to take a more personal interest in her and to think it to be the opportune time to start training her in the duties pertaining to her position and her sex, teaching her all the household occupations that she will later improve on and become expert in during her seclusion, which will last longer the greater the wealth of the family.

264 592 Food, sleep, dress, and ornaments. Even before weaning, when this is delayed beyond the first year, or at times before, the child starts being fed adult food. By that time he asks his mother for food and she gives it to him, when he is small, more generously than she can at a later date; but later on he himself looks for it and, in order to satisfy his hunger, frequently steals food from his mother that she has put away, and this obliges the mother to hide it. (Cf. Punishment, Chap. II.)

The apportioning of food in a Goajiro household is done by the mother, who serves each one his share, starting with the husband, afterward the children, she being the last to eat. If she has a preference for a child, she shows it at this time by

/56 cont. /

881 184 556 The duration of the seclusion was longer in past years, longer than at the present time, and there still may be found cases among rich families where this period is extended to five years, but normally among poor families it may last only one month or even less, and in the middle-income group it averages six months to one year.

884 881 Once the family in conclave or the mother and the aunts decide to terminate the seclusion, the final feast is given, in which the girl appears and behaves as an adult. She is presented as such, and she is given the opportunity to occupy the place of, and to take part in the activities corresponding to a marriageable young girl. Frequently at this feast some interested guest may offer to buy her for his wife.

881 The news of the "coming out" of the young girl is rapidly spread throughout the peninsula. All the friends of the family arrive at the feast, as also the important people of the region, who have been invited beforehand, and, very specially, all the well-to-do marriageable men. If the woman is of estimable qualities and talents, /57/ those who are looking for a wife for the first time attend. The family preparations for such a feast are very complete, according to their status. There is an abundance of drinks for all, men and women, music for dancing, horse racing when they want to give more splendor to the gathering, and slaughtering of animals. The maternal relatives make their donations and meet to help their relatives in the fulfillment of the customary norms of hospitality. The more important visitors are received in the house itself and given preferential attention, according to their standing. The [308] girl is bathed for the last time at dawn with the traditional earthen jugs of water, and her hair is cut in the fashion, that is to say, leaving it a short, disheveled mop. This is done by an experienced woman of eminence who can transmit her excellent personal qualities to the girl. The latter carefully keeps her hair in her bag with her intimate personal possessions and later places it under fresh cow dung with the hope that she

/83 cont./

583 Generally, the girl's family is advised by the suitor's relatives that they will come to buy her. The man, on his part, has requested his most influential maternal uncle, or one who is considered a "cacique," to go in company with his mother and other friends to arrange the purchase of the girl of his choice. They arrive dressed in their best and receive the most generous hospitality from the girl's relatives. They hand over as a sign of the engagement the so-called "prendas /"ornaments"/," which [301] are necklaces of gold set with tuma stones (1), the value and

1. A mineral quartz used as a precious stone.

number of which depend on the economic strength of the suitor, going all the way up to ten in persons of the highest standing, especially when the man is acquiring his first wife, who as we have seen is the principal one.

If the girl's relatives see that the marriage is an advantageous one, they accept the gifts. If they do not accept them, this [578] indicates a definite refusal and rarely occurs, since it implies contempt which could give rise to serious differences between the groups concerned. Once the necklaces are handed over, the spokesman for the bridegroom offers to buy the girl, and the girl's maternal relative of most authority replies, fixing the price, [554] which generally is equal to that paid by the girl's father for her mother; often they get a higher price, which increases their prestige. They argue for a short time until they arrive at an arrangement between them as to the price and the basis of payment. Then the young man's relatives leave to tell him of the arrangement made, which he respects and accepts without making any kind of objection, and he gets ready to pay the payment agreed upon in order to obtain his wife. /84/.

556 583 Payment in cows. The number of heads of livestock that a man has shows his economic position and through this his status in the family group and in the whole community, because stock

/84 cont./

556 raising is the basic occupation of the Guajiro wherever the soil
583 permits of agriculture during certain times of the year. The worth of a woman is similarly determined. She aspires to be paid for in cows, which show that her physical, spiritual, and social qualities are being adequately paid for, that her traditional rank and the power of her kin is justly valued, that the education that she has received at puberty is appreciated, that her standing as a married woman is going to be maintained adequately, and that her children will have an identical valuation, which means that her social status will be improved.

The Guajiro woman is so eager to be paid for in cows that the lower-class women (we do not know if the higher class do also) resort to an act of magic to help achieve this and, an act consisting of burying their hair when they cut it under cow dung.

583 Ways of paying. Paying for the woman entails the right to take her as a wife and can be effected in the following ways: When the man is rich, he hands over the purchase price in one payment, a sign of personal prestige which indicates his own economic capacity and that of his group, who do not need to make a large payment in installments. This makes the bride's relatives very proud because it shows they have made an alliance with a group of power and prestige.

But the most commonly used system allows two payments: the first, on a day agreed upon before the marriage, and the other, some time later. The first payment, as we have seen, confers the right of matrimony. On the due date the livestock arrive, driven by the servants of the bridegroom's maternal family and accompanied by the uncles who arranged the purchase of the woman. These make a ceremonious handing over of the livestock in order to put their payment on record. Then it is the turn of the bride's maternal relatives to comply with all the duties of hospitality, the warmth of which is in direct relation to the size of the payment and, above all, to their standing. If the bridegroom's relatives arrive early with the livestock, the arigrash (the eldest man of the family) orders a small bull killed

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844 wrapped in clothes either specially prepared for the event or improvised. The umbilical cord has already been tied by the midwife, and in the cases of unaided childbirth the mother does this herself, even cutting it with a splinter of wood and tying it as best she can with a vegetable fiber.

164 844 The midwife or the mother takes the afterbirth out of the house and throws it some distance away (a custom of Upper La Guajira) so that it shall be lost. They believe that if they bury it the newborn baby will have bad luck, will sicken and slowly die practically by wasting away. Nevertheless, there are regions, as in Urihia, where the custom prevails of burying it outside the house; in other parts, as in Jarara, the usual way is to put it under a fireplace /fogón/, which is then lit to give strength to the child and ward off infantile sickness.

845 When the delivery shows signs of complications or is abnormally delayed, the male consanguineous relatives in the house are asked to help by lifting up the woman by her armpits during the spasms of labor pains and by this means accelerate the process. Her husband may help at these moments, but at the present time children, youths, and virgins are not allowed to be present, although there are regions, such as Jarara, where the woman gives birth in a passageway or under the enramada /bough-covered shelter/, in full view of everyone, even her small children. There is no concern at all over this matter; childbirth is considered a normal phenomenon and unmarried women may also be present. /132/

[55] Rich and powerful women go to Maracaibo to have their children when their previous births have been difficult, as there they have clinics and doctors at their disposal.

844 Midwives. The midwife is a woman, usually married, who has lived her own professional experiences and has had further experience among her consanguineous relatives. Practice, inborn ability, and empirical knowledge of the phenomenon give these women a certain technique which makes them so famous that their services are greatly in demand. Some of them also know what care and attention the pregnant woman should receive as regards

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84 diet and the magic preventatives required for a healthy baby and an easy delivery; they also often have a knowledge of the properties of certain herbs of which they make frequent use in the exercise of their profession, as well as the magic requisites necessary to counteract the ill-effects of the violation of taboo taboo during the period of pregnancy, a transgression which may cause abnormally long labor.

For this reason their services are very efficient and highly valued by the community; on their experience and the success of the cases they handle during their career depend their reputation, their popularity, and the fee they receive.

[56] The midwife's position is an honorable one. Hers is not an occupation that can be looked down on; although it is not practiced by women of high class, it does give those who exercise it a certain elevation in their familial and general status.

Prior to the birth an arrangement is made regarding the services of the midwife. She is paid according to the economic capacity of the future mother, adding something more to the agreed-on fee when the delivery happens to be extremely prolonged and difficult, that is, when it requires greater effort and assistance than the normal case. The usual payment includes a length of material for a robe (ten yards) of the color and quality requested by the midwife; several bottles of rum (five or more), some ornament, etc. The midwife's request is not always the same but varies in accordance with her personal needs at the time. Also she must be well fed all the time that her presence is necessary in the home of the mother.

84 Postnatal regimen. Guajiro mothers follow a special regimen
55 which is in accordance with their social position. Those of strong clan groups who have at their disposal a large number of women servants and slaves can enjoy /133/ the luxury of remaining undisturbed without being bothered by any domestic duties, aided by their maternal kinswomen or those who replace them in caring for them. Guajiro women say that when the first child is born it is customary for the mother to remain in bed and out of the sunlight

/139 cont./

for one month, taking light food such as thin mazamorros with milk, cajana /chicha made of sour milk/, etc.; to be bathed with hot water at daybreak by her kinswomen or by the midwife, who also take charge of the newborn child and of all domestic activities. As the first delivery takes place in the home of her uterine kinswomen, these activities naturally are reduced to a minimum. When the second child arrives, if the delivery has been easy, the period of care is shortened, and in the following deliveries the rest period is restricted to what her domestic duties will permit, so then she gives birth in her own home and in many cases alone.

Among the poorer classes, in which the woman carries the burden of all the domestic chores, such as attending to her husband and carrying out economically lucrative crafts in addition to agricultural work and collecting, etc., the /special/ regimen followed by the mother becomes very attenuated. Her activity is not really interrupted except while she is giving birth and from that moment her normal life continues. In the hamlets on the outskirts of Uribia, we had the opportunity to visit two women who had just given birth. The births had taken place in an enramada /bough-covered shelter/, and afterward with the newborn babies in their arms, the mothers went about their ordinary household duties. They did not even protect themselves from the burning rays of the sun, as one of them was out in the open just at midday, cooking trupillo pods to eat and going about her other domestic work. In reply to our remarks on this behavior, she said that she did not feel in the least indisposed and she was not accustomed to follow any special regimen at all. We got the same reply from the other Guajiro mother, who said that she had gone on with her normal activities the same afternoon that she had had her child. One woman was from Jarara and the other from upper La Guajira.

/156 cont./

764 fixed in her ears suspended in a chain, starting with those of her greatest preference; all her necklaces, bracelets, anklets, and rings must be placed on the corresponding part of her body. If the deceased is a man, they also put on his jewelry, as his spirit
764 will need them in the other life to maintain his status beyond the grave. If he belonged to the rich class, he is shrouded in the
554 following manner: First, they cover his head with a special cloth woven by his wives; the bottom of the cloth covers his face, and the ends are fixed behind his head. Over this is placed a second cloth which reaches down to the belt and pins the arms laterally along the body. A third cloth covers the legs, and a fourth may be added to wrap the whole body, but the use of this latter has been gradually disappearing. Thus enshrouded, he is put in the enramada /bough-covered shelter/ within the coffin
[177] -- modern custom -- or enveloped in a still fresh hide and placed in a hammock. Then the lamentations begin.

The custom exists of sending to all the absent consanguineous
764 relatives, the most intimate friends, and in general all acquaintances, word of the death or of the patient's being near death, as the illness is made known from the first moment, especially
[202 554] to close relatives. If they are important people, runners are sent as soon as the sick man worsens, so that at the time of his death, the house is already full of people. As those who arrive to show their sympathy are so many and they appreciate how impossible it is for the master and mistress of the house to offer them all adequate hospitality, the visitors arrive with their hammocks, water in large pitchers, food, etc., which they bring on their burros.

The messenger sent with the news, especially when he
764 carries it to a consanguineous relative of the deceased, knows
55 that he must not pronounce the dead man's name, as this would
[202] gravely offend his relatives. For that reason he usually says: "That relative of yours who lived in such-and-such a place, who did such-and-such an important thing, has died." Furthermore, none of those attending /the funeral ceremonies/ will pronounce

[21cont.]

755 When the patient shows signs of improving, a fiesta is or-
796 ganized consisting of chicha-maya dances and feasting. For this
event they prepare in advance all that will be offered to the
participants; chicha made from chewed corn, plain or sweetened
with panela according to the economic situation of the sick man's
[534] family. The dance lasts one or more days and nights, as ordered
by the shaman, the only musical instrument used being the drum.
In order to end the fiesta, two or three steers and several goats
and sheep are killed if the hosts are rich. At four or five o'clock
in the morning, according to the shaman's wishes, the sick per-
[515] son is taken from his bed, and the curer himself bathes him with
soap and water, after which he is again carried indoors and is
permitted to stay up, but not to leave his dwelling. Slowly he
resumes normal living and the everyday diet. If the patient
should have a relapse, [22] the treatment is repeated. The
process of these cures may last up to two months, according to
the patient's condition.

No one is actually invited to the fiesta which is organized
[534] by order of the shaman when he has succeeded in curing a
patient. When people find out that such a fiesta is about to be
given from the characteristic beating of the drum, they ap-
proach without being invited and take part, joining in dancing
[273] the chich-amaya. The women are offered a bowl of chicha made
from chewed corn to take to their homes to drink there with their
families. Men are given rum or chicha. The women wear with
291 great pride their long ample robes, which cover them to the
755 ankles, their waireñas, or leather sandals with toe pieces made
796 of knitted wool and adorned with large tassels of the same ma-
556 terial, and a pañuelo around their heads, the corners of which
hang down their backs. If they are wealthy enough, they com-
plete their personal adornment with anklets and bracelets of
coral and necklaces of gold or tuma. The men also wear their
finest robes, which, hanging from one of their shoulders, cover
the upper part of their bodies. This is complemented by a
wide sash used to support the loincloth [guayuco], wider than
755 the one commonly used, that is, than that used in their daily
796 work. If animals are sacrificed — which depends on the wealth

[43 cont.]

755 of the same – the bone which is left to dry and then cooked –
764 which also participates in its power, because in the primitive
778 mentality the part is accepted as the whole, or at least shares in the power of the whole, even at a distance.

556 Another meaning that the sacrifice of animals has is that
936 related to the status of the individual in his other life. One of
937 the points of reference of status in La Guajira is wealth, which is nearly always equivalent to the possession of a larger or lesser number of heads of livestock. Livestock represents, in certain aspects, Guajiro currency, since interchanges, blood payments, etc., are always based on a definite number of heads of livestock, besides of course necklaces of tuma, gold, etc.

556 Naturally, if an individual occupies a certain social posi-
764 tion in life, it is logical that when he goes to the other life, to
775 the world of the dead, he occupies an identical position or tries to better the one he had in life. This, then, is one of the reasons why certain of his possessions are placed near or in his tomb, and to complete his "equipment" for the next world, a number of animals are sacrificed, the higher his position in society the greater the number, so that these may give him the desired social position in the world of the spirits.

764 The association, then, is easy to establish: If the individ-
775 ual in dying passes to a new life similar to the one he led on
825 earth, then the animal, a living being with a soul like the man, on dying must also pass on to occupy a place in the other world. This, of course, is only our own supposition. But we find no other explanation of the Guajiro statement that the animals should be sacrificed so that they can accompany their owner to the other world and give him an advantageous position among the other spirits.

764 The sacrifice implies above all an act of magic. The fact
784 that the dead man's close relatives must not eat the meat of the
778 sacrificed animals, because it would be like eating the flesh of their relative himself, establishes the relation between the owner and his property in the sense that the latter shares his personality. And as the dead man is sacred, or at least taboo, that is, sacred in the sense of being untouchable, so also are the things that he owned; the animals – which are [44] to accompany

[96 cont.]
§32 witchcraft have "whispered" over them, that is, when they repeat over them a series of magic incantations which have the object of giving them the power to make a man, or men, love the owner [97] as she may desire, and especially her husband when it is the case of a married woman.

We have seen in previous paragraphs how the hair of a pubescent girl serves as a base for men to make magic charms which can be used against the girl. But the hair of such girls in different circumstances serves to attract men in general and causes a woman to be looked on with such deference by a man that he buys her to take as a wife at a good price. For this reason the young Guajiro woman, especially those of the Sierra de Jacura, keep their hair when it is cut. At times to make the action more effective and to obtain better and quicker results, they place it under a patch of cow dung. The association of their hair with cow dung is founded on a socio-economic phenomenon which we might briefly clarify.

§36 302 §37

We have seen repeatedly that wealth in La Guajira is calculated by the number of heads of livestock that an individual owns; and it can be observed how a wife in their social organization is obtained by purchase. When the buyer is a rich man he pays in heads of cattle or horses; when poor, in goats and sheep. Hence it is clear every woman aspires to be paid for in cows and in a greater number than those paid for other women, as this establishes an advance in her social status. This is the reason why she buries her hair under cow dung and not that of any other animal. She has made a very primitive association but one that speaks for itself. It would appear that the magic attraction is brought about by the dung, and the results desired are increased if this is from the cow, the animal of most value in La Guajira.

§56 583 §32 §37

In any case, young women are most careful about leaving their cut hair about where it could be picked up by another person, and for this reason they guard it all their lives, giving it in this way a sacred quality. This characteristic which we have called sacred stems from the magic connection established by the primitive between a person and the different parts of his body, to

§36

[103 cont.]

prayer and special arm of magic with which the charm is endowed by its maker to give it its magic power.

Charms to obtain respect, prestige, and affection. These charms, which are for male use exclusively, are much sought after by the local caciques and by the arbitrators in claims between two enemy groups. The popular native belief [103] assigns the possession of this type of charm to such men as have great influence over them, that is, their natural headmen or direct superiors, and they are convinced that the greater the personal influence or power of such a headman, so much greater is the magic power of the charm he possesses. Hence the efforts of every influential Indian to obtain a charm superior in such qualities to any that may be in the possession of his rivals.

The possession of one of these charms inspires respect in others who would never dare to conspire against its holder's life or character because the charm would protect him and would cause grave danger to the offender. It must be remembered that the possession of this amulet implies a condition of considerable wealth as it is only obtainable at a very high price, a fact which definitively influences [the degree of] fear and respect due its owner, owing to the established social custom of relating the social status of an individual with his degree of wealth.

When the native owner of this magic charm has to leave home in connection with some difficult mission such as, for example, taking part in the negotiation of compensation payment or settling a payment between two groups who have become enemies for some reason or other, or when he has to mix with a considerable number of natives among whom he wishes to assure his personal prestige, or when he hopes to overcome some difficult situation, he locks himself in his room hidden from all outside onlookers, gets his charm, uncovers it, and, looking fixedly at it for a moment, he then lifts it momentarily in his hand and vehemently wishes that all the magic power of the charm will inspire and defend him in the adventure he is about to undertake. He then replaces the charm and starts on the diet indicated for the charm to have its effect. He should not eat roast meat or roasted corn for a period of three days, or bathe, for should he do so he will become mad.

[129 cont.]

526 this moment the owner of the goats arrives to look over his flock,
535 and he states in his song that none of his animals are missing,
786 they are fat because pasture is fresh and abundant, and he an-
831 nounces that he is about to mark them. He starts by taking out
each female goat one by one and pretends to cut its ear, which
[432] is the way to mark such animals. He keeps up his song, referring
to what he is doing. "I have many goats and now I shall lack
neither meat nor milk; I am rich...."

e) We would add to the above the fact that Indian girls of
[554] the wealthy class do not take part in these gatherings, or they
786 do so on very rare occasions, as their prestige [130] would
786 diminish seriously in consequence of the opinion held of the fiesta
that only those girls go to it who want to get a husband readily
or to satisfy their sexual urges. Besides, it is the obligation of
each man to flirt with or treat with familiarity the girl who be-
comes his partner in the dance, and her obligation is to supply
him during the dance with roasted corn, bread, meat, chicha, etc.

Summarizing up to this point, we can state that the
Dance of the Kid is a festival in which the Guajiro Indians seek
to propitiate the rains at the same time that it celebrates their
arrival and fecundity: fecundity in fruits; fecundity in animals,
as dramatized in the ceremonies just described; and fecundity
among men, in human beings, who are free from the restrictions
which are imposed on them by the community in ordinary daily
life to maintain social order.

• • •

536 Theatrical representations. "Drama is particularly difficult
to classify because so often it gets mixed up with religion.... On
the other hand, dramatic scenes can be executed for collective
entertainment or as farces with no special pretentions, as for ex-
ample in a Tahitian pantomime which represents the theft of a
basket of food from a sleeping servant; although it can occur, on
occasion, that these simple and uncertain experiments develop
into real dramas." (65)

65. Lowie. Antropología Cultural [Cul-
tural Anthropology], XI, 194-195.

[156 cont.]

55V 3. The individual. Another interesting social aspect re-
55b lated to magic is in connection with the status derived from
781 wealth, expressed by the greater or lesser number of heads of stock owned by an individual. But apart from this strictly material aspect, magic has powers which when put into action assist the individual to acquire a coveted position or to improve one he already has, as is done, for example, in the cultural aspect of language, the mastery of which with the use of fine turns of speech can give to the speaker the highly esteemed and prestigeful position of arbitrator, or intermediary, in their interclan struggles, a position that is often confused with that of chief.

Within this field of magic activity we can cite as examples the following:

a) The sacrifice of animals, which not only gives prestige to the living but also establishes the status of the deceased in his life beyond the tomb.

b) The use of diverse charms such as those for love, for making one rich, for obtaining respect, prestige, and affection, etc.

c) The custom of an individual eating the leavings of food of individuals of special physical characteristics, especially those having qualities superior to his own, as for example, a white skin, a beard, etc., with the end of becoming more outstanding and improving his status.

d) As an indirect form of elevating status, we have the case of the Indian Kurfra-Páta, who swallowed a charm and took a slave girl for wife in order to heal the wounds he received from the Kusina Indians. [157] The slave, because of a dream, passed to the category of wife, thus ascending the social scale.

• • •

121 A great part of the Guajiro's personality is molded by this
971 institution of his culture, and many of his reactions would be
781 inexplicable without previous knowledge of the process of magic, the fields of its functioning, the ways of life it has created, the

4: Petrullo E-5 (1938) 1937
SC13 Guajiro SC13

the men speak some Spanish in addition to their native 105
language. Some of them know how to read and write. They [253]
are almost entirely pastoral, possessing great herds of horses, asses, sheep, goats, and cattle. They have borrowed a great deal from the Europeans but they have also kept their own culture to a remarkable degree. As usual, native elements are most strongly present in the non-material phases of culture. Unfortunately they are not united or organized into a modern state, though against all foreigners they stand together as a unit. Authority is acquired by certain caciques through their [559]
wealth and membership in the 'casta,' the major social group- 619
ing in Guajiro society. Each casta claims a mythological 631
origin and holds sovereignty over a well-defined territory. Many of these castas or social groupings are further subdivided. Each casta has its caciques whose function is chiefly to settle disputes and whose position is inherited, matrilineally. The oldest of them is allowed more authority, but generally it is the wealthiest man, and the one who can marshal more [559]
retainers, armed with rifles and revolvers, who is listened to with greater respect. There are further divisions in Guajiro society. At the top are the caciques and their families who are 585
rich and powerful. The next group is composed of peons or retainers in the service of the upper stratum, and at the bottom are the 'slaves' who have been born in that condition or have [567]
been enslaved following an offense to some powerful group, and who can even be let out to work for planters in the sugar fields of Zulia. The life of the poor people has not changed much since early times. Polygamy is widely practised, as is also 595
concubinage, by the wealthier men. Each wife lives in her own rancho and there awaits the occasional visit of her husband. The children inherit property and social affiliations [611]
through the mother. Disputes that arise within a casta are settled by arbiters chosen by the families of the litigants. [627]
Disputes inter-casta may be settled by arbitration if violence is not desirable. Generally the killing of an individual gives [628]
rise to armed action with an eventual composition by payment.

My informants attempted to demonstrate the difference be- 671

Sc Simmons K-S (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Guajira SC13

bank I could only reach 1700 feet, the limit of the Indian gardens, where plantains, wangey, cotton, corn, sugar-cane, &c., were growing; also a rivulet with running water. The ground about here is well cultivated, supplying most of the Guajira with grain food. Many small low ranges of Indians dedicated to agriculture live here; they are all poor, as agriculture is not considered wealth among the Indians.

The second or central range, which for want of a better name I shall call Paraski Hills, are entirely separated from the Macuira range by a plain some nine miles broad. This plain gradually rising from both ends, reaches 600 feet towards the centre. These hills rise at Bahia Honda almost from the margin of the bay, and stretch as a narrow belt right across the peninsula. Formed of ridges of low hills seldom exceeding 1500 feet, covered with a scanty wood of brazilletto, dividivi, cacti, and other prickly bushes, intersected by valleys, one mass of prickly pear, they present a desolate forbidding appearance two-thirds of the year, yielding, however, during the short rainy season abundant pasture. In this range, as with the former, there are two prominent peaks. The northerly one, a conspicuous object from Portete and Bahia Honda, is called Ereen. I ascended it with much difficulty, and found the height to be 1000 feet. Sierra Ipapa, marked on some maps, is probably Ereen.

Some 15 miles south of Ereen, Guajerapa rises well out of its surroundings. This, the highest point of the range, does not exceed 2200 feet, and must be the Cerro Antilo of the Spaniards, supposed to be the highest peak in the Guajira, but it is seen that Macuira dominates it by at least 400 feet. A portion of this range is also called Cerro de Jolluerero from a vendo at the foot of Guajerapa. Between the highest peaks and towards the south is the extensive plain of Ataipa. We now come to the third or Cojero range, separated by a rather tortuous valley, varying much in breadth, about six miles at the narrowest place. These hills are more extensive than either of the two first, and show many peculiarities, being flanked on all sides by numerous isolated knife-like ridges, some running parallel to each other with broad valleys between, while others are complete segments of circles. Towards the Maracaybo shore are several large mountain masses. The highest, Yaripiche, is a wonderful mass of ignoous rock some 2000 feet in height. Close by, another mountain, Aripana, plays a prominent part in the landscape. All these hills, like Paraski, are destitute of vegetation, many so steep that the bare rock and stone-slides put all idea of growth out of the question, and with their weird shapes, immense boulders, and caves, form a fitting retreat to the Cocinas or Rubber Indians. The celebrated Tota Guajira may be considered as belonging to this range, for although entirely isolated and some nine miles distant, it is indirectly attached by two small separate hills. The Tota is certainly one of the most beautiful sights in the Guajira, and

9: Simmons K-9 (ca. 1882) 1885
BC13 Gaujiro BC13

[53] [illegible] anything being landed. The Colombian Government
[54] started a guard-house at the entrance of this bay last year, but I am afraid it will have to be abandoned as untenable. Puerto Barrolo makes a very bad port, the small trading schooners having to lie to anchor the broadside. This is the last unexplored Colombian port, at least pending the arbitration question. The next good port is the Lagoon de Tumaco, in the Gulf of Mosquito. This place is much frequented by Tumacoboes, and a trade has sprung up that if not checked will ruin the already decaying commerce of Rio Dulce. The last port on the coast is that of Urjiara, and spoken of as the future port of Mosquito, with which it would have to be connected by rail, an engineering feat of not much difficulty. The coastwise or bay of Colombia has an inaccessible, heavy, surf-beaten coast.

The peninsula is inhabited by only one tribe of Indians. These are subdivided into many families or castes, bearing much analogy to the ancient "clans" of Scotland. Each caste or rather family clinks is united against all outsiders, taking up the quarrel of any one of its members to make it general. The Guajiros are strictly conservative and aristocratic
[556] in their ideas, wealth and interest are considerated. A poor man may be
[578] benefited with hospitality, where the same to a rich man would cause certain bloodshed. They have no verifiable rulers, but each community
[622] recognizes the wealthiest of its members as the chief or cacique, as he has been dubbed by the Spaniards, and look to him for protection. An Indian here poor, cannot become wealthy and great. Whatever lands he may accumulate, his lowable origin would never be forgotten; he could, however, marry into a high caste family, having the means, and
[567] his children would become, through their mother's relations, great chiefs.
[64] Besides the castes, each caste or family represents some animal, and many of the minor castes, over and above their own symbol, adopt another of more more powerful denomination, to enjoy the privilege of a good protector. There are at present, altogether, some thirty odd castes among the Guajiros. Of these I was able to discover the names of twenty-two. The remainder are insignificant, little known castes, chiefly inhabiting the hills. There are about ten of importance, chief among them the "Uriarcas." This, the largest caste in the Guajiro, has subdivided or split up into many combinations, such as Uriarcas tiger, Uriarcas rabbit, Uriarcas pachacate (a long, hairy), Uriarcas gaster (lizard). This family is at present not only by far the most numerous, but also the richest; due to its connection by marriage with the Pushaines, formerly the wealthiest of the land. The Pushaines are today still
[558] great holders of horses and ornaments, but with the Indian, only cattle, mules, and horses are real estate. The Uriarcas on receiving the horses, sold out for cattle. The second in numbers are the Epiayras, as a rule they are poor. Under their protection are the Sarrocas, again under these the small caste of the Gorgorotyras. A full list will be given

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajira SC13

whom to exercise his begging propensities. To mention the dead before the relatives is a dreadful offence, often punished by death; for if it happens in the dead person's remains, with nephew or uncle present, they will assuredly kill the offender on the spot if possible. If not on the spot of the moment, it resolves itself into a heavy fine, usually two or more cows. Even if none of the dead person's relatives are present, any friend can carry the news to the relatives, and compensation is at once required. When not given it is forcibly taken, probably resented, and the two castes are at war. It is not wise to mention names of any sort in the Goajira in mixed company. 551 628 689

Another peculiar case: if a child dies in the custody of the mother or father, and they are living separate at the time of its death, then tear-money has to be paid by the one, under whose care the child died, to the other. This is "Taguira sushirua tashin," "My tears on account of my child." To demand payment for debts, ashoake, is one thing, and to demand compensation, uraupa, is another. They are generally pretty punctual in paying debts; should the debtor die, the creditor is sworn, for the relatives will suffer anything rather than allow the name of their dead to be abused. The following case of murder I witnessed in Atalpa. Some Pushaiuse drinking, one got on to a strange horse, and was colared off by the owner, on not complying he was shot dead. Both parties being poor and near relations, it was arranged as follows: First payment, eight sheep, two cows, one horse, two necklaces of cornelian beads, two sirapes of black beads (about 16 lbs.). Six months afterwards, second payment, similar to first. A few months after a third payment is asked, but is more an extra than anything else. After second payment all animosity ceases, and the two families can look again at each other on meeting. Should an Indian in attempting to kill another be wounded or killed, his family demand the same as though no attempt were made. 672 682 [426] [426] [628]

Among domestic customs, the one that calls most attention is shutting up their young girls on arriving at womanhood. The custom is religiously carried out throughout the country. Each girl is confined in a separate little hut by herself. She is stripped of all her ornaments, even to her beads and sirapes, and all her clothing with the exception of the long loose cotton gown, nor is she allowed to cut her hair. For the first couple of days, drinking water is denied her, the only food being kaquapa, a composition of medicinal herbs. According to birth, a rigorous diet is observed the first month, no meat being allowed. She can be freely mentioned and is merely alluded to by her relations as "surtiso sura pauru," "she is shut up in her house." The term of retirement varies according to the wealth and rank of her family. Poor people cannot afford to keep girls idle more than a couple of weeks or a month; whereas the rich confine them for one, two, or even four years. It is while in this state that she learns all women's requirements— 881 [278] [262] [556] [368]

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1949) 1941
SC13 Goajiro SC13

Reciprocal Relations of Maternal Uncle and Nephew

604 The general attitude of the maternal uncle toward his nephew is one of giving; and that of the nephew, one of receiving.

428 Let us first deal with inheritance. Theoretically, the rule
604 is that the maternal uncle must leave all of his property, both
183 personal and in the form of cattle, to his oldest sister's oldest son.
431 All his other nephews,—other sons of the same sister or sons of other sisters,—are left out of the inheritance. This is the rule. However, in practice it seldom works, as the maternal uncle during his life continues to transfer his property in the form of gifts to his own male children, so that at the time of his death there is nothing, or very little, left of his property to be inherited by his nephew, unless the uncle is a very rich man. Only among the wealthy class has the uncle always something left to bequeath to his nephew. For this he does not need a will as it falls within the prescribed rule mentioned above. The following cases are illustrative.

428 Ilaro is the oldest son of a man named Rafael living at Uribia,
431 and, like his mother, belongs to the Arpushana sib. Ilaro's
604 mother is the elder of the two sisters of Calleja, who in turn is the oldest of five siblings,—two sisters and three brothers. Thus Ilaro, his mother, and his uncle Calleja are all seniors. Calleja is not looked upon as a rich man, although he is well
[556] fixed and belongs to the middle class. Ilaro, however, does not expect much, if any, inheritance from his uncle and is aware
[234] that the latter has been transferring most of his cattle,—the most valuable possession in Guajiro eyes,—in the form of gifts to his own sons. The writer visited Ilaro's uncle who lives
[422] nearby and saw the cattle already branded with his son's personal brand. Ilaro is not at all concerned about the property of his other uncles as their property will pass automatically to their own children.

This next case illustrates a different situation. Pacheco is a very rich man who lives in Carraipia. He has a nephew,—the senior maternal nephew,—who lives there also. Pacheco has a son of his own and the present writer observed that some of Pacheco's cattle have already been branded for his son, but

7:Belinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

115 And her eyes shone at the recollection of the now for-
685 bidden pleasures of her girlhood.

When I went on trips in the surrounding country I
124 usually had Francisco with me and often my wife. Anita had then to be ready to feed us when we came home, whether it were the same day, or the next, or three days later. In such things Indian women have patience. They know how to wait, and they are never surprised.

We began our exploration of the brown hills and green
124 valleys of Macuira with a long trip on foot. Laboriously
556 we waded through the fine sand. This is almost firm when it is damp, but it was then the dry season and the sand was loose. We were going to visit relatives of Francisco, simple people, but not actually poor. To us who had already had a certain amount to do with Indians, it was a surprise to find ourselves dealing in such categories as 'rich', 'poor', 'well-to-do', etc., just as though we were concerned with white people. Among all other Indians the difference in economic status between individuals had been relatively insignificant, as, presumably, it had been among the Guajiro before they took to herding cattle.

133 The Indians we were to visit lived in a beautiful place, just on the fringe of a watered valley between purple brown heights, with the peak of Ituhor dominating the landscape. The valley was like a green Bengal fire against its parched
342 background. There were two huts, built of cactus wood and with roofs of the same material. They were saddle-backed and linked by a wall, which acted as a shield against the wind, that there always blows in the same direction. In front of this wall, that is between the two houses, were the
[40] fires. Round about were shelves covered with grass and erected on four poles. The Creoles call these *trojas*. You can sit under them and be out of the sun, and cooking utensils and stores can be kept on them out of reach of animals.
[352] Here and there were hammocks stretched between poles stuck in the ground, and there were other poles used in the all but daily butchering of a goat or sheep. Round these there were dark patches on the ground.

123 Having Francisco with us we were naturally well re-
352

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those we had left, but just as simple. Inside were hammocks slung this way and that. Along the walls were carrying-nets filled with things, and earthenware vessels lay scattered about the floor of hard-trodden sand. Some of these vessels were grey, others reddish-brown, some had necks and handles. One was an obvious imitation of a Dutch liqueur jar. It was not far to Puerto Estrella, to which schooners from the Dutch islands came.

Most of the earthenware vessels had red decoration. Some, with wavering lines, were obviously the work of the oldest of the women, who was frail and almost blind; but there was no fault in the shape of the vessel. The woven cloths were hung up in a special shelter. The warp hung vertical and ran like an endless belt over an upper and a lower pole. Several related tribes, members of the Aruak family, use the same method. When the cloth is finished, it forms a ring, and is then cut up.

They were working on a man's belt or sash. The everyday belt was only a couple of inches wide, but sashes intended for more solemn occasions were some eighteen inches broad and very colourful. They used red, yellow, black and white yarn and the pattern was most interesting. Ceremonial cloaks are also woven for the men, just as colourful as the sashes, but, to my sorrow, I was never able to acquire a really fine specimen. They were simply too expensive. The rich chiefs collected them, but custom decreed that they must be wrapped in all their cloaks when they died, which meant that none were inherited. The men's everyday cloaks I have already described; they pulled them on and then twisted them so that their chest was bared. The women's dress was considerably more Spartan: it was a wide tunic, made like a sack with holes for the head and arms, and dyed black with divi-divi or brown with stuff from some other plant. Their loin-cloth only became visible when they were working in the shade or indoors and removed their tunics. It too was black or undyed. They themselves thought that there was no call to use a nice patterned cloth for underclothes. Little girls often had patterned loin-cloths, but then they did not wear tunics

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until they reached marriageable age. Even when they were 291
little they wore belts of seed pearls which were added to
with the years, and other strings of beads were put round [301]
their shoulders and across their chests. A girl of eight or
ten might carry fifteen or twenty pounds weight of beads
and pearls. The string round the waist was made of black
beads, but those on the upper part of the body had to be of
different colours.

The rich used gold and coral. Necklaces of gold beads 301
were traditional, but every other bead had to be black and [556]
be either a seed-pearl or of glass. Poor girls used plaits of
cotton threads on their torsos instead of strings of beads.
All who could, wore sandals with pompoms to protect [271]
their feet against the thorns on the ground.

Women slaves and slave-workers were often not given 291
protective tunics by their masters and therefore went about 567
perpetually half-naked. Being unable to protect themselves
from the sun, they become darker skinned than the others.

The women's dress was thus colourless—unless they had 302
bought some coloured cloth from a white trader. To make
up for this, they painted their faces with patterns, mostly [386]
using the violet dye of a fruit called *genipa*. The men
painted themselves too, but restricted this to a few lines.
Only the women took real pains about painting themselves.
It was mainly their faces they painted, but on occasion their
arms and legs could also be covered with patterns. When on
a journey, the women painted their noses and cheeks all
over with black or red paint. This was not done for the [751]
sake of appearance, but to protect themselves against sun-
burn. We tried the method ourselves and found it excellent.
If one did not follow the Indians' example there, one easily
got badly burned. The Indians regard this protective effect [789]
as supernatural—all paint is magical and the pattern has
secret significance. The women showed my wife red and
brown powders that they had and advised her to try them.

All at once the women were in a hurry. They had 881
remembered that the men were due and hastened to the fires
and their pots. We roamed around and came across a small
hut, entirely closed, standing just behind the big houses.

The Guajiro not only trafficked with the
439 whites, but they did a lively trade with each other, using
[436] cattle as their currency. Thanks to this there was a form of incipient specialization. Pottery and weapons were the main articles of trade. The rich bought those made by specially
[556 skilled craftsmen, who made so much money that they con-
463] centrated largely on producing things to sell. The poor had to make all their own things. Everywhere there were people who could weave and spin, and make pottery, but those who could afford it liked to buy what was best and loveliest.

We wanted to buy articles in general use, but the irritating thing was that the rich did not need to sell and only did so if it amused them, or if they got an especially good price; while the poor had nothing to sell. Those who made these articles as a craft liked to use materials bought from the whites. In the old days they used to weave their textiles of homespun cotton thread dyed with vegetable dyes; now they not infrequently bought dyed woollen yarn from the whites, but in that remote part of the peninsula they had not yet begun to do so. We saw that they had plenty of hammocks made of bast and cotton yarn. These were larger and more comfortable than was usual and were made with a different technique. The hammock is the genuine Indian
[513] bed, invented in the jungles of South America before the white man ever came there, and has the advantage of being easy to take about and cool to lie in, while the sleeper is protected from all the unpleasant and dangerous insects of the ground.

Throughout the journey we had slept in hammocks—you have to get used to them before you find them comfortable—as long as there was somewhere to hang them. We now told the Indians that we wanted proper hammocks, the kind they themselves used, for we had bought ours from the whites. That started the bargaining.

There was seldom any question of buying for cash—they
439 did not have much confidence in the white man's money—
436 so we had to barter for what we wanted. We soon discovered that apart from our knives, the Indians undervalued all our goods. If we had not had a large case of knives we would never have managed to assemble the collections

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importance. Thus, while the child is on the way, he must not 843
hunt with firearms, but only with bow and arrow. If he [224]
goes on a journey of any length after the child has come into
the world, he must lay his saddle-girth round the babe or
put his foot on its chest before he leaves. If he forgets to
do that one can lay a pair of his old sandals on its breast.

If the first-born dies, it is feared that the others will do 766
the same. The baby is placed head down in an urn with a 844
lid and buried beneath a certain kind of tree. The mother
often has to undergo another period of confinement, it
being thought that all the rules had not been observed
during her real period of puberty, and that that had an un-
favourable effect on childbirth. If all the instructions are
not observed, there is danger that the other children will
also die.

My wife came back and told us that the child was born 844
and all had gone well. It was the third child. The woman had
lain on her back on the ground with legs straddled, and
they had strewn a thick layer of fine sand under her crotch,
so that the babe should land softly. An aunt of the woman's
helped her, and her husband was there and helped to lift
her and hold her during the final pains. The mother was
now to keep quiet for a few days and, above all, not expose
herself to the sun.

The old man explained that the rich let their women rest 846
for weeks after giving birth, living on maize gruel and [556]
light food, while poor mothers have to go out and work as
usual straight away. The child has the breast in the evening 853
when the mother goes to bed; at three in the morning when
everyone gets up, and occasionally during the day. In the
better families the child is weaned with the help of maize
gruel and goat's milk and a female slave takes charge of it,
the mother having so many other duties. There are even
some who keep wet-nurses, he said.

Then more men appeared and a woman who sat behind 854
my wife, just outside the circle. I distributed tobacco and
conversation became lively. My wife was surprised that
Indian babies were allowed to sit upright so early. She was
told that at first the mother supports it with her hand, and

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known of his clan. The road across the hills was bad, and at times we had to dismount and walk. Now and again we met Indians; the well-to-do leading their riding-mules, the poor followed by half-naked women carrying loads. The men carried lots of arrows. The road was reputed unsafe. The leader of each such company received a little tobacco. We heard that they were all coming from the funeral, which evidently was one of importance and would last quite a while yet. Our companion, the rich Indian, said that he expected to reach the house of mourning in six days. He thought that we ought to go there too, but the place lay a good distance off our route and we had had our fill of Indian feasts for the time being.

Francisco had travelled with Father Crispin and knew the district. He advised us to halt for the night early in an Indian rancho ringed with a stout cactus palisade, where friendly people lived. We could have gone farther, and the Indians with us who were going to the funeral carried on, but then, according to Francisco, they would not have been welcome at the rancho. We never learned the ins and outs of the Indians' friendships and enmities.

At the rancho we bartered a piece of raw sugar against a sheep. Both our pack and riding animals were already tired. They had had far too little fodder and the water was salt. The Indians were up before cock-crow, as always, and we let them get the mules ready. If we could just get to Castilletes, they should have fodder and decent water: we needed provisions ourselves. But what about the sheep, asks the attentive reader. That went the same evening we bought it, our hosts partaking of it as heartily as our own people. It went, offal, guts and all. When nothing but the bones were left, these were split and the marrow sucked out. Then the women gathered up the remains for broth. That sheep cost the equivalent of fourpence-halfpenny. Our means were limited, but at such prices we could at least afford to feed our men. The difficulty was in getting hold of things to eat. The Indians know how to tighten their belts and are prepared to starve for a while, if need be, but they must have a blow-out now and again.

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the chief game. The *Goajiro* who live near the coast sometimes catch 22
fish (with hook and line), lobsters, mollusks, and crabs.

Cattle raising.—The *Goajiro* are primarily nomadic cattle raisers and, 231
consequently, depend upon the water supply. In the rainy season they 221
seek natural depressions, which they sometimes enlarge artificially, where [312]
the water may gather. In case of drought they wander toward the sea, where wells 30 to 40 feet (9 to 12 m.) deep are dug.

Besides cattle the *Goajiro* keep sheep, goats, horses (pl. 72, *bottom, left*), mules, pigs, and domestic fowls, which they take with them wherever 231
they go. An estimate gives them 100,000 cattle, 200,000 sheep and goats, 20,000 horses and mules, and 30,000 donkeys. As cattle are a measure [556]
of wealth, the Indians are reluctant to kill them for food, but they utilize [439]
the milk or export the animals to Curaçao and Aruba in exchange for textiles and corn. Each tribe has its own cattle brand, and the annual [422]
round-up and branding is an occasion for great festivities. Horse races and other sports take place, and large quantities of food and drink are [527]
consumed.

Food preparation.—*Goajiro* diet consists almost entirely of meat and 262
milk products. Goats and sheep are killed every day or two for meat, 252
and the milk of the cows is made into butter and cheese. This diet is supplemented by yuca, cactus fruit, sugar, rice, and plantains, the last three obtained from Colombian and Venezuelan traders in exchange for skins. Meat that is not immediately consumed is suspended from tall poles, and skins are pegged to the ground and salted in preparation for sale. Butter is made by stirring the cream with a fluted stick in a calabash or wooden bucket. To make cheese, rennet is added to skimmed milk in a trough, and the curds are put in a primitive wooden cheese press, which is weighted with a heavy rock.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Although the *Goajiro* are of a common origin, they are divided into 614
sibs ("castes" or "tribes"), each living within a rather limited area 361
(Simons, 1885, p. 796). The sibs are split into local groups, which occupy extended villages or rancherías, each with 2 to 50 houses (ranchos) and 10 to 250 or more Indians. Houses are always within gunshot distance of one another and so disposed that surprise attacks would be difficult. If a village is at all permanent, a protective cactus hedge surrounds it.

Goajiro nomadism makes elaborate houses unnecessary. Dwellings 342
are mere lean-tos, arbors, and temporary gabled roofs supported on poles. Thatch is made from the core of the cactus, split lengthwise. Rough [352]
tables, chairs with rawhide seats, and benches are often used. The hammock is always present. House walls are often lacking, but a corner [381]
of the hut may be closed off for a girl's puberty seclusion. When mi-

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342 When mi-
484 grating from one locality to another the *Goajiro* generally dismantle their houses and take them along, piling the poles and thatch on the backs of burros. Sometimes, however, they leave them for their own or someone else's use in the future.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 *Goajiro* dress has changed little since the time of Nicolás de la Rosa (18th century). Men normally wear only a breechcloth, a necklace, and a head band with feather attached (pl. 72, *top*); but when traveling, [484] paying visits, or receiving company they wear a large loincloth with many folds, a mantle (nowadays of bright colors), and an immense sash, in which they carry their arrows. A knitted string bag is hung from the waistband. In towns trousers and shirts are worn. The women wear a cotton dress, sometimes made like a simple sack with holes cut for the head and arms. The puna—long strings of beads passing over both [301] shoulders, crossing each other on the breast and back and held in place by a sash or belt of beads (the sirapo)—is placed on a female [561 child a few months after birth and gradually augmented according to 566 the parents' wealth and the child's age. Black beads are generally used 384 for the sirapo, colored ones for the puna. A married woman wears the 881 puna until her first confinement. After her seclusion at puberty, a robe, sometimes containing 8 or 10 yards of embroidered material, is also worn by a *Goajiro* woman, but the loosely folded cloth which was her sole covering before puberty is still worn beneath it. Women, unlike men, are modest and avoid being seen naked.

301 Some young girls have as many as 100 turns of beads around their waists, as well as many around their wrists and ankles. Red coral is preferred, but most beads are made from seeds or coconut shell and [306 are cut out by means of a hollow metal reamer twirled rapidly between 401 the palms. The perforated shell may then be used as a colander. Glass and porcelain beads and earrings are also worn. The most prized orna- [172 ments are the tumas—polished and perforated stone ornaments found in some of the old graves. On dress occasions necklaces of beads and gold ornaments are worn. These, found in *Tairona* graves, are fashioned in the form of tiny animals, frogs, turtles, etc.

302 The men, except the medicine men, wear their hair short, kept back by a ring or crown made of plaited straw, or of wool with a tassel behind. Often the two are combined and adorned with a couple of feathers in front; or the whole may be made of feathers. For protection against [751 mosquitos and sun both sexes paint their skin with powders made from 386 rotten wood, a black stain made from a wild nut, and another color extracted from leaves and mixed with fat. After puberty women cut their [884 hair short, keeping the shorn tresses in a bag hung from the roof; henceforth they never let it grow beyond the neck. They make designs on

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Urianas are connected by marriage with the Pushaina, another wealthy 614
"tribe" of the *Goajiro*.

Each extended village (section or rancheria) consists of related sib 614
members who are bound by close ties and who unite against outsiders 1162
one of them is wronged. Intermarriage among the sibs is common.

The role of the maternal uncle in *Goajiro* culture is of great importance. 604
Santa Cruz's detailed study of it (1941) will be summarized here. Types of behavior, both prescribed and unformalized, vary, not only according to the seniority of either uncle or nephew but also according to that of the nieces. The maternal uncle must leave all his property to his oldest sister's oldest son, the other nephews receiving nothing. In practice the maternal uncle transfers most of his property to his own children, and after his death little if anything remains for the nephew. The attitude of a senior nephew toward his senior maternal uncle largely depends on what inheritance he expects from him. If the nephew marries a girl from a wealthy family and has, therefore, to pay a high bride price, the senior maternal uncle is expected to make a donation to meet the price. The uncle has no authority, however, in the selection of the bride.

Etiquette requires that in company the nephew must always remain silent if his senior maternal uncle is speaking; if the nephew wishes to speak he must first ask his uncle's permission. The nephew must always show respect and conduct himself with propriety. On the other hand, a senior uncle should not criticize or laugh at his senior nephew. No such behavior is prescribed between father and son or between other uncles and nephews. Public opinion castigates any deviation from this behavior between uncle and nephew.

The relationship between a maternal uncle and his niece is just the reverse of this, for the uncle is the recipient of benefits. He receives the bride price paid for the niece, and he contributes nothing toward the dowry for the bridegroom. The maternal uncle, however, is empowered to accept or reject a prospective bridegroom, and the girl has no recourse in the matter. A girl is respectful and considerate, although less rigidly formal, toward her senior maternal uncle. Her behavior toward her other uncles depends solely on her regard for them.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

There is no central government uniting all the sibs, but each sib or 614
subdivision thereof has its chiefs who inherit their position matrilineally. [622]
The oldest chief has greatest authority and may carry a knobbed stick as symbol of his authority. He is generally the wealthiest and has most [554
retainers. Hereditary status is very important, and a man born poor 556]
may never achieve a high position, even though he acquires much wealth. He may, however, marry a woman of high rank and his children will inherit her rank. Chiefs are polygynous and have many daughters, for 608

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622 Chiefs are polygynous and have many daughters, for
595 whom very high bride prices are paid—sometimes thousands of animals,
583 worth $6,000 to $10,000. Such rich chiefs take great pride in their
556 daughters, dressing them in fine silken robes and necklaces of gold and pearls and providing them with personal servants.

567 There is a class of slaves who are beneath the chiefs' retainers in the social hierarchy. It consists of people born into this status and of captives.

PROPERTY

422 All cattle, though individually owned, belong in theory to the local group as a whole and are worked for the common benefit of all. For example, the cattle paid as a bride price when a girl marries within her own sib go to a new owner, but the milk, butter, cheese, and hides from them continue to be shared by everyone in the sib. When a woman receives cattle as a bride price for her daughter any new stock born to them belongs to the daughter's husband and his sons, and when the animals are rounded up for the annual branding each son is allowed to brand a certain number of them.

ETIQUETTE

576 The *Goajiro* are in general unfriendly to strangers but have a well-
574 established code of hospitality. Strangers calling at a house must wait until invited in. Inside a house a bowl of chicha or rum (coffee when available) is the first gift offered the visitor, who is thereafter given a hammock and treated as a member of the family. A special feast may
[565] be arranged if there are many guests. A guest of high rank is feasted, and some of the young girls of the house may be placed at his disposal.

LAW AND ORDER

627 The chiefs have little power outside their own local group, where they settle minor disputes. The solution of many disputes and transgressions of custom are left to the parties concerned. The laws of group respon-
628 sibility and group retaliation lead to frequent intertribal feuds. A person
614 without a strong sib to protect him is helpless, for others may use any act which may conceivably be interpreted as harmful as pretext for demanding indemnity. For example, a person injured while intoxicated may demand payment from the person who sold him the rum, or a person injured by a borrowed animal may demand payment from the owner of the animal; a thief who hurts himself when trespassing on the property of his intended victim will demand compensation of him; and anyone aiding a sick or wounded person who subsequently dies incurs a liability.

672 If a person injures himself he must make an expiatory gift to the members of his own sib and a lesser gift to his father's relatives. If a child dies when under the care of one parent, this parent must reimburse

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water but is given an herbal purgative. Her hair is cut short. Generally 881
several of her relatives stay around the door of the hut, and strangers and men with an eye to matrimony may look in. During this period the girl is taught the duties of married life and such skills as weaving, sewing, and making hammocks. When she emerges, stout and bleached, a special festival is held, when she resumes her ornaments and puts on the adult clothes that she has made during her confinement. She is now considered marriageable. The length of her confinement depends on her status, though theoretically it lasts until her hair again reaches the [554
nape of her neck. Poor girls are secluded only a few weeks, rich girls 556]
up to 2 years.

Sexual life and marriage.—Little is known about the sexual life of 836
the *Goajiro*. A certain amount of promiscuous love making occurs among the young people at the biweekly festivals. Dances also provide an opportunity for sexual advances.

There are some male transvestites who carry on only female activities 838
and are ridiculed by the men.

When a man desires to marry he sends his father or uncle as inter- 584
mediary, then pays a bride price which has been set by the girl's relatives. 583
The payment is usually in cattle, but goats, pearls, liquor, cotton cloth, 602
and gold ornaments also are used. The father retains the purchase price only when his first daughter marries; the income of subsequent marriages goes to the girl's senior maternal uncles. The mother also receives part of the income. A son obtains the cattle for the bride payment from the increase of his father's herds.

Intermarriage between the sibs is frequent, and many of the *Goajiro* 582
give their daughters to "civilizados" from Maracaibo and Río Hacha, who pay higher prices and find such a tie with the Indians useful in their trading relations.

The marriage ceremony consists of a series of feasts and exchanges of 585
presents between the two families. The wedding night is spent at the [431]
rancheria of the bride's mother, but the nuptial hammock (specially woven by the female relatives of the bride) is hung from a tree some distance away from the house. For a period of days and even months the bridegroom leaves his bride at dawn and returns only after sunset. In [606]
this way the groom shows respect to his mother-in-law.

Polygyny is general. The number of wives depends on the economic 595
status of the husband, some men having as many as 20. Each wife lives in her own house, where her husband occasionally visits her. The man, as head of the polygynous household, supervises the daily slaughter of [592]
animals and the distribution of meat and corn to each household according to the number of its members.

If a wife shirks her domestic duties she may be divorced and her hus- 586
band may claim the return of the bride price cattle, plus their increase and

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586 minus an amount considered equivalent for the sexual right he had exer-
[845 cised. If a woman dies in her first childbirth the husband may demand
583 the full return of the bride price (Simons, 1885, p. 792, however, states that the wife's relatives demand compensation from the husband).
586 Adultery entails divorce with full return of the bride price. It rarely
837 occurs, however, as the wife will be treated badly by her own relatives. At his death a man's wives are inherited by his brother, and next by his
587 sister's sons; the women may avoid this by making a payment equivalent
768 to their bride price. If he is of the Catholic faith his children may claim
184 to be his legal heirs, which leads to conflict with the maternal nephews. (See Social Organization, p. 374.)

562 The influence of women in political affairs is sometimes noticeable.
622 There are cases of female chiefs, and women are respected enough so as to be able to intervene and stop brawls.

764 **Death.**—Funerals are accompanied by festivities which last days or even
[554 weeks, according to the wealth of the family. There are some differences
184] in the funeral ceremonies which are apparently associated with the particular sibs. These funeral feasts afford the best opportunity for display of wealth, and more than 1,000 head of livestock may be butchered. Every mourner who comes to the feast contributes animals for slaughter and continues to do so as long as he cares to remain. After the mourning period, marked by weeping and lamenting interspersed with drinking and feasting, the corpse, which has lain in a hammock slung from the rafters,
[781 is sewn up in hides by the women (men may not touch a dead body) and carried to the cemetery of the tribe. For a year or so, the body may be temporarily consigned to a shallow grave marked by a pile of stones. Food and drink are often placed in the grave, and, if the deceased had been a warrior, his bows and arrows are put in. A year or two later the bones
764 are exhumed and reburied in a large urn. The exhumation is generally
765 done at night and is accompanied by a feast. The remains are carried in a funeral procession to the dead person's birthplace, where they are buried in the family's own cemetery. The funeral urn is placed in a vertical position with the narrow neck of the jar protruding above ground to permit the free entry and exit of the spirit and to allow the remains of other members of the family to be added from time to time. A cactus hedge surrounds the cemetery, and in wet weather half a calabash is placed over the opening of each jar to keep out the rain. Whenever two relatives of a recently deceased person meet, they bow to the ground, shouting and groaning, for several minutes. (For a slightly different account of the burial of a rich man, see Simons, 1885, p. 792.)

781 If a person is stricken with smallpox the whole tribe moves away, only
766 the family of the sick person remaining. When the death occurs they bury the body below the floor and burn the hut over the grave.

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reported several in the vicinity of the town of Riohacha in Colombia.

Residence is normally matrilocal, although, at present, there is a tendency towards neo-locality. The author has found no case of patrilocality either in the field or in the literature.

The names of the five more important clans in Guajiro society, and those with which we are concerned in this article are: Uriana, Epinayú, Pushaina, Guajariyú, and Epieyú. These designations have lost meaning in Guajiro and not even the oldest members questioned by the writer remember what they mean. The clans also have an animal or plant totem closely attached to food and hunting taboos. How deep this totemic aspect of the clan goes the writer does not know and the two references found in the literature, A. Ernst (1887) and A. Jahn (1927), simply mention the fact without going into details.

Today the clans have no distinct geographic distribution. Members of the different clans are found scattered more or less at random over the whole peninsula, and in both Colombia and Venezuela. This may be due perhaps to the extensive migrations of families within the region in their quest for water for themselves and their domestic animals. This necessity has also probably contributed to the gradual breakdown of the matrilocal residence. The earlier literature suggests that the clans may have had, at one time, certain regional characteristics. Juan de Castellanos cites that the Guajiros living near what is now the town of Riohacha all belonged to the Uriana clan. A. Ernst goes as far as showing a distribution map of the clans. A. Jahn and G. Hernandez de Alba draw their conclusion of geographic distribution for the clans based on the earlier sources but definitely state that today the clans present the scattered distribution the present writer found.

The Guajiro culture may be described in brief as pastoral, with a small-scale supplementary agriculture, especially in the southern part of the peninsula where water and more fertile lands are available. Domestic animals, cattle in particular, represent the foundation of wealth to the Guajiro. His economic position, and likewise his social status, is measured in the number of cattle, sheep, goats, asses and horses he owns. This pastoral complex permeates practically every aspect of the culture.

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The whole judiciary structure with its elaborate system of torts is based on the payment of a given number of domestic animals. There is no crime, including murder, that cannot be amiably settled by such payments (Petrullo, 1937). The acquisition of a bride is also reduced to the payment of a stipulated price, in terms of domestic animals, to be given to the maternal uncle of the girl.

Social, economic, and political status in the Guajiro society is intimately connected with the cattle complex. To have a high status an individual needs, primarily, two assets: he must possess a large number of domestic animals, in other words, he must be considered rich; and he must be an older man. If he lacks either of these requisites, he is not a leader, as he will not be sufficiently respected nor will members of his clan come to him to seek his advice. Consequently, leaders are not numerous in the Guajiro peninsula. The present writer knows only two individuals, both in Venezuela, who are today the unquestionable leaders of their respective clans. These men are Panchito Silva, of the Pushaina clan, and José de la Rosa Fernandez of the Uriana clan.

An analysis of the lives of these two men will be illustrative of the traditional methods of acquiring status among the Guajiro.

Panchito Silva, a man of about 80 years of age, lives in the native village of Sishipes in Venezuela. During his life-time he has had eight wives (two or three at a time) and now lives with his surviving two, one about 35 years old and the other about 50. He is a full-blooded Indian as has been the case of his wives. There is no trace of race mixture in his family. He has no clear idea of how many children he has had, apart from those living with him now (two men and five women). Yet he knows definitely that he has four younger brothers—who will inherit his wealth and position before these are passed on to his nephews—three sisters and twenty-five nephews and nieces (all sons and daughters of his sisters). His lack of concern towards his own children coupled with his keen interest in his nephews and nieces seems to be a clear indication of how strong the avunculate is in traditional Guajiro society. His holdings in cattle and other domestic animals are very large. Roughly he owns around 1,000 head of cattle and about 3,000 of sheep,

9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
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goats, mules, asses, and horses. Approximately 60% of this total he acquired through inheritance, as his maternal uncle was a wealthy man and, in his time, the leader of the Pushaina clan. The rest of his property, Panchito has acquired through the payment of bride-prices received for his nieces. Unquestionably, Panchito Silva has become wealthy and the leader of his clan through inheritance, although, through the years, as he has aged and his nieces have married he has become more firmly established in his position.

Members of the Pushaina clan come to Panchito from the most remote places of the peninsula (both from Colombia and Venezuela), to seek his advice; to ask him to settle disputes among families within the clan; to tell him about injuries received by a clan member so he can establish the amount of compensation to be paid and exact payment from the offending clan; to fix the bride-price of a given girl member of the clan; to establish how much each male member must contribute in order to pay compensation due to another clan; and for many other minor details of clan organization and function. The writer was a guest at Panchito's home for two days and, during that period, Panchito received the visit of no less than 63 clan members, who, in all, brought about 25 or 30 different clan problems to be settled.

The story of José de la Rosa Fernandez, although different from that of Panchito Silva, represents a second method of acquiring status following the traditional law of the tribe. José de la Rosa Fernandez is also a full-blooded Indian, about 65 years old. He has had seven wives, but always one at the time, except now when he has two. One of them is an old woman with whom he lives most of the time, and just recently he married a very young girl (who remains living with her mother) whom he visits once or twice a week. Fernandez's position in the Uriana clan is very similar to that of Silva in the Pushaina. The writer was not able to hold private conversations with Fernandez and, consequently, exact data regarding his property are lacking. Although he did not inherit too much property nor the clan leadership as in Silva's case, he was fortunate to have many nieces whom he has managed to marry off very well and to get large bride-prices for them. Thus he began to accumulate property and at present he is probably the richest man in the

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159 Venezuelan Guajiro. As his wealth grew so did his prestige.
554 About twenty years ago the then leader of the Uriana clan died
● 556 leaving no heirs, as he had no brothers and no direct nephews.
622 Guajiro tradition establishes that, if upon the death of a clan leader and wealthy man there are no close heirs, even though
[428] there be distant ones, a council of elders (informally chosen
[623] among the oldest and more respected men of the clan) will meet and select the individual who shall take over not only the leadership of the clan but the wealth of the deceased as well. These cases are very infrequent (actually the writer could only find, in the memory of the oldest men, two instances of a council of elders meeting to select a leader; one is the case mentioned in this article, and the other occurred among the Epieyú clan, in Colombia, about fifty or sixty years ago). Fernandez
[557] now confesses, quite candidly, that at the time of the meeting of the council of elders, he distributed a number of gifts among them, thus succeeding in having them select him as clan leader and heir to the wealth of the dead chief.

179 It is interesting to note—and it shows how much acculturation
192 Guajiro culture has undergone with the assimilation of the cattle complex—that the true Guajiro term for leader or chief (which also means "old man") *alat'laa* is almost all but forgotten and practically never used, having been substituted by the word *to'olo* a corruption of the Spanish word *toro* meaning BULL.
[194] (Stops are not glottal, but simple stoppage of the sound to be renewed with the coming vowel. Phonetic transcription have followed those given by Dr. Martha Hilderbrand's work on the Guajiro language published by the Comisión Indigenista, Venezuela, in 1958).

622 The role of Fernandez as leader of the Uriana clan is an
627 exact replica of Silva's. He acts as advisor, settles disputes, makes arrangements for the payments of torts, bride-prices, etc. His day is fully as busy as that of Silva and he attends to all these matters besides his personal affairs.

554 Here we have, then, the two traditional ways of acquiring status in Guajiro society that the present writer has been able to investigate; one through inheritance, as in the case of Panchito Silva; and the other, through selection by a council of elders, as in the case of José de la Rosa Fernandez. It is doubtful that

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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133 venting anything being landed dry. The Colombian Government
504 erected a guard-house at the entrance of this bay last year, but I am afraid it will have to be abandoned as untenable. Puerto Estrella makes a very bad port, the small trading schooners having to lie in under the breakers. This is the last recognised Colombian port, at least pending the arbitration question. The next good port is the Laguna de Tucacas, in the Gulf of Maracaybo. This place is much frequented by Venezuelans, and a trade has sprung up that if not checked will ruin the already drooping commerce of Rio Hacha. The last port on the coast is that of Cojoro, and spoken of as the future port of Maracaybo, with which it would have to be connected by rail, an engineering feat of not much difficulty. The cascade or bay of Calaboso has an impossible, heavy, surf-beaten coast.

614 The peninsula is inhabited by only one tribe of Indians. These are subdivided into many families or castes, bearing much analogy to the ancient "clans" of Scotland. Each caste or rather family circle is united against all comers, taking up the quarrel of any one of its members to make it general. The Goajiros are strictly conservative and aristocratic
556 in their ideas, wealth and interest are omnipotent. A poor man may be
[578] insulted with impunity, when the same to a rich man would cause certain bloodshed. They have no veritable rulers, but each community
[622] recognises the wealthiest of its members as the chief or corporal, as he has been dubbed by the Spaniards, and look to him for protection. An Indian born poor, cannot become wealthy and great. Whatever heads he may accumulate, his humble origin would never be forgotten; he
● [557] could, however, marry into a high caste family, having the means, and his children could become, through their mother's relations, great chiefs.
614 Besides the name, each caste or family represents some animal, and many of the minor castes, over and above their own symbol, adopt another of some more powerful denomination, to enjoy the privilege of a good protector. There are at present, altogether, some thirty odd castes among the Goajiros. Of these I was able to discover the names of twenty-two. The remainder are insignificant, little known castes, chiefly inhabiting the hills. There are about ten of importance, chief among these the "Urianas." This, the largest caste in the Goajiro, has subdivided or split up into many ramifications, such as Uriana tiger, Uriana rabbit, Uriana paularato (a song bird), Uriana gecko (lizard). This family is at present not only by far the most numerous, but also the richest; due to its connections by marriage with the Pushainas, formerly the wealthiest of the land. The Pushainas are to-day still
[556] great holders of tumas and ornaments, but with the Indian, only cattle, mules, and horses are real estate. The Urianas on receiving the tumas, sold out for cattle. The second in numbers are the Epiayous, as a rule they are poor. Under their protection are the Sonanas, again under these the small caste of the Guorguorlynes. A full list will be given

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Venezuelan Guajiro. As his wealth grew so did his prestige. About twenty years ago the then leader of the Uriana clan died leaving no heirs, as he had no brothers and no direct nephews. Guajiro tradition establishes that, if upon the death of a clan leader and wealthy man there are no close heirs, even though there be distant ones, a council of elders (informally chosen among the oldest and more respected men of the clan) will meet and select the individual who shall take over not only the leadership of the clan but the wealth of the deceased as well. These cases are very infrequent (actually the writer could only find, in the memory of the oldest men, two instances of a council of elders meeting to select a leader; one is the case mentioned in this article, and the other occurred among the Epieyú clan, in Colombia, about fifty or sixty years ago). Fernandez now confesses, quite candidly, that at the time of the meeting of the council of elders, he distributed a number of gifts among them, thus succeeding in having them select him as clan leader and heir to the wealth of the dead chief.

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The role of Fernandez as leader of the Uriana clan is an exact replica of Silva's. He acts as advisor, settles disputes, makes arrangements for the payments of torts, bride-prices, etc. His day is fully as busy as that of Silva and he attends to all these matters besides his personal affairs.

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two days' visit at the home of Panchito Silva and while returning to Paraguaipoa, asked Perez how many wives he had had. Perez was obviously quite upset by the question, but did not hesitate in answering: "Oh, no, Mr. Santa Cruz! I have and only have had one wife, Anita!" (Anita is his Indian wife). Whether the motives for the denial are of a personal nature or involve some cultural complex is unknown to the writer.

Nevertheless Perez leads a perfectly discernable dual life. He has two homes, as described, dividing his time between them, devoting about 40% of the time (when he is not working) to his Maracaibo home, and about 60% to his Guajira home. He has two sets of friends which he is very careful not to mix. His plans for the future of his son are entirely along white cultural lines. At this point we find contradictory thoughts in Perez's mind. The present writer has heard him repeatedly criticize the attitude of certain Guajiros, both full-blooded and half-breeds, who, having gone to Maracaibo for formal education (especially to Teachers' College) have then sought, and in many cases obtained, positions in Maracaibo instead of returning to the Guajira to practice their professions. Yet when it comes to his own son, Perez's plans are for a permanent residence in Maracaibo or, if possible, Caracas, where he could go into practice in an entirely white cultural background.

The problem now is to define Perez's status in the Guajira. Undoubtedly his personality has some importance in Guajiro social stratification, especially among his own generation. This importance he has attained by granting favors, which his semi-official government positions enables him to do, to those whom he thinks will, in the future, be of help to him. Perhaps this is best illustrated by an example. The Ministry of Justice, through the Comisión Indigenista, grants ten scholarships annually to Guajiros who meet certain educational requirements. These scholarships are for the State of Zulia Teachers' College in Maracaibo. Perez has been given, more or less, a free hand in the selection of the candidates for these scholarships. About 65% of the candidates chosen by Perez, in the four years that the plan has been in operation, have been admitted to the College. The writer was able to look briefly into the family back-

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ground of the candidates selected by Perez so far, and he has found that only one among all the boys and girls recommended by him actually came from a Guajiro family that could not afford to pay for higher education. All the rest came from families, both pure Indian and with white mixture, belonging to the upper economic and social strata of the Guajiro society, who could easily pay for the education of their children.

These and other favors that Perez has granted to the upper social class have, undoubtedly, given him a unique status in the social structure. Perez is not respected in the same sense as Fernandez and Silva are respected, but his advice is sought and no favor he asks is ever denied. The older men, especially those enjoying certain leadership, look upon Perez with certain scorn as an upstart. For instance, on several occasions, when the present writer with Perez visited his father-in-law, Fernandez, the old leader, in a half-humorous and half-serious way, would repeatedly say: "This is To'lito; I am the To'olo," meaning that Perez was just a "little bull," while he was the big, the important "bull." Nevertheless, regardless of this general attitude of the older men, even they come to him whenever they want some favor from the Government. The writer has never heard Perez deny such requests to individuals of the upper stratum, while on several occasions it was noted that he refused to do anything on behalf of those who are economically and socially below him.

As far as the younger generation is concerned, Perez unquestionably has many friends and individuals who look upon him as the possible means of bettering their position. His bitter enemies are also to be found among the younger generation. These will stop at nothing in the hope of having him completely discredited in general and in particular they aim to have him lose his semi-official position. Just recently, this group went so far as to accuse him of having been a collaborator of the deposed dictatorial regime of Perez Jimenez and an enemy of the democratic government now in power in Venezuela. This landed Perez in jail but, as these accusations could not be substantiated, he was released in 24 hours. This incident is referred to here for the sole purpose of illustrating to what measures his enemies

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will go to have him fall in disgrace. Whether these accusations are true or false is not our concern in this article.

Summing up Perez's position in Guajiro society we find the following facts: Among the older and more influential men, Perez is not considered as one of them and their attitude towards him is not a respectful one. He on the contrary is quite respectful towards them. No one, however, among this group can be classified as his enemy, and they do seek him out for advice in their dealings with Government officials. Among his contemporaries he enjoys a very influential position and practically everyone seeks his friendship. His true friends are to be found, without question, among this group, and, as far as it could be investigated, he has no real enemies among them, although there may be a few who envy his position. The younger generations are clearly divided into two groups—one group which truly respects and looks up to him, and another which is composed of his bitter enemies.

From the many formal and informal conversations the present writer has had with Perez—at his home, while traveling, when visiting some one else, etc.—the following analysis may be made of his behavior and position. While in Maracaibo, Perez soon became aware that he could attain no high status within a white culture where competition is always very keen. As Prefect of Sinamaica he clearly saw the possibilities of climbing up the ladder in Guajiro society and the first step he took towards that goal was to marry a full-blooded Indian girl from an important family, and to marry her in accordance with the traditional Guajiro law. There was very little chance for him to obtain the necessary wealth and to attain leadership status through property, but he saw the opportunity his semi-official position gave him to become the point of contact between the Guajiro and while cultures, cultivating both and becoming an almost indispensable person in the dealings the true natives had with the authorities. Whether his marriage to the Guajiro girl was purely for interest or whether there was any love involved is, of course, very difficult to say. As the writer made his headquarters in Perez's household at the Laguna del Pajaro, during his stay in the Guajira, he was able to observe, at first hand, the relationship between Perez and his native wife. These were always

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620 cordial, no fights or even harsh words between them was ever
557 noticed, and when Perez was arrested, as mentioned before, his
593 wife showed great concern and distress and did everything possible to have him released from jail and brought home. Still the question of how much real affection, especially on Perez's part, is involved in this marriage cannot be answered with certainty.
622 As regards the grantings of favors to the Guajiro, it is obvious
557 that he makes a careful selection and never or hardly ever grants them to indivduals who could not, in the future, be of some help to him.

Whether or not Perez will attain a position of respect and leadership such as Panchito Silva and José de la Rosa Fernandez enjoy is hard to say, but the writer will try to make an analysis of the situation and draw certain tentative conclusions.

620 There is no doubt that clan leadership with all its privileges
614 and responsibilities is slowly dying out in the Guajira. Among the 25 odd clans existing at present the writer has met only two individuals who have all the earmarks of a true economic, political, and social leader, namely, Panchito Silva and José de la Rosa Fernandez. Informants have told him that there are two others, the heads of the Epinayú and the Epieyú clans living in the upper Guajira and in Colombia respectively. From what information was gathered these two other leaders fit closely to the pattern described for Silva and Fernandez. The remainder of the clans have no true, powerful leaders, although they do have elder members who are more or less respected and consulted in certain clan matters. Around the turn of the century, however, according to the information gathered first hand from old men like Silva and Fernandez, and from the literature, there were at least twenty powerful leaders among the clans.

182 Undoubtedly one of the contributing factors to the breakdown
178 of clan leadership has been the great horizontal movement in
[161] population among the Guajiro in the last fifty years. Such spread would tend, naturally, to break down the regional characteristics of the clan and ultimately help to bring about a loss of personal contact between a leader and the rest of his clan and hence the loss of control. Whether there are other economic, social, or political factors in operation favoring this breakdown is not fully known. The writer suspects that there may be but this problem would need further intensive investigation. The

/69 cont./

836 The virginity of the single woman is becoming very rare in La Guajira. Premarital relations have been occurring with greater frequency in recent years as a consequence of the social disintegration of this indigeneous group, caused by a multiplicity of reasons, among which stand out: the influence of the so-called white groups, among whom free union is common practice; emigration to regions such as Venezuela, where the Indian women break away from the norms of their ancestors and find an atmosphere which does not resent the sexual adventures of women but rather stimulates them; the scarcity and hunger in certain regions which push the inhabitants toward the urban centers of the peninsula, where the woman gives herself in exchange for the wherewithal to satisfy her vital needs of food and dress, an attitude which her relatives recognize and tolerate because, indirectly, it also helps them. The premarital relations forced by circumstances or encouraged by them have been creating a social class of women which previously did not exist nor could fit within her social organization: the prostitute. It must be noted that it is the mestizo woman (mixture of Indian with white or negro) who more easily takes this road.

[548] [563]

Also one has to take into account the premature premarital relations that have always existed in La Guajira and which take place between the girls and their brothers, and even their fathers, when the girls are about ten or more, when they go to the fields or the countryside in general and meet the boys who are devoting themselves to pasturing. (Cf. Chap. II.)

[835]

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836 558 178 The common type of furtive sexual relations of the adult woman causes her to drop in social esteem and particularly in that of the men, producing, indirectly, the phenomenon that virginity as a basis for marriage has become overvalued. Before, it was a fact that was logically expected as an essential, and the lack of this condition created social and psychic problems.

/69 cont./

836 Today this causes less repercussion, and the phenomena which were
558 aroused in the society and the individual have become weakened.
178 But by contrast, it /virginity/ is an object of greater search, and the man who is successful /70/ in finding a virgin bride publicizes it as an individual reason for prestige. Furthermore, men are complaining less and less when their wives have not come as virgins to the nuptial hammock, and they only make it the subject of satirical songs when they are drunk. That is to say, they take the matter more broadmindedly, giving it the character of an accomplished fact and almost to be expected.

684 Violation and rape. The payment for abuse is that which the Guajiro must pay for illicit sexual relations with an unmarried woman, being a material compensation for the improper use made of her and returning to the woman her position of respected spinster, with the possibility that another man will court her and buy her for himself, without the fact of the abuse weighing as a dishonor in her past or having any echo in the future. It is also the compensation to the maternal relatives of the woman for the material and moral offense of violation of a right. They receive this payment because, by not accepting it, they would lower their kinswoman, and through her all of the family, to the category of "a dog or a burro," with no one to make their rights valid, and in order to prevent others wishing to do the same thing to other women of the family, which would bring the prestige of the group to an end. Also, because the man made use of a right which he should have paid for beforehand, to compensate the woman's relatives for rearing her and for the social support they have given her. The payment covers two distinct aspects of different value: violation and rape.

684 In the first case, as it is considered that the woman has shown
839 willingness in the act, only the abuse is taken into account. In the second, as force has been used, a compensation payment is demanded not only for abuse but for violation, specifying that the man used force and thereby humiliated the woman, made her dishonor and her physical weakness more obvious, and offended

/226 cont./

462 relation to domestic work. We have to bear in mind that this traditional separation is strictly complied with, because anyone doing [558] the customary work of the opposite sex loses personal value. And in order not to be seen as an object of ridicule to others, Guajiro men and women try to avoid carrying out any function identified with the opposite sex, even as a diversion, as in the case of children, who may not play games of make-believe other than those ascribed to their sex.

All work related to the care and nomadic pasturing of various classes of livestock is traditionally masculine work. Each Guajiro who owns livestock or who has them en cuido /lit., "in his care"/ (an exchange which means he has a herd from another Indian in order to pasture it in exchange for which he receives payment) gets up at daybreak with his nephews or sons and drives the livestock in search of pasture. During the day he guards them closely to prevent them from being stolen by men or harmed by carnivorous animals. At nightfall he waters the herd at the wells /casimbas or jagüeyes/ and then shuts them in the corrals of the house, after checking that all are there. Combined with these activities there are, for example, the treatment of sick animals, their branding, helping the shaman who treats by magic animals attacked by pests, breaking in the young colts for pack or saddle horses, making all necessary harness from saddles to reins and straps with their diverse variations and, finally, the slaughter of animals with the exception of domestic poultry.

Another traditional male activity is hunting. From childhood the Guajiro practice hunting small birds and animals, which is also a preparatory exercise for war, an employment which requires mastery in the use of firearms. Neither women nor children are allowed to participate in hunting expeditions.

Connected with the activity of hunting are fabrication of weapons, which comprises making bows and arrows, head guards, and various magic charms to make the hunt easy and productive; making and placing traps used to protect the sown fields from harmful animals or as a means of collecting edible animals.

/254 cont./

554 His functions keep on being carried out by means of inter-
769 mediaries, as happens in the case of the piache, since the
775 shaman, or medicine man, is nothing more than an intermediary between society and the world of the spirits; his illumination is determined by the action of famous dead shamans who are reincarnated, one might say, in the living one and determine many of the actions of the community, especially those with reference to Illness and to Death. In other words, the shaman in his life is not guided by his own personality but rather by that of the shamans who have deigned to come down to him to indicate the functions that he must comply with, the rules that he must observe, and, in short, all the indispensable acts of his profession. The spiritual direction of the group is thus in the hands of the dead, who continue to look after their group in a more effective manner than when they were alive.

The gradation of status which we have seen in Guajiro society in previous paragraphs is also followed in the world of the dead, in which murderers, for example, occupy their same condition of outlaws, as also do suicides; they do not wander about freely as the other spirits do but are condemned to crawl face downward along the ground. And, if while in life they were a threat to the regimen for personal security or collective stability, they are also so after dying; from this develops the series of preventive practices relative to these spirits.

XII

554 Status is susceptible to modifications both upward and down-
558 ward. The causes of ascent are implicit in the conditions referred to, which as they are reached one by one confer on the individual an increase in his prestige, or keep it maintained. Among the sources of descent we can enumerate the following as the principal ones: a) the scarcity of male members for some reason or other in the clan unit or in the small family

/254 cont./

554 group, which implies in fact a lack of social backing; b) eco-
558 nomic losses which prevent their maintaining their clan or family rank and, therefore, their individual prestige. c) the breaking of the regimen for personal security and collective stability which implicitly carries /255/ with it the lowering of status, because when a group which has suffered considerable losses in number as well as in capital commits a punishable act against an individual of a superior clan, it becomes liable, not to the legal negotiation for indemnity but to extermination as a free unit, because the offended group, being superior, will not deal with the offenders on a legal basis. Furthermore, if the infraction wrongs a group weakened in its economy and in the number of its male members, the indemnity is not governed by legality but rests on the individual judgment of the powerful offender, in conflict with whom the offended one cannot put up sufficient coercive force to insist on an adequate indemnity.

671 This phenomenon is due to a clear and precise fact within
627 the social mesh that holds the clans together in La Guajira: questions of law are applicable only when the clan groups who are challenging each other are equally equipped in economic strength and in fighting men. It is only then that the legal action of the arbitrators can be brought into play to negotiate an arrangement equitable to both sides. Law, therefore, is regulated by equality of strength. But once this equilibrium is broken, law no longer exists as an institution if it is contrary to the will of the /stronger/ injured side, which will impose the indemnity by means of its strength and according to its personal ambition, sacrificing the offender both socially and economically, or when the injury has been inflicted on a weaker group, allowing the aggressive action to go unpunished.

[39 cont.]

177 in the direction of civilization, which [40] powerfully attracts
*756 him. We can almost affirm that if the medical and hygienic services of La Guajira were intensified by the Colombian government, in the course of a few years the shaman would disappear as an institution in the peninsula, and the greater part of the aborigines' magic beliefs, especially with respect to sickness and death, would disappear from the collectivity and would remain only as folkloristic manifestations which recall his presence in times past.

*756 The decadence of this institution can be noted very easily
● 558 if we look at what Uricoechea says in the introduction to the work already cited: "They always had their shamans, or curers,
177 and diviners to consult and respect. The shamans had their schools in the woods, and they were legislators in addition to being doctors; furthermore, they were the priests and interpreters of observances and beliefs which they, in common with all the inhabitants of America, had." (37) Compare what is

37. Celedón, Rafael. Op. cit., Introduction, p. 20.

said in these paragraphs with all that we have stated, and you will note the enormous decrease in prestige that the shaman has suffered in La Guajira in the space of a few lustrums.

[41] III

Magic and Sacrifice

782 In Guajiro culture we can distinguish four types of sacrifices:

1. Those of a funeral ritual character.
2. Those of a harmful warlike character.
3. Those made to forestall the effects of dreams.
4. Those made to propitiate the protector spirit of the shamans.

/164 cont./

593 culture to the maternal uncle. Another phenomenon /165/ that
178 develops in this type of marriage is the appearance of paternal
596 relatives who are gradually acquiring places in kinship to the point that they almost hold positions similar to those held in our society. In fact, the children of a marriage so constituted begin to consider their father within the boundaries of their relatives; initially, he was not so considered, but by degrees, he is acquiring this manifest recognition in the act of their taking sides with him, being represented by him on outstanding occasions such as marriage, receiving help and assistance from him, and later on being his legitimate heirs.

In the classical Guajiro home the outstanding authority is that of the maternal uncle, who surpasses the eldest person in order of importance. There can, however, be an exception when another of these relatives has acquired a position that is not only more prominent than any of his brothers but also extends its radius of action to all the clan group and even passes on to other clans. Individual personal merit or wealth may be the cause of the elevation of his status, which is fully recognized within the family to the point that he may supplant the brother who by chronological order he ought to obey. According to the
[561] old order, age was the index of the exercise of authority, an arrangement that defined succession in case of death.

596 It also may occur that in any one of the different homes formed by each one of the sisters of a family, preferential deference and recognition is given to one of the sisters without taking into account the hierarchy established by age, status, etc.

This preference is due to the affinity shown by the mother for one of her brothers, a preference that has a reciprocal effect extending to the sons of the sister from whom he will receive greater respect. Beside respect the influence goes deeper and the effective assistance of this brother is greater than that rendered by the others. This is shown especially by his gifts at the birth of the children of the sister and above all by his taking charge personally of educating them in pasturing and in masculine

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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342 When mi-
484 grating from one locality to another the *Goajiro* generally dismantle their houses and take them along, piling the poles and thatch on the backs of burros. Sometimes, however, they leave them for their own or someone else's use in the future.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 *Goajiro* dress has changed little since the time of Nicolás de la Rosa (18th century). Men normally wear only a breechcloth, a necklace, [484] and a head band with feather attached (pl. 72, *top*); but when traveling, paying visits, or receiving company they wear a large loincloth with many folds, a mantle (nowadays of bright colors), and an immense sash, in which they carry their arrows. A knitted string bag is hung from the waistband. In towns trousers and shirts are worn. The women wear a cotton dress, sometimes made like a simple sack with holes cut for the head and arms. The puna—long strings of beads passing over both [301] shoulders, crossing each other on the breast and back and held in place by a sash or belt of beads (the sirapo)—is placed on a female ●[561 child a few months after birth and gradually augmented according to 556 the parents' wealth and the child's age. Black beads are generally used 384 for the sirapo, colored ones for the puna. A married woman wears the 881 puna until her first confinement. After her seclusion at puberty, a robe, sometimes containing 8 or 10 yards of embroidered material, is also worn by a *Goajiro* woman, but the loosely folded cloth which was her sole covering before puberty is still worn beneath it. Women, unlike men, are modest and avoid being seen naked.

301 Some young girls have as many as 100 turns of beads around their waists, as well as many around their wrists and ankles. Red coral is [306 preferred, but most beads are made from seeds or coconut shell and 401 are cut out by means of a hollow metal reamer twirled rapidly between the palms. The perforated shell may then be used as a colander. Glass and porcelain beads and earrings are also worn. The most prized orna- [172] ments are the tumas—polished and perforated stone ornaments found in some of the old graves. On dress occasions necklaces of beads and gold ornaments are worn. These, found in *Tairona* graves, are fashioned in the form of tiny animals, frogs, turtles, etc.

302 The men, except the medicine men, wear their hair short, kept back by a ring or crown made of plaited straw, or of wool with a tassel behind. Often the two are combined and adorned with a couple of feathers in front; or the whole may be made of feathers. For protection against [751 mosquitos and sun both sexes paint their skin with powders made from 386 rotten wood, a black stain made from a wild nut, and another color extracted from leaves and mixed with fat. After puberty women cut their [884] hair short, keeping the shorn tresses in a bag hung from the roof; henceforth they never let it grow beyond the neck. They make designs on

/2 cont./

●562 [842] The father hopes that his first-born will be a boy, as he sees in him a future helper in herding tasks and a companion on long trips. The maternal family also desires that the first-born be a son because, although he does not hereafter increase the family, beoause of /the system of/ matrilinear descent, he does contribute to its prestige, as on the number of males depends the family prestige and influence, since it is they who represent it in situations of conflict with other groups and who, because of this prestige, make it possible for their relatives to live a more peaceful life by checking the misbehavior of members of other groups with the women of their group, maintaining the peaceful equilibrium of the conjugal life and preserving a mutual respect for the rights and duties of both sides.

Furthermore, on their importance depends, indirectly, the maintenance of their womenfolks' social standing, as no other Guajiro /3/ would become involved in acts of violation or seduction against them for fear of reprisal. Their daughters, rather, will be bought by men of their own social rank, which would eliminate the possibility of their being lowered. Also, should a relative die, the indemnity is more certain, for fear that the group might impose payment and justice by its own might.

However, the male members always present difficulties. The women of the group are always bound by the conduct of the men, for whatever illegal act is committed against another group affects them directly as reprisals are directed against them. On the other hand, when it becomes known that the men [579] are foregathering, the women must be near by, because the men overindulge in rum and under its influence become aggressive and give free rein to their dislikes and hatreds. The women's role then is to try to keep arguments from degenerating into wrangling and bloodshed by endeavoring prudently to patch up such difficulties as they develop.

[583] Furthermore, although it is true that male economic help is the greater in cases where the group requires mutual

/3 cont./
562 co-operation, it is also true that their marriages demand heavy
[583] disbursements from everyone, not only in animals but in jewelry -- gold ornaments -- which a man's female relatives give him to be handed over to his future wife as a sign of the engagement. Also, the children of a man's marriage are not his in our sense of the word, so that in spite of the expense borne by the family, it does not become strengthened by the increase. All the children belong to the maternal family group according to Guajiro law.

[842] The wife concurs with her husband in hoping that her first child will be a son but thereafter hopes for a large family of girls, who will enrich and increase the family group to which they belong with children and marriage payments, for a woman
[811] in Guajiro society has no less importance than a man, as it is she who transmits relationship and, therefore, increases with her offspring the number of consanguineous relatives. In the woman rest the hopes of her relatives for indemnification for the care they gave her in her youth and the maintenance of her social rank, because, on being bought, the eldest daughter indemnifies her father and his family for the expenses they had in livestock and ornaments in buying her mother. The others, with their marriage payments, increase the maternal income and, to a certain extent, augment with this sum the economic backing for future children and for the support of the husband, and form a nest egg to help should any difficult situation of their own or of their family /4/ arise. Moreover, as women have lately been
[797] improving the technique of their handwork by the instruction they receive in the Capuchin mission, and these articles are readily sold in the markets of the interior as well as in the neighboring markets of Valledupar and Maracaibo, the woman really constitutes an important economic force that helps to overcome the precarious financial situation in the home, which is aggravated by the intensely hot summers which do not permit all-season agricultural activity and weaken the livestock. With the revenue so obtained she supports her husband, feeds and clothes herself, her children, and her close relatives.

/4 cont./

562 177 At the present time the family concept of the woman is changing because of the conduct of mestizo and even pure Indian women brought about by changes in their economic situation and by contact with whites. Gradually, the traditional organization of the marriage payment and fidelity based on the payment is being broken down, because it is the women themselves and not their relatives who receive the payment, and for their [548] activities as prostitutes. The phenomenon is noted not only in the centers of the interior which wave contacts with whites and Negroes -- principally traders and civil authorities -- but also and especially in Maracaibo and some of the towns in the department of Magdalena, to which they have been obliged to emigrate. However, they maintain the family concept of mutual assistance and share their income with their close relatives, not as before in the form of the marriage payment but as income earned in the sex market.

843 Prenatal care and birth. A woman learns that she is pregnant when she feels a loss of appetite and repugnance for food. The later disappearance of the menstrual period confirms the suspicion, and she immediately sees to it that her husband is informed of the event, so that he may know of his coming fatherhood. Also, in the case where she has had extramarital relations [837] in the absence of the husband, the woman, when she feels these early symptoms of pregnancy, goes in search of him, cohabits with him, and later can tell him of her condition, thus avoiding possible later suspicions. From the time of the ending of the first menstrual period, she begins to count the months, and she expects delivery after the eighth month.

Before the arrival of a child, the woman complies with established rules intended to avoid a lengthy and difficult delivery as well as to safeguard the new arrival from sickness which would affect his normal mental and physical well-being. Included in these prescriptions are to be found some of useful and practical value and others with a marked magic aspect. These magic observances generally affect both parents, although some only refer to the woman, /5/ others exclusively to the man (1).

/58 cont./

881 182 3. It represents a period of apprenticeship during which she acquires mastery of the general techniques of the culture and the specific ones pertaining to her family.

4. From the knowledge obtained from the past history of her consanguineous family group, the initiate is identified with it, giving rise to the reaffirmation of the bonds of union, as an adult member participating in it.

5. It is a period of preparation for the perfect fulfillment of the socio-physical function of motherhood.

6. Lastly, it constitutes a thorough training in the biological and social functions of the woman in carrying out well her role as a wife. /59/

IV

PREMARITAL CONSIDERATIONS

562 Independence of the man. In the Guajiro family organization the man occupies a privileged position which is apparent from his childhood onward.

The father, as we have seen, hopes that his first-born will be a boy, and the maternal family also cheerfully accepts that wish, as it is the male elements that strengthen and give prestige to the family, who defend it in disputes with other groups, and who can help the group forward as a powerful economic factor.

For these reasons Guajiro boys are reared with more freedom and privileges than girls. In the absence of the father, the eldest son, or in any case the male child, takes the father's place in important matters in the home, being consulted by his mother, who respects his opinion, and he occupies his father's place and has his privileges at meals.

/61/

583 The married man is the head of a new cell, and this im-
885 plies family and social obligations. These he must face up to as a head of a family under peril of loss of prestige and lowering of position. With the coming of children his position becomes more and more extended, as his duties and rights are becoming joined and broadened, for to the obligations of a husband are added those of a father. And these are further complicated on contracting marriages with new women, as then he has reached, according to the Guajiro way of thinking, the maximum development of his male personality.

Valuation of virginity and of the woman. The value of
581 the Guajiro woman is fixed by the marriage payment, that is to
562 say, it is the economic assessment of her worth. The conditions of this valuation, traditional among the upper classes (as the lower classes have lost them through socio-economic conditions which even influence those of some standing), may be summarized thus:

The physical qualities which make a Guajiro woman
581 desirable are those that comply with the traditional aesthetic
832 norm and are those that the woman after her seclusion (Cf. Initiation of Young Women) makes every endeavor to acquire at any cost: tall stature, balanced by well distributed flesh which gives her an appearance of robustness and full-bodiedness, so that when walking decked out in her ample clothes, she has an appearance both elegant and majestic; wide and robust hips (probably with an unconscious biological end in mind, or a sexual one, or a combination of both); small and upright breasts, as the opposite is considered almost repulsive; and, above all, firm flesh. This last is probably the most desired quality, as the man openly confesses that when his woman over the years loses it, he replaces her by another one who has it. The shape of the legs has no importance, probably because with the full, long dress they are out of sight. In the main, they are thin in relation to the body and frequently bowlegged /?cascorvas/.

/246 cont./

177 resist the pressure exercised on the latter. Changes in the idea of marriage automatically will change: descent, inheritance, interclan relations, the value of women, the education of children, the concept of kinship, the right to land, etc., -- so closely are all these items tied one to the other!

VI

177 As was natural to expect, acculturation has also affected
562 the status of women considered as members of the consanguineous group. In the traditional organization, we can say that the preponderant status of the woman within the family is that of mother, who is, so to speak, the second head of the home, after the /247/ maternal uncle who guides and directs the activities of the cell. But this unilateral valuation is being transformed into a double one: that of wife-mother. We will clarify this point. We have seen in the pertinent chapters how a wife's value was determined exclusively by her position, which in turn was determined by the maternal clan to which she belonged. This valuation was materially shown by the high or low payment which a man decided to pay for her on taking her for his wife, in accordance with her clan position. Within the man's clan, relations with the woman were limited to the mutual help given to her husband for her purchase price and their assistance in the preparatory ceremonies of the marriage. But there was no link that tied them to her or to her children, as a consequence of uterine descent. But at the present time the presence of the wife of one of the male members of the clan is taken into account since she now fulfills certain functions which permit her relative incorporation into the clan, or at least into the small family of the husband. On his part, the man has changed his position with regard to her by not looking on her simply as a biological being, but as a companion. For the same reason the status of maternal aunt,

/247 cont./

177 in relation to her sister's children, has been weakened in view
562 of the intervention of the paternal aunts, previously unrecognized in relation to their nephews and nieces in the masculine line.

Women, considered simply as a social component, have acquired a higher position owing to the cultural changes that have affected the community due to their contacts with other civilizations. The most important advance, perhaps, is the relative liberalizing of clan rules in their relation to marriage, as the woman does not submit so voluntarily to the husband that her maternal relatives pick for her, but has sufficient strength of will, backed up by actions which are happening with ever greater frequency, to choose her man herself even though this may mean for her the breaking off of all ties which link her to family and clan organization. Furthermore, she acquires with the white marriage institution legal powers to combat polygamy.

VII

654 Having outlined the various influences of acculturation on the individual, on society, and on Guajiro culture, and having sketched in this study the life cycle of the individual and some of the most characteristic social institutions of the community, we can now refer in a general way to the conformation of the status of the native in its different aspects. /248/

The points of reference of individual status of an inhabitant of La Guajira may be summarized as follows:

1. Membership through blood in a powerful clan, and within it being the son of a woman of high position, who is a first wife (remember the presence of polygamy and its conflicts). This implies:

A. Control of sufficient wealth represented by:

a) Numerous heads of livestock, preferably cows and horses.

b) Family jewels set with tuma, the traditional stone; possession of ancient, solid gold or silver idols.

/250/

554 a) Physical qualities. Having a normal physical appearance, that is, conforming to the aesthetic ideal of the group; lack of defects or deformities, such as the lack of a limb or an eye, presence of visible scars, especially on the face, etc., and to be physically strong.

b) Psychic and cultural qualities. Among these qualities the following should be pointed out: 1. Capacity to bear fatigue. 2. Resistance to hunger during times of scarcity, ability to withstand prolonged thirst. 3. Cruel in reprisal. Inflexible in decisions. 4. Vindictive. 5. Spiteful. 6. Proud. 7. Fearless. 8. Introverted as much as possible. 9. Hospitable and generous. 10. Sexually insatiable. 11. A good drinker. 12. A skillful shot. 13. Possession of a life record of numerous wartime and amorous adventures. 14. A good rider. 15. Never having violated the regimen for social stability by murder or robbery. 16. Possession of a perfect understanding of the native language and bilingualism, with oratorical qualities which increases his capacity to convince others in cases when this may be necessary. 17. A clever versifier.

c) Within the division of labor to be able to fill some of the following offices: 1. Shaman. 2. Arbitrator or cacique. 3. Skillful and rich herdsman. 4. Accomplished hunter and fisherman. 5. Good harness maker. 6. Trader. 7. Public employee.

554 As to feminine status we can state that it has the same essential points of reference with certain variations due to her
562 sex, which we shall briefly enumerate:

1. Membership by consanguineous ties in a powerful clan with the same characteristics as for the man, which implies:

A. Control of sufficient wealth to maintain personal prestige represented by:

a) Abundant and costly ornaments.
b) Expensive clothes and articles of personal use.
c) Possession of charms, especially those for love.
d) Numerous staff, free or otherwise.

/250 cont./

554 e) The services of paid wet nurses to feed her children.

562 f) Good horses with the corresponding ostentations harness. /251/

g) Her own dwelling apart from that of her husband's other wives.

h) Costly outfit and dowry /on marriage/.

In her relations with her family and with society:

A free and protected childhood, that is, no material obligations to carry out until the prepubertal period.

Rites of passage in accordance with the strictest norms.

Being bought as a first wife with cows and in one payment, at a higher or equal price to that paid for her female ancestors.

Being able to give to her sons /and daughters, hijos/ and nephews /and nieces, sobrinos/ costly jewels when they are about to be married or when they have to compensate someone for an injury inflicted.

To be in a position to send her children to study at civilizado centers.

And all the other /items/ we have seen in the case of men.

B. As in the case of the man, her clan should include numerous males of socio-economic prestige.

Aspects A and B are most important for her both in the family group and in society in the following manner:

In the family group, by enjoying respect and acquiring an outstanding position, which converts her also into the first woman of the family.

In society, by likewise enjoying the respect of the community, by not /becoming involved in the/ violating the code of personal security as it refers to acts of sexual aggression against herself, her female relatives, or her female slaves and bond servants. Besides, by occupying the position of first wife in the marriage and being able to intervene as an arbitrator in interclan disputes, and being able to do her part, as head of the household, in cases of putchi /clan war/.

2. Personal qualities:

/251 cont./

554 a) Physical. As in the case of the man, to have a physique
562 in accord with/the ideals of/ cultural patterns and without outstanding physical defects.

To be sexually attractive.

To be a virgin at marriage.

b) Psychic and cultural qualities. 1. Reserved. 2. Faithful to cultural patterns. 3. Prudent. 4. Respectful. 5. Hospitable and generous. 6. Faithful wife. /252/ 7. Sisterly with her co-wives. 8. Good manager of the home. 9. Affectionate mother. 10. Capable of economic independence. 11. Mastery of the language.

c) Within the framework of the division of labor: to be a shaman or diviner; to have a knowledge of magic, particularly in the making of charms; good midwife, dressmaker, potter, herbalist, or competent maid.

VIII

554 A violation, in active or passive form, of the system of law and order by persons who are unable to pay a satisfactory indemnity for the infraction leads to their being given a special extrasocial status with very clear characteristics. They occupy the lowest place on the social scale. They are the bond servants and slaves whose general characteristics, as we have seen in the chapters referring to them, are:

Lack of family ties, since their consanguineous units have been broken up by their defeat in war as punishment for breaking the cultural rules connected with law and order.

As a consequence, lack of economic backing.

Lack of territorial connections, the land of their consanguineous unit having been taken over by the victors.

Loss of the position of being free, becoming chattel over whom their owners have the right of usufruct and abuse.

/253 cont./

554 548 with respect to social questions as fundamental as marriage, there has been a change in the judgment of prostitution and concubinage, two ways by which a woman escapes from legal strictures, almost always because of necessity or the special circumstances in which her group is placed.

X

554 562 888 We should note here the important fact that the functions ascribed to the working Guajiro woman no longer count when she has passed through her adult change of life, that is to say, when she has passed the menopause. From this moment it appears that she enjoys absolute freedom within the community to do those things that are prohibited a woman before she reaches that condition, such as to become inebriated, to smoke, to indulge in sexual liberties; certain taboos now no longer refer to her, and the cultural patterns need not be so rigorously complied with; she is not obliged to become the wife of the heirs of the dead husband, etc. Her status again becomes effective with all its attached functions after her death, as we shall see.

XI

554 769 775 The active presence of an individual in Guajiro society is not lost at his death. In the concept that these natives have about death, clearly expressed in the study made by my husband to which we have /254/ made reference several times, every member of the community continues being a member of it and exercises influence over his fellow men after his death. His status in the afterlife is determined by the same conditions that he had during his earthly life: the acquiring of greater wealth and of prestige confers a higher status in the world of the spirits.

[32 cont.]

*756 various spirits by one person. They are several spirits associated
775 by this post-mortem relationship which act inseparably in their
787 function as counselors.

It is also very probable that the protector spirits invoked by the shamans may not be anything other than the spirits of famous deceased shamans of times past to whom they turn for aid. In this case they would only have to make a change of name due to the taboo relating to the use of the name of dead persons, which we shall explain in the corresponding chapter.

* * *

114 Before continuing with our subject, we wish to make cer-
171 tain clarifying statements with respect to the presence of women
● 562 in the science of magic in La Guajira and in general among
*756 primitive Americans. We have already seen that among the Guajiro Indians the only basic condition required to become a shaman is what we have called the "revelation," accompanied by the symptoms described earlier. The sex, age, or economic and social position of the person is not taken into account in any way. It is, as we have stated, only necessary to be of a hysterical nature. However, Métraux in his work which we have repeatedly quoted states:

"In tropical South America the profession of shaman appears to be as a general rule reserved for the masculine sex. One does find, however, among many writers reference to women shamans." (26) [Cited in French.] According to these authors

26. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 198.

quoted by Métraux, (Rochefort, Roth, Koch Grünberg, and Ives d'Evreux), women shamans are to be found in the Antilles and among the Tupinamba, Taulipang, Arekuna [Arekena], and Macushi [Macusi].

With reference especially to women shamans in La Guajira, Métraux maintains the following, based on Petrullo's The Yaruros of the Capanaparo River: "Among the Arawak tribe of the Guajiro

[32 cont.]

114 the number of women shamans is greater than that of the men
171 piai. At the suggestion of these latter, women will enter the
● 562 profession following a call from the spirit world and [33] are
*756 initiated into the secrets of their art by an experienced shaman who at night teaches them to handle the rattle and sing their magic songs." (27) [Cited in French.] He likewise quotes cases

27. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 199.

of women shamans among the ancient Mojo Indians of eastern Bolivia and the Itonama, neighbors of those previously mentioned (28), as well as among the Apapocuva (Guaraní), the

28. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 199.

Cobeuo, the Palikur, and the Carajá (29).

29. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 200.

Further on, speaking of the role of women in witchcraft, he says: "With the exception of the passage in Ives d'Evreux..." (relative to the Tupinamba) "there does not exist any description of a shamanistic seance of the current type being directed by a female piai. This hiatus is perhaps due to the poverty of our sources, but it is also revelatory of the real position of women in shamanism. The profession is open to them, but the role they play in it is modest. It appears they limit themselves to simple and easy cures, to various remedies, and to the recital of charms. Women do not usually take part in the invocation of spectacular spirits before the extraction of pathogenic substances. It is certainly not through the effect of simple coincidence that women shamans appear especially in the cultures that have come strongly under European influence (Guajiro, Yaruro, Palikur, Warrau, Itonama, and Guaraní, etc." (30) [Cited in French.]

30. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 200.

[33 cont.]

114 We do not wish to question Professor Métraux's statement
177 about the influence of White contact in relation to medicine-
562 women in the other groups cited by him, as we are not objec-
*756 tively acquainted with them. But with regard to the Guajiro, we have to make the clarification that in the descriptions collected by us in the field, it is precisely the woman who really initiates magic, or better said shamanism, among the Indians, when she obliges her nephew to follow her own career. This aspect can be better understood when the reader comes to the section of this chapter entitled "The shaman in oral literature."
[174] The fact that women appear as shamans in oral literature demonstrates the antiquity of the institution, as this literature faithfully preserves the most remote traditions of the group.

*756 The shaman, man of two worlds. All that we have seen in connection with the life cycle of the Guajiro shaman makes us think that he is what we have called him in the subtitle that heads these paragraphs: a man of two worlds — the world of the living and the world of the spirits of the dead. [34]

*756 The communication which he establishes after all the
554 preparatory ceremonies with one or several protector spirits who lavish on him every kind of counsel and instruction and even protect him against evil in all its manifestations: illness, enemies, public calamities, etc., make of him a man distinct from all the rest. His status is superior to that of other mortals because in his hands he has power over both good and evil. It is this duality that binds with his science a man who is both sacred and human, a being respected by all but feared at the same time, a good man, able to cure illnesses, but also a malignant being, liable to let loose the fury of the spirits beyond the grave. He is respected, loved, feared, and even, we might dare to say, profoundly hated.

[783] What predominates in him above all is the characteristic of impurity due to contamination from death. Sacred and impure become confounded in him; he is sacred because he is untouchable, and he is untouchable because of his participation with death through his protector spirits.

*756 His dual position as inhabitant of two worlds, involuntary it is true, depends on two fundamentally simple facts: first, his

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

88 [868] weaving, making dresses, hammocks, sashes, &c., sewing, and all the little knick-knacks Indians love so well.

The confinement is not so isolated as it seems, generally several of her female relations are round the door with the enclosed, who of course becomes rather stout, much blanched, almost white, and some exceedingly beautiful. Strangers and men are not excluded from peeping in through [584] the door, always with an eye to matrimony, and she can be sold and liberated at once, though her husband if rich prefers leaving her to complete her term of schooling. On re-entering to society again, a special festival, *ahuitis*, is held with dancing, &c. An ox is killed, and the girl is dressed in the clothes she has made; her hair is cut and she resumes all her beads, necklaces, bracelets, and other ornaments.

562 [579] Women are much respected by the Goajiros. In a quarrel or drunken brawl, women often save bloodshed by stepping in and tearing the weapons out of their husband's or brother's hand. Travelling with women is consequently perfectly safe, and in case of danger, if one undertakes to protect a stranger, he may rely upon coming out all right.

583 Matrimony is a mere case of barter. The girl is sold for a certain price, fixed by the father. This is paid by the intended husband, and divided by the father, who appropriates the best part for himself and his relations, the rest going to the wife's relations. As it is chiefly in 585 cattle, these are killed and a kind of bridal festival held. There is no other ceremony. A wife is under obligation to support her husband, 593 find him in food, clothes, &c. She does most of the trading, and a [462] contract made with an Indian is worthless, should his better half object. An Indian cannot inflict bodily injury on his wife, for he becomes liable [583] to her relations, and should she die during childbirth he has to repay the father what he gave for her. But if the wife is untrue (a rare occurrence) [684] he demands from the father the price he paid for her, who if he cannot refund, helps him to recover from the seducer, plus tear or compensation from his mother-in-law. At the husband's death, the 587 wife becomes a legacy to his brother, usually the youngest; if there are 764 none, then his nephew inherits her. The daughter of a chief is worth, 583 according to his wealth and power (i. e. the number of men he can dispose of in a fight) from 6 to 150 head of cattle (12*l.* to 300*l.*).

764 When a person dies, a grand drinking festival is given, that lasts as long as there is anything to drink—days, and even weeks, with the wealthy. These latter are buried twice, and have two festivals. A rich person is always buried in the rancho, and on the spot where he was born; being often carried for that purpose immense distances. A fire is lighted every night from sunset to sunrise in front of the grave, for the sole use of the dead. Immense piles of wood are gathered for this purpose, as the body is kept two years in the house. Then all the relations can meet on a certain day, and the second feast takes place, when the bones are carefully gathered, placed in a jar, and consigned to the

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
SC13 Goajiro SC13

or 16 years old—and it is entirely up to Ramoncito to find a 604
suitable mate for her. As yet there is no prospective bridegroom 584
but when he is found he will be entirely Ramoncito's choice. Ramoncito may seek the advice of Estrella's parents, but the final say rests with him. Even the girl has little or nothing to do with the selection. Ramoncito will settle the bride price and collect it all for himself. He will not share it with his other [583] brothers nor will the girl's parents receive any part of it. Ramoncito concerns himself greatly about Estrella and seldom lets a day pass without paying her a visit. Estrella comes to [574] visit her uncle quite frequently too, either alone—for they live [431] close by—or with her mother, and she always brings a little gift for Ramoncito's only child. Ramoncito has another sister whose daughter is already married. In this case it was Ramoncito again who made all the arrangements for the marriage, selecting a wealthy bridegroom, settling the bride price, and collecting it. He kept all of it for himself as he is supposed to do. None of the other relatives had anything to say regarding the marriage.

The following is another case, one from a different level of society. Carmelina is the daughter of a poor man who lives at San Antonio. She has only one maternal uncle, who is also poor. About a year ago her uncle insisted upon her marrying the bridegroom whom he had already selected for her. The bride price was arranged and collected by her uncle, but he being a wasteful [583] man—according to Carmelina—went to Venezuela, sold the cattle there and spent all of his money. Since that time this uncle has been trying to get some cattle from Carmelina's husband, but, as he has no further claim on his niece, they have refused him. Carmelina, apparently is happy in her marriage and glad to be out of her uncle's reach. He pays frequent visits to his [574] niece, but as he is received with cool indifference his visits are less frequent than they used to be.

Now for the actual pattern of behavior. The present writer 604
was able to observe personally the mode of behavior between Estrella and Ramoncito and between Carmelina and her uncle. Let us take Estrella's case first. Apart from the fact that in [562] the Guajira whenever we find a mixed group the women in-

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
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[562] variably stay somewhat in the background, the attitude of
604 Estrella in the presence of her uncle is not marked by that stiff formality so obvious in the attitude of Ilaro and his uncle. She shows no signs of disrespect, but on the other hand she is perfectly free to interrupt her uncle whenever she feels like doing so and nobody can criticize her. This she does not do frequently, but during the course of the conversation which the present writer observed she interrupted him twice with no apparent annoyance or disapproval on the part of Ramoncito. His attitude toward her was very much the same. Respect is shown by both, but that marked formality that is so apparent in the uncle-nephew relations is lacking. This may possibly be due to the fact that the nephew is of course the receiver of benefits — theoretically at least — and consequently must show great respect in the way of a stiff formality in order not to anger his uncle, while in the other case the uncle receives benefits through his niece, and although she cannot override her uncle altogether
[562] because of the general backwardness of women in the Guajira, rigid formality, at least, is absent. This interpretation was checked up with the native informants, to discover if possible their own views. The matter was found to be far from clear in their minds, but they were all of the opinion that the above economic considerations, may be a factor in explaining the presence of the rigid formality in one case and its absence in the other.

In the case of Carmelina the situation is somewhat different. Although there were no outward signs of disrespect shown by either Carmelina or her uncle, there was no sign at all of affection between them, especially on the part of Carmelina. She treated her uncle very coldly, seldom addressed him and paid little attention to what he said. The writer had been working with Carmelina and her husband all one morning and was to stay
[574] that day and night with them. Around midmorning the uncle joined the group but was not invited to stay for dinner, although on several occasions he tried to get himself invited. After he left both Carmelina and her husband spoke sharply about her uncle. The writer was unfortunately unable to contact the uncle and get his opinion on the matter. Nevertheless, it is apparently safe to conclude that while the relations between

583 man cannot immediately pay any worthwhile part of the
614 bride-price. The young man may then abduct the girl with the tacit consent of her parents, and thereby postpone having to pay the bride-price. After some time, the girl's relatives will require payment, but meantime his family will have been trying to scrape together at least a first instalment.

Genuine abduction does occur occasionally, but only when the man knows that the girl's clan is weak and that her relatives will thus have difficulty in claiming their rights. He will take the girl as far away as possible. If he is caught, her relatives will try to demand a bride-price. Perhaps he is already tired of the girl by then and wants to return her. She is the clan's property and is not being returned un-
583 damaged, so the man must pay damages for seduction and,
565 if the girl is pregnant, also for childbirth.

In the lower classes that would dispose of the matter.
614 The baby would in any event be taken into the mother's
684 clan and have her name. In the upper classes a girl would be turned out if she had had such an accident and the considerable damages required had not been paid immediately. The clan's prestige cannot be allowed to suffer.

Indian girls never keep a seducer's name secret, but at once tell their family who he is.

Among the lower classes cases of wives eloping are said to occur. The man to whom they have gone can legalize the position by paying compensation to the husband. If the husband agrees to do a deal, he cannot ask as much as the bride-price he himself paid, for the girl is by then less valuable.

It follows from all this that a woman has not the right to
560 dispose of her own body. She belongs to her mother's
583 family until she marries, and her closest relatives must be compensated for any injury done her. Once the man has paid the bride-price she becomes his property. If she is
[768] widowed, she is inherited along with the rest of his effects by his nephews (sister's sons) and she has to purchase her freedom from them, paying a sum equivalent to the bride-price less what she is held to have lost in value since mar-
riage.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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562 [548]

riage. A Guajiro woman has no right to sell her body. The law does not recognize prostitution.

A married woman's relatives and clan do not leave her entirely in her husband's hands. He may not do as he likes with her, nor cause her suffering. Suffering and discomfort she is bound to experience in childbirth, however, and of that he is the primary cause; thus whether as a result of legal or illegal relations, the man must compensate the mother for her confinement by giving her family a few cattle. The woman herself may not eat their meat under any circumstances. 562 614 844 [431]

Originally the Guajiro clans were exogamous; members were not allowed to marry within the clan. That is no longer insisted upon, but not only brothers and sisters, but maternal males and cousins on the mother's side, are still reckoned among the forbidden degrees. It is unthinkable that an Indian girl should marry her maternal uncle; that would be like having her father for her husband. It once happened that an uncle and niece had a secret relationship and the girl became pregnant. A monk married them, but the Indians regarded the relationship as a heinous crime and the whole district reacted so violently that the couple had to leave the peninsula and go far away, where there was no risk of meeting members of their tribe. 582 614 835 [626]

There is nothing to prevent an Indian getting himself several wives. Infrequently white men have married into Guajiro families and they too have had to pay a bride-price. A number of poor Creoles have contracted Guajiro marriages with poor girls. I have already mentioned how foreign oil workers made Guajiro marriages. In those early days there were no arrangements made for employees' families, and the Guajiro girls suited those primitive conditions very well, though as a rule such marriages with Indian girls were very short-lived, as those of the Creoles with them still are. The girl is soon abandoned, if that can be done without risk, the girl's family in such cases being powerless. So the Indians told me. [595] 648 582

The monks had already told us that where Creoles had married Guajiro girls of good family, those marriages had

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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586 minus an amount considered equivalent for the sexual right he had exer-
[845 cised. If a woman dies in her first childbirth the husband may demand
583] the full return of the bride price (Simons, 1885, p. 792, however, states
that the wife's relatives demand compensation from the husband).
586 Adultery entails divorce with full return of the bride price. It rarely
837 occurs, however, as the wife will be treated badly by her own relatives.
At his death a man's wives are inherited by his brother, and next by his
587 sister's sons; the women may avoid this by making a payment equivalent
768 to their bride price. If he is of the Catholic faith his children may claim
184 to be his legal heirs, which leads to conflict with the maternal nephews.
(See Social Organization, p. 374.)

●562 The influence of women in political affairs is sometimes noticeable.
622 There are cases of female chiefs, and women are respected enough so as to be able to intervene and stop brawls.

764 **Death.**—Funerals are accompanied by festivities which last days or even
[558 weeks, according to the wealth of the family. There are some differences
184] in the funeral ceremonies which are apparently associated with the particular sibs. These funeral feasts afford the best opportunity for display of wealth, and more than 1,000 head of livestock may be butchered. Every mourner who comes to the feast contributes animals for slaughter and continues to do so as long as he cares to remain. After the mourning period, marked by weeping and lamenting interspersed with drinking and feasting, the corpse, which has lain in a hammock slung from the rafters,
[784 is sewn up in hides by the women (men may not touch a dead body)
and carried to the cemetery of the tribe. For a year or so, the body may be temporarily consigned to a shallow grave marked by a pile of stones. Food and drink are often placed in the grave, and, if the deceased had been a warrior, his bows and arrows are put in. A year or two later the bones
764 are exhumed and reburied in a large urn. The exhumation is generally
765 done at night and is accompanied by a feast. The remains are carried in a funeral procession to the dead person's birthplace, where they are buried in the family's own cemetery. The funeral urn is placed in a vertical position with the narrow neck of the jar protruding above ground to permit the free entry and exit of the spirit and to allow the remains of other members of the family to be added from time to time. A cactus hedge surrounds the cemetery, and in wet weather half a calabash is placed over the opening of each jar to keep out the rain. Whenever two relatives of a recently deceased person meet, they bow to the ground, shouting and groaning, for several minutes. (For a slightly different account of the burial of a rich man, see Simons, 1885, p. 792.)

751 If a person is stricken with smallpox the whole tribe moves away, only
766 the family of the sick person remaining. When the death occurs they bury the body below the floor and burn the hut over the grave.

/69 cont./

836 The virginity of the single woman is becoming very rare in La Guajira. Premarital relations have been occurring with greater frequency in recent years as a consequence of the social disintegration of this indigeneous group, caused by a multiplicity of reasons, among which stand out: the influence of the so-called white groups, among whom free union is common practice; emigration to regions such as Venezuela, where the Indian women break away from the norms of their ancestors and find an atmosphere which does not resent the sexual adventures of women but rather stimulates them; the scarcity and hunger in certain regions which push the inhabitants toward the urban centers of the peninsula, where the woman gives herself in exchange for the wherewithal to satisfy her vital needs of food and dress, an attitude which her relatives recognize and tolerate because, indirectly, it also helps them. The premarital relations forced by circumstances or encouraged by them have been creating a social class of women which previously did not exist nor could fit within her social organization: the prostitute. It must be noted that it is the mestizo woman (mixture of Indian with white or negro) who more easily takes this road.

[548] [563]

Also one has to take into account the premature premarital relations that have always existed in La Guajira and which take place between the girls and their brothers, and even their fathers, when the girls are about ten or more, when they go to the fields or the countryside in general and meet the boys who are devoting themselves to pasturing. (Cf. Chap. II.)

[835]

* * *

836 558 178 The common type of furtive sexual relations of the adult woman causes her to drop in social esteem and particularly in that of the men, producing, indirectly, the phenomenon that virginity as a basis for marriage has become overvalued. Before, it was a fact that was logically expected as an essential, and the lack of this condition created social and psychic problems.

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CONCLUSIONS

I

177 Guajiro culture and society can no longer be considered to be homogeneous bodies. Each of them has been subjected to the influence of contact with other civilizations which are distinct from their own both in manifestation and in human constituents and which have left the mark of their wake in the transformation of institutions as well as individuals. This process, which we may suppose started before the Conquest through relations with other neighboring native groups in the adjacent department of Magdalena and in the bordering republic of Venezuela, was accelerated after the area was colonized and its rhythm has been increasing, in a progression we might call geometric -- with the advance and the development of the republic of Colombia, especially in the latter period of its history when migratory currents have made themselves felt with greater intensity over the length and breadth of its territory for reasons we will not mention here as they are outside the scope of this work.

177 563 In any case, racial and cultural mixing /mestizaje/ is one of the most important factors in the study of La Guajira. As one has been able to note in the contents of this study, its institutions and primary cultural patterns -- the traditional ones being understood by this -- are in part conditioned by the new cultural forms adopted through the impact of different groups which have penetrated peacefully or violently into their innermost lives. First, the Spanish conquerors; then the European merchants who took advantage of the pearl trade of the Guajiro Indians; later the colonists, also Spaniards, who established their haciendas in regions in close contact with the peninsula; and last, the mestizo groups, generally negroid, from the Colombian and Venezuelan coasts, who have most directly influenced the social and cultural changes in the Guajiro by reason of their having at their disposal an excellent network of communication by air, land, and sea

/237 cont./

177 which furrows all the territory inhabited by the Indians, from the
563 towns of the department of Magdalena to the dominant /238/ urban center of the region, Maracaibo, in the neighboring republic of Venezuela.

177 To these factors, which we might call unconscious or involuntary, must be added others that are not so, such as the missionary influence and that of the schools for natives, which, although very few up to the present in comparison with the number of inhabitants in the peninsula, have definitely impressed cultural norms of a civilization quite distinct from autochthonous ones, especially with regard to religion. For, as noted by my husband in his work, Aspectos de la Magia en la Guajira, published in the previous number of this review, magic -- although it influences and determines many of the cultural patterns of the natives and their reactions and ways of thinking -- has been losing ground day by day as the new ideas of the Catholic religion are inculcated in the individual; and its most genuine representative, the shaman, or medicine man, has to a great extent lost his value as spiritual director of the community and is reduced today to the status of a simple curer /curandero/ who sees himself facing an unequal struggle with the medical doctors who arrive in the peninsula, to the point that "if the medical and hygienic services of La Guajira were intensified by the Colombian government, in the course of a few years the shaman would disappear as an institution in the peninsula, and the greater part of the aborigines' magic beliefs, especially with respect to sickness and death, would disappear from the collectivity and would remain only as folkloristic manifestations which recall his presence in times past."

Furthermore, these two factors have determined appreciable changes in another of the strongest Indian institutions: marriage. As the reader will have noted, the chapter which we dedicated to this social aspect is probably the most extensive of the study we have just presented, a fact due not to a greater collection of notes on this subject but to its relative importance within the aggregate of cultural institutions. From it is directly derived the concept of

/240 cont./

177 the races, as well as of cultures started in the colonial period, according to the records of the chroniclers of those times, not only with the whites who penetrated the territory on expeditions of conquest or trade but also with the Negroes whom the natives had taken as slaves in exchange for pearls each time that the slave ships dropped anchor off their coast. This mixing continued sporadically, giving the characteristics of indomitable ferocity of La Guajira throughout the colonial period, and has accelerated as has cultural contact during recent years for reasons already noted.

This does not mean, naturally, that the racial composition 144 of the La Guajira Peninsula is exclusively mestizo -- a mixture 177 of Indians with whites, mestizos, Negroes, or mulattos -- be- 563 cause the greatest percentage of inhabitants is still pure Indian, especially so in the districts where they have had less contact with the civilized world, as happens in the Sierra de Jarara, for whose inhabitants there is a term very common in the whole territory, cerreros, that is, pure Indians in the widest sense of the word: Indians who preserve not only their physical characteristics but their unalterable psychic and cultural traits.

This crossing, as has happened in all the cases which we have been able to observe in societies dominated by other cultures, has been effected by the combination of the feminine element in the dominated race and the masculine element on the dominating side. The cases where the opposite has occurred are very rare. It may be added that this appears to be a general law, at least among the South American communities which had to submit to the invasion of Europeans, brought about in various ways and according to the period of penetration. /241/

177 Guajiro traditional institutions were so strong that the changes 563 in social composition did not at first essentially affect their cultural patterns. The newcomers adapted themselves perfectly to the norms of native life and made common cause with them, only differing in their physical type resulting from cross-breeding /mestizaje/ and possibly some cultural manifestations

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177 563 imposed by the father, if he stayed in the peninsula. Even today, many of the mestizos of La Guajira follow the Indian way of life, accepting their norms and being subject to their laws, and approving and participating in all outstanding times of life. One may often observe in them the appearance of a civilizado, that is, of an outsider to the Guajiro culture, by their external appearance and by certain forms of their conduct; but when one gets closer to them or sees them in their drunken moments, all their native ancestry comes to the fore and the mestizo, who had appeared to be a "white, " becomes completely Indian.

IV

177 But the process of acculturation brings about, in the individuals, as it does in the case of culture and society, definite new forms, which slowly go adjusting their ways of feeling and thinking, which condition their reactions to new patterns, the fruit of mixture of the traditional and the foreign. It could not be otherwise, given the interaction existing among these three component elements of the group: culture, society, and the individual. For this same reason, the personality of the Guajiro is very difficult to explain today given on the peninsula, as we have just seen, that persons and even entire groups who preserve intact their original cultural birthright live together with individuals and groups who have adapted their system of life to a new method, the product of the mixture of several cultures. But the process is in action and one can safely presume the ultimate unification of all the individuals under the new patterns.

The forms of reaction of the individual, as we have noted in the early chapters of this study, which correspond to what is the life cycle of the individual in La Guajira, have become transformed. Their response to different situations has changed, and their systems of compulsion related to these situations have suffered variations in practice, which it is natural to expect. The /242/ very morals of the native have weakened from their

[99 cont.]

751 the charm. He has two aims in view, to render himself immune
726 from harm from his enemies' weapons, and to acquire courage
579 and coolness in the coming fight. This type of charm is called ranfa in Guajiro.

The evil eye. This is one of the beliefs which seems to us to
754 have been acquired by the Guajiro Indians through acculturation,
[177] as we have not found it in any purely native group but, on the contrary, have found it very widely spread in all parts of Colombia, especially among the mestizos. We have personally en-
[171] countered it in the departments of Cauca, Valle del Cauca, Tolima, Antioquia, Santander, and Magdalena. Without being exclusive to Negro or Negroid groups, it is among them that this belief is found with the greatest intensity and frequency.

175 The presence of Negroes in La Guajira is not due only to
563 racial mixing with the groups of mulattos of the coast but was initiated in the centuries of the Colony as can be seen from these notes taken from Father Julián: "Two evident and palpable reasons came to me: practical reasons which because of my zeal for the welfare of the Guajiro Nation and for the Monarchy I now express. The first is their provision and use of [100] firearms through their continual trade with foreigners; secondly, these same foreigners have brought in Negroes and Negresses, and these
[563] have mixed with the Indian men and women who have bought and kept them as slaves. The result is that not only is the number of people in La Guajira increased but so also is the number of terrible races of Mestizos, Mulattos, Zambos, etc., who united with the Guajiro will make this nation even more formidable and everyday more difficult to conquer." (59)

59. Julián, Antonio. La Perla de la América [The Pearl of America], 2nd, XIV, 195.

754 Referring to this popular Santander belief, Juan de Dios Arias affirms: "In our territory, for example, there is a very general belief that certain persons have the evil eye, and if they should look fixedly and with evil intention at a child, in the course of a few days the latter will be covered with pimples and sore places which are difficult to cure. This evil influence is

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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551 told that among my own people I was a sort of medicine-man and chief combined.

Nowadays most of the Indians in Guajira acquire three first names: a Spanish one that the white men give them, a nickname, and their true, Indian name, which is secret except to members of their immediate family. When a girl is born, her father names her after her mother or some near female relative, but for everyday use she has a pet name [553] which is only dropped when she reaches marriageable age. She then acquires a new name, which she keeps for the rest of her life.

563 The Creoles called those in the border areas who were not 101 Indians '*gente*', or just 'people'. They could scarcely be called white, for many were as good as pure black, being the descendants of former slaves. When they told us in Rio Hacha that there were not any 'people' living in this or that village, they meant that there were none but Indians there. Those who were not Indians, that is those who wore trousers, also called themselves '*civilisados*', while the Indians called them arijuna.

115 We called our two old Indians Gaffer and Gammer, and the youngest 'The Lad'. We liked The Lad especially. He was 124 strong, merry and did the work of two. The fourth, who, strangely enough, had a crew cut and was supposed to be our interpreter, we called 'Bristles', and he learned to answer to that. He knew a little Spanish, but as an interpreter he was no use. When the Gaffer had been talking to us for a long time and we asked Bristles what he had said, the answer always was: 'Nothing'. Perhaps that was what the other's talk amounted to, but we should have preferred to have judged that for ourselves. We noticed, too, that if we had to scold the Gaffer, Bristles did not dare repeat what we said. With gestures and the few Guajiro words we knew we could make Gaffer realize that we were annoyed with him, but not always why.

291 The men wore nothing but the usual piece of cloth and 386 belt, the *núrcte*, or, in Spanish, guayuco, which really means crupper, and sandals to protect their feet from the cactus spikes lying on the ground, but the Gammer was enveloped

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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567 and slave-worker, whichever they bought, they treated
alike. In times of famine, so-called recruiting-agents, usually
648 half-breeds, appeared on the scene and bought up workers for the haciendas. Even those Creoles who were not directly engaged in this shameful traffic considered slavery a phenomenon about which there was nothing to be done. After all it was an ancient institution. Slave-workers with Creoles never became free, unless they could manage to escape, for the Creoles did not respect the Guajiro law according to which a slave-worker's servitude ceases when he has paid his debt. Those white people, mestizos or mulattos who had bought slave-workers saw to it that they never got away once they had put their clan mark to a contract, the purport of which they did not understand.

The central chain of hills, Sierra de Jarará, and Maicao in
567 the western low country, were usually accounted the centre
797 of this slave traffic. If a poor man stole a bullock or a goat to feed himself and his family, he was often punished by being sold as a slave-worker—having nothing with which to pay the owner compensation.

The monks are needed there all right. They calculated that during the five years they had been working there, some
[563] three thousand slaves had been sold. In the old days the Guajiro also had negro slaves, as is apparent from Antonio Julian's description of the country written at the end of the eighteenth century. According to him, the Indians used to
[439] obtain firearms, spirits, wine and slaves in Rio Hacha, in exchange for their pearls. The pearl fishery was entirely in the Indians' hands. Elsewhere, negro slaves were bartered for pearls from boats lying off the coast. Antonio Julian expressed concern at the fact that with the addition of negroes and negresses not only would the Indians increase in numbers, but also that they would acquire an additional population of mulattos, mestizos and zambos, who would make common cause with them and make them 'even more terrible, insolent and difficult to conquer'.

When he visited the peninsula he was met by a chief who was attended by two negro slaves, splendidly got up, like lackeys, and that obviously impressed him greatly.

/87 cont./

583 then, allows the transference of a woman from one man to another like any domestic animal and also the easy conversion of an illegal relationship to a legal one by paying for the woman.

But where the payment plays the most important social part 583 -- if we consider the different social classes found in La Guajira 565 -- is in the fixing of the social status of each woman and her descendants.

The status of a clan group rests on the marriage value of its women. This valuation dates back to distant times and has been transmitted from mother to daughter. For this reason the Guajiro when speaking of the price of a woman says: A free Guajiro woman is worth as much as her mother cost, and the latter had the same price as her grandmother. This is why payment for a woman has such enormous importance in her life and why, when she comes out of seclusion, all her attention and interest is concentrated on one thing: to be bought well, which amounts to finding someone who values her as she should be valued. It is also for this reason that white people cannot understand the pride with which a Guajiro woman relates that she was bought very dearly or that more cows were given for her than for some other woman. In the number of these heads of livestock is the valuation of her standing and the recognition that she belongs to the rich Guajiro class of better status. Hence she resorts to every kind of magic within her power to be bought well, to find a man who, paying for her what was paid for her mother, establishes her status, or paying even more, he being rich, raises her standing immediately by recognizing her personal qualities which make her worthy of such an increase; for if a woman cannot be bought (in normal times in her clan group) for less than the price paid for her mother, she can, on the contrary improve her standing through a higher price. In this way, the daughters born to the couple will be more expensive; that is to say, their status will have advanced as compared with /88/ that of their grandmother; and the man, if it is true that he has made an investment greater than he was legally obliged to, has increased his prestige, by having acquired

/88 cont./

583 for himself a woman who was worth so much; also his outlay will
565 be compensated by the payment he will receive for the first daughter who marries, which will be identical with what he paid for her mother.

583 Another interesting point is the regulating aspect the payment has on the moral and social conduct of a woman before marriage, since it obliges her indirectly to accept and comply with all the determined ethical and social norms, without which her value as a future wife would go down. For example, when the woman belongs to a high class, she must not accept proposals to elope with a man who loves her but who lacks sufficient money to buy her. This is allowed, however, in women of a lower social class who have no standing to lose, where there is not sufficient force to back the claims their relatives might make, and where their value as wives is not constant but varies, depending almost always on the financial capacity of the buyer and very often on the economic situation at the moment. In summer /the dry season/, for example, things get so bad in these lower classes that a woman can be bought for a little corn.

582 These facts give rise to a certain stabilization of the existing difference of status, for the women of high class can only be bought by men of the same or better position, which limits in this way the possibilities of acquiring a rich woman and prevents high-class family groups being mixed with poor groups or those of a lesser social standing.

583 A woman who wants to maintain her standing cannot run away with a man and be paid for later. This implies that the man, after a time, if he is not satisfied, can repudiate her for this act alone, paying only for having abused her, which, if of little importance to a woman of low social standing, is definitely very important for one of high standing. Also, if the compensation claim is not met peacefully or if the payment is not made, war may be provoked between her group and that of her husband, and all the consequences fall on her. It can also happen that the man, in view of the accomplished fact, may wish to take advantage of a

/127 cont./

586 home life impossible. If she can prove this, the law exempts the woman's relatives from returning the marriage payment and only obliges them to hand over one of the children of the marriage. In other words, the man's ill-treatment of the woman permits her to abandon the home and return to her maternal one. But in this case, as in any other in which customary law comes into play, it is necessary that the litigant party possess sufficient force to oblige the other party to comply with what is legal. If not, if the offended one is completely in the right but lacks this force, he will never manage to make his just claim effective. They tell of an infinite number of cases in which the acts of cruelty suffered by women of an inferior clan at the hands of their husbands are so grave that any one alone would be sufficient cause to dissolve the marriage through the return of the woman to her maternal home. But the maternal family of the husbands inhibited the women to such an extent that many of them, unable to offer any resistance, died at the hands of their husbands without the law -- so severe in cases in which blood is spilled -- being able to oblige the culprits to pay a suitable payment.

586 565

The demoralization which the Guajiro of lower class has suffered due to the different causes we have noted has weakened marriage ties to such a point that the woman considers her obligation broken when her husband emigrates, harrassed by the vital necessity to obtain something to feed himself and his family, or when she finds herself abandoned for a long number of years, in which case she /128/ goes away with whoever will satisfy her economic and biological needs, thus dissolving, if not by law at least by act, a tie which may not be broken by anything but her own society, and so breaking up slowly but dangerously the traditional culture of her community.

[38 cont.]

538 medicine man, after his death, and it is only then that he can
*756 himself exercise his profession by himself, having at his service a terrestial intermediary, to whom he communicates by various means his methods of curing, events of the future, etc. This equally confirms our thesis, fully expounded previously, that the shaman is a man of two worlds: the world of the living and the world inhabited by the spirits of the dead. Lastly, it reaffirms what we have said in reply to Métraux's statement, that the feminine institution of shamanism in La Guajira is not due to the influence of European culture (which is only now beginning to be strongly felt) but is as ancient as their oral literature.

174 Present position of the shaman. If we consider socio-
565 economic conditions in La Guajira in the Pre-conquest epoch, which placed the natives in a position of a people engaged essentially in hunting and in fishing on the coasts (36), we have to

36. Restrepo Tirado says: "The Guajiro and Cocina [Kusina] Indians occupy La Guajira Peninsula. They were nomads and lived by hunting and fishing in improvised encampments, which they moved from one site to another." (Historia de la Provincia de Santa Marta [History of the Province of Santa Marta], 1st, I, 15.)

accept as a fact a virtual equality between the different clans which composed the community. The superiority of one or various clans over the rest was possibly due to their greater aptitudes for war or the greater number of fighting men they had at their command. Riches would be represented by valuable adornments, necklaces of gold or of tuma, pearls, etc. [39]

174 In such a state of affairs under the primitiveness which we
554 can presume existed in the Guajiro community of that time, the shaman must have occupied the first place in the social hierarchy.
*756 His undiminished supernatural powers, his position as intermediary between the community and the world of the dead, the fears which his powers provoked were all sufficient reasons for him to be respected and feared above all and by all.

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
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the men speak some Spanish in addition to their native 105
language. Some of them know how to read and write. They
are almost entirely pastoral, possessing great herds of horses, [233]
asses, sheep, goats, and cattle. They have borrowed a great
deal from the Europeans but they have also kept their own
culture to a remarkable degree. As usual, native elements
are most strongly present in the non-material phases of culture.
Unfortunately they are not united or organized into a modern
state, though against all foreigners they stand together as a
unit. Authority is acquired by certain caciques through their [554]
wealth and membership in the 'casta,' the major social group-
ing in Guajiro society. Each casta claims a mythological 614
origin and holds sovereignty over a well-defined territory. 631
Many of these castas or social groupings are further sub-
divided. Each casta has its caciques whose function is chiefly
to settle disputes and whose position is inherited, matrilineally.
The oldest of them is allowed more authority, but generally it
is the wealthiest man, and the one who can marshal more [556]
retainers, armed with rifles and revolvers, who is listened to
with greater respect. There are further divisions in Guajiro
society. At the top are the caciques and their families who are 565
rich and powerful. The next group is composed of peons or
retainers in the service of the upper stratum, and at the bottom
are the 'slaves' who have been born in that condition or have
been enslaved following an offense to some powerful group, and [567]
who can even be let out to work for planters in the sugar fields
of Zulia The life of the poor people has not changed much
since early times. Polygamy is widely practised, as is also 595
concubinage, by the wealthier men. Each wife lives in her
own rancho and there awaits the occasional visit of her hus-
band. The children inherit property and social affiliations [611]
through the mother. Disputes that arise within a casta are
settled by arbiters chosen by the families of the litigants. [627]
Disputes inter-casta may be settled by arbitration if violence
is not desirable. Generally the killing of an individual gives [628]
rise to armed action with an eventual composition by payment.

My informants attempted to demonstrate the difference be- 671

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

423 614 It is, of course, only the usufruct that is inherited. The land can neither be sold nor given away, for it belongs to the clan. All members of a clan have the right to pasture their herds in the clan's territories, and every man also has the right to graze his beasts and to use wood and water in the lands belonging to his wife's clan. That is one of the advantages he acquires in return for the bride-price he has paid. 565 614 There has developed a class distinction unusual among Indians on the primitive level. A man of simple origins can sometimes marry into a high-born family, but he does not become any the better for that, though his children belong to their mother's aristocratic clan. It is, however, seldom that a man of humble family can get himself a girl from the upper classes—that could only happen if he had inherited or had relatives who could help him pay the bride-price. 583 614 This is so high that a young man almost always has to have the help of his clan to pay it. The relatives of a girl of really good family may demand £2000 worth of cattle, while a girl of humbler stock can be had for £50 worth. The amount can be paid in money, but that is only done in the south, in the areas belonging to Venezuela, where the Indians are more accustomed to coins and have confidence in gold.

It must not be imagined that this is a question of purchase like buying a donkey, a cow or a slave. It is a transaction that concerns both clans. One should not marry within one's [178] own clan. In the old days that was forbidden, but now they are not so strict, since the clans are often split into local sub-groups. The whole marriage transaction is well adapted to the social and economic system. (When, during the first oil rush, white workers from the Maracaibo oil fields bought poor girls, usually of half-breed parents, those were transactions whose legality under Guajiro law was merely fictitious.) The bridegroom's family helps him to pay the bride-price and contributes generously if the girl is of good family. The bride-price is to some extent regarded as compensation for what the family expended on the girl while she was growing up.

When a couple's first daughter marries, the father asks

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

583 man cannot immediately pay any worthwhile part of the
614 bride-price. The young man may then abduct the girl with the tacit consent of her parents, and thereby postpone having to pay the bride-price. After some time, the girl's relatives will require payment, but meantime his family will have been trying to scrape together at least a first instalment.

Genuine abduction does occur occasionally, but only when the man knows that the girl's clan is weak and that her relatives will thus have difficulty in claiming their rights. He will take the girl as far away as possible. If he is caught, her relatives will try to demand a bride-price. Perhaps he is already tired of the girl by then and wants to return her. She is the clan's property and is not being returned un-
583 damaged, so the man must pay damages for seduction and, if the girl is pregnant, also for childbirth.

●565 In the lower classes that would dispose of the matter.
614 The baby would in any event be taken into the mother's
684 clan and have her name. In the upper classes a girl would be turned out if she had had such an accident and the considerable damages required had not been paid immediately. The clan's prestige cannot be allowed to suffer.

Indian girls never keep a seducer's name secret, but at once tell their family who he is.

Among the lower classes cases of wives eloping are said to occur. The man to whom they have gone can legalize the position by paying compensation to the husband. If the husband agrees to do a deal, he cannot ask as much as the bride-price he himself paid, for the girl is by then less valuable.

562 It follows from all this that a woman has not the right to
583 dispose of her own body. She belongs to her mother's family until she marries, and her closest relatives must be compensated for any injury done her. Once the man has paid the bride-price she becomes his property. If she is
[768] widowed, she is inherited along with the rest of his effects by his nephews (sister's sons) and she has to purchase her freedom from them, paying a sum equivalent to the bride-price less what she is held to have lost in value since marriage.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

In another game the dangerous spirit Yoruyá attacks 796
and kills Indian after Indian till he is set upon by them all 526
and killed; in yet another the Indians hide in a cloud made [776]
of cloaks, when the spirit forces its way in, but it is captured
by the cloud and vanquished.

Horse-racing is one of the Indians' greatest pleasures at [541]
their festivities, but they also indulge in it—without horses
—as a game in connection with the dances. Very amusing
and picturesque is a game in which they imitate hunting a
kind of bird that plunders the seed in their fields. The
Indians pretend to be trying to scare them and catch them
in nets. Here the seed is represented by some children, some
of the men are the birds, others the hunters who catch the
birds in their hammocks and then wring their necks!

Another game represents a fight between jaguars and
dogs. The strongest of the men are made the jaguars, for
these have to win. Then there is a snake game in which men
and women crawl along together, imitating the movements
of a snake and singing the snake song: 'I am the snake. I
creep along the ground. I do harm to none, but punish
those who try to trample me. Long must he suffer, who
tramps upon me because he thinks me defenceless since I
creep on the ground. He must suffer and die.' There are
endless variations; but a dance lasts so long that a little
variety is necessary.

Once the upper-class dance, the chichamaya, was over, [565]
Mauana's people gladly showed us all their games and
dances even though it was not the right time of year.

As we were riding home the next day we encountered 115
several companies of Indians returning from a burial-feast.
Among them was a young man in a beautifully woven
mantle, who joined up with us. He spoke good Spanish and
obviously belonged to the upper class. Francisco told him
about us, and he was eager that we should be his guests
that same day, since his rancho lay on our route. He said
that he had a few things that I might well find interesting
and he himself would like to see one of my pistols. (Fran-
cisco had evidently described how they smoked and made 273
a bang.) Some of the Indians accompanying us now became

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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him that can give the alarm. For a long time he has to refrain 775
from all association with his friends and keep away from
feasts. In the end, if agreement on compensation is not 682
reached with the dead man's family, he will have to leave the district for a period of years. This precaution is to protect the slayer from the spirit of the man he killed, which would look for him in his normal haunts and would not recognize him under the new conditions, but it is also a protection against the dead man's nearest relatives, who will thirst for vengeance as long as compensation has not been agreed and paid.

We mounted and rode away from our first burial feast. 775
On the fringe of the area stood six Indians armed, some with 765
guns, others with bows and arrows. Their task was to shoot 431
after all departing guests in order to scare off any dangerous spirits that might be intending to keep them company. Here, a deputy-host presented us with a live heifer. Every guest [554]
was to have a present of an animal according to his rank. We also had the meat that had been distributed that morning. It was considered quite all right either to eat it or to take it to eat on the way home. Several others were doing as we and there was a long line of departing guests, the men [493]
on horseback, the women mostly on donkeys. We all kept together for quite a distance.

Spirits rose as the heat increased, for drink had been 765
handed out along with the meat, the Indians believing, as 565
did the Creoles, that spirits were the best protection against the dangers of the hot sun.

A young Indian rode up to us. He wore a cloak with a beautiful pattern and was mounted on a splendid mare, which showed that he was of well-to-do family. He was in a [578]
bad mood, however, having been forgotten in the distribution of parting gifts and had not been given even a sheep. For that reason he was highly incensed with his neglectful hosts, whom he obviously scarcely knew.

We rode past an old man on foot dragging a calf behind him. The old man was obviously sober, but he kept mutter- [578]
ing imprecations to himself. He too had been forgotten.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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765 The old man, however, was familiar with the customs of
565 olden days and had taken what they had forgotten to give him, calculating generously in his own favour. Strictly he was entitled to no more than a kid, if that, poor relation that he was; but he had appropriated one of his host's calves.

Our young Indian friend thought this an excellent idea, and as we happened to be riding past a herd of goats belonging to the house of mourning, he asked me to lend him my shot-gun, dismounted and shot two goats, which he then lashed on to his pack-animal. He paid no attention to the protests of the slave guarding the herd, who of course did not dare do anything to anyone so well dressed and so obviously a person of rank. He gruffly told the slave that he had the law on his side. This put the young Indian in a better humour, and he took a smiling leave of us.

765 We were invited to several other funeral feasts while we
579 were in Guajira. Both the actual burial and the after-funeral were in the same style. Often they were quite gay affairs—especially the repeat performance, when the grief was not so intense even with the immediate relatives. Often fights resulted. On the way home from Mauana's dance we had met people on their way back from a funeral who were quarrelsome. It sometimes happens that a person attending a funeral is killed. He is then taken home and most of the guests accompany him to continue celebrating in that new house of sorrow.

The funeral ritual is observed strictly and in detail. Children must learn it early and therefore are allowed to go to such feasts.

On the more important events the medicine man gives advice and directions, so let us now turn to him.

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

175 648 During the Colonial Period, the *Goajiro* were hostile toward the Spaniards. After 1830, however, as a result of better treatment from the Whites, thanks in part to the efforts of Juan MacPherson, they become more friendly. Present authorities in the *Goajiro* region merely regulate frontier traffic.

797 177 The attempts by the Capuchin Fathers to alter their ways of life have been unsuccessful. Except for the thin Catholic veneer, noticeable in baptismal rites and Spanish names, *Goajiro* social life seems to have been little affected by centuries of contact with Hispanic culture. Foreign influence is more apparent materially in iron implements, utensils, guns, textiles, and ornaments. All the domestic animals are of Spanish origin.

161 164 As a result of tuberculosis, smallpox, and venereal disease, the *Goajiro* are gradually dying out, and the population estimates found in the literature have become smaller and smaller, the most recent indicating a scant 18,000.

PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

142 [18] The *Goajiro* are usually described as aggressive and untrustworthy, of medium or small stature (cf. J. A. Mason, 1926, pp. 39, 52), copper colored, with jet-black hair, dark eyes rather obliquely set, a broad and blunt nose, and a large mouth (pl. 72, *bottom, right*). Within the tribes there are physical differences which seem to correspond with social status, [565] the lower classes being smaller and more Indian in appearance, while those of higher rank are more often of a greater stature, with curlier hair and larger noses.

LANGUAGE

197 The *Goajiro* language belongs to the *Arawakan* family. There is, however, no good analysis of it. A grammar, "replete with errors" according to Simons, was published by Rafael Caledon in 1878. Various word lists have been published from time to time.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 [55] **Farming.**—The *Goajiro* have a poor opinion of agriculture, and only the poorer sibs practice it. The one fertile part of the peninsula is near Punta Espada. Here the land is well cultivated, and plantains, maguey, onions, coca, sugarcane, and grain are grown. Tobacco, bananas, maize, gourds, manioc, sweetpotatoes, millet, beans, and watermelons also are raised. Those who own cattle grow only small patches of quick-maturing corn for the purpose of making chicha beer.

22 **Hunting, fishing, and gathering.**—Hunting, fishing, and gathering occupy a minor place. Deer, armadillos, land tortoises, and rabbits are

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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622 Chiefs are polygynous and have many daughters, for
595 whom very high bride prices are paid—sometimes thousands of animals,
583 worth $6,000 to $10,000. Such rich chiefs take great pride in their
556 daughters, dressing them in fine silken robes and necklaces of gold and pearls and providing them with personal servants.

567 There is a class of slaves who are beneath the chiefs' retainers in the social hierarchy. It consists of people born into this status and of captives.

PROPERTY

422 All cattle, though individually owned, belong in theory to the local group as a whole and are worked for the common benefit of all. For example, the cattle paid as a bride price when a girl marries within her own sib go to a new owner, but the milk, butter, cheese, and hides from them continue to be shared by everyone in the sib. When a woman receives cattle as a bride price for her daughter any new stock born to them belongs to the daughter's husband and his sons, and when the animals are rounded up for the annual branding each son is allowed to brand a certain number of them.

ETIQUETTE

576 The *Goajiro* are in general unfriendly to strangers but have a well-
574 established code of hospitality. Strangers calling at a house must wait until invited in. Inside a house a bowl of chicha or rum (coffee when available) is the first gift offered the visitor, who is thereafter given a hammock and treated as a member of the family. A special feast may
[565] be arranged if there are many guests. A guest of high rank is feasted, and some of the young girls of the house may be placed at his disposal.

LAW AND ORDER

627 The chiefs have little power outside their own local group, where they settle minor disputes. The solution of many disputes and transgressions of custom are left to the parties concerned. The laws of group respon-
628 sibility and group retaliation lead to frequent intertribal feuds. A person
614 without a strong sib to protect him is helpless, for others may use any act which may conceivably be interpreted as harmful as pretext for demanding indemnity. For example, a person injured while intoxicated may demand payment from the person who sold him the rum, or a person injured by a borrowed animal may demand payment from the owner of the animal; a thief who hurts himself when trespassing on the property of his intended victim will demand compensation of him; and anyone aiding a sick or wounded person who subsequently dies incurs a liability.

672 If a person injures himself he must make an expiatory gift to the members of his own sib and a lesser gift to his father's relatives. If a child dies when under the care of one parent, this parent must reimburse

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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the other. Many other cases indicate the absolute nature of *Goajiro* law 672
and the refusal to recognize extenuating circumstances.

Murder is a very serious crime, and the victim's family immediately 682
demands blood money to the amount of 200 or more cattle. For failure 628
to pay, a member of the murderer's sib of the same rank as the victim must forfeit his life. If payment is not forthcoming retaliatory raids are made. As the defenders generally lose more people than the attackers, the feud may continue indefinitely until all the members of one sib will consider themselves at war with the members of the other, thereby spreading the war throughout the peninsula. If a feud should develop between the sib of the husband and that of the wife, the latter, with her children, will return to her own group until the trouble is over.

A person who has received a deadly insult from another is baited and 683
chided until he takes revenge by killing the offender, in proof of which he removes the victim's viscera and takes them home. This act also prevents the victim's soul from bothering him. If unable to accomplish this he may commit suicide. Suicide is also sometimes a means of venge- 762
ance, a person feeling that he will suffer less than those who caused him to commit the act. Thus a wife who is not allowed enough freedom may hang herself.

Next to murder, one of the most serious offenses is to mention a per- 689
son's true name (given at birth?) or to mention a person's name after his death. This has caused many tribal conflicts.

The value of the compensation demanded in disputes varies directly 681
with the social rank of the offended party. In some cases a repeated 565
offender may be killed by his own sib members. Sometimes, rather than 728
to continue the warfare, hostile sibs may confer under the auspices of an outsider, such as a Capuchin monk, and draw up peace terms. In personal quarrels or minor brawls women often step in and enforce peace.

WARFARE

Wars between the *Goajiro* and outsiders are rare, but any White man 721
may be held liable for the offense done by another, as all Whites are thought 609
to belong to the same sib. Sometimes the few civilized people living in the peninsula take vengeance on the Indians, which leads to further reprisals by the latter.

At the time of De la Rosa, war was declared by sending to the other 721
tribe an ambassador who, in a public speech, asked indemnities for damage previously done. If these were not conceded war was declared, but a brief truce was observed in order that preparations might be made. In battle each group of opposing warriors formed a semicircle and tried to surround and destroy the other. In individual encounters a *Goajiro* rode 726
out on a horse, but, upon seeing the enemy, he dismounted and shot his own horse with an arrow to show his confidence and willingness to fight

/74 cont./

548 566 Bond service. Bond service is different from slavery in that it is not the result of a conquest in war of one group by another, but rather the consequence of economic decline, since when a group cannot support its members, they sell them. Years ago large numbers were sold to Venezuela as farm hands to the Caribbean Islands, etc., and although the investment was never very safe, due to the escaping of the Indians, the sales were numerous, and even today they are very frequent. Furthermore, it is common practice at the present time in the Jarara region, short of resources in summer, to take the nephews and nieces of an individual who has been forced by necessity to commit robbery as bond servants to repay by their own labor what was stolen.

Women in this situation, separated from their group and unable to be helped by them, are coveted by the men. Those who are sent away, on their return, find themselves in a situation similar to that of slaves who have come back. They settle in the cities and turn to prostitution, as the whites find in them a simple solution of their problems, and they find a means of subsistence.

548 177 The mestizo. Cross breeding /mestizaje/ has not affected Guajiro culture in respect to the tradition regarding magic, language, organization, etc., but has had an effect on social morality, which /75/ is readily forsaken by the mestizo woman of lower class, commonly called cabeza loca ("madcap"), by the general run of Indians, owing to her sexual promiscuity, her easily becoming a prostitute and giving herself and living for certain periods of time with a man, (mestizo or white as a general rule) to leave him later to follow an endless chain. The pure-blooded Guajiro woman, even if she takes to prostitution, never abandons, from any motive, the established norms of modesty, [578] such as never to show herself naked, never to behave rowdily, etc., as there is no greater insult than that a man should affirm such things about her. The mestizo woman, however, does not respect these concepts. For this reason she is sought after more and more, and she freely and openly throws over the traditional

/147 cont./

175 ever more and more and more difficult to conquer. In fact,
567 when we came into the lands of the Guajiro the Cacique came
648 to meet us with two Negroes as lackeys, dressed in bright red uniforms with all the corresponding facings and braid, something which was quite a novelty to me and made a deep impression." (1)

1. Ibid., 2nd XIV, 159.

BOND SERVICE

566 There is a fundamental difference between the concepts of slavery and bond service in La Guajira. While it is certainly true that in both cases the liberty of the individual is restricted, it is also true that it is restricted in different degrees. Similarly, we can state that while in slavery the owner has absolute rights over the person of the slave, in the case of bond service he has power only over his working potential.

Bond service includes certain groups whose economic, social, and numerical situation has weakened; they are clans which, to a certain point, are without effective male backing and who for this reason attach themselves, if not by law at least by act, to a family of superior position belonging to a strong group, in exchange for the use of their services.

Origin. Bond service has three causes. First, the voluntary sale of men and women, and particularly of children /en la edad infantile/, by their immediate owners, the mother, the maternal uncle of most authority, the grandmother, and the maternal aunts being considered as such; second, when a group cannot comply satisfactorily with its economic-social commitments, such as the payment of debts, indemnity for an offense, etc.; and, third, in cases of social inferiority in which the application of the law is up to the offended party, and certain members are taken from the lower social group as bond servants, especially when the offense committed is robbery.

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566 Obligations of the master. It is obligatory on the part of the master to supply his bond servants with quarters, clothing, and food; in this last respect /food/ the bond servants occupy the lowest place together with the slaves, that is, they get the leavings from the master's meals, and special food made for them consists almost entirely of corn mazamorra.

Duties of bond servants. Female bond servants are generally employed in domestic work: cooking, drawing and carrying water, collecting firewood, picking cultivated fruit, gathering wild fruit, taking care of the masters' children, nursing sick members of the house, and going with the masters when needed to carry out these duties while the latter are on the move.

The men on their part engage in agricultural activities during the times of the year when this is possible and regularly work at pasturing; beyond these labors they have to do others in the masters houses with regard to work that requires masculine co-operation.

Their legal position in the Guajiro community can be described thus: As they are not members of a clan group exterminated by war but rather lowered by their precarions economic circumstances, their position and rights are in intimate relation with the social power their group may still have. This means that if the group to which a bond servant belongs, by alliance or by any other circumstance, is able to present a compensation claim to the master, it can in this way keep the bond servant from being mistreated, made to shed blood, or killed, for in any of these cases the bond servant's relatives may make a claim against the master or perhaps attack him, and he will find himself obliged to pay the indemnity.

Any violation or abuse committed on a female bond servant evokes a demand for the corresponding payment, made not by the master; as in the case of slavery, but by the bond servant's own relatives. The same thing happens in cases of pregnancy.

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566 All this indicates to us that the bond servant is an individual who in spite of not being able to freely dispose of his labor is an active member of society. His services are not voluntary, but he is ruled by the general norms which govern the community: His life is respected, his women may not be sexually assaulted nor taken as wives without their own consent, and, above all, his children are always free and all the family property remains in their hands or those of their relatives.

Rights of the master. The master has the right to make free use of his bond servants in all the manual labors he considers necessary /149/ and the right to sell them, but no matter how often the bond servant changes masters, the sale refers to the use of his labor, not to his person.

Sexual life of bond servants. Women bought as bond servants are not sexually under the control of their masters or of his family. However, when their consanguineous relatives live so far away that they cannot exercise their influence, female bond servants are taken advantage of by their masters, not by right but by act. This situation of relative sexual freedom means that they are besieged by men more than are slave women, as the latter are protected by their master. As a consequence [548] of this state of affairs, female bond servants frequently become prostitutes through not having the protection either of their masters or of their relatives.

It may happen that the owner falls in love with one of his bond servants and has sexual relations with her, in which case his wife ill-treats her and turns her out; then the master may decide to buy her from her relatives, continue to cohabit with her (polygamy), and not infrequently he may abandon his first home.

If a bond servant should become pregnant her relatives present the claim for compensation payment to the group of the man responsible for the situation.

When a man has lived with a bond servant, and her relatives present a claim for compensation payment, two possibilities

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566 are open to him: to pay for the abuse and the troubles caused by pregnancy and birth, thereby losing all right to the woman, or to buy her as a wife. In the latter case she is liberated from the position of bond servant, since some of the money paid for her in marriage is used to pay off the debt to her master which gave rise to her bond service. The sale of the bond servant may also be negotiated directly with the master, a sum being paid to him which makes it possible to free her, and another sum being handed over to the woman's relatives.

566 548 Prostitution. The female bond servant, like the slave who is sold to the whites, will escape from the house where she has to give her services and return to the peninsula, and if the control of her relatives in authority is absent, she readily turns to prostitution, it not being unusual that she has started this way of life during her time of service. When her relatives stand in the way, she may also prostitute herself behind their backs, trying to avoid in this way the consequences of the sexual commerce, or compensating them with part of her earnings. This situation may be considered abnormal in the Guajiro social system, as prostitution is considered to be /150/ outside the law. But when the demands of hunger are felt, due to the prolonged summer /droughts/, the situation becomes normal in the social levels less favored economically, and families have to tolerate their single women prostituting themselves and assisting with what they receive from their commerce in the maintenance of the other members.

566 Situation of the children. The children of a female bond servant are always free; frequently they work in the house of their mother's master as compensation for the cost of their keep, but legally they are free.

Trade. During the fierce summers that scorch La Guajira Peninsula, which seem to follow a 25- or 30-year cycle, the sale of human beings as bond servants becomes more intense. It is at these times that poor families are obliged to part with relatives they can do without, especially those who cannot

/150 cont./

566 contribute to their upkeep, with the aim of getting rid of this obligation and at the same time getting money to help sustain the rest of the family. These bond servants are sold abroad, into Venezuela and the Dutch islands and with the cities of Barranquilla, Ríohacha, Santa Marta, and a large area of the department of Magdalena for work on the stock-raising haciendas; this is a trade between Indians and whites. They also sell children to other native families but on a much smaller scale, as it is rare for an Indian to buy another Indian openly in order to use him as a bond servant; for bond service among the Guajiro is usually brought about by way of payment for a theft or a debt, or by taking advantage of the weak situation of poor groups to compel them to work in service.

Persons sold as bond servants are generally children or youths who are beginning to look after themselves and can be put to work. In Venezuela these bond servants are used as agricultural hands on the haciendas, where there is a scarcity of labor due to the competition of near-by oil fields and the demand for workers in dock work, where the laborer can get higher wages. Females, wherever they may be as bond servants, are used for domestic service.

The attitude of the whites regarding the problem of bond service in La Guajira takes various forms: one is to take advantage of the native's wretched situation, in which the white figures as intermediary in the purchase of children and young people of both sexes and takes them to the /151/ buying centers to fulfill a commitment he has made to another, or else simply to resell them and make a profit. The bond servant thus is converted into an object of trade, showing a good margin of profit for the merchants who carry on this traffic. At the present time one finds cases of recruiters, owners of haciendas or managers from Venezuela who buy bond servants for agricultural work.

There is another passive atttitude that regards bond service as an established fact and tolerates it without direct intervention. Finally, there is the position taken by the Capuchin

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566 mission, which is to buy bond servants and slaves, educate them, and then return their lost freedom.

Center of forced bond service and centers of sale. The Sierra de Jarara is the region where bond service most commonly originates, because of the obligatory loss of personal freedom that results when not able to fulfill a pending obligation or pay a debt, or when a poor native, during the summer (which because of geophysical conditions is more severe here than in the rest of the peninsula), is forced by hunger to steal animals. The injured party is paid by taking away from the thief, who has no other means of paying damages, a boy or girl, usually his maternal nephew or niece.

On the other hand, the major sale center and the true distribution market for bond servants is Maicao, because of its being in Lower La Guajira which is another of the Guajira regions which suffers most cruelly from long summers and in which women do not have the economic resources which those of Upper La Guajira have, such as supplying /traders with/ woven articles, but have to live without /productive/ employment /of any sort/, and in consequence without means of supporting themselves and their families. For these reasons mothers are forced to sell both their unmarried daughters as bond servants and their younger children. The fact of Maicao's being on the only commercial route between Venezuela and Colombia is also a contributing factor. /152/

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IX

SICKNESS AND DEATH

755 "...in the aspect of Guajiro medical treatment there are four different factors which we can define in principle as follows:

1. Medicine exercised directly by the shaman through his communication with benevolent spirits.

614 /1 cont./
554 for delaying menstruation during the seclusion following the
[842] appearance of puberty, so that the organism may become weakened and the menstrual cycle no longer appears, with which their matrimonial life does not bear fruit. They know beforehand /2/ the destiny of their children. When they become
[567] of useful age a stronger group will fall upon them to enslave them under any pretext -- such as the loss of an animal whose disappearance will be attributed to them without any outcry or civil authority aroused to impede this, and, the injustice inflicted being proved, without any punishment being applied to the aggressor group. Their daughters will be taken as wives
614 without the necessary Guajiro payment, or, simply, they will
554 abuse them, there being no family backing to oppose the de-
543 mands of the men belonging to the stronger groups. If a daughter should be bought, only a nominal payment will be made to silence the protests of her family, but later a very heavy matrimonial retribution will be demanded. Generally, the husband will brag about the way in which he ill-treats the girl, knowing that she is unprotected and that her relatives have insufficient power to demand justice. Thus it is not rare that poor wives are killed by their husbands after a life in which the unfortunate women have been subjected to cruel beatings and even mutilation. And if the family has no alliance with any powerful groups, the death is not indemnified. The mothers also know that should
614 one of their sons, accidentally or in self-defense, wound or kill
554 a member of a stronger family group, the repirsal taken will
628 not be preceded by a demand for compensation payment or any of the legal requirements usually stipulated, but that his whole group will be destroyed or enslaved and deprived of its clan lands, fields, sources of water supply, and personal effects. For such reasons these weak groups are allowing themselves to die out by reducing their birth rate to a minimum.

82 Regarding the special wishes of each group as to the sex of its future descendants, we feel the need of making an analysis of the valuation which each has in the society.

/73/
548 maternal relatives; when married, of her husband; and if he dies, of his heirs. In case of adultery it is her lover who must pay to have legal right to her.

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Prostitution, which is continually growing in La Guajira, has many causes, which have developed rapidly in recent times, endangering all the social organization. The principal ones are:

548 Slavery. The /social/ organization in La Guajira has created for itself this class of social elements placed at the
● 567 very margin of life. Its origin is in the clan groups which,
627 when weakened by economic failure and the scarcity of male elements to strengthen them, have been slowly pushed to the margin /of society/. The murder, for example, of a member of a powerful group caused by a member of one of these groups spells its ruin. The law establishes in such cases a considerable payment to the maternal relatives of the murdered man by the clan group that is responsible for his death, a payment which has to be transacted in accordance with special forms which facilitate peaceful settlement between both parties and a reasonable time limit, at the termination of which both groups renew their peaceful relations and give proofs of new friendship, although in practice these appearances show themselves to be quite false. However, when the aggressor belongs to an inferior group, these negotiations are not followed out, as it would appear that added to the sorrow over the death is the offense of the crime having been perpetrated by a group without social standing, without prestige, and without sufficient means to pay the indemnity. "These people," say the offended ones, "who have no money to pay us for the grief they have caused us have no right either to a legal negotiation." They fall on the small group in overwhelming numbers like an avalanche, on their lands and their houses, leveling them to the ground without

/73 cont./

548 mercy, burning their homes with the occupants in them, destroy-
567 ing the crops, filling up and poisoning the springs, carrying off
627 the few livestock and personal effects there may be about. The worst fate is suffered by the children and especially the women, old women, young women, and girls, who are carried off as trophies of war to pay with their service as slaves for the crime committed by their relative.

548 Although these women are not to be considered as true
567 prostitutes, their daughters are forced to suffer this illegal condition because, although they belong to their mother's master, they are strongly besieged by all the men, especially by those who have not yet been able to buy a wife and who will find /74/ satisfaction in them without economic or social responsibilities. The girls submit little by little to this situation, giving themselves to whoever gives them presents, and eventually become harlots. (Cf. Slavery and Bond Service.)

Furthermore, many of these girls are sold by their masters to be sent out of the peninsula (to Aruba, Maracaibo, Curaçao, Riohacha, etc.), but when they grow up they escape and, when it is possible for them, they return again to La Guajira, where the fate that awaits them is no better, for they have been placed, so to speak, outside the law, as they lack the two strong social bonds: land and blood. Hence, not possessing these, they are free, which is equivalent to being without protection. No one will take notice of what they do, but neither will anyone speak up for them to prevent their being the victims of force. They have no economic backing nor private means. Moreover, many of them have been started off in prostitution during their servitude. In the circumstances described, it is rare that they can raise themselves and manage to find a place again in a society that turned them out, so that they find themselves obliged to live on the margin of society, as also their offspring. In this way slavery creates the prostitute, a public property, something that does not fit within the legal norms, as we have seen throughout this chapter.

/89 cont./

583 They also send a part to the most friendly neighbors who have marriageable daughters, because they hope that when one of these marries the present will be amply repaid. It is customary when they are distributing the marriage payment, if they have friends who have no daughters, for them to send them nothing, because they say: "Those people have no daughters and so they will never be able to return our gift."

The goods obtained from the sale of the other daughters who marry go to the maternal patrimony, although, as we have seen, the bridegroom's relatives participate because a goat or a sheep is presented to each of the women who intervene in the handing over of the animals. The necklaces which are given on betrothal are for the girl's mother, who in /90/ turn must supply one to each of her sons when they become engaged to be married.

Moreover, there is a special payment which is always made to the mother of the bride, and this is for the matrimonial hammock made by her. Generally, the price is ten cows in rich families, and when this payment is made, which is done personally by the bridegroom to his mother-in-law, it signifies that he is going to take possession of the woman he has bought; and she is then indirectly handed over to him, since the place (a neighboring room) is pointed out where he will find the hammock and the woman who will be his wife. This payment gives him the right to the conjugal bed and to cohabit with the woman whom he has bought and must be paid to the mother, partly because she made the hammock and partly because she brought up her daughter, bearing all the costs of rearing her and educating her. No one else shares in this amount.

When a female bond servant or slave is getting married, the product of the sale goes to her master exclusively, without having [567] to be shared with anyone, first because the price is low, and 422 second because the ownership of a slave or a bond servant is individual.

When the marriage payment has been arranged to be paid in installments and the second of these is not forthcoming in the

/101 cont./

839 In the cases that we have described, as in that of abduction,
583 the relatives of the girl oblige the seducor to marry by paying the stipulated price, or to pay an amount they arrive at for the abuse committed. If neither of these alternatives is complied with, the enmity of the two groups involved becomes so bitter that war ensues. /102/

Marriage by adultery. When a woman commits adultery
837 and the case is known, attempts are made to settle the matter
583 legally; the lover is obliged by the maternal relatives to pay what is claimed by the legitimate husband, or to pay to them the value of a usual marriage, in which case the woman involved on the litigation becomes his lawful wife, according to Guajiro law.

At the present time this custom, which previously used to end with the death of the lover, the husband, or of both, since the husband tried to solve the problem in this way in spite of future consequences, is now dying out due to the emigration of the men and the growing prostitution among the women, both in and outside the peninsula, for the many reasons already seen.

Marriage of female bond servants and slaves. Although this
583 aspect will be treated fully in the chapter headed Slavery and
567 Bond Service, we would like to present it, if only summarily, in this chapter so as not to disturb the order of the ideas we are tracing.

The women and children taken prisoners in the wars which strong clan groups declare on weak ones when these have caused the death of one of their members enter into the state of slavery. This means that the all-powerful will of their owner may be imposed on every act of their lives, even up to his being able to kill them without possibility of claim, since their relatives who would be the claimants have been slaughtered or dispersed.

In this way adult women and girl slaves may be sold, and in effect are, especially to be taken to Curaçao, Trinidad, etc.; they may be given away to their owners' relatives, or used in domestic service. If the master of a woman slave wishes to

/102 cont./

583 possess her, she must submit, and the child that may result will
567 be the property of the father, owner of the slave. Furthermore, if some man who likes the slave wants to buy her, he may negotiate with her owner and pay what he asks, with which payment she is freed and given the standing of wife, and the children will be free and belong to the maternal group which their oppressors had tried to extinguish. If the woman slave has had sexual relations with someone and as a consequence is pregnant, her owner hurries to oblige her to confess who caused it in order to make a compensation claim. If the payment is only for abuse (which is what it is considered when the lover is someone influential), the owner receives it, and the child remains a slave like his mother but with a lesser degree of oppression. /103/

567 Sometime the man who causes the slave's pregnancy is the son of her owner. In such a case there is no compensation claim. At most his mother scolds the boy, the pregnancy is allowed to take its course, and the child remains in the same condition as its mother, that is to say, slavery.

What puts a limit to the sexual freedom of a man is the compensation claim that the woman's relatives might present; consequently, when she has no relatives or if those she has are not powerful, the woman is the object of insolence and desire on the part of men who find in her an easy and not at all dangerous satisfaction. Thus, women slaves are continually abused by everyone, having no defense whatever since their owners sometimes make no claim, as the children born represent a profit because they become their property.

The same or an even worse condition is the lot of the daughters of slaves who have been bought as wives from their owners by someone, because they belong to a maternal family group that has been destroyed or dispersed and they are really the last of their clan. In this situation, they have barely reached puberty when they are violated or besieged and, having no possibility of defending themselves, they go on submitting until they end up as prostitutes.

/103 cont./

583 567 Returning to the women slaves, we would say lastly that the owner may give a woman slave to one of his other slaves for a wife or sell her to another owner to be the wife of one of his slaves. If the owner buys a woman slave to provide a wife for one of his male slaves, the children of the union belong to him, and he also collects the marriage payment for the first daughter of this couple to marry, in order to be repaid the amount he paid for her mother. (Aspects of descent will be treated fully in the chapter, Slavery and Bond Service).

541 Marriage residence. Guajiro law covering land gives the Indian ample scope to fix his residence once he has married, for apart from the fact that primarily the new family cell may establish its home in the maternal house of either the wife or the husband, it also offers the following possibilities: a) on the wife's side, on the land of the wives of any of her brothers, since the payment made by the family for each of them included the right to establish homes, to open cleared land, and to pasture livestock, a right which also holds good on the clan lands of the wives of maternal uncles; b) on the husband's side, on the lands of his father and that of the wives of his brothers and maternal uncles, for the same reasons as stated above.

But Guajiro custom generally inclines toward establishing a dwelling beside that of the wife's mother, so that one can say /104/ of marriage that it is matrilocal. The newly married couple live for a time in the same house with the wife's maternal relatives, but when their family increases and they begin to acquire a certain financial independence, they build a house near that of her mother.

Presumably the marriage payment contributes to the marital residence of the couple, since, as we have seen, this requires the girl's consanguineous kin to supply room and board to the husband.

After a more or less lengthy interval has been spent on the lands of the woman's clan, the family, now considerably increased and economically established through the efforts of the

/137 cont./

622 As he is the recognized family head, his own conduct should be strictly in accordance with Guajiro laws, although this does not imply that he does not try to obtain the maximum advantages, even beyond those stipulated, when he intervenes in his own peoples' affairs.

His own personal superiority obliges him to show his economic strength. In every collection that may be made for the marriage of a relative of his, or for any other kind of payment, he should head the list with a good subscription which should in no case be less than any other contributor's. At wakes he should do likewise, and also, by his authority, oblige all his own people to contribute adequately, as this establishes the good name of the family group which he heads and directs.

He ought to be kindly, amiable, and cordial with all, listen to all complaints calmly and patiently, be ready to help everyone; he should keep his house open to everyone, for his hospitality must be the most ample and welcoming.

The office of the cacique is transmitted in two ways: It is inherited, in which case it passes to a nephew, the son of a sister; and it is acquired by virtue of personal and family merit: high social and economic position, facility in oratory, knowledge of native psychology, a suave but energetic character, power of conviction, friendliness, and diplomatic talents. /139/

VIII

SLAVERY AND BOND SERVICE

567 Causes of slavery. Slavery is always an outcome of the violation of the regimen for social stability in the community; this means that if an offense is committed against a member of one of the consanguineous groups (totemic clans) existing in La Guajira,

/139 cont./

567 punishment is inflicted on all the members of the offender's group, punishment that may reach the point of slavery. To clarify this, we quote an example: If a member of the Uriyú clan, or consanguineous group, should kill, for whatever reason, a member of the Jusayú group, an aggressive situation arises. The proceedings to resolve it are as follows: The offended group sends its delegate, or orator /Spanish palabra, lit., "word"/, to the offender group to request the indemnity for the offense received. In its turn the offender group appoints its orator, or intermediary, and these two come to an agreement to establish the terms necessary for solving the conflict, terms which consist of the special payment which the offender group must pay to the family of the dead person, generally paid in livestock (cattle, horses, sheep, goats, etc.), precious necklaces and jewels. If the payment agreed on, to which all the members of the offender group will have to contribute, is paid, the problem is settled. But if, on the contrary, the offender's group refuses to pay the sum demanded by the offended, that is, if the two sides do not arrive at a settlement, a state of war without quarter is declared: each group looks for alliances with other clans and, as a result, the original act committed against social stability can involve practically all of La Guajira in war. Alliances between groups are established on the basis of kinship or of marriage unions.

As a result of the conquest of one of the groups, slavery appears. All the members of the defeated group who were not killed in the war or could not manage to escape fall into the hands of the victors and are considered from that moment to be slaves without restriction to age, sex, or status.

It should be pointed out that for a situation such as the one we have given as an example to arise, it is essential that the offended person belong to an /140/ economically stronger clan than that of the offender or that he be united by marriage alliance or some other tie with such an economically stronger clan. In the case of the offended person's belonging to an economically weaker clan, without allies and few in number, his clan will always reach an agreement, because in every case the weaker group will have

/140 cont./

567 to accept the conditions proposed by the other, owing to its inability to defend itself. Furthermore, when the offender clan is very inferior to that of the offended person then claims are not even presented; the stronger group proceeds directly against the weaker and exterminates or enslaves its members.

The condition of conflict which we have described in the previous paragraphs is reached not only after homicide or after a delict involving bloodshed, but also for abduction of women, proven adultery, etc., when the indemnity claimed by the clan of the offended party has not been paid.

(For further information read the chapter on Law).

[721] It is also very important to note that in La Guajira, wars are not intentionally made with the manifest aim of acquiring slaves by the defeat of another group; slavery in La Guajira, as we have stated, is a consequence of the violation of the code of social order and not an end in itself. It is, then, a social punishment, not a commercial or economic institution. So much is this so, that female slaves are sold at low prices and male slaves may even become an economic burden which the owner bears rather than giving them freedom.

Control and regulation. Slaves and their property are divided according to the social position of the participants of the victorious group in the following way: by the head, who is usually the maternal uncle of highest prestige in the small family group initially offended; or by the mother; or the eldest son appointed by the mother; or, finally, by the head who acted as leader of the punitive expedition. First, the part going to the injured family is handed over as payment for the offense. Of this sum the greater part is for the mother, then another share goes to the maternal uncles /and aunts? tios/, after this some part to the nephews /and nieces, sobrinos/, and, finally, a share to the brothers /and sisters, hermanos/ of the man directly offended. Of the remaining booty, the greatest and best part goes to the head of the expedition if he does not belong to the same small family as the injured man; the balance is then divided among

/140 cont./

567 those who took part in the war. If the head of the expedition is a maternal uncle of the offended man, his share is considered as already included in the portion which his small family receives. Also, when an expedition enslaves captives, its chief will usually later distribute /141/ among his close relatives part of the booty which has come to him: first to his mother, then to his sisters and his aunts, and then to the rest of his relatives, if there is a sufficient number /of slaves/; the same is done by the rest of the relatives /of the injured family/ when the booty has been considerable; booty includes slaves and their personal property, real property, and their livestock. As a general rule, slaves acquired by the defeat of a group become the property of the relatives of the injured man as a recompense for the wrong done.

Treatment of slaves. The slave is considered by his master as a thing, as any item of property; he can dispose of him freely, either selling him, giving him away, or making use of his labor; [838] he can take female slaves as his women and make use of the males in homosexual practices if he is deviant in this way. He may even kill them without it being considered a social offense /falta/, because of the fact that as the slave belongs to a consanguineous group which has been annihilated or at least conquered, no one can make a claim for his death. Women slaves may be used as objects of pleasure by the sons or the maternal nephews /sic/ of the master as soon as they reach the age of puberty, the age at which boys begin to seek them out to require love making without their parents being aware of the fact, obliging them to have sexual relations about which they are unable to protest, as the boy is, in a way, also their master; it appears /moreover/ that female slaves customarily are willing to accede to the wishes of the boy.

Rights and privileges of slaves. The slave has to be fed by the master, who generally gives him the remains from his meals, although he may at times give him corn to make mazamorra; clothing also must be supplied by the owner, and it is considered an obligation of the master to supply wives for male slaves, for

/141 cont./

567 which purpose he gives them women slaves he owns, or buys for them women of a poor clan for whom he will pay an insignificant price, ten male goats, for example. When a slave becomes pregnant by one of the master's sons, the mother must allow the slave's pregnancy to proceed normally and limit herself to reproaching the boy.

Rights, privileges, and powers of the master. Masters are absolute owners of the goods of their slaves. As slavery is always the consequence of war between two clan groups /caused/ by an offence by one against the other, /142/ the property of all the members of the conquered group passes under the control of the victors according to the system of distribution explained above. That is, the fields, pastures, woods, water, wells, domestic utensils, clothes, livestock, jewelry, etc., of the conquered group become the property of the conquerors. As regards the slaves themselves, we have the following facts: Males are put to work by the master in all activities, especially in agriculture [838] and pasturing, and are made use of as objects of homosexual pleasure if the master is a /sexual/ deviant. (We have no data on homosexuality as social etiquette, that is, lending a slave for homosexual practices to sodomitical guests). The owner may punish his slaves freely even to killing them.

Women /slaves/ are used, as we saw previously, in domestic labor, weaving, etc; they are obliged to act as wet nurses of the children of the master at his wife's request. In this case, the slave's child has to be weaned and brought up on corn mazamorra; the slaves also carry out the role of nursemaids to the children, and are used as objects of sexual pleasures by the master, the master's sons, and his guests, following a formula of social etiquette in La Guajira. We do not know of any datum which can confirm homosexuality practiced with female slaves by their mistresses, nor of the corresponding aspect of hospitality.

In remote times, old women, young women, girls, and youths, boys, and adult males were enslaved, but at the present time it is almost a norm to keep only women as slaves of war.

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567 The owner, or better the person to whom human booty goes after the war, may keep men as slaves or simply kill them off; the latter is usually done now for fear of having to support and /thus/ give opportunities to an adult who wants to avenge himself; at the same time male children will be killed to avoid the similar risk of vengeance when the youngsters reach manhood, as it has been demonstrated that when a slave has been placed in such a state in his childhood, he waits until the head who conquered his family has grown old and then kills him, often torturing him first.

The owner may sell his female slaves as wives for free men; from that moment he loses his rights over them as these are transferred to the husband. They are also accustomed to selling young slaves of both sexes for the islands of Aruba and Curaçao, the haciendas of Venezuela and Magdalena department in Columbia, and for other Columbian and /143/ Venezuelan cities. They do this instead of killing them in order to get some economic usufruct. Finally, at any time they can kill any /of their/ slaves, man or woman.

Punishment of slaves at times reaches the point of savagery. They tell, for example, of a native family which had as a slave a girl of tender age, who on a certain occasion disobeyed an order of her mistress; for punishment her hands were pushed into a fire, and as a consequence of the burns the child lost both of them. The child was found later in the woods -- her mistress in addition to burning her hands had thrown her out of the house -- biting off the green portions of a cactus with her teeth to feed herself as she could not gather them with her hands, whose flesh was putrid and eaten by worms; the child was suffering incredibly from hunger and thirst. She was taken to the Capuchin mission, where they gave her medical attention and where she is now living. The Indians of Nazaret when telling about this act of savagery spoke of it with horror.

Slave trade. Slave trade in La Guajira has three principal aspects: a) trade between natives; b) trade between natives and whites; c) trade between whites.

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567 In relation to the first aspect we have the following facts.

1. A master sells his women slaves for three ends: a) as wives for free Indians at very low prices; b) for domestic service in the homes of other Indian families, who in this manner acquire ownership of the slave; c) for social etiquette, when importuned by a friend.

In the first case it can be said that the woman is freed, while in the other cases she remains in her position of slavery and only experiences a change of owner.

2. Men slaves are sold to another free Indian who needs manual labor in his agricultural and pasturing work; the slave keeps his same social status.

3. Furthermore, the Guajiro also sells his slaves to whites (white being understood to be all who are not Guajiro), either in the interior of the peninsula or in the islands or neighboring lands. The young men are sold to be brought to the islands of Aruba and Curaçao, where they customarily escape with frequency, traveling as stowaways on ships; when they reach La Guajira they regain their freedom. Slaves are also sold to the haciendas of Venezuela, especially those devoted to the cultivation of cacao and sugar cane or stock raising. In these places slavery reaches a point of /144/ maximum expression, for the slave is branded with the brand of the owner of the hacienda, loses his Indian surname, and is renamed after the owner or hacienda where he works. The slaves sometimes escape from these haciendas also, but only with great difficulty, for on fleeing they are pursued in what becomes a veritable man hunt.

Prepubescent girls are frequently sold to be carried outside the peninsula by whites. Usually they escape on reaching puberty and return to La Guajira, where as a general rule they regain their freedom. This sale of young Guajiro girls has given rise to an extensive trade in which individuals of the department of Magdalena in Colombia, of Venezuela, and of the adjacent islands take part. At times it reaches scandalous extremes, and it has become a source of riches to the so-called

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567 Guajiro "caciques," who are no more than mestizos or mulattos who take advantage of the unfortunate social situation of the Guajiro Indians and exploit them for commercial gain, making themselves absolute masters over human lives and possessions.

The Capuchin mission with their establishments in Nazaret and Ríohacha buys slave children to educate them in the orphanage under their charge and to give them back their freedom. Until recently, the Colombian government included in the budget a subsidy given to the mission for carrying out their activities, a sum for the purchase of these slave children. For some years, however, the appropriation of this sum has not been forthcoming.

The trade in Indian slaves between white women or women civilizados is found especially in the districts bordering on Venezuela and in the department of Magdalena, but up to the present we do not know the intimate details of this traffic.

Permanence of the status of slavery. The individual taken as a slave retains this status during his lifetime unless some special occurrence brings him his freedom. His children may or may not remain in the condition of slaves according to the character of their birth with respect to the matrimonial or extramatrimonial unions, which we can define as: (1) the children of men and women slaves are slaves and belong to the owner of their parents; (2) children of a slave father and free mother are not slaves even if the mother has been bought by the owner as a wife for his slave, since according to the Guajiro custom of affiliation they belong to the mother. These children, however, have certain characteristics of bond servants although these are not well defined. The wedding payment made for the first daughter /145/ of this marriage belongs to the owner, who is thus repaid for what he paid for the mother. The children of these mixed marriages go to serve in the house of their parent's master. Generally, their own parents sell them when they are children as bond servants for Aruba, Curaçao, Ríohacha, Maracaibo, Barranquilla, and Santa Marta. When they become adult they often return to La Guajira, but as they belong to a

/145 cont./

567 conquered group they lack all rights in their society, since they are exiled from their original home, without consanguineous relatives because of the extinction of their clan or because of its poverty; consequently, they remain marginal to society in the class of pariahs; for this reason, women, on returning, resort almost without exception to prostitution. (3) The children of a slave woman and free father retain the mark of the mother unless she has been bought as a wife.

Manumission. The three forms of manumission of slaves known to us are the following:

1. By flight from the home of their masters. The slave, nevertheless, remains in a rather difficult position.

2. By purchase of female slaves as wives for free men.

3. By purchase of girl and boy slaves by the Capuchin mission to educate them in an orphanage and give them their freedom.

567 538 Slavery in oral literature. Slavery is mentioned in the oral narratives of the natives that refer to legends as much as it is in those that have the character of true histories. Of these we can present two: One is connected with the Kusina Indians /renegade Guajiro, more commonly spelled Cocina. -- Ed./ who one night decided to steal the livestock of an Indian called Kurírapáta of the Sierra de Jarara, who, while defending himself was shot in the thigh by the marauders. The story relates that Kurírapáta was picked up by his sisters and taken to their home, and that one night he dreamt that he should swallow a charm (a túma, "precious stone") and leave his wife, taking in exchange for her one of his female slaves. He carried out what his dream had commanded him; he swallowed the túma and called in one of his slaves, saying to her, "Come with me; you are to be my wife." In this way he cured his ailment.

In the narration of the Guajiro myth, the shaman Umarálá recounts how he received on the death of his aunt -- who had a great affection for him -- all her possessions as inheritance, and among them, her slaves. Disillusioned by sorrow over

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567 538 the death of his aunt, Umaralá dedicated himself to living in a hut in the near-by woods where his aunt lay buried. There he fed on roots and wild fruit picked in the woods and only received a visit from time to time from his male slave, from whom he had also parted. /146/

175 567 648 Negro slavery in the eighteenth century. A most interesting aspect of slavery in La Guajira is that related to Negro slavery among these natives, which was at its height during the period of colonization, especially during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and was due to Negro commerce and to pearl fishing. Unfortunately, there remain only a few notes about these happenings, written by Father Julián in the [114] eighteenth century, which have aided us in writing this last section regarding slavery. In the following lines we transcribe these notes which confirm the first case known up to the present in the history of all American Indians regarding the presence of Negro slaves among them. Father Julián says: "The fishermen of such pearls are the Guajiro Indians, who are in control of all this coast from the Río de la Hacha almost up to the famous lake of Maracaybo. These are the fishermen and owners of the pearls. It is they who sell them, who carry them to the Río de la Hacha, who trade them with foreigners who come in their brigs to these waters or anchor in the Bahía Honda. For the pearls they bring in, these Indians receive firearms, alcohol, wines, and even slaves, all of which they procure, becoming richer and ever more insolent and less conquerable." (1)

1. Julián, Antonio: La Perla de América, Provincia de Santa Marta, reconocida, observada y expuesta en discursos históricos /The Pearl of America: Province of Santa Marta, checked, observed, and explained in historical

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discourses/. Madrid, by don Antonio de Sancha. 1787. 1st III, 12. NOTE: all italics are ours.

Further on, he repeats the reference in these terms: "The value given them by the buyers is represented by three kinds of things. For the pearls, the foreigners give them: firearms, nails, and even slaves, in addition to cloth brought from Europe...." (2)

2. Ibid., 1st V, 19.

More explicit in relation to the problem is the following paragraph: "The Guajiro are fishers of pearls which they sell to the dealers, who in turn sell them to certain brigs and packetboats in exchange for spirits, Negro slaves, and firearms." (3)

3. Ibid., 2nd XII, 187.

And finally he ends by outlining the duties that these Negro slaves carried out and the recial mixing that resulted between them and the Indians in the paragraph which we transcribe as follows: "...He then gave me two rather useful pieces of information which I, impelled by zeal for the good of the Guajiro Nation and of the Monarchy, now retell. /147/ The first is the provision of arms and knowledge of their use which they get from constant trade and contact with foreigners, and the second is that through these /foreigners/ have now been introduced male and female Negroes and intermarriage with the same Indians who buy them and keep them as slaves, and this leads not only to an increase in the number of people among the Guajiro but also to an increase in a diversity of fearsome races of Mestizos, Mulattos, Zambos, etc., who, united with the Guajiro, will make this Nation formidable

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175 ever more and more and more difficult to conquer. In fact,
when we came into the lands of the Guajiro the Cacique came
•567 to meet us with two Negroes as lackeys, dressed in bright red
648 uniforms with all the corresponding facings and braid, something which was quite a novelty to me and made a deep impression." (1)

1. Ibid., 2nd XIV, 159.

BOND SERVICE

566 There is a fundamental difference between the concepts of slavery and bond service in La Guajira. While it is certainly true that in both cases the liberty of the individual is restricted, it is also true that it is restricted in different degrees. Similarly, we can state that while in slavery the owner has absolute rights over the person of the slave, in the case of bond service he has power only over his working potential.

Bond service includes certain groups whose economic, social, and numerical situation has weakened; they are clans which, to a certain point, are without effective male backing and who for this reason attach themselves, if not by law at least by act, to a family of superior position belonging to a strong group, in exchange for the use of their services.

Origin. Bond service has three causes. First, the voluntary sale of men and women, and particularly of children /en la edad infantile/, by their immediate owners, the mother, the maternal uncle of most authority, the grandmother, and the maternal aunts being considered as such; second, when a group cannot comply satisfactorily with its economic-social commitments, such as the payment of debts, indemnity for an offense, etc.; and, third, in cases of social inferiority in which the application of the law is up to the offended party, and certain members are taken from the lower social group as bond servants, especially when the offense committed is robbery.

[48 cont.]

682 murderer's family after the crime were extremely cruel, as was to be expected given the Guajiro social organization. Their homes were burned down, their sources of water supply demol-
[567] ished, three men and four women were killed, and their children enslaved.

782 751 761 The interesting part of the subject we are now dealing with lies in the sacrifice of animals. These apparently serve as substitutes for the individuals whose sentence has been revealed in a dream. They take their place and are sacrificed in their stead. As a death has taken place, the evil spirit which had enslaved the future criminal in order to carry out its determination to harm him is now mollified by this act of propitiation. Moreover, as the animal (the black male goat in this case) shares the qualities of its owner by reason of such ownership, a part of the personality of the person sentenced to be punished in the dream is also sacrificed. The individual thus suffers two processes, death in part through the sacrifice of the animal and participation in the sacrifice by bathing in its blood.

171 761 825 538 Possible vestiges of this native belief still persist in Colombian folklore in some parts of the departments of Antioquia, Boyacá, Nariño, and Santander. There the people hold the belief that when a domestic animal dies, especially if it is an animal that has been much loved by the people of the house, it is a sign that some member of the household had been about to die. The sentence of death which lay on that person, according to the explanation given in all cases, was transferred to the animal by a special concession from God, [49] thus avoiding a greater calamity to the family. In Nariño this belief, according to information from the Licentiate Chaves, appears in popular oral literature. There is in reality a story which tells of a recently married couple who felt or knew (we cannot say how) that they would die very shortly. To avoid this, the wife dedicated herself to breeding cuyes (curíes) [conejillo de Indias, a mammal of the order of rodents], which one by one died off; then she hastened to breed chickens, which also successively died; she then devoted herself to dogs, which also died. With the successive deaths of the animals, they were able to elude their own fate and lived happily together for a long time, free

[99 cont.]

751 the charm. He has two aims in view, to render himself immune
726 from harm from his enemies' weapons, and to acquire courage
579 and coolness in the coming fight. This type of charm is called
ranfa in Guajiro.

754 The evil eye. This is one of the beliefs which seems to us to
have been acquired by the Guajiro Indians through acculturation,
[179] as we have not found it in any purely native group but, on the
contrary, have found it very widely spread in all parts of Colom-
bia, especially among the mestizos. We have personally en-
[191] countered it in the departments of Cauca, Valle del Cauca,
Tolima, Antioquia, Santander, and Magdalena. Without being
exclusive to Negro or Negroid groups, it is among them that this
belief is found with the greatest intensity and frequency.

175 The presence of Negroes in La Guajira is not due only to
563 racial mixing with the groups of mulattos of the coast but was
initiated in the centuries of the Colony as can be seen from these
notes taken from Father Julián: "Two evident and palpable
reasons came to me: practical reasons which because of my zeal
for the welfare of the Guajiro Nation and for the Monarchy I now
express. The first is their provision and use of [100] firearms
through their continual trade with foreigners; secondly, these
same foreigners have brought in Negroes and Negresses, and these
[562] have mixed with the Indian men and women who have bought and
kept them as slaves. The result is that not only is the number of
people in La Guajira increased but so also is the number of terri-
ble races of Mestizos, Mulattos, Zambos, etc., who united with
the Guajiro will make this nation even more formidable and every-
day more difficult to conquer." (59)

59. Julián, Antonio. La Perla de la América
[The Pearl of America], 2nd, XIV, 195.

754 Referring to this popular Santander belief, Juan de Dios
Arias affirms: "In our territory, for example, there is a very gen-
eral belief that certain persons have the evil eye, and if they
should look fixedly and with evil intention at a child, in the
course of a few days the latter will be covered with pimples and
sore places which are difficult to cure. This evil influence is

[106 cont.]

782 424 789 Magic prayers. As a matter of interest we transcribe below without any comment the following statement we recorded: there are a few special prayers only known to certain natives, the verbal formula of which they sell at times to whoever may need it, on the understanding that these prayers will be used in all good faith and belief in their magic power, prayers that serve to cure whatever plagues may occur, and frequently do occur, in the cotton fields.

538 789 755 Magic charms in the oral literature. From the stories we were able to collect among the Guajiro natives relating to their daily life, there is one that has a clear connection with magic charms. It is the one which refers to the struggle of the Indian Kurfta-Páta, of Jarara, with some Kusina Indians who had come to rob him of his livestock. In this struggle the Jarara Indian was wounded in the thigh, and his cure was effected through a dream in which it was communicated to him that he should swallow a charm (a tuma, "a precious stone") and leave his wife to exchange her for a slave. Kurfta-Páta obeyed these injunctions and was cured.

We have then a new magic charm which has a medicinal function and which must be added to those we have already noted throughout this chapter. Its magic action is combined with a social act of great importance within the Guajiro community: that of a man leaving his own wife and replacing her with a slave, descending thereby in the social scale, as there is [547] a great difference in status between a free woman and a common slave or bond servant. A new magic object, the tuma, appears as the possessor of supernatural powers capable of warding off those evils that can overpower an individual.

789 Summary and classification. 1) What we have called magic charms [contras mágicas] in this chapter include three classes of known magic objects: fetishes, amulets, and talismans. [107]

2) All these possess in greater or lesser degree a magic power capable of working either good or evil.

3) Their action in the majority of cases can be controlled and directed by their owners, especially in the case of doing ill

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
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the men speak some Spanish in addition to their native 105
language. Some of them know how to read and write. They
are almost entirely pastoral, possessing great herds of horses, [233]
asses, sheep, goats, and cattle. They have borrowed a great
deal from the Europeans but they have also kept their own
culture to a remarkable degree. As usual, native elements
are most strongly present in the non-material phases of culture.
Unfortunately they are not united or organized into a modern
state, though against all foreigners they stand together as a
unit. Authority is acquired by certain caciques through their [554]
wealth and membership in the 'casta,' the major social group- 614
ing in Guajiro society. Each casta claims a mythological 631
origin and holds sovereignty over a well-defined territory.
Many of these castas or social groupings are further sub-
divided. Each casta has its caciques whose function is chiefly
to settle disputes and whose position is inherited, matrilineally.
The oldest of them is allowed more authority, but generally it
is the wealthiest man, and the one who can marshal more [556]
retainers, armed with rifles and revolvers, who is listened to
with greater respect. There are further divisions in Guajiro
society. At the top are the caciques and their families who are 585
rich and powerful. The next group is composed of peons or
retainers in the service of the upper stratum, and at the bottom
are the 'slaves' who have been born in that condition or have
been enslaved following an offense to some powerful group, and [567]
who can even be let out to work for planters in the sugar fields
of Zulia The life of the poor people has not changed much
since early times. Polygamy is widely practiced, as is also 595
concubinage, by the wealthier men. Each wife lives in her
own rancho and there awaits the occasional visit of her hus-
band. The children inherit property and social affiliations [611]
through the mother. Disputes that arise within a casta are
settled by arbiters chosen by the families of the litigants. [627]
Disputes inter-casta may be settled by arbitration if violence
is not desirable. Generally the killing of an individual gives [629]
rise to armed action with an eventual composition by payment.

My informants attempted to demonstrate the difference be- 671

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
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could not have paid the price in the first place, and besides B's family would have little to fear from them. 554 628

The father and maternal uncle of the slain man take the initiative in seeking payment which goes to the mother's family. 672 682

If A and B had been workmen or retainers of C, a cacique, and A's family could not have paid the price of composition, then C would have paid B's family and in compensation would have enslaved A and his family. Payment for killing a peon is 10 asses, 50 to 100 sheep, and 10 steers. [466] [567]

Case IV: A was working for B. In the course of the work through no fault of B, A was hurt. B paid A's family for the injury. A's family took care of A. 466 672 683

Case V: A and B were working for C. Through accident B hurt A. B's family had to settle the injury with A's family. Had A been hurt in the course of the work without B acting as the instrument, then C, the employer, would have had to pay.

This case is similar to the one described by Simons. If A lends a horse to B and B is hurt through the instrumentality of the horse, A has to pay. If A gives rum to B and B injures C, A is held responsible.

Case VI: A wants to marry B. B or B's family reject his suit. A goes to B's rancho at night and commits suicide there B's family has to pay A's family for the death of A, B being considered as the direct instrument that caused A's death. 672 682 762

Case VII: A injures or kills B, caught *in flagrante delicto* with A's wife. A has to pay B's family a price minus an amount considered fair value for the sexual privilege that B exercised on A's wife. 672 682 684

These illustrations point to the absolute nature of Guajiro law. No extenuating circumstances are allowed to enter into settlement of cases of battery or other trespass on the rights of an individual. The case is different in so far as public sympathy and moral censure or approbation are concerned. Furthermore, society as a whole takes no action in righting wrongs. The family of the injured person must seek composition, and if it is not powerful enough to demand a high price it has to be satisfied with a smaller one. Conversely, there is 672 628 [626]

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797 they take into boarding schools, so-called *orfelinatos*. It
736 was not difficult to get children for these schools there. Many poor families voluntarily hand their children over in hard times, when they cannot support them themselves. Others sell them for a quantity of maize. If the mission did not buy them, some well-to-do chief would, and they
[567] would become slaves. The monks did not always know whether a child offered them was stolen or not.

Well-to-do Indians also liked to send their children to Nazaret to learn Spanish and other useful things. These, however, often became more Indian than the Indians once they left the school. We met a few who refused to remember their Spanish and who appeared to be quite uninfluenced by the monks. This evident reaction against civilization was due, perhaps, to the strictly ordered life of the school.

The poor children had to stay there always. Some of them worked in a cotton plantation which the monks had started in order to help the mission's finances. There were already one or two married couples. They were not considered proper Indians, because the men wore trousers.

584 A Guajiro girl is normally not allowed to choose her husband. *Her family does that. Thus, if the monks and*
797 nuns decided which pupil was to marry which, it amounted to the same thing. The monks, of course, did not get a bride-price, nor did the bridegroom often receive his morning-gift that traditionally consists of ornaments and clothing.

797 Why had they built the mission station just at that spot, where it was so difficult to maintain it? The choice had been dictated mainly by the monks' desire to try and save children and others from being sold as slaves. Also there was water and it was near a harbour.

567 Do people really traffic in slaves in our day? Yes, slavery still exists. In Guajira, the traffic increases whenever there is a drought and times are bad. It has always gone through Castilletes on the south coast, which lies just where the frontier between Colombia and Venezuela reaches the sea. The slaves are sold to Venezuela, which is also more accessible for that part of the peninsula.

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One day we met three slave-workers. They were sitting on a hillside gnawing at roast goat's feet. Talking with them we discovered that they had to serve their master without wages. Must they do so all their lives? we asked. Perhaps not, but they were bound to work for him till certain debts and obligations had been paid off, and these seemed very complicated and vague. 567

The real slaves for life are the prisoners taken in war. Thus there are various forms of slavery in Guajira. It is, of course, an ancient phenomenon, of which the whites would seem to have taken advantage rather than to have combatted. [727]

Slavery is a form of punishment. Formerly it was only conquered people and prisoners of war who were kept as slaves. This was usual among several Indian peoples, especially the Aruaks, to which group the Guajiro belong. With them slavery has been systematized. [19]

Let us see how it is that someone becomes a slave. If an Indian has been insulted or killed, his clan demands compensation. If this is not paid, war breaks out between the two clans and those taken prisoner are treated as slaves without further ado. The Indians, however, never begin a war for the purpose of obtaining slaves. The slaves are reckoned as part of the damages, and they and the possessions of the conquered are divided among the victors according to certain principles. The eldest maternal uncle, mother, nephew, brothers and the leader of the fighting are entitled to damages; and if there is enough, the leader of the warriors will usually distribute some of the booty to his nearest relatives, mother, sisters, and maternal aunts. All the property of the enslaved prisoners-of-war passes into the hands of the victors: their pastures, water-holes, cattle, utensils, clothing, ornaments. 628 567

Slaves are the property of their masters, who can do with them as they see fit; sell them, give them away, kill them or use their labour and, if they are women, have intercourse with them as they may desire. The same goes for the men, if their master is a homosexual, as is not unusual in Guajira. The owner's unmarried sons or nephews also con- 567 [838]

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sider themselves entitled to the female slaves. The owner, however, is bound to give a slave enough food from his own kitchen or to provide maize or other raw ingredients for him or her to cook. He must also provide a male slave with a wife, either giving him a female slave or buying a girl for him from some poor clan for ten goats. The state of slavery is hereditary; thus the children of slaves belong to the owner of their parents. If the owner of a male slave should buy a poor free girl to make him a wife, her children will be free, since relationship is reckoned on the female side. If a free man pays a bride-price for a slave, she becomes free; but if he merely buys her for a house-slave she remains a slave. Male slaves are set to work in the fields or with the herds. Female slaves perform domestic occupations. Sometimes a female slave becomes nurse to the owner's children. The laws of Guajira hospitality require that the master of a house place a female slave at his guests' disposal for the night.

The Indians, of course, have the right to punish their slaves, but the chastisement is seldom excessive. Slaves are *treated as superior domestic animals*, or perhaps I ought to say, as we treat domestic animals, for the Creoles, the Indians' neighbours, are not animal-lovers. Naturally there are cruel Indians too. The monks once came across a poor little slave girl out in the wilds. Her hands were so badly burned that she could not use them. She had been trying to keep herself alive by gnawing at cactus with her mouth. They took her back with them. It transpired that her mistress had lost her temper with her, thrust her hands into the fire and then driven her away.

The Indians make a distinction between slaves taken in war, who are their master's property, and dependent workers. These latter have to do what their master tells them, but he does not dispose of their persons. I called them slave-workers. They can be sold, but in theory it is only their labour that is transferred.

In times of distress the poor not infrequently have to get rid of members of the family who are unable to contribute to their own support, and this they do by selling them. This

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applies mainly to children. These then become slave-workers and by right should be liberated once they have paid off with their work the sum for which they were bought, but that may not always be done. It is the mother, the uncle or the aunts who decide when a child is to be sold. This seems cruel to us now, yet it is not so long ago that children in the country were auctioned as workers in Sweden and elsewhere.

The owner of these slave-workers is bound to provide them with food and clothing as he must his slaves; thus children sold into slavery at least do not starve to death as they well might at home.

An Indian who has been unable to pay his debts must in certain circumstances go and serve his creditor. That is reminiscent of our own ancient slavery for debt. The obligation to work for another can also be a punishment laid upon a thief or a robber. As long as the slave-worker's clan is able to take action against the master if he goes beyond his entitlement, the position of the slave-worker is different from that of the slave; but if his clan is weak and unable to help him, he can be utterly in his master's power. At times a whole clan may become so weak that it has to seek the support of a stronger clan, and thereby becomes bound to work for the latter and is entirely dependent upon it.

While the master of a female slave may use her as he will, he has no right to have intercourse with a female slave-worker. Nor can he prevent others from entering into relations with her. If her clan has any voice in affairs, it will require damages of anyone who seduces her; but if her clan is powerless, then the female slave-worker is without support either of her clan or her master, and not infrequently ends as a prostitute. Prostitution is contrary to Indian law, but nowadays it does exist.

Even if a girl's clan is insignificant it will always demand damages, if someone has had relations with the girl and made her pregnant. Usually the man will pay up, that being the decent thing to do. Perhaps he wishes to marry the girl; in that case he must first pay her master the debt

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which occasioned her becoming a slave-worker, and then pay a bride-price to her family. The girl becomes free and, of course, her child is born free.

Real slaves are those taken in war. Nowadays they seldom take men or boys prisoner, but prefer to kill them instead. Otherwise there is always a risk that eventually they will try to avenge themselves. Women and girls are mostly spared and made slaves. Civil strife is common, and the Macuira Hills were no more peaceful than other areas, but the Indians were reluctant to harm the monks, though on occasion even they became involved.

One day a violent feud broke out between two clans. The chief of one clan himself led the fighting and had determined that the enemy was to be utterly exterminated. The battle raged quite close to the mission. To be anywhere near the Indians when they are fighting is dangerous, for those with rifles are seldom able to shoot and stray bullets fly everywhere. Poisoned arrows are also in the air, but they are better aimed and do not travel so far.

One day the monks heard that this chief had captured a couple of boys of the enemy clan and had ordered that they should be burned alive. The boys were reported to have been tied to a tree, round which a large fire had been lit, after which the chief's men had gone away, leaving the boys to their fate. Two of the monks set off at once for the tree. As they hurried along rain began to fall and they hoped that that might put the fire out and so save the boys' lives. When they arrived, however, one of the boys was already dead, having been suffocated by the smoke. The other was still alive and the monks carried him back with them, though they scarcely expected him to survive, for he was very badly burned. It seems pointless and cruel to kill little boys, but the Indians were afraid that, if they spared them, they would take vengeance later; thus, when they heard what had happened, they sent a message saying that the monks must hand the boy over.

The monks replied that the boy was dead. That was the only way of saving his life—if it could be saved. He died during the night, however, and was buried in the mission's

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garden. In the morning the Indians came and demanded the 628
body. The monks refused, not wishing to lend themselves 727
to violation of the dead, and said that they would only 797
treat with the chief. He, however, was not in the vicinity. 648
The Indians threatened to burn the mission station. Fortunately the chief arrived at this juncture, and told his braves that they must not use violence against the monks.

'Never to kill and just to rescue those condemned to death as you do, does not fit in with our laws,' he said to the monks. 'You Capuchins lack any sense of reality. But I shall do you no harm, since you never harm others.'

It sometimes happens that the victor instead of killing 567
his male prisoners will sell them as slaves to the white 439
men, preferably to places at some distance from the peninsula, such as the Dutch islands of Aruba and Curaçao, Zulia in Venezuela, or the Magdalena department of Colombia. The Indians deal in slaves among themselves; they also sell them to the white men and these, too, traffic in them among themselves.

Legally, a slave sold to a white person should become free, but in reality the owner of the *hacienda* treats him as a serf, branding his own mark on him, depriving him of his clan name and giving him his own. To sell a prisoner into slavery is not always to hear the last of him; for some have escaped from the Dutch islands, stowing away on boats, and on their return have exacted vengeance. It is not easy for hacienda slaves to escape. They are often hunted like animals.

There was a considerable sale of young girls to the whites, 548
a scandalous traffic. In Indian territory this was mainly in 567
the hands of quasi-chiefs, generally mestizos and other half-breeds with no right to the title, who cleverly saw how to exploit the Guajiro laws to earn a lot of money. The Guajiro customary law was never intended to apply to export.

The monks were the chief opponents of the slave-traffic. 567
They received a special grant from the government of 648
Colombia to enable them to purchase the freedom of slave children. The white men made no distinction between slave

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567 and slave-worker, whichever they bought, they treated alike. In times of famine, so-called recruiting-agents, usually
648 half-breeds, appeared on the scene and bought up workers for the haciendas. Even those Creoles who were not directly engaged in this shameful traffic considered slavery a phenomenon about which there was nothing to be done. After all it was an ancient institution. Slave-workers with Creoles never became free, unless they could manage to escape, for the Creoles did not respect the Guajiro law according to which a slave-worker's servitude ceases when he has paid his debt. Those white people, mestizos or mulattos who had bought slave-workers saw to it that they never got away once they had put their clan mark to a contract, the purport of which they did not understand.

The central chain of hills, Sierra de Jarará, and Maicao in
567 the western low country, were usually accounted the centre
797 of this slave traffic. If a poor man stole a bullock or a goat to feed himself and his family, he was often punished by being sold as a slave-worker—having nothing with which to pay the owner compensation.

The monks are needed there all right. They calculated that during the five years they had been working there, some
[563] three thousand slaves had been sold. In the old days the Guajiro also had negro slaves, as is apparent from Antonio Julian's description of the country written at the end of the eighteenth century. According to him, the Indians used to
[439] obtain firearms, spirits, wine and slaves in Rio Hacha, in exchange for their pearls. The pearl fishery was entirely in the Indians' hands. Elsewhere, negro slaves were bartered for pearls from boats lying off the coast. Antonio Julian expressed concern at the fact that with the addition of negroes and negresses not only would the Indians increase in numbers, but also that they would acquire an additional population of mulattos, mestizos and zambos, who would make common cause with them and make them 'even more terrible, insolent and difficult to conquer'.

When he visited the peninsula he was met by a chief who was attended by two negro slaves, splendidly got up, like lackeys, and that obviously impressed him greatly.

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The eldest monk at the station, Father Crispin, had a lot to tell us of the slave trade and of his travels on the peninsula. 567 747

The monks and nuns live in a state of constant nervous tension. That saps their strength, as does the constant anxiety about supplies, the heat and the monotonous diet: goat's meat, maize and dried fish.

'You age quickly here,' said Father Salvador, who was himself proof of that.

We attended mass in the primitive little church there. Father Salvador preached with true Spanish eloquence. He was said to have been an officer in a crack regiment, and sometimes when he gave orders to the Indian boys, you could see that that was so. There, in the dark little mud church, he preached a sermon that only a few understood, but a crowd of Indian children knelt and listened and some half-naked grown-ups watched inquisitively from the door, as did three heretics from the distant north. 747

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until they reached marriageable age. Even when they were 291
little they wore belts of seed pearls which were added to
with the years, and other strings of beads were put round [301]
their shoulders and across their chests. A girl of eight or
ten might carry fifteen or twenty pounds weight of beads
and pearls. The string round the waist was made of black
beads, but those on the upper part of the body had to be of
different colours.

The rich used gold and coral. Necklaces of gold beads 301
were traditional, but every other bead had to be black and [556]
be either a seed-pearl or of glass. Poor girls used plaits of
cotton threads on their torsos instead of strings of beads.
All who could, wore sandals with pompoms to protect [301]
their feet against the thorns on the ground.

Women slaves and slave-workers were often not given 291
protective tunics by their masters and therefore went about 567
perpetually half-naked. Being unable to protect themselves
from the sun, they become darker skinned than the others.

The woman's dress was thus colourless—unless they had 302
bought some coloured cloth from a white trader. To make
up for this, they painted their faces with patterns, mostly [388]
using the violet dye of a fruit called *guipa*. The men
painted themselves too, but restricted this to a few lines.
Only the women took real pains about painting themselves.
It was mainly their faces they painted, but on occasion their
arms and legs could also be covered with patterns. When on
a journey, the women painted their noses and cheeks all
over with black or red paint. This was not done for the [75]
sake of appearance, but to protect themselves against sun-
burn. We tried the method ourselves and found it excellent.
If one did not follow the Indians' example there, one easily
got badly burned. The Indians regard this protective effect [719]
as supernatural—all paint is magical and the pattern has
secret significance. The women showed my wife red and
brown powders that they had and advised her to try them.

All at once the women were in a hurry. They had 331
remembered that the men were due and hastened to the fires
and their pots. We roamed around and came across a small
hut, entirely closed, standing just behind the big houses.

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idea being that to speak the name renews the grief of the dead person's relatives. An old man of the Uriana clan, who called himself Juan, died. Some time later some of his relatives were at an entertainment, at which too was a woman of the Jusuá clan with her little son. A Creole asked this woman what her little boy was called and without thinking, she replied: 'Juan'. The dead man's relatives then claimed damages because she had mentioned the dead man's name, and she had to pay them a bullock, even though it was a Spanish name. It was the reminder of their grief that had to be compensated. It is also an offence to tread on an Indian's grave.

It is more expensive to strike a person than to insult him. One should not answer an insult with a blow, but a well-to-do Indian will not infrequently do so and gladly pay the damages. If an Indian strikes another without hurting him, he must pay nonetheless, because he has treated the other as a slave—it being only one's own slaves that one has the right to strike. If anyone tears a tunic, he must not only replace it, but pay for the shame the other felt at going about in rags.

A thief, if caught, must repay several times the value of what he has stolen. Not infrequently he must pay with his life, especially if the person he has robbed is a powerful personage, as he usually is, and the thief belongs to a weak clan that cannot help his family to exact blood-money.

A thief can be forced to pay by working for his victim. He becomes a debtor-slave. Murder, manslaughter and being the cause of another's death are the most serious crimes. They do not have these actual categories. The penalty for manslaughter is very heavy; if agreement cannot be reached on it, it can sometimes lead to war, a war in which the enemy must either be exterminated or enslaved.

It is on such occasions that a pawáli is held, at which you can see the groups of warriors drawn up facing each other, while a chief presides.

The chief is a mighty person and will have been chosen for his excellent qualities, yet he is not a judge, but rather advocate and mediator. His role is as conciliator. He will

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778 Christian now and intended to have done with such things,
832 and the Father had said that it was better to turn to a saint. And, of course, I was asked to say nothing about the transaction—that was always done in such cases.

I, of course, was keen to do business.

[784] 'But remember now not to eat roast meat or maize, nothing that has been in direct contact with fire. Otherwise you may fare badly.'

One has to observe certain rules of diet and behaviour when using a cóntra, but not so long as it lies idle.

The little pouch with the love specific thus passed into my possession, and I gave it our photographer to keep in the pocket of his camera case, as I had done with other small objects.

After we returned to the mission I told Francisco of my acquisition. He did not seem at all surprised, so evidently he and the young Indian had been in touch before the offer was made. I also told Francisco that Gladtvet was looking after the talisman, and he nodded understandingly. Gladtvet had no wife with him and no doubt would like to captivate a nice young girl, if one came his way.

574 Our host, whom Francisco told me would one day be a
778 chief, asked us to stay the night. He was of course prepared
832 to place a slave at the disposal of the solitary white man as hospitality required, but, he added, the prettiest girl in the
[567] house was a debtor-slave, whom he could not order, so the white man would have to charm her, if he wished to have her. It would be a good opportunity to try the talisman I had just acquired. Francisco said afterwards that it would not have been a reliable test of the talisman's efficacy, since undoubtedly the girl would have been very easily conquered by a large silver coin. Altogether, he considered, it would have been more practical for me to have bought a slave for Gladtvet than that expensive love charm, since, as he pointed out, slaves were cheap now, at the height of the dry season, owing to the shortage of food.

It was no use trying to explain to Francisco that this magic talisman, like all the other things I had bought from the Indians, was to go into a museum. He would merely

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

622 Chiefs are polygynous and have many daughters, for
595 whom very high bride prices are paid—sometimes thousands of animals,
583 worth $6,000 to $10,000. Such rich chiefs take great pride in their
556 daughters, dressing them in fine silken robes and necklaces of gold and pearls and providing them with personal servants.

567 There is a class of slaves who are beneath the chiefs' retainers in the social hierarchy. It consists of people born into this status and of captives.

PROPERTY

422 All cattle, though individually owned, belong in theory to the local group as a whole and are worked for the common benefit of all. For example, the cattle paid as a bride price when a girl marries within her own sib go to a new owner, but the milk, butter, cheese, and hides from them continue to be shared by everyone in the sib. When a woman receives cattle as a bride price for her daughter any new stock born to them belongs to the daughter's husband and his sons, and when the animals are rounded up for the annual branding each son is allowed to brand a certain number of them.

ETIQUETTE

576 The *Goajiro* are in general unfriendly to strangers but have a well-
577 established code of hospitality. Strangers calling at a house must wait until invited in. Inside a house a bowl of chicha or rum (coffee when available) is the first gift offered the visitor, who is thereafter given a hammock and treated as a member of the family. A special feast may
[565] be arranged if there are many guests. A guest of high rank is feasted, and some of the young girls of the house may be placed at his disposal.

LAW AND ORDER

627 The chiefs have little power outside their own local group, where they settle minor disputes. The solution of many disputes and transgressions of custom are left to the parties concerned. The laws of group respon-
628 sibility and group retaliation lead to frequent intertribal feuds. A person
614 without a strong sib to protect him is helpless, for others may use any act which may conceivably be interpreted as harmful as pretext for demanding indemnity. For example, a person injured while intoxicated may demand payment from the person who sold him the rum, or a person injured by a borrowed animal may demand payment from the owner of the animal; a thief who hurts himself when trespassing on the property of his intended victim will demand compensation of him; and anyone aiding a sick or wounded person who subsequently dies incurs a liability.

672 If a person injures himself he must make an expiatory gift to the members of his own sib and a lesser gift to his father's relatives. If a child dies when under the care of one parent, this parent must reimburse

/38 cont./

769 of their ancestors or to sympathize with their humiliation, share
867 in their hatreds and common sorrows, as well as to learn to perform this practice and repeat and transmit it when they form their own homes.

764 Furthermore, the presence and participation of the children
769 in the ceremonies which are performed at the death of a relative are meant to teach them through experience each one of these
867 ceremonies. Thus he learns and has engraved on him the feeling of mutual support that exists between related members of a group, such as the financial help that must be forthcoming, when it is a case of a poor relative, in order to be able to sacrifice animals and to see to the necessary amount of liquor and hospitality customary on such occasions, and the shrouding of the corpse, the etiquette that life beyond the grave demands from the wife, the relatives who intervene in these activities and their behavior (such as their weeping at the foot of the corpse), fasting and abstinence from meat: in fact every one of the established cultural patterns obligatory at these times, and it is an apprenticeship which the child receives through explanation and personal observation.

The child also shares in the family life during the days immediately after the burial; in the offerings that are taken to the dead one when it is feared, by magical indications, that his life beyond the grave is not normal for lack of something that he needs; in the periodical visits made to the grave and in the bonfires that for several nights are lit to illuminate the path of the dead.

Later he joins in the ceremony of exhumation. He knows
769 his part and that of his immediate relatives and, as in the
●571 previous cases, each one /39/ of the traditional norms. But
867 the most important thing about all these activities is not to learn to carry them out correctly, but to establish the sense of solidarity with the dead one, with the family, and with the society in which he lives. With the dead, by fulfilling an obligation of consanguinity in order to assure him -- even by coercion of

/39 cont./

769 his spirit -- a proper life in the future. With his family, by
571 mutual aid and solidarity in sorrow and in their joint economic
867 effort, and in the case of a violent death, by making common cause in order to obtain effective justice and the negotiation for the compensation payment, in order that the blood spilled may be properly atoned for.

He also learns the extent of the injury to a dead relative, linked to the mention of his name, which may revive all the sorrows, feelings, and painful past of the group.

Regarding society, the child learns how he, personally, must behave and also what the behavior of his group must be, the rules that he should comply with so that his prestige be not diminished since such would involve the lowering of the prestige of his group and have its repercussions when they try to obtain justice after any friction. This is what causes the bonds of consanguinity to tighten more and more and manifest themselves in the generous gifts each individual member subscribes to help another at a time when the clan, as a group, is being appraised by outsiders; and it is this that the child must learn, really learn: proper cult practices for his ancestors at the moment of their death and later, corresponding to their social status and that of the consanguineous relatives.

• • •

604 The training of a child of the middle years is not connected to the localization of the family, because at this period he breaks away from the small family circle in order to live with his other relatives for long periods of time.

When the marriage is solemnized under the Guajiro rite and when that tradition is still followed, the young boy is initiated and instructed almost entirely by the maternal uncle of most importance or of highest standing in the family circle. So, once the little boy can get around alone from place to place, this uncle, who generally will have in his possession all the

/177 cont./

614 7. Work. Labor is obligatory and communal for carrying
461 out work necessary for the general well-being of the group.
476 In the case of labor on property held by a single individual, aid is voluntarily lent by all the others, including men who may not belong to the same clan. The aid is reciprocated by the return of identical service when it may be requested.

614 8. Location of the dwelling. We have already spoken about the location of the home of the new family cell (Cf. Marriage residence in the chapter on Marriage).

614 9. The clan cemetery. Every clan group has a cemetery
764 on its own land, built by the co-operative work of its members. In it all the members of the clan should be buried; if it is not possible to do so at the time of the first burial, it is mandatory that the ashes /sic/ at least be taken there. With the individualization of property, the small families have constructed private niches situated in sites near the family house to be used as the temporary resting place of the remains of their closest relatives.

614 10. Group feeling. The consanguineous tie between all
571 the members of the same clan group had brought about a natural feeling of group unity. This feeling included a series of mutual duties and a number of rights they all could enjoy. The principal and most outstanding of the first was that of presenting a solid front in the face of any breaking down of the regimen for social stability when they felt injured by an offense or when one of the members had broken some cultural pattern, an act for which the whole clan had to bear responsibility. To get satisfaction and to give it as a total collectivity was their essential duty, as it was also to keep in force their prestige and status through adequate compliance of each of those functions which put the clan to the test.

The disintegration of the clan unit into more or less large family cells broken down the group feeling and transfered it to the family as an independent unit. /page 178 is blank/

3: Wilbert E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 SC13 Goajiro SC13

Twenty six fundamental kinship terms by which the Goajiro designate their relatives were recorded. Most terms are applied to more than one relative so that the system is classificatory in type. Among the Goajiro, kinship terms are almost exclusively used in reference, while in addressing a person teknonyms are employed, e.g.: süshi pülichi – father of pülichi (sü – prefix, 3rd pers. singl. masc.; (s)shi – father; pülichi – bacivo). The term corresponds to a male person who is the father of a boy child. This practice of teknonymy presupposes the presence of personal names. Either sex can be given a name in remembrance of an event which occurred on their birthday, e.g., "the one of the full moon," "the one of the blossoms of that tree," "the one of the war between . . .," etc. More frequently, however, personal names differ from each other by sex. Boys are called after strong and wild animals, such as bacivo (pülichi), tiger (karüira), pig (pürüki), wild cat (mülü), while girls' names are ornamental and flattering, e.g., "brilliant one" (hazüzü), brownish one (muriachong), etc. 601 551

The teknonym employed to address a person is derived from the name of the eldest son, and in default of sons, from that of the eldest daughter. Personal names are used in addressing unmarried persons. It is a disgrace, however, for an adult not to have children. Grandparents may be called by a teknonym referring either to a son or to a grandchild. [542]

Kinship terms are never employed in the forms as listed above, but only with possessive prefixes, e.g., tashi – my father; pünüi – your father; süshi – his father; süshi – her father; washi – our father; hashi – your (pl.) father; sashi – their father. In the table, kinship terms are represented by their root forms. As a friendly gesture, people may address each other by general terms such as "brother," "sister," etc., or they may call any small child "son" or "grandchild." 601 [572] [576]

Of particular interest is the distinction the Goajiro make between "blood-relatives" and "flesh-relatives." Blood-relatives are all patrilineally related persons, whereas "flesh-relatives" are related to Ego through the mother's line. Kinship ties between flesh-relatives are considered to be stronger than those existing between blood-relatives. In practical life this would mean that Ego would have to help his maternal uncle in a fight against his own father. Among all kinsmen the maternal uncle possesses the greatest authority and his word counts most in all domestic affairs. Frequently, therefore, we find the extended family clustered around the homestead of the maternal uncle, which makes the Goajiro a matrilineal avunculocal society. Otherwise residence is matrilocal. Any one of the three sister-relatives (maternal uncle), as listed in the table above, may replace the true maternal uncle in case of his death. But only his sister's children can be heirs of his possessions (including his wife or wives). 601 602 611 [604] [591] [768] [424]

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
SC13 Guajiro SC13

father's relatives who would eat the meat and drink the rum 574
immediately, a feast to which the mother's relatives might be 626
invited as a gesture of courtesy. The offering of rum and 602
meat is voluntary, and even a friend may ask for something as 672
an indication of deep personal interest in the welfare of the injured person. If the injured man makes no offering, no action is taken by anyone to make him do so, but he will acquire a 'bad name.' A Guajiro has a moral obligation to avoid shedding his own blood, but not a legal obligation. Since the father takes care of his son during his lifetime, this obligation is directed towards him and his relatives, but is extended to include any good friend.

Another example of the same distinction is the case where a 431
son asks his father for a particular horse or object possessed by 593
the latter, as a gift. The father is morally bound to grant the request, but there is no legal compulsion to do so. I gave a cacique a fine hunting knife which pleased him greatly. To my surprise his son was proudly wearing it the following day. On inquiring about it the cacique told me that his eldest son had asked for it. Had he refused to give it he would have [626]
been considered a bad father. The son inherits nothing from [428]
his father on the death of the latter, but while he is alive the son may beg anything within certain limits set by precedent. This moral obligation to give up a prized possession when [572]
asked for by one's sons is extended to include close friends.

Allowing the Guajiro to make their own distinctions, let us 671
turn to a consideration of their 'laws.' The commission of certain acts, which in our society would give rise to criminal prosecution, in Guajiro society are considered matters to be settled by the parties concerned. Criminal law is practically non-existent. There is no body politic, properly speaking, that meets out punishment whether or not the injured party seeks redress, and social pressure can hardly be of any importance in a society that protects the individual through the instrument of family and caste membership. In only one case 629
does there seem to be an approach to concerted social action. 681
If an individual has caused his family much trouble and is in- 672
corrigible, if his family has been called upon to pay for his mis-

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Gonjiro SC13

In the following laws it must be borne in mind that it is not the injured individual that demands compensation, but his relatives, usually on the mother's side as a rule. From this has arisen the common error that the father is ignored; as will be seen further on, this is not the case. In compensation it is the caste that retaliates, and the caste is always the mother's side. For example, a Pueblino man marries an Urisana girl; the children are Urisana. If one of them now should kill an Epieyo, for example, the whole caste of Urisana is at war with all the Epieyos, unless the matter is amicably settled by paying blood-money.

Case No. 1. Personally inflicted wounds. If an Indian accidentally cuts himself, say with his own knife, breaks a limb, or otherwise does himself an injury, his family on the mother's side immediately demands blood-money. Being of their blood, he is not allowed to spill it without paying for it. The father's relatives demand tear-money, not so much. Friends present demand compensation to repay their sorrow at seeing a friend in pain. If anybody present can seize the instrument that caused the accident it is appropriated. The pay is in ratio to the injury. A slightly cut finger is settled with a little Indian corn, a kid, or such trifle. A bad cut requires at least a goat or a sheep, with other sundries. In all cases of compensation where the Indian has not the wherewith to satisfy his creditors, he goes round begging until it is obtained.

Case No. 2. Damage done by animals. Suppose an Indian borrows a mule or other animal, and is thrown by it, doing himself bodily injury, then his relatives demand compensation from the lender, the argument being, had he not lent the animal the accident could not have happened. Should the beast belong to the thrown man himself, then he has to pay. Case of No. 1 in fact.

Case No. 3. General liability all round. This covers an enormous field. The most curious. Everybody selling rum or anything else is answerable for all the damage done by its instrumentality. Unfortunately this law is only, like many others, enforced when it is possible. As the traders know it very well, they never take rum into the interior for barter without being fully able to protect themselves. I was lent a servant as guide by a trader, who requested me not to let the man have any drink, for should anything happen to him he would be responsible to the family. Indians in employment rendering any damage the employer becomes liable; and so on. Whenever the Indian can only make the ghost of a claim he wants tear-money, blood-money, or some other money, and if not satisfied, helps himself with what he can lay his hands on.

Case No. 4. Mentioning names. This is very curious. The Indians object to have their true names mentioned, and demand heavy compensation in aggravated cases. They generally go by a Spanish name—José Antonio, Agustin, Vicente, &c., for an Indian dearly loves to be baptized, that is, he likes the attending feast and having god-fathers on

/28 cont./

862 their share of food, they quickly eat theirs and wait till the mother
673 is not there to snatch the share of a younger or weaker brother by force, by stealth, by deception, by false promises, or by coercion in some form, such as threatening to reveal to the parents some misdeed not known to them.

862 In general, the growing Guajiro child is never satisfied with the amount of food he gets, and in his craving for more he places
261 no normal restraint on his appetite. He is always capable of eating more than he can normally hold, even to the point of suffering, in the hope of building up a reserve or because, feeling himself undernourished, he finds pleasure and satisfaction in eating to repletion. He always eats as if he were starving, which sometimes is the case, but at other times is only the remembrance of past hunger and the fear of its repetition.

Parents believe that the habit of these small thefts may lead to bigger robberies from people not relatives, which would bring about a series of troubles to the family group to which the young delinquent belongs. Also, the food stolen may be necessary and even indispensable for home use, and the theft means that an adult, a sick relative, or a visitor whom they wish or need to look after is deprived of it. One has to bear in mind that in certain parts of the country the sources of food supplies are so few that food is scrupulously rationed to last out until new supplies become available.

Children are also punished as their parents want them to behave abstemiously and uncomplainingly during the long spells of scarcity so frequent in this country, /29/ although they have their reward later when, in time of abundant harvest, food is plentiful and extravagantly used, only sufficient seed being retained for the next sowing. During these times of scarcity the Guajiro lives on a very reduced food ration and puts up with hunger and thirst to an incredible degree, and mothers want their children to achieve a similar standard: to behave like adults in such circumstances.

862 A further motive for correction and punishment is when the
574 child refuses to share the food that has been given to him or that

/29 cont./

862 574 he himself has obtained by his own efforts, with a brother, relative, or friend who comes to the house. He is made to do so by force if he does not do so voluntarily, for this hospitality is the norm of conduct in La Guajira, as it is customary for the group to afford mutual aid, and the sharing of food is one of the most obvious manifestations of this. For the Guajiro, whether he possesses much or little, will share it with his consanguineous relatives; norms of hospitality founded on the basis of strengthening their own personal prestige, as well as that of their clan, oblige the individual to receive a guest courteously in accordance with his status and that of his group and with his standing as a visitor, a welcome that has the quality of reciprocating attentions of a similar nature received from the guest and a desire to repay the same with interest. For this reason the parents believe that they should make their child comply with these social precepts and show himself to be generous, such being ideal character traits in the opinion of the Guajiro. They regard such cases as an opportunity to train him to comply with established custom; they fear that in the future the boy may not comply with those principles which form the economic link between members of the consanguineous group and are the basis of clan social etiquette. For this reason they punish the child and oblige him to comply.

862 Another cause for punishment in this matter of food is the waste of food, more so if the child should stamp on it in a temper. In that case, he is severely punished. We believe that the Guajiro is right, because fear of the scarcity of food is an ever present problem which causes both adults and children to eat beyond the limit of their normal appetites in times of abundance. For this reason they believe that if the child wastes food he will suffer shortages greater than ever, and this punishment, by social law, will apply, as is natural, to all of them.

• • •

867 2. A principle that the child must comply with under parental authority is submission to orders given him, whether

/111 cont./

593 of water so that the man can bathe before entering the house and can rest in his hammock in the enramada; she also provides clean clothes, that is, a belt and guayuco, the common dress. She will immediately bring him a refreshing drink made from wild fruits, corn, or yucca. If after a hunting expedition the husband returns home and does not find all these things ready, he will complain to the woman and reproach her for lack of attention. A few moments after the man's return, the woman should produce food, preparing a portion of the game he has brought home, trying to make a dish that will be to his taste. Later she will sit by his side on the ground at the foot of the hammock on which he is resting, and she will recount to him all that has happened during his absence and the conduct of each and every member of the house in this lapse of time. If the man falls asleep she will stay silently at his side.

Another of the obligations of the woman to her husband refers to sexual satisfaction, which we have noted in a previous section.

Her duties in respect to feeding relate not only to the [264] obligation to supply him with food, but also to the special way of doing it -- to serve him the best portion in a special vessel and before anyone else in the house and to cook the food in accordance with the man's special taste.

593 Also the proper attention due to her husband's friends
574 when they come to the house is another of her obligations. It is customary for the man to bring his intimate friends to his first wife's house to entertain them, and his wife should then carry out adequately the part of a good housekeeper, complying with all the traditional norms of etiquette and hospitality, such as supplying them with hammocks in the enramada, bringing fresh drinks and especially a cup of coffee, and, whatever the hour of day or night they may arrive, giving them food in accordance with the tradition of her people and the particular rank of the visitors, and chatting

/111 cont./

583 with them, seated near her husband at the foot of the ham-
584 mock he occupies. If it should happen that the husband and his friends are on a spree and have gone to the house to continue drinking, she may only take part by bringing them drinks, by answering briefly the questions they put to her, without entering into the men's conversation, because if she should the group would dissolve, beginning with the husband, who would angrily accuse her of being a meddler. Her behavior at these times must be very circumspect, and she should be ready to prevent any /112/ controversial discussion bordering on a quarrel, which might bring troublesome consequences. In case this should occur it is her obligation to calm and separate the contenders so that they may not do each other harm, and later to endeavor to calm the inflamed tempers.

584 If any visitor should arrive at the house when the husband is absent, the wife should attend to him properly, for if not the guest will complain to the husband of the discourtesies of his wife. But in these circumstances she should observe certain norms of conduct intended to defend her own honor. For example, a hammock should be slung in the corrumada so that the visitor can rest, but she should never let him follow her into her room or into the house, because if her husband should hear of it he would bitterly reproach such behavior. Also any curious passer-by could recount the presence of a strange man in the room while her husband was away, giving the latter ample cause to complain openly, putting the woman's prestige in jeopardy. When the guest is resting in the hammock, she sits at the foot to attend to him, occupying herself with some manual labor which permits her to give her attention to the visitor.

583 The woman should show special interest in keeping up and improving her husband's belongings. It is her duty to keep his clothing, his weapons, his personal effects, etc., clean and in good repair and to be able to give a good account of all these when her husband asks about them. The

/229 cont./

The woman usually takes charge of the care of all sick persons in the home whether they are being submitted to treatment by the shaman or are just simple cases. She remains by their side and gives them all necessary attention.

The Guajiro woman should carry out two general functions in her home, functions that acquire more or less importance according to the standing she has. One of them is to see that all the chores and work of the home are adequately done; she must carry out these personally or be assisted in them by her daughters or other consanguineous female relatives with whom she lives, or be assisted by female servants, bond servants, or slaves. In the first case, the activities are distributed by mutual agreement; and in the second, she must take charge of the ordering, the overseeing, and the direction of all work and of the personnel who assist her.

The second of these functions is that of fully satisfying the traditional norms of courtesy and hospitality, attentions that must be shown by giving lodging and meals, etc., to every visitor who comes to the Guajiro home, because the visitor is a guest, because considerations of friendship or blood tie him to his hosts, and because of reciprocity for similar hospitality received previously, which for the sake of prestige, /230/ the host must repay in equal or in greater measure. In all these tasks the woman can count on the aid of her consanguineous relatives and on the female staff she has under her orders. Furthermore, every wife personally carries out for her husband or a male relative certain gestures of hospitality and care (when he is a head), which their culture requires from each of them and which not only cannot be delegated but have an obligatory character within the conjugal life.

Normally, the man, head of the house, directs the family activities that must be accomplished each day in the different branches of work. He does this personally or with the aid of his relatives or staff. When the head of the house and his sons are absent from home, it is up to the wife to direct the activities that are usually in the hands of the husband, or to carry them out in the same way as the man would.

[21cont.]

755 When the patient shows signs of improving, a fiesta is or-
796 ganized consisting of chicha-maya dances and feasting. For this event they prepare in advance all that will be offered to the participants; chicha made from chewed corn, plain or sweetened with panela according to the economic situation of the sick man's family. The dance lasts one or more days and nights, as ordered [534] by the shaman, the only musical instrument used being the drum. In order to end the fiesta, two or three steers and several goats and sheep are killed if the hosts are rich. At four or five o'clock in the morning, according to the shaman's wishes, the sick per- [515] son is taken from his bed, and the curer himself bathes him with soap and water, after which he is again carried indoors and is permitted to stay up, but not to leave his dwelling. Slowly he resumes normal living and the everyday diet. If the patient should have a relapse, [22] the treatment is repeated. The process of these cures may last up to two months, according to the patient's condition.

No one is actually invited to the fiesta which is organized [534] by order of the shaman when he has succeeded in curing a patient. When people find out that such a fiesta is about to be given from the characteristic beating of the drum, they approach without being invited and take part, joining in dancing [273] the chich-amaya. The women are offered a bowl of chicha made from chewed corn to take to their homes to drink there with their families. Men are given rum or chicha. The women wear with 291 great pride their long ample robes, which cover them to the 755 ankles, their waireñas, or leather sandals with toe pieces made 796 of knitted wool and adorned with large tassels of the same ma- 556 terial, and a pañuelo around their heads, the corners of which hang down their backs. If they are wealthy enough, they complete their personal adornment with anklets and bracelets of coral and necklaces of gold or tuma. The men also wear their finest robes, which, hanging from one of their shoulders, cover the upper part of their bodies. This is complemented by a wide sash used to support the loincloth [guayuco], wider than the one commonly used, that is, than that used in their daily 755 work. If animals are sacrificed — which depends on the wealth 796

671 tween law and custom in Guajiro society by a variety of illustrations. One of them said in effect:

●574 If a cacique visits me and I fail to kill a sheep in honor of his visit
626 and to feast him in accordance with the dignity of his rank and my
671 wealth, I have broken a custom of my people. However, though I offend him by such negligence my guest may take no action to redress the wrong other than to inflict the same discourtesy on me if the opportunity should arise. He may seek neither redress in violence nor composition in payment. My only punishment may be the acquisition of a bad name among my people.

586 But if I visit one of my wives at her rancho and she fails to kill a
671 sheep from her own flocks to feast me, refuses me her person, neglects
684 to supply me with hammocks, saddle-bags, and other articles made by women, or refuses me shelter, she will have broken a 'law'; that is, she will have broken the marriage contract. In this case I may demand from her and her family payment or a divorce. In the latter case her family would have to return to me the bride-price plus any increase in the herds but less an amount considered fair for my having exercised sexual privileges over her, though I may demand even this if she marries again. In case her family refuses to adjust
[626] the matter in accordance with our law I may appeal to my family for help in obtaining my just rights. I should be justified in having recourse to violence. However, the law is so well understood that it would not be necessary to resort to such drastic measures generally.[5]

671 These informants were acquainted to some extent with
[115] Colombian and Venezuelan laws and were attempting, no
[177] doubt, to classify their own customs in accordance with European practices. Nevertheless it is an indication that in their minds there does exist a class of offenses for which one may seek composition even through violence, and a class that is in the category of merely moral obligations though investigators may not always draw an equally fine distinction. Simons, for example, in discussing Guajiro law speaks of injury
[114] to oneself as giving rise to a legal obligation for composition. My informants, on the contrary, distinguished it from that
574 class of wrongful acts. If a man cuts himself, his father and
626 father's relatives receive an expiatory offering. Had one of
672 my informants, the son of a rich cacique, cut himself he would
602 have given a small barrel of rum and five or more sheep to his

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
SC13 Guajiro SC13

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the latter, as a gift. The father is morally bound to grant the request, but there is no legal compulsion to do so. I gave a cacique a fine hunting knife which pleased him greatly. To my surprise his son was proudly wearing it the following day. On inquiring about it the cacique told me that his eldest son had asked for it. Had he refused to give it he would have [626]
been considered a bad father. The son inherits nothing from [428]
his father on the death of the latter, but while he is alive the son may beg anything within certain limits set by precedent. This moral obligation to give up a prized possession when [672]
asked for by one's sons is extended to include close friends.

Allowing the Guajiro to make their own distinctions, let us 671
turn to a consideration of their 'laws.' The commission of certain acts, which in our society would give rise to criminal prosecution, in Guajiro society are considered matters to be settled by the parties concerned. Criminal law is practically non-existent. There is no body politic, properly speaking, that meters out punishment whether or not the injured party seeks redress, and social pressure can hardly be of any importance in a society that protects the individual through the instrument of family and caste membership. In only one case 629
does there seem to be an approach to concerted social action. 681
If an individual has caused his family much trouble and is incorrigible, if his family has been called upon to pay for his mis- 672

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

cemetery, a site chosen in some solitary wild spot, and surrounded by walls of mud. At the death of Salvador, a Peninsiano from Arroyo Cardon, 190 fat cows were killed, and the bidos did not pay for the liquor drunk. Two of the same family meeting for the first time after the death of a relation, must squat down on their hands in front of each other, and sob and weep, for at least a quarter of an hour, the louder the better.

The Indians are very punctilious in salutes. Calling at a rancho, visitors must wait until spoken to, if this is not done soon, it is evident they are not welcome, so ride away. The words used never seem to be the same. The most frequent are "Intishi-pin" (you have come), or "Eiguare pin" (so you have arrived). In eating and drinking the Indians are extremely chaste. The principals all eat separately; receiving their allowance in an earthenware dish, pent, with a guard spoon, public. The remains, with an addition, serve for the lower members of the family. Water is invariably given after, to wash the mouth and fingers. Even if a drink of milk is taken, a little water is tendered after. As for their hospitality, it has, I believe, been rather exaggerated. There is no doubt that the Guajiro is more hospitable than the Arhuaco of the Sierra Nevada, but then he is also far more cunning and diplomatic, and his hospitality is a mere question of self-interest. He will willingly give a sheep or a goat as a present, provided there is a chance of claiming an ox in return. He is chivalrous in his donations. When he does give a sheep, it is a fat one, his best, and given whole, without reserve, skin and all. If eating, on the arrival of a stranger, he may offer food to him, but invariably will give if requested, as is the custom, always begging. One thing a great many rely upon receiving is a number in a hammock, even if the owner has to sleep on the ground. Lastly, among their curious customs, is that of parents assuming the names of their children with the prefix *ouki* or *ouki* if the father, and *ni* or *ni* if the mother. Thus the father of Juan would call himself "Ouki-juan," or if a daughter, "Ouki-juana." The mother of Juan would be called "Nijuan," and if a daughter, "Nijuana."

The dress of the Guajiros is extremely simple, and probably similar to his savage bravery of three centuries ago, when Alinger domesticated the bull, except that his own quiet blacks and browns—for he is seeing in the act of dying—have given way to the gorgeous blues, reds, and yellows of European work. His every day working costume is simply a strip of cloth from three inches wide upwards, rolled round. When paying visits, receiving company, or travelling, he does his best—a large hatchet with many folds, and the home-woven mantle slit, with a magnificent rent, slow. The mantle is arranged with wonderful elegance, now letting it fall about him in voluptuous folds, or dropping it from his shoulders, and twirling it into his immense rent, where his arrows are carried. The hair, which is jet black, thick, and cut short, is kept back in a very esthetic style by a thong or sinew,

6:Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
SC13 Gonjire SC13

as his heirs are large there are quite a number still unbounded. Pachuco informed me that at the time of his death, those left unbounded will automatically—following the inheritance rule—go to his nephew.

The attitudes of these two nephews, Dero on one hand, and Paco, Pachuco's nephew, on the other, are quite different. Dero has very little to do with his uncle. He seldom visits him, although they live quite near each other, and their relations are somewhat detached. However, there is no animosity between them and the writer noticed that they speak of each other, not badly, but with indifference. In the case of Pachuco and his nephew the relationship is very close. They pay each other visits with regularity, and Pachuco shows a paternalistic attitude toward his nephew and is always willing to help him in every way possible. On the other hand Paco never shows any hesitation in going to his uncle for whatever he needs regardless of whether his own father is able to help him or not.

Pachuco has other nephews, brothers of Paco and others, but he has practically no relations with them. They never go to him for any assistance and he does not expect them to do so. Regarding inheritance they, of course, receive nothing whatever from Pachuco at his death.

It appears that generally the attitude of a senior nephew toward his senior maternal uncle largely depends on what he expects from him in the way of inheritance. There are cases, however, where mutual understanding and regard and affection are strong ties regardless of what the nephew expects. Such is the following case. Camilo is the only son of a poor man living at Cardon. He has a senior maternal uncle living at Manaure who is also poor. Although living at quite a distance, Camilo often goes to pay a visit to his uncle, and is often visited by him. Camilo shows great respect toward his uncle and speaks of him as being a very good man, who would do anything for him if he could, but he is aware that his uncle can do very little for him. The writer visited the uncle at Manaure and verified the impression of him given by Camilo. He holds his nephew in high regard, is very much concerned in all that Camilo does and in how he is getting along in life.

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
SC13 Goajiro SC13

or 16 years old—and it is entirely up to Ramoncito to find a 604
suitable mate for her. As yet there is no prospective bridegroom 584
but when he is found he will be entirely Ramoncito's choice. Ramoncito may seek the advice of Estrella's parents, but the final say rests with him. Even the girl has little or nothing to do with the selection. Ramoncito will settle the bride price and collect it all for himself. He will not share it with his other [583] brothers nor will the girl's parents receive any part of it. Ramoncito concerns himself greatly about Estrella and seldom lets a day pass without paying her a visit. Estrella comes to [574] visit her uncle quite frequently too, either alone—for they live [431] close by—or with her mother, and she always brings a little gift for Ramoncito's only child. Ramoncito has another sister whose daughter is already married. In this case it was Ramoncito again who made all the arrangements for the marriage, selecting a wealthy bridegroom, settling the bride price, and collecting it. He kept all of it for himself as he is supposed to do. None of the other relatives had anything to say regarding the marriage.

The following is another case, one from a different level of society. Carmelina is the daughter of a poor man who lives at San Antonio. She has only one maternal uncle, who is also poor. About a year ago her uncle insisted upon her marrying the bridegroom whom he had already selected for her. The bride price was arranged and collected by her uncle, but he being a wasteful [583] man—according to Carmelina—went to Venezuela, sold the cattle there and spent all of his money. Since that time this uncle has been trying to get some cattle from Carmelina's husband, but, as he has no further claim on his niece, they have refused him. Carmelina, apparently is happy in her marriage and glad to be out of her uncle's reach. He pays frequent visits to his [574] niece, but as he is received with cool indifference his visits are less frequent than they used to be.

Now for the actual pattern of behavior. The present writer 604
was able to observe personally the mode of behavior between Estrella and Ramoncito and between Carmelina and her uncle. Let us take Estrella's case first. Apart from the fact that in [562] the Guajira whenever we find a mixed group the women in-

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
SC13 Goajiro SC13

(562) variably stay somewhat in the background, the attitude of
604 Estrella in the presence of her uncle is not marked by that stiff formality so obvious in the attitude of Ilaro and his uncle. She shows no signs of disrespect, but on the other hand she is perfectly free to interrupt her uncle whenever she feels like doing so and nobody can criticize her. This she does not do frequently, but during the course of the conversation which the present writer observed she interrupted him twice with no apparent annoyance or disapproval on the part of Rasamirito. His attitude toward her was very much the same. Respect is shown by both, but that marked formality that is so apparent in the uncle-nephew relations is lacking. This may possibly be due to the fact that the nephew is of course the receiver of benefits — theoretically at least — and consequently must show great respect in the way of a stiff formality in order not to anger his uncle, while in the other case the uncle receives benefits through his niece, and although she cannot override her uncle altogether
(563) because of the general backwardness of women in the Goajira, rigid formality, at least, is absent. This interpretation was checked up with the native informants, to discover if possible their own views. The matter was found to be far from clear in their minds, but they were all of the opinion that the above economic considerations, may be a factor in explaining the presence of the rigid formality in one case and its absence in the other.

In the case of Carmelina the situation is somewhat different. Although there were no outward signs of disrespect shown by either Carmelina or her uncle, there was no sign at all of affection between them, especially on the part of Carmelina. She treated her uncle very coldly, seldom addressed him and paid little attention to what he said. The writer had been working with Carmelina and her husband all one morning and was to stay that day and night with them. Around midmorning the uncle
(574) joined the group but was not invited to stay for dinner, although on several occasions he tried to get himself invited. After he left both Carmelina and her husband spoke sharply about her uncle. The writer was unfortunately unable to contact the uncle and get his opinion on the matter. Nevertheless, it is apparently safe to conclude that while the relations between

7:Bollinder 7-5 (1920, 1958) 1957
SC13 Goajira SC13

You always rein in before a rancho and wait for those inside to call to you. If no one comes, it is best to continue on your way, for either you are not welcome or your prospective host is not at home. We halted outside this rancho and after a short wait a friendly voice called '*anuli pia*' 'You have come?' and we answered '*ee*', yes. We were then invited to halt and entertained with sour goat's milk and boiled goat's meat. In exchange we gave them a little maize, which is an expensive article there and not easily come by. Vegetables and fruit are even greater rarities. Naturally they eat the fruit of the fig-cactus during its season. It has a faint smell, but is refreshing. There is also a tree with fruit like olives, and which the whites call olives, and the Indians eat them, but they are said to be poisonous, at least in large quantities. This tree has the great advantage that, to all intents and purposes, it never withers. At that time we were not yet tired of goat's meat and could eat the fare they offered us. It is the staple food of Guajiros, however, and in the end we got more than enough of it. Even at this place we thought that everything tasted or smelled of goat, not only the meat and milk, but the water, the huts and the surroundings as well.

We went with our animals when they were to be watered, to see that they got enough. Many Indians and quite a number of cattle had gathered round the casimba, for it was to one of those we went. They had dug deep into the river bed, making a funnel-shaped hole several score feet in circumference and, as far as we could see, some thirty feet deep. During the rains this casimba overflowed and normally it was half full, they told us, but now there was only a little running in at the bottom.

The sand was firm enough there for them to have cut steps, and the Indians were climbing up and down the whole time with large jars which they emptied into troughs made of long, hollowed divi-divi trunks, from which the animals drank greedily.

The women fetched their water there in calabashes or earthenware vessels. An Indian who spoke a little Spanish told us how desperate their plight had been a few years

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

567 sider themselves entitled to the female slaves. The owner, however, is bound to give a slave enough food from his own kitchen or to provide maize or other raw ingredients for him or her to cook. He must also provide a male slave [936] with a wife, either giving him a female slave or buying a girl for him from some poor clan for ten goats. The state of [938] slavery is hereditary; thus the children of slaves belong to the owner of their parents. If the owner of a male slave should buy a poor free girl to make him a wife, her children [940] will be free, since relationship is reckoned on the female side. If a free man pays a bride-price for a slave, she becomes free; but if he merely buys her for a house-slave she remains a slave. Male slaves are set to work in the fields or with the herds. Female slaves perform domestic occupations. Sometimes a female slave becomes nurse to the owner's children. 579 The laws of Guajira hospitality require that the master of a 937 house place a female slave at his guests' disposal for the night.

The Indians, of course, have the right to punish their slaves, but the chastisement is seldom excessive. Slaves are treated as superior domestic animals, or perhaps I ought to say, as we treat domestic animals, for the Creoles, the Indians' neighbours, are not animal-lovers. Naturally there are cruel Indians too. The monks once came across a poor little slave girl out in the wilds. Her hands were so badly burned that she could not use them. She had been trying to keep herself alive by gnawing at cactus with her mouth. They took her back with them. It transpired that her mistress had lost her temper with her, thrust her hands into the fire and then driven her away.

The Indians make a distinction between slaves taken in war, who are their master's property, and dependent workers. These latter have to do what their master tells them, but he does not dispose of their persons. I called them slave-workers. They can be sold, but in theory it is only their labour that is transferred.

735 In times of distress the poor not infrequently have to get 567 rid of members of the family who are unable to contribute to their own support, and this they do by selling them. This

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

I have had to anticipate to tell how the secret of the arrows' effect was discovered. Let me now go back to where we were sitting on our stools talking with the Indians. It was late in the day and Francisco suggested that we should stay the night and go on at daybreak to another place where lived some prosperous Indians who had many materials and earthenware vessels. They had hammocks that we could borrow. It was a good suggestion and our hosts were more than agreeable. They wanted to vacate one of their huts, but we preferred to sleep in one of their open sheds. It was cool and, being tired, we fell asleep while the Indians were still sitting round the fire. 574

We were awakened by plaintive singing. It was still night. The Guajiro are excessively early risers. In the tropics you become accustomed to getting up at daybreak, but there on the peninsula everybody woke at three o'clock, when there were still a couple of hours of darkness left. Three o'clock was even a suitable visiting-hour. They liked to take advantage of the coolest part of the day, which was from three to six in the morning. The singing came from the big hut beside us. It was followed by a spoken rigmarole. The whole was as dreary as a funeral mass, and the voice was an old woman's. I discovered that it was a sort of pagan morning prayer for the children, used all over Guajira, in which an old woman recalled the memory of departed relations. If any of these had been killed and left unavenged, she would not neglect to remind the children of the fact and point out the guilty person. It ended with yet another wailing song. 765 511 513 765

What the old woman told them about their ancestors and injuries received was impressed upon the children's minds by hearing it repeated every morning in this way. Thus is a blood feud perpetuated from generation to generation. [628]

We made ourselves porridge and took our departure as day was breaking. Then we tramped on through the sand to the next rancheria. There only the women were at home, but as it is the women who make the things we wished to see, that suited us quite well. The huts were larger than 123 342

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

4 goats, 5 pigs, 15 hens, 25 skeins of yarn, 5 bars of soap (an expensive commodity) and some mirrors and handkerchiefs. 672
Employees are very well insured, it would seem. If an employee destroys anything belonging to a third party, the employer has to pay twice its value or more. One's responsibility is not confined to what persons in one's service may do, but extends to animals and inanimate objects if one lends them. If I let an Indian ride my horse and the horse throws him off, I have to pay; and if someone cuts himself on a knife belonging to me, I have to pay—for it was my knife that did it.

It can even be risky to give advice in Guajira: for if you suggest a course of action and things go wrong, you may have to pay compensation. That is why the Indians will seldom tell you the way when you ask it.

A host is responsible to his guests, even if they are self-invited. Hospitality is sacred and one cannot refuse to receive someone seeking shelter. If the guest is ill, the host looks after him as best he can, but immediately sends for one of his relations. As soon as a relative arrives the host's responsibilities cease, but if the guest should die before the relative gets there, the host is liable for damages, hard as it may seem. On the other hand, if a person suffering from an infectious disease goes to someone else's house, it is the guest who is responsible and must pay his host damages. 672 574

If two guests start fighting the host is considered jointly responsible, for if he had not invited them there would never have been a fight. If the others present do not try to avert the quarrel, they must pay up to .

Insults and calumny are contrary to the law, and it is especially serious if one reviles another's mother's family. Among themselves the Indians consider it disparaging to be addressed in Spanish, instead of in their mother tongue. 683 [578]

Every Indian has a personal name used only by his nearest and dearest. For an outsider to pronounce this calls for a heavy penalty, as it does to speak the name of someone dead. As soon as it is learned that someone has died, all those with the same name at once change it for another. The 551 683

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

585 Mauana said that while she is in confinement a girl will
[881] have been taught, among other things, the attentions custom requires her to show her husband.

When he arrives home, she hastens to hang up his ham-
573 mock and offer him something to drink. She at once prepares a meal, if one is not yet ready. The master of the house has
[264] his own crockery, from which he alone eats, and his wife must see that he has his favourite dishes and that they are properly cooked. If he has returned from a journey or from hunting, she must see that he has water to wash in and a clean guayuco. Once he has taken his place in the hammock, she sits on the ground and tells him the day's events. If he falls asleep, she sits in silence.

When the husband's friends or other people come to see
[574] him, the wife's place is again on the ground beside his hammock. She does not butt in upon the men's conversation, but knows how to be amusing if she is spoken to. She must see that each guest has a hammock to rest in and offer everyone refreshments. Men are proud to have such a hostess for a wife.

[574] In the husband's absence a wife must receive visitors courteously, but observe caution, if they are men. She will hang a hammock under a roofed shelter close to the house, but will not let the visitor inside. She will then offer him refreshments and sit down beside his hammock with some handwork.

It goes without saying that she must take good care of her husband's belongings and property, for he is often forced to be away with his herds. She must also take care of her
[273] husband himself, when he is drunk, as he not infrequently is. When fights occur at feasts, the women, as we know,
[578] throw themselves between the men to avoid bloodshed. A wife is responsible for her husband, when he is drunk. If she has not bothered to keep an eye on him and he is beaten or killed, the fault is hers. Or he may take his own life
[762] while intoxicated—suicide for mere trifles is not unusual—and then too she can be held responsible, if she has not intervened. If he hurts her or destroys any of her things while he is drunk, she knows that he will make rich amends

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

CHAPTER 8

Innocence and the Fertility Dance

MAUANA invited us to visit him again, and we were glad to do so. We liked him and his oasis. Also he taught us a lot, for he was knowledgeable and intelligent, a proper chief who was not called *cacique* just out of politeness, as is the case with many rich mestizos near the border. 622

The Indians expect a great deal of their chief. He has to be an adroit negotiator, able to uphold the clan's rights and support its members. In war he is the leader who must be in the van and never yield. He must be ever hospitable, a good speaker and in every way a worthy representative. Mauana seemed to be such a chief.

Our only means of repaying his hospitality was to give a great porridge feast—we had a lot of oatmeal with us. The Indians loved our porridge, perhaps because it was reminiscent of their own maize gruel, which we ourselves far preferred. This feast took place on Mauana's next visit to Nazaret, and after it he was eager for us to pay him another visit, promising to show us dancing. 648 574

On our arrival we were introduced to the 'princess', his unmarried daughter. Mauana wanted us to photograph her. She was not pretty, but typically Indian in appearance. She had to put on all her finery and her paint, and her mule was saddled and decked out as for a ceremonial occasion. She had gold and coral at her neck, ankles and wrists, and large spiral patterns painted on her cheeks. Her mule had three tails: its own and two artificial ones, such being the fashion then. The girl was no film star: she was as stiff as a ram-rod and not to be thawed. Luckily, her skin looked light on the photograph, as every Guajiro girl desires it to be. Mauana 622 123 602 142

7:Bellinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

quarrelsome, the parting drink of spirits having had its effect. One old man after much swaying in the saddle was finally thrown off by his jibbing mule. He landed in a prickly bush and became frantic. He wanted to see blood. Luckily his weapons were on his saddle, but he managed to remove one of his spurs and began stabbing with it at those who were trying to help him up. Francisco received a jab, but he and a couple of others managed to overpower the old ruffian, whom they bound and tied to his saddle. Then his wife led him and his mount away.

One by one the groups went off in their various directions. We came to the rancho of the young Indian, our new friend. He had several big huts, built on the sand, where there was no greenery or shade. He explained that when the rains came, it did not become swampy there, as in most other places, but the water ran through the sand and you could walk dry-shod. There were looms in several of the open huts. At one sat our host's young, light-complexioned wife, who undoubtedly was a great beauty by Guajiro standards, and in another his aged mother with a wrinkled clever face.

We were offered goat's milk as a refreshment. I was always amazed at the care with which these Indians collected the small quantities of milk the goats yielded, for each gave a mere squirt. We took a gulp of goat's milk in order to avoid having to drink spirits.

The women were in a great bustle, evidently getting a spread ready. The Guajiro are hospitable, and when strangers or friends come they must have the best the house can provide. If need be, the host gives up his own hammock and lies on the ground.

Our host had plenty of hammocks. After resting a while, my wife went inside to look at the weaving, while I produced one of the pistols I had bought at an auction and demonstrated it, shooting a couple of shots, the noise and smoke of which appeared highly satisfactory to our host. Hastily he drew me aside and whispered that he had something that ought to interest me. He had saw and was willing to part with this precious, sought-after article in exchange for my noisy pistol. After all I had a companion without a

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajira SC13

778 Christian now and intended to have done with such things,
§32 and the Father had said that it was better to turn to a saint. And, of course, I was asked to say nothing about the transaction—that was always done in such cases.

I, of course, was keen to do business.

[584] 'But remember now not to eat roast meat or maize, nothing that has been in direct contact with fire. Otherwise you may fare badly.'

One has to observe certain rules of diet and behaviour when using a cóntra, but not so long as it lies idle.

The little pouch with the love specific thus passed into my possession, and I gave it our photographer to keep in the pocket of his camera case, as I had done with other small objects.

After we returned to the mission I told Francisco of my acquisition. He did not seem at all surprised, so evidently he and the young Indian had been in touch before the offer was made. I also told Francisco that Gladtvet was looking after the talisman, and he nodded understandingly. Gladtvet had no wife with him and no doubt would like to captivate a nice young girl, if one came his way.

● 577 Our host, whom Francisco told me would one day be a
778 chief, asked us to stay the night. He was of course prepared
§32 to place a slave at the disposal of the solitary white man as hospitality required, but, he added, the prettiest girl in the
[587] house was a debtor-slave, whom he could not order, so the white man would have to charm her, if he wished to have her. It would be a good opportunity to try the talisman I had just acquired. Francisco said afterwards that it would not have been a reliable test of the talisman's efficacy, since undoubtedly the girl would have been very easily conquered by a large silver coin. Altogether, he considered, it would have been more practical for me to have bought a slave for Gladtvet than that expensive love charm, since, as he pointed out, slaves were cheap now, at the height of the dry season, owing to the shortage of food.

It was no use trying to explain to Francisco that this magic talisman, like all the other things I had bought from the Indians, was to go into a museum. He would merely

7:Bollinder T-3 (1926, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

have got the impression that I intended to keep it in a safe place in order to exploit it commercially, that is to say, hire it out to applicants. He could never have understood what a museum was. 574 778 832

We declined our host's invitation as politely as we could. Gladtvet's interest in his female slaves—who now had their faces painted black into the bargain—was very lukewarm.

We were served a dish of goat's meat, from a goat that our friend had been given at the funeral. Unfortunately it was old and tough, and my wife had to leave almost her entire helping. That was not regarded impolite in Guajira. On the contrary our hostess looked delighted and hastily removing it and herself to a very short distance, set about engulfing it. One might have thought that she did not get enough to eat, but no Guajiro wife was underfed in a well-to-do household. Often they had more food than they wanted. Why, then, did she not leave the helping for her slaves? Because she wanted what had been left by the lightest-complexioned woman she had ever seen, since one can become fairer oneself by eating what such a being has touched. For that reason, my wife, as a gesture of politeness, often left some of her food when we ate in Indian houses, to the delight of the women of the household. What I left would have been of use only to the medicine man, and that because I was a learned man. 264 574 [789]

On our return to the mission, the monks gave us a large piece of beef, which we grilled. 778

'Ay, ay,' said Francisco after the feast, 'the photographer señor should not have eaten grilled meat. I forgot his cómira.' 832

'His cómira?'

'Yes, he has the cómira now. He ought to have eaten something else. What will happen now?'

The next day Gladtvet had a pain in his stomach and Francisco became frightened. Francisco had been brought up at the mission and considered himself a good Catholic, but that did not prevent him believing in magic. However, our medicine chest relieved Gladtvet's pains more easily than Francisco expected.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

579 calabash of salt water over the animals' legs. The fact
[832] remains that both riding and pack animals trotted along considerably more briskly that day.

The following day we could see Jepitz, solitary cone-shaped hill of the savannas, blue in the distance. The Cusina Hills had withdrawn. The worst of the danger from bandits must now be over, we thought. We were to learn, however, that the bandits made longer raids than we had imagined.

If we had now set course for Jepitz, or La Teta as the Creoles called it, we could have cut across western Guajira to Rio Hacha, a short cut that would have taken only a few days. We had other plans, however. We wanted to go into Venezuela, to which Southern Guajira and the coast up to Castilletes belongs, and visit the Sinamaica lagoons where, on the shores of Lake Maracaibo, live the Paraujano Indians, the Guajiro's nearest relatives. While the Guajiro's country is as dry as a desert, one could almost call the Paraujano water Indians, for they live in pile-dwellings out in the water. We knew that they did not retain as much of their original culture as did the Guajiro, though they still dwelt as their ancestors had, but even so we felt that it would be interesting to visit them. Also, as we had to admit to ourselves, the thought of all that water was tempting after going short for so long. There were still wide savannas ahead of us, but we knew that the worst was over.

594 We now came across a minor chief with his herds. He had camped under some trees and welcomed us with exaggerated friendliness, but then both he and his men had already had one over the eight. However, they were still at the merry stage, though fighting would inevitably come later. The chief had bought no small quantity of spirits. There was a whole row of kegs. When he heard that we intended to continue, which obviously grieved him considerably, he tried to press one of these kegs on us. We were to take it and drink his health on our way. We managed with considerable difficulty to decline the gifts and instead received a hammock, sandals and some arrows, which we valued much more. Then off we went.

The savanna was almost bare and we could not hang up

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

622 Chiefs are polygynous and have many daughters, for
595 whom very high bride prices are paid—sometimes thousands of animals,
593 worth $6,000 to $10,000. Such rich chiefs take great pride in their
556 daughters, dressing them in fine silken robes and necklaces of gold and pearls and providing them with personal servants.

567 There is a class of slaves who are beneath the chiefs' retainers in the social hierarchy. It consists of people born into this status and of captives.

PROPERTY

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872 If a person injures himself he must make an expiatory gift to the members of his own sib and a lesser gift to his father's relatives. If a child dies when under the care of one parent, this parent must reimburse

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

The *Goajiro* believe that after death the deceased in ethereal form 775
wander about the country, their favorite meeting place being in the vicinity of Bahia Honda in the extreme north of the peninsula. There is some evidence that the Indians look forward to a happier existence after death. From this belief in the afterlife stems the practice of mutilating the body of a slain enemy, for once his body is broken and scattered it is not possible to reassemble his soul, and the slayer is protected from a vengeance-seeking spirit.

The dead are highly respected or feared; consequently, it is a serious 769
offense to mention a dead person by name. 551

SYNTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Games.—The *Goajiro* have various athletic sports, such as horse racing, 526
wrestling, and archery. Contestants shoot at a skin ball or a fruit tossed into the air or at targets; they are very accurate up to 125 yards. Tournaments are held in which the contestants pair off, the victor of each round winning an arrow and continuing to compete.

Feasts and dances.—The *Goajiro* are fond of feasts and hold them 574
whenever opportunity offers—at funerals, when they have received their 756
pay for loading salt, at baptisms, or when a person completes his training as a medicine man. Weston (1937) describes a festival held on the last-mentioned occasion. For 2 days the big drum was sounded by relays of players, spreading the news. The dance, practiced beforehand, took place in a circle some 25 feet (7.5 m.) in diameter around which some 200 Indians gathered. A man, nude except for his waist cloth and head band 542
with ornamental plume, with his face painted red in a crisscross pattern, 535
danced backward from a girl dressed in a voluminous robe and wearing a large red handkerchief on her head. The girl attempted to overtake and head off the man, who retreated before her in a circle with a peculiar double step, almost a hop and a skip. As one pair tired another took its place, the dance continuing indefinitely.

Musical instruments.—*Goajiro* musical instruments are few. A 534
calabash filled with stones or peas serves as a rattle for dance accompaniment. The clarinet is about 2 feet (0.6 m.) long, made of telescoped (?) sections of reed with a bell consisting of calabash and a vibrating reed in the mouthpiece. It is side blown. The large drum is carved from a hollow section of tree, 15 inches (38 cm.) in diameter and 24 inches (60 cm.) long, and has both ends covered with sheepskin. It is slung from the rafters, a branch, or from the player's neck. Singing among the *Goajiro* is virtually nonexistent.

Narcotics and stimulants.—To make chicha beer, maize may be man- 273
ticated by the women and spat into a large earthenware bowl, with water and crude sugar added. After 3 days it is strained and drunk. By another

/201 cont./

adversary, who knows how to describe the situation of the offended group without humbling it or provoking a negative reaction from the enemy; who is capable of making the opponents feel their guilt without injuring them; who leads them by means of considerations of personal convenience to the acceptance of a commitment which benefits the group he is defending, without being too /202/ onerous for the other; who does not provoke resistance and criticism from the opposing group, who does not appear to be a prosecutor but rather a mediator of good will in the problem of the interested parties; who knows how to listen serenely to the insults that the two groups hurl at each other and does not transmit them literally, but rather in a form that will lead to a settlement; who knows how to get the better of his adversary, not only through his inferiority as the guilty party but through his personal weakness as a man; and finally, who conducts the discussion cleverly, now humbly, now proudly, in accordance with the changes of opinion of his hearers, recalling the past or presenting to the enemy the dangers of an anxious future if they do not come to some settlement, showing the bitterness of exile and the distress of a life without peace and the mutual advantage of a settlement which benefits both equally, until he overcomes the antagonist and obliges him of his own accord, without annoyance of rancor, to make the peace after a solemn promise to make a settlement or a commitment to pay a just amount to the offended group.

The procedure is as follows: Having been charged with the representation of one group to present the claim for compensation payment to the other, he who brings the "word" goes to the house of the murderer's closest relatives.

He arrives very early, at two o'clock in the morning generally, before the assembled family has dispersed to attend to its daily work.

He draws the attention of the owners of the house to his presence, and they give him the usual salutation, Anuh pía ("Have you arrived?"), which permits him to introduce himself. They all rise and talk to him; then he explains the reason for his visit; he has come to present a claim on the part of such-and-such a

3: Wilbert E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 SC13 Goajiro SC13

Twenty-six fundamental kinship terms by which the Goajiro designate their relatives were recorded. Most terms are applied to more than one relative so that the system is classificatory in type. Among the Goajiro, kinship terms are almost exclusively used in reference, while in addressing a person teknonyms are employed, e.g.: süshi pïichi – father of pïichi (sü – prefix, 3rd pers. singl. masc.; (a)shi – father; pïichi – bacive). The term corresponds to a male person who is the father of a boy child. This practice of teknonymy presupposes the presence of personal names. Either sex can be given a name in remembrance of an event which occurred on their birthday, e.g., "the one of the full moon," "the one of the blossoms of that tree," "the one of the war between . . .," etc. More frequently, however, personal names differ from each other by sex. Boys are called after strong and wild animals, such as bacive (pïichi), tiger (karüin), pig (pïrüki), wild cat (mulu), while girls' names are ornamental and flattering, e.g., "brilliant one" (karüui), brownish one (mutachong), etc.

The teknonym employed to address a person is derived from the name of the eldest son, and in default of sons, from that of the eldest daughter. Personal names are used in addressing unmarried persons. It is a disgrace, however, for an adult not to have children. Grandparents may be called by a teknonym referring either to a son or to a grandchild.

Kinship terms are never employed in the forms as listed above, but only with possessive prefixes, e.g., tashi – my father; pïishi – your father; süshi – his father; süshi – her father; washi – our father; bashi – your (pl.) father; nashi – their father. In the table, kinship terms are represented by their root forms. As a friendly gesture, people may address each other by general terms such as "brother," "sister," etc., or they may call any small child "son" or "grandchild."

Of particular interest is the distinction the Goajiro make between "blood-relatives" and "flesh-relatives." Blood-relatives are all patrilineally related persons, whereas "flesh-relatives" are related to Ego through the mother's line. Kinship ties between flesh-relatives are considered to be stronger than those existing between blood-relatives. In practical life this would mean that Ego would have to help his maternal uncle in a fight against his own father. Among all kinsmen the maternal uncle possesses the greatest authority and his word counts most in all domestic affairs. Frequently, therefore, we find the extended family clustered around the homestead of the maternal uncle, which makes the Goajiro a matrilineal avunculocal society. Otherwise residence is matrilocal. Any one of the three anüir-relatives (maternal uncle), as listed in the table above, may replace the true maternal uncle in case of his death. But only his sister's children can be heirs of his possessions (including his wife or wives).

7:Bolinder 7-5 (1920, 1933) 1937
SC13 Guajira SC13

You always rein in before a rancho and wait for those inside to call to you. If no one comes, it is best to continue on your way, for either you are not welcome or your prospective host is not at home. We halted outside this rancho and after a short wait a friendly voice called '*anshi pie*' 'You have come?' and we answered '*ee*', yes. We were then invited to halt and entertained with sour goat's milk and boiled goat's meat. In exchange we gave them a little maize, which is an expensive article there and not easily come by. Vegetables and fruit are even greater rarities. Naturally they eat the fruit of the fig-cactus during its season. It has a faint smell, but is refreshing. There is also a tree with fruit like olives, and which the whites call olives, and the Indians eat them, but they are said to be poisonous, at least in large quantities. This tree has the great advantage that, to all intents and purposes, it never withers. At that time we were not yet tired of goat's meat and could eat the fare they offered us. It is the staple food of Guajira, however, and in the end we got more than enough of it. Even at this place we thought that everything tasted or smelled of goat, not only the meat and milk, but the water, the huts and the surroundings as well.

We went with our animals when they were to be watered, to see that they got enough. Many Indians and quite a number of cattle had gathered round the casimba, for it was to one of those we went. They had dug deep into the river bed, making a funnel-shaped hole several score feet in circumference and, as far as we could see, some thirty feet deep. During the rains this casimba overflowed and normally it was half full, they told us, but now there was only a little running in at the bottom.

The sand was firm enough there for them to have cut steps, and the Indians were climbing up and down the whole time with large jars which they emptied into troughs made of long, hollowed divi-divi trunks, from which the animals drank greedily.

The women fetched their water there in calabashes or earthenware vessels. An Indian who spoke a little Spanish told us how desperate their plight had been a few years

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Guajira SC13

lost their loads and the mule throwing the photographer, but we were all tired and not easily amused.

I did not want to stay at that rancho. Their reception had been friendly, but they had something against the Gaffer. I thought they had hesitated to receive him, and caution suggested that we ought to camp by ourselves, as long as we had people on whom we could not rely. Evening came and with it a slight, cooling breeze. Travelling was pleasant then without the heat of the sun. Knowing that the moon would rise early, we decided to go on as long as we could.

At midnight we halted in bright moonlight, lit a fire and made coffee. A couple of Indians came uninvited and squatted nearby. The coastal Indians had become infected with the vices of civilization and stole like jackdaws. We had already lost a number of small things at Arema and the other places on the coast, and had no wish to lose more. In Guajira you must take the law into your own hands.

We produced our firearms and set about cleaning them. We each had a rifle and a pistol, and also I had a number of pistols that I had bought cheap at auctions after the war and intended to use as objects of barter. We put up our camp beds under the open sky, laid our weapons beside them and told our Indians to 'sleep with one eye open', a phrase they themselves used. We assured them that we should do the same, and that our open eyes would be fixed on our baggage.

We knew that the Indians would be constantly starting up and looking round. No sound escaped their trained ears. We were not suspicious of their being in a conspiracy with the other Indians; in fact, they were quite frightened.

When we woke at daybreak, all was well. We packed up and set off again at once. Now and again we met naked Indians armed with bows and arrows. We gave tobacco to them all, as custom dictates. It is almost a sort of tax which white people have to pay in order to be able to travel in peace in Guajira. If you happen to be smoking one of the country's thin cigars and meet an Indian, you can, if you are in a hurry, take the cigar from your mouth and stick it into his, mutter a greeting, receive an answer, and ride on.

Although I had a compass and a map, such as it was,

7:Bollinder T-5 (1926, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

hands to their faces. From one and all rose the lugubrious, shrill lament that had to sound uninterruptedly as long as the dead man was above ground. (For some time after the funeral, the man's nearest relatives would begin the day with a song of lament.) After some time the women nearest to the bier began to make way for others, and then we too began lamenting, imitating the sound as best we could, as politeness required that every guest should.

One of the men now turned and pulled the cloak from his face. It was our host. He was very glad to see us and, above all, seemed to be flattered that my wife had come. He was already slightly under the weather, swaying a little on his feet, and in one hand he held an enamel chamberpot. He looked so comical that my wife had to hold her handkerchief over her mouth so that none should see what difficulty she was having in keeping a straight face. Our host thought she was very moved and at once ordered one of his fattest sheep to be given her to 'dry her tears', as it is called. He always called her majayura, maiden, remarking: 'She is far too young and lovely to be married.' This, of course, was meant as a compliment. He added that he knew very well what we usually ate. He knew that we were from the same part of the world as the monks and that these people lived on bread, sugar and potatoes. He had tasted them in Nazaret. But perhaps we also liked meat? We assured him that we did, and he promised us large pieces of beef and as much maize beer as we wished. Then he had to go and attend to his other guests.

Burials are big affairs. A good proportion of the dead person's livestock has to be slaughtered to accompany him into the hereafter. The guests feast on this meat, and afterwards each is given some to take home. We walked round to look at the many camps, some under cactus trees, others in the open. There were several hundred Indians assembled there. Everywhere sheep were being slaughtered, meat was being roasted and people were feasting. One old woman was stuffing congealed blood from a calabash with both hands. The whole place smelt of blood, maize beer and spirits. Here and there someone was galloping on a horse. Many of

?:Bollaeder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Coajiro SC13

Indians also had to have some of it. Fortunately, we had [579]
plenty of oatmeal, and we got the Indians to eat porridge.

The Indians we met, almost all on foot, were well armed with lots of arrows and often a gun and a well-stuffed cartridge belt besides. Custom required that all we met should be given tobacco, but the Cusina being reputed expert at seizing an outstretched hand and pulling a rider off his horse, we did as the Indian chiefs do and without pulling up threw a cigar to those we met with a gay injunction to catch it. [574]

The shadowy figures that slipped away among the cactus trees when we met them by night were most suspicious. Those were not pleasant encounters. Even by moonlight anyone could see that we were three white people, but whether the shadows were Cusina or others with bad consciences we could not tell. Our large packages must have looked desirable to Cusina eyes, but they largely consisted of Indian things, that is to say, our collections. The brigands would have been disappointed if they had opened them!

The hills we now had to the north of us were quite different in character from the gentle Macuira Hills. Tall, [133]
menacing masses of stone rose up here and there flanked by razor-sharp ridges. In the naked, grim ravines among them dwelled the Cusina, spying out across the plain from the verges of secret precipices, like vultures looking for their prey. One evening, we came to another abandoned rancho beside a casimba. We had already unsaddled and stacked the packs, when we discovered that the casimba was empty. The Indians knew there was another water-hole not far away. The animals had to be watered, so despite the risk involved, we had to split up.

We three white people stayed with the baggage, while the Indians went off with the animals and our water-vessels. My wife had fever and had to lie down, which she did with her little pistol beside her. Gladwyn and I kept watch, rifle in hand. We had piled the baggage on a slight eminence, so that even in the darkness we had a certain view of our surroundings. Meanwhile our men had vanished in thick divi-divi scrub, in which anyone but an Indian would have got

622 Chiefs are polygynous and have many daughters, for
595 whom very high bride prices are paid—sometimes thousands of animals,
583 worth $6,000 to $10,000. Such rich chiefs take great pride in their
556 daughters, dressing them in fine silken robes and necklaces of gold and pearls and providing them with personal servants.

567 There is a class of slaves who are beneath the chiefs' retainers in the social hierarchy. It consists of people born into this status and of captives.

PROPERTY

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628 toward making a settlement and establishing a payment which will restore peace. The people, on hearing the words, are moved and applaud the facile oratory of the person who brings the "word"; they praise him and begin to give ground in their too onerous demands against the clan of the murderer; they put to one side the haughty tone with which they started the proceedings and begin to outline the basis for a settlement, which the arbitrator then transmits to the other side.

However, it may happen that the clan that has suffered the death of its relative, inflamed by the loss and also wishing to prevent the other side from thinking them afraid, boasts of its force and shows its dislike of the settlement. Thus, it declares to the other: "I am a rich Indian. My people are brave and are ready to fight. I want our people to measure their strength against yours. We are not able to forget that one of your men cowardly spilled our blood and took away a life, which was part of ours, too. His spirit cannot rest and still wanders about the places where he was slaughtered. We want to make felt in those of your blood what they have done to ours, so that you do not laugh at our pain nor think us cowards. Dying means nothing to us if for each one of ours we kill more of yours, and our nephews will multiply to avenge our deaths. We're not afraid of you, and we want to fight. We are eager to prove to you that we are capable of making you respect our pain and of avenging our spilled blood. We are not cowards; nobody can yet dominate our men, and they have the courage to make themselves respected. Yours aren't even good as women for ours. We ask for war."

628 577 554 The Guajiro Indian fears above everything else that he be thought a coward, because then the other groups would not respect his rights. His women would be easily violated without obligatory payment; his cowardice and his fear would be thrown up at him at every moment in such a way that his social life would be made impossible. On the other hand, as long as they are more brave and more cruel, they are sure of implanting fear, and with it authority and power. A group that is feared is a powerful group and one that maintains its status.

/52 cont./

881 will mean serious troubles for her family, since the noncompliance with social norms will bring the consequences of her illegal behavior on the family group. In addition she will be lacking in responsibility and will perform badly her role as sister, wife, and mother, just the functions for which she is preparing, and these two factors weigh very much in the life of the Guajiro woman as a member of society. The charms properly applied so that they transmit their power will assure her married happiness: She will not find herself exposed to the problems of polygamy, which imply lack of affection and ill-treatment from the man who buys her for his wife, and in this way she will have the longed-for predominance over him and over the co-wives, who in consequence will take a secondary place by the force of her personality.

Once inside the hammock she must not move nor change 881 her original position, because it is believed that /should she 784 do so/, on being brought down later, she will have one leg longer than the other. Neither may she scratch any part of her body because that will leave visible scars. This matter is very important as the ceremony of the seclusion transforms her physically from a girl to a woman, wholly bound to the canon of beauty held by her group, an aspect, which like the others will also greatly affect her adult life. One must also [826 take into account that in La Guajira a physical defect has a powerful influence on the individual and to mention it is 578] equivalent to an insult which will give rise to resentment on the part of the adult and could bring sinister consequences upon the offender.

Neither should the initiate spit on the floor, because by doing so her honor will be slandered in her unmarried life as well as later after marriage, as they would say of her, judging by appearances or through unfounded malevolence, that she had dealings with a man. They will say she is a "madcap" /cabeza-loco/, a nickname they give to a woman of easy virtue and which causes discord between men and women and which will deeply affect her legitimate hopes for marriage.

/66 cont./

583 836 the man feels satisfied, because the price paid included, tacitly, her virginity. If the woman's relatives do not handle the situation prudently, reprisals and hostilities may take place between the two groups. Also in these cases the man will claim the necklace which he gave the woman as a sign of their betrothal the day the marriage was arranged. But he does not do this with an eye to gain but to make the woman suffer some part of the humiliation /67/ he himself felt on learning of the deception. Furthermore, as the necklace is a sign of engagement, asking for its return resembles an act of breaking it, although, in point of fact, the woman continues to be tied to the man with matrimonial obligations.

At times the man will follow another norm of conduct, especially at the present time when this state of affairs occurs more frequently and the claims for compensation payment for this condition are losing importance: He himself assumes the punishment for the deception. He roughly inquires of the woman: "Why are you not a virgin when I bought you believing that you were? Why don't you say who possessed you before I did?" He goes from insult to action and beats the woman, who, recognizing her inferior situation does not dare to protest.

It is possible that the Indian will not at first go beyond insulting the woman in private, but under the influence of alcohol the [152] resentment grows out of hand, and it is then that, in the presence of his friends, he will recount his problem and complain. Not content with this, he makes up songs referring to the subject which contain insulting commentaries and will sing them to his wife when with his friends to humiliate her in front of them and so obtain some satisfaction for what he personally suffers. In this [578] state of drunkenness it is not uncommon that he will beat his wife, shielding himself from reproach by the fact that as he has not been repaid the part of the marriage payment due him, her relatives are not in a position to protest.

Often with time the matter gets forgotten, and it only crops up on certain occasions when they quarrelsomely bring up all the past with its emotional content, due to some disobedience on the

/74 cont./

548 Bond service. Bond service is different from slavery in that
566 it is not the result of a conquest in war of one group by another, but rather the consequence of economic decline, since when a group cannot support its members, they sell them. Years ago large numbers were sold to Venezuela as farm hands to the Caribbean Islands, etc., and although the investment was never very safe, due to the escaping of the Indians, the sales were numerous, and even today they are very frequent. Furthermore, it is common practice at the present time in the Jarara region, short of resources in summer, to take the nephews and nieces of an individual who has been forced by necessity to commit robbery as bond servants to repay by their own labor what was stolen.

Women in this situation, separated from their group and unable to be helped by them, are coveted by the men. Those who are sent away, on their return, find themselves in a situation similar to that of slaves who have come back. They settle in the cities and turn to prostitution, as the whites find in them a simple solution of their problems, and they find a means of subsistence.

548 The mestizo. Cross breeding /mestizaje/ has not affected
177 Guajiro culture in respect to the tradition regarding magic, language, organization, etc., but has had an effect on social morality, which /75/ is readily forsaken by the mestizo woman of lower class, commonly called cabeza loca ("madcap"), by the general run of Indians, owing to her sexual promiscuity, her easily becoming a prostitute and giving herself and living for certain periods of time with a man, (mestizo or white as a general rule) to leave him later to follow an endless chain. The pure-blooded Guajiro woman, even if she takes to prostitution, never abandons, from any motive, the established norms of modesty, [578] such as never to show herself naked, never to behave rowdily, etc., as there is no greater insult than that a man should affirm such things about her. The mestizo woman, however, does not respect these concepts. For this reason she is sought after more and more, and she freely and openly throws over the traditional

/83 cont./

583 Generally, the girl's family is advised by the suitor's relatives that they will come to buy her. The man, on his part, has requested his most influential maternal uncle, or one who is considered a "cacique," to go in company with his mother and other friends to arrange the purchase of the girl of his choice. They arrive dressed in their best and receive the most generous hospitality from the girl's relatives. They hand over as a sign of the engagement the so-called "prendas /"ornaments"/," which [301] are necklaces of gold set with tuma stones (1), the value and

1. A mineral quartz used as a precious stone.

number of which depend on the economic strength of the suitor, going all the way up to ten in persons of the highest standing, especially when the man is acquiring his first wife, who as we have seen is the principal one.

If the girl's relatives see that the marriage is an advantageous one, they accept the gifts. If they do not accept them, this [578] indicates a definite refusal and rarely occurs, since it implies contempt which could give rise to serious differences between the groups concerned. Once the necklaces are handed over, the spokesman for the bridegroom offers to buy the girl, and the girl's maternal relative of most authority replies, fixing the price, [554] which generally is equal to that paid by the girl's father for her mother; often they get a higher price, which increases their prestige. They argue for a short time until they arrive at an arrangement between them as to the price and the basis of payment. Then the young man's relatives leave to tell him of the arrangement made, which he respects and accepts without making any kind of objection, and he gets ready to pay the payment agreed upon in order to obtain his wife. /84/.

556 583 Payment in cows. The number of heads of livestock that a man has shows his economic position and through this his status in the family group and in the whole community, because stock

/116 cont./

593 satisfies him, and she becomes jealous; and this jealousy and the recriminations which it causes may be the source of the quarrels between husband and wife so frequent in Guajiro homes.

A second cause of the ill-treatment from their husbands which the Guajiro women suffer is the inequality of status between the two. When the wife lacks effective backing, the man does not attempt to limit his quarrelsome conduct nor his reactions of anger. She on her part hides her problem from her relatives and from outsiders in order not to show the lowering of her prestige and position, which might be taken advantage of by third persons to further trouble her or her children.

593 A third cause is the abuse of the drunken man, who takes advantage of fiestas or gatherings among themselves or out-
578 siders to attend these parties and drink, or does the same without any excuse whatever. It is at these times that such a man shows the worst sides of his character. He becomes aggresive, looks for quarrels with anyone, mulls over the past, and if he can finds some reason for taking offense, although it may be completely insignificant, and enlarges on it, giving free rein to his aggressive impulses -- for example, if a man's wife was not a virgin when he married her or he is not sure of her faithfulness. The slightest disobedience may be sufficient stimulus for the man to unleash his wrath against his wife, singing allusive songs about her lack of virginity before she was married or other faults and later passing from words to threats and then to acts, beating her and even mutilating her, as happened in Nazaret to two women belonging to a poor group whose drunken husband went to visit them. One of the women had her upper lip bitten off and the other woman was gravely injured. They hid the affair for a long time, /117/ but they were obliged to ask the Capuchin mission for help when the wound was already very infected. In another case the husband bit off his wife's nose. There are detailed cases of women who have had their ears torn off in moments like

/117 cont./

593 578 these or have been brutally kicked or beaten with sticks or dragged by their hair, etc. The only sanction, the claim made by the woman's family, is frequently not made, and these episodes end in one of two ways: First, with the death of the woman, in which case her husband makes some payment, under pressure of popular opinion of outsiders or of his own relatives, who refuse to admit into their midst a criminal with no justifiable motive, or because of the possible connections and alliances which his wife's relatives may be able to make in an extreme case like this. Second, with the suicide of the woman, since she hangs herself, blind with pain, anger, and mental suffering, and in order that the blame of her death may fall on her husband. This solution is tragic and very common, and as a result when a husband has murdered his wife, he tries to make it look like suicide. In Nazaret we witnessed one of these cases, where the death was made to appear to be suicide by hanging, when the real cause of the woman's death was a kick in the stomach. Among the information we gathered is a reference to a similar case in Lower La Guajira, in which the cause of death was discovered only when the relatives of the woman washed her body before enshrouding it, as is the custom in La Guajira.

593 837 A fourth cause of ill-treatment is suspected or proven unfaithfulness on the part of the woman; the resentment appears when the man gets drunk or when the woman disobeys or gives some reason for complaint. He says in this case: "You didn't obey me because what I order is not ordered by so-and-so" (here he uses the name of her lover if he knows it) or "by the man who has taken my place" (if he does not know or only suspects it.) Frequently, he adds insults and blows. In these cases of suspicion or proof of infidelity, the lack of understanding between the couple increases and the ill-treatment extends itself to the children, whose paternity the father is beginning to doubt. At times, although the infidelity has been clearly proved, the man does not leave his wife nor apply the corresponding legislation, because he loves her and

[96 cont.]

832 673 and is made foolish and boastful of the difficult position she is placed in.

This charm, capable of such mischief according to the belief of the natives, is used especially when a man wishes to cause some woman harm or to mock either her or her relatives.

754 832 578 Fortunately for women in general they have a way to scoff at, or revenge themselves on, the men who have been false and whose love they no longer want – only revenge. For such cases they buy a charm from the old Indian women who know of these things, a charm which they place among the clothing of the man on whom they wish to effect a malevolent action. Then they obtain an old sandal belonging to their victim and burn it. It is most important that the sandal should be old so that the sweat of the man in question, as part of his personality, should have soaked into it. [826 828]

With these two simple things, the Indian women affirm, the man loses his senses, he goes about as if stupefied, neglects his person, is a failure and a brutish person thereafter. So sure are they of this that they say that a mad Indian living in Nazaret is in that condition because of a charm like that we have just described after he had been one of the most elegant and well dressed of Indians.

832 Another love charm is used not to regain a man's love that has been lost but to retain affection that is desired; and as it is the woman's property – for evil against the man – this aims at making the man unable to take another woman. This charm, like others, is obtained from the old Indian women of the Sierra de Jarara, and it is made of carefully ground herbs to which they add achiote, an excellent substance for charms. The mixture is wrapped in a rag, or it is kept in a little wool bag.

The effect of love charms can be diverted to other purposes. For example, when a woman wants her husband to make her a special present she goes to her charm, picks it up, shakes it well, and looks firmly at it, at the same time asking for the desired object. The charm works, and the woman obtains what she wished for.

Necklaces of small perforated discs of coconut shell are transformed into love charms when the women experts in this

[124 cont.]

585 c) There is another very important fact in this sexual aspect of the fiesta that we are describing, which is what we might call proof of virginity. [125]

Virginity in woman is highly valued by the natives in spite of the fact that at the present time, due to economic ac- [836 178] culturative factors, it is increasingly difficult to find virgins among marriageable women, a state of affairs that the Indian male is well aware of. But it is always a matter of pride and something to be boasted of for a Guajiro man to find on his marriage night that his bride is a virgin. It is the custom, [583] furthermore, that if the man marries not knowing that his wife has lost her virginity and has the consequent disillusion on his wedding night, the bride's relatives have to return a part of the livestock which the man paid for her, especially the family neck- [578 273] lace. The Indian's concern about this matter, which remains hidden when he is in a normal state, comes to the surface during his drunken bouts, when he will sing about his wife, extolling her and boasting of having had a virgin in his marriage hammock, or insulting and degrading her in coarse improvisations when he considers that he has been defrauded.

524 796 831 This attitude toward sex on the part of the native, or better said this value he places on the virginity of his future wives, is expressed in a sort of game which is played at the Dance of the Kid. To play it, the girls gather in a group about a singer who [539] sings such a song as this: "Let us see, my pretty miss, if you are a virgin, if truly you have not run around too freely, if no young male has put his hands on your body." He then passes his hands over each girl's body, tickling her. He starts at her big toe and goes upward, touching her instep, calves, knees, thighs, genitals, hips, stomach, torso, breasts, armpits, and continues up her neck until he reaches the top of her head. The girl who remains quiet, indifferent, without laughing and without even a smile wins the test and is declared a virgin. The singer then sings again: "You are indeed a virgin, my lovely majayura....," and chants a veritable song of flattery and finishes by escorting her to a set place. He then continues with the rest of the girls gathered there, repeating the same routine. When a girl moves or laughs,

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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133 venting anything being landed dry. The Colombian Government
504 erected a guard-house at the entrance of this bay last year, but I am afraid it will have to be abandoned as untenable. Puerto Estrella makes a very bad port, the small trading schooners having to lie in under the breakers. This is the last recognised Colombian port, at least pending the arbitration question. The next good port is the Laguna de Tucacas, in the Gulf of Maracaybo. This place is much frequented by Venezuelans, and a trade has sprung up that if not checked will ruin the already drooping commerce of Rio Hacha. The last port on the coast is that of Cojoro, and spoken of as the future port of Maracaybo, with which it would have to be connected by rail, an engineering feat of not much difficulty. The *ensenada* or bay of Calaboxo has an inaccessible, heavy, surf-beaten coast.

The peninsula is inhabited by only one tribe of Indians. These are
614 subdivided into many families or castes, bearing much analogy to the ancient "clans" of Scotland. Each caste or rather family circle is united against all comers, taking up the quarrel of any one of its members to make it general. The Goajiros are strictly conservative and aristocratic
556 in their ideas, wealth and interest are omnipotent. A poor man may be
● [578] insulted with impunity, when the same to a rich man would cause certain bloodshed. They have no veritable rulers, but each community
[622] recognises the wealthiest of its members as the chief or corporal, as he has been dubbed by the Spaniards, and look to him for protection. An Indian born poor, cannot become wealthy and great. Whatever herds he may accumulate, his humble origin would never be forgotten; he
[557] could, however, marry into a high caste family, having the means, and his children could become, through their mother's relations, great chiefs.
614 Besides the name, each caste or family represents some animal, and many of the minor castes, over and above their own symbol, adopt another of some more powerful denomination, to enjoy the privilege of a good protector. There are at present, altogether, some thirty odd castes among the Goajiros. Of these I was able to discover the names of twenty-two. The remainder are insignificant, little known castes, chiefly inhabiting the hills. There are about ten of importance, chief among these the "Urianas." This, the largest caste in the Goajiro, has subdivided or split up into many ramifications, such as Uriana tiger, Uriana rabbit, Uriana paularate (a song bird), Uriana gecko (lizard). This family is at present not only by far the most numerous, but also the richest; due to its connections by marriage with the Pushainas, formerly the wealthiest of the land. The Pushainas are to-day still
[556] great holders of tumas and ornaments, but with the Indian, only cattle, mules, and horses are real estate. The Urianas on receiving the tumas, sold out for cattle. The second in numbers are the Epieyues, as a rule they are poor. Under their protection are the Soouanas, again under these the small caste of the Guorguoriynes. A full list will be given

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

4 goats, 5 pigs, 15 hens, 25 skeins of yarn, 5 bars of soap (an expensive commodity) and some mirrors and handkerchiefs. 672
Employees are very well insured, it would seem. If an employee destroys anything belonging to a third party, the employer has to pay twice its value or more. One's responsibility is not confined to what persons in one's service may do, but extends to animals and inanimate objects if one lends them. If I let an Indian ride my horse and the horse throws him off, I have to pay; and if someone cuts himself on a knife belonging to me, I have to pay—for it was my knife that did it.

It can even be risky to give advice in Guajira: for if you suggest a course of action and things go wrong, you may have to pay compensation. That is why the Indians will seldom tell you the way when you ask it.

A host is responsible to his guests, even if they are self- 672
invited. Hospitality is sacred and one cannot refuse to 574
receive someone seeking shelter. If the guest is ill, the host looks after him as best he can, but immediately sends for one of his relations. As soon as a relative arrives the host's responsibilities cease, but if the guest should die before the relative gets there, the host is liable for damages, hard as it may seem. On the other hand, if a person suffering from an infectious disease goes to someone else's house, it is the guest who is responsible and must pay his host damages.

If two guests start fighting the host is considered jointly responsible, for if he had not invited them there would never have been a fight. If the others present do not try to avert the quarrel, they must pay up too.

Insults and calumny are contrary to the law, and it is 683
especially serious if one reviles another's mother's family. Among themselves the Indians consider it disparaging [578]
to be addressed in Spanish, instead of in their mother tongue.

Every Indian has a personal name used only by his 551
nearest and dearest. For an outsider to pronounce this calls 683
for a heavy penalty, as it does to speak the name of someone dead. As soon as it is learned that someone has died, all those with the same name at once change it for another. The

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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him that can give the alarm. For a long time he has to refrain 775
from all association with his friends and keep away from
feasts. In the end, if agreement on compensation is not 682
reached with the dead man's family, he will have to leave
the district for a period of years. This precaution is to
protect the slayer from the spirit of the man he killed, which
would look for him in his normal haunts and would not
recognize him under the new conditions, but it is also a
protection against the dead man's nearest relatives, who will
thirst for vengeance as long as compensation has not been
agreed and paid.

We mounted and rode away from our first burial feast. 775
On the fringe of the area stood six Indians armed, some with 765
guns, others with bows and arrows. Their task was to shoot
after all departing guests in order to scare off any dangerous 431
spirits that might be intending to keep them company. Here,
a deputy-host presented us with a live heifer. Every guest [554]
was to have a present of an animal according to his rank.
We also had the meat that had been distributed that morn-
ing. It was considered quite all right either to eat it or to
take it to eat on the way home. Several others were doing
as we and there was a long line of departing guests, the men [492]
on horseback, the women mostly on donkeys. We all kept
together for quite a distance.

Spirits rose as the heat increased, for drink had been 765
handed out along with the meat, the Indians believing, as 565
did the Creoles, that spirits were the best protection against
the dangers of the hot sun.

A young Indian rode up to us. He wore a cloak with a
beautiful pattern and was mounted on a splendid mare,
which showed that he was of well-to-do family. He was in a
bad mood, however, having been forgotten in the distribu- [678]
tion of parting gifts and had not been given even a sheep.
For that reason he was highly incensed with his neglectful
hosts, whom he obviously scarcely knew.

We rode past an old man on foot dragging a calf behind
him. The old man was obviously sober, but he kept mutter- [578]
ing imprecations to himself. He too had been forgotten.

9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
SC13 Goajiro SC13

622 557 658

ground of the candidates selected by Perez so far, and he has found that only one among all the boys and girls recommended by him actually came from a Guajiro family that could not afford to pay for higher education. All the rest came from families, both pure Indian and with white mixture, belonging to the upper economic and social strata of the Guajiro society, who could easily pay for the education of their children.

622 557

These and other favors that Perez has granted to the upper social class have, undoubtedly, given him a unique status in the social structure. Perez is not respected in the same sense as Fernandez and Silva are respected, but his advice is sought and no favor he asks is ever denied. The older men, especially those enjoying certain leadership, look upon Perez with certain scorn as an upstart. For instance, on several occasions, when the present writer with Perez visited his father-in-law, Fernandez, the old leader, in a half-humorous and half-serious way, would repeatedly say: "This is To'lito; I am the To'olo," meaning that Perez was just a "little bull," while he was the big, the important "bull." Nevertheless, regardless of this general attitude of the older men, even they come to him whenever they want some favor from the Government. The writer has never heard Perez deny such requests to individuals of the upper stratum, while on several occasions it was noted that he refused to do anything on behalf of those who are economically and socially below him.

622 557 578

As far as the younger generation is concerned, Perez unquestionably has many friends and individuals who look upon him as the possible means of bettering their position. His bitter enemies are also to be found among the younger generation. These will stop at nothing in the hope of having him completely discredited in general and in particular they aim to have him lose his semi-official position. Just recently, this group went so far as to accuse him of having been a collaborator of the deposed dictatorial regime of Perez Jimenez and an enemy of the democratic government now in power in Venezuela. This landed Perez in jail but, as these accusations could not be substantiated, he was released in 24 hours. This incident is referred to here for the sole purpose of illustrating to what measures his enemies

9: Santa Crúz E-5 (1958) 1960
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will go to have him fall in disgrace. Whether these accusations are true or false is not our concern in this article.

Summing up Perez's position in Guajiro society we find the following facts: Among the older and more influential men, Perez is not considered as one of them and their attitude towards him is not a respectful one. He on the contrary is quite respectful towards them. No one, however, among this group can be classified as his enemy, and they do seek him out for advice in their dealings with Government officials. Among his contemporaries he enjoys a very influential position and practically everyone seeks his friendship. His true friends are to be found, without question, among this group, and, as far as it could be investigated, he has no real enemies among them, although there may be a few who envy his position. The younger generations are clearly divided into two groups—one group which truly respects and looks up to him, and another which is composed of his bitter enemies.

From the many formal and informal conversations the present writer has had with Perez—at his home, while traveling, when visiting some one else, etc.—the following analysis may be made of his behavior and position. While in Maracaibo, Perez soon became aware that he could attain no high status within a white culture where competition is always very keen. As Prefect of Sinamaica he clearly saw the possibilities of climbing up the ladder in Guajiro society and the first step he took towards that goal was to marry a full-blooded Indian girl from an important family, and to marry her in accordance with the traditional Guajiro law. There was very little chance for him to obtain the necessary wealth and to attain leadership status through property, but he saw the opportunity his semi-official position gave him to become the point of contact between the Guajiro and while cultures, cultivating both and becoming an almost indispensable person in the dealings the true natives had with the authorities. Whether his marriage to the Guajiro girl was purely for interest or whether there was any love involved is, of course, very difficult to say. As the writer made his headquarters in Perez's household at the Laguna del Pajaro, during his stay in the Guajira, he was able to observe, at first hand, the relationship between Perez and his native wife. These were always

/539 cont./

193 194 614 [128] a foreign observer encounters slight variations — as has just been mentioned. For this reason, in the table (p. 5) I put in the names corresponding with precisely the sounds that I heard most frequently; I have taken the map (p. 9) unchanged from the original.

614 marks are found in the table. Every Guajiro knows them. 101 As an established tradition, every generation has taken over the details from the others, either as clan property or as a 178 duty. But as a result of so many hostile encounters of the .101 clans with one another — the Guajiro even in early times 578 made themselves known as very quarrelsome — the boundaries 614 of the individual clan-districts have shifted. Some clans have actually disappeared, either because their members were entirely destroyed or because individuals from them were incorporated into other clans. Therefore, the number and boundaries of the individual clan-districts were and are subject to insignificant fluctuations. I was unable to ascertain when the map provided — taken from a Colombian authority — was drawn; it appears to have come out around 1935. It is also found in V. Gutiérrez (p. xvi).

3. Concluding Remarks

614 Spanish writers have reported on "castas" in Guajira from the early colonial period; the designation corresponds to actual totemistic clans. Recently it could be demonstrated that some thirty of them have existed since antiquity. The members of any one clan were entitled by common law to move freely over the whole peninsula without being hindered [423] by the boundaries. When Petrullo (p. 155) states unmistakably,

/2 cont./

[582] The father hopes that his first-born will be a boy, as he sees in him a future helper in herding tasks and a companion on long trips. The maternal family also desires that the first-born be a son because, although he does not hereafter increase the family, because of /the system of/ matrilinear descent, he does contribute to its prestige, as on the number of males depends the family prestige and influence, since it is they who represent it in situations of conflict with other groups and who, because of this prestige, make it possible for their relatives to live a more peaceful life by checking the misbehavior of members of other groups with the women of their group, maintaining the peaceful equilibrium of the conjugal life and preserving a mutual respect for the rights and duties of both sides.

Furthermore, on their importance depends, indirectly, the maintenance of their womenfolks' social standing, as no other Guajiro /3/ would become involved in acts of violation or seduction against them for fear of reprisal. Their daughters, rather, will be bought by men of their own social rank, which would eliminate the possibility of their being lowered. Also, should a relative die, the indemnity is more certain, for fear that the group might impose payment and justice by its own might.

However, the male members always present difficulties. The women of the group are always bound by the conduct of the men, for whatever illegal act is committed against another group affects them directly as reprisals are directed against them. On the other hand, when it becomes known that the men [579] are foregathering, the women must be near by, because the men overindulge in rum and under its influence become aggressive and give free rein to their dislikes and hatreds. The women's role then is to try to keep arguments from degenerating into wrangling and bloodshed by endeavoring prudently to patch up such difficulties as they develop.

[583] Furthermore, although it is true that male economic help is the greater in cases where the group requires mutual

/120 cont./

585 follow the same line of conduct with regard to the bond servants who serve their husbands as concubines. However, this legal action is not always taken, and the wife may overlook the whole affair.

When a wife feels despised or mistreated by her husband and put in an inferior position by a co-wife, it is not unusual for her to wish to kill her husband and actually to carry out this desire. The Guajiro, who knows this sentiment, appeals to it when there is a fight going on between two clan groups, by paying the woman whom he knows is unhappily married to kill her husband. At his suggestion, she gives her husband algodoncillo /? algodoncillo, a milkweed/ poison in his coffee, ground-up glass beads, poison for jaguars /tigres/, or puts the juice of a small, very poisonous lizard into the rum her husband is accustomed to drink. This practice is so well known that men, during war time, do not go to their wives' houses.

The other norm of conduct followed by the wife in such cases is a passive one: She does everything possible to condition her conduct as a married woman to the idealized cultural patterns in order to try to retain the affection of her husband to the utmost and thus prevent new women taking her place. If the husband is not completely satisfied in spite of these efforts, the woman tries to please him sexually. She believes that if she attains this objective, her matrimonial security is assured. That is why, besides doing everything they can to obtain such a satisfaction, they have recourse to magic, as we have explained several times in this work.

Finally, the woman may adopt an attitude of indifference to her husband, without any claims or anxiety, taking his lack of affection as the most natural thing in the world, in this way trying to bring about his return; or she may praise her rival when her husband mentions her in order to give the lie to any accusation that the other woman may have made. (Cf. in this chapter, Behavior of the woman with her husband).

[98 cont.]

224 237 It is very interesting at this point to emphasize the fact that these hunting charms, in both cases, take the shape of the excrement of the animal that is to be hunted. We cannot allow to pass unnoticed this constantly recurring presence of excrement in the matter of magic. Let us recall the fact which we have frequently mentioned that for certain umbilical illnesses in children they apply excrement; that to call up their protector spirits the shaman use talismans that are shaped like goat excrement; and young Guajiro women bury their hair underneath patches of cow dung in order that they may be bought for wives at a good price.

These phenomena make us think of a very important function of excrement in the Indians' belief in magic, a function that [99] we know about only in its external aspects, but its application does not surprise us even though its explanation still appears obscure.

773 One has to remember that the guano of birds, according to Guajiro myths, was what favored the spread of seeds and populated the country with nourishing and useful plants for man and beast. One of our informants recounted this part of the Creation in the following manner: "Then Mareiwa brought together all the zancalargas (wading birds), troupials, and doves in a flock. He pointed out the far distance and told them to go in search, and there they ate of the iwaráya (fruit of the cardon) and prickly pear. He ordered them to bring the fruit of the cherry trees, and Mareiwa made it rain throughout all La Guajira. Each dove went about spreading his droppings, and where these fell there sprang up all the plants which both the wayú (Indian) and their animals could eat. So were propogated the cardon and cherry trees, and the earth was sown...."

751 726 579 Charms for war. This charm has the virtue of giving its owner complete bodily immunity in the fights which frequently arise between the various family groups. For this reason, before getting ready for combat, when on the way and in fear of a surprise attack, or when he goes to present a claim for compensation payment in the case of the violent death of one of the members of his clan, the Indian will rub himself all over with

[99 cont.]

751 the charm. He has two aims in view, to render himself immune
726 from harm from his enemies' weapons, and to acquire courage
579 and coolness in the coming fight. This type of charm is called
ranía in Guajiro.

The evil eye. This is one of the beliefs which seems to us to
754 have been acquired by the Guajiro Indians through acculturation,
[177] as we have not found it in any purely native group but, on the
contrary, have found it very widely spread in all parts of Colom-
bia, especially among the mestizos. We have personally en-
[171] countered it in the departments of Cauca, Valle del Cauca,
Tolima, Antioquia, Santander, and Magdalena. Without being
exclusive to Negro or Negroid groups, it is among them that this
belief is found with the greatest intensity and frequency.

175 The presence of Negroes in La Guajira is not due only to
563 racial mixing with the groups of mulattos of the coast but was
initiated in the centuries of the Colony as can be seen from these
notes taken from Father Julián: "Two evident and palpable
reasons came to me: practical reasons which because of my zeal
for the welfare of the Guajiro Nation and for the Monarchy I now
express. The first is their provision and use of [100] firearms
through their continual trade with foreigners; secondly, these
same foreigners have brought in Negroes and Negresses, and these
[567] have mixed with the Indian men and women who have bought and
kept them as slaves. The result is that not only is the number of
people in La Guajira increased but so also is the number of terri-
ble races of Mestizos, Mulattos, Zambos, etc., who united with
the Guajiro will make this nation even more formidable and every-
day more difficult to conquer." (59)

59. Julián, Antonio. La Perla de la América
[The Pearl of America], 2nd, XIV, 195.

754 Referring to this popular Santander belief, Juan de Dios
Arias affirms: "In our territory, for example, there is a very gen-
eral belief that certain persons have the evil eye, and if they
should look fixedly and with evil intention at a child, in the
course of a few days the latter will be covered with pimples and
sore places which are difficult to cure. This evil influence is

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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bush I could only reach 1700 feet, the limit of the Indian gardens, where 133
plantains, maguey, onions, coca, sugar-cane, &c., were growing; also a 241
rivulet with running water. The ground about here is well cultivated, supplying most of the Goajira with grain food. Many small low castes [556]
of Indians dedicated to agriculture live here; they are all poor, as agriculture is not considered wealth among the Indians.

The second or central range, which for want of a better name I shall 133
call Parashi Hills, are entirely separated from the Macuira range by a plain some nine miles broad. This plain gradually rising from both seas, reaches 350 feet towards the centre. These hills rise at Bahia Honda almost from the margin of the bay, and stretch as a narrow belt right across the peninsula. Formed of ridges of low hills seldom exceeding 1500 feet, covered with a scanty wood of brazilete, divi-divi, [137]
cacti, and other prickly bushes, intersected by valleys, one mass of prickly pear, they present a desolate forlorn appearance two-thirds of the year, yielding, however, during the short rainy season abundant pasture. In this range, as with the former, there are two prominent peaks. The northerly one, a conspicuous object from Portete and Bahia Honda, is called Ruma. I ascended it with much difficulty, and found the height to be 1950 feet. Sierra Ipapa, marked on some maps, is probably Ruma.

Some 15 miles south of Ruma, Guajarepa rises well out of its surroundings. This, the highest point of the range, does not exceed 2200 feet, and must be the Cerro Aceite of the Spaniards, supposed to be the highest peak in the Goajira, but it is seen that Macuira dominates it by at least 400 feet. A portion of this range is also called Cerros de Jallarure from a rancho at the foot of Guajarepa. Between the highest peaks and towards the south is the extensive plain of Ataipa. We now come to the third or Cojoro range, separated by a rather tortuous valley, varying much in breadth, about six miles at the narrowest place. These hills are more extensive than either of the two first, and show many peculiarities, being flanked on all sides by numerous isolated knife-like ridges, some running parallel to each other with broad valleys between, while others are complete segments of circles. Towards the Maracaybo shore are several large mountain masses. The highest, Yuripiche, is a wonderful mass of igneous rock some 2800 feet in height. Close by, another mountain, Auipana, plays a prominent part in the landscape. All these hills, like Parashi, are [137]
destitute of vegetation, many so steep that the bare rock and stone-slides put all idea of growth out of the question, and with their weird shapes, immense boulders, and caves, form a fitting retreat to the Cocinas or [579]
Rubber Indians. The celebrated Tota Goajira may be considered as belonging to this range, (for although entirely isolated and some nine miles distant, it is indirectly attached by two small separate hills. The Tota is certainly one of the most beautiful sights in the Goajira, and

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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in an Appendix. With the exception of the Jirnues or Piesies, a small tribe of 200 souls all told living in the valley of Macuira between Ara-ura and Itujoro, the Güaririües, a mere handful of Indians under the protectorate of the Jirnu, the Sijuanas, Socuanas, Arapainayúes, Sámuriues, Araurujunas, and the Arpusiatas, all small local tribes, strictly confined to the upper country or east of Cabo de la Vela, the other castes are distributed throughout the breadth and width of the land in the greatest confusion. Living as the Goajiro does, in continual strife and warfare, whole families would speedily become poor or extinct, if they did not take the precaution to separate their wealth and herds, and only keep a few in one place at a time. Scarcity of water and pasture compels them to lead a nomadic life, and makes house-building out of the question, for they are eternally changing abode, now in the upper Goajira and then in the lower or plains. Some branches among the castes have, in spite of their roving propensities, predispositions for certain spots. For example, the proud and wealthy Pushainas are chiefly found round and about Parashi and Ataipa. Urianas tiger frequent Taroa and Bahia Honda a great deal, while near Portoto, Ipuanas and Epinayues abound. In the neighbourhood of Aulpana the Ipuanas and Jussayues are in great force; at the Tota nearly all are Jussayues, and near Las Guardias at Guaroro, Sapuanas; these three latter are mostly all Cocina Indians. With respect to these terrible Cocinas, the word in Goajira signifies robber, highwayman, or outlaw. They are neither a tribe nor even a separate caste as many have supposed, but simply a band of freebooters—Indians that, for quarrels, murder, thefts, &c., have been expelled the family, and must needs take to pillaging to earn a livelihood. For self-defence, and to better ply their nefarious calling, they are banded together with recognised chiefs, and so are able to go on their marauding expeditions in great force, pouncing on any less numerous or unprepared party, to strip them of everything. One party of Cocinas will rob another if they can. Nearly all the Goajiros have relations among them, but an Indian is only safe with that band to which his relation belongs. They have commercial intercourse with them, and often succeed in getting stolen cattle back. The Cocinas' territory *par excellence* is the Cojoro range of hills, taking in the Tota, traversing the plains in a narrow band, and occupying the Montes of Oca as a refuge while scouring the plains. The country as far east as the Macuira range is not exempt from their depredations, especially between Ciapana and the Laguna of Tucacas. The principal Cocina chiefs are Alyochipara or Yorujama, as he frequently is called, an Uriana, and rules the country about Aulpana and Yuripicho—he is the worst and most feared of the lot; Perón, an Arpushaina, another devil—he has appropriated the district of Cojoro; Mampain, a Jossayú, lords it all about the Tota; and Merejildo, a Sapuana, is chief of the country about Las Guardias. Once the terror of the plains, this wild beast has

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been completely tamed by the Venezuelans. He, with of course his followers, have found honesty the best policy after all, and are now reformed and peaceful members of society, returned to breeding and agriculture. This shows what can be done with firmness combined with a little judicious tact and management.

The Indians build no elaborate dwelling-houses. Their best ranchos are simple, and constructed in a short time. The roof is covered with the split woody core of a tall euphorbia. This makes a good cool roof, impermeable to water and easily removed when the family flits. The rancho is seldom used for sleeping purposes; for this numerous poles (*tchepsi*) are firmly fixed all over the place for swinging hammocks, often three and four to one pole, and crossing each other. Sometimes two and three sleep in a hammock. Further off other poles (*palúmaler*) are found, to tie animals up at, and a small corral or sheep-pen for the goats and sheep is also indispensable in every well-regulated family. The site of a rancho is always carefully chosen, much strategy being displayed in locating the whole, so that each rancho covers the other without itself being seen. Although villages are never attempted, yet a family rarely lives isolated. Everybody bolsters himself with that bugbear of Goajira society, his relations. Their ranchos are always within gunshot distance, so as mutually to defend each other. One is invariably on high ground to dominate the country, the rest are hidden away in nooks and corners where least expected. If one rancho is seen, others are close at hand. In case of attack, this system prevents a whole family being exterminated. One or two ranchos may be taken, but the rest escape or fly to the rescue, as the case may be. At all events the avenger, so dear to the Indian, survives. Each rancho has a distinct name. Besides, every Indian who is anybody has several ranchos spread over the country. To collect the names of the ranchos would be paramount to taking a census of the territory. The following are well-known ranchos, with usually some half-caste from Riohacha trading with the Indians. In the Macuira range, six miles from Punta Espada, is Guarerpá, at the foot of Ara-ura; chief, Caijuna, a Jirnu. Westwards, close to the sea-shore, Chémumao; chief, José Agustin, a Jallariú, a half-caste speaking good Spanish. At the foot of Itujoro, Maguaipá, situated on a slight eminence eight miles from the sea, and is an important trading station. Paraliero, native name of Puerto Estrella, boasts twelve houses and three iron warehouses, with always two or three Riohacheros resident there. The chief, Pedro Quinto, is Epieyu, but his sister Mauricia is the virtual ruler. Inland, 16 miles from Bahia Honda or Taroa is Merunay, another large trading station, usually with two or three Riohacheros established there. The eight ranchos are well located on a plain between Macuira and Parashi. The chief, Saipa, is Epieyu. This is one of the most central stations in the Goajira, and is surrounded by several important places; it is probably

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881 [868] weaving, making dresses, hammocks, sashes, &c., sewing, and all the little knick-knacks Indians love so well.

The confinement is not so isolated as it seems, generally several of her female relations are round the door with the enclosed, who of course becomes rather stout, much blanched, almost white, and some exceedingly beautiful. Strangers and men are not excluded from peeping in through [584] the door, always with an eye to matrimony, and she can be sold and liberated at once, though her husband if rich prefers leaving her to complete her term of schooling. On re-entering to society again, a special festival, *ahuitis*, is held with dancing, &c. An ox is killed, and the girl is dressed in the clothes she has made; her hair is cut and she resumes all her beads, necklaces, bracelets, and other ornaments.

562 [579] Women are much respected by the Goajiros. In a quarrel or drunken brawl, women often save bloodshed by stepping in and tearing the weapons out of their husband's or brother's hand. Travelling with women is consequently perfectly safe, and in case of danger, if one undertakes to protect a stranger, he may rely upon coming out all right.

583 Matrimony is a mere case of barter. The girl is sold for a certain price, fixed by the father. This is paid by the intended husband, and divided by the father, who appropriates the best part for himself and his relations, the rest going to the wife's relations. As it is chiefly in 585 cattle, these are killed and a kind of bridal festival held. There is no other ceremony. A wife is under obligation to support her husband, 593 find him in food, clothes, &c. She does most of the trading, and a [462] contract made with an Indian is worthless, should his better half object. An Indian cannot inflict bodily injury on his wife, for he becomes liable [583] to her relations, and should she die during childbirth he has to repay the father what he gave for her. But if the wife is untrue (a rare occurrence) [684] he demands from the father the price he paid for her, who if he cannot refund, helps him to recover from the seducer, plus tear or compensation from his mother-in-law. At the husband's death, the 587 wife becomes a legacy to his brother, usually the youngest; if there are 764 none, then his nephew inherits her. The daughter of a chief is worth, according to his wealth and power (i. e. the number of men he can 583 dispose of in a fight) from 6 to 150 head of cattle (12*l.* to 300*l.*).

764 When a person dies, a grand drinking festival is given, that lasts as long as there is anything to drink—days, and even weeks, with the wealthy. These latter are buried twice, and have two festivals. A rich person is always buried in the rancho, and on the spot where he was born; being often carried for that purpose immense distances. A fire is lighted every night from sunset to sunrise in front of the grave, for the sole use of the dead. Immense piles of wood are gathered for this purpose, as the body is kept two years in the house. Then all the relations can meet on a certain day, and the second feast takes place, when the bones are carefully gathered, placed in a jar, and consigned to the

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so. One writer says that an old woman from those hills claimed to know how the arrows were poisoned. Otherwise, she said, only the Cusina knew the secret. That seems most doubtful, for the Cusina brigands are neither a class nor a clan which might possess special secrets, but merely a collection of outlawed criminals. There were many indications that they made considerable use of poisoned arrows and that they were firmly convinced of their efficacy. Even if death had been inflicted already by other means, they usually shot their victims with poisoned arrows as well, as an additional safeguard against their escaping. The Cusina and Cojoro Hills belong to the same complex.

The old woman in the Cojoro Hills said that the secret in the Cusina's way of preparing the arrows was a human sacrifice. A small boy was taken to a lonely place, where he was killed and some of his blood taken. This was later cooked and the arrows dipped in it. The old woman's account made this ritual murder even more gruesome, in that it made the boy's father the executioner. Of course, in Guajira a father has quite a different relationship to his children to that we know, being scarcely accounted in the same family, yet even from the Indian point of view, that must seem cruel. It would be different if the child were one who had been captured in war or bought as a slave.

There is no confirmation of the old woman's statement and it may well have been invented. There are many legends about these poisoned arrows. The woman's account does not mean that the arrows were poisoned by means of the sacrifice, merely that their strength was increased. Blood is always a magical element. If such rites really took place, that would surely point to an African influence brought by runaway negro slaves. The old woman's story, however, scarcely explains how the poison contained tetanus germs. Simmons, the traveller to whom she gave that account of what happened, also said that the poisoned arrows, *imard*, were sold by the Cusina, who asked eight *varas*, or ten yards, of cotton cloth for twenty-four. How these tetanus arrows were made remains a mystery that, perhaps, may never be solved.

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585 Mauana said that while she is in confinement a girl will
[881] have been taught, among other things, the attentions custom requires her to show her husband.

When he arrives home, she hastens to hang up his ham-
593 mock and offer him something to drink. She at once prepares a meal, if one is not yet ready. The master of the house has
[264] his own crockery, from which he alone eats, and his wife must see that he has his favourite dishes and that they are properly cooked. If he has returned from a journey or from hunting, she must see that he has water to wash in and a clean guayuco. Once he has taken his place in the hammock, she sits on the ground and tells him the day's events. If he falls asleep, she sits in silence.

When the husband's friends or other people come to see
[574] him, the wife's place is again on the ground beside his hammock. She does not butt in upon the men's conversation, but knows how to be amusing if she is spoken to. She must see that each guest has a hammock to rest in and offer everyone refreshments. Men are proud to have such a hostess for a wife.

[574] In the husband's absence a wife must receive visitors courteously, but observe caution, if they are men. She will hang a hammock under a roofed shelter close to the house, but will not let the visitor inside. She will then offer him refreshments and sit down beside his hammock with some handwork.

It goes without saying that she must take good care of her husband's belongings and property, for he is often forced to be away with his herds. She must also take care of her
[273] husband himself, when he is drunk, as he not infrequently is. When fights occur at feasts, the women, as we know,
[579] throw themselves between the men to avoid bloodshed. A wife is responsible for her husband, when he is drunk. If she has not bothered to keep an eye on him and he is beaten or killed, the fault is hers. Or he may take his own life
[762] while intoxicated—suicide for mere trifles is not unusual—and then too she can be held responsible, if she has not intervened. If he hurts her or destroys any of her things while he is drunk, she knows that he will make rich amends

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765 The old man, however, was familiar with the customs of
565 olden days and had taken what they had forgotten to give him, calculating generously in his own favour. Strictly he was entitled to no more than a kid, if that, poor relation that he was; but he had appropriated one of his host's calves.

Our young Indian friend thought this an excellent idea, and as we happened to be riding past a herd of goats belonging to the house of mourning, he asked me to lend him my shot-gun, dismounted and shot two goats, which he then lashed on to his pack-animal. He paid no attention to the protests of the slave guarding the herd, who of course did not dare do anything to anyone so well dressed and so obviously a person of rank. He gruffly told the slave that he had the law on his side. This put the young Indian in a better humour, and he took a smiling leave of us.

765 We were invited to several other funeral feasts while we
579 were in Guajira. Both the actual burial and the after-funeral were in the same style. Often they were quite gay affairs—especially the repeat performance, when the grief was not so intense even with the immediate relatives. Often fights resulted. On the way home from Mauana's dance we had met people on their way back from a funeral who were quarrelsome. It sometimes happens that a person attending a funeral is killed. He is then taken home and most of the guests accompany him to continue celebrating in that new house of sorrow.

The funeral ritual is observed strictly and in detail. Children must learn it early and therefore are allowed to go to such feasts.

On the more important events the medicine man gives advice and directions, so let us now turn to him.

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Hills, the most dangerous part of the peninsula. There were 000
no chiefs there, no cattle and no other Indians than chance travellers. The new member of our company, however, proved to be lazy and useless from the very first. Francisco had got it into his head that the mestizo had sent his slave with us in order to steal my double-barrelled gun—for which he had asked in return for hiring us the donkeys, an offer that I pretended to take as a jest, since such a gun was worth its weight in gold in Guajira. The mestizo's slave boasted to Francisco that he had killed an Indian, so Francisco went in fear that he would try to kill me in order to get the gun. It certainly was not as bad as that. The man was really quite timid and everybody had their eye on him.

Now began the exciting part of our journey. As we were 579
to go quite close to the dreaded hills, I consulted the only 619
reliable authority I had, the English engineer, Simmons's, account of them. 'As far as the terrible Cusina are concerned,' he wrote, 'it must be pointed out that their name in the Guajiro tongue means "thief", "brigand". They are not a distinct clan or sub-division, as is sometimes maintained. They have been accused of being cannibals—Reclus, the geographer, wrote that the Guajiro tremble at the thought of being roasted and eaten by them. This, however, is incorrect and there is no proof of any such thing. It is true that the Guajiro fear them and will not pass their haunt, unless they are numerous enough to defend themselves and their herds; but their fear is that which people always have of robbers and brigands, when they have property to protect. In actual fact, it is difficult to find a Guajiro who does not have a relation among the Cusina.' He then gives some examples of this, and continues: 'These Cusina are nothing but a band of robbers expelled from their clans as a result of quarrels, murder or theft, and thereby compelled to plunder in order to live. In order to be better able to defend themselves and to have more success in attack, they have joined together in larger and smaller bands under recognized leaders. Thus they can organize plundering expeditions. If they find themselves strong enough, they will surprise less

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579 numerous and worse armed companies and take what they
619 have. The various bands, however, have no mutual respect or consideration, but will plunder each other if they can. Perhaps a Guajiro with a relation among the attackers can count on some consideration, unless his relative is inimical. However, the Guajiro do sometimes do business with the [131] Cusina, and also can negotiate and secure the return of stolen animals. The Cusina's haunt is the Cojoro Hills and a narrow strip of the lowland is also accounted theirs.' He then named the leaders of that time and told where they and their men were. In those days the Cusina had a number of plantations in the lowland, and also cattle, though they could not be bothered to look after these, but preferred to live by banditry. Simmons also says that it was the Cusina who sold the poisoned arrows.

Nearly forty years had passed since Simmons had journeyed in those parts and it was obvious that the Cusina were no longer so numerous nor so dominant, though one still had to take heed of them and be on one's guard. We were to learn that they could still make daring raids to parts far from their haunts. All unattached Indians one met in the vicinity of the hills were held to be Cusina—it was safest so.

Attack and highway robbery was one thing, ordinary [685] theft another. If a thief was caught, it cost him dear in compensation, but theft itself, as we heard in connection with Chinca, was almost regarded as a sport. It was thus common for poor Indians at least to pinch things from those who were better off. We, of course, were considered very rich.

685 It was not to be wondered at if an Indian, having nothing
674 to eat during the worst of the drought, appropriated a bit of this and that from those who were better off. If he knew that he would be able to repay it, it became a sort of loan, without the owner's permission.

Once, some Indians got in ahead of the monks when the time came to harvest the manioc at the mission's plantation in Macuira. When the monks came there with the mission's children to carry it home, all had gone. In the hope of preventing this happening again, the monks decided to com-

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plain to the civil authorities; but the government inspector at the coast just smiled and shook his head when they asked if he could do anything about it. 685 674

'The only advice I can give you is that you double your plantation next year. Then perhaps the crop will suffice both for you and the Indians.'

When a monk once reproached an Indian who worked at the mission for pilfering sugar, the Indian replied: 'But, father, every Indian steals!'

As Simmons thought, the Cusina are made up of the bad elements, those outcast from their clans. In the long run no clan can shield a member who commits all sorts of crimes. Some flee to the hills because they cannot pay compensation for someone they have killed, nor count on help from their clan, which perhaps is also without resources. Such people are real outcasts, for anyone can kill them without risk of their clan's exacting vengeance. These outcasts once took refuge in the most desolate hills of the peninsula, Sierra de Cusina, and ever since others have come to replenish their ranks. It was said that they also had women, either captured or runaways. Grazing and water were said to be scarce there. It was a desolate part and none disputed it with the Cusina. They had to live largely by plunder and robbery. They could only keep goats in their hills, so what cattle they rustled, they ate. They were keen to get arms. We were told that none then alive had ever seen a Cusina. They attacked by night and killed everyone. That, of course, was the old Guajiro way: let no one live who might conceivably exact vengeance. 579 614 619 579 619

The old accounts from the days of the conquest also mention Cusina, but they must have meant ordinary Guajiro Indians from the area of the Cusina Hills.

The brigands were supposed to have scouts out on the roads, who signalled to their comrades when they scented prey. They very seldom dared attack a well-armed company, as ours was. We three white people each had a gun or rifle and a pistol; and in reserve we had some of my cheap barter pistols. We equipped Francisco with a saloon pistol which had a long barrel and looked impressive. Then we 579

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579 hit upon the idea of stuffing our two canvas gun covers with maize and other things and letting the other two Indians carry them. In that way, it looked as though we were all armed, at least from a distance.

Thus we began our march past the brigands' hills.

The Cusina were always active at night, when they would at least try to steal our animals. We decided to travel by night and camp and sleep during the day. As long as the sun was up, there was little danger of attack. Also it was cooler travelling at night, for the heat there was terrible by day, since the hills shut off the breeze, the eternal north-east trade wind, and there was no shade. Luckily Francisco and the Indian slave-worker knew where to look for water. The casimbas there were mostly covered over and intended only for the initiated. The water was everywhere bad, turbid and brackish.

We were not able to carry out our plan in its entirety. As long as there was moonlight, we could ride, but in the evenings we had to rest, water the animals and wait for the moon. When the animals were to be watered, they had to be unsaddled and their packs stacked.

By the water-hole to which we went the first evening was an abandoned, tumble-down ranch. This was apparently the scene of an incident of which we had heard in Castilletes and also from Antonio. Despite warnings, a young Indian of a chief's family had foolishly taken it into his head to ride alone past the Cusina Hills. He had a Winchester rifle and rode a very good, fast horse, and so thought that he could get away from any of the Cusina, who were seldom mounted. However, he had to water his horse in the evening, as we had, and the Cusina had fallen upon him then, killed him, cut out his heart and taken his horse and rifle. Thus we had no need to fear any lack of alertness or caution on our Indians' part at that spot. We went on as soon as the moon had risen.

We rested during the worst of the heat, using a tent cloth to shield us from the sun. The grazing was wretched. The animals could only find one blade here, another there, and we had already begun to ration their maize, since our

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Indians also had to have some of it. Fortunately, we had 579
plenty of oatmeal, and we got the Indians to eat porridge.

The Indians we met, almost all on foot, were well armed with lots of arrows and often a gun and a well-stuffed cartridge belt besides. Custom required that all we met [576] should be given tobacco, but the Cusina being reputed expert at seizing an outstretched hand and pulling a rider off his horse, we did as the Indian chiefs do and without pulling up threw a cigar to those we met with a gay injunction to catch it.

The shadowy figures that slipped away among the cactus trees when we met them by night were most suspicious. Those were not pleasant encounters. Even by moonlight anyone could see that we were three white people, but whether the shadows were Cusina or others with bad consciences we could not tell. Our large packages must have looked desirable to Cusina eyes, but they largely consisted of Indian things, that is to say, our collections. The brigands would have been disappointed if they had opened them!

The hills we now had to the north of us were quite [133] different in character from the gentle Macuira Hills. Tall, menacing masses of stone rose up here and there flanked by razor-sharp ridges. In the naked, grim ravines among them dwelled the Cusina, spying out across the plain from the verges of secret precipices, like vultures looking for their prey. One evening, we came to another abandoned rancho beside a casimba. We had already unsaddled and stacked the packs, when we discovered that the casimba was empty. The Indians knew there was another water-hole not far away. The animals had to be watered, so despite the risk involved, we had to split up.

We three white people stayed with the baggage, while the Indians went off with the animals and our water-vessels. My wife had fever and had to lie down, which she did with her little pistol beside her. Gladtvet and I kept watch, rifle in hand. We had piled the baggage on a slight eminence, so that even in the darkness we had a certain view of our surroundings. Meanwhile our men had vanished in thick divi-divi scrub, in which anyone but an Indian would have got

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5A helplessly lost. This scrub would also have permitted any Cusina to sneak up quite close to us without being seen.

Francisco had said that it was not far to the water-hole, but they did not come back. An hour passed, then another. The situation was becoming really unpleasant. Suddenly, two muffled shots sounded in the distance. What had happened?

We had not agreed on any shot signals, though we had given Francisco one of our guns. Was it he who had fired, or the Cusina? Whoever it was, it was best to show that we were prepared, so we fired one shot with my shot-gun, the rifle only making a sharp little crack. Then there was silence. The echo rolled away towards the grim, sterile hills, and before it had died away, we heard the rustling of small frightened little animals dashing away. Some night birds lifted on noiseless wings. Then both we and Nature round us held our breath. We heard no more shots. But *if* the first shots had meant that the Cusina were attacking, we could expect to hear from them too. If they had not seen us before, they now knew that there were people both in the scrub down by the water-hole and on the hillock. And if the Cusina had overwhelmed our men and taken our animals, what were we to do in the most barren, desolate and dangerous part of Guajira?

Ssh! What was that? Something was moving in the scrub, where our men had disappeared. The moon was just rising and we could see quite well. A little shape slipped out from the edge of the scrub and vanished with light, swift, silent bounds out on to the savanna. It was a deer. Presumably it was off to lick the dew from the cactus flowers. One could well understand that this lovely animal with its gentle, mournful eyes spent its life going from flower to flower.

The absence of our men was becoming really alarming. At last we heard voices. We listened intently. Yes, it was Francisco calling. We shouted back. Soon we could also hear the animals snorting. There was no doubt. All was well. Then they emerged from the scrub and we learned the explanation.

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The second water-hole had also proved to be dry, when they eventually found it. However, the chief's slave-worker, who was supposed to want to get my shot-gun, had known that there was a third water-hole some distance away. Francisco had never trusted the man, and no doubt had his reasons, but there was nothing to do but to follow him. It had been quite a long distance to this third water-hole and it had taken a lot of finding. The slave had not been sure of the way; but with their wonderful instinct they had reached it, and there was water in it. 579

Thus the slave had not deceived them, but Francisco had still felt uncomfortable. That was when he had fired the two shots. He wanted an answering signal so as to know that nothing had happened to us. I pointed out that the shots could have drawn the Cusina down on him. He had not thought of that, not being especially bright. However, we were no longer split up and the animals had had all the water they could drink. It was time to move on and we kept going till the heat of the coming day forced us to rest.

We flung ourselves down under a cactus and hung up a piece of canvas to protect us from the sun. The Indians made a fire with two pieces of stick and some dry horse-dung. This they fed with cactus branches and then put a pot of sea-water over the fire. Had they gone crazy, we asked.

No, Francisco told us, they were going to cure the animals of their tiredness. And hastily he added that the treatment was external.

When the water was hot the Indians took calabashes, filled them and poured the water over the animals' legs. The poor brutes leaped and jumped. The water was too hot and I pointed this out. Francisco explained that this was a recognized way of curing tired legs and pointed out that the animals had not been so lively for weeks. However, they cannot have liked the treatment much, for when the Indians approached with their 'medicine', they moved away. I forbade them to use scalding water; but when it had cooled somewhat they continued, expertly flinging calabash after 579 232

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579 calabash of salt water over the animals' legs. The fact
[232] remains that both riding and pack animals trotted along considerably more briskly that day.

The following day we could see Jepitz, solitary cone-shaped hill of the savannas, blue in the distance. The Cusina Hills had withdrawn. The worst of the danger from bandits must now be over, we thought. We were to learn, however, that the bandits made longer raids than we had imagined.

580 If we had now set course for Jepitz, or La Teta as the Creoles called it, we could have cut across western Guajira to Rio Hacha, a short cut that would have taken only a few days. We had other plans, however. We wanted to go into Venezuela, to which Southern Guajira and the coast up to Castilletes belongs, and visit the Sinamaica lagoons where, on the shores of Lake Maracaibo, live the Paraujano Indians, the Guajiro's nearest relatives. While the Guajiro's country is as dry as a desert, one could almost call the Paraujano water Indians, for they live in pile-dwellings out in the water. We knew that they did not retain as much of their original culture as did the Guajiro, though they still dwelt as their ancestors had, but even so we felt that it would be interesting to visit them. Also, as we had to admit to ourselves, the thought of all that water was tempting after going short for so long. There were still wide savannas ahead of us, but we knew that the worst was over.

594 We now came across a minor chief with his herds. He had camped under some trees and welcomed us with exaggerated friendliness, but then both he and his men had already had one over the eight. However, they were still at the merry stage, though fighting would inevitably come later. The chief had bought no small quantity of spirits. There was a whole row of kegs. When he heard that we intended to continue, which obviously grieved him considerably, he tried to press one of these kegs on us. We were to take it and drink his health on our way. We managed with considerable difficulty to decline the gifts and instead received a hammock, sandals and some arrows, which we valued much more. Then off we went.

580 The savanna was almost bare and we could not hang up

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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726 on equal terms. He then approached the enemy from the left while making quick movements, jumps, and turns, with his legs apart and his knees bent. More recently, according to Ernst (1887 c), war is not declared, attempts being made to take the enemy by surprise.

[797] Wars last indefinitely, sometimes being broken by a peace brought about by an influential "civilizado" or the Capuchin monks, the latter sometimes paying the retribution demanded out of their own pockets.

579 Some tribes, such as the *Cosina* of Serranía Cosina (actually a conglomeration of outcastes rather than a sib), make their living almost entirely by robbery and pillage, destroying houses, stealing cattle, and killing or enslaving their enemies.

LIFE CYCLE

843 **Birth and childhood.**—During pregnancy a woman continues to do her heavy work up to the very hour of delivery. At childbirth, the shaman

844 pronounces various spells over the patient and applies poultices made of

[156] dried flowers, roots, etc. A large, heavy stone placed over the womb and vigorous massaging bring about the birth. If the placenta is not soon expelled, the woman drinks a medicine concocted by the medicine man. As soon as the child is safely delivered the father serves rum and chicha

[484] to all his relatives. If the pains of childbirth appear when the sib is on the march, the woman mounts and rides ahead so that when the sib catches up the event is practically over. The husband cuts the cord with his machete and cauterizes its ends with a glowing ember. The woman

[854] then continues on the march with the child in a sling on her back. When the permanent camp is reached she washes herself and the child.

851 Baptism is a Christian ceremony which the *Goajiro* have adopted, and

551 most of the Indians are called by Spanish names, as their real names may

177 not be mentioned. Teknonymy is practiced; a parent is addressed by its child's name plus a prefix, nushi or sushi for the father, ni or si for the mother. Thus, a father may be called Nushijuan after a son or Sushijuana after a daughter.

857 At 6 or 7, girls learn to grind salt, pick cotton, and tend the smaller

868 animals; the boys imitate their fathers.

855 Parents are said to show little affection for their children, sometimes

[435] selling them at Sinamaica. They receive $10 or $15 for a child of 8 or 9 years. The purchaser becomes the child's guardian, teaches him the Catholic faith, and keeps him until he is 17 years old. These children

[736 rarely return home. Abandoned children are taken to the San Antonio

797] orphanage, where the girls continue to wear their *Goajiro* dress, but the boys are put into jackets and pants.

881 **Girls' puberty.**—At her first menstruation a girl is isolated in a small dark hut and stripped of all her ornaments. She lies in a hammock, sometimes hoisted near the roof. For the first 2 days she drinks no

105 /532 cont./
175 highest), Casta de Paguil, Casta de Guacharaca, Casta de
614 Mono, Casta de Machin, Casta de Gallinazo (this is the poorest)" /cited in English/ (ibid.). Explanatory additions are lacking. In the light of later successful inquiries, however, these few statements are given their full meaning.

Not until 1870 did A. Ernst publish an extended list of these totem groups (p. 329). He enumerated twelve of them and called them "tribes /Stämme/," which "have definite dwelling sites." He correctly separated from them the so-
101 called Cocinas, which "perhaps are a different tribe than the
175 rest of the populace and a vagabond gang of robbers that makes
577 all paths unsafe"(6).

6. Father Álvarez had already referred to them as "more barbarous than any of the Guagiros, and consequently less tractable and more dangerous, horrible and proud" /cited in English/ (p. 635). In the same sense Stutzer (p. 136) describes them as "dregs of all castes. They murder in order to rob. It is regarded as dangerous to pass through their area alone or in small groups..." They do not merit further mention.

175 A few years later the British engineer, F. Simons,
614 traveled through Guajira. He related in his excellent report to the Royal Geographical Society (1885): "The Guajiros are subdivided into many families or castes, bearing much analogy to the ancient clans of Scotland. Each caste or rather family circle is united against all comers... Besides the name, each caste or family represents some animal, and many of the minor castes, over and above /533/ /a table appears here/ /534/ their

[text continues on p. 6]

58

58 MARRIAGE--general statements dealing with several specific aspects of marriage. Marriage is a socially sanctioned relationship between a man and a woman involving economic cooperation and residential and sexual cohabitation. The culturally patterned norms of this relationship regularly specify who may and may not enter into it, how it may be established and terminated, and what each partner may and may not do within it. As a relationship, marriage is to be distinguished sharply from the family, the social group within which it is typically embedded.

/xiv cont./

124 individuals as informants, both men and women, in various parts of La Guajira Peninsula, the natural habitat of the Indians to whom we refer. They have, consequently, at least a margin of sufficiently high reliability, as the check thus obtained allowed for the clarification, confirmation, and correction of all data which were taken down in the preliminary study.

114 We would have liked to start this monograph with a description however brief of the geographical surroundings in which the Indians of La Guajira live, but on this subject we would refer the reader to the previous number of this review in which he will find an article written by my husband, licentiate Roberto Pineda Giraldo, entitled Aspects de la Magía en la Guajira /Aspects of Magic in La Guajira/, in which there is a brief summary of the geography of the peninsula. However, in some of the chapters of this treatise certain references to the geography of the peninsula will be found, as we have considered them to be indispensable for clearing up certain social and economic phenomena which otherwise would have remained obscure, because the economy, as will be gathered from reading this present work, plays a very important part in the functioning of Guajiro institutions.

128 The reader, furthermore, will find certain repetitions in the different aspects treated herein, but this is also due to our desire to leave nothing ambiguous or unclear. Many of the conflicting situations faced by the individual, occurring at different times and in regard to various legal institutions, have given rise to different reactions and phenomena which we felt needed clarification, and consequently we have been obliged to repeat them on the different occasions when they have had to be considered.

58 It may also be observed that the chapter on marriage is the
162 longest of all, and it is in that very chapter that most repetitions and references to past and future reported situations will be found. Marriage in La Guajira may be considered to be the basis of all social organization, for it is via marriage /xv/

/xv cont./

58 182 -- the basis of the family -- that the individual makes contact with other family cells, with different clan groups, and, together, with the social group in general. It can be affirmed without fear of error that marriage is, both directly and indirectly, vitally important to the whole social organization of La Guajira, to its economic systems as well as to aspects of the spiritual life of the community, as in it one finds the security and stability of the clan group, the fundamental basis of La Guajira organization. On looking into certain aspects of customary law among these indigeneous people, one can appreciate that this is effective only if the clan group which considers itself the injured party has sufficient power to enforce the required compensation payments, or indemnities; otherwise, the law will not function. And, as it is the clan and, in the final analysis, the small family group which has to stand up to aggressions against the code for individual and collective security, making itself in this way the true representative of the individual, one can gather how great is the importance of the institution of marriage in Guajiro life.

We do not wish to finish this introduction without recording our grateful appreciation to the director of the Instituto Etnológico Nacional, licentiate Luis Duque Gómez, for all the facilities he has put at our disposal in making this study and to our fellow expedition members, who at all times assisted us in the collection of data. We are also especially indebted to my husband, licentiate Roberto Pineda Giraldo, who supplied various reports obtained in the field for this study, and who at all times lent his collaboration in its ordering and presentation. /xvi/

/32 cont./

864 the girls go into the woods to round up the burros or for other chores.
835 We know that if the mother learns of these happenings she immediately hands out punishment; we also know that it is considered very bad because of its prematurity, because of the act in itself, and because of reasons of blood relationship; but we do not know in what way punishment is meted out or the reaction and the social and family attitude when it becomes known. The fact is that the mother with girls of that age prevents their meeting their brothers outside her personal vigilance. The disregard of that prohibition even if it is not presumed that such a delinguent act
864 has taken place leads to punishment, because the mother knows
581 that these prepubertal relations will later have a decisive influence on the girl when she seeks marriage, as the future husband expects her to come virgin to him and the payment he makes for her includes such a concept. If she is not he has the right to claim a compensation payment and to obtain the legal refund of part of the animals he has paid; or they are obliged to admit it before the marriage, with the prospect that they will be denounced or the hoped-for /marriage/ purchase will not go through. In any case, with foreknowledge or without, the loss of her virginity reduces the value of a marriageable woman in the eyes of the men seeking her as wife.

861 There are punishments of various kinds. Some are corporal and consist of striking the child, and these are the most frequent. They slap them on the mouth when they are insolent when given an order or when they give a sharp answer to the father or mother. They are punched and kicked or are whipped with lassos or riding whips, with twigs from the woods or cudgels, but the mother generally beats them with a bunch of nettles when they commit any kind of naughtiness, such as throwing themselves on the floor and rolling around from temper, sneaking out of the house without permission, disobeying an order, etc. /33/ In order to punish them the mother tries to take them by surprise and catch them firmly by the arm or hand so that she may punish them before they can escape her. She beats their legs or shoulders with the nettles as these parts are usually bare. This punishment is very painful

/61/

583 The married man is the head of a new cell, and this im-
885 plies family and social obligations. These he must face up to as a head of a family under peril of loss of prestige and lowering of position. With the coming of children his position becomes more and more extended, as his duties and rights are becoming joined and broadened, for to the obligations of a husband are added those of a father. And these are further complicated on contracting marriages with new women, as then he has reached, according to the Guajiro way of thinking, the maximum development of his male personality.

Valuation of virginity and of the woman. The value of
581 the Guajiro woman is fixed by the marriage payment, that is to
562 say, it is the economic assessment of her worth. The conditions of this valuation, traditional among the upper classes (as the lower classes have lost them through socio-economic conditions which even influence those of some standing), may be summarized thus:

The physical qualities which make a Guajiro woman
581 desirable are those that comply with the traditional aesthetic
832 norm and are those that the woman after her seclusion (Cf. Initiation of Young Women) makes every endeavor to acquire at any cost: tall stature, balanced by well distributed flesh which gives her an appearance of robustness and full-bodiedness, so that when walking decked out in her ample clothes, she has an appearance both elegant and majestic; wide and robust hips (probably with an unconscious biological end in mind, or a sexual one, or a combination of both); small and upright breasts, as the opposite is considered almost repulsive; and, above all, firm flesh. This last is probably the most desired quality, as the man openly confesses that when his woman over the years loses it, he replaces her by another one who has it. The shape of the legs has no importance, probably because with the full, long dress they are out of sight. In the main, they are thin in relation to the body and frequently bowlegged /?cascorvas/.

/61 cont./

581 832 228 842 847

A woman tries to maintain these qualities as she well knows that they form the center of attraction to a man and that maternity steadily destroys them. This may be one of the reasons for the increasing use of birth control, for which they take herbs that do not allow them to conceive, abortives of all kinds, and they take advantage of their knowledge of their periods of sterility and avoid sexual intercourse at other than these periods.

Their facial features are of no great importance to them so long as they conform to the anthropological norms of the group. They prefer a face with large, dark eyes and beautiful, healthy teeth. Also, they are especially attracted by the whiteness of the skin as it indicates social standing because it is a sign that the woman is better able to look after herself by protecting herself from the sun of the region. During her /62/ seclusion the girl does not expose herself to the sunlight, and her greatest pride is that her skin has become whiter. Every morning she bathes with water left out previously in the evening dew, which besides having magic effects has the property of whitening the skin, and when she goes visiting she always covers her face with facial paints -- a customary practice required by etiquette, which also protects her from the sun's rays. During her seclusion the girl also complies with other beautifying and magic practices, such as denying herself certain meat like deer meat or animal udder, since this last, for example, will wrinkle her rapidly and she will lose some of her physical attractiveness.

A woman is well aware that her future married life will be affected in great measure by her preserving an agreeable appearance and that if the man does not feel satisfied she will be relegated to second place, and he will acquire another woman. For this reason she continually struggles to benefit by all known means to recapture her husband and retain him and avoid his acquiring other women. This is the reason that the mother, when her daughter is in the hammock ready to be hoisted up during her initiation, places on her a love charm which has the property of attracting men and of which we spoke in a previous chapter.

/62 cont./

581 The Guajiro woman also knows that men admire dress and so endeavors to adapt hers to their taste: robes of light, attractive colors, amply cut, considerably ornamented (acculturation), and for feast days or visiting all the collection of jewelry: bracelets, anklets, necklaces of several strings or thick chains with a pendant, numerous rings with big stones, especially tumas, jewelry she was given on finishing her seclusion by her maternal relative of the most distinction and prestige. From then onward she begins to wear them, in smaller quantities when she is at home, but the whole set when attending a feast or visiting. In Jarara a distinctive mark of high social standing is the use of earrings /orejeras may mean earplugs. -- Translator/, because in this region the women, who are not very careful in their dress, use this ornament which is an indication of their social and economic position.

832 291 201 554 304

581 The combination, then, of dress and physical appearance are two essential conditions of the attractiveness of the Guajiro woman, which determine her success in order to be bought at a good price or that her husband may not lose interest because of other marriages. The preservation of her physical attractions is a struggle which she maintains for these two reasons; also, dressing well, apart from making her attractive, is a sign of the class to which she belongs and which she must preserve at any sacrifice, as therein lies the prestige of her kin and the maintenance of their status. /63/

In addition to the sexual incentive expressed in previous paragraphs, the Guajiro seeks in his marriage an economic value, that is to say, a woman who possesses certain qualifications that will assure him a certain latitude. The payment he makes for a wife permits him to demand of her his keep and that of his children, for which reason he seeks one capable of complying with this custom by her own efforts.

The work that the woman can carry out to fulfill this economic responsibility is of a domestic nature: the making of hammocks /chinchorros and hamacas/, bags, belts, pottery,

/63 cont./

581 harness for animals, and, when living among civilizado /nonnative/ groups, domestic service in the homes of whites and mestizos, the carrying of water and part of the agricultural work in areas, such as Nazaret, where cultivation is possible on the banks of streams, as well as in regions where only temporary cultivation is carried on. In places like Carrizal and Bahía Honda they collect divi-divi, and in the saltworks they do secondary work for pay or simply to assist their husbands.

This aspect of Guajiro marriage is so important that when 581 a man has abducted a woman and he is considering whether he 593 will buy her or only make a payment for the abuse he has com- [684] mitted, he obtains plant filaments or cotton and sets her to work to make a hammock or a belt. If the woman is not capable he will reject her, as he will reckon that he should not pay for her a price as high as is being demanded. The fact that the woman is an independent economic unit with her children allows her husband to dedicate himself entirely to his pastoral work, to go to the men's gatherings and to the various fiestas, to participate in communal work when asked, to go off on hunting trips for weeks at a time, without having to worry about his home, to join up with his group to fight when necessary, to go traveling from place to place where his other women are, where he gets other economic assistance; in fact to lead a life without worry, although at the present time, owing to conditions of diverse nature, he is finding it necessary to change this pattern of living and to take a more active part in economic life, through the necessity to migrate or to work in the urban centers. This does not mean that he is forced to give more direct assistance to the home: He still follows the traditional way in which his help is only sporadic and absolutely voluntary, leaving to the wife's care the support of the home and of herself; only at the present time when he receives a day's wage for his work, he will drink more and spend more time in idleness while he is spending his earnings.

/63 cont./

581 The Indian also values the relatives of his future wife, be-
593 cause if she has rich relatives and he pays well for her, these will feel themselves obliged to supply her and her children with means of subsistence to live, freeing him from a responsibility which would otherwise restrict his freedom. /64/

To marry into an economically strong group has the advantage that this will bring to the marriage a dowry fitting his esteem, which the future husband will administer, as well as a series of gifts which the women's relatives will make to his children, and, what will increase his prestige, the number of ornaments, dresses, etc., which she will bring with her and in which she will appear in due time. Furthermore, although his marrying one of these women implies a heavy disbursement at the moment, in the long run he will receive suitable reimbursement with the payment for his first daughter to be bought, which belongs in full to the father.

584 Neither does the man disregard the social value of the
583 woman, above all in his first marriage, which is the one that represents it. By this purchase he and his relatives, as well as those of the girl, try to arrange an alliance which will reinforce two strong families or tighten the bonds between them. This induces them in many cases not to consider the choice of the bride (not so much at present), the elders freely making arrangements, in order to obtain the advantage of a high price, the linking with a group whom they fear, avoiding thus prejudice and strengthening friendship, but at the same time hazarding the possibility of the woman's committing suicide. This same fact is what permits the abduction of a woman, which is not considered such in the wide sense of the word but rather an acquiescence on the part of the woman's relatives, who look complacently on these relations, having confidence in the compliance with the payment on the part of the man. It is a deed which demonstrates good faith on the part of relatives on the woman's side to which the man must respond by arranging an immediate and satisfactory payment, if he does not want to

/64 cont./

584 have a serious stain placed on his prestige as a man in good
583 financial standing and one who complies with Guajiro law. So they test, unconsciously perhaps, the feelings of the two groups who are seeking the alliance: trust on one side and solvency and good faith of the other. It is a test of friendship in which each side puts in evidence the wish of surpassing the other.

555 Also figured in the social valuation of a woman is her knowl-
581 edge of the language as this means in Guajiro that she has
593 palabra /literally, "word"/ (Cf. Caciques), that is to say, that
[191] she has a wide knowledge of the language and can use it adequately in delicate situations in which it is necessary to bring to bear every oratorical gift and know how to measure her words and the customary phrases in order to attain her end or to guide the discussion to a level where the facts will follow the legal line. A woman, when she has these qualities, may act as a mediator in a quarrel, and on the result favorable to the person she has represented will depend her personal aggrandizement, by which she acquires prestige and is called in to mediate in even more complicated matters, /65/ by this means increasing her personal position and that of her group and converting other clans into satellites, submissive to her will, in payment for benefits received, thus still further increasing her power which indirectly extends to her husband. This acquisition is a cause for vanity and pride in the husband.

From this talent of tener palabra /literally, "to have word"/ there emerges a series of sequences which build up the social aspect of a home. A woman who possesses that quality knows the Guajiro social protocol and can fully comply with it, thus avoiding conflicts with other groups; she also knows the legal system of the peninsula and by such knowledge can protect the interests of her family group, including her husband, as she will confine his conduct to that which is established, which eases the husband's life and his relationships with his feminine relatives. She makes possible the knitting together of these two disparate elements and creates the bond of union between the

/65 cont./

555 two; she increases the man's prestige because in carrying out her
581 duties as mistress of his house and representative of the home,
593 she knows by suitable attentions (agreeable talk, preparation of food according to traditional custom, hospitality appropriate to the social standing of a guest, etc.) how to win everybody's appreciation, consideration, and respect.

Furthermore, as the maintenance of prestige rests partly on the wife, the knowledge of the psychic and legal life and customs of the society in which she lives enables her to act correctly and without errors. She will maintain due solemnity in carrying out the most important acts in life, as, for example: the seclusion of young women, marriage, illness, etc., so strengthening her status. She will also rule her family more correctly and constitute herself the guardian of tradition, which is so respected by the Guajiro and in which resides the strength of their culture.

* * *

583 The price that the Guajiro man pays for his wife includes
836 several conditions among which is the assumed virginity as he will expect his wife to come to the marriage as such each time that marriage penetrates into his psychic life, and he will feel defrauded if she does not, so much more if the status of the bride is high and even more if she is his first wife.

The man takes into account various aspects of virginity:
[554] First, he finds a special attractiveness in the virgin woman for the satisfaction of deflowering her, which, apart from the sexual attractiveness, gives him in the future a reason for boasting and prestige, the halo of a fortunate man which /66/ fills him with pride and gives him a feeling of superiority. Second, and from the economic point of view, because he has paid the price asked, convinced that his wife is a property which belongs to him, wholly and exclusively. Third, because he thinks that if a woman has given herself to another man, secretly, it was because she was drawn to him by a great affection or because she is a

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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622 would not have been pleased if we had not managed to get
142 her looking nice and pale. In reality her complexion was perhaps a shade too dark. Mauana asked if everyone in our country was as fair-skinned as my wife, and when I assured him that they were, he wondered whether he should not send his daughter to Sweden for a time to let her become lighter. The girl did not appear to be so very young. Francisco told us that Mauana was not finding it easy to marry her off. Being the greatest and richest chief in the Macuira Hills, with plantations that were always watered, the price he must ask for her was considerable by Indian standards, and though there had been no lack of inquiries, no deal had yet been made. All this according to Francisco. The price could not be lowered. The girl's uncle insisted on that, as she did too. Every Indian girl is proud of commanding a high price. That not only shows that she is of good family, but also that her mother and grandmother cost a lot too, in other words that she is of an old, propertied family.

'You often hear people say,' Francisco added, 'that it is
581 better to pay little for a wife from a poor family who has been taught to work well, than to give much for a rich girl who only wants to be waited upon. But the fact is that the rich girl's family will provide her with what she might need to live according to her status even after she has married. She will still be supported from home. That, of course, lightens the husband's duties: so it isn't so silly to marry a rich wife,' and he sighed heavily.

584 Mauana then joined us and he too began discussing marriage. We had heard a certain amount on this subject already, but listened nonetheless attentively. A suitor does not go in person to ask for a girl's hand; he sends a proxy, his eldest maternal uncle or, if possible, a chief on his mother's side. His mother usually goes as well, Sometimes a whole deputation arrives, to be given a ceremonial reception.

[431] The delegates bring with them gifts in the form of necklaces of gold beads and tuma stones. A man like Mauana could expect several of these. If the gifts are accepted, as almost always they are, they at once start discussing the

/88 cont./

583 for himself a woman who was worth so much; also his outlay will
565 be compensated by the payment he will receive for the first daughter who marries, which will be identical with what he paid for her mother.

583 Another interesting point is the regulating aspect the payment has on the moral and social conduct of a woman before marriage, since it obliges her indirectly to accept and comply with all the determined ethical and social norms, without which her value as a future wife would go down. For example, when the woman belongs to a high class, she must not accept proposals to elope with a man who loves her but who lacks sufficient money to buy her. This is allowed, however, in women of a lower social class who have no standing to lose, where there is not sufficient force to back the claims their relatives might make, and where their value as wives is not constant but varies, depending almost always on the financial capacity of the buyer and very often on the economic situation at the moment. In summer /the dry season/, for example, things get so bad in these lower classes that a woman can be bought for a little corn.

582 These facts give rise to a certain stabilization of the existing difference of status, for the women of high class can only be bought by men of the same or better position, which limits in this way the possibilities of acquiring a rich woman and prevents high-class family groups being mixed with poor groups or those of a lesser social standing.

A woman who wants to maintain her standing cannot run away
583 with a man and be paid for later. This implies that the man, after a time, if he is not satisfied, can repudiate her for this act alone, paying only for having abused her, which, if of little importance to a woman of low social standing, is definitely very important for one of high standing. Also, if the compensation claim is not met peacefully or if the payment is not made, war may be provoked between her group and that of her husband, and all the consequences fall on her. It can also happen that the man, in view of the accomplished fact, may wish to take advantage of a

/90 cont./

583 stipulated time, the woman's family takes her back again without any claims allowed from the man. But if some time later the man wants to pay what is owing, he enters into conversation with his affinal relatives who, once they have received the necessary amount, hand his wife back to him.

The distribution of payments obtained through different forms of marriage other than the traditional one will be seen as they are studied in detail.

Payment for childbirth and pregnancy. Apart from the price 583 of the woman the man must pay, whether the relationship is legal 262 or illegal, for the inconveniences caused by pregnancy and delivery. This payment is made in cows or other animals to the woman's family, who can use these animals for slaughter or sell them or include them in the family herd. But the woman may not eat the flesh of these animals which are given in payment for the troubles she suffered during pregnancy, for the blood she spilled, and for the pains she bore during delivery, because they represent a payment of her very being and are identified with her. To eat them would be almost like eating her own flesh or something similar, and for this reason she cannot have any part of them, either directly or indirectly. /91/

Marriage before puberty. At the present time a man contracts 583 marriage for the first time when he has obtained his economic 582 emancipation when he is about nineteen. His subsequent marriages are the result of his inclination and the opportunities he may have to buy other women.

As a general rule, women marry when they have passed puberty and the period of seclusion. However, a very general custom existed, and to some extent still exists, in regions which because of their geographical situation were inaccessible to the white man and the missionary, but now tends to disappear: the purchase of impuberal girls about ten years old (who have not yet developed physically nor passed through the traditional ceremonies of seclusion) by rich Indians, already old, who have a considerable number of wives. These old men pay a price which

/91 cont./

583 satisfies the girl's parents, who, attracted by the economic possi-
582 bilities of their future son-in-law, arrange the marriage without consulting the wishes of the impuberal child, although they sometimes try to persuade her, making her see the advantageous situation such a marriage may ensure. The girl in many cases has a child before her first menstruation appears.

It is said in La Guajira that old men practice this custom because they derive more sexual incentive from young and undeveloped feminine figures, and this prolongs their masculine potency.

583 Marriage of Guajiro women with civilizados. With very few
177 exceptions intermarriage is carried out between Indians and civilizados /nonnatives/. It is of two kinds, temporary and permanent, in accordance with the length of stay of the civilizado man in the peninsula and is nearly always limited to the Guajiro law of marriage by purchase of the woman.

The temporary marriages consist of unions established between traders or civil or military authorities who must stay some time in the peninsula, having come alone and finding in the purchase of a native woman the solution of their personal problems. They live with the woman they have bought, adapting themselves to the norms of life in La Guajira, and have children who, according to legal tradition, do not belong to them. As their obligation to their family is so limited and the maternal relatives have continued to give backing to the woman, they can go away at any moment, as indeed they do, without altering the life of the home that they founded, because the woman has not been uprooted, as in the case of a Catholic marriage, from her social institutions nor her relatives, who, once the marriage is dissolved /92/ by the definite absence of the white element, take her back again into their midst. The woman continues to sustain the family and bring it up under the protection and counsel of her maternal relatives, since very frequently nothing is ever again heard of the father. Sometimes they marry again or live with another man.

Permanent marriages are effected with civilizado men who, having definitely settled in the country, sometimes decide to get

/93 cont./

177 birth in such a way that they are never placed outside the pale of
595 the law. This may be due to the uterine line of kinship in which
848 the father does not count in the recognition of children.

In these cases of marriage between whites and Guajiro women there also occurs a union of these two ideas. The white man refuses to buy the woman or legitimize their union through the [583] necessary traditional proceedings demanded by her culture. The refusal to comply with the main traditional requisite makes the man unacceptable, and he is considered an intruder.

The children, illegitimate /94/ according to the paternal mentality, meet a natural reluctance among their mother's relatives, who however in the long run have to accept them.

582 Consanguineous marriage. Although the Guajiro community is in an obvious process of disintegration, there is a characteristic which is strongly maintained: exogamy, which, at the present time, does not mean the prohibition of marriage within the same clan group, but within a limited circle of close consanguineous kin: brothers /and sisters, hermanos/, uncles /and aunts, tíos/, and ascendants in the female line. Thus today in La Guajira we find marriages between individuals of the same clan, since the tie has weakened so much that although they belong to the same clan group, they do not consider themselves relatives.

If the marriage takes place within the small family circle, the opinion of society and of the relatives is never favorable. They cannot explain why nor wish to accept that an individual should marry a consanguineal kin included among those just mentioned. Their magical beliefs reinforce this, because these beliefs establish the prohibition that a man must not marry a relative, or he will be come bald.

582 Guajiro mentality cannot accept as natural the marriage of
586 a woman to her maternal uncle. This would be incest at its worst, because the maternal uncle has the position that a father has with us. There was a case, and a similar attitude has always been observed in like cases, of a Guajiro girl who had sexual relations with her maternal uncle. After pregnancy became

/94 cont./

582 588 evident, a Catholic missionary married them according to the Catholic ritual. This act seemed a crime to the natives; that a Guajiro woman should be legally married to her maternal uncle was impossible to understand. Rumors and a kind of social vacuum began to surround the pair, and even threats, to the point that, seeing life was becoming impossible for them among their own people, they abandoned all they possessed and migrated to a distance, where there would be no Guajiro who knew their story, in order that they might not have to put up with the social situation which their illegal conduct toward their traditions had provoked.

582 The pure Guajiro is the one who preserves in its most extreme form the principles of exogamy among the different family groups. Mestizo men, educated and influenced by the kinship principles followed by whites, reduce the wideness of the scope of this prohibition against the marriage of individuals within the same clan and marry /95/ female first cousins in the maternal line, defying the natural revulsion of the Indians who still consider such unions incestuous.

835 We must note again that it is not rare for girls before puberty to cohabit with their own brothers (in the Guajiro sense) and with their father, naturally without pregnancy as a consequence, but with the loss of their virginity. Guajiro mythology contains a [773] story of a girl who, having become pregnant by her own father, overcome by her physical condition and the social ostracism which her action had provoked, hanged herself, thus establishing this type of suicide as a means of a woman's doing away with herself when her wishes are opposed, especially in cases where she is obliged to marry a man whom she dislikes or in circumstances similar to those in the story.

These incestuous sexual relations are frequent in nearly every part of La Guajira. They happen when little girls go from one settlement to another carrying a message or to the woods in search of the pack animals or of fruit, at the same time that the boys are there looking after the livestock. Usually these relations cannot be considered as a violation, as the girls consent willingly, a state

/163 cont./

592 lead him to pay for abuse or to marriage. In these days
836 prostitution of the Guajiro woman frees the man from these legal dangers and gives him, as it does to bachelors in our society, free access to women before marriage without the attendant unfavorable consequences of previous times.

592 The Guajiro man marries for the first time at an age that
582 varies between seventeen and the maximum of twenty-five, an age which coincides with his economic independence from the family nucleus. With his own livestock and with the gifts he receives from his relatives, he buys a woman but remains in debt to his family until he can repay them by the sale of the first of his daughters in marriage. Once his wife has been handed over, he begins his marital life, (some times, when the marriage has been by abduction, he starts beforehand), traditionally in the maternal home from which place, as the
[591] family increases, the new cell will move to the father's hamlet /ranchería/ where the young couple will build their own home, or they will make it in the wife's hamlet.

592 The first child of this union is born, as a general rule, at the wife's home, that is, in that of her maternal relatives,
611 and the mother is attended by her mother or her aunts, or by
602 her grandmother in the maternal line, or when these are not available, by her married sisters. Nowadays the services of a midwife are employed. This child belongs to the maternal house as it is of their blood, since the mother is the one who transmits this quality, and even if the birth of the child is not preceded by a union legal in the concept of the Guajiro, the consanguineous tie does not differ in its transmission. It is always the mother who transmits this characteristic, and being hers and in no /164/ way counting on the father, the child not only takes the maternal surname but is also included within the kinship circle to which his mother belongs. Thus we have:

1. His legitimate feminine ascendants are his mother, maternal grandmother, and maternal great-grandmother, etc.

2. Also, the maternal aunts in different degrees are his relatives.

/176 cont./

178 In the second place, we observed a limitation in the exer-
602 cise of the clan's function. The concept of consanguineous kin-
614 ship between all its members has relaxed to the point that con-
sanguineous ties are considered to exist only among the closest relatives. An individual's kinsmen have become limited to his mother and her female ascendant, and to his mother's brothers and sisters together with their offspring. Some extend kinship to include relatives of the fourth degree of collaterality, and then to the brothers, sisters, and their descendants. By limiting the concept of kinship, all obligations attached to those no longer considered consanguineous are lost. Consequently, clan unity begins to disintegrate.

178 Another change in the concept of kinship has been intro-
797 duced by Catholic marriage. It implies the abolition of the
602 uterine affiliation, the basis of clan organization. It introduces
614 the paternal branch into the kinship system and places it on a superior plane since the father's name and not the mother's, as it was traditionally, comes first in the offspring. /According to the Spanish custom of compound surnames, one's father's surname comes first. --Ed./ Furthermore, it destroys the authority and predominance of the maternal uncle because that of the father replaces and surpasses it.

178 5. Exogamy. The Guajiro clan was essentially exogamous.
614 Acculturation has made marriage possible and legal between
582 members of the same clan. In other words, clan exogamy has disappeared, and only family exogamy is followed.

6. Location. With respect to clan settlement the myths
614 already quoted resolve the problem by assigning fixed regions to
423 each of the groups which Mareiwa created. These lands are
178 held in common by each clan, which also works them communally. The /177/ improvements introduced, such as roads, wells, and cemeteries, are made with the assistance of all the clan members who will make use of them. At the present time individual solution of the water problem has permitted the splitting up of the communal pasturage land. Furthermore, there is a strong trend toward the breaking up of agricultural land.

/239 cont./

177 582 We also saw in the section referring to marriage that the individual who goes to La Guajira and seeks to marry has two ways of doing so: by following the traditional norm of La Guajira, that is, buying the woman in accordance with the conventional payment and in agreement with the girl's parents and submiting to all the regulations in force regarding marriage, or marrying in the Catholic church, in this case causing the woman to break away from all the norms of her culture and from her society to the point of her being no longer considered a member of the same and in consequence finding herself excluded from all the guarantees that this same society can offer her in any case of difficulty or conflict with her husband or with other groups distinct from her own clan group. Although many make use of this second form of marriage, the majority do marry by the Guajiro ritual, although they may introduce certain changes and frequently do not comply with all the laws and obligations which form part of the primary institution of traditional Guajiro marriage.

177 As most of the inhabitants of the Colombian and Venezuelan coast are negroid, as we have just stated, and for this reason /240/ have a past of considerably superstitious and magic traditions, it is logical that they are readily influenced by the beliefs which dominate the Guajiro mentality. It is for this reason that these people are so eager to buy different kinds of magic charms and so strict in the observance of set norms of conduct related to the totality of Guajiro magic practices.

III

Culture, therefore, has suffered appreciable changes which have considerably altered the traditional conformation. But this change has not taken place in isolation. It has developed in unison with a transformation of society as a whole, which is also outstanding. The mixing /mestizaje/ of

3: Wilbert E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 SC13 Goajiro SC13

582 As for the sanctioned forms of cousin marriage, Ego (m. and f.) may marry any cousins on either side except for mother's sister's children. Ego (m. and f.) may also marry any kinsman of the third degree with the exception of a mother's sister's daughter's child. All relatives of the fourth degree are potential spouses. [595] Polygyny is practiced and is definitely a mark of status and rank. Sororate is sanc- [554] tioned although it very rarely occurs. The data indicate, then, a very typical system [587] of Crow type.

602 No avoidance taboos were said to exist in Goajiro society, but great attention is paid to respectful behavior between kinsmen. In the family parents are respected [593] equally highly by the children, whereas among siblings the brother enjoys greater authority than his sisters, and an elder than a younger brother. In the presence of the maternal uncle nobody is supposed to speak up unquestioned; this rule applies especially to the younger people. Grandparents maintain close and friendly relations with their grandchildren. They make gifts to the latter: horses, bows and [43] arrows, drums, rifles, etc., and the grandchildren assist the old after having grown up. The father-in-law is respected greatly by his daughter-in-law. When visiting she serves him before she serves her mother-in-law. She does not, however, attend her own mother. Cousins are completely free to meet without being obliged to observe any avoidance regulations.

608 Artificial kin relations were said to be missing altogether among the Goajiro. 609 Non-relatives are treated with great friendliness and may even be accepted as 597 step-parents of an orphan of the group. Orphans usually join a family on the father's side.

CARACAS, VENEZUELA

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

881 invitation. Again cattle are butchered, and there is drinking
584 and dancing and horse-racing. Numbers of men come to see if they would like to put themselves forward as suitors. The more eminent guests are received in the house itself, and the girl is now present. Her shorn hair has grown and been trimmed to a page-boy cut, and she wears her best clothes
[754 and new ornaments. She hides her hair clippings carefully in a bag, for she does not want to risk anyone getting hold
826] of them and using them to acquire power over her by the arts of magic. Later, she will secretly bury them under a
[789 cow pat. That will help to increase her herds. The droppings of various animals play a great part in the magic of the
514] Guajiro, and it would seem that there is negro influence here as well.

881 The girl has now been born again—she is a new person, a woman. She knows all that an adult woman needs to know and can do everything that a wife and mother should be able to do. Pale and lovely, she steps out into life once more and inquisitive young men swarm round her. The rich give a big feast, the poor provide simpler fare, but it is always a great occasion.

[582] A Guajiro man will never marry a girl before she has undergone this period of confinement, which means that people seldom marry too early. It is said that in the old days
[595 rich old men with several wives sometimes bought little
831] poor girls as concubines, believing that that would enhance their virility.

The girl's long segregation is intended to protect her from the supernatural dangers that are thought to threaten her, especially during this sensitive period of transition from childhood to womanhood. The girl can also be dangerous to others through being exposed to attack by spirits. It is only practical that during this period she should practise handicrafts.

252 Going back to the house, we found the women at the fires, which there were protected by special small cactus
[354] screens. There was no need to have them under a roof at that time of the year, only to shelter them from the wind. The pots stood over the fire supported on three stones.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

562 riage. A Guajiro woman has no right to sell her body. The [548] law does not recognize prostitution.

A married woman's relatives and clan do not leave her 562 entirely in her husband's hands. He may not do as he likes 614 with her, nor cause her suffering. Suffering and discomfort 844 she is bound to experience in childbirth, however, and of that he is the primary cause; thus whether as a result of legal or illegal relations, the man must compensate the mother for her confinement by giving her family a few [431] cattle. The woman herself may not eat their meat under any circumstances.

Originally the Guajiro clans were exogamous; members 582 were not allowed to marry within the clan. That is no 614 longer insisted upon, but not only brothers and sisters, but maternal males and cousins on the mother's side, are still reckoned among the forbidden degrees. It is unthinkable that an Indian girl should marry her maternal uncle; that would be like having her father for her husband. It once happened that an uncle and niece had a secret relationship 835 and the girl became pregnant. A monk married them, but the Indians regarded the relationship as a heinous crime and the whole district reacted so violently that the couple [626] had to leave the peninsula and go far away, where there was no risk of meeting members of their tribe.

There is nothing to prevent an Indian getting himself [595] several wives. Infrequently white men have married into 648 Guajiro families and they too have had to pay a bride-price. 582 A number of poor Creoles have contracted Guajiro marriages with poor girls. I have already mentioned how foreign oil workers made Guajiro marriages. In those early days there were no arrangements made for employees' families, and the Guajiro girls suited those primitive conditions very well, though as a rule such marriages with Indian girls were very short-lived, as those of the Creoles with them still are. The girl is soon abandoned, if that can be done without risk, the girl's family in such cases being powerless. So the Indians told me.

The monks had already told us that where Creoles had married Guajiro girls of good family, those marriages had

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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648 usually lasted. Here, of course, the girl's family had power
582 and the means to check that all was well. In such marriages the husband was considered liable to provide the household equipment, as well as paying a bride-price.

If a Creole marries a Guajiro girl according to the Catholic rites there are all sorts of complications, even if he has paid the bride-price, for the European concept of the father's rights conflicts with the Indian matriarchal law. Problems of relationship and inheritance, the separation of the child from its clan and many other things all provide problems which cause the bride's family a lot of trouble. But that is enough about Indian marriage.

629 Since all members of a clan are of the same blood, the Indians consider themselves justified in wreaking vengeance on a near relative, if they are unable to lay hands on the actual culprit. This can give rise to a whole chain of acts of vengeance, a real vendetta. In the old days all white people were held to be of one clan, and so the Indians thought that they could avenge an injury inflicted by a white person on the first member of his clan they came across. 'To travel in Guajira is like sitting on a keg of gunpower beside a fire; you are afraid the whole time that a spark will cause a catastrophe', was what used to be said.

672 Guajiro law always tries to find a scapegoat, and one must remember that when having any dealings with the Indians. If I take a man into my service or merely send him on an errand, I am responsible if anything happens to him and for anything he himself may do to others all the time his mission lasts.

A mother sent her little girl on a donkey to fetch water. The girl took a playmate up on the saddle beside her. The other little girl fell off and hurt herself quite slightly, yet the family had to pay considerable damages.

A mestizo family, receiving unexpected visitors, took an Indian girl to help in the kitchen. The girl cut her finger and her family demanded compensation. After all blood had been shed. The girl was of humble family and thus no large sum could be claimed, yet according to our ideas what had to be paid was a very great deal for a mere cut:

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

water but is given an herbal purgative. Her hair is cut short. Generally 881
several of her relatives stay around the door of the hut, and strangers and men with an eye to matrimony may look in. During this period the girl is taught the duties of married life and such skills as weaving, sewing, and making hammocks. When she emerges, stout and bleached, a special festival is held, when she resumes her ornaments and puts on the adult clothes that she has made during her confinement. She is now considered marriageable. The length of her confinement depends on her status, though theoretically it lasts until her hair again reaches the [554
nape of her neck. Poor girls are secluded only a few weeks, rich girls 556]
up to 2 years.

Sexual life and marriage.—Little is known about the sexual life of 836
the *Goajiro*. A certain amount of promiscuous love making occurs among the young people at the biweekly festivals. Dances also provide an opportunity for sexual advances.

There are some male transvestites who carry on only female activities 838
and are ridiculed by the men.

When a man desires to marry he sends his father or uncle as inter- 584
mediary, then pays a bride price which has been set by the girl's relatives. 583
The payment is usually in cattle, but goats, pearls, liquor, cotton cloth, 602
and gold ornaments also are used. The father retains the purchase price only when his first daughter marries; the income of subsequent marriages goes to the girl's senior maternal uncles. The mother also receives part of the income. A son obtains the cattle for the bride payment from the increase of his father's herds.

Intermarriage between the sibs is frequent, and many of the *Goajiro* 582
give their daughters to "civilizados" from Maracaibo and Río Hacha, who pay higher prices and find such a tie with the Indians useful in their trading relations.

The marriage ceremony consists of a series of feasts and exchanges of 585
presents between the two families. The wedding night is spent at the [431]
rancheria of the bride's mother, but the nuptial hammock (specially woven by the female relatives of the bride) is hung from a tree some distance away from the house. For a period of days and even months the bridegroom leaves his bride at dawn and returns only after sunset. In [606]
this way the groom shows respect to his mother-in-law.

Polygyny is general. The number of wives depends on the economic 595
status of the husband, some men having as many as 20. Each wife lives in her own house, where her husband occasionally visits her. The man, as head of the polygynous household, supervises the daily slaughter of [592]
animals and the distribution of meat and corn to each household according to the number of its members.

If a wife shirks her domestic duties she may be divorced and her hus- 586
band may claim the return of the bride price cattle, plus their increase and

9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
SC13 Goajiro SC13

the individual who was to provide the raw material for this article. This is more or less a biography of the man who was at the same time guide, interpreter, and driver for the author and with whom extensive conversations, both formal and informal, took place.[2]

Guajiro culture, like most native cultures in the New World, has suffered great acculturation due to the impact with European ways of life. Some of these cultures have been more resistant to change than others; and within one culture, certain aspects have remained closer to the traditional forms than have others. In Guajiro culture, it is perhaps the social organization, with all of its ramifications, that has resisted recent acculturation more than the other aspects of the culture. We know very little of the pre-cattle culture of the Guajiro and even Juan de Castellanos, writing at the beginning of the seventeenth century, describes them as having numerous herds of domestic animals. Nowhere in the literature on the Guajiros is there an example of status having been acquired outside the traditional way and the present writer, in his two field trips to the region, has found only the case here described.

As it is not the purpose of this article to give a full description of the social organization of the Guajiro, it will be sufficient to state that the tribe is divided into some twenty-five matrilineal clans, of which about eleven are large and rather powerful in their socio-economic aspects, and the rest—due mainly to the fact of having a small number of members—are weak, and relatively unimportant. Inheritance is along the mother's line, an individual acquiring property from his maternal uncle. The avunculate in all its social and economic aspects, is a very important institution (Santa Cruz, 1941).

Traditionally the clans are exogamous with incest taboos and punishments for those who break them. This exogamic characteristic of the clan is apparently disappearing, as several cases of endogamous unions were found among the Guajiro living in the outskirts of the city of Maracaibo. No endogamous marriages, however, were found in the Guajiro proper by the present writer, although Gregorio Hernandez de Alba (1936) has

[2] Proper names, especially of the subject, have all been disguised in some way, so as to spare personal feelings.

9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
SC13 Goajiro SC13

reported several in the vicinity of the town of Riohacha in Colombia. 614 582

Residence is normally matrilocal, although, at present, there is a tendency towards neo-locality. The author has found no case of patrilocality either in the field or in the literature. 591

The names of the five more important clans in Guajiro society, and those with which we are concerned in this article are: Uriana, Epinayú, Pushaina, Guajariyú, and Epieyú. These designations have lost meaning in Guajiro and not even the oldest members questioned by the writer remember what they mean. The clans also have an animal or plant totem closely attached to food and hunting taboos. How deep this totemic aspect of the clan goes the writer does not know and the two references found in the literature, A. Ernst (1887) and A. Jahn (1927), simply mention the fact without going into details. 614 [178]

Today the clans have no distinct geographic distribution. Members of the different clans are found scattered more or less at random over the whole peninsula, and in both Colombia and Venezuela. This may be due perhaps to the extensive migrations of families within the region in their quest for water for themselves and their domestic animals. This necessity has also probably contributed to the gradual breakdown of the matrilocal residence. The earlier literature suggests that the clans may have had, at one time, certain regional characteristics. Juan de Castellanos cites that the Guajiros living near what is now the town of Riohacha all belonged to the Uriana clan. A. Ernst goes as far as showing a distribution map of the clans. A. Jahn and G. Hernandez de Alba draw their conclusion of geographic distribution for the clans based on the earlier sources but definitely state that today the clans present the scattered distribution the present writer found. [166] [178]

The Guajiro culture may be described in brief as pastoral, with a small-scale supplementary agriculture, especially in the southern part of the peninsula where water and more fertile lands are available. Domestic animals, cattle in particular, represent the foundation of wealth to the Guajiro. His economic position, and likewise his social status, is measured in the number of cattle, sheep, goats, asses and horses he owns. This pastoral complex permeates practically every aspect of the culture. 233 241 231 556

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562 [842] The father hopes that his first-born will be a boy, as he sees in him a future helper in herding tasks and a companion on long trips. The maternal family also desires that the first-born be a son because, although he does not hereafter increase the family, beoause of /the system of/ matrilinear descent, he does contribute to its prestige, as on the number of males depends the family prestige and influence, since it is they who represent it in situations of conflict with other groups and who, because of this prestige, make it possible for their relatives to live a more peaceful life by checking the misbehavior of members of other groups with the women of their group, maintaining the peaceful equilibrium of the conjugal life and preserving a mutual respect for the rights and duties of both sides.

Furthermore, on their importance depends, indirectly, the maintenance of their womenfolks' social standing, as no other Guajiro /3/ would become involved in acts of violation or seduction against them for fear of reprisal. Their daughters, rather, will be bought by men of their own social rank, which would eliminate the possibility of their being lowered. Also, should a relative die, the indemnity is more certain, for fear that the group might impose payment and justice by its own might.

However, the male members always present difficulties. The women of the group are always bound by the conduct of the men, for whatever illegal act is committed against another group affects them directly as reprisals are directed against them. On the other hand, when it becomes known that the men [579] are foregathering, the women must be near-by, because the men overindulge in rum and under its influence become aggressive and give free rein to their dislikes and hatreds. The women's role then is to try to keep arguments from degenerating into wrangling and bloodshed by endeavoring prudently to patch up such difficulties as they develop.

[583] Furthermore, although it is true that male economic help is the greater in cases where the group requires mutual

/3 cont./
562 co-operation, it is also true that their marriages demand heavy
[583] disbursements from everyone, not only in animals but in jewelry -- gold ornaments -- which a man's female relatives give him to be handed over to his future wife as a sign of the engagement. Also, the children of a man's marriage are not his in our sense of the word, so that in spite of the expense borne by the family, it does not become strengthened by the increase. All the children belong to the maternal family group according to Guajiro law.

[842] The wife concurs with her husband in hoping that her first child will be a son but thereafter hopes for a large family of girls, who will enrich and increase the family group to which they belong with children and marriage payments, for a woman
[811] in Guajiro society has no less importance than a man, as it is she who transmits relationship and, therefore, increases with her offspring the number of consanguineous relatives. In the woman rest the hopes of her relatives for indemnification for the care they gave her in her youth and the maintenance of her social rank, because, on being bought, the eldest daughter indemnifies her father and his family for the expenses they had in livestock and ornaments in buying her mother. The others, with their marriage payments, increase the maternal income and, to a certain extent, augment with this sum the economic backing for future children and for the support of the husband, and form a nest egg to help should any difficult situation of their own or of their family /4/ arise. Moreover, as women have lately been
[797] improving the technique of their handwork by the instruction they receive in the Capuchin mission, and these articles are readily sold in the markets of the interior as well as in the neighboring markets of Valledupar and Maracaibo, the woman really constitutes an important economic force that helps to overcome the precarious financial situation in the home, which is aggravated by the intensely hot summers which do not permit all-season agricultural activity and weaken the livestock. With the revenue so obtained she supports her husband, feeds and clothes herself, her children, and her close relatives.

/60 cont./

885 as an adult man in his group, it is probably marriage which definitively gives him his passport of citizenship, if we may so express it, as this includes not only the biological act of a physical coming of age and its legal recognition, but it also carries with it an interesting social aspect in that the Guajiro who contracts marriage, if it is true that he then reaches the maximum expression of freedom, must, on his part, pay back in his behavior and usefulness to society some of what he possesses through it. In other words, his personality is definitively formed, and he is considered a member fully entitled to all rights, but with the obligation to comply fully with all those duties which up to that moment had been gradually meted out to him, according to his age.

583 And in order to marry, the man must comply with a series
885 of social and legal requisites traditionally established, which lead him to contract long-term obligations with all his relatives and with society in general, obligations which restrain that freedom of action longed for in his youth and which constrain him to depend more and more on his family and the group. If, for example, he has had to ask for assistance in order to pay for his wife, he takes on as a result legal obligations with all his relatives and friends who helped him, obligations which will never end throughout his life. Upon getting married, furthermore, if it is true that he will be considered an able member capable of surviving economically by himself, the advice that his father gives him on handing over his livestock shows him that although he will have backing in the family, he must have recourse to all his forces in order to attend to his sustenance and the fulfillment of his matrimonial duties: "Now you are married and must make your own home; you have to be a different man from now on. You can't laze around but must carefully watch your animals and those of your wife and administer everything she has. You must put up the fence round your corn field to help maintain your wife and your children. You must be a man and not a lazybones now that you are married."

/61/

583 The married man is the head of a new cell, and this im-
885 plies family and social obligations. These he must face up to as a head of a family under peril of loss of prestige and lowering of position. With the coming of children his position becomes more and more extended, as his duties and rights are becoming joined and broadened, for to the obligations of a husband are added those of a father. And these are further complicated on contracting marriages with new women, as then he has reached, according to the Guajiro way of thinking, the maximum development of his male personality.

Valuation of virginity and of the woman. The value of
581 the Guajiro woman is fixed by the marriage payment, that is to
562 say, it is the economic assessment of her worth. The conditions of this valuation, traditional among the upper classes (as the lower classes have lost them through socio-economic conditions which even influence those of some standing), may be summarized thus:

The physical qualities which make a Guajiro woman
581 desirable are those that comply with the traditional aesthetic
832 norm and are those that the woman after her seclusion (Cf. Initiation of Young Women) makes every endeavor to acquire at any cost: tall stature, balanced by well distributed flesh which gives her an appearance of robustness and full-bodiedness, so that when walking decked out in her ample clothes, she has an appearance both elegant and majestic; wide and robust hips (probably with an unconscious biological end in mind, or a sexual one, or a combination of both); small and upright breasts, as the opposite is considered almost repulsive; and, above all, firm flesh. This last is probably the most desired quality, as the man openly confesses that when his woman over the years loses it, he replaces her by another one who has it. The shape of the legs has no importance, probably because with the full, long dress they are out of sight. In the main, they are thin in relation to the body and frequently bowlegged /?cascorvas/.

/63 cont./

581 The Indian also values the relatives of his future wife, be-
593 cause if she has rich relatives and he pays well for her, these will feel themselves obliged to supply her and her children with means of subsistence to live, freeing him from a responsibility which would otherwise restrict his freedom. /64/

To marry into an economically strong group has the advantage that this will bring to the marriage a dowry fitting his esteem, which the future husband will administer, as well as a series of gifts which the women's relatives will make to his children, and, what will increase his prestige, the number of ornaments, dresses, etc., which she will bring with her and in which she will appear in due time. Furthermore, although his marrying one of these women implies a heavy disbursement at the moment, in the long run he will receive suitable reimbursement with the payment for his first daughter to be bought, which belongs in full to the father.

584 Neither does the man disregard the social value of the
583 woman, above all in his first marriage, which is the one that represents it. By this purchase he and his relatives, as well as those of the girl, try to arrange an alliance which will reinforce two strong families or tighten the bonds between them. This induces them in many cases not to consider the choice of the bride (not so much at present), the elders freely making arrangements, in order to obtain the advantage of a high price, the linking with a group whom they fear, avoiding thus prejudice and strengthening friendship, but at the same time hazarding the possibility of the woman's committing suicide. This same fact is what permits the abduction of a woman, which is not considered such in the wide sense of the word but rather an acquiescence on the part of the woman's relatives, who look complacently on these relations, having confidence in the compliance with the payment on the part of the man. It is a deed which demonstrates good faith on the part of relatives on the woman's side to which the man must respond by arranging an immediate and satisfactory payment, if he does not want to

/64 cont./

584 have a serious stain placed on his prestige as a man in good
583 financial standing and one who complies with Guajiro law. So they test, unconsciously perhaps, the feelings of the two groups who are seeking the alliance: trust on one side and solvency and good faith of the other. It is a test of friendship in which each side puts in evidence the wish of surpassing the other.

555 Also figured in the social valuation of a woman is her knowl-
581 edge of the language as this means in Guajiro that she has
593 palabra /literally, "word"/ (Cf. Caciques), that is to say, that
[191] she has a wide knowledge of the language and can use it adequately in delicate situations in which it is necessary to bring to bear every oratorical gift and know how to measure her words and the customary phrases in order to attain her end or to guide the discussion to a level where the facts will follow the legal line. A woman, when she has these qualities, may act as a mediator in a quarrel, and on the result favorable to the person she has represented will depend her personal aggrandizement, by which she acquires prestige and is called in to mediate in even more complicated matters, /65/ by this means increasing her personal position and that of her group and converting other clans into satellites, submissive to her will, in payment for benefits received, thus still further increasing her power which indirectly extends to her husband. This acquisition is a cause for vanity and pride in the husband.

From this talent of tener palabra /literally, "to have word"/ there emerges a series of sequences which build up the social aspect of a home. A woman who possesses that quality knows the Guajiro social protocol and can fully comply with it, thus avoiding conflicts with other groups; she also knows the legal system of the peninsula and by such knowledge can protect the interests of her family group, including her husband, as she will confine his conduct to that which is established, which eases the husband's life and his relationships with his feminine relatives. She makes possible the knitting together of these two disparate elements and creates the bond of union between the

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555 two; she increases the man's prestige because in carrying out her
581 duties as mistress of his house and representative of the home,
593 she knows by suitable attentions (agreeable talk, preparation of food according to traditional custom, hospitality appropriate to the social standing of a guest, etc.) how to win everybody's appreciation, consideration, and respect.

Furthermore, as the maintenance of prestige rests partly on the wife, the knowledge of the psychic and legal life and customs of the society in which she lives enables her to act correctly and without errors. She will maintain due solemnity in carrying out the most important acts in life, as, for example: the seclusion of young women, marriage, illness, etc., so strengthening her status. She will also rule her family more correctly and constitute herself the guardian of tradition, which is so respected by the Guajiro and in which resides the strength of their culture.

* * *

583 The price that the Guajiro man pays for his wife includes
836 several conditions among which is the assumed virginity as he will expect his wife to come to the marriage as such each time that marriage penetrates into his psychic life, and he will feel defrauded if she does not, so much more if the status of the bride is high and even more if she is his first wife.

The man takes into account various aspects of virginity:
[554] First, he finds a special attractiveness in the virgin woman for the satisfaction of deflowering her, which, apart from the sexual attractiveness, gives him in the future a reason for boasting and prestige, the halo of a fortunate man which /66/ fills him with pride and gives him a feeling of superiority. Second, and from the economic point of view, because he has paid the price asked, convinced that his wife is a property which belongs to him, wholly and exclusively. Third, because he thinks that if a woman has given herself to another man, secretly, it was because she was drawn to him by a great affection or because she is a

/66 cont./

583 836 cabeza loco /madcap/, according to the Guajiro expression, two things which he cannot bring himself to accept: the first, because he considers that having paid for his wife, she should belong to him from years back and the thought that someone else has possessed her makes him feel that he has been defrauded in his payment; the second, because he fears this may repeat itself in the future and conjugal fidelity will be doubtful when he is away on his duties as a nomadic herdsman. This doubt, in time, becomes an obsession, and it sows difficulties in their matrimonial relations, because the uneasiness of the man may explode when least expected for any cause that fires his passion of jealousy. He is always jealous of someone, and he fills his life permanently with questions, suspicions, precautions, and traps, in the attempt to discover who was his predecessor, whose name the woman will hide with the same zeal that he shows in trying to find it out. This doubt even reaches his children, because the man feels he has no certainty of his paternity. He spies on every small detail about his wife in her behavior with the men he is acquainted with, to learn if one of them could be the father; he checks minutely the physical appearance of his child, his gestures, his expressions, to see if he can find any similarity to someone he knows, also consulting the opinion of others in order to get that peace of mind he so much desires in himself.

If the man should confirm that the woman has belonged successively to several men, he asks the return of his payment, or he abandons her after humiliating her to compensate himself for his inner suffering.

Generally, the man on confirming that the woman he has bought is not a virgin immediately presents his claim for compensation payment to her relatives. Initially he informs the father (among the mestizos) or the closest maternal uncle. The claim for compensation payment demands the immediate return of half of the property given in payment for the woman, as this amount is the evaluation of the extent of the fraud which has been practiced on his spirit and his pocket, the rest being left as payment for his future cohabitation with her. With this reimbursement

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583 836 the man feels satisfied, because the price paid included, tacitly, her virginity. If the woman's relatives do not handle the situation prudently, reprisals and hostilities may take place between the two groups. Also in these cases the man will claim the necklace which he gave the woman as a sign of their betrothal the day the marriage was arranged. But he does not do this with an eye to gain but to make the woman suffer some part of the humiliation /67/ he himself felt on learning of the deception. Furthermore, as the necklace is a sign of engagement, asking for its return resembles an act of breaking it, although, in point of fact, the woman continues to be tied to the man with matrimonial obligations.

At times the man will follow another norm of conduct, especially at the present time when this state of affairs occurs more frequently and the claims for compensation payment for this condition are losing importance: He himself assumes the punishment for the deception. He roughly inquires of the woman: "Why are you not a virgin when I bought you believing that you were? Why don't you say who possessed you before I did?" He goes from insult to action and beats the woman, who, recognizing her inferior situation does not dare to protest.

It is possible that the Indian will not at first go beyond insulting the woman in private, but under the influence of alcohol the [152] resentment grows out of hand, and it is then that, in the presence of his friends, he will recount his problem and complain. Not content with this, he makes up songs referring to the subject which contain insulting commentaries and will sing them to his wife when with his friends to humiliate her in front of them and so obtain some satisfaction for what he personally suffers. In this [578] state of drunkenness it is not uncommon that he will beat his wife, shielding himself from reproach by the fact that as he has not been repaid the part of the marriage payment due him, her relatives are not in a position to protest.

Often with time the matter gets forgotten, and it only crops up on certain occasions when they quarrelsomely bring up all the past with its emotional content, due to some disobedience on the

/67 cont./

583 836 part of the woman, a rough gesture, or a rude answer. Sometimes the matter is settled by the woman's being abandoned.

If the woman divulges the name of the man who originally possessed her, or if it is learned by some means, the husband will present his claim for compensation for abuse, because the one who enjoyed her, without payment, made use of something which belonged to him by act and right of purchase.

[587] The economic valuation of virginity can be confirmed by the fact that a widow who refuses to live in marital life with the maternal nephews of her late husband must pay a sum equal to that paid for her by her husband, less a discount for not now being a virgin. Also, when a woman has committed adultery, the husband has to be compensated for the offense received, and a payment is then made which is less than that for which the woman was bought, as a discount equivalent to the value put on her virginity is allowed, it being supposed that this existed at the time of her marriage. /68/

The Guajiro woman who is not a virgin and is about to be bought generally prefers, in consideration of the consequences, to inform her future husband of the facts. She tells him: "I warn you I am not a maiden, but if you truly care for me you have to buy me as I am. I tell you this beforehand so you can think it over and not throw it up to me afterward, seeing that I am not deceiving you." The woman is forced to make this confession in view of what might occur later when her lie is found out. Nevertheless, she will suffer much uncertainty as she has to face this dilemma: To tell the man offering to buy her and thereby expose herself to the possibility that he will withdraw, disillusioned and goaded by the desire to find out who had done such a thing and whether she would be faithful to him in their married life, and, furthermore, exposing herself to the danger that he might divulge her "secret" on a day of heavy drinking, by which her prestige before everyone would be wrecked and no man would come forward to buy her for a wife; or not tell him and suffer the consequences. However, it sometimes happens that the man reacts to

/68 cont./

583 836 the situation in a different manner. He says: "The past does not matter to me. I suppose he did not cut out your organ." In this way the woman gets tranquilly married, and the husband, aware of the facts, makes no later claims, though it may happen that the price paid is lower, although this is not usual, as the man in recognition of the woman's confession shows a generous attitude.

In the case when the woman who is about to be bought has received payment for abuse, the man takes into account the intervention of the maternal family who saw to it that the feminine elements of the group were respected, which proves to him that it is a family group that insists on the law being complied with and for this reason has sufficient prestige and masculine elements to enforce it and is a group that, because of the payment he will make, will look after the security and stability of his marriage. Also, the knowledge of every one of the details of what happened (violation or marriage not carried out because of the nonpayment of the second payment) is an adequate palliative which excuses, to the Indian's way of thinking, what has occurred and does not constitute a deception or an economic or moral fraud.

When in consequence of premarital relations a pregnancy has [684] resulted, the man who causes it must pay for the birth in addition to the abuse, in accordance with Guajiro tradition: a number of animals to the mother or the immediate relatives for the troubles of pregnancy and for the birth itself, which includes the pain suffered and the blood lost. If this woman is later bought, an amount is deducted from the payment, which tacitly amounts to the value of her virginity, already paid for in the sum given for the abuse. It can, however, occur, and in effect it does occur, that the man /69/ ignores the past when he has a special affection or feels greatly attracted by the woman, in which case he pays the price asked without the afore-mentioned discount.

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SV8 177 Furthermore, doing away with marriage by payment destroys with it the family backing which, in the economic sense, means as much to the woman, the man, and the children as to the maternal relatives through the system of payments, repayments, and compensations that are consequent on it. Above all, the woman loses the social and economic backing of her group, and the man the guarantee of her fidelity.

The woman who has migrated and has taken to this way of life while outside her native land, or who has accepted it in her own homeland, usually will not return to the country, or if she does it is only to live there while she spends the money she has earned, to return later and resume her trade. Today prostitution is a menace to all La Guajira. Young Indians who have not been able to obtain a wife or simply anyone who wants sexual satisfaction will find it with a Guajiro woman by means of a casual payment, and with prostitution has come a new scourge for the Guajiro: [164] venereal diseases, brought and spread by those who have acquired it in their relations with the civilizados. Ignorance on the part of the prostitute of hygienic precepts which would free her from these ills has resulted in the disease increasing dangerously. [765] Moreover, there exists in the peninsula no clinic where the native can go for treatment, and there is only one doctor and a poorly equipped hospital in Uribia. Hence, prostitution has aided, and still aids, not only social bankruptcy by the wreck of the institution of the family but also physical degeneration by the unrestricted spreading of venereal diseases among the youth of the country.

583 Outfit and dowry of the woman. When a Guajiro woman is bought the family gives her the inheritance, in livestock, which is hers by right. These gifts go to her in accordance with her social standing and with the amount of the marriage payment, because this establishes the prestige of the maternal relatives. They know that a man who has paid dearly for his wife expects that she has not cost so much just for the sake of the marital satisfactions she may give him, or for her known high social status, but that in her price there will be included an inheritance handed over to the bride for life and at this time. He could not

/79 cont./

583 understand that she would have such a price for only the two things mentioned, and if the woman were not well dowered with livestock and jewels, he would pass the word around among his friends with detriment to the prestige of the girl's relatives, that she, his wife, cost a high price but had nothing, which is equivalent in Guajiro society to a fraud, as we know that the traditional norm of social conduct is based on each group surpassing the other. For this reason the maternal relatives /80/ of the bride take up a combined collection of livestock, in order to present it and numerous jewels and dresses, so that in this way she may appear before her husband without loss of prestige when compared with his relatives. These gifts she receives from her maternal uncles, and the jewelry, usually, is presented to her by her maternal aunts and female cousins.

The care of these animals generally is the responsibility of the husband. He pastures and looks after them with his own and those of his sons, but it may happen that the wife's relatives, if the husband is a drunkard or spendthrift, will take charge of them personally to avoid mismanagement.

With respect to the household equipment, the only contribution that the husband makes is the hammock, which he buys from the woman's mother, a purchase and which includes as well the right to cohabit with his wife after its purchase. The rest of the household goods are the responsibility of the woman, who at first, as she lives with her relatives, uses their utensils but slowly starts collecting her own for the time when she establishes her own home or when the needs of the growing family oblige her to do so. She buys the pottery, by barter usually, from the pottery makers of Jarara, who at fixed times travel through the peninsula with their goods; she sets up looms and with these makes the hammocks for her children and those required for visitors. For the rest of the utensils, simple as they are, she uses coconut shells and gourds, with which she makes plates, bowls, spoons, tobacco containers, etc. She and her daughters make bags by different processes, using imported

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583 thread or spinning and dyeing cotton. They bring in logs, which serve as seats, they make the harness for the burros and horses. In other words, in some places the woman tries to become self-sufficient, and in other places, according to the established division of labor, she sells whatever she makes and with the proceeds buys the food, clothes, and utensils she may need in the home; or more simply she relies on barter to gain her object.

The problem is different in the case of mestizos, if the 583 marriage is not carried out under Guajiro law, and in that of 177 whites who have married Guajiro women in accordance with the rite established for the community. In both cases the man provides, besides the house, all that is essential for the home such as furniture and domestic utensils according to the custom of civilizados /nonnatives/, and later, as they wear out, he substitutes new ones. With respect to the dowry, we may say that the man may take charge of his wife's animals, if she so wishes, but he may not arbitrarily dispose /81/ of them. The capital acquired between them is the inheritance of their children, as we have seen. It does not devolve, as in Guajiro practice, to its original source (the wife's maternal relatives). Since he did not make a marriage payment, it is up to the man to shoulder the responsibility and provide for all the necessities of the home. /83/ /page 82 is blank/

V

MARRIAGE

583 Purchase procedure. The traditional Guajiro marriage is 436 brought into being through the purchase of the woman from her maternal relatives, payment being made in animals and ornaments and, at the present time, in bolivars because of the influence of trade with Venezuela.

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583 Generally, the girl's family is advised by the suitor's relatives that they will come to buy her. The man, on his part, has requested his most influential maternal uncle, or one who is considered a "cacique," to go in company with his mother and other friends to arrange the purchase of the girl of his choice. They arrive dressed in their best and receive the most generous hospitality from the girl's relatives. They hand over as a sign of the engagement the so-called "prendas /"ornaments"/," which [301] are necklaces of gold set with tuma stones (1), the value and

1. A mineral quartz used as a precious stone.

number of which depend on the economic strength of the suitor, going all the way up to ten in persons of the highest standing, especially when the man is acquiring his first wife, who as we have seen is the principal one.

If the girl's relatives see that the marriage is an advantageous one, they accept the gifts. If they do not accept them, this [578] indicates a definite refusal and rarely occurs, since it implies contempt which could give rise to serious differences between the groups concerned. Once the necklaces are handed over, the spokesman for the bridegroom offers to buy the girl, and the girl's maternal relative of most authority replies, fixing the price, [554] which generally is equal to that paid by the girl's father for her mother; often they get a higher price, which increases their prestige. They argue for a short time until they arrive at an arrangement between them as to the price and the basis of payment. Then the young man's relatives leave to tell him of the arrangement made, which he respects and accepts without making any kind of objection, and he gets ready to pay the payment agreed upon in order to obtain his wife. /84/.

556 583 Payment in cows. The number of heads of livestock that a man has shows his economic position and through this his status in the family group and in the whole community, because stock

/84 cont./

556 raising is the basic occupation of the Guajiro wherever the soil
583 permits of agriculture during certain times of the year. The worth of a woman is similarly determined. She aspires to be paid for in cows, which show that her physical, spiritual, and social qualities are being adequately paid for, that her traditional rank and the power of her kin is justly valued, that the education that she has received at puberty is appreciated, that her standing as a married woman is going to be maintained adequately, and that her children will have an identical valuation, which means that her social status will be improved.

The Guajiro woman is so eager to be paid for in cows that the lower-class women (we do not know if the higher class do also) resort to an act of magic to help achieve this and, an act consisting of burying their hair when they cut it under cow dung.

583 Ways of paying. Paying for the woman entails the right to take her as a wife and can be effected in the following ways: When the man is rich, he hands over the purchase price in one payment, a sign of personal prestige which indicates his own economic capacity and that of his group, who do not need to make a large payment in installments. This makes the bride's relatives very proud because it shows they have made an alliance with a group of power and prestige.

But the most commonly used system allows two payments: the first, on a day agreed upon before the marriage, and the other, some time later. The first payment, as we have seen, confers the right of matrimony. On the due date the livestock arrive, driven by the servants of the bridegroom's maternal family and accompanied by the uncles who arranged the purchase of the woman. These make a ceremonious handing over of the livestock in order to put their payment on record. Then it is the turn of the bride's maternal relatives to comply with all the duties of hospitality, the warmth of which is in direct relation to the size of the payment and, above all, to their standing. If the bridegroom's relatives arrive early with the livestock, the arágrash (the eldest man of the family) orders a small bull killed

/84 cont./

583 and offers them hospitality in his own house. The small bull, the best of the herd, serves to make a special dish and is also divided among those who have come so that each takes with him a good portion, /85/ the higher the guest's standing the better the piece. In the afternoon they return home. If they come to make the payment in the evening, then the attentions are [273] different. They must have a great quantity of chicha made of masticated corn and yucca, which is accompanied by pieces of meat and bollos /corn rolls/. The bridegroom's companions sleep in the bride's house and leave at dawn after breakfast, for which an animal is slaughtered, the meat of which is distributed among the visitors.

In the first case when women attend, they must each be presented with the gift of a goat or a sheep to take home with them; in both cases there must be an abundant quantity of rum for the men.

The bridegroom does not come at this time either, but when he wants to make the girl his wife, he brings more cattle (ten cows when the girl is of high standing), which he hands over to the mother in payment for the matrimonial hammock; with this payment he has fulfilled the final requirements for access to his bride, who awaits him in a neighboring house, and there they hang up their matrimonial hammock, which serves them as a marriage bed.

Sociological significance of the marriage payment. Through the payment the matrimonial tie is strengthened and its legal organization is passed on to the descendants of the new family cell. Thus the laws of inheritance are structured by it: The man [428] pays for his wife with the co-operation of his relatives, and for this reason the children, who belong to the mother's blood, are deprived of the right to inherit the father's goods at his death, because they are not consanguineous relatives, and, moreover, the mother and her maternal relatives received the purchase price. The children take the surname of their mother, a further [551] proof of their bond with the maternal clan, in which they find all the economic and social backing they need.

/85 cont/

583 Furthermore, the marriage payment includes a compensation for the care the woman received during her life in the family and the obligations that her group will incur in taking charge of the children of the marriage. And in relation to the lands, it permits the husband and his relatives the usufruct of the land belonging to the woman, where from then on they are permitted to pasture their livestock, cultivate the soil, and establish their home. In this way the right over the land of a certain family group is extended to others, and at the same time, the woman's relatives acquire identical rights in respect to the land of the husband and his maternal group; the children they have in the marriage have rights over both. /86/

The payment is also the regulator of conjugal relations and is in a way the yardstick by which the man measures the virginity of the woman when he marries her, on the one hand (cf. Chap. IV, section on Valuation of virginity and of the woman), and on the other, the fidelity to him she must maintain according to Guajiro law.

583 684 It is in this question of fidelity that the marriage payment plays a predominant part. With the roving life of the Guajiro Indian due to his occupation as a nomadic herder who looks for water and grass for his livestock and now migrates to Venezuela for long periods of time, the assurance of his wife's faithfulness rests on this payment. During his long absences his wife generally lives with her relatives, who feel themselves obliged to watch her surreptitiously and give an account of her conduct to the man, and even more they feel responsible to him for her actions, for if her infidelity is proved, the payment must be returned to him who paid it to them, confident in the honor of his wife and counting on the backing of his in-laws. This prevents all right of protest from them and requires immediate and effective repayment, for otherwise the offended husband might kill his wife's lover, and with that the relatives of the guilty woman would find themselves involved in a death compensation payment since she was the cause. In such a case the maternal relatives of the adulterous

/86 cont./

583 684 woman are at the mercy of the offended husband's demands: return of the animals he gave as payment for the woman and the giving up of the children conceived in the marriage, plus an additional payment as compensation for the insult received. As the children belong to the maternal relatives, to have them taken away is a terrible disgrace, and for this he /the injured husband/ accepts in lieu of them further indemnification in animals, and they hand over one /of the children/.

583 The payment made for the woman also serves as a controlling factor on the general conduct of the wife, preventing her from leaving her home and obligations while her husband is away.

On the other hand, the payment regulates the relations of the man to the woman, because if he subjects her to bad treatment, and this treatment forces her to leave him, then the man is dispossessed of his right over her, because she cannot be obliged to live with him if he has made her life unbearable, and furthermore neither does it give him the right to present a claim for compensation payment for her leaving her home and obligations, which in the other case, as we have seen, implies the return of the amount handed over for her purchase.

The payment that the man makes to the woman's maternal relatives gives him a proprietary right over her as if she were /87/ chattel, in a way, because if, for example, the woman is coveted by another man who wants to buy her, the two -- husband and would-be-buyer -- may come to some arrangement, through intermediaries (if the woman is not of a high class or a first wife) to make a deal, the husband, in exchange for the wife, receiving a payment which is nearly always less than he gave for her originally, taking into consideration the use he has made of her in sexual relations and the children they have had. This second husband may sell her to a third, and so on successively. This usually occurs when a married woman goes off with somebody and lives with him, in view of which the husband resolves to make a claim against the lover, who, accepting it, accepts also the transference of the right of a legitimate spouse. This system,

/87 cont./

583 then, allows the transference of a woman from one man to another like any domestic animal and also the easy conversion of an illegal relationship to a legal one by paying for the woman.

But where the payment plays the most important social part
583 -- if we consider the different social classes found in La Guajira
565 -- is in the fixing of the social status of each woman and her descendants.

The status of a clan group rests on the marriage value of its women. This valuation dates back to distant times and has been transmitted from mother to daughter. For this reason the Guajiro when speaking of the price of a woman says: A free Guajiro woman is worth as much as her mother cost, and the latter had the same price as her grandmother. This is why payment for a woman has such enormous importance in her life and why, when she comes out of seclusion, all her attention and interest is concentrated on one thing: to be bought well, which amounts to finding someone who values her as she should be valued. It is also for this reason that white people cannot understand the pride with which a Guajiro woman relates that she was bought very dearly or that more cows were given for her than for some other woman. In the number of these heads of livestock is the valuation of her standing and the recognition that she belongs to the rich Guajiro class of better status. Hence she resorts to every kind of magic within her power to be bought well, to find a man who, paying for her what was paid for her mother, establishes her status, or paying even more, he being rich, raises her standing immediately by recognizing her personal qualities which make her worthy of such an increase; for if a woman cannot be bought (in normal times in her clan group) for less than the price paid for her mother, she can, on the contrary improve her standing through a higher price. In this way, the daughters born to the couple will be more expensive; that is to say, their status will have advanced as compared with /88/ that of their grandmother; and the man, if it is true that he has made an investment greater than he was legally obliged to, has increased his prestige, by having acquired

/88 cont./

583 for himself a woman who was worth so much; also his outlay will
565 be compensated by the payment he will receive for the first daughter who marries, which will be identical with what he paid for her mother.

583 Another interesting point is the regulating aspect the payment has on the moral and social conduct of a woman before marriage, since it obliges her indirectly to accept and comply with all the determined ethical and social norms, without which her value as a future wife would go down. For example, when the woman belongs to a high class, she must not accept proposals to elope with a man who loves her but who lacks sufficient money to buy her. This is allowed, however, in women of a lower social class who have no standing to lose, where there is not sufficient force to back the claims their relatives might make, and where their value as wives is not constant but varies, depending almost always on the financial capacity of the buyer and very often on the economic situation at the moment. In summer /the dry season/, for example, things get so bad in these lower classes that a woman can be bought for a little corn.

582 These facts give rise to a certain stabilization of the existing difference of status, for the women of high class can only be bought by men of the same or better position, which limits in this way the possibilities of acquiring a rich woman and prevents high-class family groups being mixed with poor groups or those of a lesser social standing.

583 A woman who wants to maintain her standing cannot run away with a man and be paid for later. This implies that the man, after a time, if he is not satisfied, can repudiate her for this act alone, paying only for having abused her, which, if of little importance to a woman of low social standing, is definitely very important for one of high standing. Also, if the compensation claim is not met peacefully or if the payment is not made, war may be provoked between her group and that of her husband, and all the consequences fall on her. It can also happen that the man, in view of the accomplished fact, may wish to take advantage of a

/88 cont./

583 situation favorable to himself and only pay for her a sum much lower than that stipulated by tradition, which is what generally happens and which is why the woman's relatives are extremely upset, since some other Guajiro might abuse any other of their women with impunity, because he considers their men incapable of making him /89/ pay what is due. When this happens the clan becomes demoralized, its women are not respected, and, in a word, the prestige of the group deteriorates considerably.

Distribution of the woman's marriage payment. Given the clan family organization so extensive in La Guajira, which we shall see in detail further on, the payment (livestock, jewelry, etc.) which is received on the sale of a girl in marriage falls into various hands. In the first place, what is received as marriage payment for the first girl who marries depends entirely on the father, since the amount at which she is valued is the same that he paid for her mother; she represents the return that the law allows him, after a long interval, for the investment he made when he bought the girl's mother. He receives this payment, but it does not become entirely his since, as he received help from his family group, he must repay this help in proportion to what he received, until he has satisfied all and each of those who co-operated at the time he bought his wife. If they are dead he must give their shares to their legitimate heirs.

The necklace which is given as a sign of the engagement of this first daughter goes to the paternal grandmother, as it was she who had to hand it /one?/ over as approbation of the proposed purchase /of the girl's mother? -- Ed./.

The payment for the second daughter goes to the mother's family and is distributed among them according to their kin relationship; first to the mother and most influential maternal uncle, who bears a large part of the responsibility of the family and is considered as father; later to the other people, not forgetting the head of the extended family group, the so-called "cacique," from whom they receive help when a son is getting married, for a wake, etc., although the kin relationship on many occasions is distant.

/89 cont./

583 They also send a part to the most friendly neighbors who have marriageable daughters, because they hope that when one of these marries the present will be amply repaid. It is customary when they are distributing the marriage payment, if they have friends who have no daughters, for them to send them nothing, because they say: "Those people have no daughters and so they will never be able to return our gift."

The goods obtained from the sale of the other daughters who marry go to the maternal patrimony, although, as we have seen, the bridegroom's relatives participate because a goat or a sheep is presented to each of the women who intervene in the handing over of the animals. The necklaces which are given on betrothal are for the girl's mother, who in /90/ turn must supply one to each of her sons when they become engaged to be married.

Moreover, there is a special payment which is always made to the mother of the bride, and this is for the matrimonial hammock made by her. Generally, the price is ten cows in rich families, and when this payment is made, which is done personally by the bridegroom to his mother-in-law, it signifies that he is going to take possession of the woman he has bought; and she is then indirectly handed over to him, since the place (a neighboring room) is pointed out where he will find the hammock and the woman who will be his wife. This payment gives him the right to the conjugal bed and to cohabit with the woman whom he has bought and must be paid to the mother, partly because she made the hammock and partly because she brought up her daughter, bearing all the costs of rearing her and educating her. No one else shares in this amount.

When a female bond servant or slave is getting married, the product of the sale goes to her master exclusively, without having [567] to be shared with anyone, first because the price is low, and 422 second because the ownership of a slave or a bond servant is individual.

When the marriage payment has been arranged to be paid in installments and the second of these is not forthcoming in the

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583 stipulated time, the woman's family takes her back again without any claims allowed from the man. But if some time later the man wants to pay what is owing, he enters into conversation with his affinal relatives who, once they have received the necessary amount, hand his wife back to him.

The distribution of payments obtained through different forms of marriage other than the traditional one will be seen as they are studied in detail.

Payment for childbirth and pregnancy. Apart from the price
583 of the woman the man must pay, whether the relationship is legal
262 or illegal, for the inconveniences caused by pregnancy and delivery. This payment is made in cows or other animals to the woman's family, who can use these animals for slaughter or sell them or include them in the family herd. But the woman may not eat the flesh of these animals which are given in payment for the troubles she suffered during pregnancy, for the blood she spilled, and for the pains she bore during delivery, because they represent a payment of her very being and are identified with her. To eat them would be almost like eating her own flesh or something similar, and for this reason she cannot have any part of them, either directly or indirectly. /91/

Marriage before puberty. At the present time a man contracts
583 marriage for the first time when he has obtained his economic
582 emancipation when he is about nineteen. His subsequent marriages are the result of his inclination and the opportunities he may have to buy other women.

As a general rule, women marry when they have passed puberty and the period of seclusion. However, a very general custom existed, and to some extent still exists, in regions which because of their geographical situation were inaccessible to the white man and the missionary, but now tends to disappear: the purchase of impuberal girls about ten years old (who have not yet developed physically nor passed through the traditional ceremonies of seclusion) by rich Indians, already old, who have a considerable number of wives. These old men pay a price which

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583 582 satisfies the girl's parents, who, attracted by the economic possibilities of their future son-in-law, arrange the marriage without consulting the wishes of the impuberal child, although they sometimes try to persuade her, making her see the advantageous situation such a marriage may ensure. The girl in many cases has a child before her first menstruation appears.

It is said in La Guajira that old men practice this custom because they derive more sexual incentive from young and undeveloped feminine figures, and this prolongs their masculine potency.

583 177 Marriage of Guajiro women with civilizados. With very few exceptions intermarriage is carried out between Indians and civilizados /nonnatives/. It is of two kinds, temporary and permanent, in accordance with the length of stay of the civilizado man in the peninsula and is nearly always limited to the Guajiro law of marriage by purchase of the woman.

The temporary marriages consist of unions established between traders or civil or military authorities who must stay some time in the peninsula, having come alone and finding in the purchase of a native woman the solution of their personal problems. They live with the woman they have bought, adapting themselves to the norms of life in La Guajira, and have children who, according to legal tradition, do not belong to them. As their obligation to their family is so limited and the maternal relatives have continued to give backing to the woman, they can go away at any moment, as indeed they do, without altering the life of the home that they founded, because the woman has not been uprooted, as in the case of a Catholic marriage, from her social institutions nor her relatives, who, once the marriage is dissolved /92/ by the definite absence of the white element, take her back again into their midst. The woman continues to sustain the family and bring it up under the protection and counsel of her maternal relatives, since very frequently nothing is ever again heard of the father. Sometimes they marry again or live with another man.

Permanent marriages are effected with civilizado men who, having definitely settled in the country, sometimes decide to get

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583 177

married in the Catholic church or to buy a woman (usually one with standing) and found a home, which in the first case shows signs of the predominance of the father's culture and in the second is much nearer the customs and usages of themother, by whom it is much more directly influenced due to the form of marriage. The children conceived /in the marriage/ are legally recognized in the case of the Catholic marriage and very frequently are sent to the interior of the country to be educated. In the case of the Guajiro form of marriage, the children belong to the mother and her consanguineous relatives, whose surname they take.

Temporary marriages may be due to the fact that the women belong to a group of low status and are sold by their parents because they are in a desperate economic situation. For this reason it is not unusual for a white man to have several wives, as many as he can buy and support. We know that the woman who has been bought must furnish the home, but this is not the custom when she marries a white man, for in spite of the payment the civilizado man must make himself responsible for the proper maintenance of his wife and children in shelter, food, and clothes.

These material advantages make it possible and frequent for one to find young Guajiro women married to decrepit old men who can give them a comparatively comfortable home, which they share with their relatives, who find a solution for their economic difficulties in unions of this kind.

The problem of these marriages lies in the fact that the woman consents only because of hunger, and when the opportunity presents itself for her to give way to her affection for someone else or to satisfy her instincts, she easily abandons her civilizado husband and runs away with her lover, far away from any action her husband may try to take, whose claims are usually ignored by her consanguineous relatives, to whom he has made the marriage payment, because they know that the white man has neither a powerful group nor the Colombian law to back him. Once the civilizado leaves La Guajira, the runaway pair legitimize their union, contracting marriage through a payment which the man can make anew to the girl's parents.

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583 177 Permanent marriages take place generally between women of standing and whites of recognized influence, and they are more stable. The conduct of the woman and her relatives is in accord with the rank of her husband, and he on his part maintains toward his wife a certain courtesy and gives her the good treatment she deserves as a person of high status. In these cases it is not unusual that the woman has been bought in accord with Guajiro legal tradition and that the marriage lasts; but frequently it is ratified later in the Catholic church, or both forms were used from the first moment.

177 595 848 It is possible, also, that the white man, following Guajiro custom and in spite of his Catholic marriage, has other wives of lower status than the first, who always keeps the rank of legitimate wife in our sense and on whom depends the social representation of the children, the only heirs of the father and of the home, legal center of the family. The other women, although bought according to Guajiro law, acquire more or less the rank of concubines in our culture, and their children, the position of illegitimate ones. Catholic missionary influence and relations with whites have made the Indian come to regard his form of marriage as a little immoral. For this reason they now say when speaking of a Guajiro woman married with the rites of their culture: "She is So-and-so's woman," and the woman who has been married by Catholic rite says: "I am So-and-so's wife." Thus when one asks a Guajiro woman, for example, "Where is your husband?", one must be careful to use the right word for husband /marido/ or spouse /esposo/, using the first word in the case of a marriage according to peninsula rites and the second in the case of a Catholic marriage, the word "marido" being considered offensive when improperly used. As a consequence of this fact, the concept of legitimate and illegitimate children has sprung up, a concept which has no place in primitive Guajiro law. A child even though born as the result of illicit relations is a child without adjectives, either of scorn or contempt. In such cases the mother has received by force through her relatives the payment for her abuse and the

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177 birth in such a way that they are never placed outside the pale of
595 the law. This may be due to the uterine line of kinship in which
848 the father does not count in the recognition of children.

In these cases of marriage between whites and Guajiro women there also occurs a union of these two ideas. The white man refuses to buy the woman or legitimize their union through the [583] necessary traditional proceedings demanded by her culture. The refusal to comply with the main traditional requisite makes the man unacceptable, and he is considered an intruder.

The children, illegitimate /94/ according to the paternal mentality, meet a natural reluctance among their mother's relatives, who however in the long run have to accept them.

Consanguineous marriage. Although the Guajiro community
582 is in an obvious process of disintegration, there is a characteristic which is strongly maintained: exogamy, which, at the present time, does not mean the prohibition of marriage within the same clan group, but within a limited circle of close consanguineous kin: brothers /and sisters, hermanos/, uncles /and aunts, tíos/, and ascendants in the female line. Thus today in La Guajira we find marriages between individuals of the same clan, since the tie has weakened so much that although they belong to the same clan group, they do not consider themselves relatives.

If the marriage takes place within the small family circle, the opinion of society and of the relatives is never favorable. They cannot explain why nor wish to accept that an individual should marry a consanguineal kin included among those just mentioned. Their magical beliefs reinforce this, because these beliefs establish the prohibition that a man must not marry a relative, or he will be come bald.

582 Guajiro mentality cannot accept as natural the marriage of
588 a woman to her maternal uncle. This would be incest at its worst, because the maternal uncle has the position that a father has with us. There was a case, and a similar attitude has always been observed in like cases, of a Guajiro girl who had sexual relations with her maternal uncle. After pregnancy became

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935 of affairs of which we could find no evidence after puberty and the seclusion had taken place. It appears that the only case we can quote is the one referred to above and which is preserved in the traditional lore.

583 Catholic marriage. Guajiro marriage is the basis of all the legal organization of the peninsula, because in it, represented by the marriage payment, are concentrated all economic life and social laws. For these reasons Catholic marriage encounters much opposition on the part of the native and causes a series of problems for those who contract it.

The first of these is that such a marriage is done outside of the family social organization and leaves whoever contracts it dependent on their own efforts to confront the social collectivity of the peninsula. We shall see why: If contracting a Catholic marriage means for the woman that her relatives do not receive the customary payment as recompense for bringing her up and as a backing in the future for her and her desendants, the system of mutual aid between consanguineous groups which demands repayment at some future date, will create a very difficult situation for her father as an active member of the clan, since, on not receiving money for the first daughter that marries, he cannot comply with the system of repayment and mutual help, which his relatives then resent and which diminishes his prestige, since it was with this payment that he expected to pay the debts he incurred when he bought his wife. /96/

The woman who marries according to the Catholic rite also encounters another series of problems with her consanguineous group: Her husband, although legal, is an intruder and the direct cause of all the troubles which overtake them. It is difficult for them to tolerate him because, besides being the person who separated their relative from her consanguineous ties, it was he who obliged her to break with all legal tradition, putting them all in a secondary role. He acquires, then, the standing of a lover, because they feel that such a marriage is as illegal as is having a concubine in our culture. He has acquired a wife without paying for her and for this reason is considered to have usurped a right

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583 which legally belonged to her consanguineous relatives. With this refusal to pay, he has destroyed the standing of the woman, since it is the size of the payment which fixes this, and this denominator of her family now does not exist. This lowers her consanguineous relatives, the bitterest insult to the Indian, for whom the conservation of prestige, its strengthening and increase, is a permanent concern and a rule of life. It puts them in the position of a weak group in which their daughter has been abducted without having received the corresponding payment. They await a similar situation for the descendants of the couple since they, with only the backing of their father and mother, must face all hazards that present themselves, without counting on the economic and social help of their relatives.

[595] Furthermore, although the man may marry in the Catholic church, this does not mean for the woman that her husband is going to be monogamous, because he will live as suits him best, buying all the other wives he wants according to the peninsula system, without taking into account that the first marriage prohibits him from having other women.

583 177 Catholic marriage, which presents itself as one of the best ways to achieve the acculturation of the Indians, his passage to civilization, and his definitive incorporation into Colombian life is now beginning to be gradually accepted and in this way is breaking down the old matrilineal clan organization. It contains various outstanding facts which radically transform the traditional customs. We shall see some of these:

a) The preparation of the home, which in the traditional Guajiro marriage is the woman's responsibility, in the Catholic marriage is entirely the man's, even to the house itself. We know that the payment which the man gives for his wife is made so that the wife and her maternal relatives can take over these /domestic/ obligations. There being no such payment in many Catholic marriages, the man must necessarily, and in fact does, build his own house as soon as possible and must have it adequately furnished with all the household goods necessary for domestic life.

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583 177 b) The responsibility for the support of the home also falls to the man, not only in regard to food for himself, his wife, and the children, but also for clothing for them all.

c) The Guajiro marriage, as the base of all social organization, necessarily holds sway over inheritance laws. If a couple marry in the Catholic church, they break with this law, and Colombian law is substituted for the laws of the peninsula which no longer cover them. In this way, on the death of the father, his goods are not inherited by his maternal nephews, but rather, in accordance with the Colombian law in force, by his wife and children, obligatory heirs. The custom of gifts to the sons from the father during his lifetime may go on, but these never constitute the whole of the inheritance.

583 177 423 d) Traditional Guajiro organization in respect to land makes of it communal property divided among the various family groups, who are permitted use and usufruct, but with alienation expressly forbidden. These rights to settle, to cultivate arable land, to pasture, to use the sources of water supply, to take advantage of the products of the woods, etc., are all denied to the couple who have married in accordance with the Catholic church.

583 177 e) There are also appreciable changes in residence of the newly married pair, which will be seen in the paragraph about it in this chapter.

f) Catholic marriage, as is known, gives primacy among us to the transmission of the father's surname, but a marriage consecrated with the Guajiro rite does not, since in this case the children belong to the mother, are of her blood, and use her name exclusively. This fact shows clearly how, by accepting the Catholic bond, the woman isolates her children from the group to which she belonged, because from then onward they do not bear her name, the expression of her family offiliation, and for this reason her maternal relatives do not have to give them economic aid or social backing when they need it. On their part, the maternal relatives of the father have difficulty accepting the children of one of their menfolk as their children in place of their

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583 177 nephews and nieces, and the fact that they bear their surname when they are children of a union with a woman of a different family group is hard for them to take. In a certain way, the children, although nominally belonging to the father, find themselves in an abnormal situation among their paternal relatives and have a feeling of being rejected, and among their maternal relatives they find a similar attitude and hurt feelings because they have been separated violently from them by their mother's /98/ Catholic marriage, which has completely broken the traditional blood relationship, giving them another surname.

g) If Guajiro custom gives the woman the right to give her name to her children, Catholic marriage transfers this right to the man. She generally gives the child the name of an ancestor, a brother /or sister/ or an uncle /or aunt/; and the man, having been conceded this right, does likewise. If the marriage is Catholic, the children are also baptized. This does not mean that children born to a typical couple married by Guajiro rites are not also baptized, but this is rarer.

h) With the breaking of the consanguineous bonds which bind the child to his maternal relatives, his education is influenced more directly by the father, since he definitely respects his wishes and consults him, the father, in this way, taking the place of the mother's brothers, who in the traditional marriage assume these responsibilities. The children respect and obey their father, and the duality of authority which one observes in the Guajiro home is not felt here because the man, from the first moment, establishes the predominance of his will over his wife and children. In this way, the sons identify with their progenitor and defend him because he is their real father and not somebody who has no consanguineous tie and no interests in common with them.

The fact that the father assumes the responsibility for the actions of his sons does not mean that, as in the case of a Guajiro marriage, the mother then obtains the right to claim compensation payment from her husband for anything that may happen to them in any circumstance, or vice versa, but that both assume the total responsibility, without giving rise to any compensation claims

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583 177 from one or the other when the blame for any particular act falls directly on one of the parents. Each one is free to punish the children, without asking the approval of the other; neither feels inhibited about giving an order, nor is it necessary to consult the relatives of either before making a decision. In this way, authority makes itself felt in the home, is more closely linked with the parents, less liable to interference from consanguineous relatives, and less limited, making the education of the children easier for this reason and ensuring a unity of authority in the home.

Marriage through sexual relations between the unmarried.

636 583 Sexual relations before marriage are strictly forbidden in the Guajiro community except during the celebration of the Dance of the Kid (ceremony of propitiation of the rain and the harvest) when it is permitted without /99/ entailing social punishment for those guilty. When times are normal a compensation claim for abuse or usufruct is presented, or a mutual pact made for marriage, legalizing in this way the antisocial act committed. The varieties that may appear in this regard are the following:

583 For abduction, which may have two aspects, sham abduction and real abduction.

Sham abduction is looked upon with favor by the woman's maternal relatives, who, knowing about the affectionate relations between her and an individual belonging to an important family group with whom it would be very convenient to be linked by marriage even without an offer for her hand or the stipulation of payment, let the girl go with her lover without offering any opposition. After a time they present their compensation claim, and the man sends his relatives who are acting as his sponsors /padrinas familiares/ to make an arrangement with the woman's maternal relatives. They then come to a reasonable agreement, and the man hurries to pay the price arranged. This proceeding is carried through peacefully, always counting on the good faith and acquiescence of the two families, although it does have the appearance of an abduction.

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583 Real abduction takes place when a Guajiro youth is not yet able to buy a woman with his own possessions, or does not want to collect payments from the family to buy her, or because, in the case of a new wife (polygamy), he resorts to this action, often thinking that he will be able to avoid the payment altogether or get a price or installments more in keeping with what possessions he has. He then abducts a woman and goes away as far as possible, taking his cattle with him. This abduction offers two possibilities when the claim for compensation payment is presented to him and in fact to his relatives: first, to pay the price of the woman through a later arrangement, in which case the marriage is legalized. The payment is usually made in two installments. Second, to cover the price of the abuse, that is, the usufruct he has taken of the woman without previous payment and later, if she is pregnant, for the pregnancy and the pains of delivery. In this case the payment is less than that of a poor marriage and does not give the man any right over the woman or over her child.

583 Illicit pregnancy. When an unmarried woman becomes pregnant, the maternal family is gravely offended, and it is not
848 unusual for her brothers to beat her brutally, saying, "You have not been bought, and you are like a burro," and they try to make her confess who /100/ the guilty man is. The mother and the aunts intervene also, scolding her harshly. Very poor families, knowing that it is all useless and that they cannot make the man comply with their compensation claim for abuse, resign themselves to the situation almost without protest. The most they say to the girl when she has the child, in the most contemptuous way, is, "You have given birth like a bitch," that is to say, "You, whose pregnancy and labor pains nobody paid for, you, whose maternity is not even recognized by he who caused it, you, who do not have a man who honors you in your maternity, you are like a bitch that gives birth alone and does not even know who caused its pregnancy." When the woman is of high class she is nearly always abandoned by her relatives.

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836 compunction in reproaching her, saying: "What! Is that man your father, your uncle, or your brother that you go walking with him, talking and laughing?" She must at once stop talking to the man and submissively pay attention to the admonition, because if not, the individual in question will go to her parents' house and will say to them: "Who is this that your daughter is talking and laughing with? Has he perhaps already bought her?" And her parents, very much annoyed at her conduct, will interrogate the girl more or less in this manner: "Who is this whom they tell me you are talking to? What does he want from you?" She will answer that he is her sweetheart and wants to buy her, to which her parents reply: "It is not to you that he has to speak but to us. Do not speak to him again."

839 583 Apart from these cases, which one might call voluntary, there are cases of violation which, as we know, give cause for a compensation claim for the illegal use of the girl, compounded by the abuse of subjecting her against her will and for the injuries she may have suffered on being violated. If she becomes pregnant as a consequence of such a union, then the corresponding compensation claim will be made for the troubles of pregnancy and labor. But the action by which the woman suffered will not be made the object of recrimination, nor will it lower her value in the eyes of the Guajiro collectivity, if the payment for what has happened is paid in full. There is nothing to object to after that, either in her or in her relatives, and the child will belong to her and will not be the object either of rejection or contempt.

Lastly, it is necessary to take into account the frequent violations of young women still in seclusion by rich Indians, when the girls belong to a poor group and their relatives have to leave them alone in the hut for some reason or other. They say that, as the woman is under treatment and during this time whoever is in charge of her avoids the appearance of menstruation by means of herbs, she does not become pregnant if she has sexual relations. But if such an act does occur, the woman is taken out of seclusion immediately, and the corresponding compensation claim is presented.

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839 In the cases that we have described, as in that of abduction,
583 the relatives of the girl oblige the seducor to marry by paying the stipulated price, or to pay an amount they arrive at for the abuse committed. If neither of these alternatives is complied with, the enmity of the two groups involved becomes so bitter that war ensues. /102/

Marriage by adultery. When a woman commits adultery
837 and the case is known, attempts are made to settle the matter
583 legally: the lover is obliged by the maternal relatives to pay what is claimed by the legitimate husband, or to pay to them the value of a usual marriage, in which case the woman involved on the litigation becomes his lawful wife, according to Guajiro law.

At the present time this custom, which previously used to end with the death of the lover, the husband, or of both, since the husband tried to solve the problem in this way in spite of future consequences, is now dying out due to the emigration of the men and the growing prostitution among the women, both in and outside the peninsula, for the many reasons already seen.

Marriage of female bond servants and slaves. Although this
583 aspect will be treated fully in the chapter headed Slavery and
567 Bond Service, we would like to present it, if only summarily, in this chapter so as not to disturb the order of the ideas we are tracing.

The women and children taken prisoners in the wars which strong clan groups declare on weak ones when these have caused the death of one of their members enter into the state of slavery. This means that the all-powerful will of their owner may be imposed on every act of their lives, even up to his being able to kill them without possibility of claim, since their relatives who would be the claimants have been slaughtered or dispersed.

In this way adult women and girl slaves may be sold, and in effect are, especially to be taken to Curaçao, Trinidad, etc.; they may be given away to their owners' relatives, or used in domestic service. If the master of a woman slave wishes to

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583 possess her, she must submit, and the child that may result will
567 be the property of the father, owner of the slave. Furthermore, if some man who likes the slave wants to buy her, he may negotiate with her owner and pay what he asks, with which payment she is freed and given the standing of wife, and the children will be free and belong to the maternal group which their oppressors had tried to extinguish. If the woman slave has had sexual relations with someone and as a consequence is pregnant, her owner hurries to oblige her to confess who caused it in order to make a compensation claim. If the payment is only for abuse (which is what it is considered when the lover is someone influential), the owner receives it, and the child remains a slave like his mother but with a lesser degree of oppression. /103/

567 Sometime the man who causes the slave's pregnancy is the son of her owner. In such a case there is no compensation claim. At most his mother scolds the boy, the pregnancy is allowed to take its course, and the child remains in the same condition as its mother, that is to say, slavery.

What puts a limit to the sexual freedom of a man is the compensation claim that the woman's relatives might present; consequently, when she has no relatives or if those she has are not powerful, the woman is the object of insolence and desire on the part of men who find in her an easy and not at all dangerous satisfaction. Thus, women slaves are continually abused by everyone, having no defense whatever since their owners sometimes make no claim, as the children born represent a profit because they become their property.

The same or an even worse condition is the lot of the daughters of slaves who have been bought as wives from their owners by someone, because they belong to a maternal family group that has been destroyed or dispersed and they are really the last of their clan. In this situation, they have barely reached puberty when they are violated or besieged and, having no possibility of defending themselves, they go on submitting until they end up as prostitutes.

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583 567 Returning to the women slaves, we would say lastly that the owner may give a woman slave to one of his other slaves for a wife or sell her to another owner to be the wife of one of his slaves. If the owner buys a woman slave to provide a wife for one of his male slaves, the children of the union belong to him, and he also collects the marriage payment for the first daughter of this couple to marry, in order to be repaid the amount he paid for her mother. (Aspects of descent will be treated fully in the chapter, Slavery and Bond Service).

591 Marriage residence. Guajiro law covering land gives the Indian ample scope to fix his residence once he has married, for apart from the fact that primarily the new family cell may establish its home in the maternal house of either the wife or the husband, it also offers the following possibilities: a) on the wife's side, on the land of the wives of any of her brothers, since the payment made by the family for each of them included the right to establish homes, to open cleared land, and to pasture livestock, a right which also holds good on the clan lands of the wives of maternal uncles; b) on the husband's side, on the lands of his father and that of the wives of his brothers and maternal uncles, for the same reasons as stated above.

But Guajiro custom generally inclines toward establishing a dwelling beside that of the wife's mother, so that one can say /104/ of marriage that it is matrilocal. The newly married couple live for a time in the same house with the wife's maternal relatives, but when their family increases and they begin to acquire a certain financial independence, they build a house near that of her mother.

Presumably the marriage payment contributes to the marital residence of the couple, since, as we have seen, this requires the girl's consanguineous kin to supply room and board to the husband.

After a more or less lengthy interval has been spent on the lands of the woman's clan, the family, now considerably increased and economically established through the efforts of the

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585 c) There is another very important fact in this sexual aspect of the fiesta that we are describing, which is what we might call proof of virginity. [125]

Virginity in woman is highly valued by the natives in spite of the fact that at the present time, due to economic ac-
[836 178] culturative factors, it is increasingly difficult to find virgins among marriageable women, a state of affairs that the Indian male is well aware of. But it is always a matter of pride and something to be boasted of for a Guajiro man to find on his marriage night that his bride is a virgin. It is the custom,
[583] furthermore, that if the man marries not knowing that his wife has lost her virginity and has the consequent disillusion on his wedding night, the bride's relatives have to return a part of the livestock which the man paid for her, especially the family neck-
[578 273] lace. The Indian's concern about this matter, which remains hidden when he is in a normal state, comes to the surface during his drunken bouts, when he will sing about his wife, extolling her and boasting of having had a virgin in his marriage hammock, or insulting and degrading her in coarse improvisations when he considers that he has been defrauded.

524 796 831 This attitude toward sex on the part of the native, or better said this value he places on the virginity of his future wives, is expressed in a sort of game which is played at the Dance of the Kid. To play it, the girls gather in a group about a singer who
[539] sings such a song as this: "Let us see, my pretty miss, if you are a virgin, if truly you have not run around too freely, if no young male has put his hands on your body." He then passes his hands over each girl's body, tickling her. He starts at her big toe and goes upward, touching her instep, calves, knees, thighs, genitals, hips, stomach, torso, breasts, armpits, and continues up her neck until he reaches the top of her head. The girl who remains quiet, indifferent, without laughing and without even a smile wins the test and is declared a virgin. The singer then sings again: "You are indeed a virgin, my lovely majayura....," and chants a veritable song of flattery and finishes by escorting her to a set place. He then continues with the rest of the girls gathered there, repeating the same routine. When a girl moves or laughs,

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of war to the death will result between the clans affected.

One has to take into account the fact that a woman who has been bought for wife is relatively valuable, and the native is not always in a position to accumulate the number of animals sufficient to pay for her, although it is considered an obligation on the part of his relatives to assist him when the time for his marriage arrives. As prostitution is so limited because of the condition of inferiority in which it places the woman who traffics in sex, the situation of the unmarried male in this respect is difficult. We repeat again that we make this statement on the basis of the facts of La Guajira social customs in normal times, and not on the basis of the present period when they are suffering from ever increasing problems of hunger, poverty, and acculturation, phenomena which are overthrowing all their traditional institutions.

Presenting the question in these terms, one can appreciate the trying position of the bachelor Guajiro native who is without slaves and without economic resources to enable him to buy a wife. He lives within a regimen of limitations and restrictions which reach even to sexual taboos which can be divided into two classes: special cases, especially applicable to the sex life of shamans, as we have seen; and general cases, applicable to the whole community and which go to the extreme of provoking curious euphemisms in the language when the word for the genital organ is phonetically similar to some other word, as in the case with the word for dog.

These restrictions must be considered in the totality of the social norms, but this is not the moment to expound on them as they will be fully covered in this review as an interpretation of the whole of Guajiro society. However, we wish to point out their presence in the Dance of the Kid, or better said their absence, since, as we have said, these restrictions disappear, and there is complete sexual freedom which permits the minstrel to caress the young maids on the pretext of deciding their virginity or loss of it, a thing that in normal times would not be permitted, and to go to the extreme of countenancing carnal union without economic or social consequences, the only

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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881 weaving, making dresses, hammocks, sashes, &c., sewing, and all the
[868] little knick-knacks Indians love so well.

The confinement is not so isolated as it seems, generally several of her female relations are round the door with the enclosed, who of course becomes rather stout, much blanched, almost white, and some exceedingly beautiful. Strangers and men are not excluded from peeping in through
[584] the door, always with an eye to matrimony, and she can be sold and liberated at once, though her husband if rich prefers leaving her to complete her term of schooling. On re-entering to society again, a special festival, *ekuitis*, is held with dancing, &c. An ox is killed, and the girl is dressed in the clothes she has made; her hair is cut and she resumes all her beads, necklaces, bracelets, and other ornaments.

562 Women are much respected by the Goajiros. In a quarrel or drunken
[579] brawl, women often save bloodshed by stepping in and tearing the weapons out of their husband's or brother's hand. Travelling with women is consequently perfectly safe, and in case of danger, if one undertakes to protect a stranger, he may rely upon coming out all right.

● 583 Matrimony is a mere case of barter. The girl is sold for a certain price, fixed by the father. This is paid by the intended husband, and divided by the father, who appropriates the best part for himself and his relations, the rest going to the wife's relations. As it is chiefly in
585 cattle, these are killed and a kind of bridal festival held. There is no other ceremony. A wife is under obligation to support her husband,
593 find him in food, clothes, &c. She does most of the trading, and a
[462] contract made with an Indian is worthless, should his better half object. An Indian cannot inflict bodily injury on his wife, for he becomes liable
[583] to her relations, and should she die during childbirth he has to repay the father what he gave for her. But if the wife is untrue (a rare occurrence) he demands from the father the price he paid for her, who if he
[684] cannot refund, helps him to recover from the seducer, plus tear or compensation from his mother-in-law. At the husband's death, the
587 wife becomes a legacy to his brother, usually the youngest; if there are
764 none, then his nephew inherits her. The daughter of a chief is worth, according to his wealth and power (i. e. the number of men he can
583 dispose of in a fight) from 6 to 150 head of cattle (12*l.* to 300*l.*).

764 When a person dies, a grand drinking festival is given, that lasts as long as there is anything to drink—days, and even weeks, with the wealthy. These latter are buried twice, and have two festivals. A rich person is always buried in the ranche, and on the spot where he was born; being often carried for that purpose immense distances. A fire is lighted every night from sunset to sunrise in front of the grave, for the sole use of the dead. Immense piles of wood are gathered for this purpose, as the body is kept two years in the house. Then all the relations can meet on a certain day, and the second feast takes place, when the bones are carefully gathered, placed in a jar, and consigned to the

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
SC13 Goajiro SC13

604 Regarding the marriage of the senior nephew, the maternal
584 uncle plays no prescribed part, unless the prospective bride comes from a very wealthy family and consequently the bride price is quite high. In such cases the uncle is expected to help
(583) with a small donation to meet the price. Although this is expected from him he has no say whatsoever in the selection of the bride. The bride price in its entirety, or certainly in major part, is paid by the father of the bridegroom. The influence of the uncle, even if he has happened to help pay part of the bride price, is practically zero. This is the rule, but naturally in-
(183) dividual deviations from it are found. The case of Camilo is again illustrative of this. Although he is not contemplating marriage for the present, Camilo told the present writer that once he had made up his mind to get married he would go to his uncle for advice. No other such cases came to the attention of the writer, but speaking with other informants on this subject he was invariably told that such cases do often occur and that they are not out of the ordinary. However, this is not prescribed behavior and arises only from personal regard or affection.

604 There is a prescribed pattern of conduct that both the senior maternal uncle and his senior nephew must observe when in each other's company, regardless of what personal sentiments they have for each other. If there are other people around the nephew must always keep silence if his uncle is speaking and if the nephew wants to say something he must first ask permission of his uncle. This permission is asked by the nephew rising from his seat or, if he is already standing, by tapping his uncle on the arm. The uncle is at complete liberty to grant or refuse the permission; however, a refusal was never witnessed by the present writer. In all ways the nephew must show respect and
604 conduct himself with propriety. If he, in any way, should fail
626 to conform, he would be severely criticised, not only by his uncle but also by the rest of the company, whether they were relatives or not. On the other hand, the uncle must not laugh at his nephew,—although he may laugh with him,—and if his nephew says something wrong he must correct him in such a way that his nephew would not feel hurt. Should the uncle do otherwise he would be subjected to criticism, not by his nephew, but by the rest of the company.

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
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604 the niece the giver. Another difference is that while the giving-receiving relation in the uncle-nephew situation is between the senior nephew and his senior maternal uncle, in the uncle-niece situation it is between the senior maternal uncle and all the daughters of all his sisters.

In the senior maternal uncle-niece relationship the whole [428] question of inheritance is out of the picture, as in Guajiro culture the woman, regardless of her status, cannot inherit. The nieces never expect and never get anything from any of their uncles in the way of inheritance or otherwise. Consequently we can dismiss economic expectations on the part of the niece as a motivating factor. Their behavior toward their senior maternal uncle is the resultant of other factors. The senior maternal uncle being on his part the receiver of benefits may act from affection or regard, or from selfish or other motives, or combinations thereof.

604 The senior maternal uncle receives material profits from all 583 of his sisters' daughters through the bride price. The bride price, however big or small, must be paid to the senior maternal uncle of the bride, while he on the other hand does not contribute anything toward the dowry which the bride must present to the bridegroom. The bride price must always be paid in cattle, while the dowry usually consists of gifts of clothing, household goods, hammocks, etc. Consequently the senior maternal uncle is very much interested in the marriage of his nieces and sees that they marry advantageously. He may accept or reject [584] a prospective bridegroom at will, and the girl has to conform [183] and to say nothing in the matter. This is the theory and to a great extent the practice, although there are cases in which the uncle has given in on the insistence of the niece or of the prospective bridegroom or of both, and a few cases of elopement have also come to the notice of the present writer. As previously mentioned, all of this concerns only the senior maternal uncle and all the daughters of all his sisters: the other uncles, maternal or other, have no say in the matter.

604 The following cases will serve as illustrations. Estrella is 584 the daughter of Ramoncito's oldest sister. They all belong to the wealthy class. She is now of marriageable age—about 15

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
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or 16 years old—and it is entirely up to Ramoncito to find a suitable mate for her. As yet there is no prospective bridegroom but when he is found he will be entirely Ramoncito's choice. Ramoncito may seek the advice of Estrella's parents, but the final say rests with him. Even the girl has little or nothing to do with the selection. Ramoncito will settle the bride price and collect it all for himself. He will not share it with his other brothers nor will the girl's parents receive any part of it. Ramoncito concerns himself greatly about Estrella and seldom lets a day pass without paying her a visit. Estrella comes to visit her uncle quite frequently too, either alone—for they live close by—or with her mother, and she always brings a little gift for Ramoncito's only child. Ramoncito has another sister whose daughter is already married. In this case it was Ramoncito again who made all the arrangements for the marriage, selecting a wealthy bridegroom, settling the bride price, and collecting it. He kept all of it for himself as he is supposed to do. None of the other relatives had anything to say regarding the marriage.

The following is another case, one from a different level of society. Carmelina is the daughter of a poor man who lives at San Antonio. She has only one maternal uncle, who is also poor. About a year ago her uncle insisted upon her marrying the bridegroom whom he had already selected for her. The bride price was arranged and collected by her uncle, but he being a wasteful man—according to Carmelina—went to Venezuela, sold the cattle there and spent all of his money. Since that time this uncle has been trying to get some cattle from Carmelina's husband, but, as he has no further claim on his niece, they have refused him. Carmelina, apparently is happy in her marriage and glad to be out of her uncle's reach. He pays frequent visits to his niece, but as he is received with cool indifference his visits are less frequent than they used to be.

Now for the actual pattern of behavior. The present writer was able to observe personally the mode of behavior between Estrella and Ramoncito and between Carmelina and her uncle. Let us take Estrella's case first. Apart from the fact that in the Guajira whenever we find a mixed group the women in-

[96 cont.]

832 witchcraft have "whispered" over them, that is, when they repeat over them a series of magic incantations which have the object of giving them the power to make a man, or men, love the owner [97] as she may desire, and especially her husband when it is the case of a married woman.

We have seen in previous paragraphs how the hair of a pubescent girl serves as a base for men to make magic charms which can be used against the girl. But the hair of such girls in different circumstances serves to attract men in general and causes a woman to be looked on with such deference by a man that he buys her to take as a wife at a good price. For this [826 reason the young Guajiro woman, especially those of the Sierra 302] de Jarara, keep their hair when it is cut. At times to make the action more effective and to obtain better and quicker results, they place it under a patch of cow dung. The association of [237] their hair with cow dung is founded on a socio-economic phenomenon which we might briefly clarify.

556 We have seen repeatedly that wealth in La Guajira is calculated by the number of heads of livestock that an individual owns; and it can be observed how a wife in their social or- 583 832 ganization is obtained by purchase. When the buyer is a rich man he pays in heads of cattle or horses; when poor, in goats and sheep. Hence it is clear every woman aspires to be paid for in cows and in a greater number than those paid for other women, as this establishes an advance in her social status. This is the reason why she buries her hair under cow dung and not that of any other animal. She has made a very primitive association but [237] one that speaks for itself. It would appear that the magic attraction is brought about by the dung, and the results desired are increased if this is from the cow, the animal of most value in La Guajira.

826 In any case, young women are most careful about leaving their cut hair about where it could be picked up by another person, and for this reason they guard it all their lives, giving it in this way a sacred quality. This characteristic which we have called sacred stems from the magic connection established by the primitive between a person and the different parts of his body, to

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
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Estrella and her uncle may be controlled somewhat by personal regard and affection, such appear not to exist in the relations between Carmelina and her uncle. 604

The behavior of the senior maternal uncle is uniformly the same toward all of his nieces so far as the prescribed conduct is concerned, although he may not personally feel exactly the same toward every one of them due to individual difference in character and personality.

The behavior described so far has been that of the uncle and niece in public. As to the private relations between them, the present writer was informed that the relations were no different in private than in public.

Cases in which the niece goes against her uncle's will in marriage and elopes are very infrequent in the Guajira. When they occur they are severely criticized and the girl gets the reputation of being loose. Public opinion is so strong that in all the cases except one, which came to the attention of the present writer, the couple has had to move to another community away from both her family and his. The case in which the uncle has at first been opposed to the marriage but finally consents on the insistence of the couple falls into a different category. Such a couple is not criticized and may live without fear in the community. 583 584 604 626

Summary

As regards the senior maternal uncle and senior nephew relationship: first, the nephew, at least theoretically, is the recipient of benefits, and conducts himself with extreme propriety. Regardless of the regard or affection, he may or may not have for his uncle, he behaves according to rule lest public opinion turn against him and curtail his chances for trade, marriage, etc. Toward his other uncles, there seems to be no prescribed pattern and he may behave toward them as he pleases. Second, the attitude of the uncle toward his nephew is again largely controlled by public opinion. It is true that he does not have to show such marked formality as his nephew shows toward him, but on the other hand he must do nothing detrimental to the character or respect-status of the nephew. His behavior toward 604

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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423 It is, of course, only the usufruct that is inherited. The land
614 can neither be sold nor given away, for it belongs to the clan. All members of a clan have the right to pasture their herds in the clan's territories, and every man also has the right to graze his beasts and to use wool and water in the lands belonging to his wife's clan. That is one of the advantages he acquires in return for the bride-price he has paid.
515 There has developed a class distinction unusual among
614 Indians on the primitive level. A man of simple origins can sometimes marry into a high-born family, but he does not become any the better for that, though his children belong to their mother's aristocratic clan. It is, however, seldom that a man of humble family can get himself a girl from the upper classes—that could only happen if he had inherited or had relatives who could help him pay the bride-price.
513 This is so high that a young man almost always has to have
614 the help of his clan to pay it. The relative of a girl of really good family may demand £2000 worth of cattle, while a girl of humbler stock can be had for £50 worth. The amount can be paid in money, but that is only done in the south, in the areas belonging to Venezuela, where the Indians are more accustomed to coins and have confidence in gold.

It must not be imagined that this is a question of purchase like buying a donkey, a cow or a slave. It is a transaction that concerns both clans. One should not marry within one's
[79] own clan. In the old days that was forbidden, but now they are not so strict, since the clans are often split into local sub-groups. The whole marriage transaction is well adapted to the social and economic system. (When, during the first oil rush, white workers from the Maracaibo oil fields bought poor girls, usually of half-breed parents, those were transactions whose legality under Goajiro law was merely fictitious.) The bridegroom's family helps him to pay the bride-price and contributes generously if the girl is of good family. The bride-price is to some extent regarded as compensation for what the family expended on the girl while she was growing up.

When a couple's first daughter marries, the father asks

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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for her as much as will enable him to repay the cattle the clan laid out for him when he married. The amounts obtained for younger daughters are also distributed among the family in a certain way. Payment of the bride-price confers a number of benefits. During the first year the newly married couple usually live as the guests of the bride's family. As has been said, the husband has the right to use the land owned by his wife's clan. The bride always brings a dowry in the form of ornaments and household utensils, often of cattle as well. The husband must look after the cattle, unless, as happens, the girl's family sends its own herdsman to see to them. The bride usually provides all the furnishings of the huts, as well as materials, hammocks and other textiles. 583 614 [591]

These advantages offset the bride-price to a quite considerable extent. The husband knows, too, that his wife's relations will keep an eye on her when he is away, for if she betrays him, he can return her to her family and require refund of the bride-price and payment of compensation. Thus the bride-price also acts as a guarantee against a grass widow kicking over the traces.

If the husband does not fulfil his duties, or if he treats his wife badly, her family can take her back without returning the bride-price. After that the man will naturally get no help from his clan, if he wishes to get himself another wife. [586]

It is not always possible for the groom and his relations to pay all the bride-price immediately. In such cases it is possible to pay by instalments. The groom pays a large proportion of the price when the bride is handed over to him. If he is unable to pay the balance at the time fixed, he must give the girl back, losing what he has already paid. The girl is now less valuable in the marriage market, being second-hand, so to speak. The man is made to pay for the time he has had her and thereby makes up for the lower price she can command, if a new suitor turns up. According to this principle a seducer must pay compensation to the family of the girl he has seduced. It sometimes happens that a couple fall in love and the parents approve, but the young [584]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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583 man cannot immediately pay any worthwhile part of the
614 bride-price. The young man may then abduct the girl with the tacit consent of her parents, and thereby postpone having to pay the bride-price. After some time, the girl's relatives will require payment, but meantime his family will have been trying to scrape together at least a first instalment.

Genuine abduction does occur occasionally, but only when the man knows that the girl's clan is weak and that her relatives will thus have difficulty in claiming their rights. He will take the girl as far away as possible. If he is caught, her relatives will try to demand a bride-price. Perhaps he is already tired of the girl by then and wants to return her. She is the clan's property and is not being returned un-
583 damaged, so the man must pay damages for seduction and,
565 if the girl is pregnant, also for childbirth.

In the lower classes that would dispose of the matter.
614 The baby would in any event be taken into the mother's
684 clan and have her name. In the upper classes a girl would be turned out if she had had such an accident and the considerable damages required had not been paid immediately. The clan's prestige cannot be allowed to suffer.

Indian girls never keep a seducer's name secret, but at once tell their family who he is.

Among the lower classes cases of wives eloping are said to occur. The man to whom they have gone can legalize the position by paying compensation to the husband. If the husband agrees to do a deal, he cannot ask as much as the bride-price he himself paid, for the girl is by then less valuable.

It follows from all this that a woman has not the right to
560 dispose of her own body. She belongs to her mother's
583 family until she marries, and her closest relatives must be compensated for any injury done her. Once the man has paid the bride-price she becomes his property. If she is
[768] widowed, she is inherited along with the rest of his effects by his nephews (sister's sons) and she has to purchase her freedom from them, paying a sum equivalent to the bride-price less what she is held to have lost in value since marriage.

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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622 Chiefs are polygynous and have many daughters, for
595 whom very high bride prices are paid—sometimes thousands of animals,
583 worth $6,000 to $10,000. Such rich chiefs take great pride in their
556 daughters, dressing them in fine silken robes and necklaces of gold and pearls and providing them with personal servants.

567 There is a class of slaves who are beneath the chiefs' retainers in the social hierarchy. It consists of people born into this status and of captives.

PROPERTY

422 All cattle, though individually owned, belong in theory to the local group as a whole and are worked for the common benefit of all. For example, the cattle paid as a bride price when a girl marries within her own sib go to a new owner, but the milk, butter, cheese, and hides from them continue to be shared by everyone in the sib. When a woman receives cattle as a bride price for her daughter any new stock born to them belongs to the daughter's husband and his sons, and when the animals are rounded up for the annual branding each son is allowed to brand a certain number of them.

ETIQUETTE

576 The *Goajiro* are in general unfriendly to strangers but have a well-
577 established code of hospitality. Strangers calling at a house must wait until invited in. Inside a house a bowl of chicha or rum (coffee when available) is the first gift offered the visitor, who is thereafter given a hammock and treated as a member of the family. A special feast may
[565] be arranged if there are many guests. A guest of high rank is feasted, and some of the young girls of the house may be placed at his disposal.

LAW AND ORDER

627 The chiefs have little power outside their own local group, where they settle minor disputes. The solution of many disputes and transgressions of custom are left to the parties concerned. The laws of group respon-
628 sibility and group retaliation lead to frequent intertribal feuds. A person
614 without a strong sib to protect him is helpless, for others may use any act which may conceivably be interpreted as harmful as pretext for demanding indemnity. For example, a person injured while intoxicated may demand payment from the person who sold him the rum, or a person injured by a borrowed animal may demand payment from the owner of the animal; a thief who hurts himself when trespassing on the property of his intended victim will demand compensation of him; and anyone aiding a sick or wounded person who subsequently dies incurs a liability.

672 If a person injures himself he must make an expiatory gift to the members of his own sib and a lesser gift to his father's relatives. If a child dies when under the care of one parent, this parent must reimburse

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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water but is given an herbal purgative. Her hair is cut short. Generally 531
several of her relatives stay around the door of the hut, and strangers
and men with an eye to matrimony may look in. During this period the
girl is taught the duties of married life and such skills as weaving,
sewing, and making hammocks. When she emerges, stout and bleached,
a special festival is held, when she resumes her ornaments and puts on
the adult clothes that she has made during her confinement. She is now
considered marriageable. The length of her confinement depends on
her status, though theoretically it lasts until her hair again reaches the [554
nape of her neck. Poor girls are secluded only a few weeks, rich girls 556]
up to 2 years.

Sexual life and marriage.—Little is known about the sexual life of 536
the *Goajiro*. A certain amount of promiscuous love making occurs among
the young people at the biweekly festivals. Dances also provide an op-
portunity for sexual advances.

There are some male transvestites who carry on only female activities 538
and are ridiculed by the men.

When a man desires to marry he sends his father or uncle as inter- 539
mediary, then pays a bride price which has been set by the girl's relatives. 583
The payment is usually in cattle, but goats, pearls, liquor, cotton cloth, 602
and gold ornaments also are used. The father retains the purchase price
only when his first daughter marries; the income of subsequent marriages
goes to the girl's senior maternal uncles. The mother also receives part
of the income. A son obtains the cattle for the bride payment from
the increase of his father's herds.

Intermarriage between the sibs is frequent, and many of the *Goajiro* 582
give their daughters to "civilizados" from Maracaibo and Rio Hacha,
who pay higher prices and find such a tie with the Indians useful in their
trading relations.

The marriage ceremony consists of a series of feasts and exchanges of 585
presents between the two families. The wedding night is spent at the [601
ranchería of the bride's mother, but the nuptial hammock (specially
woven by the female relatives of the bride) is hung from a tree some dis-
tance away from the house. For a period of days and even months the
bridegroom leaves his bride at dawn and returns only after sunset. In [604
this way the groom shows respect to his mother-in-law.

Polygyny is general. The number of wives depends on the economic 595
status of the husband, some men having as many as 20. Each wife lives
in her own house, where her husband occasionally visits her. The man,
as head of the polygynous household, supervises the daily slaughter of [642
animals and the distribution of meat and corn to each household accord-
ing to the number of its members.

If a wife shirks her domestic duties she may be divorced and her hus- 584
band may claim the return of the bride price cattle, plus their increase and

S:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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536 minus an amount considered equivalent for the sexual right he had exer-
[illegible] cised. If a woman dies in her first childbirth the husband may demand
●585 the full return of the bride price (Simons, 1885, p. 792, however, states that the wife's relatives demand compensation from the husband).
586 Adultery entails divorce with full return of the bride price. It rarely
587 occurs, however, as the wife will be treated badly by her own relatives.
587 At his death a man's wives are inherited by his brother, and next by his
768 sister's sons; the women may avoid this by making a payment equivalent
184 to their bride price. If he is of the Catholic faith his children may claim to be his legal heirs, which leads to conflict with the maternal nephews. (See Social Organization, p. 374.)

562 The influence of women in political affairs is sometimes noticeable.
622 There are cases of female chiefs, and women are respected enough so as to be able to intervene and stop brawls.

764 **Death.**—Funerals are accompanied by festivities which last days or even
[illegible] weeks, according to the wealth of the family. There are some differences
[illegible] in the funeral ceremonies which are apparently associated with the par-
[illegible] ticular site. These funeral feasts afford the best opportunity for display of wealth, and more than 1,000 head of livestock may be butchered. Every mourner who comes to the feast contributes animals for slaughter and continues to do so as long as he cares to remain. After the mourning period, marked by weeping and lamenting interspersed with drinking and feasting, the corpse, which has lain in a hammock slung from the rafters,
[illegible] is sewn up in hides by the women (men may not touch a dead body) *and carried to the cemetery of the tribe. For a year or so, the body only* lie temporarily consigned to a shallow grave marked by a pile of stones. Food and drink are often placed in the grave, and, if the deceased had been a warrior, his bows and arrows are put in. A year or two later the bones
764 are exhumed and reburied in a large urn. The exhumation is generally
765 done at night and is accompanied by a feast. The remains are carried in a funeral procession to the dead person's birthplace, where they are buried in the family's own cemetery. The funeral urn is placed in a vertical position with the narrow neck of the jar protruding above ground to permit the free entry and exit of the spirit and to allow the remains of other members of the family to be added from time to time. A cactus hedge surrounds the cemetery, and in wet weather half a calabash is placed over the opening of each jar to keep out the rain. Whenever two relatives of a recently deceased person meet, they bow to the ground, shouting and groaning, for several minutes. (*For a slightly different account of the burial of a rich man, see* Simons, 1885, p. 792.)

761 If a person is stricken with smallpox the whole tribe moves away, only
764 the family of the sick person remaining. When the death occurs they bury the body below the floor and burn the hut over the grave.

9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
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159 554 office expired (in two years time) he sought and obtained a position in the Federal Ministry of Public Works in a project which was seeking the best places to drill water wells all over the Guajira peninsula. He held this job for about a year and half. He is now employed in the Guajira office, in Paraguaipoa, of the Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry and is "ad honorem" agent of the Comisión Indigenista in the Guajira. In these two jobs he gets paid only when he performs certain work, such as when he recently acted as guide and interpreter for the present writer.

159 554 583 614 585 During his term as Prefect of Paez (Sinamaica) he married, according to the Guajira tradition and law, one of the daughters of To'olito Fernandez, for whom he had to pay a very high price, as the girl was the daughter of an important chief. Following Guajira law the price for the bride was gathered among the members of the Uriana clan to which Perez belongs due to his mother's heritage. Incidentally, as Fernandez also belongs to the Uriana clan he had to contribute in the collection of the bride-price of his own daughter although, of course, the amount collected did not go to him but to the girl's maternal uncle. This was a typical exogamous marriage as the girl belongs to the [595] Guajariyú clan, that being her mother's clan. At present, Perez keeps two households, one in Maracaibo with his white wife and son, whom he visits once or twice a week, if he is not doing any special work for the ministries; the other, is his native household at the Laguna del Pajaro, Guajira, where he remains most of his time. He has had no children with his Indian wife. His two simultaneous marriages have brought him no trouble with the law, as according to Guajiro tradition polygyny is perfectly acceptable, and according to Venezuelan law he has only one legitimate wife.

159 595 It is interesting to note at this point that Perez denies having a white wife in Maracaibo, although he does not deny having the son and shows pride in saying that his son is in medical school. The present writer was not able to fathom the reasons behind this denial. Data regarding his Maracaibo marriage was obtained from Perez's father who was also unable to furnish good motives for the fact that Perez tries to hide that he has a household in that city. To test this point the writer, after the

/63 cont./

581 The Indian also values the relatives of his future wife, be-
593 cause if she has rich relatives and he pays well for her, these will feel themselves obliged to supply her and her children with means of subsistence to live, freeing him from a responsibility which would otherwise restrict his freedom. /64/

To marry into an economically strong group has the advantage that this will bring to the marriage a dowry fitting his esteem, which the future husband will administer, as well as a series of gifts which the women's relatives will make to his children, and, what will increase his prestige, the number of ornaments, dresses, etc., which she will bring with her and in which she will appear in due time. Furthermore, although his marrying one of these women implies a heavy disbursement at the moment, in the long run he will receive suitable reimbursement with the payment for his first daughter to be bought, which belongs in full to the father.

584 Neither does the man disregard the social value of the
583 woman, above all in his first marriage, which is the one that represents it. By this purchase he and his relatives, as well as those of the girl, try to arrange an alliance which will reinforce two strong families or tighten the bonds between them. This induces them in many cases not to consider the choice of the bride (not so much at present), the elders freely making arrangements, in order to obtain the advantage of a high price, the linking with a group whom they fear, avoiding thus prejudice and strengthening friendship, but at the same time hazarding the possibility of the woman's committing suicide. This same fact is what permits the abduction of a woman, which is not considered such in the wide sense of the word but rather an acquiescence on the part of the woman's relatives, who look complacently on these relations, having confidence in the compliance with the payment on the part of the man. It is a deed which demonstrates good faith on the part of relatives on the woman's side to which the man must respond by arranging an immediate and satisfactory payment, if he does not want to

/64 cont./

have a serious stain placed on his prestige as a man in good financial standing and one who complies with Guajiro law. So they test, unconsciously perhaps, the feelings of the two groups who are seeking the alliance: trust on one side and solvency and good faith of the other. It is a test of friendship in which each side puts in evidence the wish of surpassing the other.

Also figured in the social valuation of a woman is her knowledge of the language as this means in Guajiro that she has palabra /literally, "word"/ (Cf. Caciques), that is to say, that she has a wide knowledge of the language and can use it adequately in delicate situations in which it is necessary to bring to bear every oratorical gift and know how to measure her words and the customary phrases in order to attain her end or to guide the discussion to a level where the facts will follow the legal line. A woman, when she has these qualities, may act as a mediator in a quarrel, and on the result favorable to the person she has represented will depend her personal aggrandisement, by which she acquires prestige and is called in to mediate in even more complicated matters, /65/ by this means increasing her personal position and that of her group and converting other clans into satellites, submissive to her will, in payment for benefits received, thus still further increasing her power which indirectly extends to her husband. This acquisition is a cause for vanity and pride in the husband.

From this talent of tener palabra /literally, "to have word"/ there emerges a series of sequences which build up the social aspect of a home. A woman who possesses that quality knows the Guajiro social protocol and can fully comply with it, thus avoiding conflicts with other groups; she also knows the legal system of the peninsula and by such knowledge can protect the interests of her family group, including her husband, as she will confine his conduct to that which is established, which eases the husband's life and his relationships with his feminine relatives. She makes possible the knitting together of these two disparate elements and creates the bond of union between the

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

88 weaving, making dresses, hammocks, sashes, &c., sewing, and all the
[564] little knick-knacks Indians love so well.

The confinement is not so isolated as it seems, generally several of her female relations are round the door with the enclosed, who of course becomes rather stout, much blanched, almost white, and some exceedingly beautiful. Strangers and men are not excluded from peeping in through
[584] the door, always with an eye to matrimony, and she can be sold and liberated at once, though her husband if rich prefers leaving her to complete her term of schooling. On re-entering to society again, a special festival, *ahaitie*, is held with dancing, &c. An ox is killed, and the girl is dressed in the clothes she has made; her hair is cut and she resumes all her beads, necklaces, bracelets, and other ornaments.

562 Women are much respected by the Goajiros. In a quarrel or drunken
[579] brawl, women often save bloodshed by stepping in and tearing the weapons out of their husband's or brother's hand. Travelling with women is consequently perfectly safe, and in case of danger, if one undertakes to protect a stranger, he may rely upon coming out all right.

583 Matrimony is a mere case of barter. The girl is sold for a certain price, fixed by the father. This is paid by the intended husband, and divided by the father, who appropriates the best part for himself and his relations, the rest going to the wife's relations. As it is chiefly in
585 cattle, these are killed and a kind of bridal festival held. There is no other ceremony. A wife is under obligation to support her husband,
589 find him in food, clothes, &c. She does most of the trading, and a
[462] contract made with an Indian is worthless, should his better half object. An Indian cannot inflict bodily injury on his wife, for he becomes liable
[583] to her relations, and should she die during childbirth he has to repay the father what he gave for her. But if the wife is untrue (a rare occur-
[589] rence) he demands from the father the price he paid for her, who if he cannot refund, helps him to recover from the seducer, plus tear or compensation from his mother-in-law. At the husband's death, the
587 wife becomes a legacy to his brother, usually the youngest; if there are
764 none, then his nephew inherits her. The daughter of a chief is worth, according to his wealth and power (i. e. the number of men he can
583 disperse of in a fight) from 6 to 150 head of cattle (12*l.* to 300*l.*).

764 When a person dies, a grand drinking festival is given, that lasts as long as there is anything to drink—days, and even weeks, with the wealthy. These latter are buried twice, and have two festivals. A rich person is always buried in the ranche, and on the spot where he was born; being often carried for that purpose immense distances. A fire is lighted every night from sunset to sunrise in front of the grave, for the sole use of the dead. Immense piles of wood are gathered for this purpose, as the body is kept two years in the house. Then all the relations can meet on a certain day, and the second feast takes place, when the bones are carefully gathered, placed in a jar, and consigned to the

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
SC13 Goajiro SC13

604 Regarding the marriage of the senior nephew, the maternal
584 uncle plays no prescribed part, unless the prospective bride comes from a very wealthy family and consequently the bride price is quite high. In such cases the uncle is expected to help
[583] with a small donation to meet the price. Although this is expected from him he has no say whatsoever in the selection of the bride. The bride price in its entirety, or certainly in major part, is paid by the father of the bridegroom. The influence of the uncle, even if he has happened to help pay part of the bride price, is practically zero. This is the rule, but naturally in-
[183] dividual deviations from it are found. The case of Camilo is again illustrative of this. Although he is not contemplating marriage for the present, Camilo told the present writer that once he had made up his mind to get married he would go to his uncle for advice. No other such cases came to the attention of the writer, but speaking with other informants on this subject he was invariably told that such cases do often occur and that they are not out of the ordinary. However, this is not prescribed behavior and arises only from personal regard or affection.

604 There is a prescribed pattern of conduct that both the senior maternal uncle and his senior nephew must observe when in each other's company, regardless of what personal sentiments they have for each other. If there are other people around the nephew must always keep silence if his uncle is speaking and if the nephew wants to say something he must first ask permission of his uncle. This permission is asked by the nephew rising from his seat or, if he is already standing, by tapping his uncle on the arm. The uncle is at complete liberty to grant or refuse the permission; however, a refusal was never witnessed by the present writer. In all ways the nephew must show respect and
604 conduct himself with propriety. If he, in any way, should fail
626 to conform, he would be severely criticised, not only by his uncle but also by the rest of the company, whether they were relatives or not. On the other hand, the uncle must not laugh at his nephew,—although he may laugh with him,—and if his nephew says something wrong he must correct him in such a way that his nephew would not feel hurt. Should the uncle do otherwise he would be subjected to criticism, not by his nephew, but by the rest of the company.

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
SC13 Goajiro SC13

604 the niece the giver. Another difference is that while the giving-receiving relation in the uncle-nephew situation is between the senior nephew and his senior maternal uncle, in the uncle-niece situation it is between the senior maternal uncle and all the daughters of all his sisters.

In the senior maternal uncle-niece relationship the whole [428] question of inheritance is out of the picture, as in Guajiro culture the woman, regardless of her status, cannot inherit. The nieces never expect and never get anything from any of their uncles in the way of inheritance or otherwise. Consequently we can dismiss economic expectations on the part of the niece as a motivating factor. Their behavior toward their senior maternal uncle is the resultant of other factors. The senior maternal uncle being on his part the receiver of benefits may act from affection or regard, or from selfish or other motives, or combinations thereof.

604 The senior maternal uncle receives material profits from all 583 of his sisters' daughters through the bride price. The bride price, however big or small, must be paid to the senior maternal uncle of the bride, while he on the other hand does not contribute anything toward the dowry which the bride must present to the bridegroom. The bride price must always be paid in cattle, while the dowry usually consists of gifts of clothing, household goods, hammocks, etc. Consequently the senior maternal uncle is very much interested in the marriage of his nieces and sees that they marry advantageously. He may accept or reject [584] a prospective bridegroom at will, and the girl has to conform [183] and to say nothing in the matter. This is the theory and to a great extent the practice, although there are cases in which the uncle has given in on the insistence of the niece or of the prospective bridegroom or of both, and a few cases of elopement have also come to the notice of the present writer. As previously mentioned, all of this concerns only the senior maternal uncle and all the daughters of all his sisters: the other uncles, maternal or other, have no say in the matter.

604 The following cases will serve as illustrations. Estrella is 584 the daughter of Ramoncito's oldest sister. They all belong to the wealthy class. She is now of marriageable age—about 15

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
SC13 Goajiro SC13

or 16 years old—and it is entirely up to Ramoncito to find a suitable mate for her. As yet there is no prospective bridegroom but when he is found he will be entirely Ramoncito's choice. Ramoncito may seek the advice of Estrella's parents, but the final say rests with him. Even the girl has little or nothing to do with the selection. Ramoncito will settle the bride price and collect it all for himself. He will not share it with his other brothers nor will the girl's parents receive any part of it. Ramoncito concerns himself greatly about Estrella and seldom lets a day pass without paying her a visit. Estrella comes to visit her uncle quite frequently too, either alone—for they live close by—or with her mother, and she always brings a little gift for Ramoncito's only child. Ramoncito has another sister whose daughter is already married. In this case it was Ramoncito again who made all the arrangements for the marriage, selecting a wealthy bridegroom, settling the bride price, and collecting it. He kept all of it for himself as he is supposed to do. None of the other relatives had anything to say regarding the marriage. 604 584 [583] [574] [431]

The following is another case, one from a different level of society. Carmelina is the daughter of a poor man who lives at San Antonio. She has only one maternal uncle, who is also poor. About a year ago her uncle insisted upon her marrying the bridegroom whom he had already selected for her. The bride price was arranged and collected by her uncle, but he being a wasteful man—according to Carmelina—went to Venezuela, sold the cattle there and spent all of his money. Since that time this uncle has been trying to get some cattle from Carmelina's husband, but, as he has no further claim on his niece, they have refused him. Carmelina, apparently is happy in her marriage and glad to be out of her uncle's reach. He pays frequent visits to his niece, but as he is received with cool indifference his visits are less frequent than they used to be. [583] [574]

Now for the actual pattern of behavior. The present writer was able to observe personally the mode of behavior between Estrella and Ramoncito and between Carmelina and her uncle. Let us take Estrella's case first. Apart from the fact that in the Goajira whenever we find a mixed group the women in- 604 [562]

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
SC13 Goajiro SC13

Estrella and her uncle may be controlled somewhat by personal regard and affection, such appear not to exist in the relations between Carmelina and her uncle. 604

The behavior of the senior maternal uncle is uniformly the same toward all of his nieces so far as the prescribed conduct is concerned, although he may not personally feel exactly the same toward every one of them due to individual difference in character and personality.

The behavior described so far has been that of the uncle and niece in public. As to the private relations between them, the present writer was informed that the relations were no different in private than in public.

Cases in which the niece goes against her uncle's will in marriage and elopes are very infrequent in the Guajira. When they occur they are severely criticized and the girl gets the reputation of being loose. Public opinion is so strong that in all the cases except one, which came to the attention of the present writer, the couple has had to move to another community away from both her family and his. The case in which the uncle has at first been opposed to the marriage but finally consents on the insistence of the couple falls into a different category. Such a couple is not criticized and may live without fear in the community. 583 584 604 626

Summary

As regards the senior maternal uncle and senior nephew relationship: first, the nephew, at least theoretically, is the recipient of benefits, and conducts himself with extreme propriety. Regardless of the regard or affection, he may or may not have for his uncle, he behaves according to rule lest public opinion turn against him and curtail his chances for trade, marriage, etc. Toward his other uncles, there seems to be no prescribed pattern and he may behave toward them as he pleases. Second, the attitude of the uncle toward his nephew is again largely controlled by public opinion. It is true that he does not have to show such marked formality as his nephew shows toward him, but on the other hand he must do nothing detrimental to the character or respect-status of the nephew. His behavior toward 604

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

797 they take into boarding schools, so-called *erfelinstar*. It
736 was not difficult to get children for these schools there. Many poor families voluntarily hand their children over in hard times, when they cannot support them themselves. Others sell them for a quantity of maize. If the mission did not buy them, some well-to-do chief would, and they
[567] would become slaves. The monks did not always know whether a child offered them was stolen or not.

Well-to-do Indians also liked to send their children to Nazaret to learn Spanish and other useful things. These, however, often became more Indian than the Indians once they left the school. We met a few who refused to remember their Spanish and who appeared to be quite uninfluenced by the monks. This evident reaction against civilisation was due, perhaps, to the strictly ordered life of the school.

The poor children had to stay there always. Some of them worked in a cotton plantation which the monks had started in order to help the mission's finances. There were already one or two married couples. They were not considered proper Indians, because the men wore trousers.

• 584 A Guajiro girl is normally not allowed to choose her
797 husband. Her family does that. Thus, if the monks and nuns decided which pupil was to marry which, it amounted to the same thing. The monks, of course, did not get a bride-price, nor did the bridegroom often receive his morning-gift that traditionally consists of ornaments and clothing.

797 Why had they built the mission station just at that spot, where it was so difficult to maintain it? The choice had been dictated mainly by the monks' desire to try and save children and others from being sold as slaves. Also there was water and it was near a harbour.

567 Do people really traffic in slaves in our day? Yes, slavery still exists. In Guajira, the traffic increases whenever there is a drought and times are bad. It has always gone through Castilletes on the south coast, which lies just where the frontier between Colombia and Venezuela reaches the sea. The slaves are sold to Venezuela, which is also more accessible for that part of the peninsula.

7:Bollnder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

How must a girl look to find favour with them? She must 832
be tall, broad-hipped and have firm prominent breasts and well-rounded curves. Flabbiness the men do not like, but they do not seem to worry about the shape of their women's legs. These, of course, are hidden beneath the wide tunic, but the wind sweeps this against them, outlining them. It is fortunate for the Guajiro women that their men do not attach importance to the shape of their legs, for they are seldom lovely. To our eyes they seem too short and badly shaped. The men attach much importance to gentle, dignified behaviour. The Guajiro girl should have large eyes and good teeth, but the most important thing of all is that she should be light-skinned; that is the hall-mark of gentility. No girl ever neglects her beauty decoctions, not even when [302] she is in the charge of the nuns at the mission station and thus not isolated as the rule is at home. The rules she has to observe and the medicines she must take are of importance not only for her appearance, but also for her physique. If she follows her instructions, she will give birth without difficulty and there will be no risk of the baby being still- [845] born. Her mother and her family are held to be partially responsible if the first-born dies in or after birth, for that means that on some point the complicated rules governing the girl's period of incarceration have been neglected.

A girl is by no means idle while she is shut up; quite 881
the contrary. She spins and weaves industriously, under 868
supervision of the old woman, and learns the details of housekeeping and how to prepare different foods. Actually she will know most of this already, having taken a more or less active part in the work of the household ever since she was able to walk. She also receives instruction in how to behave, is initiated into the duties incumbent upon a housewife, what she must do as spouse and mother, in the various aspects of married life and in the mysteries of sex.

No man is allowed to enter the girl's little hut, and she 881
is not allowed to meet men, receive visitors or be with her 581
family, if visitors come. When the guardian considers that the girl can be let out, usually after a year or two—the news spreads quickly and guests start to come with or without

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

881 invitation. Again cattle are butchered, and there is drinking
•584 and dancing and horse-racing. Numbers of men come to see if they would like to put themselves forward as suitors. The more eminent guests are received in the house itself, and the girl is now present. Her shorn hair has grown and been trimmed to a page-boy cut, and she wears her best clothes
[754 and new ornaments. She hides her hair clippings carefully
826] in a bag, for she does not want to risk anyone getting hold of them and using them to acquire power over her by the arts of magic. Later, she will secretly bury them under a
[789 cow pat. That will help to increase her herds. The droppings
514] of various animals play a great part in the magic of the Guajiro, and it would seem that there is negro influence here as well.

881 The girl has now been born again—she is a new person, a woman. She knows all that an adult woman needs to know and can do everything that a wife and mother should be able to do. Pale and lovely, she steps out into life once more and inquisitive young men swarm round her. The rich give a big feast, the poor provide simpler fare, but it is always a great occasion.

[582] A Guajiro man will never marry a girl before she has undergone this period of confinement, which means that people seldom marry too early. It is said that in the old days
[595 rich old men with several wives sometimes bought little
831] poor girls as concubines, believing that that would enhance their virility.

The girl's long segregation is intended to protect her from the supernatural dangers that are thought to threaten her, especially during this sensitive period of transition from childhood to womanhood. The girl can also be dangerous to others through being exposed to attack by spirits. It is only practical that during this period she should practise handicrafts.

252 Going back to the house, we found the women at the fires, which there were protected by special small cactus
[354] screens. There was no need to have them under a roof at that time of the year, only to shelter them from the wind. The pots stood over the fire supported on three stones.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

would not have been pleased if we had not managed to get her looking nice and pale. In reality her complexion was perhaps a shade too dark. Mauana asked if everyone in our country was as fair-skinned as my wife, and when I assured him that they were, he wondered whether he should not send his daughter to Sweden for a time to let her become lighter. The girl did not appear to be so very young. Francisco told us that Mauana was not finding it easy to marry her off. Being the greatest and richest chief in the Macuira Hills, with plantations that were always watered, the price he must ask for her was considerable by Indian standards, and though there had been no lack of inquiries, no deal had yet been made. All this according to Francisco. The price could not be lowered. The girl's uncle insisted on that, as she did too. Every Indian girl is proud of commanding a high price. That not only shows that she is of good family, but also that her mother and grandmother cost a lot too, in other words that she is of an old, propertied family.

'You often hear people say,' Francisco added, 'that it is better to pay little for a wife from a poor family who has been taught to work well, than to give much for a rich girl who only wants to be waited upon. But the fact is that the rich girl's family will provide her with what she might need to live according to her status even after she has married. She will still be supported from home. That, of course, lightens the husband's duties: so it isn't so silly to marry a rich wife,' and he sighed heavily.

Mauana then joined us and he too began discussing marriage. We had heard a certain amount on this subject already, but listened nonetheless attentively. A suitor does not go in person to ask for a girl's hand; he sends a proxy, his eldest maternal uncle or, if possible, a chief on his mother's side. His mother usually goes as well. Sometimes a whole deputation arrives, to be given a ceremonial reception.

The delegates bring with them gifts in the form of necklaces of gold beads and tuma stones. A man like Mauana could expect several of these. If the gifts are accepted, as almost always they are, they at once start discussing the

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

bride-price. (A refusal by the girl's family to accept the offerings can lead to a serious conflict between the two families.) The deputation then returns home and informs the suitor. He does not try to haggle. That is not done. Also he has a fairly good idea beforehand what he will be asked to pay. If his relatives can afford it, the price is paid in a lump sum in cows, which is the grandest method of payment. The cows are driven to the bride's house by slaves and followed by the bridegroom's maternal uncles, who are responsible for making settlement. They are given a festive reception and return with gifts of meat from a freshly slaughtered animal. The bridegroom does not go on this occasion either. He arrives later with some cows for his mother-in-law, which constitute a reward for the bridal bed, a beautiful hammock she has woven. This symbolizes his right of possession of the girl. 584

In the old days it was considered that a bride ought to be virgin, although now that manners are not so strict, this is not so strictly insisted upon. The white man usually explains the girl's period of confinement as being intended to protect her innocence; yet she would surely have more opportunity to kick over the traces when living by herself in a little hut, than if she were with her family and always under their eye. Among the better families at least, a husband can demand return of part of the bride-price if he discovers that he is not the first to enjoy the girl's favours. A bride who is not a virgin should thus command a lower price than a virgin. A girl with a child, or a wife another man has returned, commands even less, just as with the Moors, though that is not to say that the custom came from them. 585 836

Nowadays a sensible girl tells her intended husband if she has had an affaire, before the bride-price is settled, and thereby complications are avoided. A young man will seldom hesitate to marry a girl making such a confession.

A man's inmost thoughts often emerge under the influence of intoxication, when he sits in his hammock improvising a song, as the Indians do. Scornfully he may chant: 'Ah, ah, ah, ah, when I married my wife was not a maid.' If she was, he will sing: 'Ah, ah, ah, my bride was innocent.' [833]

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

water but is given an herbal purgative. Her hair is cut short. Generally §31
several of her relatives stay around the door of the hut, and strangers
and men with an eye to matrimony may look in. During this period the
girl is taught the duties of married life and such skills as weaving,
sewing, and making hammocks. When she emerges, strut and bleached,
a special festival is held, when she resumes her ornaments and puts on
the adult clothes that she has made during her confinement. She is now
considered marriageable. The length of her confinement depends on
her status, though theoretically it lasts until her hair again reaches the §54
nape of her neck. Poor girls are secluded only a few weeks, rich girls §54
up to 2 years.

Sexual life and marriage.—Little is known about the sexual life of §56
the *Goajiro*. A certain amount of promiscuous love making occurs among
the young people at the biweekly festivals. Dances also provide an op-
portunity for sexual advances.

There are some male transvestites who carry on only female activities §58
and are ridiculed by the men.

When a man desires to marry he sends his father or uncle as inter- §59
mediary, then pays a bride price which has been set by the girl's relatives. §59
The payment is usually in cattle, but goats, pearls, liquor, cotton cloth, §62
and gold ornaments also are used. The father retains the purchase price
only when his first daughter marries; the income of subsequent marriages
goes to the girl's senior maternal uncles. The mother also receives part
of the income. A son obtains the cattle for the bride payment from
the increase of his father's herds.

Intermarriage between the sibs is frequent, and many of the *Goajiro* §62
give their daughters to "civilizados" from Maracaibo and Rio Hacha,
who pay higher prices and find such a tie with the Indians useful in their
trading relations.

The marriage ceremony consists of a series of feasts and exchanges of §65
presents between the two families. The wedding night is spent at the §66
ranchería of the bride's mother, but the nuptial hammock (specially
woven by the female relatives of the bride) is hung from a tree some dis-
tance away from the house. For a period of days and even months the
bridegroom leaves his bride at dawn and returns only after sunset. In §66
this way the groom shows respect to his mother-in-law.

Polygyny is general. The number of wives depends on the economic §75
status of the husband, some men having as many as 20. Each wife lives
in her own house, where her husband occasionally visits her. The men,
as head of the polygynous household, supervise the daily slaughter of §76
animals and the distribution of meat and corn to each household accord-
ing to the number of its members.

If a wife shirks her domestic duties she may be divorced and her hus- §84
band may claim the return of the bride price cattle, plus their increase and

9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
SC13 Goajiro SC13

writer hopes in future researches to complete the picture of leadership among the Guajiro and the present breakdown in their social organization.

As mentioned above, traditional form clan leadership is obtained either through inheritance or by selection made by a council of elders. Perez's case is entirely different and he has followed white culture means and ways, more or less, in obtaining leadership in Guajiro society irrespective of clan organization. In other words, he has become, in certain aspects, a leader of the Guajiro as a whole and not of a particular clan. It is to be expected that as more and more Guajiro individuals go to Maracaibo for higher education, these new methods, such as those utilized by Perez, of attaining status will become stronger and will also be a contributing factor in the final breakdown of the traditional clan leadership. Some years must pass, however, to determine conclusively whether this is the path that leadership in the Guajiro will take. At the moment four important clans still have their traditional leaders—the Pushaina, Uriana, Epinayú, and Epieyú—with strong and well defined heirs to their present leaders; and as long as the inheritance lines remain firm, clan leadership among these four clans will cling to the traditional. The rest of the clans, having lost their lines of inheritance and lacking men of strong personality to become their unquestioned leaders, will tend, we predict, to fall in step with new leaders of the Perez type. Such leaders will, undoubtedly, become more numerous as the acculturation process go forward.

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[124 cont.]

585 c) There is another very important fact in this sexual aspect of the fiesta that we are describing, which is what we might call proof of virginity. [125]

Virginity in woman is highly valued by the natives in spite of the fact that at the present time, due to economic ac- [836 178] culturative factors, it is increasingly difficult to find virgins among marriageable women, a state of affairs that the Indian male is well aware of. But it is always a matter of pride and something to be boasted of for a Guajiro man to find on his marriage night that his bride is a virgin. It is the custom, [583] furthermore, that if the man marries not knowing that his wife has lost her virginity and has the consequent disillusion on his wedding night, the bride's relatives have to return a part of the livestock which the man paid for her, especially the family neck- lace. The Indian's concern about this matter, which remains hidden when he is in a normal state, comes to the surface dur- [579 273] ing his drunken bouts, when he will sing about his wife, extolling her and boasting of having had a virgin in his marriage hammock, or insulting and degrading her in coarse improvisations when he considers that he has been defrauded.

524 746 831 This attitude toward sex on the part of the native, or better said this value he places on the virginity of his future wives, is expressed in a sort of game which is played at the Dance of the Kid. To play it, the girls gather in a group about a singer who [531] sings such a song as this: "Let us see, my pretty miss, if you are a virgin, if truly you have not run around too freely, if no young male has put his hands on your body." He then passes his hands over each girl's body, tickling her. He starts at her big toe and goes upward, touching her instep, calves, knees, thighs, genitals, hips, stomach, torso, breasts, armpits, and continues up her neck until he reaches the top of her head. The girl who remains quiet, indifferent, without laughing and without even a smile wins the test and is declared a virgin. The singer then sings again: "You are indeed a virgin, my lovely majayura....," and chants a veritable song of flattery and finishes by escorting her to a set place. He then continues with the rest of the girls gathered there, repeating the same routine. When a girl moves or laughs,

S: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajire SC13

88 weaving, making drums, hammocks, baskets, &c., sewing, and all the
[566] little knick-knacks Indians love so well.

The confinement is not so isolated as it seems, generally several of her female relations are round the door with the confined, who of course becomes rather stout, much bloodshed, almost white, and some exceedingly beautiful. Strangers and men are not excluded from peeping in through
[589] the door, always with an eye to matrimony, and she can be sold and liberated at once, though her husband if rich prefers leaving her to complete her term of schooling. On re-entering to society again, a special festival, chaste, is held with dancing, &c. An ox is killed, and the girl is dressed in the clothes she has made; her hair is cut and she removes all her beads, necklaces, bracelets, and other ornaments.

562 Women are much respected by the Goajiros. In a quarrel or drunken
[579] brawl, women often save bloodshed by stepping in and tearing the weapons out of their husband's or brother's hand. Travelling with women is consequently perfectly safe, and in case of danger, if one undertakes to protect a stranger, he may rely upon coming out all right.

583 Matrimony is a mere case of barter. The girl is sold for a certain price, fixed by the father. This is paid by the intended husband, and divided by the father, who appropriates the best part for himself and his relations, the rest going to the wife's relations. As it is chiefly in
● 585 cattle, these are killed and a kind of bridal festival held. There is no other ceremony. A wife is under obligation to support her husband,
593 find him in food, clothes, &c. She does most of the trading, and a
[462] contract made with an Indian is worthless, should his better half object. An Indian cannot inflict bodily injury on his wife, for he becomes liable
[585] to her relations, and should she die during childbirth he has to repay the father what he gave for her. But if the wife is untrue (a rare occur-
[589] rence) he demands from the father the price he paid for her, who if he cannot refund, helps him to recover from the seducer, plus tear or compensation from his mother-in-law. At the husband's death, the
587 wife becomes a legacy to his brother, usually the youngest; if there are
764 none, then his nephew inherits her. The daughter of a chief is worth,
583 according to his wealth and power (i.e. the number of men he can dispose of in a fight) from 6 to 150 head of cattle (13£ to 300£).

764 When a person dies, a grand drinking festival is given, that lasts as long as there is anything to drink—days, and even weeks, with the wealthy. These latter are buried twice, and have two festivals. A rich person is always buried in the garden, and on the spot where he was born; being often carried for that purpose hundreds distance. A fire is lighted every night from sunset to sunrise in front of the grave, for the sole use of the dead. Immense piles of wood are gathered for this purpose, as the body is kept two years in the house. Then all the relations can meet on a certain day, and the second feast takes place, when the bones are carefully gathered, placed in a jar, and consigned to the

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

bride-price. (A refusal by the girl's family to accept the offerings can lead to a serious conflict between the two families.) The deputation then returns home and informs the suitor. He does not try to haggle. That is not done. Also he has a fairly good idea beforehand what he will be asked to pay. If his relatives can afford it, the price is paid in a lump sum in cows, which is the grandest method of payment. The cows are driven to the bride's house by slaves and followed by the bridegroom's maternal uncles, who are responsible for making settlement. They are given a festive reception and return with gifts of meat from a freshly slaughtered animal. The bridegroom does not go on this occasion either. He arrives later with some cows for his mother-in-law, which constitute a reward for the bridal bed, a beautiful hammock she has woven. This symbolizes his right of possession of the girl. 534

In the old days it was considered that a bride ought to be virgin, although now that manners are not so strict, this is not so strictly insisted upon. The white man usually explains the girl's period of confinement as being intended to preserve her innocence; yet she would surely have more opportunity to kick over the traces when living by herself in a little hut, than if she were with her family and always under their eye. Among the better families at least, a husband can demand return of part of the bride-price if he discovers that he is not the first to enjoy the girl's favours. A bride who is not a virgin should thus command a lower price than a virgin. A girl with a child, or a wife another man has returned, commands even less, just as with the Moors, though that is not to say that the custom came from them. 535 535

Nowadays a sensible girl tells her intended husband if she has had an affair, before the bride-price is settled, and thereby complications are avoided. A young man will seldom hesitate to marry a girl making such a confession.

A man's innocent thoughts often emerge under the influence of intoxication, when he sits in his hammock improvising a song, as the Indians do. Sorrowfully he may chant: 'Ah, ah, ah, ah, when I married my wife was not a maid.' If she was, he will sing: 'Ah, ah, ah, my bride was innocent.' [533]

T;Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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585 Mamana said that while she is in confinement a girl will
[581] have been taught, among other things, the ceremonies cus-
tom requires her to show her husband.

When he arrives home, she hastens to hang up his ham-
583 mock and offer him something to drink. She at once prepares
a meal, if one is not yet ready. The master of the house has
[584] his own crockery, from which he alone eats, and his wife
must see that he has his favourite dishes and that they are
properly cooked. If he has returned from a journey or from
hunting, she must see that he has water to wash in and a
clean gaywaco. Once he has taken his place in the hammock,
she sits on the ground and tells him the day's events. If he
falls asleep, she sits in silence.

When the husband's friends or other people come to see
[586] him, the wife's place is again on the ground beside his
hammock. She does not butt in upon the men's conversa-
tion, but knows how to be amusing if she is spoken to. She
must see that each guest has a hammock to rest in and offer
everyone refreshments. Men are proud to have such a
hostess for a wife.

[587] In the husband's absence a wife must receive visitors
courteously, but observe caution, if they are men. She will
hang a hammock under a roofed shelter close to the house,
but will not let the visitor inside. She will then offer him
refreshments and sit down beside his hammock with some
handwork.

It goes without saying that she must take good care of her
husband's belongings and property, for he is often forced
to be away with his herds. She must also take care of her
[588] husband himself, when he is drunk, as he not infrequently
is. When fights occur at feasts, the women, as we know,
[589] throw themselves between the men to avoid bloodshed. A
wife is responsible for her husband, when he is drunk. If
she has not bothered to keep an eye on him and he is beaten
or killed, the fault is hers. Or he may take his own life
[590] while intoxicated—suicide for mere trifles is not unusual—
and then too she can be held responsible, if she has not
intervened. If he loses her or destroys any of her things
while he is drunk, she knows that he will make rich amends

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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great ring and several of them were wiping their mouths in evident satisfaction—presumably having just been regaled with some drink.

The drum thundered a long time in vain before a young Indian stepped into the ring, removed his cloak and sandals and began to walk round in a circle—a challenge to the members of the fair sex.

Almost at once a girl appeared in the ring; removed her sandals and held her tunic spread wide with her hands. The two then began dancing: he in front, she a few yards behind. Suddenly the man gave a shout and the tempo increased. Turning swiftly the girl came sweeping down towards the man who danced away, moving backwards. She must try to get close enough to tramp on his feet and make him fall, but she must not barge him. If she managed to make her partner fall, there was great jubilation, and then a new couple took the stage. Otherwise, the girl would probably challenge her partner to a few more turns, while he answered contemptuously:

'Fetch your little sister.' (Inferring that she would manage better.)

In this way a dance continues without interruption, couple following couple. It could go on for weeks.

The well-bred Indian considers the chichamaya the only suitable dance. The monks also approved of it, since it was perfectly decent, the two dancers remaining apart the whole time. The dance is not genuinely Indian, containing both Spanish and African features, but even in its present form it retains its religious-magical significance and is part of the ritual used in certain family ceremonies and on other important occasions.

The dance of the kid is a pure folk dance. It is really a whole complex of games, dances and typical fertility rites. The good families do not allow their daughters to attend them. The law's strict sexual prohibition does not apply to those taking part in the dance of the kid, who enjoy an otherwise forbidden erotic licence. This is not approved of by the well-to-do, who still hold by the rule that a bride should be a virgin, since it can have an effect on the bride-price.

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

water but is given an herbal purgative. Her hair is cut short. Generally 531
several of her relatives stay around the door of the hut, and strangers
and men with an eye to matrimony may look in. During this period the
girl is taught the duties of married life and such skills as weaving,
sewing, and making hammocks. When she emerges, stout and bleached,
a special festival is held, when she resumes her ornaments and puts on
the adult clothes that she has made during her confinement. She is now
considered marriageable. The length of her confinement depends on
her status, though theoretically it lasts until her hair again reaches the 534
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Sexual life and marriage.—Little is known about the sexual life of 536
the *Goajiro*. A certain amount of promiscuous love making occurs among
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There are some male transvestites who carry on only female activities 538
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and gold ornaments also are used. The father retains the purchase price
only when his first daughter marries; the income of subsequent marriages
goes to the girl's senior maternal uncles. The mother also receives part
of the income. A son obtains the cattle for the bride payment from
the increase of his father's herds.

Intermarriage between the sibs is frequent, and many of the *Goajiro* 582
give their daughters to "civilizados" from Maracaibo and Rio Hacha,
who pay higher prices and find such a tie with the Indians useful in their
trading relations.

The marriage ceremony consists of a series of feasts and exchanges of 585
presents between the two families. The wedding night is spent at the 593
ranchería of the bride's mother, but the nuptial hammock (specially
woven by the female relatives of the bride) is hung from a tree some dis-
tance away from the house. For a period of days and even months the
bridegroom leaves his bride at dawn and returns only after sunset. In 604
this way the groom shows respect to his mother-in-law.

Polygyny is general. The number of wives depends on the economic 595
status of the husband, some men having as many as 20. Each wife lives
in her own house, where her husband occasionally visits her. The man,
as head of the polygynous household, supervises the daily slaughter of 602
animals and the distribution of meat and corn to each household accord-
ing to the number of its members.

If a wife shirks her domestic duties she may be divorced and her hus- 596
band may claim the return of the bride price cattle, plus their increase and

9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
SC13 Goajiro SC13

The whole judiciary structure with its elaborate system of torts is based on the payment of a given number of domestic animals. There is no crime, including murder, that cannot be amicably settled by such payments (Petrullo, 1937). The acquisition of a bride is also reduced to the payment of a stipulated price, in terms of domestic animals, to be given to the maternal uncle of the girl.

Social, economic, and political status in the Guajiro society is intimately connected with the cattle complex. To have a high status an individual needs, primarily, two assets: he must possess a large number of domestic animals, in other words, he must be considered rich; and he must be an older man. If he lacks either of these requisites, he is not a leader, as he will not be sufficiently respected nor will members of his clan come to him to seek his advice. Consequently, leaders are not numerous in the Guajiro peninsula. The present writer knows only two individuals, both in Venezuela, who are today the unquestionable leaders of their respective clans. These men are Panchito Silva, of the Pushaina clan, and José de la Rosa Fernandez of the Uriana clan.

An analysis of the lives of these two men will be illustrative of the traditional methods of acquiring status among the Guajiro.

Panchito Silva, a man of about 80 years of age, lives in the native village of Sinkipes in Venezuela. During his life-time he has had eight wives (two or three at a time) and now lives with his surviving two, one about 35 years old and the other about 50. He is a full-blooded Indian as has been the case of his wives. There is no trace of race mixture in his family. He has no clear idea of how many children he has had, apart from those living with him now (two men and five women). Yet he knows definitely that he has four younger brothers—who will inherit his wealth and position before these are passed on to his nephews—three sisters and twenty-five nephews and nieces (all sons and daughters of his sisters). His lack of concern towards his own children coupled with his keen interest in his nephews and nieces seems to be a clear indication of how strong the avunculate is in traditional Guajiro society. His holdings in cattle and other domestic animals are very large. Roughly he owns around 1,000 head of cattle and about 3,000 of sheep,

9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
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office expired (in two years time) he sought and obtained a position in the Federal Ministry of Public Works in a project which was seeking the best places to drill water wells all over the Guajira peninsula. He held this job for about a year and half. He is now employed in the Guajira office, in Paraguaipoa, of the Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry and is "ad honorem" agent of the Comisión Indigenista in the Guajira. In these two jobs he gets paid only when he performs certain work, such as when he recently acted as guide and interpreter for the present writer.

During his term as Prefect of Paez (Sinamaica) he married, according to the Guajira tradition and law, one of the daughters of To'olito Fernandez, for whom he had to pay a very high price, as the girl was the daughter of an important chief. Following Guajira law the price for the bride was gathered among the members of the Uriana clan to which Perez belongs due to his mother's heritage. Incidentally, as Fernandez also belongs to the Uriana clan he had to contribute in the collection of the bride-price of his own daughter although, of course, the amount collected did not go to him but to the girl's maternal uncle. This was a typical exogamous marriage as the girl belongs to the Guajariyú clan, that being her mother's clan. At present, Perez keeps two households, one in Maracaibo with his white wife and son, whom he visits once or twice a week, if he is not doing any special work for the ministries; the other, is his native household at the Laguna del Pajaro, Guajira, where he remains most of his time. He has had no children with his Indian wife. His two simultaneous marriages have brought him no trouble with the law, as according to Guajiro tradition polygyny is perfectly acceptable, and according to Venezuelan law he has only one legitimate wife.

It is interesting to note at this point that Perez denies having a white wife in Maracaibo, although he does not deny having the son and shows pride in saying that his son is in medical school. The present writer was not able to fathom the reasons behind this denial. Data regarding his Maracaibo marriage was obtained from Perez's father who was also unable to furnish good motives for the fact that Perez tries to hide that he has a household in that city. To test this point the writer, after the

/125 cont./

837 die, which complicates the situation gravely, because it brings
684 the three clan groups into the picture: the woman's, the man's, and the lover's. In such cases, the payment usually falls on the group weakest both socially and economically, even though it may have lost one of its members, is least to blame, or has acted only in self-defense. If the lover is of low standing and dies, his relatives must pay the husband and the wife's relatives the amount established.

●586 If in any case of adultery the man possesses sufficient proof
837 to accuse his wife, he can demand from her maternal relatives the return of the purchase price plus the indemnity considered just /126/ and the children they have had; if, on the other hand, the relatives can prove that before the adultery the man mistreated her, neither the payment nor the indemnity are justified, and with the return of one of the children of the marriage to the man, the whole matter is closed. At the same time the man loses his right to the woman, this being the only case of true dissolution of marriage.

586 Dissolution of marriage. A Guajiro marriage can, in a way, be considered indissoluble. The woman who is bought according to the law of La Guajira is considered as the husband's personal property, property assured by the girl's relatives, who have received payment for her, and this restrains the girl from behaving in any way different from the traditional.

Proved adultery can be the cause of disuniting the pair, as we have just seen. In such a case, the offended husband demands the return of the payment made when he bought his wife, with which the tie is considered broken and the woman may abandon the home and return to her kin, losing the right to keep her children, who are of her blood and her family but in this case pass into the possession of the husband.

The lover, who cannot consider himself free of responsibility for the problem he has created, becomes, voluntarily or involuntarily, by the payment which he has to make to the woman's relatives, the husband of the woman accused of adultery.

/126 cont./

586 As we can see, the dissolution of marriage does not really apply to the woman, who is merely transferred from her legitimate husband to her lover through the payment for damages claimed by her maternal relatives.

Nowadays, if a Guajiro knows that another man covets one of his wives, he will make a friendly arrangement, as we have seen, through intermediaries for the interested party to pay a sum which will give him the right to take the woman as his legal wife. The price of this transfer is generally lower than that paid by the first husband, because it is felt that she has lost value complying with the sexual obligations owed to her first husband. One can even cite cases where a woman who has changed her husband three times by this system, without ever having a marriage dissolved or recovering her initial freedom. She is a chattel whose usufruct is always in force.

587 Neither does a married woman recover her freedom on the death of her husband, since she, as his private property, is subject to the general rules /127/ of inheritance and is passed on in accordance with them, first to her late husband's nephews, sons of his sister; lacking these, to the brothers of her husband through the maternal line; and lacking these, to the dead man's cousins, sons of a maternal aunt. This custom, rigorously observed until a short time ago, has been losing force and today is only effective when the widows are young and coveted by the legitimate heirs of the husband. The older widows refuse to comply with the law or simply are not forced to fulfill this obligation by the heirs. Many young widows of the present day escape from the legitimate heirs to places where they are not obliged to comply with the laws of inheritance and where they can remake their married life to their own convenience. The law, however, gives them a door of escape since it permits them, in cases where they do not wish to live with their husband's heirs, to pay the latter an indemnification.

588 A woman may free herself of her marriage obligations when she commits adultery because her husband mistreats her and makes

/127 cont./

586 home life impossible. If she can prove this, the law exempts the woman's relatives from returning the marriage payment and only obliges them to hand over one of the children of the marriage. In other words, the man's ill-treatment of the woman permits her to abandon the home and return to her maternal one. But in this case, as in any other in which customary law comes into play, it is necessary that the litigant party possess sufficient force to oblige the other party to comply with what is legal. If not, if the 586 565 offended one is completely in the right but lacks this force, he will never manage to make his just claim effective. They tell of an infinite number of cases in which the acts of cruelty suffered by women of an inferior clan at the hands of their husbands are so grave that any one alone would be sufficient cause to dissolve the marriage through the return of the woman to her maternal home. But the maternal family of the husbands inhibited the women to such an extent that many of them, unable to offer any resistance, died at the hands of their husbands without the law -- so severe in cases in which blood is spilled -- being able to oblige the culprits to pay a suitable payment.

The demoralization which the Guajiro of lower class has suffered due to the different causes we have noted has weakened marriage ties to such a point that the woman considers her obligation broken when her husband emigrates, harrassed by the vital necessity to obtain something to feed himself and his family, or when she finds herself abandoned for a long number of years, in which case she /128/ goes away with whoever will satisfy her economic and biological needs, thus dissolving, if not by law at least by act, a tie which may not be broken by anything but her own society, and so breaking up slowly but dangerously the traditional culture of her community.

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
SC13 Goajiro SC13

671 tween law and custom in Guajiro society by a variety of illustrations. One of them said in effect:

574 If a cacique visits me and I fail to kill a sheep in honor of his visit
626 and to feast him in accordance with the dignity of his rank and my
671 wealth, I have broken a custom of my people. However, though I offend him by such negligence my guest may take no action to redress the wrong other than to inflict the same discourtesy on me if the opportunity should arise. He may seek neither redress in violence nor composition in payment. My only punishment may be the acquisition of a bad name among my people.

586 But if I visit one of my wives at her rancho and she fails to kill a
671 sheep from her own flocks to feast me, refuses me her person, neglects
684 to supply me with hammocks, saddle-bags, and other articles made by women, or refuses me shelter, she will have broken a 'law'; that is, she will have broken the marriage contract. In this case I may demand from her and her family payment or a divorce. In the latter case her family would have to return to me the bride-price plus any increase in the herds but less an amount considered fair for my having exercised sexual privileges over her, though I may demand even this if she marries again. In case her family refuses to adjust
[626] the matter in accordance with our law I may appeal to my family for help in obtaining my just rights. I should be justified in having recourse to violence. However, the law is so well understood that it would not be necessary to resort to such drastic measures generally.[9]

671 These informants were acquainted to some extent with
[115] Colombian and Venezuelan laws and were attempting, no
[177] doubt, to classify their own customs in accordance with European practices. Nevertheless it is an indication that in their minds there does exist a class of offenses for which one may seek composition even through violence, and a class that is in the category of merely moral obligations though investigators may not always draw an equally fine distinction. Simons, for example, in discussing Guajiro law speaks of injury
[114] to oneself as giving rise to a legal obligation for composition.
574 My informants, on the contrary, distinguished it from that
626 class of wrongful acts. If a man cuts himself, his father and
672 father's relatives receive an expiatory offering. Had one of my informants, the son of a rich cacique, cut himself he would
602 have given a small barrel of rum and five or more sheep to his

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

for her as much as will enable him to repay the cattle the clan laid out for him when he married. The amounts obtained for younger daughters are also distributed among the family in a certain way. Payment of the bride-price confers a number of benefits. During the first year the newly married couple usually live as the guests of the bride's family. As has been said, the husband has the right to use the land owned by his wife's clan. The bride always brings a dowry in the form of ornaments and household utensils, often of cattle as well. The husband must look after the cattle, unless, as happens, the girl's family sends its own herdsman to see to them. The bride usually provides all the furnishings of the huts, as well as materials, hammocks and other textiles.

These advantages offset the bride-price to a quite considerable extent. The husband knows, too, that his wife's relations will keep an eye on her when he is away, for if she betrays him, he can return her to her family and require refund of the bride-price and payment of compensation. Thus the bride-price also acts as a guarantee against a grass widow kicking over the traces.

If the husband does not fulfil his duties, or if he treats his wife badly, her family can take her back without returning the bride-price. After that the man will naturally get no help from his clan, if he wishes to get himself another wife.

It is not always possible for the groom and his relations to pay all the bride-price immediately. In such cases it is possible to pay by instalments. The groom pays a large proportion of the price when the bride is handed over to him. If he is unable to pay the balance at the time fixed, he must give the girl back, losing what he has already paid. The girl is now less valuable in the marriage market, being second-hand, so to speak. The man is made to pay for the time he has had her and thereby makes up for the lower price she can command, if a new suitor turns up. According to this principle a seducer must pay compensation to the family of the girl he has seduced. It sometimes happens that a couple fall in love and the parents approve, but the young

Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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SC13 Goajiro SC13

minus an amount considered equivalent for the sexual right he had exercised. If a woman dies in her first childbirth the husband may demand the full return of the bride price (Simons, 1885, p. 792, however, states that the wife's relatives demand compensation from the husband). Adultery entails divorce with full return of the bride price. It rarely occurs, however, as the wife will be treated badly by her own relatives. At his death a man's wives are inherited by his brother, and next by his sister's sons; the women may avoid this by making a payment equivalent to their bride price. If he is of the Catholic faith his children may claim to be his legal heirs, which leads to conflict with the maternal nephews. (See Social Organization, p. 374.)

The influence of women in political affairs is sometimes noticeable. There are cases of female chiefs, and women are respected enough so as to be able to intervene and stop brawls.

Death.—Funerals are accompanied by festivities which last days or even weeks, according to the wealth of the family. There are some differences in the funeral ceremonies which are apparently associated with the particular siba. These funeral feasts afford the best opportunity for display of wealth, and more than 1,000 head of livestock may be butchered. Every mourner who comes to the feast contributes animals for slaughter and continues to do so as long as he cares to remain. After the mourning period, marked by weeping and lamenting interspersed with drinking and feasting, the corpse, which has lain in a hammock slung from the rafters, is sewn up in hides by the women (men may not touch a dead body) and carried to the cemetery of the tribe. For a year or so, the body may be temporarily consigned to a shallow grave marked by a pile of stones. Food and drink are often placed in the grave, and, if the deceased had been a warrior, his bows and arrows are put in. A year or two later the bones are exhumed and reburied in a large urn. The exhumation is generally done at night and is accompanied by a feast. The remains are carried in a funeral procession to the dead person's birthplace, where they are buried in the family's own cemetery. The funeral urn is placed in a vertical position with the narrow neck of the jar protruding above ground to permit the free entry and exit of the spirit and to allow the remains of other members of the family to be added from time to time. A cactus hedge surrounds the cemetery, and in wet weather half a calabash is placed over the opening of each jar to keep out the rain. Whenever two relatives of a recently deceased person meet, they bow to the ground, shouting and groaning, for several minutes. (For a slightly different account of the burial of a rich man, see Simons, 1885, p. 792.)

If a person is stricken with smallpox the whole tribe moves away, only the family of the sick person remaining. When the death occurs they bury the body below the floor and burn the hut over the grave.

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part of the woman, a rough gesture, or a rude answer. Sometimes the matter is settled by the woman's being abandoned.

If the woman divulges the name of the man who originally possessed her, or if it is learned by some means, the husband will present his claim for compensation for abuse, because the one who enjoyed her, without payment, made use of something which belonged to him by act and right of purchase.

[587] The economic valuation of virginity can be confirmed by the fact that a widow who refuses to live in marital life with the maternal nephews of her late husband must pay a sum equal to that paid for her by her husband, less a discount for not now being a virgin. Also, when a woman has committed adultery, the husband has to be compensated for the offense received, and a payment is then made which is less than that for which the woman was bought, as a discount equivalent to the value put on her virginity is allowed, it being supposed that this existed at the time of her marriage. /68/

The Guajiro woman who is not a virgin and is about to be bought generally prefers, in consideration of the consequences, to inform her future husband of the facts. She tells him: "I warn you I am not a maiden, but if you truly care for me you have to buy me as I am. I tell you this beforehand so you can think it over and not throw it up to me afterward, seeing that I am not deceiving you." The woman is forced to make this confession in view of what might occur later when her lie is found out. Nevertheless, she will suffer much uncertainty as she has to face this dilemma: To tell the man offering to buy her and thereby expose herself to the possibility that he will withdraw, disillusioned and goaded by the desire to find out who had done such a thing and whether she would be faithful to him in their married life, and, furthermore, exposing herself to the danger that he might divulge her "secret" on a day of heavy drinking, by which her prestige before everyone would be wrecked and no man would come forward to buy her for a wife; or not tell him and suffer the consequences. However, it sometimes happens that the man reacts to

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586 As we can see, the dissolution of marriage does not really apply to the woman, who is merely transferred from her legitimate husband to her lover through the payment for damages claimed by her maternal relatives.

Nowadays, if a Guajiro knows that another man covets one of his wives, he will make a friendly arrangement, as we have seen, through intermediaries for the interested party to pay a sum which will give him the right to take the woman as his legal wife. The price of this transfer is generally lower than that paid by the first husband, because it is felt that she has lost value complying with the sexual obligations owed to her first husband. One can even cite cases where a woman who has changed her husband three times by this system, without ever having a marriage dissolved or recovering her initial freedom. She is a chattel whose usufruct is always in force.

587 Neither does a married woman recover her freedom on the death of her husband, since she, as his private property, is subject to the general rules /127/ of inheritance and is passed on in accordance with them, first to her late husband's nephews, sons of his sister; lacking these, to the brothers of her husband through the maternal line; and lacking these, to the dead man's cousins, sons of a maternal aunt. This custom, rigorously observed until a short time ago, has been losing force and today is only effective when the widows are young and coveted by the legitimate heirs of the husband. The older widows refuse to comply with the law or simply are not forced to fulfill this obligation by the heirs. Many young widows of the present day escape from the legitimate heirs to places where they are not obliged to comply with the laws of inheritance and where they can remake their married life to their own convenience. The law, however, gives them a door of escape since it permits them, in cases where they do not wish to live with their husband's heirs, to pay the latter an indemnification.

588 A woman may free herself of her marriage obligations when she commits adultery because her husband mistreats her and makes

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428 Laws of inheritance in La Guajira are determined by marriage. It follows that if the traditional Guajiro union is complied with, the customary laws of inheritance will hold. Let us see how the system works in its different aspects.

In the first place, inheritance is determined by the law of uterine affiliation. Thus the child does not inherit from his father but from his mother. The goods that belong to the father pass at his death under the control of his maternal ascendants, if any, of his brothers and sisters and of his nephews /and nieces? sobrinos/, children of his sister. If it is the mother who has died, her goods pass into the hands of her children, her maternal ascendants, her brothers and sisters, and the latter' descendants. If a person -- man or woman -- should die before marrying, his goods go under the control of his mother, if she is still alive, to his brothers /and sisters, hermanos/ to descendants through the female line, to the maternal uncles /and aunt? tíos/, to the children of the mother's sisters, etc. We give below a number of cases of inheritable goods and the system involved.

a) The surname is inherited from the mother, as we have explained fully in previous chapters. /320/

b) On the death of an individual his debts and obligations are inherited by his relatives, who are categorically responsible for them and who try to satisfy them as rapidly as possible for three reasons: to maintain respect for the memory of their dead relative; to avoid possible slanderous talk from the creditors or any other members of the community; and to avoid any loss of prestige for the individual in particular and the clan group in general.

428 c) The wives of the deceased are transferred as a possession
587 to his heirs. Inheritance of the women generally falls to the maternal brothers of the deceased, though by preference they should go to the youngest of these, particularly if he is still unmarried. To him they will give the youngest wives. This part of the inheritance may provoke conflicts between the brothers and nephews of the deceased, who also have a right to the wives. To illustrate this point we mention the following occurrence: An

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428 587 influential Guajiro of Upper La Guajira had contracted marriage with two women from each of the two clan groups of La Guajira. Becoming very ill and feeling his last hours approaching, it pained him that his illness did not permit him to buy a prepubescent girl he desired so that after his death his nephews would have a motive for quarreling; he was extremely sorry that he would not be able to be present at their squabbles.

The possession of women by inheritance has been gradually weakened, especially in cases where they would have young men as future owners, they being already mature. However, the social precept is maintained that if they wish to contract marriage, the man who wants them must give an agreed-upon sum to their new owner.

428 d) Bond servants, slaves, and their descendants pass under the control of the consanguineous relatives of the deceased in accordance with the special rules of inheritance. This human property passes under the new ownership under the same special conditions of low status under which they were living previously.

e) As regards land, we can say that usufruct of communal property is inherited as well as the right to usufruct of the family agricultural plot, following the uncle to maternal nephew succession in this case.

f) With respect to the dwelling we have the following situation: Every important family usually locates itself in a place of easy access with abundant water, or at least sufficient for their needs, and at the center of the regions of pasture land. The consanguineous members of these families usually form /221/ their new family cells around this primary nucleus. On the death of the owners the original house becomes the property of their descendants through the maternal line.

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428 431 A particular form of inheritance that we ought to consider in this study is that of gifts made while the owner is alive, gifts

3: Wilbert E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 SC13 Goajira SC1

582 As for the mentioned forms of cousin marriage, Ego (m. and f.) may marry any cousins on either side except for mother's sister's children. Ego (m. and f.) may also marry any kinsman of the third degree with the exception of a mother's sister's daughter's child. All relatives of the fourth degree are potential spouses. [595] Polygyny is practiced and is definitely a mark of status and rank. Sororate is mentioned although it is very rarely occurs. The data indicate, then, a very typical system [558] of Crow type. [587]

602 No avoidance taboos were said to exist in Goajira society, but great attention is paid to respectful behavior between kinsmen. In the family parents are respected [593] equally highly by the children, whereas among siblings the brother enjoys greater authority than his sisters, and an older than a younger brother. In the presence of the maternal uncle nobody is supposed to speak up unquestioned; this rule applies especially to the younger people. Grandparents maintain close and friendly relations with their grandchildren. They make gifts to the latter: horses, bows and [43] arrows, drums, rifles, etc., and the grandchildren assist the old after having grown up. The father-in-law is respected greatly by his daughter-in-law. When visiting she serves him before she serves her mother-in-law. She does not, however, attend her own mother. Cousins are completely free to meet without being obliged to observe any avoidance regulations.

605 Artificial kin relations were said to be missing altogether among the Goajira. Non-relatives are treated with great friendliness and may even be accepted as 609 step-parents of an orphan of the group. Orphans usually join a family on the 597 father's side.

CARACAS, VENEZUELA

S: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

weaving, making dresses, hammocks, ponchos, &c., sewing, and all the little knick-knacks Indians love so well.

The confinement is not so isolated as it seems, generally several of her female relations are round the door with the confined, who of course becomes rather stout, much blanched, almost white, and some exceedingly beautiful. Strangers and men are not excluded from peeping in through the door, always with an eye to matrimony, and she can be sold and liberated at once, though her husband if rich prefers leaving her to complete her term of schooling. On re-entering to society again, a special festival, *chaiin*, is held with dancing, &c. An ox is killed, and the girl is dressed in the clothes she has made; her hair is cut and she resumes all her beads, necklaces, bracelets, and other ornaments.

Women are much respected by the Goajiros. In a quarrel or drunken brawl, women often save bloodshed by stepping in and tearing the weapons out of their husband's or brother's hand. Travelling with women is consequently perfectly safe, and in case of danger, if one undertakes to protect a stranger, he may rely upon coming out all right.

Matrimony is a mere case of barter. The girl is sold for a certain price, fixed by the father. This is paid by the intended husband, and divided by the father, who appropriates the best part for himself and his relations, the rest going to the wife's relations. As it is chiefly in cattle, these are killed and a kind of bridal festival held. There is no other ceremony. A wife is under obligation to support her husband, find him in food, clothes, &c. She does most of the trading, and a contract made with an Indian is worthless, should his better half object. An Indian cannot inflict bodily injury on his wife, for he becomes liable to her relations, and should she die during childbirth he has to repay the father what he gave for her. But if the wife is untrue (a rare occurrence) he demands from the father the price he paid for her, who if he cannot refund, helps him to recover from the seducer, plus tear or compensation from his mother-in-law. At the husband's death, the wife becomes a legacy to his brother, usually the youngest; if there are none, then his nephew inherits her. The daughter of a chief is worth, according to his wealth and power (i.e. the number of men he can disperse of in a fight) from 6 to 150 head of cattle (12*l.* to 300*l.*).

When a person dies, a grand drinking festival is given, that lasts as long as there is anything to drink—days, and even weeks, with the wealthy. These latter are buried twice, and have two festivals. A rich person is always buried in the ranche, and on the spot where he was born; being often carried for that purpose immense distances. A fire is lighted every night from sunset to sunrise in front of the grave, for the sole use of the dead. Immense piles of wood are gathered for this purpose, as the body is kept two years in the house. Then all the relations can meet on a certain day, and the second feast takes place, when the bones are carefully gathered, placed in a jar, and consigned to the

B:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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557 occurs, however, as the wife will be treated badly by her own relatives.
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(See Social Organization, p. 374.)

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account of the burial of a rich man, see Simons, 1885, p. 792.)

761 If a person is stricken with smallpox the whole tribe moves away, only
766 the family of the sick person remaining. When the death occurs they
bury the body below the floor and burn the hut over the grave.

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177 birth in such a way that they are never placed outside the pale of
595 the law. This may be due to the uterine line of kinship in which
948 the father does not count in the recognition of children.

In these cases of marriage between whites and Guajiro women there also occurs a union of these two ideas. The white man refuses to buy the woman or legitimize their union through the
583 necessary traditional proceedings demanded by her culture. The refusal to comply with the main traditional requisite makes the man unacceptable, and he is considered an intruder.

The children, illegitimate /94/ according to the paternal mentality, meet a natural reluctance among their mother's relatives, who however in the long run have to accept them.

582 Consanguineous marriage. Although the Guajiro community is in an obvious process of disintegration, there is a characteristic which is strongly maintained: exogamy, which, at the present time, does not mean the prohibition of marriage within the same clan group, but within a limited circle of close consanguineous kin: brothers /and sisters, hermanos/, uncles /and aunts, tios/, and ascendants in the female line. Thus today in La Guajira we find marriages between individuals of the same clan, since the tie has weakened so much that although they belong to the same clan group, they do not consider themselves relatives.

If the marriage takes place within the small family circle, the opinion of society and of the relatives is never favorable. They cannot explain why nor wish to accept that an individual should marry a consanguineal kin included among those just mentioned. Their magical beliefs reinforce this, because these beliefs establish the prohibition that a man must not marry a relative, or he will be come bald.

582 Guajiro mentality cannot accept as natural the marriage of
598 a woman to her maternal uncle. This would be incest at its worst, because the maternal uncle has the position that a father has with us. There was a case, and a similar attitude has always been observed in like cases, of a Guajiro girl who had sexual relations with her maternal uncle. After pregnancy became

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S82 S88 evident, a Catholic missionary married them according to the Catholic ritual. This act seemed a crime to the natives; that a Guajiro woman should be legally married to her maternal uncle was impossible to understand. Rumors and a kind of social vacuum began to surround the pair, and even threats, to the point that, seeing life was becoming impossible for them among their own people, they abandoned all they possessed and migrated to a distance, where there would be no Guajiro who knew their story, in order that they might not have to put up with the social situation which their illegal conduct toward their traditions had provoked.

S82 The pure Guajiro is the one who preserves in its most extreme form the principles of exogamy among the different family groups. Mestizo men, educated and influenced by the kinship principles followed by whites, reduce the wideness of the scope of this prohibition against the marriage of individuals within the same clan and marry /95/ female first cousins in the maternal line, defying the natural revulsion of the Indians who still consider such unions incestuous.

S85 We must note again that it is not rare for girls before puberty to cohabit with their own brothers (in the Guajiro sense) and with their father, naturally without pregnancy as a consequence, but with the loss of their virginity. Guajiro mythology contains a [M3] story of a girl who, having become pregnant by her own father, overcome by her physical condition and the social ostracism which her action had provoked, hanged herself, thus establishing this type of suicide as a means of a woman's doing away with herself when her wishes are opposed, especially in cases where she is obliged to marry a man whom she dislikes or in circumstances similar to those in the story.

These incestuous sexual relations are frequent in nearly every part of La Guajira. They happen when little girls go from one settlement to another carrying a message or to the woods in search of the pack animals or of fruit, at the same time that the boys are there looking after the livestock. Usually these relations cannot be considered as a violation, as the girls consent willingly, a state

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854 house, the training and care of the children is simplified by the
596 joint support and action of the two sisters, who do not object to giving each other mutual aid in sharing domestic duties and the care of the children during the absence of one of the sisters, so that the children are well cared for and trained as if they were members of one family. In the case of daughters who live together with their respective children in their mother's house, the unity among them is almost equal to the case just described. Thus the absence of the mother is willingly filled in by the desire of the others to assist her and temporarily fill her place. It may also be the common mother /of the daughters/ -- the grandmother /of the children/ -- who replaces all the daughters, or a maternal aunt, or even the grandmother -- great-grandmother of the children -- if she is still of an age to do so, a female cousin, etc. In these cases the mother's influence is amplified with that of her maternal relatives who care for the children by trying to adhere to the general norm of conduct and the particular ways that each mother uses.

854 Another influence that is being felt and can be perceived
591 more clearly at the present time with the problem of crossbreeding and of Catholic marriage is the /20/ acknowledged participation of the paternal relatives in the training. We know that Guajiro marriage is usually matrilocal, but it can happen that later on it may change into a patrilocal one, the children then coming under the influence of the paternal relatives who also assist the mother. In these two cases there seems to be a sort of transfer of the feeling of kinship, and although the maternal may be more powerful in certain aspects, the paternal by fact acquires prerogatives which it wields actively: The new generation comes under the influence of both branches, which co-operate in their rearing and training.

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854 The mother shows every affection for her small child, above all while it is being breast fed, but later the demonstrations of

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583 567 Returning to the women slaves, we would say lastly that the owner may give a woman slave to one of his other slaves for a wife or sell her to another owner to be the wife of one of his slaves. If the owner buys a woman slave to provide a wife for one of his male slaves, the children of the union belong to him, and he also collects the marriage payment for the first daughter of this couple to marry, in order to be repaid the amount he paid for her mother. (Aspects of descent will be treated fully in the chapter, Slavery and Bond Service).

591 Marriage residence. Guajiro law covering land gives the Indian ample scope to fix his residence once he has married, for apart from the fact that primarily the new family cell may establish its home in the maternal house of either the wife or the husband, it also offers the following possibilities: a) on the wife's side, on the land of the wives of any of her brothers, since the payment made by the family for each of them included the right to establish homes, to open cleared land, and to pasture livestock, a right which also holds good on the clan lands of the wives of maternal uncles; b) on the husband's side, on the lands of his father and that of the wives of his brothers and maternal uncles, for the same reasons as stated above.

But Guajiro custom generally inclines toward establishing a dwelling beside that of the wife's mother, so that one can say /104/ of marriage that it is matrilocal. The newly married couple live for a time in the same house with the wife's maternal relatives, but when their family increases and they begin to acquire a certain financial independence, they build a house near that of her mother.

Presumably the marriage payment contributes to the marital residence of the couple, since, as we have seen, this requires the girl's consanguineous kin to supply room and board to the husband.

After a more or less lengthy interval has been spent on the lands of the woman's clan, the family, now considerably increased and economically established through the efforts of the

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591 woman and the collaboration of the children, establishes a new home in the settlement of the husband's parents, where they remain until the home is broken up by the death of one of the couple. If it is the man who dies, the woman and the children go back again to the side of the maternal grandmother; if it is the woman, the man remains in his settlement, but the children return to the lands of the maternal clan, to which they belong according to the principle of uterine descent. The same thing happens if both parents die.

So much for the traditional Guajiro system. But in recent times, due to the influence of the mestizo and that of acculturation, the situation has changed. Among the mestizos it is very common for the man to take his wife to his parent's home so that his mother may show her and instruct her in domestic tasks. Presumably, this residence is also influenced by the marriage payment /or rather its lack/, since when the woman has not been acquired in accordance with Guajiro law, the support of the home falls entirely to the lot of the man. Then the help that he may receive will come exclusively from his parents, and this is exactly what determines the patrilocality in these cases.

After a time, if the economic situation of the husband is good, a dwelling is built next to that of his parents, the initiative and construction of this dwelling usually being the responsibility of the man's father. It is frequent, however, that due to particular circumstances of the family, their living all together is prolonged indefinitely.

595 This residence in both cases refers to marriage to the first
591 wife, since the later wives go on living usually in their parents' homes. At most, in these cases of polygamy, various wives may live together in one house, particularly when they are sisters or get on well together. With the death of each one of the wives, the family begins to break up in the manner previously described.

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591 In the case of the marriage of a Guajiro woman with a civilizado, they may respect the matrilocal tradition or establish

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591 themselves in any place, in accordance with the husband's convenience, since in this case also, it is he who must take chage of the economic necessities of the home. Generally, the residence is established in an urban center.

593 Family intervention in marriage. In the first marriage of a Guajiro man, the family plays an outstanding role, not only in respect to the woman but also to the man. In connection with the latter, the sense of co-operation and mutual aid of the clan group makes itself felt. The man of marriageable age is already economically independent, but he needs the help of his kin. The marriage payment /or installment/ is high, and he cannot cover it with his personal contribution. The aid of his consanguineous relatives puts him in the position of being obligated to them. He must then do something similar when a relative is in a like situation, and much later he will repay those who aided him when he receives the marriage payment for his first daughter.

Another aspect /in which the family plays an outstanding role is/ that of inheritance. The economic contribution given by his kin leaves out his children and his wife, since they have already received their inheritance in the person of the uterine relatives with the purchase price.

The two families take an active part in the ceremonies of negotiating for and buying the wife (Cf. Purchase procedure in Chap. V), and in those connected with her being returned, when she was not found to be a virgin at marriage, in cases of adultery, desertion of her home, or neglect or death of the children. (Cf. Valuation of virginity, and the woman, Adultery, and Dissolution of marriage in Chap. V. Maternity, Chap. VI.)

It falls to the wife's consanguineous group, according to their status, to supply the husband with means of subsistence when she is incapable of doing it herself. The group complies with this function as an obligation derived from the marriage payment.

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592 lead him to pay for abuse or to marriage. In these days
836 prostitution of the Guajiro woman frees the man from these legal dangers and gives him, as it does to bachelors in our society, free access to women before marriage without the attendant unfavorable consequences of previous times.

592 The Guajiro man marries for the first time at an age that
582 varies between seventeen and the maximum of twenty-five, an age which coincides with his economic independence from the family nucleus. With his own livestock and with the gifts he receives from his relatives, he buys a woman but remains in debt to his family until he can repay them by the sale of the first of his daughters in marriage. Once his wife has been handed over, he begins his marital life, (some times, when the marriage has been by abduction, he starts beforehand), traditionally in the maternal home from which place, as the
[591] family increases, the new cell will move to the father's hamlet /ranchería/ where the young couple will build their own home, or they will make it in the wife's hamlet.

592 The first child of this union is born, as a general rule, at the wife's home, that is, in that of her maternal relatives,
611 and the mother is attended by her mother or her aunts, or by
602 her grandmother in the maternal line, or when these are not available, by her married sisters. Nowadays the services of a midwife are employed. This child belongs to the maternal house as it is of their blood, since the mother is the one who transmits this quality, and even if the birth of the child is not preceded by a union legal in the concept of the Guajiro, the consanguineous tie does not differ in its transmission. It is always the mother who transmits this characteristic, and being hers and in no /164/ way counting on the father, the child not only takes the maternal surname but is also included within the kinship circle to which his mother belongs. Thus we have:

1. His legitimate feminine ascendants are his mother, maternal grandmother, and maternal great-grandmother, etc.

2. Also, the maternal aunts in different degrees are his relatives.

[62 cont.]

825 whole period of pregnancy. The duality of childbirth-serpent
843 is brought to our notice with an insistence and disconcerting realism which we will endeavor to explain.

If we look into the Guajiro family organization we can
596 see how that community taken as a homogeneous whole is
621 divided into series of extended family groups which follow the line of maternal filiation. Belonging to a family group are the mother, the sons and daughters of the mother, the sons and daughters of the mother's daughters, and so on successively. The administration of the family is not in the hands of the father, who is not considered as such, but in those of the maternal uncles, the eldest of these being predominant. Inheritance also
428 is determined by this system, and sons inherit nothing from their natural father, but from their mother or their maternal uncles. The property of the father is split up among his nephews, sons of his sister, whom he considers as sons. Patrilocality and
591 matrilocality exist, the former predominating. The family group, wrongly named by some authors casta is very much
614 extended, and to it belong all those bearing the same surname. Each large family group has its own property mark or brand and a representative animal. Thus, for example: [63]

Family groups	Representative animals
Uriána (41)	jaguar

[104]

41. For the convenience of our readers we have adapted the phonetics of all these Guajiro names to Spanish orthography, using the most apparent sounds.

Urárivú	rattlesnake
Urivú	snake
Woúrivú	partridge
Uyárayú	cauquero (a species of deer)
Ípwana	cari-cari
Sápwana	bittern

3: Wilbert E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 SC13 Goajiro SC13

Twenty six fundamental kinship terms by which the Goajiro designate their relatives were recorded. Most terms are applied to more than one relative so that the system is classificatory in type. Among the Goajiro, kinship terms are almost exclusively used in reference, while in addressing a person teknonyms are employed, e.g.; nīshi pīichí – father of pīichí (nī – prefix, 3rd pers. singl. masc.; (a)shi – father; pīichí – baciro). The term corresponds to a male person who is the father of a boy child. This practice of teknonymy presupposes the presence of personal names. Either sex can be given a name in remembrance of an event which occurred on their birthday, e.g., "the one of the full moon," "the one of the blossoms of that tree," "the one of the war between . . .," etc. More frequently, however, personal names differ from each other by sex. Boys are called after strong and wild animals, such as baciro (pīichí), tiger (karáira), pig (pīrīkī), wild cat (músī), while girls' names are ornamental and flattering, e.g., "brilliant one" (hurótsī), brownish one (muráachong), etc. 601 551

The teknonym employed to address a person is derived from the name of the eldest son, and in default of sons, from that of the eldest daughter. Personal names are used in addressing unmarried persons. It is a disgrace, however, for an adult not to have children. Grandparents may be called by a teknonym referring either to a son or to a grandchild. [842]

Kinship terms are never employed in the forms as listed above, but only with possessive prefixes, e.g., tashí – my father; pīshii – your father; nīshí – his father; sīshí – her father; washí – our father; hashí – your (pl.) father; nashí – their father. In the table, kinship terms are represented by their root forms. As a friendly gesture, people may address each other by general terms such as "brother," "sister," etc., or they may call any small child "son" or "grandchild." 601 [572] [576]

Of particular interest is the distinction the Goajiro make between "blood-relatives" and "flesh-relatives." Blood-relatives are all patrilineally related persons, whereas "flesh-relatives" are related to Ego through the mother's line. Kinship ties between flesh-relatives are considered to be stronger than those existing between blood-relatives. In practical life this would mean that Ego would have to help his maternal uncle in a fight against his own father. Among all kinsmen the maternal uncle possesses the greatest authority and his word counts most in all domestic affairs. Frequently, therefore, we find the extended family clustered around the homestead of the maternal uncle, which makes the Goajiro a matrilineal avunculocal society. Otherwise residence is matrilocal. Any one of the three aráur-relatives (maternal uncle), as listed in the table above, may replace the true maternal uncle in case of his death. But only his sister's children can be heirs of his possessions (including his wife or wives). 601 602 611 [604] [591] [768] [428]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

and shrieks. Francisco put on a spurt and got there ahead of us; then he turned and called to us:

'Hurry, there's a child being born!'

He pointed to our camera, evidently thinking that that was an event to be filmed.

844 The Indians consider childbirth a natural function that does not need to be hidden. It often takes place in the presence of the entire household, even of children, and if neighbours arrive, they can be present too. Even intimate [833] marital acts take place quite openly, to the amazement and [839] embarrassment of a white person. We thought it best for my wife to go in to the woman in labour, while we sat and talked with the grandfather, who was sitting by himself by the fire. Soon some children came and joined us, having evidently been sent away from the scene of the birth, where something apparently had gone wrong. Now they could look their fill at two white men instead.

The old grandfather was talkative. He told us how the [591] eldest son must always come into the world with the wife's family. There, too, a newly married couple live for the first year. If they are staying elsewhere, the husband takes his wife to her parents' home when the child is expected. [843] For a long time she will have been taking various decoctions of herbs and observed certain precautionary measures and rules intended to influence the birth favourably. The wife's family is responsible that all will go well. Should the child or mother die, the man has the right to demand damages of his wife's family. On the other hand, said the old man, the second child is born in the father's family, and they must take the risk. Subsequent children can be born in the couple's own home.

843 A pregnant woman must keep away from funerals, graves and anything to do with death, and it is very important [825] that she takes care not to catch sight of a snake. Snakes have a bad influence on parturition. Under no circumstances may a husband kill a snake while his wife is pregnant. A child is a weak, defenceless being and exposed to attack by dangerous spirits. There is an intimate connection between the father and the child, and what the father does is of

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

for her as much as will enable him to repay the cattle the clan laid out for him when he married. The amounts obtained for younger daughters are also distributed among the family in a certain way. Payment of the bride-price confers a number of benefits. During the first year the newly married couple usually live as the guests of the bride's family. As has been said, the husband has the right to use the land owned by his wife's clan. The bride always brings a dowry in the form of ornaments and household utensils, often of cattle as well. The husband must look after the cattle, unless, as happens, the girl's family sends its own herdsman to see to them. The bride usually provides all the furnishings of the huts, as well as materials, hammocks and other textiles. 583 614 [591]

These advantages offset the bride-price to a quite considerable extent. The husband knows, too, that his wife's relations will keep an eye on her when he is away, for if she betrays him, he can return her to her family and require refund of the bride-price and payment of compensation. Thus the bride-price also acts as a guarantee against a grass widow kicking over the traces.

If the husband does not fulfil his duties, or if he treats his wife badly, her family can take her back without returning the bride-price. After that the man will naturally get no help from his clan, if he wishes to get himself another wife. [586]

It is not always possible for the groom and his relations to pay all the bride-price immediately. In such cases it is possible to pay by instalments. The groom pays a large proportion of the price when the bride is handed over to him. If he is unable to pay the balance at the time fixed, he must give the girl back, losing what he has already paid. The girl is now less valuable in the marriage market, being second-hand, so to speak. The man is made to pay for the time he has had her and thereby makes up for the lower price she can command, if a new suitor turns up. According to this principle a seducer must pay compensation to the family of the girl he has seduced. It sometimes happens that a couple fall in love and the parents approve, but the young [684]

9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
SC13 Goajiro SC13

reported several in the vicinity of the town of Riohacha in Colombia.

Residence is normally matrilocal, although, at present, there is a tendency towards neo-locality. The author has found no case of patrilocality either in the field or in the literature.

The names of the five more important clans in Guajiro society, and those with which we are concerned in this article are: Uriana, Epinayú, Pushaina, Guajariyú, and Epieyú. These designations have lost meaning in Guajiro and not even the oldest members questioned by the writer remember what they mean. The clans also have an animal or plant totem closely attached to food and hunting taboos. How deep this totemic aspect of the clan goes the writer does not know and the two references found in the literature, A. Ernst (1887) and A. Jahn (1927), simply mention the fact without going into details.

Today the clans have no distinct geographic distribution. Members of the different clans are found scattered more or less at random over the whole peninsula, and in both Colombia and Venezuela. This may be due perhaps to the extensive migrations of families within the region in their quest for water for themselves and their domestic animals. This necessity has also probably contributed to the gradual breakdown of the matrilocal residence. The earlier literature suggests that the clans may have had, at one time, certain regional characteristics. Juan de Castellanos cites that the Guajiros living near what is now the town of Riohacha all belonged to the Uriana clan. A. Ernst goes as far as showing a distribution map of the clans. A. Jahn and G. Hernandez de Alba draw their conclusion of geographic distribution for the clans based on the earlier sources but definitely state that today the clans present the scattered distribution the present writer found.

The Guajiro culture may be described in brief as pastoral, with a small-scale supplementary agriculture, especially in the southern part of the peninsula where water and more fertile lands are available. Domestic animals, cattle in particular, represent the foundation of wealth to the Guajiro. His economic position, and likewise his social status, is measured in the number of cattle, sheep, goats, asses and horses he owns. This pastoral complex permeates practically every aspect of the culture.

/46 cont./

857 462 [222] [482] iguarayas, and trupillo pods, as well as in gathering divi-divi, which is sold in the port towns for export; their labor is used for portering (women's work): they carry on their backs or shoulders the collected fruit, the firewood, and the water when the family does not own the necessary animals.

When ten or over the girl, taught by her elder kinswomen, starts to handle the spindle and loom, work in which she perfects herself during the seclusion of her initiation.

857 184 556 In general her occupations during childhood are affected by the economic and social position of her relatives, since a child of a well-to-do family will spend her childhood playing, without occupying herself with domestic chores except occasionally, since she is not considered as a small-sized adult as happens among poor families, but as a little girl, and she is treated as such. Certain light duties might be imposed but never a definite or clear-cut responsibility. She is expected to obey, mainly so that she recognize the authority of her elders, but when she enters the prepubertal age her mother and relatives start to take a more personal interest in her and to think it to be the opportune time to start training her in the duties pertaining to her position and her sex, teaching her all the household occupations that she will later improve on and become expert in during her seclusion, which will last longer the greater the wealth of the family.

264 592 Food, sleep, dress, and ornaments. Even before weaning, when this is delayed beyond the first year, or at times before, the child starts being fed adult food. By that time he asks his mother for food and she gives it to him, when he is small, more generously than she can at a later date; but later on he himself looks for it and, in order to satisfy his hunger, frequently steals food from his mother that she has put away, and this obliges the mother to hide it. (Cf. Punishment, Chap. II.)

The apportioning of food in a Guajiro household is done by the mother, who serves each one his share, starting with the husband, afterward the children, she being the last to eat. If she has a preference for a child, she shows it at this time by

/46 cont./

264 giving him a portion that is larger and better than the others,
592 which is grumbled at and envied by the rest. When there are numerous daughters and only one boy in the family, he is the favored one and, in the absence of the father, is served in his place on the dishes the father customarily uses for his food and is served first as is done with /47/ the latter. When there are several sons these privileges go to the eldest. When food is scarce the elders are the first to get it, and whatever remains is divided among the children of middle years. The same occurs when there are special dishes, which the children may occasionally taste if the father or uncle gives them some. But usually there is not enough for the child; when he grows up and is a man he will have his share of these special dishes. This makes the boys envious, and they will snatch whatever one of them may receive, or the eldest will leave the smallest without food after having eaten his share as quickly as possible, and it also explains the theft of food and provisions in spite of the punishments inflicted by the mother, which have been enumerated in another section.

Should the child have a noticeable liking for a certain kind of food, the mother indulges him when possible, giving him a larger portion of it, but this behavior cannot always be repeated as the boy must learn to eat everything, as it is not possible for him to be allowed to eat just the food he considers most appetizing. Furthermore, each child has his own dishes
[415 422] and cutlery for eating, such as gourd plates and spoons, etc., which he recognizes and insists on being served from. These articles are usually their private property.

862 The child of middle years shares fully in adult food by gradual change from his infant diet after weaning and by the adequate rationing of his new foods, so that his organism becomes accustomed to them and more readily assimilates them. First of all, the mother's milk is replaced by goat's milk and later by thin mazamorra prepared with a little milk, until he gets only this. They gradually feed him the various kinds of

/161 cont./

768 or later on if it is impossible at that moment. Sometimes, if the person died tragically, the house is burned. The reason given for this custom is that the illness was produced by an evil spirit which from then onward takes up residence there, taking possession of the house and able to continue killing the rest of the occupants. At the present time this custom is generally reduced to abandoning the habitation that the dead man occupied. They believe that at night one can feel lamentations there and that the spirit of the dead person frequently returns to that place to show his unrest if his relatives have forgotten him in the special cult of the dead. The tragic character of the case is accentuated when the person died violently in that place, in which case the house is definitely abandoned, because the frequent repetition of the scene during the night would make it impossible to live there. When the death occurred as the result of /162/ illness, and the house is not abandoned, if another member of the family should die in [787] it of the same sickness, then it is absolutely necessary that they leave it, as to them it is a clear indication that the spirits of that sickness also reside in the house and sooner or later will kill off all its occupants. /163/

X

THE SMALL FAMILY

592 836 Nowadays the Guajiro man and woman have their first sexual experiences very early, more or less toward the age of ten, but formal marriage is later for the men than the women. Premarital sex relations are casual events. The man may continue them sometimes to a more advanced age, but these also are occasional and their consequences -- pregnancy -- may

/163 cont. /

592 836 lead him to pay for abuse or to marriage. In these days prostitution of the Guajiro woman frees the man from these legal dangers and gives him, as it does to bachelors in our society, free access to women before marriage without the attendant unfavorable consequences of previous times.

592 582 The Guajiro man marries for the first time at an age that varies between seventeen and the maximum of twenty-five, an age which coincides with his economic independence from the family nucleus. With his own livestock and with the gifts he receives from his relatives, he buys a woman but remains in debt to his family until he can repay them by the sale of the first of his daughters in marriage. Once his wife has been handed over, he begins his marital life, (some times, when the marriage has been by abduction, he starts beforehand), traditionally in the maternal home from which place, as the [591] family increases, the new cell will move to the father's hamlet /ranchería/ where the young couple will build their own home, or they will make it in the wife's hamlet.

592 611 602 The first child of this union is born, as a general rule, at the wife's home, that is, in that of her maternal relatives, and the mother is attended by her mother or her aunts, or by her grandmother in the maternal line, or when these are not available, by her married sisters. Nowadays the services of a midwife are employed. This child belongs to the maternal house as it is of their blood, since the mother is the one who transmits this quality, and even if the birth of the child is not preceded by a union legal in the concept of the Guajiro, the consanguineous tie does not differ in its transmission. It is always the mother who transmits this characteristic, and being hers and in no /164/ way counting on the father, the child not only takes the maternal surname but is also included within the kinship circle to which his mother belongs. Thus we have:

1. His legitimate feminine ascendants are his mother, maternal grandmother, and maternal great-grandmother, etc.

2. Also, the maternal aunts in different degrees are his relatives.

/165 cont./

596 activities in general. After the uncle, the function of authority falls to the mother. They, uncle and mother, on occasion make decisions together after prior consultation and agreement, but if there should be a difference of opinion the uncle's decision prevails. After these comes the authority of the children, which also runs in chronological order and by sex. First is the authority of the eldest son, since in case there are several daughters /born/ before a son, the authority will be exercised by the latter no matter what his position in the family is in order /166/ of arrival into the world.

The female descendants in the mother's line also have much authority, and their opinions are listened to and given attention, and the mother's sisters, after the maternal uncle, are the most respected and exercise considerable influence over the nieces, especially at the time of their initiation and during the arrangement of their purchase as brides. The mother's aunts and her female cousins, generally called aunts, may be listened to, especially when some one of them holds a preferential position within the family or within the culture.

592 In the home the authority for the general organization of the administrative life rests in the wife. She should impose her will and be responsible for the decisions she makes. She exercises control over her children, nephews and nieces, servants, slaves, and hired help /criados/, organizing their work and being responsible for their conduct: This authority is more extensive when the economic and social position of the woman is higher, as those of the upper class have around them a larger staff and an endless number of relatives other than their own children, nephews and nieces, over all of whom they must impose their authority. Also, in the case of the first wife, who is the principal administrator of her husband's property and the builder of his real home, this authority grows even greater. However, the power of the woman cannot extend to the homes of her married daughters or to the homes of her other female relatives. She may give voice to her opinion on some matter,

/166 cont./

592 but the decisions made must be made by the woman head of the house. Every married woman exercises independently her authority in her home without intereference from the female relatives of her group except when she asks for assistance in an attack from her husband. On the other hand, there is the authority of the man, who is in control of the staff and his nephews and other relatives. He is responsible for the execution of all male work, as much for his own personal duties as for the work force he has at his disposal for such a purpose. When he is absent his authority and responsibility are taken over by his eldest maternal nephew.

In case the father lives at home, that is, in the house of his first wife, it is he who makes arrangements, gives orders, carries out the organization of administrative life, the daily pasturing chores, and the periodic and occasional agricultural work done by /members of/ his sex. In his absence he may be replaced by his sons, in chronological order. As at the present time male emigration is so widespread and as in general the father is periodically absent on pasturing activities or on his visits to his other women (polygamy), the woman who has no responsible son may on her own account order work to be done, even if such work comes /167/ under the husband's jurisdiction. Once the boys are grown they begin to supplant the maternal uncle or the father in masculine work. Also, as they grow older and become adults, family authority gradually loses its power over them. The boy begins to make [67a] his will felt and to take the initiative, but he must be responsible for his actions, because Guajiro law establishes culpability extensible to the consanguineous relatives when any social or cultural rule has been violated. The boy, then, becomes gradually independent from direct family tutelage and is able to plan his life in accordance with the cultural norms of the society and within these to develop his own personality. He does not attain absolute independence. He breaks away from the family discipline represented in the person of his mother,

/167 cont./

592 his maternal uncle, and his most immediate relatives in the family circle, but he is required to obey those legal forms which offer him the protection and mutual aid of the same relatives from whom he is becoming emancipated. This freedom is limited for the male to economic independence and his first marriage. For the woman, relative emancipation from the family comes with marriage; even after being initiated she must submit, perhaps more than before, to the prescriptions and orders of her relatives; but on being married she becomes somewhat free from direct family control, although she also has to respect new cultural patterns and a new authority: that of her husband.

Once the daughters are married the mother, although she may try to exercise dominion over the running of the homes that these are establishing, must in any case make her voice heard; her influence is felt through the conduct of the daughters. If the new couple goes to live with the mother, according to [184] the traditional form of matrilocal residence, or if the newly married sons take their brides to their maternal home, a common occurrence among mestizos, the mother does not hand over the reins of family administration, either to her daughters or to her daughters-in-law. When she dies and each one of these forms her own home, each will take on the direction of the family administration and will follow the same norms. With respect to the matter of marital authority, we abstain from repeating the observations already made and refer the reader to the chapter, Marriage.

The authority that Guajiro fathers have over their children depends on their position before them. They are not considered consanguineous relatives, and consequently their authority is very limited. The children may not take their fathers' side for this reason, but they must respect them as older persons. The father is limited in his rights by the maternal uncle who takes his place and by the mother. He may not hurt his children because he has no rights over them, since they are not of his blood. Nevertheless, in a certain way he

/167 cont./

592 has some authority over them because, if during his absence some carelessness on /168/ the part of the mother causes the death of one of them, he can collect a compensation payment from his wife's maternal relatives. But at the present time, among mestizos and especially among those who contract Catholic marriages, the father's authority is immediately felt in accordance with the custom of our culture. He represents the home and the children before the other individuals of the social totality as was previously done by the uncle.

This authority has reference not only to the home and to the compliance with certain norms of courtesy, such as those of hospitality for example, but also to the decisive events in family life, such as the marriage of a son, the compensation payment for an offense, the purchase of a daughter, etc. His will is consulted, and the wife obeys it, even against the personal insistence of her mother; in other words, the mother loses authority and responsibility with regard to her children, who now use the father's name and with this the new ascribed kin relationship. /169/

XI

THE CLAN

614 On studying clan organization we wish to present it as it apparently must have functioned in the past and to show the changes it has undergone up to the present. To this end, we make use of mythology to clarify happenings in the remote past.

614 A story from Upper La Guajira runs as follows: "Not far
773 from Nazaret there is a hill lying behind Itojoro. There
539 Mareiwa was born under an olive tree. There he was found as a tiny infant, and he kept growing and growing as rapidly as

S: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

579 been completely tamed by the Venezuelans. He, with of course his
649 followers, have found honesty the best policy after all, and are now reformed and peaceful members of society, returned to herding and agriculture. This shows what can be done with firmness combined with a little judicious tact and management.

The Indians build no elaborate dwelling-houses. Their best ranchos
342 are simple, and constructed in a short time. The roof is covered with the split woody core of a tall euphorbia. This makes a good cool roof, impervious to water and easily removed when the family flits. The rancho is seldom used for sleeping purposes; for this numerous poles
[513] (tokopé) are firmly fixed all over the place for swinging hammocks, often three and four to one pole, and crossing each other. Sometimes two and three sleep in a hammock. Further off other poles (palémoler)
[447] are found, to tie animals up at, and a small corral or sheep-pen for the goats and sheep is also indispensable in every well-regulated family. The site of a rancho is always carefully chosen, much strategy being
361 displayed in hunting the whole, so that each rancho covers the other
621 without itself being seen. Although villages are never attempted, yet a family rarely lives isolated. Everybody bolsters himself with that bugbear of Goajira society, his relations. Their ranchos are always within gunshot distance, so as mutually to defend each other. One is
[712] invariably on high ground to dominate the country, the rest are hidden away in nooks and corners where least expected. If one rancho is seen, others are close at hand. In case of attack, this system prevents a whole family being exterminated. One or two ranchos may be taken, but the rest escape or fly to the reserve, as the case may be. At all events the
[552] avenger, so dear to the Indian, survives. Each rancho has a distinct name. Besides, every Indian who is anybody has several ranchos
[423] spread over the country. To collect the names of the ranchos would be paramount to taking a census of the territory. The following are
103 well-known ranchos, with usually some half-caste from Riohacha
443 trading with the Indians. In the Macuira range, six miles from Punta
● 592 Espada, is Guazuyá, at the foot of Aru-ara; chief, Caijana, a Jirua. Westwards, close to the sea-shore, Chiuzzao; chief, José Agustin, a
621 Jallerité, a half-caste speaking good Spanish. At the foot of Itujuro, Magualpá, situated on a slight eminence eight miles from the sea, and is an important trading station. Paraliero, native name of Puerto Estrella, boasts twelve houses and three iron warehouses, with always two or three Riohacheros resident there. The chief, Pedro Quinto, is Epieyu, but his sister Maurisia is the virtual ruler. Inland, 16 miles from Bahia Honda or Taroa is Moruway, another large trading station, usually with two or three Riohacheros established there. The eight ranchos are well located on a plain between Macuira and Parashi. The chief, Saipa, is Epieyu. This is one of the most central stations in the Goajira, and is surrounded by several important plains; it is probably

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

the site of the old Spanish settlement San Juan de Ipapa. On the west side of the Parashi Hills in the plains is another well-known central trading station Joroy; chief, Majutó, an Ipuana; probably near the old site of the Spanish settlement Moscota. In the neighbourhood are: Guarirpanturi; chief, Conoón, an Ipuana. A Dutchman from Aruba has lived here many years, and has become quite an Indian. Alplapá, a few ranchos on an eminence commanding the whole valley. The Indians here are rather mixed, but the chief is a Pushaina. The well Kapaulera, at the base of the hill, is the finest I saw, and surrounded with rich green vegetation similar to that of Macuira. Katunasió, the most inland station. It is generally the traders that make a rancho known, for the Indians do everything they can to keep their abodes, if not secret, at any rate as much in the dark as possible. The plains being more unsettled than the mountain district, traders do not venture to establish themselves in the interior, as at Morunay or Joroy, so few ranchos are known. The most important place in the Lower Goajira is Guineua, midway between Riohacha and the Venezuelan town of Las Guardias or Santa Teresa. Paraguaipoa, the new Venezuelan military colony, founded in 1882, counts already 50 houses. It is situated in the plains 12 miles in advance of Santa Teresa, which it completely covers. The garrison at present consists of 30 men, well mounted and found in every respect, under the orders of a commander, two secretaries, and two interpreters; the latter for the purpose of taking statistics as to trade, &c. Altogether it is a model establishment, and does honour to the Government of Venezuela. The entire population of the Goajira may be about 20,000; it does not exceed 25,000, and is not increasing.

As regards manners and customs and the way they enforce their old peculiar laws, these Goajiros are particularly interesting. Of course, like all Indians, they are singularly proficient in begging, stealing, and drinking, but besides these capital vices they add a fourth, that is demanding compensation, tear- or blood-money—principal cause of all the strife and blood feuds between the castes, and an everlasting danger to Indians and strangers alike. Whereas about one-quarter of the male population die a violent death from its result, another quarter are killed by drink and its effects. The laws that govern these compensation cases are very intricate, their number is legion. First is the terrible law of retribution, that makes a whole caste responsible for the acts of any single member. As the Spaniards or white men are considered by the Indians as belonging to one large family, the country is very unsafe for travelling, for every white man is a sort of hostage for the good behaviour of the others. If an Indian should be killed in a quarrel by a white man, the life of another white man, living leagues away, depends upon whether the foe (relations of the dead Indian) or a friend brings the news first. Many an innocent unconscious trader has been sacrificed at one end of the peninsula for a foul murder committed at the other end.

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

water but is given an herbal purgative. Her hair is cut short. Generally 581
several of her relatives stay around the door of the hut, and strangers and men with an eye to matrimony may look in. During this period the girl is taught the duties of married life and such skills as weaving, sewing, and making hammocks. When she emerges, stout and bleached, a special festival is held, when she resumes her ornaments and puts on the adult clothes that she has made during her confinement. She is now considered marriageable. The length of her confinement depends on her status, though theoretically it lasts until her hair again reaches the [557
nape of her neck. Poor girls are secluded only a few weeks, rich girls 556]
up to 2 years.

Sexual life and marriage.—Little is known about the sexual life of 836
the *Goajiro*. A certain amount of promiscuous love making occurs among the young people at the biweekly festivals. Dances also provide an opportunity for sexual advances.

There are some male transvestites who carry on only female activities 838
and are ridiculed by the men.

When a man desires to marry he sends his father or uncle as inter- 584
mediary, then pays a bride price which has been set by the girl's relatives. 583
The payment is usually in cattle, but goats, pearls, liquor, cotton cloth, 602
and gold ornaments also are used. The father retains the purchase price only when his first daughter marries; the income of subsequent marriages goes to the girl's senior maternal uncles. The mother also receives part of the income. A son obtains the cattle for the bride payment from the increase of his father's herds.

Intermarriage between the sibs is frequent, and many of the *Goajiro* 582
give their daughters to "civilizados" from Maracaibo and Río Hacha, who pay higher prices and find such a tie with the Indians useful in their trading relations.

The marriage ceremony consists of a series of feasts and exchanges of 585
presents between the two families. The wedding night is spent at the [531]
rancheria of the bride's mother, but the nuptial hammock (specially woven by the female relatives of the bride) is hung from a tree some distance away from the house. For a period of days and even months the bridegroom leaves his bride at dawn and returns only after sunset. In [604]
this way the groom shows respect to his mother-in-law.

Polygyny is general. The number of wives depends on the economic 595
status of the husband, some men having as many as 20. Each wife lives in her own house, where her husband occasionally visits her. The man, as head of the polygynous household, supervises the daily slaughter of [592]
animals and the distribution of meat and corn to each household according to the number of its members.

If a wife shirks her domestic duties she may be divorced and her hus- 586
band may claim the return of the bride price cattle, plus their increase and

/164 cont./

592 3. In the collateral line the mother's sisters and their
602 descendants.

611 4. His closest male relatives, his mother's brothers and those of his grandmother and great-grandmother, etc., in the maternal line.

5. The sons of the sisters of his mother, his grandmother, his great-grandmother, etc.

In this way, the kinship ties of the newborn child extend back indefinitely along the female line and extend forward in the same manner.

With respect to the kinship with individuals of the male sex, this is limited to the collateral branches and to the sons of female relatives. That is, the newborn child does not count male ascendants or the children of his male relatives as his own relatives. Furthermore, if the new baby is a boy he will not in the future count his own direct descendants as relatives.

592 It would be extremely difficult to make a separate study of
593 the exercise of authority in the small family or in the extended family, because these two bodies so intimately interpenetrated due to their members living together that any analysis of them separately would be inaccurate; also, because of the effects of acculturation, the exercise of authority based on the consanguineous unit stemming from the traditional legal union reflects forms different from those developed according to legendary cultural patterns.

593 These two extremes -- traditional culture and culture influenced by whites -- cover an infinite range of varieties difficult to classify and must be studied as special cases (Cf. Marriage).

593 It is essential to recognize that in the civilizado-type home
178 the influence of the maternal family tends to be nullified, a
596 very slow process with regard to the totality of all the members, but a very rapid and effective one with regard to the maternal uncle, for in this case there occurs the phenomenon of transfer: All his influence passes to the father, who from that moment acquires and exercises all the authority delegated by Guajiro

614 /1 cont./
554 for delaying menstruation during the seclusion following the
[842] appearance of puberty, so that the organism may become weakened and the menstrual cycle no longer appears, with which their matrimonial life does not bear fruit. They know beforehand /2/ the destiny of their children. When they become
[567] of useful age a stronger group will fall upon them to enslave them under any pretext -- such as the loss of an animal whose disappearance will be attributed to them without any outcry or civil authority aroused to impede this, and, the injustice inflicted being proved, without any punishment being applied to the aggressor group. Their daughters will be taken as wives
614 without the necessary Guajiro payment, or, simply, they will
554 abuse them, there being no family backing to oppose the de-
543 mands of the men belonging to the stronger groups. If a daughter should be bought, only a nominal payment will be made to silence the protests of her family, but later a very heavy matrimonial retribution will be demanded. Generally, the husband will brag about the way in which he ill-treats the girl, knowing that she is unprotected and that her relatives have insufficient power to demand justice. Thus it is not rare that poor wives are killed by their husbands after a life in which the unfortunate women have been subjected to cruel beatings and even mutilation. And if the family has no alliance with any powerful groups, the death is not indemnified. The mothers also know that should
614 one of their sons, accidentally or in self-defense, wound or kill
554 a member of a stronger family group, the repirsal taken will
628 not be preceded by a demand for compensation payment or any of the legal requirements usually stipulated, but that his whole group will be destroyed or enslaved and deprived of its clan lands, fields, sources of water supply, and personal effects. For such reasons these weak groups are allowing themselves to die out by reducing their birth rate to a minimum.

842 Regarding the special wishes of each group as to the sex of its future descendants, we feel the need of making an analysis of the valuation which each has in the society.

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865 4. The child should adopt certain habits in the conduct of his relations with his parents and relatives: to listen submissively to remarks without a haughty reply or showing unwillingness to carry out orders or making gestures that might appear arrogant; never to give a rude answer to whoever gives them orders about their work; never to answer discourteously nor in a way to show displeasure or arrogance when reprehended or punished nor to run away in these circumstances, as then the punishment would be greater; never to use bad words in Spanish as that implies a double offense: that of making use of a foreign language as well as bad words as such, besides coarseness and insults between adults lead to the compensation payment, which (as all of these social payments do) falls on the relatives. /31/

[191 [195 689]

5. Besides aggressive acts toward his elders, we have those that can occur with his playmates or his own relatives and which acquire a more serious character when they affect his friends from other clans, and when from the verbal offense -- which may also have to be compensated -- they pass to fighting, because if blood should be shed the mother of the injured boy will make her claim for compensation payment (unless both combatants are hurt, in which case it is cancelled). In these cases of bloodshed, as will be seen hereafter, the relative social and economic strength or weakness of each of the clans to which the combatants belong is an important factor, as the stronger group always imposes its interpretation of justice on the weaker. These are the reasons that compel the mother to try to prevent her children from playing with those of another clan to forestall such possible claims. In spite of this, however, the boys escape her vigilant eye, ignore her orders, and manage to get together in most of their boyish activities. The prohibition to join up with boys of another clan develops also from the fact that if a boy is invited to join another group and some accident should occur, the responsibility will fall on the group of the boy who extended the invitation.

865 593 The relationship between siblings is usually peaceful especially between those of the same sex. They readily become comrades.

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865 Nevertheless, there are cases where the elder brother attempts
593 to impose his authority and oblige a younger brother to obey his orders, building up his part. From ten years of age onward the relation between brothers and sisters becomes rougher and occasionally quarrelsome, but after passing puberty and initiation, when the girl has become a woman and the boy an adult, their relationship takes on a definite shape, to be reflected in the future friendship between the two and in the ties that will exist between the brothers and the children of the sisters, over whom they will exercise their authority and protection.

We have already described one of the aggressive acts between brothers on the part of the older toward the younger, in the theft of food behind the back of the mother or whoever represents authority /in the home/. There is another form of aggression which the younger child adopts in order to get what he wants from his elders and from his siblings: He throws himself on the ground, where he rolls and kicks, screaming and crying inconsolably. His mother punishes him to stop him from giving way to his bad temper, considering his action harmful because when big he might continue with his rages and while in that mood cause grave injury to his people and to himself. For in
152 reality when the Guajiro becomes furious, he goes completely
865 out of his mind and commits deeds he would not dream of doing in his proper senses. If he cannot get his way he becomes so
[762] angry /32/ that often he will hang himself, doing this in such a rage that he loses his instinct of self-preservation and even when he is half dead will insist on finishing himself off, so throwing the responsibility of his death onto the person who caused his bad temper. If his mother is unable to control these exhibitions of childish rage, it will continue with him during his youth and as a man will become increasingly worse, often causing him to leave home in the excess of his fury and giving rise to suicide when he is thwarted or opposed.

864 6. Delinquent acts that may appear among children about
835 ten years old are the sexual relations between girls and their brothers when the latter are busy with their pastoral tasks and

/35 cont./

861 Another very usual reaction is that of learning each day to dissemble and show astuteness in avoiding punishment. When he sees the attention of his mother or his elders is distracted, he will do what has been forbidden: go to visit at a neighboring house, steal food, climb trees, etc. Later he will lie barefacedly to avoid the possible punishment.

861 When a boy is very frequently punished, which does happen in some homes where the mother is continually beating the chil-
593 dren, the child becomes sullen and withdrawn; he stays away from home, passing most of his time out and about or in the neighbors' houses, endeavoring to avoid the presence of his parents. We have heard of a mother who asked her eldest son, who was in Venezuela, for money as she needed it urgently. His answer was: "I have no mother. She was a tyrant to me and to my brothers, and I plan to bring them here with me so she will not be able to beat them for nothing. I will send her no money as she was always so wicked and cruel she does not deserve it." When the mother learned of this reply, her reaction was to
[762] cruelly beat all her younger children as a warning to them not to do what their elder brother had done. The husband reprehended her for her cruelty, and she ended by hanging herself. There are several similar cases which show the later resentment of some sons against their parents for the harshness of their treatment during their childhood. A boy can bear a permanent grudge, and as soon as he feels strong enough to oppose his will to that of his mother or his elders in general, he becomes stubborn and
[762] stands up to them. On occasion, if opposed in his deepest feelings and blind with fury because of some punishment inflicted,
[689] he will hang himself, by which deed the consequences of his death fall on the originator of the punishment, as the other parent will put in a claim for compensation payment, alleging that the boy was so exasperated it drove him to /36/ to take his own life. This law of obligatory payment tends to limit the application as well as the violence of the punishment, although, in spite of it children are cruelly treated in many homes.

/41 cont./

868 721 604 in the way they are used. When taking part in these warlike operations he makes use of all his social and legal training, and puts into practice the tradition of his group, besides which the basic principle of consanguineous relationship, mutual aid, and backing to resist aggression from outside elements is brought home to him.

593 604 178 It is almost entirely from his maternal uncle that he learns the cultural patterns of his masculine world, as the uncle becomes for him a mold and patterns, whose example he should follow as the leading male figure on the family level. But with the process of acculturation the influence of the father has now come to the fore. Nowadays, when the father expresses a wish that his first-born should be a son, to be a companion to him in his life as a shepherd, he thereby indicates that it is he who is going to educate his sons, or at least the first-born, supplanting to a certain extent the old family figure represented by the maternal uncle. In this case the boy shares with his father the care of his own livestock as well as his father's herd, and even his mother's dowry when her elder relatives consider it advisable. And there, as in the previous case, the boy learns both the economic and cultural side of group life and becomes attached to his father both in affection and materially, a tie that did not exist before but may lead him later to take a hand in his interest, thus bringing about something previously unheard of in Guajiro tradition, that the son goes to fight in the ranks of his father's group, without any consequent claim for compensation payment or other social demand being made.

Also, as when he is with his maternal uncle, he can join in and learn at his father's side agricultural lore, hunting, fishing, and how to go on excursions into the surrounding country; /42/ he also learns the technique of masculine occupations, but what it appears he cannot yet participate in is the political life of his father as cacique, or arbitrator, as this still remains an inheritance possible only from his maternal uncle, nor in the activities relating to the shaman /piache/ as an institution.

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593 With respect to the training of girls, the mother and the maternal relatives play an overwhelming part. When the family lives an isolated life, the influence of the maternal relatives diminishes, as we previously had occasion to see, but as the girl approaches puberty, she may be sent to the home of her grandmother or maternal aunts with whom she will live and whose influence will surround her at this period. We should moreover consider the occupations of a girl as she passes through different phases. When she is very young, in the poorer Guajiro
868 home, she is counted on as a helpmate to assist and replace the mother in her domestic duties so that with her and the other adult women of the family she learns to take her part in household activities: care of the children, drawing water and fetching firewood, cooking food, keeping up the fire, cleaning house, washing clothes, etc.

868 Later comes the time for her to help in the agricultural
462 work. As emigration has reduced the population of La Guajira
167 in the past few years, women have found themselves obliged to carry out work traditionally done by men. Thus there is a need to employ all hands available, and the girls of prepubertal age must contribute their help in the work. Although clearing away trees and underbrush and plowing are men's work, these are now being done by women in addition to the traditional jobs usually expected of them, such as sowing and harvesting, in which latter activity they are more effective than the men. The girls are trained in all these operations alongside the older women until they become completely expert.

868 Another angle of feminine economic life is weaving.
883 Only when she is at the prepubertal age, do the mother and her female uterine relatives take charge of training the girl, as they consider that at this age her babyhood is over and it is necessary that she should give up the freedom she has so far enjoyed in order to take an interest in weaving. If there is an aunt skilled /at weaving/ at home, she will teach the girl; if not, she goes to the home of some kinswomen and stays with

/63 cont./

581 harness for animals, and, when living among civilizado /nonnative/ groups, domestic service in the homes of whites and mestizos, the carrying of water and part of the agricultural work in areas, such as Nazaret, where cultivation is possible on the banks of streams, as well as in regions where only temporary cultivation is carried on. In places like Carrizal and Bahía Honda they collect divi-divi, and in the saltworks they do secondary work for pay or simply to assist their husbands.

This aspect of Guajiro marriage is so important that when 581 a man has abducted a woman and he is considering whether he 593 will buy her or only make a payment for the abuse he has com- [684] mitted, he obtains plant filaments or cotton and sets her to work to make a hammock or a belt. If the woman is not capable he will reject her, as he will reckon that he should not pay for her a price as high as is being demanded. The fact that the woman is an independent economic unit with her children allows her husband to dedicate himself entirely to his pastoral work, to go to the men's gatherings and to the various fiestas, to participate in communal work when asked, to go off on hunting trips for weeks at a time, without having to worry about his home, to join up with his group to fight when necessary, to go traveling from place to place where his other women are, where he gets other economic assistance; in fact to lead a life without worry, although at the present time, owing to conditions of diverse nature, he is finding it necessary to change this pattern of living and to take a more active part in economic life, through the necessity to migrate or to work in the urban centers. This does not mean that he is forced to give more direct assistance to the home: He still follows the traditional way in which his help is only sporadic and absolutely voluntary, leaving to the wife's care the support of the home and of herself; only at the present time when he receives a day's wage for his work, he will drink more and spend more time in idleness while he is spending his earnings.

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581 The Indian also values the relatives of his future wife, be-
593 cause if she has rich relatives and he pays well for her, these will feel themselves obliged to supply her and her children with means of subsistence to live, freeing him from a responsibility which would otherwise restrict his freedom. /64/

To marry into an economically strong group has the advantage that this will bring to the marriage a dowry fitting his esteem, which the future husband will administer, as well as a series of gifts which the women's relatives will make to his children, and, what will increase his prestige, the number of ornaments, dresses, etc., which she will bring with her and in which she will appear in due time. Furthermore, although his marrying one of these women implies a heavy disbursement at the moment, in the long run he will receive suitable reimbursement with the payment for his first daughter to be bought, which belongs in full to the father.

584 Neither does the man disregard the social value of the
583 woman, above all in his first marriage, which is the one that represents it. By this purchase he and his relatives, as well as those of the girl, try to arrange an alliance which will reinforce two strong families or tighten the bonds between them. This induces them in many cases not to consider the choice of the bride (not so much at present), the elders freely making arrangements, in order to obtain the advantage of a high price, the linking with a group whom they fear, avoiding thus prejudice and strengthening friendship, but at the same time hazarding the possibility of the woman's committing suicide. This same fact is what permits the abduction of a woman, which is not considered such in the wide sense of the word but rather an acquiescence on the part of the woman's relatives, who look complacently on these relations, having confidence in the compliance with the payment on the part of the man. It is a deed which demonstrates good faith on the part of relatives on the woman's side to which the man must respond by arranging an immediate and satisfactory payment, if he does not want to

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584 have a serious stain placed on his prestige as a man in good
583 financial standing and one who complies with Guajiro law. So they test, unconsciously perhaps, the feelings of the two groups who are seeking the alliance: trust on one side and solvency and good faith of the other. It is a test of friendship in which each side puts in evidence the wish of surpassing the other.

555 Also figured in the social valuation of a woman is her knowl-
581 edge of the language as this means in Guajiro that she has
593 palabra /literally, "word"/ (Cf. Caciques), that is to say, that
[191] she has a wide knowledge of the language and can use it adequately in delicate situations in which it is necessary to bring to bear every oratorical gift and know how to measure her words and the customary phrases in order to attain her end or to guide the discussion to a level where the facts will follow the legal line. A woman, when she has these qualities, may act as a mediator in a quarrel, and on the result favorable to the person she has represented will depend her personal aggrandizement, by which she acquires prestige and is called in to mediate in even more complicated matters, /65/ by this means increasing her personal position and that of her group and converting other clans into satellites, submissive to her will, in payment for benefits received, thus still further increasing her power which indirectly extends to her husband. This acquisition is a cause for vanity and pride in the husband.

From this talent of tener palabra /literally, "to have word"/ there emerges a series of sequences which build up the social aspect of a home. A woman who possesses that quality knows the Guajiro social protocol and can fully comply with it, thus avoiding conflicts with other groups; she also knows the legal system of the peninsula and by such knowledge can protect the interests of her family group, including her husband, as she will confine his conduct to that which is established, which eases the husband's life and his relationships with his feminine relatives. She makes possible the knitting together of these two disparate elements and creates the bond of union between the

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555 two; she increases the man's prestige because in carrying out her
581 duties as mistress of his house and representative of the home,
593 she knows by suitable attentions (agreeable talk, preparation of food according to traditional custom, hospitality appropriate to the social standing of a guest, etc.) how to win everybody's appreciation, consideration, and respect.

Furthermore, as the maintenance of prestige rests partly on the wife, the knowledge of the psychic and legal life and customs of the society in which she lives enables her to act correctly and without errors. She will maintain due solemnity in carrying out the most important acts in life, as, for example: the seclusion of young women, marriage, illness, etc., so strengthening her status. She will also rule her family more correctly and constitute herself the guardian of tradition, which is so respected by the Guajiro and in which resides the strength of their culture.

* * *

583 The price that the Guajiro man pays for his wife includes
636 several conditions among which is the assumed virginity as he will expect his wife to come to the marriage as such each time that marriage penetrates into his psychic life, and he will feel defrauded if she does not, so much more if the status of the bride is high and even more if she is his first wife.

The man takes into account various aspects of virginity:
[554] First, he finds a special attractiveness in the virgin woman for the satisfaction of deflowering her, which, apart from the sexual attractiveness, gives him in the future a reason for boasting and prestige, the halo of a fortunate man which /66/ fills him with pride and gives him a feeling of superiority. Second, and from the economic point of view, because he has paid the price asked, convinced that his wife is a property which belongs to him, wholly and exclusively. Third, because he thinks that if a woman has given herself to another man, secretly, it was because she was drawn to him by a great affection or because she is a

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591 themselves in any place, in accordance with the husband's convenience, since in this case also, it is he who must take chage of the economic necessities of the home. Generally, the residence is established in an urban center.

593 Family intervention in marriage. In the first marriage of a Guajiro man, the family plays an outstanding role, not only in respect to the woman but also to the man. In connection with the latter, the sense of co-operation and mutual aid of the clan group makes itself felt. The man of marriageable age is already economically independent, but he needs the help of his kin. The marriage payment /or installment/ is high, and he cannot cover it with his personal contribution. The aid of his consanguineous relatives puts him in the position of being obligated to them. He must then do something similar when a relative is in a like situation, and much later he will repay those who aided him when he receives the marriage payment for his first daughter.

Another aspect /in which the family plays an outstanding role is/ that of inheritance. The economic contribution given by his kin leaves out his children and his wife, since they have already received their inheritance in the person of the uterine relatives with the purchase price.

The two families take an active part in the ceremonies of negotiating for and buying the wife (Cf. Purchase procedure in Chap. V), and in those connected with her being returned, when she was not found to be a virgin at marriage, in cases of adultery, desertion of her home, or neglect or death of the children. (Cf. Valuation of virginity, and the woman, Adultery, and Dissolution of marriage in Chap. V. Maternity, Chap. VI.)

It falls to the wife's consanguineous group, according to their status, to supply the husband with means of subsistence when she is incapable of doing it herself. The group complies with this function as an obligation derived from the marriage payment.

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593 But the family influence of the woman's consanguineous kin is most marked and most decisive in her marital life when her marriage is the result of an illegal act: abduction or seduction. The reason for this rests or the fact that it brings into play the prestige of the clan group.

When the marriage is performed in accordance with the Catholic ritual, it is not unusual for the maternal family to use its influence in order to see that the marriage is accompanied by the traditional Guajiro marriage payment, with the object of ensuring that the new family cell will not remain outside society and outside Guajiro culture. /106/

833 Sexual life. The sexual aspect is one of the basic attractions in the matrimonial life of the Guajiro. The man expects his wife to satisfy him sexually, and similarly the woman when she marries knows beforehand that one of her principal duties is to have marital relations with her husband, and, more than that, to satisfy his inclinations in this matter, putting aside her own desires and wishes, offering herself willingly each time that he asks and adopting the positions that will give him greatest pleasure.

The woman gives no importance to her own wishes and whims in their marital relations for two reasons: first, because she considers and knows -- by reason of the instruction she received during her seclusion -- that that is her obligation and in great part the happiness of her conjugal life is based on it. Second, because /she knows that/ by satisfying even the smallest sexual caprices of her husband she acquires great dominance over him. For this reason she restrains the natural repugnance which these acts may cause her because, furthermore, she has to take into account that although a Guajiro may be quite satisfied and proud of his wife as the mistress of the house, as the administrator of the family possessions, as a good worker, as an expert in all cultural norms, etc., if with the passage of time and particularly with frequent maternity she loses her physical attractions, he will replace her with a younger woman, who will follow the

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833 general rule of giving herself up docilely as an instrument of pleasure to her husband in order to gain dominance over him and to gradually succeed in replacing the previous wife.

All these considerations impel the woman to make use of her sex appeal in the marriage in order to maintain her ascendancy over her husband and avoid at all cost that he should buy another woman who would cause her to lose her importance and her initial dominance. And it is also for this that she tries as far as lies in her power to retain the real source of her attractiveness and makes use of medicinal herbs or submits to a series of magic rituals designed to preserve her physical attractiveness and to prevent maternity to the point of making it impossible.

Although the Guajiro is passionately attached to the woman who gives him greatest /sexual/ satisfaction, he does not fail [513] to recognize and highly prize other qualities, especially when he is about to buy his first wife. The reason for this lies in the fact that she, and not the others, will represent him socially on all occasions of collective life.

Conjugal relations of a couple who are pure Indian are carried out openly without precautions against the presence of outsiders -- either at home or in the fields -- even in front of the smaller children, /107/ who from a tender age are accustomed to see calmly these biological acts.

If the woman gives way to the will of her husband who claims satisfaction at any time or place, she expects on her part a satisfaction of her own desires, to which the man accedes if possible for fear of adultery on the wife's part, which would lower his prestige.

515 The Guajiro is accustomed to live close to the woman or
833 women whom he most desires, or to visit them frequently and spend long periods at their side. During these periods the other co-wives show jealousy or find opportunities for infidelity. Since in a way the husband's prestige rests on doing so, the Guajiro goes from one place to another cohabiting with his women without taking heed of his excesses as he thinks that this

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825 With respect to the fertilizing of viviparous animals, the Guajiro has certain empirical views obtained from personal observation and his frequent contact with animals. They know that the females of such animals undergo the phenomenon of menstruation but note that it is not definitely periodical and constant, but sporadic. During this biological process the female becomes fertile and looks for a male, because during this period she can make her contribution of menstrual blood. At such a time the male animal feels attracted to the female and he becomes heated, which results in his pursuing the female until he impregnates her. On mating, his semen enters and mixes with the blood in the womb, and thus the new embryo animal is formed, which, like the human being, requires a period of gestation before birth.

They have also observed that once the male has accomplished the fecundation, as menstruation does not return until after the birth takes place, the male does not become heated again for this female, but respects her. He observes this in contrast with man, who has carnal access to a pregnant female even in an advanced period of pregnancy.

593 Behavior of the woman with her husband. The payment which the man makes for the woman establishes the principle that compels her to take upon herself a series of material obligations attendant with the requirements of hospitality, feeding, clothing, and sexual satisfaction; and the nonmaterial ones of submission, obedience, and fidelity. To carry out the first, she avails herself of the money obtained from the sale of the woven articles which she can make, her personal property in livestock, and the corn fields /siembras/ and wild fruits.

When the husband arrives home the woman hurries to hang up his hammock in the enramada /bough-covered shelter/, as this attention is basic in the general norms of etiquette and of hospitality to visitors, relatives, or strangers /111/ who arrive at the house, but above all to the husband. If he returns from a hunting expedition she will have ready for him various containers

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593 of water so that the man can bathe before entering the house and can rest in his hammock in the enramada; she also provides clean clothes, that is, a belt and guayuco, the common dress. She will immediately bring him a refreshing drink made from wild fruits, corn, or yucca. If after a hunting expedition the husband returns home and does not find all these things ready, he will complain to the woman and reproach her for lack of attention. A few moments after the man's return, the woman should produce food, preparing a portion of the game he has brought home, trying to make a dish that will be to his taste. Later she will sit by his side on the ground at [illegible] foot of the hammock on which he is resting, and she wil[illegible] [illegible]t to him all that has happened during his absence and [illegible] conduct of each and every member of the house in this lapse of time. If the man falls asleep she will stay silently at his side.

Another of the obligations of the woman to her husband refers to sexual satisfaction, which we have noted in a previous section.

Her duties in respect to feeding relate not only to the [264] obligation to supply him with food, but also to the special way of doing it -- to serve him the best portion in a special vessel and before anyone else in the house and to cook the food in accordance with the man's special taste.

Also the proper attention due to her husband's friends 593 when they come to the house is another of her obligations. 574 It is customary for the man to bring his intimate friends to his first wife's house to entertain them, and his wife should then carry out adequately the part of a good housekeeper, complying with all the traditional norms of etiquette and hospitality, such as supplying them with hammocks in the enramada, bringing fresh drinks and especially a cup of coffee, and, whatever the hour of day or night they may arrive, giving them food in accordance with the tradition of her people and the particular rank of the visitors, and chatting

/111 cont./

593 with them, seated near her husband at the foot of the hammock he occupies. If it should happen that the husband and
574 his friends are on a spree and have gone to the house to continue drinking, she may only take part by bringing them drinks, by answering briefly the questions they put to her, without entering into the man's conversation, because if she should the group would dissolve, beginning with the husband, who would angrily accuse her of being a meddler. Her behavior at these times must be very circumspect, and she should be ready to prevent any /112/ controversial discussion bordering on a quarrel, which might bring troublesome consequences. In case this should occur it is her obligation to calm and separate the contenders so that they may not do each other harm, and later to endeavor to calm the inflamed tempers.

574 If any visitor should arrive at the house when the husband is absent, the wife should attend to him properly, for if not the guest will complain to the husband of the discourtesies of his wife. But in these circumstances she should observe certain norms of conduct intended to defend her own honor. For example, a hammock should be slung in the enramada so that the visitor can rest, but she should never let him follow her into her room or into the house, because if her husband should hear of it he would bitterly reproach such behavior. Also any curious passer-by could recount the presence of a strange man in the room while her husband was away, giving the latter ample cause to complain openly, putting the woman's prestige in jeopardy. When the guest is resting in the hammock, she sits at the foot to attend to him, occupying herself with some manual labor which permits her to give her attention to the visitor.

593 The woman should show special interest in keeping up and improving her husband's belongings. It is her duty to keep his clothing, his weapons, his personal effects, etc., clean and in good repair and to be able to give a good account of all these when her husband asks about them. The

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• 913 same applies with respect to the livestock when the man is away from home; she must see to it that the boys or the servants take proper care of them.

If the husband falls ill she must look after him with great care and immediately inform his maternal relatives, so that if he should die she will not be blamed for his death. If it is necessary to seek the professional services of the shaman, she should first get the consent of his close relatives, who are those responsible for making such arrangements, and in the event that the shaman does intervene, she should offer her services, although generally he -- the shaman -- prefers to have a sister or the mother of his patient as his assistant in his magic operations. If it is one of the children who falls ill in the absence of the husband, her immediate duty is to send a messenger to tell him the news, in order to avoid later recriminations and claims for compensation payment on the part of the man should the child die. This last is due to the fact that the woman is responsible to her husband for what might happen to the children in his absence or in consequence of an order she has given. But this is reciprocal. For example, if because of any reprimand one of the children should commit suicide, the responsibility for his death falls on whoever was responsible for /113/ the admonition, who must pay to the other parent and his or her maternal relatives an amount decided upon.

The wife's attentions to her husband are most concentrated and clear when the man is drunk, as at this time she must not leave him and should go in search of him if he is alone when she learns he is intoxicated, in order to prevent his offending any outsiders by word or act. Such offense might give rise to annoyance and quarrels which might involve his family in troubles, in which her own relatives might become implicated, if she were not on the alert to avoid it, in which case she would be judged the guilty party. Furthermore, a man in this condition not only may cause offense to

/113 cont./

593 others, if his wife does not control him, but may even attempt to take his own life. If for any reason the drunken man not accompanied by his wife should commit suicide, the blame for this act would be fixed on the wife as the indirect cause, since her neglect would be considered to have led to his death. Her duty is therefore to lead him away from such places where he is likely to get into trouble and, if she cannot succeed in this, not to leave him for an instant while there is a possibility of a fight. She should also obey him promptly and gratify him in all his whims. Guajiro women state that the Indian when drunk becomes quite childish and self-willed, and when he is in this condition he will even ask his wife to sing him to sleep, fuss over him, let him lie in her lap, or ask her to lie with him in his hammock, all of which she should do to please him. Others, on the contrary, become aggressive, and it is then they revive the insults they have had to suffer in the past. The woman should remain silent when he is in this mood so as to give him no cause for possible argument, which might make the man beat her in his fury. Neither should the woman reproach the man for whatever ill-treatment she may receive from him when in this condition, but she should wait until after he has slept and the drunkeness is past. Afterward, when he asks her what happened during his drunken bout, she has an opportunity to make her protests, which he will carefully listen to, excusing himself the best he can or repaying in some way the wrong he has done her -- for instance by presenting her with a new robe, if during his tantrums he has torn her other one, or making protestations of his love for her and excusing himself, saying that he was not responsible for what happened while in that drunken condition and she should take no notice of it. The woman after these explanations should not bear rancor.

595 With regard to polygamy the woman must assume an attitude of resignation, put no difficulties in the way of a new co-wife, and if she is taken to live in the same house try to avoid friction and quarrels, treating her in a sisterly fashion without /114/ being jealous of her or her husband. When

/115 cont./

595 even to force to separate the rivals as insults pass from words to acts.

When a man dies his relatives go to the house where the death occurred and begin the wake according to his standing. His wives attend and must show their grief and occupy the place appropriate to them as wives of the dead man, and must carry out the traditional practices of their cult for the dead.

The wife is not obliged to make common cause with the husband. However, at the present time cases have been seen in which the wife of an assassin has been burned or tortured, because she was included in the category of consanguineous relatives of the husband. But their culture establishes the principle that women do not participate in the men's fights.

Behavior of the man. Although the Guajiro woman always

593 has the backing of her maternal relatives to counteract her husband's possible ill-treatment and although any such misbehavior on his part is illegal, women in general are not well treated, /a fact/ which many of them from various regions attribute to the problem of polygamy.

When a man has only one wife his life follows the cultural patterns, and he shows himself affectionate toward her, /116/ giving her and the children presents and voluntarily helping her to provide food and clothing. But when he buys another wife, the new one displaces the first one, who may be relegated to last place, although she keeps her social prestige as first wife through the economic and social backing of her family, which is considerable, and for this reason it is difficult for the husband to ill-treat her, so that the worst thing he can do is to abandon her.

He will abandon the other wives in turn, and they know it, but it sometimes happens that one of them attracts the attention of the man, and he abandons all the rest or makes them the victims of his constant ill-treatment.

This is what gives rise to the struggle of the woman against polygamy. She suffers and is bitterly resentful of her husband's marrying again. She thinks that it is because she no longer

/116 cont./

593 satisfies him, and she becomes jealous; and this jealousy and the recriminations which it causes may be the source of the quarrels between husband and wife so frequent in Guajiro homes.

A second cause of the ill-treatment from their husbands which the Guajiro women suffer is the inequality of status between the two. When the wife lacks effective backing, the man does not attempt to limit his quarrelsome conduct nor his reactions of anger. She on her part hides her problem from her relatives and from outsiders in order not to show the lowering of her prestige and position, which might be taken advantage of by third persons to further trouble her or her children.

593 A third cause is the abuse of the drunken man, who takes advantage of fiestas or gatherings among themselves or out-
578 siders to attend these parties and drink, or does the same without any excuse whatever. It is at these times that such a man shows the worst sides of his character. He becomes aggresive, looks, for quarrels with anyone, mulls over the past, and if he can finds some reason for taking offense, although it may be completely insignificant, and enlarges on it, giving free rein to his aggressive impulses -- for example, if a man's wife was not a virgin when he married her or he is not sure of her faithfulness. The slightest disobedience may be sufficient stimulus for the man to unleash his wrath against his wife, singing allusive songs about her lack of virginity before she was married or other faults and later passing from words to threats and then to acts, beating her and even mutilating her, as happened in Nazaret to two women belonging to a poor group whose drunken husband went to visit them. One of the women had her upper lip bitten off and the other woman was gravely injured. They hid the affair for a long time, /117/ but they were obliged to ask the Capuchin mission for help when the wound was already very infected. In another case the husband bit off his wife's nose. There are detailed cases of women who have had their ears torn off in moments like

/117 cont./

593 578 these or have been brutally kicked or beaten with sticks or dragged by their hair, etc. The only sanction, the claim made by the woman's family, is frequently not made, and these episodes end in one of two ways: First, with the death of the woman, in which case her husband makes some payment, under pressure of popular opinion of outsiders or of his own relatives, who refuse to admit into their midst a criminal with no justifiable motive, or because of the possible connections and alliances which his wife's relatives may be able to make in an extreme case like this. Second, with the suicide of the woman, since she hangs herself, blind with pain, anger, and mental suffering, and in order that the blame of her death may fall on her husband. This solution is tragic and very common, and as a result when a husband has murdered his wife, he tries to make it look like suicide. In Nazaret we witnessed one of these cases, where the death was made to appear to be suicide by hanging, when the real cause of the woman's death was a kick in the stomach. Among the information we gathered is a reference to a similar case in Lower La Guajira, in which the cause of death was discovered only when the relatives of the woman washed her body before enshrouding it, as is the custom in La Guajira.

593 837 A fourth cause of ill-treatment is suspected or proven unfaithfulness on the part of the woman; the resentment appears when the man gets drunk or when the woman disobeys or gives some reason for complaint. He says in this case: "You didn't obey me because what I order is not ordered by so-and-so" (here he uses the name of her lover if he knows it) or "by the man who has taken my place" (if he does not know or only suspects it.) Frequently, he adds insults and blows. In these cases of suspicion or proof of infidelity, the lack of understanding between the couple increases and the ill-treatment extends itself to the children, whose paternity the father is beginning to doubt. At times, although the infidelity has been clearly proved, the man does not leave his wife nor apply the corresponding legislation, because he loves her and

/117 cont./

593 prefers to pardon her, but the offense he has received shows
837 itself at times in aggressive action and ill-treatment, for which he is sorry later, as we have said.

When suspicion does not reach the proportions of reality, the married life of the couple is naturally less calm than it was. The husband tries to obtain proofs at all costs /118/ and lives a life of constant alertness, trying to induce his wife to confess and looking for an opportunity to catch her infraganti (for further explanation see the section Adultery in this chapter).

593 As a fifth cause of marital ill-treatment one may cite the woman's deficient compliance with the obligations she is supposed to undertake, which may result from two reasons: First, the husband may have paid a low price for her when he made the marriage payment arrangements; second, she may have been forced by her relatives to marry a man she did not like at a time when she was in love with another man. If the husband knows of this situation, he makes it a basis for his insults, refers to it as the palpable cause of her lack of attention to him and to the management of her home. He will say, for example: "You don't want to attend to me because I am not that so-and-so, whom you used to love so much. Of course you would be glad to serve and obey him in everything. But you will have to serve and attend to me, although you dont's like it, because you are my wife and not his."

On occasion it is disobedience of the husband's prohibitive orders which lead to his attack. He tells his wife, for instance, not to leave the house, and she in spite of this leaves the house and goes visiting somewhere. Then the Guajiro, believing his rights are being flouted, punishes and mistreats the woman in order to force her to submit to his every wish, which is to him a symbol of his manhood.

595 Relations between co-wives. Life between the different wives of a man fluctuates between genuine comradeship and an infernal struggle.

/124 cont./

837 again without any claim whatever. They may live together peacefully again without the man's making any reproaches, /at least/ when he is not drunk.

The causes which have extended the problem of adultery, together with prostitution, are very diverse and have made the oly type of law, already described, ineffective to a certain degree. Because in modern times infidelity does not occupy its former important place in the mind of the Guajiro; cases of it multiply and the previous scruple of regarding it as an antisocial act is disappearing. The growing emigration of men to Venezuela in search of work, which leaves women abandoned for long periods; the contact of women with other cultures which have different ideas about such matters; the economic misery accentuated by the long summers; the opportunity to earn a little money through extramarital relations, which helps to sustain them; the breaking up of native social institutions; and the easy ways that the guilty parties now have of escaping the consequences of their actions are all new causes, which together with the traditional ones which have led the Guajiro woman to break the social principle of marital fidelity -- such as being forced into a marriage when in love with another man; the lack of control and of sexual satisfaction resulting from one man's being permitted to have a great number of women -- all these causes tend to increase the problem of adultery now more than before, since in the old days the law was followed to the letter in spite of the social convulsions which its application might provoke.

[583] The attitude of a man who suspects his wife of infidelity is always one of violence, because he feels himself ostensibly defrauded; from then on he becomes a tyrant to his wife and takes advantage of every opportunity to hurt her, insult her, and pour scorn on her. The woman in such cases limits herself to emphatically and constantly denying her guilt and adopting the position of one unjustly accused. The testimony of someone who has surprised her in the act is necessary to make her

/136 cont./

622 than their own head, will solicit his intervention in special problems, especially when these refer to personal differences with groups stronger than themselves. This attitude is taken with the approval of the other cacique, who also on occasion will add his efforts to assist him when he wants to impress his point of view on another very strong clan group.

When a pact in which he has mediated or lent his assistance is not complied with, he must resort to force, if the noncompliance of the opposing party drives him to this extreme, so as not to lose his power and authority, and he has to give examples of great personal courage, exposing himself more than the other who go to back him up, if he does not wish to lose credit in the opinion of his own people as well as of outsiders, but to give the impression of a real headman, successfully directing any warlike actions that may develop. He should let himself be killed before yielding in his task, /137/ and fight on until he has made the enemy comply with the pact made and agree to the recognition of his authority and to complete submission. In this fighting all his relatives in the maternal line join up with him, but not his [593] own sons, because, as we know, these do not form part of his family and if they were wounded, their maternal relatives would present a claim for compensation payment against the father, and thus the number of his enemies would be increased. However, at the present time, through the influence of the civilizados, the son is following and backing up his father in spite of Guajiro law.

Another of the functions of the cacique is to counsel his people and those who recognize his authority and who seek his opinion in any of their problems. In these cases his advice is to be prudent. He exhorts them to comply with the law: He obliges the thief to return the stolen goods, and he reprimands him for his felonious action; he tries to arrange that those in enmity over the spilling of blood arrive at an equitable settlement to avoid later reprisals; he asks the women to be faithful to their husbands; he mediates in conjugal arguments and quarrels, trying to obtain from the men more consideration for their wives.

/164 cont./

592 3. In the collateral line the mother's sisters and their
602 descendants.

611 4. His closest male relatives, his mother's brothers and those of his grandmother and great-grandmother, etc., in the maternal line.

5. The sons of the sisters of his mother, his grandmother, his great-grandmother, etc.

In this way, the kinship ties of the newborn child extend back indefinitely along the female line and extend forward in the same manner.

With respect to the kinship with individuals of the male sex, this is limited to the collateral branches and to the sons of female relatives. That is, the newborn child does not count male ascendants or the children of his male relatives as his own relatives. Furthermore, if the new baby is a boy he will not in the future count his own direct descendants as relatives.

592 It would be extremely difficult to make a separate study of
593 the exercise of authority in the small family or in the extended family, because these two bodies so intimately interpenetrated due to their members living together that any analysis of them separately would be inaccurate; also, because of the effects of acculturation, the exercise of authority based on the consanguineous unit stemming from the traditional legal union reflects forms different from those developed according to legendary cultural patterns.

593 These two extremes -- traditional culture and culture influenced by whites -- cover an infinite range of varieties difficult to classify and must be studied as special cases (Cf. Marriage).

593 It is essential to recognize that in the civilizado-type home
178 the influence of the maternal family tends to be nullified, a
596 very slow process with regard to the totality of all the members, but a very rapid and effective one with regard to the maternal uncle, for in this case there occurs the phenomenon of transfer: All his influence passes to the father, who from that moment acquires and exercises all the authority delegated by Guajiro

/164 cont./

593 culture to the maternal uncle. Another phenomenon /165/ that
178 develops in this type of marriage is the appearance of paternal
596 relatives who are gradually acquiring places in kinship to the point that they almost hold positions similar to those held in our society. In fact, the children of a marriage so constituted begin to consider their father within the boundaries of their relatives; initially, he was not so considered, but by degrees, he is acquiring this manifest recognition in the act of their taking sides with him, being represented by him on outstanding occasions such as marriage, receiving help and assistance from him, and later on being his legitimate heirs.

In the classical Guajiro home the outstanding authority is that of the maternal uncle, who surpasses the eldest person in order of importance. There can, however, be an exception when another of these relatives has acquired a position that is not only more prominent than any of his brothers but also extends its radius of action to all the clan group and even passes on to other clans. Individual personal merit or wealth may be the cause of the elevation of his status, which is fully recognized within the family to the point that he may supplant the brother who by chronological order he ought to obey. According to the
[561] old order, age was the index of the exercise of authority, an arrangement that defined succession in case of death.

596 It also may occur that in any one of the different homes formed by each one of the sisters of a family, preferential deference and recognition is given to one of the sisters without taking into account the hierarchy established by age, status, etc.

This preference is due to the affinity shown by the mother for one of her brothers, a preference that has a reciprocal effect extending to the sons of the sister from whom he will receive greater respect. Beside respect the influence goes deeper and the effective assistance of this brother is greater than that rendered by the others. This is shown especially by his gifts at the birth of the children of the sister and above all by his taking charge personally of educating them in pasturing and in masculine

[29 cont.]

*756 When the woman becomes pregnant, the spirit puts up with
633 the situation without getting angry, but it does not show any such
834 patience if she delays a length of time in the sexual act with her husband, or if she sleeps by his side throughout the night.

The female shaman's obligation, in the sexual aspect, goes to the length of forcing her to be but a passive entity during coitus, not permitting her body the slightest motion and also not permitting any endearments from her husband before the sexual act. When these dispositions are disobeyed, the shaman finds
[787] herself suffering during the night from especially terrifying and horrible dreams which fill her with fears and anxieties.

*756 The man who marries a shaman gets to understand his
693 wife's situation, and for this reason he is prudent in his actions: He does not demand anything but the strictly indispensable, and he is in accord with her in all matters related to her special state. [30]

*756 But in spite of all these prohibitions, the female shaman
776 who becomes pregnant receives aid from the spirit at the time
844 of giving birth. This assistance consists of an easy delivery of her baby and of counsel her spirit gives her on the simplest form of giving birth, the remedies she should take, etc.

*756 The shaman must not perform ceremonial acts of curing
841 when she is in her menstrual period because the patient will be-
843 come worse instead of improving. However, pregnancy does not present any obstacle to her activities, and she may accomplish cures during the entire period of gestation.

*756 In the case of a male shaman, the spirit permits him to be
834 with his wife, but for a very short time; he is also allowed, as
[595] are the rest of the Guajiro, to have several wives.

In summary, women shamans must cohabit exclusively with their husbands, avoiding all endearments, movements, the prolongation of coitus, and pregnancy. They may not exercise their functions during their menstrual periods. The male shaman also must be moderate in the sexual aspect and limit himself to his wife, or wives, as the case may be.

*756 The food taboo is limited to prohibiting the shaman from
262 eating the flesh of such animals as he has received in payment

[44 cont.]

411 some of the Guajiro communities during their pillaging expedi-
648 tions.
721 The value of the arrow, considered to be infallible,
stemmed from the extremely important fact that its tip was
411 anointed with the blood of a sacrificed child. The arrow took
778 into itself, by magic contamination, the sacred and impure
782 quality of the sacrificial ceremony performed on the child,
[45] a quality of extreme value when one realizes that the
child's own father performed the sacrifice.

The process is as follows: The Kusina, according to the
782 story of our informant, an Indian woman from the Sierra de Jarara
who had heard from her parents a great deal about the customs
of these Indians, with whom the people of the Sierra had had
dealings, were accustomed to take a male child from their own
family. They carried him off to some distant hills situated in
the interior of the Cocina sierra. They took him up a particular
mountain, and on its summit under a pó (a special tree) they
killed him. He was killed in this way: They blocked up his
nostrils and squeezed his throat with their hands, that is, they
strangled him, and with a pointed stone they struck his forehead
several times continuously until blood flowed from it. This
blood, which was exactly what they wished to obtain in the
sacrifice, was not allowed to spill, but was gathered very care-
fully in a very clean utensil. In recent times the blood was col-
lected in an empty tin such as those used for sardines or salmon,
but it is to be supposed that in olden times a special ceramic
container was used. Once the blood had been collected, they
put it to boil in the same utensil in which it had been collected.
Next they put it in another that in modern times was a glass con-
tainer, although in former times it must have been of some other
material, in order to preserve it. This utensil which contained
the boiled blood of the boy was kept in the woods among stones
[543] which they collected for this purpose. The executioner, who was
none other than the boy's father, had prepared beforehand a
[278] quantity of arrows tipped with the poison of a ray, which he later
[458] anointed with the blood and distributed among the rest of the
Kusina natives or the Guajiro in general, in exchange for live-
stock. The price that had to be paid for one of these arrows was

[46 cont.]

411 when the respect due to his status is not shown (Cf. "Magic
435 and Funerals"), and particularly the spirit of those dead through
775 violence, we can better understand the high value they place on the imára, or magic arrow.

593 It will be well to explain again the position of the father
611 in relation to his son in La Guajira. The family in this society follows matrilineal descent, and therefore the father is not really considered as father to his sons but is to his nephews, his sister's sons. The family ties between father and son are so weak that they do not exist except in certain secondary aspects of the family economic organization.

411 The use of the poisoned arrow among the Kusina Indians
539 is shown by the following fragment of a story told by the same
789 woman informant who supplied us with the data on which this present study is based and which refers to the struggle between a Guajiro Indian named Kurírra-páta and some Kusina Indians who arrived at his hamlet one night to steal his stock. The section dealing with the magic arrow, translated literally from the Guajiro text, is as follows: [47] "The Kusina shot (with a rifle) at Kurírra-páta, who came upon them from behind. They wounded him in the thigh. 'Now, it isn't possible to do anything,' said K.P. 'Let's kill him to end this once and for all,' said the Kusina. K.P. lifted himself on to his sound knee. He shot at them (with his rifle), killing one. Then the Kusina said, 'Let's kill him with the imára (poisoned arrow).'"

411 The fragment of this story corroborates the existence of
789 the magic arrow among the Kusina, and also, as previously stated, the fact that the poisoned arrow,— magic arrow to us — was the last recourse utilized by these Indians when their other weapons did not produce the desired result.

The area of distribution of this cultural element, as we have seen, was in the Sierra de Cocinas, and it was frequently used in Jarara, where it was obtained by purchase or by barter from the makers. This class of weapon used to be employed in this latter region — Jarara — in times of war. Now it is no longer used in either of the two areas mentioned for two reasons.
[797 First, the evangelizing action of the Capuchin fathers in the
778] Sierra de Jarara, who have, in the main, mitigated the warlike

3: Wilbert E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 SC13 Goajiro SC13

582 As for the sanctioned forms of cousin marriage, Ego (m. and f.) may marry any cousins on either side except for mother's sister's children. Ego (m. and f.) may also marry any kinsman of the third degree with the exception of a mother's sister's daughter's child. All relatives of the fourth degree are potential spouses. [595] Polygyny is practiced and is definitely a mark of status and rank. Sororate is sanc- [554] tioned although it very rarely occurs. The data indicate, then, a very typical system [587] of Crow type.

602 No avoidance taboos were said to exist in Goajiro society, but great attention is paid to respectful behavior between kinsmen. In the family parents are respected [593] equally highly by the children, whereas among siblings the brother enjoys greater authority than his sisters, and an elder than a younger brother. In the presence of the maternal uncle nobody is supposed to speak up unquestioned; this rule applies especially to the younger people. Grandparents maintain close and friendly relations with their grandchildren. They make gifts to the latter: horses, bows and [431] arrows, drums, rifles, etc., and the grandchildren assist the old after having grown up. The father-in-law is respected greatly by his daughter-in-law. When visiting she serves him before she serves her mother-in-law. She does not, however, attend her own mother. Cousins are completely free to meet without being obliged to observe any avoidance regulations.

608 Artificial kin relations were said to be missing altogether among the Goajiro. 609 Non-relatives are treated with great friendliness and may even be accepted as 597 step-parents of an orphan of the group. Orphans usually join a family on the father's side.

CARACAS, VENEZUELA

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
SC13 Goajiro SC13

father's relatives who would eat the meat and drink the rum 574
immediately, a feast to which the mother's relatives might be 626
invited as a gesture of courtesy. The offering of rum and 602
meat is voluntary, and even a friend may ask for something as 672
an indication of deep personal interest in the welfare of the injured person. If the injured man makes no offering, no action is taken by anyone to make him do so, but he will acquire a 'bad name.' A Guajiro has a moral obligation to avoid shedding his own blood, but not a legal obligation. Since the father takes care of his son during his lifetime, this obligation is directed towards him and his relatives, but is extended to include any good friend.

Another example of the same distinction is the case where a 431
son asks his father for a particular horse or object possessed by 593
the latter, as a gift. The father is morally bound to grant the request, but there is no legal compulsion to do so. I gave a cacique a fine hunting knife which pleased him greatly. To my surprise his son was proudly wearing it the following day. On inquiring about it the cacique told me that his eldest son had asked for it. Had he refused to give it he would have [626]
been considered a bad father. The son inherits nothing from [428]
his father on the death of the latter, but while he is alive the son may beg anything within certain limits set by precedent. This moral obligation to give up a prized possession when [572]
asked for by one's sons is extended to include close friends.

Allowing the Guajiro to make their own distinctions, let us 671
turn to a consideration of their 'laws.' The commission of certain acts, which in our society would give rise to criminal prosecution, in Guajiro society are considered matters to be settled by the parties concerned. Criminal law is practically non-existent. There is no body politic, properly speaking, that metes out punishment whether or not the injured party seeks redress, and social pressure can hardly be of any importance in a society that protects the individual through the instrument of family and casta membership. In only one case 628
does there seem to be an approach to concerted social action. 681
If an individual has caused his family much trouble and is in- 672
corrigible, if his family has been called upon to pay for his mis-

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

88 [868] weaving, making dresses, hammocks, sashes, &c., sewing, and all the little knick-knacks Indians love so well.

The confinement is not so isolated as it seems, generally several of her female relations are round the door with the enclosed, who of course becomes rather stout, much blanched, almost white, and some exceedingly beautiful. Strangers and men are not excluded from peeping in through [584] the door, always with an eye to matrimony, and she can be sold and liberated at once, though her husband if rich prefers leaving her to complete her term of schooling. On re-entering to society again, a special festival, *ahuitis*, is held with dancing, &c. An ox is killed, and the girl is dressed in the clothes she has made; her hair is cut and she resumes all her beads, necklaces, bracelets, and other ornaments.

562 Women are much respected by the Goajiros. In a quarrel or drunken [579] brawl, women often save bloodshed by stepping in and tearing the weapons out of their husband's or brother's hand. Travelling with women is consequently perfectly safe, and in case of danger, if one undertakes to protect a stranger, he may rely upon coming out all right.

583 Matrimony is a mere case of barter. The girl is sold for a certain price, fixed by the father. This is paid by the intended husband, and divided by the father, who appropriates the best part for himself and his relations, the rest going to the wife's relations. As it is chiefly in 585 cattle, these are killed and a kind of bridal festival held. There is no other ceremony. A wife is under obligation to support her husband, 593 find him in food, clothes, &c. She does most of the trading, and a [462] contract made with an Indian is worthless, should his better half object. An Indian cannot inflict bodily injury on his wife, for he becomes liable [583] to her relations, and should she die during childbirth he has to repay the father what he gave for her. But if the wife is untrue (a rare occur- [684] rence) he demands from the father the price he paid for her, who if he cannot refund, helps him to recover from the seducer, plus tear or compensation from his mother-in-law. At the husband's death, the 587 wife becomes a legacy to his brother, usually the youngest; if there are 769 none, then his nephew inherits her. The daughter of a chief is worth, according to his wealth and power (i. e. the number of men he can 583 dispose of in a fight) from 6 to 150 head of cattle (12*l.* to 300*l.*).

When a person dies, a grand drinking festival is given, that lasts as 764 long as there is anything to drink—days, and even weeks, with the wealthy. These latter are buried twice, and have two festivals. A rich person is always buried in the rancho, and on the spot where he was born; being often carried for that purpose immense distances. A fire is lighted every night from sunset to sunrise in front of the grave, for the sole use of the dead. Immense piles of wood are gathered for this purpose, as the body is kept two years in the house. Then all the relations can meet on a certain day, and the second feast takes place, when the bones are carefully gathered, placed in a jar, and consigned to the

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
SC13 Goajiro SC13

The foregoing behavior pattern applies only in regard to a senior maternal uncle and his senior nephew. No such behavior is prescribed between father and son, nor between other uncles and nephews. There is no prescribed rule that either the father or the son must show respect for the other. They would not apparently be subjected to any public criticism at all should they be disrespectful, but in all cases where the present writer had occasion to see father and son together, there were always indications of respect to each other, especially by the son toward his father. That this behavior is not prescribed and that it is the result of regard or other factors is clear from the fact that the present writer was informed on several occasions while investigating this subject that there are cases in which father and sons who lack affection to each other would quarrel, even in public, without being criticised. The writer, however, did not personally witness any such cases. The same can be said regarding the conduct between an individual and his uncles other than his senior maternal uncle. Signs of respect are shown all along the line but this is not a prescribed rule. All information gathered on the subject by the writer points to the conclusion that the above pattern of conduct is prescribed between only senior maternal uncle and senior nephew; signs of respect toward the father or the other uncles are apparently shown only out of mutual affection or other personal motives. Public opinion censures any breach in the first case, while it disregards or is indifferent to any breach in the second case.

The following illustrative case throws some light on the situation. During one of the sessions held with Rafael, his son Ilaro was present and shortly afterward we were joined by Ilaro's senior maternal uncle. The moment the uncle stepped into the hut, Ilaro got up from his place and did not resume it until his uncle was well seated. All during the conversation prior to the coming of the uncle, Ilaro had been putting in remarks to the questions asked of his father and the latter did not seem to mind. After the uncle came in, although Ilaro's attention to what was going on did not falter, he restrained himself from making any further remarks and let his uncle make them instead. Only once did Ilaro make a remark, and this was only after

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
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604 having asked the permission of his uncle, and when he had
593 finished he asked his uncle's opinion on the subject, something he had not asked of his father prior to his uncle's arrival. In every way Ilaro showed respect toward his uncle, although as has been previously pointed out, contacts between the two are neither close nor numerous. At one time the uncle made a remark which apparently was not in agreement with Ilaro's opinion. However, Ilaro did not speak until his uncle was gone, which was a good two hours later. Ilaro remembered the remark, however, and reverting to it, gave his opinion, asking the present writer not to mentioned it to his uncle. The matter was of little importance, having to do with the proper selection of a bough for the manufacture of a bow. A breach of this prescribed pattern of behavior would have brought public criticism, and the guilty party would have had no excuse.

604 As regards the behavior between an individual and all his other uncles, data were secured on various occasions. One illustration will suffice. It again concerns Ilaro. The day before his departure the writer was given a feast by Rafael, to which the latter invited nearly all of his relatives by blood and by marriage who could come. Consequently there was plenty of opportunity to observe the behavior of Ilaro toward his uncles. Toward Calleja, Ilaro's behavior was exactly the same as on the occasion described above. Toward his other uncles a certain deference was shown, but not nearly as much as toward Calleja. For example, Ilaro showed no hesitation in interrupting his other uncles' speech, which he did on various occasions. This gave rise to no criticism of him.

So far we have been dealing with the behavior in public between the senior nephew and his senior maternal uncle. Naturally no such observation was possible in regard to the private relations between the two, that is, when nephew and uncle are together by themselves. However, judging from what informants said, it appears that the behavior of the nephew in private
604 is very much the same as in public, if he expects inheritance
626 from his uncle, because were he to depart from the conventional,
428 the uncle would disinherit him. On the other hand, if the nephew expects no such inheritance, and the uncle is thus

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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so. One writer says that an old woman from those hills claimed to know how the arrows were poisoned. Otherwise, she said, only the Cusina knew the secret. That seems most doubtful, for the Cusina brigands are neither a class nor a clan which might possess special secrets, but merely a collection of outlawed criminals. There were many indications that they made considerable use of poisoned arrows and that they were firmly convinced of their efficacy. Even if death had been inflicted already by other means, they usually shot their victims with poisoned arrows as well, as an additional safeguard against their escaping. The Cusina and Cojoro Hills belong to the same complex.

The old woman in the Cojoro Hills said that the secret in the Cusina's way of preparing the arrows was a human sacrifice. A small boy was taken to a lonely place, where he was killed and some of his blood taken. This was later cooked and the arrows dipped in it. The old woman's account made this ritual murder even more gruesome, in that it made the boy's father the executioner. Of course, in Guajira a father has quite a different relationship to his children to that we know, being scarcely accounted in the same family, yet even from the Indian point of view, that must seem cruel. It would be different if the child were one who had been captured in war or bought as a slave.

There is no confirmation of the old woman's statement and it may well have been invented. There are many legends about these poisoned arrows. The woman's account does not mean that the arrows were poisoned by means of the sacrifice, merely that their strength was increased. Blood is always a magical element. If such rites really took place, that would surely point to an African influence brought by runaway negro slaves. The old woman's story, however, scarcely explains how the poison contained tetanus germs. Simmons, the traveller to whom she gave that account of what happened, also said that the poisoned arrows, *imard*, were sold by the Cusina, who asked eight *varas*, or ten yards, of cotton cloth for twenty-four. How these tetanus arrows were made remains a mystery that, perhaps, may never be solved.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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585 Mauana said that while she is in confinement a girl will
[881] have been taught, among other things, the attentions custom requires her to show her husband.

When he arrives home, she hastens to hang up his ham-
● 593 mock and offer him something to drink. She at once prepares a meal, if one is not yet ready. The master of the house has
[264] his own crockery, from which he alone eats, and his wife must see that he has his favourite dishes and that they are properly cooked. If he has returned from a journey or from hunting, she must see that he has water to wash in and a clean guayuco. Once he has taken his place in the hammock, she sits on the ground and tells him the day's events. If he falls asleep, she sits in silence.

When the husband's friends or other people come to see
[574] him, the wife's place is again on the ground beside his hammock. She does not butt in upon the men's conversation, but knows how to be amusing if she is spoken to. She must see that each guest has a hammock to rest in and offer everyone refreshments. Men are proud to have such a hostess for a wife.

[574] In the husband's absence a wife must receive visitors courteously, but observe caution, if they are men. She will hang a hammock under a roofed shelter close to the house, but will not let the visitor inside. She will then offer him refreshments and sit down beside his hammock with some handwork.

It goes without saying that she must take good care of her husband's belongings and property, for he is often forced to be away with his herds. She must also take care of her
[273] husband himself, when he is drunk, as he not infrequently is. When fights occur at feasts, the women, as we know,
[579] throw themselves between the men to avoid bloodshed. A wife is responsible for her husband, when he is drunk. If she has not bothered to keep an eye on him and he is beaten or killed, the fault is hers. Or he may take his own life
[762] while intoxicated—suicide for mere trifles is not unusual—and then too she can be held responsible, if she has not intervened. If he hurts her or destroys any of her things while he is drunk, she knows that he will make rich amends

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later, for he has been brought up always to try and make things right.

During her period of isolation a girl also learns how to 881
satisfy her husband erotically and always to be ready, when 864
he is excited. To retain his love she may employ magic as
well as her own natural powers of attraction. Knowing that [832]
a woman loses some of her looks and attraction during
pregnancy, wives often try, after having had several
children, to hinder fertilization by taking certain herbal [842]
drugs and by magical means.

'Polygamy is permitted, is it not, Mauana?' 595

'Yes, a man can take several wives. As long as he pays the bride-price, no one can say anything, but her family would never allow a better-class girl to become the second wife of anyone. And you see, custom decrees that a Guajiro wife, whether the first or a concubine, must acquiesce if the husband takes a new wife. Similarly, it is considered that wives ought to live in peace and friendship. They must receive a new concubine cordially and all show their best side to the husband. They must help each other to watch the children and not display jealousy if the husband prefers one to the others.

'That is how it should be, but the reality is quite different. Very often the wives live in the same house, which naturally leads to conflict more easily than when each has her own hut. Jealousy or envy are common in these harems. Enmity and quarrelling are not infrequent, nor is actual fighting. The wives spy upon each other, destroy each other's things and make all sorts of scenes. One or other perhaps comes to hate the husband. It is said that a certain man, who shall be nameless, had noticed something of the sort and did not dare to be at home while a family feud lasted. An enemy could have bribed one of his wives to put poison in his maize beer.'

'That does not sound pleasant!'

'No, polygamy undoubtedly has its drawbacks!' Mauana agreed. 'I myself have only one wife, but several bed slaves,' he added with an artful look in his eye.

Even though all a man's marriages are considered legal,

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will go to have him fall in disgrace. Whether these accusations are true or false is not our concern in this article.

Summing up Perez's position in Guajiro society we find the following facts: Among the older and more influential men, Perez is not considered as one of them and their attitude towards him is not a respectful one. He on the contrary is quite respectful towards them. No one, however, among this group can be classified as his enemy, and they do seek him out for advice in their dealings with Government officials. Among his contemporaries he enjoys a very influential position and practically everyone seeks his friendship. His true friends are to be found, without question, among this group, and, as far as it could be investigated, he has no real enemies among them, although there may be a few who envy his position. The younger generations are clearly divided into two groups—one group which truly respects and looks up to him, and another which is composed of his bitter enemies.

From the many formal and informal conversations the present writer has had with Perez—at his home, while traveling, when visiting some one else, etc.—the following analysis may be made of his behavior and position. While in Maracaibo, Perez soon became aware that he could attain no high status within a white culture where competition is always very keen. As Prefect of Sinamaica he clearly saw the possibilities of climbing up the ladder in Guajiro society and the first step he took towards that goal was to marry a full-blooded Indian girl from an important family, and to marry her in accordance with the traditional Guajiro law. There was very little chance for him to obtain the necessary wealth and to attain leadership status through property, but he saw the opportunity his semi-official position gave him to become the point of contact between the Guajiro and white cultures, cultivating both and becoming an almost indispensable person in the dealings the true natives had with the authorities. Whether his marriage to the Guajiro girl was purely for interest or whether there was any love involved is, of course, very difficult to say. As the writer made his headquarters in Perez's household at the Laguna del Pajaro, during his stay in the Guajira, he was able to observe, at first hand, the relationship between Perez and his native wife. These were always

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620 cordial, no fights or even harsh words between them was ever
557 noticed, and when Perez was arrested, as mentioned before, his
593 wife showed great concern and distress and did everything possible to have him released from jail and brought home. Still the question of how much real affection, especially on Perez's part, is involved in this marriage cannot be answered with certainty.
622 As regards the grantings of favors to the Guajiro, it is obvious
557 that he makes a careful selection and never or hardly ever grants them to indivduals who could not, in the future, be of some help to him.

Whether or not Perez will attain a position of respect and leadership such as Panchito Silva and José de la Rosa Fernandez enjoy is hard to say, but the writer will try to make an analysis of the situation and draw certain tentative conclusions.

620 There is no doubt that clan leadership with all its privileges
614 and responsibilities is slowly dying out in the Guajira. Among the 25 odd clans existing at present the writer has met only two individuals who have all the earmarks of a true economic, political, and social leader, namely, Panchito Silva and José de la Rosa Fernandez. Informants have told him that there are two others, the heads of the Epinavú and the Epieyú clans living in the upper Guajira and in Colombia respectively. From what information was gathered these two other leaders fit closely to the pattern described for Silva and Fernandez. The remainder of the clans have no true, powerful leaders, although they do have elder members who are more or less respected and consulted in certain clan matters. Around the turn of the century, however, according to the information gathered first hand from old men like Silva and Fernandez, and from the literature, there were at least twenty powerful leaders among the clans.

182 Undoubtedly one of the contributing factors to the breakdown
178 of clan leadership has been the great horizontal movement in
[161] population among the Guajiro in the last fifty years. Such spread would tend, naturally, to break down the regional characteristics of the clan and ultimately help to bring about a loss of personal contact between a leader and the rest of his clan and hence the loss of control. Whether there are other economic, social, or political factors in operation favoring this breakdown is not fully known. The writer suspects that there may be but this problem would need further intensive investigation. The

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859 for this reason the hammock is made of agave fiber, which re-
863 sists rot, and although a child of a year may still wet the bed, it is usual by the time he reaches this age, and even before, for him to have the habit of cleanliness formed and this problem not to exist, because of previous training. It may be that the child is helped in this by the hot and dry climate of the region, by the reduced quantity of liquid he absorbs during the day, by the physiological phenomenon of perspiration which causes much elimination, and because the mother rises early, at daybreak, and calls the child to his organic necessities, a custom which in time forms a habit, so keeping him dry in bed. /19/

854 When the small family lives apart, especially from the wife's relatives, the rearing and initial training of the children is limited to its members and their maids and female bond servants and slaves if there are any. This training is mainly simple and personal and consists in regulating his daily and nightly feeding, sleep, cleanliness, and beginning to crawl and walk. As the culmination of his preliminary training comes speech.

In this early teaching the average poorer mother plays the main role, as only the better-off mother has the advantage of help from female bond servants, slaves, and servants or wet nurses. We have already seen how the mother carries out these duties or how they are equally fulfilled by whoever assists her.

When she has to go out she leaves the child in the care of her husband, who, following the instructions he receives, feeds the child, watches its cleanliness, its rest, and safety according to customary pattners. At other times the older brothers and sisters have this duty.

[595] If several women live together with a man, it is not unusual that during the absence of one, the others will take care of her children and take her place in protecting and caring for them whether the child is tiny or older. This practice, naturally, occurs only when there is no ill will or hatred between the various co-wives.

[596] When the family life is lived within the maternal family grouping, or when two sisters are co-wives and live in the same

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583 177 Permanent marriages take place generally between women of standing and whites of recognized influence, and they are more stable. The conduct of the woman and her relatives is in accord with the rank of her husband, and he on his part maintains toward his wife a certain courtesy and gives her the good treatment she deserves as a person of high status. In these cases it is not unusual that the woman has been bought in accord with Guajiro legal tradition and that the marriage lasts; but frequently it is ratified later in the Catholic church, or both forms were used from the first moment.

177 595 848 It is possible, also, that the white man, following Guajiro custom and in spite of his Catholic marriage, has other wives of lower status than the first, who always keeps the rank of legitimate wife in our sense and on whom depends the social representation of the children, the only heirs of the father and of the home, legal center of the family. The other women, although bought according to Guajiro law, acquire more or less the rank of concubines in our culture, and their children, the position of illegitimate ones. Catholic missionary influence and relations with whites have made the Indian come to regard his form of marriage as a little immoral. For this reason they now say when speaking of a Guajiro woman married with the rites of their culture: "She is So-and-so's woman," and the woman who has been married by Catholic rite says: "I am So-and-so's wife." Thus when one asks a Guajiro woman, for example, "Where is your husband?", one must be careful to use the right word for husband /marido/ or spouse /esposo/, using the first word in the case of a marriage according to peninsula rites and the second in the case of a Catholic marriage, the word "marido" being considered offensive when improperly used. As a consequence of this fact, the concept of legitimate and illegitimate children has sprung up, a concept which has no place in primitive Guajiro law. A child even though born as the result of illicit relations is a child without adjectives, either of scorn or contempt. In such cases the mother has received by force through her relatives the payment for her abuse and the

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177 birth in such a way that they are never placed outside the pale of
695 the law. This may be due to the uterine line of kinship in which
848 the father does not count in the recognition of children.

In these cases of marriage between whites and Guajiro women there also occurs a union of these two ideas. The white man refuses to buy the woman or legitimize their union through the [583] necessary traditional proceedings demanded by her culture. The refusal to comply with the main traditional requisite makes the man unacceptable, and he is considered an intruder.

The children, illegitimate /94/ according to the paternal mentality, meet a natural reluctance among their mother's relatives, who however in the long run have to accept them.

Consanguineous marriage. Although the Guajiro community 582 is in an obvious process of disintegration, there is a characteristic which is strongly maintained: exogamy, which, at the present time, does not mean the prohibition of marriage within the same clan group, but within a limited circle of close consanguineous kin: brothers /and sisters, hermanos/, uncles /and aunts, tíos/, and ascendants in the female line. Thus today in La Guajira we find marriages between individuals of the same clan, since the tie has weakened so much that although they belong to the same clan group, they do not consider themselves relatives.

If the marriage takes place within the small family circle, the opinion of society and of the relatives is never favorable. They cannot explain why nor wish to accept that an individual should marry a consanguineal kin included among those just mentioned. Their magical beliefs reinforce this, because these beliefs establish the prohibition that a man must not marry a relative, or he will be come bald.

582 Guajiro mentality cannot accept as natural the marriage of
588 a woman to her maternal uncle. This would be incest at its worst, because the maternal uncle has the position that a father has with us. There was a case, and a similar attitude has always been observed in like cases, of a Guajiro girl who had sexual relations with her maternal uncle. After pregnancy became

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583 which legally belonged to her consanguineous relatives. With this refusal to pay, he has destroyed the standing of the woman, since it is the size of the payment which fixes this, and this denominator of her family now does not exist. This lowers her consanguineous relatives, the bitterest insult to the Indian, for whom the conservation of prestige, its strengthening and increase, is a permanent concern and a rule of life. It puts them in the position of a weak group in which their daughter has been abducted without having received the corresponding payment. They await a similar situation for the descendants of the couple since they, with only the backing of their father and mother, must face all hazards that present themselves, without counting on the economic and social help of their relatives.

[595] Furthermore, although the man may marry in the Catholic church, this does not mean for the woman that her husband is going to be monogamous, because he will live as suits him best, buying all the other wives he wants according to the peninsula system, without taking into account that the first marriage prohibits him from having other women.

583 177 Catholic marriage, which presents itself as one of the best ways to achieve the acculturation of the Indians, his passage to civilization, and his definitive incorporation into Colombian life is now beginning to be gradually accepted and in this way is breaking down the old matrilineal clan organization. It contains various outstanding facts which radically transform the traditional customs. We shall see some of these:

a) The preparation of the home, which in the traditional Guajiro marriage is the woman's responsibility, in the Catholic marriage is entirely the man's, even to the house itself. We know that the payment which the man gives for his wife is made so that the wife and her maternal relatives can take over these /domestic/ obligations. There being no such payment in many Catholic marriages, the man must necessarily, and in fact does, build his own house as soon as possible and must have it adequately furnished with all the household goods necessary for domestic life.

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591 woman and the collaboration of the children, establishes a new home in the settlement of the husband's parents, where they remain until the home is broken up by the death of one of the couple. If it is the man who dies, the woman and the children go back again to the side of the maternal grandmother; if it is the woman, the man remains in his settlement, but the children return to the lands of the maternal clan, to which they belong according to the principle of uterine descent. The same thing happens if both parents die.

So much for the traditional Guajiro system. But in recent times, due to the influence of the mestizo and that of acculturation, the situation has changed. Among the mestizos it is very common for the man to take his wife to his parent's home so that his mother may show her and instruct her in domestic tasks. Presumably, this residence is also influenced by the marriage payment /or rather its lack/, since when the woman has not been acquired in accordance with Guajiro law, the support of the home falls entirely to the lot of the man. Then the help that he may receive will come exclusively from his parents, and this is exactly what determines the patrilocality in these cases.

After a time, if the economic situation of the husband is good, a dwelling is built next to that of his parents, the initiative and construction of this dwelling usually being the responsibility of the man's father. It is frequent, however, that due to particular circumstances of the family, their living all together is prolonged indefinitely.

595 This residence in both cases refers to marriage to the first
591 wife, since the later wives go on living usually in their parents' homes. At most, in these cases of polygamy, various wives may live together in one house, particularly when they are sisters or get on well together. With the death of each one of the wives, the family begins to break up in the manner previously described.

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591 In the case of the marriage of a Guajiro woman with a civilizado, they may respect the matrilocal tradition or establish

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833 general rule of giving herself up docilely as an instrument of pleasure to her husband in order to gain dominance over him and to gradually succeed in replacing the previous wife.

All these considerations impel the woman to make use of her sex appeal in the marriage in order to maintain her ascendancy over her husband and avoid at all cost that he should buy another woman who would cause her to lose her importance and her initial dominance. And it is also for this that she tries as far as lies in her power to retain the real source of her attractiveness and makes use of medicinal herbs or submits to a series of magic rituals designed to preserve her physical attractiveness and to prevent maternity to the point of making it impossible.

Although the Guajiro is passionately attached to the woman who gives him greatest /sexual/ satisfaction, he does not fail [513] to recognize and highly prize other qualities, especially when he is about to buy his first wife. The reason for this lies in the fact that she, and not the others, will represent him socially on all occasions of collective life.

Conjugal relations of a couple who are pure Indian are carried out openly without precautions against the presence of outsiders -- either at home or in the fields -- even in front of the smaller children, /107/ who from a tender age are accustomed to see calmly these biological acts.

If the woman gives way to the will of her husband who claims satisfaction at any time or place, she expects on her part a satisfaction of her own desires, to which the man accedes if possible for fear of adultery on the wife's part, which would lower his prestige.

• 515 The Guajiro is accustomed to live close to the woman or 833 women whom he most desires, or to visit them frequently and spend long periods at their side. During these periods the other co-wives show jealousy or find opportunities for infidelity. Since in a way the husband's prestige rests on doing so, the Guajiro goes from one place to another cohabiting with his women without taking heed of his excesses as he thinks that this

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595 833 is clear proof of his manliness, that it gives him greater physical strength and better development of his masculine functions, a very important aspect this as it corresponds to the Guajiro ideal of a man.

When special circumstances force him to be absent from his women for more than three days, it is not rare that he will suddenly abandon his work, and although he may have to walk a long distance or make big sacrifices, he will go off to his favorite wife. She, knowing that the man wants her and that she has been chosen from among all the others to satisfy him, does her utmost to please him and thus once again assure her superior position over the other co-wives and eliminate them from her husband's life in a permanent and hidden struggle against polygamy.

833 The biological act in married couples has no formal limits, but when it is a matter of illicit relations the woman does not permit any deviation from the normal, going as far as not to permit the man seeing her body as she considers that by doing so she becomes a toy or plaything, a mere instrument of pleasure, like an animal, shameless and without any sense of dignity. For this reason she keeps still and absolutely quiet as she does not want the man in one of his frequent drunken sprees to hold her up to ridicule. Also because /she thinks doing otherwise might cause him to/ classify her as one of the slaves who cannot in view of their status offer any resistance to the demands of their owners.

It must be observed that if it is true that the married woman lends herself to the caprices of her husband for the reasons noted, it is also true that she feels internally both disgust and disillusion for marriage and its functions, which convert her in her opinion primarily into an object of pleasure, which puts aside or into a secondary place the other possibilities and qualities which the Guajiro woman might possess, and, as in the case of the illicit relations mentioned above, she sees herself lowered /108/ from her standing of a free woman, of a rational human being. She feels that she has

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833 been deprived of her will and that she does not count as a person. For these reasons she regards her marital life as a hard duty to perform, at odds with her own personality. Possibly, for this reason, the man seeks out the mestizo, who is free of these prejudices and for that reason more capable to give and to derive for herself greater satisfaction from her marital life than the pure Indian woman.

595 833 As it is not uncommon for a man to have two, three, or even more co-wives living together in one house, his conduct in his conjugal relations must be very circumspect if he wishes to preserve, at least in appearance, a cordial or friendly feeling among them, because if he is not circumspect, jealousies will spring up and a bitter struggle of lengthy repercussions ensue. As each one of the wives endeavors to find a motive that will justify her as superior in the eyes of the others, he has to behave with extreme caution. For this reason he sleeps outside in the enramada /bough-covered shelter/ while his women and their children sleep inside the house. He never suggests to any one of them that they should spend the night together, as the one thus favored would announce this preference to place herself on a superior plane. For this reason he receives whichever one goes voluntarily to him to his hammock.

834 The man suspends marital relations during the time the woman's pregnancy is advanced. He does this for fear of causing a miscarriage for which he might be blamed, and because of the belief that it might give rise to a bad delivery.

After the birth of the child, marital life is not resumed until the woman voluntarily asks for it.

842 Ideas about fecundation. The Guajiro knows that fecundation is the result of the combined action of the woman and the man through the means of the sexual act. They know that in this act the man gives an element which joined to the feminine one will form the new being. They say that the [836] woman has in her internal parts a special organ in which this new being will gradually take form, the womb, called in their

/113 cont./

593 others, if his wife does not control him, but may even attempt to take his own life. If for any reason the drunken man not accompanied by his wife should commit suicide, the blame for this act would be fixed on the wife as the indirect cause, since her neglect would be considered to have led to his death. Her duty is therefore to lead him away from such places where he is likely to get into trouble and, if she cannot succeed in this, not to leave him for an instant while there is a possibility of a fight. She should also obey him promptly and gratify him in all his whims. Guajiro women state that the Indian when drunk becomes quite childish and self-willed, and when he is in this condition he will even ask his wife to sing him to sleep, fuss over him, let him lie in her lap, or ask her to lie with him in his hammock, all of which she should do to please him. Others, on the contrary, become aggressive, and it is then they revive the insults they have had to suffer in the past. The woman should remain silent when he is in this mood so as to give him no cause for possible argument, which might make the man beat her in his fury. Neither should the woman reproach the man for whatever ill-treatment she may receive from him when in this condition, but she should wait until after he has slept and the drunkeness is past. Afterward, when he asks her what happened during his drunken bout, she has an opportunity to make her protests, which he will carefully listen to, excusing himself the best he can or repaying in some way the wrong he has done her -- for instance by presenting her with a new robe, if during his tantrums he has torn her other one, or making protestations of his love for her and excusing himself, saying that he was not responsible for what happened while in that drunken condition and she should take no notice of it. The woman after these explanations should not bear rancor.

595 With regard to polygamy the woman must assume an attitude of resignation, put no difficulties in the way of a new co-wife, and if she is taken to live in the same house try to avoid friction and quarrels, treating her in a sisterly fashion without /114/ being jealous of her or her husband. When

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595 co-wives live together they should be generous to one another, as if they were good comrades. In that way it is expected that they share the game the man brings back from the hunt, that they help each other when in need, that they not indulge in recriminations when the husband for some reason and for a time spends all his time with one, that they not ridicule each other in his presence, that they share the food that there is in the house, and that they look after the children in a motherly fashion. At the death of one, the others should go to the wake and show their grief. In short, they should adopt an attitude of mutual loyalty. These are the ideal responses their culture expects from the Guajiro woman confronted by the problems of polygamy. However, reality is very different. The woman prefers to have as co-wives friends whom she likes very much or, better still, her sisters, since in this way life is more supportable, and they can share the affection of their husband with a real sense of companionship.

The woman's conduct when her husband returns, even after a very long absence, should be of loving solicitude as if his absence did not matter; she should not ask why he was absent if the man does not explain, accept his excuses even when she knows them to be lies, should not be sarcastic nor mention other women nor say, for example: "How could you leave so-and-so's pretty face?" The woman should adopt this attitude because her husband may return, primed by the other woman to expect her displeasure, and finding her so different will disarm him. It is possible that the previous co-wife has said: "Your other wife is badly brought up. You are very good and should not live with her because she is haughty and disobedient. She does nothing but insult you because you love me. She envies me and does not respect you. I don't know why you let her say such annoying things." The passive and understanding attitude of the wife convinces the man of the falseness of all that he has previously heard, and on his return he says to her accuser: "What you told me is not true.

/114 cont./

595 She has received me lovingly and attentively. She didn't say anything about you." Sometimes the husband, wanting to ascertain what intrigues are going on, makes some comment about his favorite wife. The other should agree heartily and praise her. In such a case the husband will return to his favorite with the news: "My other wife is good. She said a lot of nice things about you. She likes you and is not envious." Nevertheless, the favorite will probably reply that she only spoke like that because she was afraid, and so a real struggle of intrigue goes on between the women, each one trying to monopolize all the husband's affection for herself. This is why the use of very expensive love charms is so general and why the complex /115/ of magic practices is used to keep a man's love. For although culturally it is not accepted, the attitude of each and every woman is one of permanent aggression. This obliges the Guajiro man, when not dealing with sisters, to keep his different wives separated as much as possible, for when chance brings them face to face, it is not unusual that they insult each other, passing from words to acts to the point of injuring each other. The hostility of one toward the other is heightened by the comments and bits of news that their friends bring about the behavior of the husband and what each one says about the other. These are brought with the idea of getting some kind of payment (it is customary to pay for information). The situation may get so tense that when the husband goes out the woman follows him to see where he goes, observes his tracks, and when she cannot follow him herself sends a child to watch him and tell her what happened.

When several co-wives live in the same house and do not get on, it is common for the struggle between them to reach the point of mutual destruction of personal property. When the husband gives a present to one, her most open enemy takes advantage of her absence to search everywhere for it and when she finds it to break it into pieces or burn it. At times this belligerent attitude is expressed in the presence of the husband, who has to resort to all his authority and

/115 cont./

595 even to force to separate the rivals as insults pass from words to acts.

When a man dies his relatives go to the house where the death occurred and begin the wake according to his standing. His wives attend and must show their grief and occupy the place appropriate to them as wives of the dead man, and must carry out the traditional practices of their cult for the dead.

The wife is not obliged to make common cause with the husband. However, at the present time cases have been seen in which the wife of an assassin has been burned or tortured, because she was included in the category of consanguineous relatives of the husband. But their culture establishes the principle that women do not participate in the men's fights.

593 Behavior of the man. Although the Guajiro woman always has the backing of her maternal relatives to counteract her husband's possible ill-treatment and although any such misbehavior on his part is illegal, women in general are not well treated, /a fact/ which many of them from various regions attribute to the problem of polygamy.

When a man has only one wife his life follows the cultural patterns, and he shows himself affectionate toward her, /116/ giving her and the children presents and voluntarily helping her to provide food and clothing. But when he buys another wife, the new one displaces the first one, who may be relegated to last place, although she keeps her social prestige as first wife through the economic and social backing of her family, which is considerable, and for this reason it is difficult for the husband to ill-treat her, so that the worst thing he can do is to abandon her.

He will abandon the other wives in turn, and they know it, but it sometimes happens that one of them attracts the attention of the man, and he abandons all the rest or makes them the victims of his constant ill-treatment.

This is what gives rise to the struggle of the woman against polygamy. She suffers and is bitterly resentful of her husband's marrying again. She thinks that it is because she no longer

/117 cont./

593 prefers to pardon her, but the offense he has received shows
837 itself at times in aggressive action and ill-treatment, for which he is sorry later, as we have said.

When suspicion does not reach the proportions of reality, the married life of the couple is naturally less calm than it was. The husband tries to obtain proofs at all costs /118/ and lives a life of constant alertness, trying to induce his wife to confess and looking for an opportunity to catch her infraganti (for further explanation see the section Adultery in this chapter).

593 As a fifth cause of marital ill-treatment one may cite the woman's deficient compliance with the obligations she is supposed to undertake, which may result from two reasons: First, the husband may have paid a low price for her when he made the marriage payment arrangements; second, she may have been forced by her relatives to marry a man she did not like at a time when she was in love with another man. If the husband knows of this situation, he makes it a basis for his insults, refers to it as the palpable cause of her lack of attention to him and to the management of her home. He will say, for example: "You don't want to attend to me because I am not that so-and-so, whom you used to love so much. Of course you would be glad to serve and obey him in everything. But you will have to serve and attend to me, although you dont's like it, because you are my wife and not his."

On occasion it is disobedience of the husband's prohibitive orders which lead to his attack. He tells his wife, for instance, not to leave the house, and she in spite of this leaves the house and goes visiting somewhere. Then the Guajiro, believing his rights are being flouted, punishes and mistreats the woman in order to force her to submit to his every wish, which is to him a symbol of his manhood.

595 Relations between co-wives. Life between the different wives of a man fluctuates between genuine comradeship and an infernal struggle.

/118 cont./

595 Generally, the cause of this struggle is jealousy and the consequences of every kind that follow in its train. The women say: "Before he found this other woman, he came home with pleasure, brought us presents, liked being in our company, and never found any reason to quarrel. Now everything has changed. He never comes, or if he does he always looks for a pretext to mistreat us and insult us. He comes home drunk, looking for any reason he can find to get mad. He never brings us anything, not even the fruit of what he has sown even though we know that he has some. It is the other woman who will not let him be good to us and tells him tales to get him away from us."

Working on this principle and on the fact that a new marriage puts the previous wife on a secondary plane in her husband's estimation, the woman struggles desperately to keep her position with her husband, /119/ because once it is lost, she knows that she will have no legal backing to make him comply with his obligations.

She then follows two general norms of conduct: one is open and ostensible and is manifested by insults in word and act to her rival (Cf. Behavior of the woman... in this same chapter), by gossip, and even personal attack when they meet by chance. When they live under the same roof, the husband's presence is no obstacle to the showing of aggressiveness. Some get their close relatives, a child for example, to spy on the rival's conduct to have some means by which they can attack her, or they use their friends (whom they afterward have to pay) to investigate all that she does or does not do, with the same purpose. When the husband leaves the house, she spies on him to find out if he visits her rival and to ascertain what goes on.

The struggle at times is not open only against the rival co-wife but goes further and is directed openly against the husband. She complies with her wifely obligations to him and to the customary norms of hospitality halfheartedly; she

/119 cont./

595 receives him ungraciously when he arrives, without rising from where she is to hang his hammock; she does not offer him refreshing drinks or coffee, and when he asks her to do something for him she replies: "Why don't you ask that so-and-so, whom you like so much and who is so prudent? What do you see in her who is nothing to admire, who doesn't know how to do such-and-such things, that you should be so silly about her and can see nothing except through her eyes and can believe nothing except the lies she tells you? She is a shameless hussy who goes about laughing with all the men, who doesn't know how to work, and you love her anyway. I am going to do the same so that you care for me."

She also answers his questions rudely, answers him with monosyllables, or pretends not to know what she really knows quite well. This conduct may exasperate the husband, who tries to reassert his authority in the home, resorting to insults and blows, especially if he is drunk and the scene has been repeated many times. On other occasions he tries to calm her and openly denies his affection for the rival in question, overlooking his wife's conduct and promising her presents and that he will stay with her a long time.

This aggressiveness is adopted not only against the legal co-wives but also against all women who try in an illegal way to usurp the affection of the husband. Against these, the wife's reaction is openly aggressive, because in the majority of cases such women are generally at the bottom of the social scale, either because they are slaves or bond servants or belong to an unimportant group. A story is told of a Guajiro woman of /120/ high class who, learning for herself of marital relations between her husband and one of her sisters, attacked the latter with a knife, obliging her to flee during the night and not permitting her to live anywhere near the wife's home. Others turn out their women slaves after beating them cruelly and present the husband with a claim for compensation payment when the slaves are personal property /of the woman/. They

/120 cont./

595 follow the same line of conduct with regard to the bond servants who serve their husbands as concubines. However, this legal action is not always taken, and the wife may overlook the whole affair.

When a wife feels despised or mistreated by her husband and put in an inferior position by a co-wife, it is not unusual for her to wish to kill her husband and actually to carry out this desire. The Guajiro, who knows this sentiment, appeals to it when there is a fight going on between two clan groups, by paying the woman whom he knows is unhappily married to kill her [579] [278] husband. At his suggestion, she gives her husband algodonillo /? algodoncillo, a milkweed/ poison in his coffee, ground-up glass beads, poison for jaquars /tigres/, or puts the juice of a small, very poisonous lizard into the rum her husband is accustomed to drink. This practice is so well known that men, during war time, do not go to their wives' houses.

The other norm of conduct followed by the wife in such cases is a passive one: She does everything possible to condition her conduct as a married woman to the idealized cultural patterns in order to try to retain the affection of her husband to the utmost and thus prevent new women taking her place. If the husband is not completely satisfied in spite of these efforts, the woman tries to please him sexually. She believes that if she attains this objective, her matrimonial security is assured. That is why, besides doing everything they can to obtain such a satisfaction, they have recourse to magic, as we have explained several times in this work.

Finally, the woman may adopt an attitude of indifference to her husband, without any claims or anxiety, taking his lack of affection as the most natural thing in the world, in this way trying to bring about his return; or she may praise her rival when her husband mentions her in order to give the lie to any accusation that the other woman may have made. (Cf. in this chapter, Behavior of the woman with her husband).

/120 cont./

595 Another way of carrying on the struggle is to exaggerate the usual norms of hospitality. She tries to please him with food, with solicitous attention on arrival, hanging his hammock, bringing him coffee, bringing him water to wash with, etc., in short pleasing him in every way possible. She suppresses /121/ all recrimination that might anger him, all allusion, veiled or open, and all reproaches at his conduct, since she believes that the man will consequently rectify, analyze, and weigh his conduct and decide that she is better than the others. If she does not succeed in keeping his affection by this, at least she knows that she will not be mistreated. In any case, she is convinced that in the long run she will have to resign herself to the presence of other women, in other words, to polygamy.

In her struggle to keep uppermost in her husband's affections, the woman also resorts to birth control to conserve her physical attractiveness, as we have seen in the section Sexual life in this chapter, or gets her husband to buy her friends as wives, especially her younger sisters, because in both cases she will find in the co-wives companions and mutual aid. And the Guajiro, who does not like quarrels between his wives is willing to do this.

We must consider the norms of conduct for the woman confronted with this problem. Guajiro culture expects that the wife, the first one as well as the rest, should take the husband's new marriages with resignation, without opposing his wish, and, above all, without attempting future reprisals against him and his new companion. She should content herself with the husband's assurances that her predominant position as first wife will never be lost and that he has had to buy the others because the previous ones had not been able to satisfy his needs or his love. It also expects that new wives will not try to sow discord in the group and will not exert a pernicious influence, trying to inspire dislike for the rest in the mind of the husband. Also, it expects that she will submit to the wishes of her husband, who has the option of taking her to live with the others.

/121 cont./

595 In such a case, she must reconcile herself to the situation and lead a harmonious life of true friendship with her companions, without showing her influence, or setting one against another, and especially not setting her husband against one or another of the co-wives. On their part, those who are already present should offer a benevolent welcome to the new wife, respect her property, and share with her the common goods and rights.

The man in particular and the social collectivity in general expect the woman who lives in polygamy not to feel jealous, or at least not to show it ostensibly. A home consisting of several wives living in continual discord is a spectacle degrading to the husband, since the other men consider it an undesirable problem, and they throw up at the husband his lack of skill in managing his wives properly, thus lowering his prestige /122/ by involving him in gossip which the society relays avidly for their amusement.

The society believes that a woman who feels herself lowered by her husband or by a co-wife should maintain a resigned attitude. They concede that she may use passive means, but she must not have recourse to open struggle against the favorite to regain the affection of the husband.

The wife's duty to satisfy her husband sexually presents difficulties to the co-wives when all live under the same roof. The woman may have access to the husband in normal times when she desires it or he demands it by going to the enramada /bough-covered shelter/ where he sleeps, if one of her companions has not gone there first. The husband must not express preference at such a time for anyone, nor leave one unsatisfied to go with another, because this is the most common cause of jealousy. In spite of this, on occasion the favorite wife takes over the fulfillment of this obligation almost exclusively, when the others are very seldom visited by the husband.

Their culture also demands of the man's various wives that they maintain a relationship of cordiality and mutual help (Cf. Behavior of the woman with the husband) and that they

/122 cont./

595

become co-participants in the husband's goods and what he takes to one of the houses. When they live together in the same house, the children of any one of them should be looked after by the rest in the mother's absence, and all food should be shared, when one of them has none.

Generally, each of the wives has part of the objects of the husband's personal use -- the robe, the guayuco, the belts, the sandals, the arms, the hammock -- and when he asks for them, each one should answer with her part; the goods he brings belong to all the women, and with them they attend to their personal necessities, those of the children, and those of possible visitors.

The co-wives must share together in each others' difficulties. It is not at all well regarded that one should rejoice at the suffering of another, even though she be the most hated rival. Nobody must show their pleasure at this. If the husband's marital preference changes, the other women must not comment sarcastically on his inconstancy. The favorite -- so Guajiro culture considers -- should have sufficient kindness to try to level out the conduct of the husband and intercede for the less favored ones, asking for benevolence or help according to the needs of each. However, in reality this does not happen. The favorite tries to eliminate the others and vice versa, openly or under cover, /123/ unless the co-wives are bound to her by ties of consanguinity or by previous friendship.

When one of the co-wives dies, if her companions are noble and have good feelings, they must go to the ceremonies which take place at such a time and express their regrets to the relatives. If they do not comply with this basic act of courtesy, not only do the relatives of the dead woman resent it, but it gives occasion to bitter remarks from the rest, who accuse them of bad feeling.

The first wife, even if she finds herself definitely abandoned by her husband, who is now attracted to one of the later wives, does not lose her legally predominant social position.

/123 cont./

595 He has the best livestock on her land; it is she who is really considered as his main wife, who represents him in rank, and whose children belong to a higher group than the rest. And it is to her home and not to that of any of his other wives that the Guajiro takes his friends when he owes them some attention, if they are people of a status equal or superior to his own.

She adopts an attitude of simulated indifference before society with regard to the polygamy of her husband. She does not comment on the matter or associate with the others, although in the lower classes she is frequently obliged to live with them, in which case she will tenaciously defend her privileges.

Also, the Guajiro man at the present time marries by the Catholic rite but later contracts other marriages under the Guajiro system. In these cases it is not unusual for the first wife to be unaware of his subsequent marriage, since the husband hides it, but she may also get to hear of it because of the general practice of selling information among some women. In such a situation she maintains a reserved attitude before outsiders, and although she really recognizes the importance of such acts, she behaves as though her husband's later marriage means nothing in her life; she considers such things as misdoings on her husband's part and regards other wives, even those legally bought, as concubines and their children as having the illegitimate standing they would have in our society.

As the acquisition of each new wife may bother the previous ones, he does not insist that they attend the marriage ceremony, unless they are pleased about it because the new wife is an intimate friend or a sister.

837 [684] Adultery. We have seen in this chapter that the man's first reaction to knowledge of his wife's adultery is to kill /124/ her lover and bring on all the consequences this death may entail or, as an alternative, to demand indemnification from his wife's maternal relatives for the offense suffered. However, when the man cares very much for his wife, he may forgive her after a terrible quarrel. It can happen that she may go away for some time with another man, and her husband will later live with her

[29 cont.]

*756 When the woman becomes pregnant, the spirit puts up with
633 the situation without getting angry, but it does not show any such
834 patience if she delays a length of time in the sexual act with her husband, or if she sleeps by his side throughout the night.

The female shaman's obligation, in the sexual aspect, goes to the length of forcing her to be but a passive entity during coitus, not permitting her body the slightest motion and also not permitting any endearments from her husband before the sexual act. When these dispositions are disobeyed, the shaman finds
[787] herself suffering during the night from especially terrifying and horrible dreams which fill her with fears and anxieties.

*756 The man who marries a shaman gets to understand his
693 wife's situation, and for this reason he is prudent in his actions: He does not demand anything but the strictly indispensable, and he is in accord with her in all matters related to her special state. [30]

*756 But in spite of all these prohibitions, the female shaman
776 who becomes pregnant receives aid from the spirit at the time
844 of giving birth. This assistance consists of an easy delivery of her baby and of counsel her spirit gives her on the simplest form of giving birth, the remedies she should take, etc.

*756 The shaman must not perform ceremonial acts of curing
841 when she is in her menstrual period because the patient will be-
843 come worse instead of improving. However, pregnancy does not present any obstacle to her activities, and she may accomplish cures during the entire period of gestation.

*756 In the case of a male shaman, the spirit permits him to be
834 with his wife, but for a very short time; he is also allowed, as
[595] are the rest of the Guajiro, to have several wives.

In summary, women shamans must cohabit exclusively with their husbands, avoiding all endearments, movements, the prolongation of coitus, and pregnancy. They may not exercise their functions during their menstrual periods. The male shaman also must be moderate in the sexual aspect and limit himself to his wife, or wives, as the case may be.

*756 The food taboo is limited to prohibiting the shaman from
262 eating the flesh of such animals as he has received in payment

[155 cont.]

182 individual or of the dead, in the aspect which we have called
626 "Omens and Augural Birds," in the behavior followed by individ-
789 uals who wish to call up a breeze during a windless calm at sea or to send away eclipses and lightning which, according to their belief, are malevolent.

* * *

789 A very interesting aspect of magic is its use for and against
595 some of the cultural institutions and their institutionalized pat-
terns; for example, the use of love charms and the compliance with certain norms after the period of seclusion accompanying the ceremonies at the time of a young woman's initiation. Her aim is to fight against polygamy, with a view either to obtaining predominance over other wives or, better, to prevent the man who has acquired her for his wife from acquiring more women with whom she would have to share his life. Possibly due to the influence of acculturation, there is a tendency toward monogamy on the part of the women. The men, however, tend toward polygamy for prestige, since for it they must have a good economical position, as the price of women is high, increasingly so the greater their social position.

[177] [654]

[156] Another institution that we see directly affected by
751 magic is this same initiation of young women. We saw how
771 the death of a first-born child required a series of ceremonies
881 to prevent future children dying at birth, one after the other, and we stated that one of the principal ceremonies consisted in the observance of certain norms which bring to mind very clearly the initiation of the young mother. Their idea would seem to be that one of the causes of the death of the first-born was the deficient carrying out of the magic-biological-social ceremonial to which the girl must submit to prepare for her life as an adult.

[761]

Also the norms relating to the dead and the belief in a
764 life beyond the grave rest almost exclusively on magic, and
775 through it their prestige and their functioning are kept up. Magic
771 is also the cause of the fear and respect which relatives and friends
626 show to their dead, and it is magic which also promotes all the ceremonial rites that are celebrated in this connection.

3: Wilbert E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 SC13 Goajiro SC13

582 As for the sanctioned forms of cousin marriage, Ego (m. and f.) may marry any cousins on either side except for mother's sister's children. Ego (m. and f.) may also marry any kinsman of the third degree with the exception of a mother's sister's daughter's child. All relatives of the fourth degree are potential spouses. [595] Polygyny is practiced and is definitely a mark of status and rank. Sororate is sanc- [554] tioned although it very rarely occurs. The data indicate, then, a very typical system [587] of Crow type.

602 No avoidance taboos were said to exist in Goajiro society, but great attention is paid to respectful behavior between kinsmen. In the family parents are respected [593] equally highly by the children, whereas among siblings the brother enjoys greater authority than his sisters, and an elder than a younger brother. In the presence of the maternal uncle nobody is supposed to speak up unquestioned; this rule applies especially to the younger people. Grandparents maintain close and friendly relations with their grandchildren. They make gifts to the latter: horses, bows and [431] arrows, drums, rifles, etc., and the grandchildren assist the old after having grown up. The father-in-law is respected greatly by his daughter-in-law. When visiting she serves him before she serves her mother-in-law. She does not, however, attend her own mother. Cousins are completely free to meet without being obliged to observe any avoidance regulations.

608 Artificial kin relations were said to be missing altogether among the Goajiro. Non-relatives are treated with great friendliness and may even be accepted as 609 step-parents of an orphan of the group. Orphans usually join a family on the 597 father's side.

CARACAS, VENEZUELA

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
SC13 Goajiro SC13

the men speak some Spanish in addition to their native 105
language. Some of them know how to read and write. They
are almost entirely pastoral, possessing great herds of horses, [233]
asses, sheep, goats, and cattle. They have borrowed a great
deal from the Europeans but they have also kept their own
culture to a remarkable degree. As usual, native elements
are most strongly present in the non-material phases of culture.
Unfortunately they are not united or organized into a modern
state, though against all foreigners they stand together as a
unit. Authority is acquired by certain caciques through their [554]
wealth and membership in the 'casta,' the major social group- 614
ing in Guajiro society. Each casta claims a mythological 631
origin and holds sovereignty over a well-defined territory.
Many of these castas or social groupings are further sub-
divided. Each casta has its caciques whose function is chiefly
to settle disputes and whose position is inherited, matrilineally.
The oldest of them is allowed more authority, but generally it
is the wealthiest man, and the one who can marshal more [556]
retainers, armed with rifles and revolvers, who is listened to
with greater respect. There are further divisions in Guajiro
society. At the top are the caciques and their families who are 565
rich and powerful. The next group is composed of peons or
retainers in the service of the upper stratum, and at the bottom
are the 'slaves' who have been born in that condition or have
been enslaved following an offense to some powerful group, and [567]
who can even be let out to work for planters in the sugar fields
of Zulia The life of the poor people has not changed much
since early times. Polygamy is widely practised, as is also 595
concubinage, by the wealthier men. Each wife lives in her
own rancho and there awaits the occasional visit of her hus-
band. The children inherit property and social affiliations [611]
through the mother. Disputes that arise within a casta are
settled by arbiters chosen by the families of the litigants. [627]
Disputes inter-casta may be settled by arbitration if violence
is not desirable. Generally the killing of an individual gives [628]
rise to armed action with an eventual composition by payment.

My informants attempted to demonstrate the difference be- 671

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

881 invitation. Again cattle are butchered, and there is drinking
584 and dancing and horse-racing. Numbers of men come to see if they would like to put themselves forward as suitors. The more eminent guests are received in the house itself, and the girl is now present. Her shorn hair has grown and been trimmed to a page-boy cut, and she wears her best clothes
[754 and new ornaments. She hides her hair clippings carefully
826] in a bag, for she does not want to risk anyone getting hold of them and using them to acquire power over her by the arts of magic. Later, she will secretly bury them under a
[789 cow pat. That will help to increase her herds. The droppings
514] of various animals play a great part in the magic of the Guajiro, and it would seem that there is negro influence here as well.

881 The girl has now been born again—she is a new person, a woman. She knows all that an adult woman needs to know and can do everything that a wife and mother should be able to do. Pale and lovely, she steps out into life once more and inquisitive young men swarm round her. The rich give a big feast, the poor provide simpler fare, but it is always a great occasion.

[582] A Guajiro man will never marry a girl before she has undergone this period of confinement, which means that people seldom marry too early. It is said that in the old days
[595 rich old men with several wives sometimes bought little
831] poor girls as concubines, believing that that would enhance their virility.

The girl's long segregation is intended to protect her from the supernatural dangers that are thought to threaten her, especially during this sensitive period of transition from childhood to womanhood. The girl can also be dangerous to others through being exposed to attack by spirits. It is only practical that during this period she should practise handicrafts.

252 Going back to the house, we found the women at the fires, which there were protected by special small cactus
[354] screens. There was no need to have them under a roof at that time of the year, only to shelter them from the wind. The pots stood over the fire supported on three stones.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

riage. A Guajiro woman has no right to sell her body. The law does not recognize prostitution. 562 [548]

A married woman's relatives and clan do not leave her entirely in her husband's hands. He may not do as he likes with her, nor cause her suffering. Suffering and discomfort she is bound to experience in childbirth, however, and of that he is the primary cause; thus whether as a result of legal or illegal relations, the man must compensate the mother for her confinement by giving her family a few cattle. The woman herself may not eat their meat under any circumstances. 562 614 844 [431]

Originally the Guajiro clans were exogamous; members were not allowed to marry within the clan. That is no longer insisted upon, but not only brothers and sisters, but maternal males and cousins on the mother's side, are still reckoned among the forbidden degrees. It is unthinkable that an Indian girl should marry her maternal uncle; that would be like having her father for her husband. It once happened that an uncle and niece had a secret relationship and the girl became pregnant. A monk married them, but the Indians regarded the relationship as a heinous crime and the whole district reacted so violently that the couple had to leave the peninsula and go far away, where there was no risk of meeting members of their tribe. 582 614 835 [626]

There is nothing to prevent an Indian getting himself several wives. Infrequently white men have married into Guajiro families and they too have had to pay a bride-price. A number of poor Creoles have contracted Guajiro marriages with poor girls. I have already mentioned how foreign oil workers made Guajiro marriages. In those early days there were no arrangements made for employees' families, and the Guajiro girls suited those primitive conditions very well, though as a rule such marriages with Indian girls were very short-lived, as those of the Creoles with them still are. The girl is soon abandoned, if that can be done without risk, the girl's family in such cases being powerless. So the Indians told me. [595] 648 582

The monks had already told us that where Creoles had married Guajiro girls of good family, those marriages had

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

later, for he has been brought up always to try and make things right. 593

During her period of isolation a girl also learns how to satisfy her husband erotically and always to be ready, when he is excited. To retain his love she may employ magic as well as her own natural powers of attraction. Knowing that a woman loses some of her looks and attraction during pregnancy, wives often try, after having had several children, to hinder fertilization by taking certain herbal drugs and by magical means. 881 864 [832] [842]

'Polygamy is permitted, is it not, Mauana?' 595

'Yes, a man can take several wives. As long as he pays the bride-price, no one can say anything, but her family would never allow a better-class girl to become the second wife of anyone. And you see, custom decrees that a Guajiro wife, whether the first or a concubine, must acquiesce if the husband takes a new wife. Similarly, it is considered that wives ought to live in peace and friendship. They must receive a new concubine cordially and all show their best side to the husband. They must help each other to watch the children and not display jealousy if the husband prefers one to the others.

'That is how it should be, but the reality is quite different. Very often the wives live in the same house, which naturally leads to conflict more easily than when each has her own hut. Jealousy or envy are common in these harems. Enmity and quarrelling are not infrequent, nor is actual fighting. The wives spy upon each other, destroy each other's things and make all sorts of scenes. One or other perhaps comes to hate the husband. It is said that a certain man, who shall be nameless, had noticed something of the sort and did not dare to be at home while a family feud lasted. An enemy could have bribed one of his wives to put poison in his maize beer.'

'That does not sound pleasant!'

'No, polygamy undoubtedly has its drawbacks!' Mauana agreed. 'I myself have only one wife, but several bed slaves,' he added with an artful look in his eye.

Even though all a man's marriages are considered legal,

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

the first wife retains a privileged position. She will be of the best family and the highest in rank. She is the hostess.

One day, when I was standing talking with Mauana, he pointed to a couple walking past and said eagerly:

'You should picture those with your apparatus.'

I photographed the two, who to me appeared very ordinary. The woman had her cheeks and nose painted red. Mauana whispered to me that the woman was not a woman, but that they were two men living together. Later we came across several Indian men who did women's work and wore women's dress. This was not considered really right, but it was looked upon with indulgence. In the early days of discovery gold coins were found on the coast by Santa Marta which depicted 'shameful acts contrary to Nature'. Among the Guajiros' relatives in the West Indies there were chiefs who had whole harems of boys.

'We were talking of bride-price and buying women slaves,' said I, to revert to more normal things. 'What does a poor youth do, who possesses nothing?'

Everyone agreed that it was a pity about any such. The law had definite regulations for intercourse between man and woman, and any infringement involved a claim for damages. If anyone seduced a woman, he must pay considerable compensation to her relatives, however willing she may have been; but if he took her against her will, it costs him considerably more. A poor man cannot pay and therefore risks losing his life as a punishment. The Indians admitted that here and there on the border there was prostitution, but it was mostly mestizo women who lent themselves to that. In Guajira proper, there were no prostitutes. Both the chiefs and the monks told us that. Thus in the interior, a young man without means must live a life of abstinence. The time when the dances of the kid were performed would be his only opportunity of enjoying a woman's favours, provided he could find a willing partner. At this time the otherwise strict code is suspended and free love permitted.

Mauana had promised to arrange a dance, but of another kind. The dances of the kid are performed during the rainy

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

622 Chiefs are polygynous and have many daughters, for
595 whom very high bride prices are paid—sometimes thousands of animals,
583 worth $6,000 to $10,000. Such rich chiefs take great pride in their
556 daughters, dressing them in fine silken robes and necklaces of gold and pearls and providing them with personal servants.

567 There is a class of slaves who are beneath the chiefs' retainers in the social hierarchy. It consists of people born into this status and of captives.

PROPERTY

422 All cattle, though individually owned, belong in theory to the local group as a whole and are worked for the common benefit of all. For example, the cattle paid as a bride price when a girl marries within her own sib go to a new owner, but the milk, butter, cheese, and hides from them continue to be shared by everyone in the sib. When a woman receives cattle as a bride price for her daughter any new stock born to them belongs to the daughter's husband and his sons, and when the animals are rounded up for the annual branding each son is allowed to brand a certain number of them.

ETIQUETTE

576 The *Goajiro* are in general unfriendly to strangers but have a well-
574 established code of hospitality. Strangers calling at a house must wait until invited in. Inside a house a bowl of chicha or rum (coffee when available) is the first gift offered the visitor, who is thereafter given a hammock and treated as a member of the family. A special feast may
[565] be arranged if there are many guests. A guest of high rank is feasted, and some of the young girls of the house may be placed at his disposal.

LAW AND ORDER

627 The chiefs have little power outside their own local group, where they settle minor disputes. The solution of many disputes and transgressions of custom are left to the parties concerned. The laws of group respon-
628 sibility and group retaliation lead to frequent intertribal feuds. A person
614 without a strong sib to protect him is helpless, for others may use any act which may conceivably be interpreted as harmful as pretext for demanding indemnity. For example, a person injured while intoxicated may demand payment from the person who sold him the rum, or a person injured by a borrowed animal may demand payment from the owner of the animal; a thief who hurts himself when trespassing on the property of his intended victim will demand compensation of him; and anyone aiding a sick or wounded person who subsequently dies incurs a liability.

672 If a person injures himself he must make an expiatory gift to the members of his own sib and a lesser gift to his father's relatives. If a child dies when under the care of one parent, this parent must reimburse

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

water but is given an herbal purgative. Her hair is cut short. Generally 881
several of her relatives stay around the door of the hut, and strangers and men with an eye to matrimony may look in. During this period the girl is taught the duties of married life and such skills as weaving, sewing, and making hammocks. When she emerges, stout and bleached, a special festival is held, when she resumes her ornaments and puts on the adult clothes that she has made during her confinement. She is now considered marriageable. The length of her confinement depends on her status, though theoretically it lasts until her hair again reaches the [554
nape of her neck. Poor girls are secluded only a few weeks, rich girls 556]
up to 2 years.

Sexual life and marriage.—Little is known about the sexual life of 836
the *Goajiro*. A certain amount of promiscuous love making occurs among the young people at the biweekly festivals. Dances also provide an opportunity for sexual advances.

There are some male transvestites who carry on only female activities 838
and are ridiculed by the men.

When a man desires to marry he sends his father or uncle as inter- 584
mediary, then pays a bride price which has been set by the girl's relatives. 583
The payment is usually in cattle, but goats, pearls, liquor, cotton cloth, 602
and gold ornaments also are used. The father retains the purchase price only when his first daughter marries; the income of subsequent marriages goes to the girl's senior maternal uncles. The mother also receives part of the income. A son obtains the cattle for the bride payment from the increase of his father's herds.

Intermarriage between the sibs is frequent, and many of the *Goajiro* 582
give their daughters to "civilizados" from Maracaibo and Río Hacha, who pay higher prices and find such a tie with the Indians useful in their trading relations.

The marriage ceremony consists of a series of feasts and exchanges of 585
presents between the two families. The wedding night is spent at the [431]
rancheria of the bride's mother, but the nuptial hammock (specially woven by the female relatives of the bride) is hung from a tree some distance away from the house. For a period of days and even months the bridegroom leaves his bride at dawn and returns only after sunset. In [406]
this way the groom shows respect to his mother-in-law.

Polygyny is general. The number of wives depends on the economic 595
status of the husband, some men having as many as 20. Each wife lives in her own house, where her husband occasionally visits her. The man, as head of the polygynous household, supervises the daily slaughter of [542]
animals and the distribution of meat and corn to each household according to the number of its members.

If a wife shirks her domestic duties she may be divorced and her hus- 586
band may claim the return of the bride price cattle, plus their increase and

9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
SC13 Goajiro SC13

231 The whole judiciary structure with its elaborate system of torts
556 is based on the payment of a given number of domestic animals.
681 There is no crime, including murder, that cannot be amiably settled by such payments (Petrullo, 1937). The acquisition of
[585] a bride is also reduced to the payment of a stipulated price, in terms of domestic animals, to be given to the maternal uncle of the girl.

231 Social, economic, and political status in the Guajiro society
554 is intimately connected with the cattle complex. To have a high status an individual needs, primarily, two assets: he must possess a large number of domestic animals, in other words, he must be considered rich; and he must be an older man. If he lacks either of these requisites, he is not a leader, as he will not be sufficiently respected nor will members of his clan come to him to seek his advice. Consequently, leaders are not numerous in the Guajiro peninsula. The present writer knows only two individuals, both in Venezuela, who are today the unquestionable
159 leaders of their respective clans. These men are Panchito Silva,
554 of the Pushaina clan, and José de la Rosa Fernandez of the
556 Uriana clan.
622 An analysis of the lives of these two men will be illustrative of the traditional methods of acquiring status among the Guajiro.

Panchito Silva, a man of about 80 years of age, lives in the
[595] native village of Sishipes in Venezuela. During his life-time he has had eight wives (two or three at a time) and now lives with his surviving two, one about 35 years old and the other about 50. He is a full-blooded Indian as has been the case of his wives. There is no trace of race mixture in his family. He has no clear idea of how many children he has had, apart from those living with him now (two men and five women). Yet he knows definitely that he has four younger brothers—who will inherit his wealth and position before these are passed on to his nephews—three sisters and twenty-five nephews and nieces (all
[604] sons and daughters of his sisters). His lack of concern towards his own children coupled with his keen interest in his nephews and nieces seems to be a clear indication of how strong the avunculate is in traditional Guajiro society. His holdings in cattle and other domestic animals are very large. Roughly he owns around 1,000 head of cattle and about 3,000 of sheep,

9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
SC13 Goajiro SC13

159 554 office expired (in two years time) he sought and obtained a position in the Federal Ministry of Public Works in a project which was seeking the best places to drill water wells all over the Guajira peninsula. He held this job for about a year and half. He is now employed in the Guajira office, in Paraguaipoa, of the Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry and is "ad honorem" agent of the Comisión Indigenista in the Guajira. In these two jobs he gets paid only when he performs certain work, such as when he recently acted as guide and interpreter for the present writer.

159 554 583 614 585 During his term as Prefect of Paez (Sinamaica) he married, according to the Guajira tradition and law, one of the daughters of To'olito Fernandez, for whom he had to pay a very high price, as the girl was the daughter of an important chief. Following Guajira law the price for the bride was gathered among the members of the Uriana clan to which Perez belongs due to his mother's heritage. Incidentally, as Fernandez also belongs to the Uriana clan he had to contribute in the collection of the bride-price of his own daughter although, of course, the amount collected did not go to him but to the girl's maternal uncle. This was a typical exogamous marriage as the girl belongs to the Guajariyú clan, that being her mother's clan. At present, Perez [595] keeps two households, one in Maracaibo with his white wife and son, whom he visits once or twice a week, if he is not doing any special work for the ministries; the other, is his native household at the Laguna del Pajaro, Guajira, where he remains most of his time. He has had no children with his Indian wife. His two simultaneous marriages have brought him no trouble with the law, as according to Guajiro tradition polygyny is perfectly acceptable, and according to Venezuelan law he has only one legitimate wife.

159 595 It is interesting to note at this point that Perez denies having a white wife in Maracaibo, although he does not deny having the son and shows pride in saying that his son is in medical school. The present writer was not able to fathom the reasons behind this denial. Data regarding his Maracaibo marriage was obtained from Perez's father who was also unable to furnish good motives for the fact that Perez tries to hide that he has a household in that city. To test this point the writer, after the

9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
SC13 Goajiro SC13

two days' visit at the home of Panchito Silva and while returning to Paraguaipoa, asked Perez how many wives he had had. Perez was obviously quite upset by the question, but did not hesitate in answering: "Oh, no, Mr. Santa Cruz! I have and only have had one wife, Anita!" (Anita is his Indian wife). Whether the motives for the denial are of a personal nature or involve some cultural complex is unknown to the writer. 159 595

Nevertheless Perez leads a perfectly discernable dual life. He has two homes, as described, dividing his time between them, devoting about 40% of the time (when he is not working) to his Maracaibo home, and about 60% to his Guajira home. He has two sets of friends which he is very careful not to mix. His plans for the future of his son are entirely along white cultural lines. At this point we find contradictory thoughts in Perez's mind. The present writer has heard him repeatedly criticize the attitude of certain Guajiros, both full-blooded and half-breeds, who, having gone to Maracaibo for formal education (especially to Teachers' College) have then sought, and in many cases obtained, positions in Maracaibo instead of returning to the Guajira to practice their professions. Yet when it comes to his own son, Perez's plans are for a permanent residence in Maracaibo or, if possible, Caracas, where he could go into practice in an entirely white cultural background.

The problem now is to define Perez's status in the Guajira. Undoubtedly his personality has some importance in Guajiro social stratification, especially among his own generation. This importance he has attained by granting favors, which his semi-official government positions enables him to do, to those whom he thinks will, in the future, be of help to him. Perhaps this is best illustrated by an example. The Ministry of Justice, through the Comisión Indigenista, grants ten scholarships annually to Guajiros who meet certain educational requirements. These scholarships are for the State of Zulia Teachers' College in Maracaibo. Perez has been given, more or less, a free hand in the selection of the candidates for these scholarships. About 65% of the candidates chosen by Perez, in the four years that the plan has been in operation, have been admitted to the College. The writer was able to look briefly into the family back- 622 557 658

/18 cont./

859 for this reason the hammock is made of agave fiber, which re-
863 sists rot, and although a child of a year may still wet the bed, it is usual by the time he reaches this age, and even before, for him to have the habit of cleanliness formed and this problem not to exist, because of previous training. It may be that the child is helped in this by the hot and dry climate of the region, by the reduced quantity of liquid he absorbs during the day, by the physiological phenomenon of perspiration which causes much elimination, and because the mother rises early, at daybreak, and calls the child to his organic necessities, a custom which in time forms a habit, so keeping him dry in bed. /19/

854 When the small family lives apart, especially from the wife's relatives, the rearing and initial training of the children is limited to its members and their maids and female bond servants and slaves if there are any. This training is mainly simple and personal and consists in regulating his daily and nightly feeding, sleep, cleanliness, and beginning to crawl and walk. As the culmination of his preliminary training comes speech.

In this early teaching the average poorer mother plays the main role, as only the better-off mother has the advantage of help from female bond servants, slaves, and servants or wet nurses. We have already seen how the mother carries out these duties or how they are equally fulfilled by whoever assists her.

When she has to go out she leaves the child in the care of her husband, who, following the instructions he receives, feeds the child, watches its cleanliness, its rest, and safety according to customary patterns. At other times the older brothers and sisters have this duty.

[595] If several women live together with a man, it is not unusual that during the absence of one, the others will take care of her children and take her place in protecting and caring for them whether the child is tiny or older. This practice, naturally, occurs only when there is no ill will or hatred between the various co-wives.

[596] When the family life is lived within the maternal family grouping, or when two sisters are co-wives and live in the same

/19 cont./

854 house, the training and care of the children is simplified by the
596 joint support and action of the two sisters, who do not object to giving each other mutual aid in sharing domestic duties and the care of the children during the absence of one of the sisters, so that the children are well cared for and trained as if they were members of one family. In the case of daughters who live together with their respective children in their mother's house, the unity among them is almost equal to the case just described. Thus the absence of the mother is willingly filled in by the desire of the others to assist her and temporarily fill her place. It may also be the common mother /of the daughters/ -- the grandmother /of the children/ -- who replaces all the daughters, or a maternal aunt, or even the grandmother -- great-grandmother of the children -- if she is still of an age to do so, a female cousin, etc. In these cases the mother's influence is amplified with that of her maternal relatives who care for the children by trying to adhere to the general norm of conduct and the particular ways that each mother uses.

854 Another influence that is being felt and can be perceived
591 more clearly at the present time with the problem of crossbreeding and of Catholic marriage is the /20/ acknowledged participation of the paternal relatives in the training. We know that Guajiro marriage is usually matrilocal, but it can happen that later on it may change into a patrilocal one, the children then coming under the influence of the paternal relatives who also assist the mother. In these two cases there seems to be a sort of transfer of the feeling of kinship, and although the maternal may be more powerful in certain aspects, the paternal by fact acquires prerogatives which it wields actively: The new generation comes under the influence of both branches, which co-operate in their rearing and training.

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854 The mother shows every affection for her small child, above all while it is being breast fed, but later the demonstrations of

/164 cont./

592 3. In the collateral line the mother's sisters and their
602 descendants.

611 4. His closest male relatives, his mother's brothers and those of his grandmother and great-grandmother, etc., in the maternal line.

5. The sons of the sisters of his mother, his grandmother, his great-grandmother, etc.

In this way, the kinship ties of the newborn child extend back indefinitely along the female line and extend forward in the same manner.

With respect to the kinship with individuals of the male sex, this is limited to the collateral branches and to the sons of female relatives. That is, the newborn child does not count male ascendants or the children of his male relatives as his own relatives. Furthermore, if the new baby is a boy he will not in the future count his own direct descendants as relatives.

592 It would be extremely difficult to make a separate study of
593 the exercise of authority in the small family or in the extended family, because these two bodies so intimately interpenetrated due to their members living together that any analysis of them separately would be inaccurate; also, because of the effects of acculturation, the exercise of authority based on the consanguineous unit stemming from the traditional legal union reflects forms different from those developed according to legendary cultural patterns.

593 These two extremes -- traditional culture and culture influenced by whites -- cover an infinite range of varieties difficult to classify and must be studied as special cases (Cf. Marriage).

593 It is essential to recognize that in the civilizado-type home
178 the influence of the maternal family tends to be nullified, a
596 very slow process with regard to the totality of all the members, but a very rapid and effective one with regard to the maternal uncle, for in this case there occurs the phenomenon of transfer: All his influence passes to the father, who from that moment acquires and exercises all the authority delegated by Guajiro

/164 cont./

593 culture to the maternal uncle. Another phenomenon /165/ that
178 develops in this type of marriage is the appearance of paternal
596 relatives who are gradually acquiring places in kinship to the point that they almost hold positions similar to those held in our society. In fact, the children of a marriage so constituted begin to consider their father within the boundaries of their relatives; initially, he was not so considered, but by degrees, he is acquiring this manifest recognition in the act of their taking sides with him, being represented by him on outstanding occasions such as marriage, receiving help and assistance from him, and later on being his legitimate heirs.

In the classical Guajiro home the outstanding authority is that of the maternal uncle, who surpasses the eldest person in order of importance. There can, however, be an exception when another of these relatives has acquired a position that is not only more prominent than any of his brothers but also extends its radius of action to all the clan group and even passes on to other clans. Individual personal merit or wealth may be the cause of the elevation of his status, which is fully recognized within the family to the point that he may supplant the brother who by chronological order he ought to obey. According to the
[561] old order, age was the index of the exercise of authority, an arrangement that defined succession in case of death.

596 It also may occur that in any one of the different homes formed by each one of the sisters of a family, preferential deference and recognition is given to one of the sisters without taking into account the hierarchy established by age, status, etc.

This preference is due to the affinity shown by the mother for one of her brothers, a preference that has a reciprocal effect extending to the sons of the sister from whom he will receive greater respect. Beside respect the influence goes deeper and the effective assistance of this brother is greater than that rendered by the others. This is shown especially by his gifts at the birth of the children of the sister and above all by his taking charge personally of educating them in pasturing and in masculine

/165 cont./

596 activities in general. After the uncle, the function of authority falls to the mother. They, uncle and mother, on occasion make decisions together after prior consultation and agreement, but if there should be a difference of opinion the uncle's decision prevails. After these comes the authority of the children, which also runs in chronological order and by sex. First is the authority of the eldest son, since in case there are several daughters /born/ before a son, the authority will be exercised by the latter no matter what his position in the family is in order /166/ of arrival into the world.

The female descendants in the mother's line also have much authority, and their opinions are listened to and given attention, and the mother's sisters, after the maternal uncle, are the most respected and exercise considerable influence over the nieces, especially at the time of their initiation and during the arrangement of their purchase as brides. The mother's aunts and her female cousins, generally called aunts, may be listened to, especially when some one of them holds a preferential position within the family or within the culture.

592 In the home the authority for the general organization of the administrative life rests in the wife. She should impose her will and be responsible for the decisions she makes. She exercises control over her children, nephews and nieces, servants, slaves, and hired help /criados/, organizing their work and being responsible for their conduct. This authority is more extensive when the economic and social position of the woman is higher, as those of the upper class have around them a larger staff and an endless number of relatives other than their own children, nephews and nieces, over all of whom they must impose their authority. Also, in the case of the first wife, who is the principal administrator of her husband's property and the builder of his real home, this authority grows even greater. However, the power of the woman cannot extend to the homes of her married daughters or to the homes of her other female relatives. She may give voice to her opinion on some matter,

/245 cont./

177 Working as a government employee also confers prestige and furthermore constitutes a sure income within the economic ups and downs of stock raising conditions existent in La Guajira. These administrative posts are in the main given to individuals who already have great prestige in the zone administered, with the object in view of facilitating administrative and, on occasion, legal work in the commissary government.

The status of hunter was without doubt the most important when this activity was one of the sources of economic life in the peninsula. Today it is reduced to a secondary plane, but it is still maintained in the person of the chief of hunting expeditions, who is the one best acquainted with the topography and the most likely haunts of game, who knows the feeding habits of animals, the paths which they take, and, from the smallest detail, can deduce what kind of game is near, its size, etc., since one of his essential qualities is that of being a skillful tracker. Furthermore, he is in possession of weapons adequate for each type of animal, weapons which he has made himself and magic charms for each species to ensure safety and success in hunting. It is also necessary that he be perfectly familiar with the tactics of hunting so as to be able to place to the best advantage the different participants in the expedition; he should sacrifice his personal interest in favor of the others so that his companions will recognize his generosity when distributing the catch.

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177 When we consider the individual in the family unit, we
SA6 also find a gradation of status in direct proportion to the importance and position of each member of the family in the home. At the very head we find the eldest maternal uncle, whose responsibilities for the economic-social backing of the family, especially in relation to nephews, his sister's sons, are very important, as we have noted throughout this study. He is the

/235 cont./

177 head of the family and his decisions are accepted because he
596 assumes absolute responsibility for the family. Hence the absolute obligation of consanguineous relatives dependent on him to respect /246/ his wishes and give way to his decisions. In the Guajiro family organization, in which descent is matrilineal, the father is simply a biological element without social or family ties with his children. This is what occurs in the traditional family system, but at the present time the status of the maternal uncle and the father are in conflict, and the latter tends to replace the former in the family group, due to the change in the concept of kinship which is upsetting the legendary canons of matrilinear descent. Thus the status of the father is gradually rising, affecting the relations between nephews and sons, for, if previously the nephews, sons of a sister, were those who attracted the men's attention, now it is the sons who are gradually taking this place to the extent that, as we mentioned in the chapter entitled Inheritance, veritable clashes arise between one and the other after a man's death with respect to sharing in the goods of the deceased. Male children, in view of this new concept of kinship between father and son which has arisen, particularly through the new form of marriage brought about by acculturation, believe themselves to have inalienable rights to their father's possessions at his death to the exclusion of the maternal nephews, who should submit to the same rule and expect their inheritance not from their uncles but from their own fathers. Furthermore, son and father, in accordance with the system of uterine descent could become, and actually did become, enemies when the paternal and the maternal clans went to war with each other, but now the son fights at the side of his father in the majority of cases and is, in turn, represented by his father in rites of passage.

177 Again, the question of marriage presents itself as one of the most important, if not the most important, in Guajiro social organization. Any upheaval that occurs in this has its repercussions on all other traditional institutions, which do not

[62 cont.]

825 whole period of pregnancy. The duality of childbirth-serpent
843 is brought to our notice with an insistence and disconcerting realism which we will endeavor to explain.

If we look into the Guajiro family organization we can
596 see how that community taken as a homogeneous whole is
621 divided into series of extended family groups which follow the line of maternal filiation. Belonging to a family group are the mother, the sons and daughters of the mother, the sons and daughters of the mother's daughters, and so on successively. The administration of the family is not in the hands of the father, who is not considered as such, but in those of the maternal uncles, the eldest of these being predominant. Inheritance also
428 is determined by this system, and sons inherit nothing from their natural father, but from their mother or their maternal uncles. The property of the father is split up among his nephews, sons of his sister, whom he considers as sons. Patrilocality and
541 matrilocality exist, the former predominating. The family group, wrongly named by some authors casta is very much
614 extended, and to it belong all those bearing the same surname. Each large family group has its own property mark or brand and a representative animal. Thus, for example: [63]

Family groups	*Representative animals*
Uriśna (41)	jaguar

[104]

41. For the convenience of our readers we have adapted the phonetics of all these Guajiro names to Spanish orthography, using the most apparent sounds.

Urśriyŭ	rattlesnake
Uriyŭ	snake
Woŭriyŭ	partridge
Uyśrayŭ	cauquero (a species of deer)
Ipwana	cari-cari
Śápwana	bittern

3: Wilbert E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 SC13 Goajiro SC1b

582 As for the sanctioned forms of cousin marriage, Ego (m. and f.) may marry any cousins on either side except for mother's sister's children. Ego (m. and f.) may also marry any kinsman of the third degree with the exception of a mother's sister's daughter's child. All relatives of the fourth degree are potential spouses. [595] Polygyny is practiced and is definitely a mark of status and rank. Sororate is sanc- [554] tioned although it is very rarely occurs. The data indicate, then, a very typical system [587] of Crow type.

602 No avoidance taboos were said to exist in Goajiro society, but great attention is paid to respectful behavior between kinsmen. In the family parents are respected [593] equally highly by the children, whereas among siblings the brother enjoys greater authority than his sisters, and an older than a younger brother. In the presence of the maternal uncle nobody is supposed to speak up unquestioned; this rule applies especially to the younger people. Grandparents maintain close and friendly relations with their grandchildren. They make gifts to the latter: horses, bows and [431] arrows, drums, rifles, etc., and the grandchildren assist the old after having grown up. The father-in-law is respected greatly by his daughter-in-law. When visiting she serves him before she serves her mother-in-law. She does not, however, attend her own mother. Cousins are completely free to meet without being obliged to observe any avoidance regulations.

608 Artificial kin relations were said to be missing altogether among the Goajiro. 609 Non-relatives are treated with great friendliness and may even be accepted as 597 step-parents of an orphan of the group. Orphans usually join a family on the father's side.

CARACAS, VENEZUELA

3: Wilbert E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 SC13 Goajiro SC13

(60)	10 [illegible]	S (m.s.)/FaBrDa (m.s.)/FaSiSoDa (m.s.)/MoSiDa (m.s.) IaSiDaSoDa
	11 [illegible]	IaBrSo/FaBrDa (w.s.)/FaSiSoSo/FaSiSoDa (w.s.)/ FaSiDaSoSo
	12 [illegible]	MoSiSo (m.s.)/MoSiDa (w.s.)
	13 [illegible]	MoBrWi (w.s.)/HuSi/BrWi (w.s.)
	14 [illegible]	MoFaBrSo (m.s.)/MoFaBrDa (m.s.)/MoMoBrSo/ MoMoBrDa/MoBrSo/MoBrDa/So/Da/BrSo/BrDa/ FaBrSoSo/FaBrSoDa/FaBrDaSo (w.s.)/FaBrDaDa (w.s.)/ MoSiSoSo/MoSiSoDa/FaSiSoSoSo/FaSiSoSoDa/ FaSiSoDaSo (w.s.)/FaSiSoDaDa (w.s.)/ MoSiDaSoSo (m.s.)/MoSiDaSoDa (m.s)
	15 [illegible]	MoBrSoSo/MoBrSoDa/MoBrDaSo/MoBrDaDa/ FaBrSoSoSo/FaBrSoSoDa/FaBrSoDaSo/FaBrSoDaDa/ FaBrDaSoSo/FaBrDaSoDa/FaBrDaDaSo/FaBrDaDaDa/ MoBrSoSoSo/MoBrSoSoDa/MoBrSoDaSo/MoBrSoDaDa/ MoBrDaSoSo/MoBrDaSoDa/MoBrDaDaSo/ MoBrDaDaDa/MoSiSoSoSo/MoSiSoSoDa/MoSiSoDaSo/ MoSiSoDaDa/MoSiDaSoSo (w.s.)/MoSiDaSoDa (w.s.)/ SoSo/SoDa/DaSo/DaDa/BrSoSo/BrSoDa/BrDaSo/ BrDaDa/SiSoSo/SiSoDa
	16 [illegible]	SiSo (m.s.)/SiDa (m.s.)/FaBrDaSo (m.s.)/ FaBrDaDa (m.s.)/MoSiDaSo (m.s.)/MoSiDaDa (m.s.)/ MoSiDaDaSo (m.s.)/MoSiDaDaDa (m.s.)/SiDaSo (m.s.)/ SiDaDa (m.s.)/FaSiSoDaSo (m.s.)/FaSiSoDaDa (m.s.)
	17 [illegible]	SiSo (w.s.)/SiDa (w.s.)/SiDaSo (w.s.)/SiDaDa (w.s.)/ MoSiDaDaSo (w.s.)/MoSiDaDaDa (w.s.)
	18 [illegible]	Hu
	19 [illegible]	Wi
	20 [illegible]	WiFa/DaHu (m.s.)
	21 [illegible]	HuFa/DaHu (w.s.)
	22 [illegible]	WiMo
	23 [illegible]	SiFa (m.s.)/WiBr
	24 [illegible]	SiFa (w.s.)/HuBr
	25 [illegible]	HuBrWi
	26 [illegible]	SoWiFa/SoWiMo/DaHuFa/DaHuMo

3: Wilbert E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 SC13 Goajiro SC13

Twenty six fundamental kinship terms by which the Goajiro designate their relatives were recorded. Most terms are applied to more than one relative so that the system is classificatory in type. Among the Goajiro, kinship terms are almost exclusively used in reference, while in addressing a person teknonyms are employed, e.g.; nīshi pīichí – father of pīichí (nī – prefix, 3rd pers. singl. masc.; (a)shi – father; pīichí – baciro). The term corresponds to a male person who is the father of a boy child. This practice of teknonymy presupposes the presence of personal names. Either sex can be given a name in remembrance of an event which occurred on their birthday, e.g., "the one of the full moon," "the one of the blossoms of that tree," "the one of the war between . . .," etc. More frequently, however, personal names differ from each other by sex. Boys are called after strong and wild animals, such as baciro (pīichí), tiger (karáira), pig (pīrīkī), wild cat (músī), while girls' names are ornamental and flattering, e.g., "brilliant one" (hazótsī), brownish one (muráachong), etc. 601 551

The teknonym employed to address a person is derived from the name of the eldest son, and in default of sons, from that of the eldest daughter. Personal names are used in addressing unmarried persons. It is a disgrace, however, for an adult not to have children. Grandparents may be called by a teknonym referring either to a son or to a grandchild. [842]

Kinship terms are never employed in the forms as listed above, but only with possessive prefixes, e.g., tashí – my father; pīshii – your father; nīshí – his father; sīshí – her father; washí – our father; hashí – your (pl.) father; nashí – their father. In the table, kinship terms are represented by their root forms. As a friendly gesture, people may address each other by general terms such as "brother," "sister," etc., or they may call any small child "son" or "grandchild." 601 [572] [576]

Of particular interest is the distinction the Goajiro make between "blood-relatives" and "flesh-relatives." Blood-relatives are all patrilineally related persons, whereas "flesh-relatives" are related to Ego through the mother's line. Kinship ties between flesh-relatives are considered to be stronger than those existing between blood-relatives. In practical life this would mean that Ego would have to help his maternal uncle in a fight against his own father. Among all kinsmen the maternal uncle possesses the greatest authority and his word counts most in all domestic affairs. Frequently, therefore, we find the extended family clustered around the homestead of the maternal uncle, which makes the Goajiro a matrilineal avunculocal society. Otherwise residence is matrilocal. Any one of the three arúur-relatives (maternal uncle), as listed in the table above, may replace the true maternal uncle in case of his death. But only his sister's children can be heirs of his possessions (including his wife or wives). 601 602 611 [604] [591] [768] [428]

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
SC13 Goajiro SC13

604 his other nephews is largely controlled by the degree of regard or affection that he has toward them individually.

As regards relations between the senior maternal uncle and his nieces, first, the uncle is the recipient of benefits derived from his nieces, largely in the form of the bride price, and he takes care to make a show of regard and concern for all of his nieces. Naturally, this does not imply that real affection or regard is non-existent. Second, the attitudes of the nieces toward their senior maternal uncle, although not so rigidly formal, are, nevertheless, respectful and considerate. Toward their other uncles, degree of regard or lack of it seems to be the only factor that controls the behavior.

We appear to be on safe ground in concluding that in the relations between a senior maternal uncle and his senior nephew, public opinion is the dominant factor making for conformity with the behavior code. To this we may add regard, affection or other factors according to individual differences. The behavior between other uncles and nephews is largely controlled by personal regard or the lack of it.

In the relations between the senior maternal uncle and his nieces again we find that public opinion is the controlling element, with regard as an additional factor in individual cases. All other relations between other uncles and nephews are controlled seemingly by regard, affection and similar personal motivations.

Guajiro Terms of Relationship

601 We are appending here, not all Guajiro relationship terms, but only those that are directly or indirectly involved in the avunculate complex.

father ..... *tacl*
mother ..... *tei*
senior son ..... *tacōn-ūānŕei-tōro*
senior daughter ..... *tacōn-ūānŕei-iŕba*
other sons ..... *tacōn-tōro*
other daughters ..... *tacōn-iŕba*
senior maternal uncle ..... *tōraula-ūānŕei-tei*
senior maternal aunt ..... *tōi-ūānŕei-tei*

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
SC13 Goajiro SC13

601

other maternal uncles ..... *tāraula-tei*
other maternal aunts ..... *tāi-tei*
paternal uncles ..... *tāra-taei*
paternal aunts ..... *tāi-taei*
senior maternal nephew ..... *tāsipū-uānčei-tauāra-ičba*
senior maternal niece ..... *tacōn-tauāra-ičba*
other maternal nephews ..... *tāsipū-tauāra-ičba*
other maternal nieces ..... *tacōn-tauāra-ičba*
paternal nephews ..... *tāsipū-tōro*
paternal nieces ..... *tacōn-ičba*

/539 cont./

614 "Each caste holds sovereignty over a well-defined territory"
423 /cited in English/, he correctly presents each clan area as common property. Earlier observers must have already been aware of such circumstances, for they /540/ have represented them with desirable clarity. Such a definite clan-localization is based on the mythology.

614 In Guajira only well-known animals, toward which no reverent veneration is shown, are known as totems; also, avoidance rules do not exist. Clan membership is determined
611 by the mother. Many matriarchal laws and customs are observed strictly and conscientiously by the Indians; they have been described in detail by Sinons, Ernst, Petrullo, Santa Cruz, Armstrong-Métraux, Gutiérrez, Crist (1959), and others.

● 601 It should be added here that particular kinship-terms
614 were first gathered and published recently by J. Wilbert (p. 59). There are twenty-six basic terms and "most terms are applied to more than one relative so that the system is classificatory in type" /cited in English/.

614 Finally, the question as to whether the Guajiro feel themselves connected by kinship to their totem-animal is still to be answered. As the first, Jahn (p. 145) expressed himself on this: "Each faction regards some animal as its 'totem' or coat-of-arms. It has not been possible to find out whether they believe that they are descended from it; rather it appears to be a symbolic or heraldic emblem" /translated from the Spanish/. V. Gutiérrez (p. 173) expresses herself more decisively and informatively: "Actually there is no belief that they [the Guajiro] descended from it [a totem], nor is there any special prohibition against harming or killing it. The idea that in the representative animal is found the genesis does not seem to have existed even in the remote past. The origins that are come across in the legends do not include this idea. At present they laugh when one asks about the animal of his 'casta'; many confide... that they belong to the jaguar, to the bee, to the rattlesnake... They claim to be as brave as that animal..." /translated from the Spanish/.

/33 cont./

861 what was used for his punishment, such as the nettles or the bag. Terrified by these, he will obey the commands of his elders.

On giving an order or forbidding a child to do something, they may threaten him various times beforehand in order to ensure obedience. /34/

When the boy or girl is approaching puberty or has passed it, the verbal reprimand or scolding is the more common. This [762] nagging disapproval may be repeated to a point where the boy or girl in desperation will leave home or even commit suicide. Another way to enforce obedience from a young child or to get him to sleep is to frighten him, when he is very small, telling him that the cocón (1) will take him or that some old drunk will

1. Degeneration of the word coco, used in Colombia to frighten children in expressions such as: "The coco will take you" and "There comes the coco," etc.

carry him off. The small child is frightened and obeys, but when he is older he loses his fears and the threats are no longer of any use.

The mother, the aunts, and the grandmothers take the [602] principal part in applying punishments; also the maternal uncles. [689] The father's part is limited in this respect as his children are not considered to belong to his clan (cf. kinship) so that should he go too far and draw blood from the boy or should the boy kill himself or become ill through his fault, the mother would claim compensation payment from her husband. Nevertheless, this is reciprocal, for if the son commits suicide because of the punishment inflicted by the mother, it is the father who then presents the corresponding claim for compensation payment.

• • •

/163 cont./

592 lead him to pay for abuse or to marriage. In these days
836 prostitution of the Guajiro woman frees the man from these legal dangers and gives him, as it does to bachelors in our society, free access to women before marriage without the attendant unfavorable consequences of previous times.

592 The Guajiro man marries for the first time at an age that
582 varies between seventeen and the maximum of twenty-five, an age which coincides with his economic independence from the family nucleus. With his own livestock and with the gifts he receives from his relatives, he buys a woman but remains in debt to his family until he can repay them by the sale of the first of his daughters in marriage. Once his wife has been handed over, he begins his marital life, (some times, when the marriage has been by abduction, he starts beforehand), traditionally in the maternal home from which place, as the [591] family increases, the new cell will move to the father's hamlet /ranchería/ where the young couple will build their own home, or they will make it in the wife's hamlet.

592 The first child of this union is born, as a general rule, at the wife's home, that is, in that of her maternal relatives,
611 and the mother is attended by her mother or her aunts, or by
602 her grandmother in the maternal line, or when these are not available, by her married sisters. Nowadays the services of a midwife are employed. This child belongs to the maternal house as it is of their blood, since the mother is the one who transmits this quality, and even if the birth of the child is not preceded by a union legal in the concept of the Guajiro, the consanguineous tie does not differ in its transmission. It is always the mother who transmits this characteristic, and being hers and in no /164/ way counting on the father, the child not only takes the maternal surname but is also included within the kinship circle to which his mother belongs. Thus we have:

1. His legitimate feminine ascendants are his mother, maternal grandmother, and maternal great-grandmother, etc.

2. Also, the maternal aunts in different degrees are his relatives.

/164 cont./

592 3. In the collateral line the mother's sisters and their descendants.

602 611 4. His closest male relatives, his mother's brothers and those of his grandmother and great-grandmother, etc., in the maternal line.

5. The sons of the sisters of his mother, his grandmother, his great-grandmother, etc.

In this way, the kinship ties of the newborn child extend back indefinitely along the female line and extend forward in the same manner.

With respect to the kinship with individuals of the male sex, this is limited to the collateral branches and to the sons of female relatives. That is, the newborn child does not count male ascendants or the children of his male relatives as his own relatives. Furthermore, if the new baby is a boy he will not in the future count his own direct descendants as relatives.

592 593 It would be extremely difficult to make a separate study of the exercise of authority in the small family or in the extended family, because these two bodies so intimately interpenetrated due to their members living together that any analysis of them separately would be inaccurate; also, because of the effects of acculturation, the exercise of authority based on the consanguineous unit stemming from the traditional legal union reflects forms different from those developed according to legendary cultural patterns.

593 These two extremes -- traditional culture and culture influenced by whites -- cover an infinite range of varieties difficult to classify and must be studied as special cases (Cf. Marriage).

593 718 596 It is essential to recognize that in the civilizado-type home the influence of the maternal family tends to be nullified, a very slow process with regard to the totality of all the members, but a very rapid and effective one with regard to the maternal uncle, for in this case there occurs the phenomenon of transfer: All his influence passes to the father, who from that moment acquires and exercises all the authority delegated by Guajiro

/174 cont./

614 422 personal property are marked with letters, especially such items as clay and gourd vessels and parts of the harness of riding animals and their hammocks /chinchorros and hamacas/.

614 551 3. Naming. According to mythology, every clan had its personal name given to it by Mareiwa directly or was inspired by him. It covers all the individuals belonging to the same clan and is the indication of blood relationship. Clan disintegration at the present time has made it necessary to add to this generic name the name of the locality and the name of the most outstanding family head (cacique).

At the present time a Guajiro individual feels that in spite of being linked to another by an identical name he is not a relative /of that person/, and he makes a distinction within the same clan of diverse groups with more or less prestige. However, at a time when attacked by another group, they may make /175/ common cause if their co-operation is needed. [147] Furthermore, the introduction of the Catholic marriage has given equal value to naming by using the paternal surname followed by the maternal surname, although in a stage of transition the second of these has greater value.

• • •

614 602 4. Consanguinity. Consanguinity plays an important role in the Guajiro concept of kinship, which embraces all individuals joined in a chain through common female ascendants, that is, uterine kinship. In this way they set aside the paternal branch, which may be found in opposition and enmity, because in the Guajiro mentality the father-son biological bond, although it exists, does not count in determining kinship. The common tie that embraces all the individuals of a clan is the mother's blood in the biological act and in the process of gestation. From this premise the Guajiro derives the importance of the spilling of blood through themselves or outsiders, because it represents the destruction of the kinship tie and of the vital element. This valuation is the outstanding concept in the regimen for social stability in the culture.

/175 cont./

614 602 Furthermore, consanguinity regulates some fundamental aspects of clan organization, such as inheritance -- of wealth and of name; group identification; the place to locate the home, the cemetery, and marriage.

Within the group of consanguineous relatives, the influence of the maternal uncle is the one most felt, since the father lacks such authority. The uncle holds in his hands the rights and obligations which in other cultures, like our own, are assigned to the father. Another concept included in consanguinity is that of considering as sons and daughters all the members of the generation immediately following one's generation, and as siblings all the members of one's own generation within the clan group. The nexus of consanguinity within the clan is kept alive in its obligations and rights by the economic and social backing given to all its members. Between the dead and the living, for example, the tie is preserved through the special ceremonial made in tribute to the former (Cf. Cult of the dead, Chap. II) to keep alive the emotional bond between past and present generations.

Relations with other clan groups are controlled through compliance with the regimen for stability and by punitive measures that control aggression. Should aggressive acts occur, the aggressor and the injured party can strengthen their /respective/ positions by /176/ alliances with other groups, thus forming a bloc with sufficient power or coercive strength to bring about a favorable legal settlement.

178 602 614 At the present time all these bonds are becoming weakened by the change in the direction of kinship. The old total group concept has changed, in consequence of various influences, into another which is almost totally opposite. In the first place, the clans show subdivisions which affect their original unity and which have come about by members of the same clan settling in different parts of the peninsula, who, after a long period of growth and assisted by the springing up of their own caciques and for want of contact with the original cell, have become variable independent groups with a sense of unity, although they all preserve the same totem and a common name and clan marks.

/176 cont./

178 In the second place, we observed a limitation in the exer-
602 cise of the clan's function. The concept of consanguineous kin-
614 ship between all its members has relaxed to the point that con-
sanguineous ties are considered to exist only among the closest relatives. An individual's kinsmen have become limited to his mother and her female ascendant, and to his mother's brothers and sisters together with their offspring. Some extend kinship to include relatives of the fourth degree of collaterality, and then to the brothers, sisters, and their descendants. By limiting the concept of kinship, all obligations attached to those no longer considered consanguineous are lost. Consequently, clan unity begins to disintegrate.

178 Another change in the concept of kinship has been intro-
797 duced by Catholic marriage. It implies the abolition of the
602 uterine affiliation, the basis of clan organization. It introduces
614 the paternal branch into the kinship system and places it on a superior plane since the father's name and not the mother's, as it was traditionally, comes first in the offspring. /According to the Spanish custom of compound surnames, one's father's surname comes first. --Ed./ Furthermore, it destroys the authority and predominance of the maternal uncle because that of the father replaces and surpasses it.

178 5. Exogamy. The Guajiro clan was essentially exogamous.
614 Acculturation has made marriage possible and legal between
582 members of the same clan. In other words, clan exogamy has disappeared, and only family exogamy is followed.

6. Location. With respect to clan settlement the myths
614 already quoted resolve the problem by assigning fixed regions to
423 each of the groups which Mareiwa created. These lands are
178 held in common by each clan, which also works them communally. The /177/ improvements introduced, such as roads, wells, and cemeteries, are made with the assistance of all the clan members who will make use of them. At the present time individual solution of the water problem has permitted the splitting up of the communal pasturage land. Furthermore, there is a strong trend toward the breaking up of agricultural land.

[95 cont.]

832 Once she has finished her bath, she must hang up her dress over her hammock to dry, also inside the house. It is also necessary for her to apply achiote powder to certain parts of her body, such as under her arms, on her breasts, on her genital organs, etc., with the object of aiding the magic action of the charm on those parts, and avoiding the loss or lessening of the magic power. This special regimen must be carried through for four consecutive days, at the end of which the effect has already been obtained — or at least there is no longer the fear that it may pass to some other person.

In general, every man or woman who possesses a charm keeps his body (armpits, breasts, genital organs, etc.) permanently dusted with achiote powder.

The men also make use of the same charms as the women. The magic power of these charms enables them to obtain the wholehearted love of women without their own affections becoming involved.

881 832 When a young woman reaches the age of puberty, and her first menstrual period arrives, a love charm is hung about her neck during all the time that she is kept indoors and hanging up in her hammock (ritual of initiation of young girls). This charm will give her the quality of being admired and loved by men. The plan in wearing this token is that when she leaves her seclusion she will find the man who will buy her for a wife at a good price. The charm is hung about the adolescent girl's neck by her mother or by a maternal aunt.

[602]

832 When a girl's mother or aunt finds out that she has not been happy in her love life, they obtain charms which will make her more lovable and desirable.

[826] 832 673 Women should be very careful of their hair when it has been cut after the appearance of their first menstruation because if a man gets hold of it he practically becomes the owner of the woman, for by mixing it with hummingbird blood, dog's tail, and achiote he can make a charm which will act directly against the owner of the hair. The man, with the firm intention of causing her harm, may show her the charm or better still may produce it when she has her back to him. [96] The woman because of this simple charm becomes madly enamored with the man

3: Wilbert E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 SC13 Goajiro SC13

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Of particular interest is the distinction the Goajiro make between "blood-relatives" and "flesh-relatives." Blood-relatives are all patrilineally related persons, whereas "flesh-relatives" are related to Ego through the mother's line. Kinship ties between flesh-relatives are considered to be stronger than those existing between blood-relatives. In practical life this would mean that Ego would have to help his maternal uncle in a fight against his own father. Among all kinsmen the maternal uncle possesses the greatest authority and his word counts most in all domestic affairs. Frequently, therefore, we find the extended family clustered around the homestead of the maternal uncle, which makes the Goajiro a matrilineal avunculocal society. Otherwise residence is matrilocal. Any one of the three sister-relatives (maternal uncle), as listed in the table above, may replace the true maternal uncle in case of his death. But only his sister's children can be heirs of his possessions (including his wife or wives).

3: Wilbert E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 SC13 Goajiro SC1

582 As for the sentimental forms of cousin marriage, Ego (m. and f.) may marry any cousins on either side except for mother's sister's children. Ego (m. and f.) may also marry any kinsman of the third degree with the exception of a mother's sister's daughter's child. All relatives of the fourth degree are potential spouses. [578] Polygyny is practiced and is definitely a mark of status and rank. Sororate is mentioned although is very rarely occurs. The data indicate, then, a very typical system [577] [587] of Crow type.

602 No avoidances taboos were said to exist in Goajiro society, but great attention [578] is paid to respectful behavior between kinsmen. In the family parents are respected equally highly by the children, whereas among siblings the brother enjoys greater authority than his sisters, and an elder than a younger brother. In the presence of the maternal uncle nobody is supposed to speak up unquestioned; this rule applies especially to the younger people. Grandparents maintain close and friendly relations with their grandchildren. They make gifts to the latter: horses, bows and [431] arrows, drums, rifles, etc., and the grandchildren assist the old after having grown up. The father-in-law is respected greatly by his daughter-in-law. When visiting she serves him before she serves her mother-in-law. She does not, however, attend her own mother. Cousins are completely free to meet without being obliged to observe any avoidance regulations.

605 Artificial kin relations were said to be missing altogether among the Goajiro. 606 Non-relatives are treated with great friendliness and may even be accepted as 607 step-parents of an orphan of the group. Orphans usually join a family on the father's side.

Caracas, Venezuela

671 tween law and custom in Guajiro society by a variety of illustrations. One of them said in effect:

574 If a cacique visits me and I fail to kill a sheep in honor of his visit
626 and to feast him in accordance with the dignity of his rank and my
671 wealth, I have broken a custom of my people. However, though I offend him by such negligence my guest may take no action to redress the wrong other than to inflict the same discourtesy on me if the opportunity should arise. He may seek neither redress in violence nor composition in payment. My only punishment may be the acquisition of a bad name among my people.

586 But if I visit one of my wives at her rancho and she fails to kill a
671 sheep from her own flocks to feast me, refuses me her person, neglects
684 to supply me with hammocks, saddle-bags, and other articles made by women, or refuses me shelter, she will have broken a 'law'; that is, she will have broken the marriage contract. In this case I may demand from her and her family payment or a divorce. In the latter case her family would have to return to me the bride-price plus any increase in the herds but less an amount considered fair for my having exercised sexual privileges over her, though I may demand even this if she marries again. In case her family refuses to adjust
[626] the matter in accordance with our law I may appeal to my family for help in obtaining my just rights. I should be justified in having recourse to violence. However, the law is so well understood that it would not be necessary to resort to such drastic measures generally.[8]

671 These informants were acquainted to some extent with
[115] Colombian and Venezuelan laws and were attempting, no
[177] doubt, to classify their own customs in accordance with European practices. Nevertheless it is an indication that in their minds there does exist a class of offenses for which one may seek composition even through violence, and a class that is in the category of merely moral obligations though investigators may not always draw an equally fine distinction. Simons, for example, in discussing Guajiro law speaks of injury
[114] to oneself as giving rise to a legal obligation for composition. My informants, on the contrary, distinguished it from that
574 class of wrongful acts. If a man cuts himself, his father and
626 father's relatives receive an expiatory offering. Had one of
672 my informants, the son of a rich cacique, cut himself he would
602 have given a small barrel of rum and five or more sheep to his

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
SC13 Goajiro SC13

father's relatives who would eat the meat and drink the rum 574
immediately, a feast to which the mother's relatives might be 626
invited as a gesture of courtesy. The offering of rum and 602
meat is voluntary, and even a friend may ask for something as 672
an indication of deep personal interest in the welfare of the injured person. If the injured man makes no offering, no action is taken by anyone to make him do so, but he will acquire a 'bad name.' A Guajiro has a moral obligation to avoid shedding his own blood, but not a legal obligation. Since the father takes care of his son during his lifetime, this obligation is directed towards him and his relatives, but is extended to include any good friend.

Another example of the same distinction is the case where a 431
son asks his father for a particular horse or object possessed by 593
the latter, as a gift. The father is morally bound to grant the request, but there is no legal compulsion to do so. I gave a cacique a fine hunting knife which pleased him greatly. To my surprise his son was proudly wearing it the following day. On inquiring about it the cacique told me that his eldest son had asked for it. Had he refused to give it he would have [626]
been considered a bad father. The son inherits nothing from [428]
his father on the death of the latter, but while he is alive the son may beg anything within certain limits set by precedent. This moral obligation to give up a prized possession when [572]
asked for by one's sons is extended to include close friends.

Allowing the Guajiro to make their own distinctions, let us 671
turn to a consideration of their 'laws.' The commission of certain acts, which in our society would give rise to criminal prosecution, in Guajiro society are considered matters to be settled by the parties concerned. Criminal law is practically non-existent. There is no body politic, properly speaking, that metes out punishment whether or not the injured party seeks redress, and social pressure can hardly be of any importance in a society that protects the individual through the instrument of family and casta membership. In only one case 628
does there seem to be an approach to concerted social action. 681
If an individual has caused his family much trouble and is in- 672
corrigible, if his family has been called upon to pay for his mis-

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

also encourages it to crawl and walk. Indian babies can sit without help, when a white baby is still unable to raise itself. At six months the brown Indian baby is already a toddler.

The conversation turned on to the upbringing of children. Even in its earliest games the Indian babe imitates its parents' occupations, thus amusing itself and learning at the same time. The Indians are very careful to see that from the beginning the children learn to distinguish between the men's and women's spheres of work. An Indian father would be very indignant if he saw his baby son playing at cooking, which is not male work. Therefore the son accompanies his father to the herds even as quite an infant, while his sister will stay at home.

We had already noticed that children were sometimes chastized, which is not usual among other primitive Indians. The old women saw that they behaved themselves and were not disobedient. Food was rationed both for the children and the grown-ups, and it was considered very shabby to pinch another's helping. To drop anything edible on to the ground was strictly punished, and the worst offence of all was for a child in anger to throw food on to the ground and trample it. Possibly this was yet another relic of Moorish custom, for in Morocco it is considered a serious crime to spill crumbs of bread. When the children became bigger they were merely scolded, but they were then generally no longer under their parents' supervision, but with relations with whom they spend long periods. The first-born son usually grows up with his eldest maternal uncle, who is the boy's real guardian, and he teaches him cattle-rearing and agriculture and the queer laws of his people.

Girls also go to their mother's relations and help in the household. We had already seen how a Guajiro boy had to work. He had to be at it from the moment he stepped out of his hammock at three in the morning. First he and some others gathered the cattle to water them. If they were watered at a deep casimba, he had to run up and down with water-jars to fill the troughs of hollowed-out trunks. He

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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been confirmed by sooth-sayer and piache. The person selected must learn the profession and practise it. Otherwise, certain death awaits him, for the spirit will not suffer his decisions to be neglected. 756 787 276

Often parents cannot afford to send for a piache, for those who convey the request have to give him a necklace of gold beads. This may mean that the novice's family has to ask well-to-do relatives to pay the fee. When he arrives, the piache examines the candidate and stuffs some manilla into his or her mouth. When he sees that it is beginning to take effect, he intones a monotonous song. As soon as he stops, the novice must proclaim his desire to become a piache and have it granted. He is selected by the spirit, but he does not yet know anything. The apprenticeship then begins. [603]

The piache shuts himself into a suitable hut together with the novice, and there they must stay, hidden from the world, for a month or more. The apprentice is not supposed to be seen by anyone during this time. No one may go in and interrupt the seance. The piache sits on his stool of light wood shaped like an animal. He wears a head-dress made of wool and places a similar one on the novice's head. He then begins singing songs, swinging rattles and making all the gestures, movements and conjurations that he uses to call upon and move the spirits. His instruction continues day after day, sometimes by night as well. He has to keep to a certain diet. Roast maize in particular is usually prescribed. Now and again spirits appear and talk with the novice, encouraging him, not least by expounding how great are the advantages of being a piache, and how rich the presents he receives. 756 [352] [262]

One day the spirit announces that the first period of instruction is over and the novice ready for examination. This is an intermediary examination, for the instruction is not complete. So far it has only included spells and magical songs, and the novice has no knowledge of herbs and poisons. (Knowledge of medicinal herbs is common to all by family tradition.) The songs, gestures and spells have been repeated till the novice knows them all perfectly. [824]

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

water but is given an herbal purgative. Her hair is cut short. Generally 531
several of her relatives stay around the door of the hut, and strangers and men with an eye to matrimony may look in. During this period the girl is taught the duties of married life and such skills as weaving, sewing, and making hammocks. When she emerges, stout and bleached, a special festival is held, when she resumes her ornaments and puts on the adult clothes that she has made during her confinement. She is now considered marriageable. The length of her confinement depends on her status, though theoretically it lasts until her hair again reaches the [554
nape of her neck. Poor girls are secluded only a few weeks, rich girls 556]
up to 2 years.

Sexual life and marriage.—Little is known about the sexual life of 536
the *Goajiro*. A certain amount of promiscuous love making occurs among the young people at the biweekly festivals. Dances also provide an opportunity for sexual advances.

There are some male transvestites who carry on only female activities 538
and are ridiculed by the men.

When a man desires to marry he sends his father or uncle as inter- 534
mediary, then pays a bride price which has been set by the girl's relatives. 533
The payment is usually in cattle, but goats, pearls, liquor, cotton cloth, 602
and gold ornaments also are used. The father retains the purchase price only when his first daughter marries; the income of subsequent marriages goes to the girl's senior maternal uncles. The mother also receives part of the income. A son obtains the cattle for the bride payment from the increase of his father's herds.

Intermarriage between the sibs is frequent, and many of the *Goajiro* 532
give their daughters to "civilizados" from Maracaibo and Rio Hacha, who pay higher prices and find such a tie with the Indians useful in their trading relations.

The marriage ceremony consists of a series of feasts and exchanges of 535
presents between the two families. The wedding night is spent at the [521
ranchería of the bride's mother, but the nuptial hammock (specially woven by the female relatives of the bride) is hung from a tree some distance away from the house. For a period of days and even months the bridegroom leaves his bride at dawn and returns only after sunset. In [604
this way the groom shows respect to his mother-in-law.

Polygyny is general. The number of wives depends on the economic 535
status of the husband, some men having as many as 20. Each wife lives in her own house, where her husband occasionally visits her. The man, as head of the polygynous household, supervises the daily slaughter of [542
animals and the distribution of meat and corn to each household according to the number of its members.

If a wife shirks her domestic duties she may be divorced and her hus- 536
band may claim the return of the bride price cattle, plus their increase and

/9 cont./

Birth and death of the first-born. The father must pay the expenses of pregnancy and delivery, as well as those occasioned by the celebration of the birth of his first child, and he is expected to offer a special feast at his own expense at the place where the birth occurred. The news of the birth of the child spreads rapidly and draws relatives and friends from all parts. At midday the dance, which lasts all night, begins, in which the single women and all the men take part. The rhythm is supplied by a double-headed drum made of deer or goat hide. The dancing takes place within a large circle, around the edges of which the couples participating and the curious onlookers gather. The women attend in their finest dresses without forgetting their ornaments (necklaces, bracelets, and anklets) and wear wound round the head a handkerchief, which falls over the shoulder, and have their faces very carefully painted. The men wear bead belts wonderfully embroidered and feather headpieces.

The father must supply his guests with Guajiro rum or with smuggled foreign liquor. Also chicha (made from chewed corn) is prepared and is served liberally. Apart from the dancing there may be horse racing, if the people are rich, and for this they bring their finest animals. At dawn the next day cattle, if the father is rich, and goats are slaughtered, which are prepared and divided among the participants according to their importance in the family, the group, and the total collectivity in general. All the participants return to their homes by sunrise.

In addition to the father, the maternal and paternal relatives join in the celebration of the birth, bringing gifts for the newly born. The father also makes him a present of heads of livestock, which constitute almost the only inheritance he will get during his lifetime, as it is the nephews of the father, (sons of his sister) who inherit the capital and not the sons, according to law, when the marriage has been carried out according to the Guajiro rite.

The paternal grandfather also shows his recognition and generosity toward his grandson. If he owns livestock, he is obliged to give a pair of each -- horses, burros, cows, goats,

/8 cont./

851 432 [603] sheep, fowl. The maternal grandfather has a similar obligation, and he is expected to give as much as the other. It is customary for the most notable /connotado/ maternal uncle to show his affection and recognition of his nephew -- his veritable son -- by making him a special gift of heads of livestock. /9/

In addition, the female neighbors and friends of the mother come to visit her, and they do not fail to bring some present for the new infant, such as balls of thread to make his hammock, his swaddling clothes, etc.

With the livestock received at his birth the child starts his capital. His animals are cared for by his father, together with those belonging to the mother, or by the most outstanding maternal uncle who has shown most affection for his nephew activities until the boy becomes capable of looking after his own interests.

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766 The death of the first-born child is an event of outstanding importance because of the consequences it may bring about. This is one of the reasons why the father is greatly concerned about the first pregnancy of his wife and why he endeavors to take her to the home of her relatives in order that her child may be born there, placing on them the responsibility he seeks to avoid. This is cause enough for later births not to be attended by the maternal relatives, and in the long run the woman may have to give birth alone through force of circumstances.

The wife and her relatives acknowledge responsibility for the first-born's death and not only for his death as such but also as it may bear upon the birth of future children. When the first-born dies he is placed in a clay pitcher head downward, covered with the base of a new clay jar, and buried in the woods, not in the clan cemetery but certainly in land belonging to his family, at the foot of a pole called huruwí, so that the other children to be born will not also die. All ceremonies usual at

/39 cont./

769 his spirit -- a proper life in the future. With his family, by
571 mutual aid and solidarity in sorrow and in their joint economic
effort, and in the case of a violent death, by making common
867 cause in order to obtain effective justice and the negotiation
for the compensation payment, in order that the blood spilled
may be properly atoned for.

He also learns the extent of the injury to a dead relative, linked to the mention of his name, which may revive all the sorrows, feelings, and painful part of the group.

Regarding society, the child learns how he, personally, must behave and also what the behavior of his group must be, the rules that he should comply with so that his prestige be not diminished since such would involve the lowering of the prestige of his group and have its repercussions when they try to obtain justice after any friction. This is what causes the bonds of consanguinity to tighten more and more and manifest themselves in the generous gifts each individual member subscribes to help another at a time when the clan, as a group, is being appraised by outsiders; and it is this that the child must learn, really learn: proper cult practices for his ancestors at the moment of their death and later, corresponding to their social status and that of the consanguineous relatives.

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604 The training of a child of the middle years is not connected
to the localization of the family, because at this period he breaks
away from the small family circle in order to live with his
other relatives for long periods of time.

When the marriage is solemnized under the Guajiro rite and when that tradition is still followed, the young boy is initiated and instructed almost entirely by the maternal uncle of most importance or of highest standing in the family circle. So, once the little boy can get around alone from place to place, this uncle, who generally will have in his possession all the

/39 cont./

604 presents of livestock the boy received at his birth or later or the legacies from his father, takes him under his care. He, the uncle, is not only responsible for looking after his social conduct and for instructing him in normal behavior while he is under his care but also for teaching him the work of pastoring. He takes 608 604 the boy with him /40/ when he is so occupied, and he passes on his knowledge in order that the boy may become a well-trained owner of livestock or, if he is poor, that he may learn how to look after them, because it is not infrequent that a Guajiro has in his charge the livestock of some rich man, and with these he teaches his nephew.

As the preference of a Guajiro for one special type of livestock shows up early in his life, the uncle should guide him along those lines, giving him every kind of advice in the best way to care for them, with practice to prove his theories.

607 604 During this time the uncle not only passes on his knowledge of stock raising to the boy but, when talking to him of the past of his group or family, when he recounts some incident, when correcting him or telling him a story, he passes on the strict traditions of the community. For it is the uncle at this period who is responsible for his nephew, and as he considers him his actual son, he tries to make of him someone similar to himself.

608 604 Another of the uncle's responsibilities is to show the younger how to carry out agricultural duties at the right seasons. If he owns agricultural land he will usually give him a plot so that the boy can till it when he acquires the strength to do so; or else he continues to teach him on his own piece of land until he is trained in these activities. This handing over of a plot of land, as well as of his livestock when the boy is considered capable of handling his personal property successfully, is the basis of his family and economic independence and the road toward the purchase of his first wife, by which the boy becomes a man and is ready to live his life as an adult. This plot of 628 land, for which he inherits rights of cultivation, gives him a certain prestige because arable land of fertile quality is scarce,

/40 cont./
and if he inherits a piece he will acquire the status of the uncle who has made him the owner.

The boy also learns from the uncle skill in certain tasks in which the latter is practiced, such as the making of harness and weapons, housebuilding, and other accomplishments like horse riding, lassoing, horse racing, etc.

Another very important function also learnt from the uncle, although it might be self-taught, is that of arbitrator or cacique. From the uncle the boy takes in the legal tradition of the peninsula, and, listening to stories of acts which have occurred in the past, he learns the line of reasoning observed, the psychology, and the problems of his kin, the mastery of the language, all essential requirements for success when the responsibility passes into his hands.

While living with the uncle the boy also becomes adept at hunting, as he accompanies him on his expeditions, during which he learns all the necessary details until he becomes expert in all /41/ respects, including laying traps to catch the animals that damage the crops. And secondarily, in addition to hunting and livestock or pastoral activity, the boy learns the art of stalking, which in hunting is important in order to get better results and is useful in stock raising also, for various reasons, such as finding a lost animal or following up thieves who attack his herd, etc.

Also, in war he is on his relative's side, because, according to traditional Goajiro law, war unites the consanguineous relatives on the maternal side. So he learns, when warlike deeds are spoken of, how to carry them out, and it is not unusual for him personally to experience the conclusions. He puts these ideas into practice when his kin go to war, headed by the maternal uncle of highest standing or the consanguineous head of most prestige. He goes with them to swell their ranks, so putting into practice what his theoretical education has taught him. Indirectly he has been training for the fray when employed in making weapons for hunting and perfecting himself

/41 cont./

868 721 604 in the way they are used. When taking part in these warlike operations he makes use of all his social and legal training, and puts into practice the tradition of his group, besides which the basic principle of consanguineous relationship, mutual aid, and backing to resist aggression from outside elements is brought home to him.

503 604 178 It is almost entirely from his maternal uncle that he learns the cultural patterns of his masculine world, as the uncle becomes for him a mold and patterns, whose example he should follow as the leading male figure on the family level. But with the process of acculturation the influence of the father has now come to the fore. Nowadays, when the father expresses a wish that his first-born should be a son, to be a companion to him in his life as a shepherd, he thereby indicates that it is he who is going to educate his sons, or at least the first-born, supplanting to a certain extent the old family figure represented by the maternal uncle. In this case the boy shares with his father the care of his own livestock as well as his father's herd, and even his mother's dowry when her elder relatives consider it advisable. And there, as in the previous case, the boy learns both the economic and cultural side of group life and becomes attached to his father both in affection and materially, a tie that did not exist before but may lead him later to take a hand in his interest, thus bringing about something previously unheard of in Guajiro tradition, that the son goes to fight in the ranks of his father's group, without any consequent claim for compensation payment or other social demand being made.

Also, as when he is with his maternal uncle, he can join in and learn at his father's side agricultural lore, hunting, fishing, and how to go on excursions into the surrounding country; /42/ he also learns the technique of masculine occupations, but what it appears he cannot yet participate in is the political life of his father as cacique, or arbitrator, as this still remains an inheritance possible only from his maternal uncle, nor in the activities relating to the shaman /piache/ as an institution.

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3: Wilbert E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 SC13 Goajiro SC13

Twenty six fundamental kinship terms by which the Goajiro designate their relatives were recorded. Most terms are applied to more than one relative so that the system is classificatory in type. Among the Goajiro, kinship terms are almost exclusively used in reference, while in addressing a person teknonyms are employed, e.g.: ataki pitchi – father of pitchi (at – prefix, 3rd pers. singl. masc.; (a)ché – father; pitchi – bacino). The term corresponds to a male person who is the father of a boy child. This practice of teknonymy presupposes the presence of personal names. Either sex can be given a name in remembrance of an event which occurred on their birthday, e.g., "the one of the full moon," "the one of the blossoms of that tree," "the one of the war between . . .," etc. More frequently, however, personal names differ from each other by sex. Boys are called after strong and wild animals, such as bacino (pitchi), tiger (kantire), pig (pitchi), wild cat (mulat), while girls' names are ornamental and flowery, e.g., "brilliant one" (kariat), beautiful one (mustachong), etc.

The teknonym employed to address a person is derived from the name of the eldest son, and in default of sons, from that of the eldest daughter. Personal names are used in addressing unmarried persons. It is a disgrace, however, for an adult not to have children. Grandparents may be called by a teknonym referring either to a son or to a grandchild.

Kinship terms are never employed in the forms as listed above, but only with possessive prefixes, e.g., tachi – my father; pitchi – your father; atchi – his father; atchi – her father; wachi – our father; hachi – your (pl.) father; achi – their father. In the table, kinship terms are represented by their root forms. As a friendly gesture, people may address each other by general terms such as "brother," "sister," etc., or they may call any small child "son" or "grandchild."

Of particular interest is the distinction the Goajiro make between "blood-relatives" and "flesh-relatives." Blood-relatives are all patrilineally related persons, whereas "flesh-relatives" are related to Ego through the mother's line. Kinship ties between flesh-relatives are considered to be stronger than those existing between blood-relatives. In practical life this would mean that Ego would have to help his maternal uncle in a fight against his own father. Among all kinsmen the maternal uncle possesses the greatest authority and his word counts most in all domestic affairs. Frequently, therefore, we find the extended family clustered around the homestead of the maternal uncle, which makes the Goajiro a matrilineal uxorilocal society. Otherwise residence is matrilocal. Any one of the three sister-relatives (maternal uncle), as listed in the table above, may replace the true maternal uncle in case of his death. But only his sister's children can be heirs of his possessions (including his wife or wives).

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Gonjiro SC13

611 604 628 [604] In the following laws it must be borne in mind that it is not the injured individual that demands compensation, but his relatives, usually on the mother's side as a rule. From this has arisen the common error that the father is ignored; as will be seen further on, this is not the case. In compensation it is the caste that reclaims, and the caste is always the mother's side. For example, a Pueblina man marries an Urisna girl; the children are Urisnas. If one of these now should kill an Epiayu, for example, the whole caste of Urisna is at war with all the Epiayus, unless the matter is amicably settled by paying blood-money.

672 683 Case No. 1. Personally inflicted wounds. If an Indian accidentally cuts himself, say with his own knife, breaks a limb, or otherwise does himself an injury, his family on the mother's side immediately demands blood-money. Being of their blood, he is not allowed to spill it without paying for it. The father's relatives demand tear-money, not so much. Friends present demand compensation to repay their sorrow at seeing a friend in pain. [572] If anybody present can seize the instrument that caused the accident it is appropriated. The pay is in ratio to the injury. A slightly cut finger is settled with a little Indian corn, a kid, or such trifle. A bad cut requires at least a goat or a sheep, with other sundries. In all cases of compensation where the Indian has not the wherewith to satisfy his creditors, he goes round begging until it is obtained.

628 672 683 Case No. 2. Damage done by animals. Suppose an Indian borrows a mule or other animal, and is thrown by it, doing himself bodily injury, then his relatives demand compensation from the lender, the argument being, had he not lent the animal the accident could not have happened. Should the beast belong to the thrown man himself, then he has to pay. Case of No. 1 in fact.

Case No. 3. General liability all round. This covers an enormous field. The most curious. Everybody selling rum or anything else is answerable for all the damage done by its instrumentality. Unfortunately this law is only, like many others, enforced when it is possible. As the traders know it very well, they never take rum into the interior for barter without being fully able to protect themselves. I was lent a servant as guide by a trader, who requested me not to let the man have any drink, for should anything happen to him he would be responsible to the family. Indians in employment receiving any damage the employer becomes liable; and so on. [966] Whenever the Indian can only make the ghost of a claim he wants tear-money, blood-money, or some other money, and if not satisfied, helps himself with what he can lay his hands on.

551 628 689 Case No. 4. Mentioning names. This is very curious. The Indians object to have their two names mentioned, and demand heavy compensation in aggravated cases. They generally go by a Spanish name—José Antonio, Agustin, Vicente, &c., for an Indian dearly loves to be baptised, that is, he likes the attending feast and having god-fathers on

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
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ASPECTS OF THE AVUNCULATE IN THE GUAJIRO CULTURE

Antonio Santa Cruz
Catholic University of America

THE Guajira peninsula is situated in the northwest corner of Colombia, South America, roughly between the 71° and 73° W. long., and 11° and 12° N. lat. It is rather flat in contour with only some hill ranges in the eastern part. Rainfall is scarce and the vegetation is of a semi-arid type. The region is inhabited by one tribe of Indians, the Arawak-speaking Guajiro. Both culturally and linguistically the Guajira peninsula presents a uniform block.

The present writer visited the territory in the summer of 1940, but due to illness contracted there was forced to cut short his visit. Fairly full data were gathered on all phases of social culture. The present paper deals with certain aspects of one phase only, the avunculate.

The role of the maternal uncle is manifold in Guajiro culture, organized as the Guajiro are into maternal sibs. Types of behavior, both prescribed and unprescribed, vary, depending on the seniority of both uncle and nephew, but not on that of sister. In this paper we shall be concerned for the most part with the prescribed and voluntary relations between the oldest brother of a given woman and her oldest son, and between this oldest brother and his sisters' daughters. Other relations not involving these specified kin will be touched upon only incidentally for illustrative purposes.

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
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Reciprocal Relations of Maternal Uncle and Nephew

609 The general attitude of the maternal uncle toward his nephew is one of giving; and that of the nephew, one of receiving.

929 Let us first deal with inheritance. Theoretically, the rule
609 is that the maternal uncle must leave all of his property, both
185 personal and in the form of cattle, to his oldest sister's oldest son.
931 All his other nephews,—either sons of the same sister or sons of other sisters,—are left out of the inheritance. This is the rule. However, in practice it seldom works, as the maternal uncle during his life continues to transfer his property in the form of gifts to his own male children, so that at the time of his death there is nothing, or very little, left of his property to be inherited by his nephew, unless the uncle is a very rich man. Only among the wealthy class has the uncle always something left to bequeath to his nephew. For this he does not need a will as it falls within the prevailing rule mentioned above. The following cases are illustrative.

928 Ilaro is the oldest son of a man named Rafael living at Urbina,
931 and, like his mother, belongs to the Arpushaina ala. Ilaro's
609 mother is the elder of the two sisters of Cullrja, who in turn is the oldest of five siblings,—two sisters and three brothers. Thus Ilaro, his mother, and his uncle Cullrja are all orphans. Cullrja is not looked upon as a rich man, although he is well
(928) fixed and belongs to the middle class. Ilaro, however, does not expect much, if any, inheritance from his uncle and is aware
(929) that the latter has been transferring most of his cattle,—the most valuable possession in Goajiro eyes,—in the form of gifts to his own sons. The writer visited Ilaro's uncle who lives
(932) nearby and saw the cattle already branded with his son's personal brand. Ilaro is not at all concerned about the property of his other uncles as their property will pass automatically to their own children.

This next case illustrates a different situation. Pachano is a very rich man who lives in Carraipia. He has a nephew,—the senior maternal nephew,—who lives there also. Pachano has a son of his own and the present writer observed that some of Pachano's cattle have already been branded for his son, but

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as his herds are large there are quite a number still unbranded. 408
Pacheco informed me that at the time of his death, those left 431
unbranded will automatically—following the inheritance rule 604
—go to his nephew.

The attitudes of these two nephews, Ilaro on one hand, and 604
Paco, Pacheco's nephew, on the other, are quite different. Ilaro has very little to do with his uncle. He seldom visits him, although they live quite near each other, and their relations are somewhat detached. However, there is no animosity between them and the writer noticed that they speak of each other, not badly, but with indifference. In the case of Pacheco and his nephew the relationship is very close. They pay each other [574]
visits with regularity, and Pacheco shows a paternalistic attitude toward his nephew and is always willing to help him in every way possible. On the other hand Paco never shows any hesitation in going to his uncle for whatever he needs regardless of whether his own father is able to help him or not.

Pacheco has other nephews, brothers of Paco and others, but he has practically no relations with them. They never go to him for any assistance and he does not expect them to do so. Regarding inheritance they, of course, receive nothing whatever from Pacheco at his death.

It appears that generally the attitude of a senior nephew toward his senior maternal uncle largely depends on what he expects from him in the way of inheritance. There are cases, however, where mutual understanding and regard and affection are strong ties regardless of what the nephew expects. Such is the following case. Camilo is the only son of a poor man living at Cardon. He has a senior maternal uncle living at Manaure who is also poor. Although living at quite a distance, Camilo often goes to pay a visit to his uncle, and is often visited by him. Camilo shows great respect toward his uncle and speaks of him as being a very good man, who would do anything for him if he could, but he is aware that his uncle can do very little for him. The writer visited the uncle at Manaure and verified the impression of him given by Camilo. He holds his nephew in high regard, is very much concerned in all that Camilo does and in how he is getting along in life.

604 Regarding the marriage of the senior nephew, the maternal
584 uncle plays no prescribed part, unless the prospective bride
comes from a very wealthy family and consequently the bride
price is quite high. In such cases the uncle is expected to help
(583) with a small donation to meet the price. Although this is ex-
pected from him he has no say whatsoever in the selection of
the bride. The bride price in its entirety, or certainly in major
part, is paid by the father of the bridegroom. The influence of
the uncle, even if he has happened to help pay part of the bride
price, is practically zero. This is the rule, but naturally in-
(583) dividual deviations from it are found. The case of Camilo
is again illustrative of this. Although he is not contemplating
marriage for the present, Camilo told the present writer that
once he had made up his mind to get married he would go to
his uncle for advice. No other such cases came to the attention
of the writer, but speaking with other informants on this subject
he was invariably told that such cases do often occur and that
they are not out of the ordinary. However, this is not pre-
scribed behavior and arises only from personal regard or affection.

604 There is a prescribed pattern of conduct that both the senior
maternal uncle and his senior nephew must observe when in
each other's company, regardless of what personal sentiments
they have for each other. If there are other people around the
nephew must always keep silence if his uncle is speaking and if
the nephew wants to say something he must first ask permission
of his uncle. This permission is asked by the nephew rising
from his seat or, if he is already standing, by tapping his uncle
on the arm. The uncle is at complete liberty to grant or refuse
the permission; however, a refusal was never witnessed by the
present writer. In all ways the nephew must show respect and
604 conduct himself with propriety. If he, in any way, should fail
626 to conform, he would be severely criticized, not only by his
uncle but also by the rest of the company, whether they were
relatives or not. On the other hand, the uncle must not laugh
at his nephew,—although he may laugh with him,—and if his
nephew says something wrong he must correct him in such a
way that his nephew would not feel hurt. Should the uncle do
otherwise he would be subjected to criticism, not by his nephew,
but by the rest of the company.

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
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The foregoing behavior pattern applies only in regard to a senior maternal uncle and his senior nephew. No such behavior is prescribed between father and son, nor between other uncles and nephews. There is no prescribed rule that either the father or the son must show respect for the other. They would not apparently be subjected to any public criticism at all should they be disrespectful, but in all cases where the present writer had occasion to see father and son together, there were always indications of respect to each other, especially by the son toward his father. That this behavior is not prescribed and that it is the result of regard or other factors is clear from the fact that the present writer was informed on several occasions while investigating this subject that there are cases in which father and sons who lack affection to each other would quarrel, even in public, without being criticized. The writer, however, did not personally witness any such cases. The same can be said regarding the conduct between an individual and his uncles other than his senior maternal uncle. Signs of respect are shown all along the line but this is not a prescribed rule. All information gathered on the subject by the writer points to the conclusion that the above pattern of conduct is prescribed between only senior maternal uncle and senior nephew; signs of respect toward the father or the other uncles are apparently shown only out of mutual affection or other personal motives. Public opinion censures any breach in the first case, while it disregards or is indifferent to any breach in the second case.

The following illustrative case throws some light on the situation. During one of the sessions held with Ilaturi, his son Ilaro was present and shortly afterward we were joined by Ilaro's senior maternal uncle. The moment the uncle stepped into the hut, Ilaro got up from his place and did not resume it until his uncle was well seated. All during the conversation prior to the coming of the uncle, Ilaro had been putting in remarks to the questions asked of his father and the latter did not seem to mind. After the uncle came in, although Ilaro's attention to what was going on did not falter, he restrained himself from making any further remarks and let his uncle make them instead. Only once did Ilaro make a remark, and this was only after

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having asked the permission of his uncle, and when he had finished he asked his uncle's opinion on the subject, something he had not asked of his father prior to his uncle's arrival. In every way Ilaro showed respect toward his uncle, although as has been previously pointed out, contacts between the two are neither close nor numerous. At one time the uncle made a remark which apparently was not in agreement with Ilaro's opinion. However, Ilaro did not speak until his uncle was gone, which was a good two hours later. Ilaro remembered the remark, however, and reverting to it, gave his opinion, asking the present writer not to mentioned it to his uncle. The matter was of little importance, having to do with the proper selection of a length for the manufacture of a bow. A breach of this prescribed pattern of behavior would have brought public criticism, and the guilty party would have had no excuse.

As regards the behavior between an individual and all his other uncles, data were secured on various occasions. One illustration will suffice. It again concerns Ilaro. The day before his departure the writer was given a feast by Rafael, to which the latter invited nearly all of his relatives by blood and by marriage who could come. Consequently there was plenty of opportunity to observe the behavior of Ilaro toward his uncles. Toward Callejo, Ilaro's behavior was exactly the same as on the occasion described above. Toward his other uncles a certain deference was shown, but not nearly as much as toward Callejo. For example, Ilaro showed no hesitation in interrupting his other uncles' speech, which he did on various occasions. This gave rise to no criticism of him.

So far we have been dealing with the behavior in public between the senior nephew and his senior maternal uncle. Naturally no such observation was possible in regard to the private relations between the two, that is, when nephew and uncle are together by themselves. However, judging from what informants said, it appears that the behavior of the nephew in private is very much the same as in public. If he expects inheritance from his uncle, because, were he to depart from the conventional, the uncle would disinherit him. On the other hand, if the nephew expects no such inheritance, and the uncle is thus

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unable to punish his nephew by disinheriting him, the nephew's 604
behavior is very much dictated by the ties of regard or affection 626
that exist or are lacking between the two. The private behavior [428]
of the uncle toward his nephew is almost wholly controlled by the same ties, as there would be no way for the nephew to retaliate if his uncle were to break the rule. There is one control, however, that both the nephew and the uncle have over each other. It has nothing to do with either regard or affection or with the possibility of inheritance. It is the fear that if either the nephew or the uncle break the rule the offended one may circulate the news in the community. If such news were circulated the reaction of the community would depend on the standing in the community of both parties concerned. If, for example, the offended had good standing while the offender had [554]
not, the reaction would be highly condemnatory. In the reverse situation, the news would be taken lightly.

From the evidence gathered, three primary factors condition the actual attitudes and behavior of a senior nephew and his senior maternal uncle. The first is the economic interest that the nephew may have in his uncle's property. The second is the fear of public opinion. The economic factor may or may not be operative; the fear of public opinion is always present. The third factor is regard or affection or similar personal sentiments. These three factors may go hand in hand and then it is very difficult to say which is the strongest. In some cases, as in that of Camilo and his uncle, mutual affection and regard are undoubtedly the dominant factor.

To sum up: when the senior maternal uncle is rich, he is the giver, and the senior nephew the receiver, of benefits. As to actual behavior, however, a nephew is obliged to show deference in a particular manner to his senior maternal uncle, and the uncle in turn must show a certain amount of respect for his nephew. Fear of public opinion makes for conformity in behavior regardless of economic interest or personal regard.

Reciprocal Relations of Maternal Uncle and Niece

The relationship here is just the reverse of the uncle-nephew 604
relationship. Here the uncle is the receiver of the benefits and

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
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604 the niece the giver. Another difference is that while the giving-receiving relation in the uncle-nephew situation is between the senior nephew and his senior maternal uncle, in the uncle-niece situation it is between the senior maternal uncle and all the daughters of all his sisters.

In the senior maternal uncle-niece relationship the whole [428] question of inheritance is out of the picture, as in Guajiro culture the woman, regardless of her status, cannot inherit. The nieces never expect and never get anything from any of their uncles in the way of inheritance or otherwise. Consequently we can dismiss economic expectations on the part of the niece as a motivating factor. Their behavior toward their senior maternal uncle is the resultant of other factors. The senior maternal uncle being on his part the receiver of benefits may act from affection or regard, or from selfish or other motives, or combinations thereof.

604 The senior maternal uncle receives material profits from all 583 of his sisters' daughters through the bride price. The bride price, however big or small, must be paid to the senior maternal uncle of the bride, while he on the other hand does not contribute anything toward the dowry which the bride must present to the bridegroom. The bride price must always be paid in cattle, while the dowry usually consists of gifts of clothing, household goods, hammocks, etc. Consequently the senior maternal uncle is very much interested in the marriage of his nieces and sees that they marry advantageously. He may accept or reject [584] a prospective bridegroom at will, and the girl has to conform [183] and to say nothing in the matter. This is the theory and to a great extent the practice, although there are cases in which the uncle has given in on the insistence of the niece or of the prospective bridegroom or of both, and a few cases of elopement have also come to the notice of the present writer. As previously mentioned, all of this concerns only the senior maternal uncle and all the daughters of all his sisters: the other uncles, maternal or other, have no say in the matter.

604 The following cases will serve as illustrations. Estrella is 584 the daughter of Ramoncito's oldest sister. They all belong to the wealthy class. She is now of marriageable age—about 15

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or 16 years old—and it is entirely up to Ramoncito to find a suitable mate for her. As yet there is no prospective bridegroom but when he is found he will be entirely Ramoncito's choice. Ramoncito may seek the advice of Estrella's parents, but the final say rests with him. Even the girl has little or nothing to do with the selection. Ramoncito will settle the bride price and collect it all for himself. He will not share it with his other brothers nor will the girl's parents receive any part of it. Ramoncito concerns himself greatly about Estrella and seldom lets a day pass without paying her a visit. Estrella comes to visit her uncle quite frequently too, either alone—for they live close by—or with her mother, and she always brings a little gift for Ramoncito's only child. Ramoncito has another sister whose daughter is already married. In this case it was Ramoncito again who made all the arrangements for the marriage, selecting a wealthy bridegroom, settling the bride price, and collecting it. He kept all of it for himself as he is supposed to do. None of the other relatives had anything to say regarding the marriage. 604 584 [583] [574] [431]

The following is another case, one from a different level of society. Carmelina is the daughter of a poor man who lives at San Antonio. She has only one maternal uncle, who is also poor. About a year ago her uncle insisted upon her marrying the bridegroom whom he had already selected for her. The bride price was arranged and collected by her uncle, but he being a wasteful man—according to Carmelina—went to Venezuela, sold the cattle there and spent all of his money. Since that time this uncle has been trying to get some cattle from Carmelina's husband, but, as he has no further claim on his niece, they have refused him. Carmelina, apparently is happy in her marriage and glad to be out of her uncle's reach. He pays frequent visits to his niece, but as he is received with cool indifference his visits are less frequent than they used to be. [583] [574]

Now for the actual pattern of behavior. The present writer was able to observe personally the mode of behavior between Estrella and Ramoncito and between Carmelina and her uncle. Let us take Estrella's case first. Apart from the fact that in the Guajira whenever we find a mixed group the women in- 604 [562]

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[562] variably stay somewhat in the background, the attitude of
604 Estrella in the presence of her uncle is not marked by that stiff formality so obvious in the attitude of Ilaro and his uncle. She shows no signs of disrespect, but on the other hand she is perfectly free to interrupt her uncle whenever she feels like doing so and nobody can criticize her. This she does not do frequently, but during the course of the conversation which the present writer observed she interrupted him twice with no apparent annoyance or disapproval on the part of Ramonita. His attitude toward her was very much the same. Respect is shown by both, but that marked formality that is so apparent in the uncle-nephew relations is lacking. This may possibly be due to the fact that the nephew is of course the receiver of benefits — theoretically at least — and consequently must show great respect in the way of a stiff formality in order not to anger his uncle, while in the other case the uncle receives benefits through his niece, and although she cannot override her uncle altogether
[562] because of the general backwardness of women in the Guajira, rigid formality, at least, is absent. This interpretation was checked up with the native informants, to discover if possible their own views. The matter was found to be far from clear in their minds, but they were all of the opinion that the above economic considerations, may be a factor in explaining the presence of the rigid formality in one case and its absence in the other.

In the case of Carmelina the situation is somewhat different. Although there were no outward signs of disrespect shown by either Carmelina or her uncle, there was no sign at all of affection between them, especially on the part of Carmelina. She treated her uncle very coldly, seldom addressed him and paid little attention to what he said. The writer had been working with Carmelina and her husband all one morning and was to stay that day and night with them. Around midmorning the uncle
[574] joined the group but was not invited to stay for dinner, although on several occasions he tried to get himself invited. After he left both Carmelina and her husband spoke sharply about her uncle. The writer was unfortunately unable to contact the uncle and get his opinion on the matter. Nevertheless, it is apparently safe to conclude that while the relations between

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Estrella and her uncle may be controlled somewhat by personal 604
regard and affection, such appear not to exist in the relations between Carmelina and her uncle.

The behavior of the senior maternal uncle is uniformly the same toward all of his nieces so far as the prescribed conduct is concerned, although he may not personally feel exactly the same toward every one of them due to individual difference in character and personality.

The behavior described so far has been that of the uncle and niece in public. As to the private relations between them, the present writer was informed that the relations were no different in private than in public.

Cases in which the niece goes against her uncle's will in 583
marriage and elopes are very infrequent in the Guajira. When 584
they occur they are severely criticized and the girl gets the 604
reputation of being loose. Public opinion is so strong that in all 626
the cases except one, which came to the attention of the present writer, the couple has had to move to another community away from both her family and his. The case in which the uncle has at first been opposed to the marriage but finally consents on the insistence of the couple falls into a different category. Such a couple is not criticized and may live without fear in the community.

Summary

As regards the senior maternal uncle and senior nephew rela- 604
tionship: first, the nephew, at least theoretically, is the recipient of benefits, and conducts himself with extreme propriety. Regardless of the regard or affection, he may or may not have for his uncle, he behaves according to rule lest public opinion turn against him and curtail his chances for trade, marriage, etc. Toward his other uncles, there seems to be no prescribed pattern and he may behave toward them as he pleases. Second, the attitude of the uncle toward his nephew is again largely controlled by public opinion. It is true that he does not have to show such marked formality as his nephew shows toward him, but on the other hand he must do nothing detrimental to the character or respect-status of the nephew. His behavior toward

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
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604 his other nephews is largely controlled by the degree of regard or affection that he has toward them individually.

As regards relations between the senior maternal uncle and his nieces, first, the uncle is the recipient of benefits derived from his nieces, largely in the form of the bride price, and he takes care to make a show of regard and concern for all of his nieces. Naturally, this does not imply that real affection or regard is non-existent. Second, the attitudes of the nieces toward their senior maternal uncle, although not so rigidly formal, are, nevertheless, respectful and considerate. Toward their other uncles, degree of regard or lack of it seems to be the only factor that controls the behavior.

We appear to be on safe ground in concluding that in the relations between a senior maternal uncle and his senior nephew, public opinion is the dominant factor making for conformity with the behavior code. To this we may add regard, affection or other factors according to individual differences. The behavior between other uncles and nephews is largely controlled by personal regard or the lack of it.

In the relations between the senior maternal uncle and his nieces again we find that public opinion is the controlling element, with regard as an additional factor in individual cases. All other relations between other uncles and nephews are controlled seemingly by regard, affection and similar personal motivations.

Guajiro Terms of Relationship

601 We are appending here, not all Guajiro relationship terms, but only those that are directly or indirectly involved in the avunculate complex.

father ..... *inai*
mother ..... *iei*
senior son ..... *iacta-ulutei-iiro*
senior daughter ..... *iacta-ulutei-iiha*
other sons ..... *iacta-iiro*
other daughters ..... *iacta-iiha*
senior maternal uncle ..... *iiruula-ulutei-iei*
senior maternal aunt ..... *iii-ulutei-iei*

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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also encourages it to crawl and walk. Indian babies can sit without help, when a white baby is still unable to raise itself. At six months the brown Indian baby is already a toddler.

The conversation turned on to the upbringing of children. Even in its earliest games the Indian babe imitates its parents' occupations, thus amusing itself and learning at the same time. The Indians are very careful to see that from the beginning the children learn to distinguish between the men's and women's spheres of work. An Indian father would be very indignant if he saw his baby son playing at cooking, which is not male work. Therefore the son accompanies his father to the herds even as quite an infant, while his sister will stay at home.

We had already noticed that children were sometimes chastised, which is not usual among other primitive Indians. The old women saw that they behaved themselves and were not disobedient. Food was rationed both for the children and the grown-ups, and it was considered very shabby to pinch another's helping. To drop anything edible on to the ground was strictly punished, and the worst offence of all was for a child in anger to throw food on to the ground and trample it. Possibly this was yet another relic of Moorish custom, for in Morocco it is considered a serious crime to spill crumbs of bread. When the children became bigger they were merely scolded, but they were then generally no longer under their parents' supervision, but with relations with whom they spend long periods. The first-born son usually grows up with his eldest maternal uncle, who is the boy's real guardian, and he teaches him cattle-rearing and agriculture and the queer laws of his people.

Girls also go to their mother's relations and help in the household. We had already seen how a Guajiro boy had to work. He had to be at it from the moment he stepped out of his hammock at three in the morning. First he and some others gathered the cattle to water them. If they were watered at a deep casimba, he had to run up and down with water-jars to fill the troughs of hollowed-out trunks. He

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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our cameras up, when a plump, middle-aged Indian came rushing up and began giving the fencers orders in a stern voice. He had not noticed us.

'That's Mauana,' Francisco whispered respectfully.

Mauana was wearing only a guayuco and brow-band, which is the genuine Guajiro garb. When he saw us, he at once spoke to us in good Spanish, which not all the chiefs know, for the Guajiro cling stubbornly to their own tongue. Mauana, of course, had heard of us. He now invited us to go with him and see how he lived.

First, we came to his plantations, which many in the peninsula must have envied him. There was a green valley, one of the oases in the semi-desert, where manioc, sugar-cane and maize grew, shaded by coconut palms, mango trees and bananas. The plots were watered by narrow canals which all came from the one stream in Guajira that never ran dry.

Mauana was obviously a strict master and he ordered his slaves about like a sergeant-major, but his plantation was a model one and he was an efficient chief who maintained order in a most commendable way. Once or twice he had caught white criminals who had hidden in the hills there and sent them back to the authorities—to their great disappointment. He lived simply, as all Guajiro do, but he had an unusually well-built house that was completely roofed.

We told Mauana of the purchi we had seen, and he used this as an excuse to give us a lesson in Indian law. Such an account of the Indians' social order and laws was both amusing and interesting, and it showed how different from ours the primitive's conception of justice can be. One knows all too well what mistakes colonial authorities have made through misunderstanding the native conception of these matters, especially of the rights of ownership.

The Indians, as has already been said, are divided into clans in which relationship follows the female line. Children thus take their mothers' names. Their fathers belong to a different clan and strictly speaking are not related to them. It is their eldest maternal uncle who is their head and guardian, and it is from him, not from their father, that they

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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inherit. They hold him in great respect. A man's chief heir is thus his eldest nephew and he takes particular care of him. During his lifetime a well-to-do man will give his sons enough cattle to ensure that they will not be left destitute when he dies. Each clan has its name and its symbol: the jaguar, rattle-snake, king vulture, dog, etc., but this has no connection with totemism or magic. The Indians think no more of their name's meaning than we do, when people have animal names. They often joke about them.

A number of the clans are large and powerful, others small and weak, sometimes entirely dependent on one of the big clans. Those born into a big clan are fortunate, for they have power behind them and can count on support and help if they are insulted, threatened or robbed, for the members of a clan stick together whatever happens, united by the bond of blood. The same blood flows in all their veins. The Indians imagine that the human grows from a drop of the mother's blood, and that the foetus feeds on the new vital fluid—for they know that menstruation ceases during pregnancy.

A man does not possess the right to dispose of his blood or his life. They both belong to the clan. If he hurts himself so that blood flows he must pay damages to his clan for shedding their blood. Suicide is also punishable, though not at all unusual. After an unsuccessful attempt at suicide, the clan will claim damages, even if no blood has been shed. An Indian wanting to take his own life hangs himself. Such importance is attached to the shedding of blood, that, if someone strikes another and makes his nose bleed, this is regarded as an aggravating circumstance and increases the compensation the victim demands. His whole clan will consider itself insulted. In fact, one can really say that an Indian only has the usufruct of his life and blood.

It is the same with the land. The land in the peninsula is owned by the clans, each of which has its own defined territory. The cultivable areas are not large and lie round the few water-courses that are not dry during most of the year. These plantations are traditionally exploited by certain families in each clan and are inherited by the eldest nephews.

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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Urianas are connected by marriage with the Pushaina, another wealthy 619
"tribe" of the *Goajiro*.

Each extended village (section or ranchería) consists of related sib 614
members who are bound by close ties and who unite against outsiders 11 621
one of them is wronged. Intermarriage among the sibs is common.

The role of the maternal uncle in *Goajiro* culture is of great importance. 604
Santa Cruz's detailed study of it (1941) will be summarized here. Types of behavior, both prescribed and informalized, vary, not only according to the seniority of either uncle or nephew but also according to that of the nieces. The maternal uncle must leave all his property to his oldest sister's oldest son, the other nephews receiving nothing. In practice the maternal uncle transfers most of his property to his own children, and after his death little if anything remains for the nephew. The attitude of a senior nephew toward his senior maternal uncle largely depends on what inheritance he expects from him. If the nephew marries a girl from a wealthy family and has, therefore, to pay a high bride price, the senior maternal uncle is expected to make a donation to meet the price. The uncle has no authority, however, in the selection of the bride.

Etiquette requires that in company the nephew must always remain silent if his senior maternal uncle is speaking; if the nephew wishes to speak he must first ask his uncle's permission. The nephew must always show respect and conduct himself with propriety. On the other hand, a senior uncle should not criticize or laugh at his senior nephew. No such behavior is prescribed between father and son or between other uncles and nephews. Public opinion castigates any deviation from this behavior between uncle and nephew.

The relationship between a maternal uncle and his niece is just the reverse of this, for the uncle is the recipient of benefits. He receives the bride price paid for the niece, and he contributes nothing toward the dowry for the bridegroom. The maternal uncle, however, is empowered to accept or reject a prospective bridegroom, and the girl has no recourse in the matter. A girl is respectful and considerate, although less rigidly formal, toward her senior maternal uncle. Her behavior toward her other uncles depends solely on her regard for them.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

There is no central government uniting all the sibs, but each sib or 614
subdivision thereof has its chiefs who inherit their position matrilineally. [522]
The oldest chief has greatest authority and may carry a knobbed stick as symbol of his authority. He is generally the wealthiest and has most [554
retainers. Hereditary status is very important, and a man born poor 556]
may never achieve a high position, even though he acquires much wealth. He may, however, marry a woman of high rank and his children will inherit her rank. Chiefs are polygynous and have many daughters, for 607

9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
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the individual who was to provide the raw material for this article. This is more or less a biography of the man who was at the same time guide, interpreter, and driver for the author and with whom extensive conversations, both formal and informal, took place.[2]

Guajiro culture, like most native cultures in the New World, has suffered great acculturation due to the impact with European ways of life. Some of these cultures have been more resistant to change than others; and within one culture, certain aspects have remained closer to the traditional forms than have others. In Guajiro culture, it is perhaps the social organization, with all of its ramifications, that has resisted recent acculturation more than the other aspects of the culture. We know very little of the pre-cattle culture of the Guajiro and even Juan de Castellanos, writing at the beginning of the seventeenth century, describes them as having numerous herds of domestic animals. Nowhere in the literature on the Guajiros is there an example of status having been acquired outside the traditional way and the present writer, in his two field trips to the region, has found only the case here described.

As it is not the purpose of this article to give a full description of the social organization of the Guajiro, it will be sufficient to state that the tribe is divided into some twenty-five matrilineal clans, of which about eleven are large and rather powerful in their socio-economic aspects, and the rest—due mainly to the fact of having a small number of members—are weak, and relatively unimportant. Inheritance is along the mother's line, an individual acquiring property from his maternal uncle. The avunculate in all its social and economic aspects, is a very important institution (Santa Cruz, 1941).

Traditionally the clans are exogamous with incest taboos and punishments for those who break them. This exogamic characteristic of the clan is apparently disappearing, as several cases of endogamous unions were found among the Guajiro living in the outskirts of the city of Maracaibo. No endogamous marriages, however, were found in the Guajiro proper by the present writer, although Gregorio Hernandez de Alba (1936) has

[2] Proper names, especially of the subject, have all been disguised in some way, so as to spare personal feelings.

Pr Santa Cruz E-5 (1954) 1960
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The whole judiciary structure with its elaborate system of torts is based on the payment of a given number of domestic animals. There is no crime, including murder, that cannot be amiably settled by such payments (Petrullo, 1937). The acquisition of a bride is also reduced to the payment of a stipulated price, in terms of domestic animals, to be given to the maternal uncle of the girl.

Social, economic, and political status in the Guajiro society is intimately connected with the cattle complex. To have a high status an individual needs, primarily, two assets: he must possess a large number of domestic animals, in other words, he must be considered rich; and he must be an older man. If he lacks either of these requisites, he is not a leader, as he will not be sufficiently respected nor will members of his clan come to him to seek his advice. Consequently, leaders are not numerous in the Guajiro peninsula. The present writer knows only two individuals, both in Venezuela, who are today the unquestionable leaders of their respective clans. These men are Panchito Silva, of the Pushaina clan, and José de la Rosa Fernandez of the Uriana clan.

An analysis of the lives of these two men will be illustrative of the traditional methods of acquiring status among the Guajiro.

Panchito Silva, a man of about 80 years of age, lives in the native village of Sinkipes in Venezuela. During his life-time he has had eight wives (two or three at a time) and now lives with his surviving two, one about 35 years old and the other about 50. He is a full-blooded Indian as has been the case of his wives. There is no trace of race mixture in his family. He has no clear idea of how many children he has had, apart from those living with him now (two men and five women). Yet he knows definitely that he has four younger brothers—who will inherit his wealth and position before these are passed on to his nephews—three sisters and twenty-five nephews and nieces (all sons and daughters of his sisters). His lack of concern towards his own children coupled with his keen interest in his nephews and nieces seems to be a clear indication of how strong the avunculate is in traditional Guajiro society. His holdings in cattle and other domestic animals are very large. Roughly he owns around 1,000 head of cattle and about 3,000 of sheep,

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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water but is given an herbal purgative. Her hair is cut short. Generally 531
several of her relatives stay around the door of the hut, and strangers and men with an eye to matrimony may look in. During this period the girl is taught the duties of married life and such skills as weaving, sewing, and making hammocks. When she emerges, stout and bleached, a special festival is held, when she resumes her ornaments and puts on the adult clothes that she has made during her confinement. She is now considered marriageable. The length of her confinement depends on her status, though theoretically it lasts until her hair again reaches the [554
nape of her neck. Poor girls are secluded only a few weeks, rich girls 556]
up to 2 years.

Sexual life and marriage.—Little is known about the sexual life of 536
the *Goajiro*. A certain amount of promiscuous love making occurs among the young people at the biweekly festivals. Dances also provide an opportunity for sexual advances.

There are some male transvestites who carry on only female activities 538
and are ridiculed by the men.

When a man desires to marry he sends his father or uncle as inter- 584
mediary, then pays a bride price which has been set by the girl's relatives. 583
The payment is usually in cattle, but goats, pearls, liquor, cotton cloth, 602
and gold ornaments also are used. The father retains the purchase price only when his first daughter marries; the income of subsequent marriages goes to the girl's senior maternal uncles. The mother also receives part of the income. A son obtains the cattle for the bride payment from the increase of his father's herds.

Intermarriage between the sibs is frequent, and many of the *Goajiro* 582
give their daughters to "civilizados" from Maracaibo and Rio Hacha, who pay higher prices and find such a tie with the Indians useful in their trading relations.

The marriage ceremony consists of a series of feasts and exchanges of 585
presents between the two families. The wedding night is spent at the [581]
rancheria of the bride's mother, but the nuptial hammock (specially woven by the female relatives of the bride) is hung from a tree some distance away from the house. For a period of days and even months the bridegroom leaves his bride at dawn and returns only after sunset. In [604]
this way the groom shows respect to his mother-in-law.

Polygyny is general. The number of wives depends on the economic 595
status of the husband, some men having as many as 20. Each wife lives in her own house, where her husband occasionally visits her. The man, as head of the polygynous household, supervises the daily slaughter of [592]
animals and the distribution of meat and corn to each household according to the number of its members.

If a wife shirks her domestic duties she may be divorced and her hus- 586
band may claim the return of the bride price cattle, plus their increase and

/15 cont./

854 /ajuar/ for the coming child. Many times the mother is forced to improvise items by using old rubes to wrap him in or a bag made of agave fiber for his hammock to protect him from the cold at night.

The Guajiro woman who is in contact with civilization and is comfortably off economically prepares a hammock for the arrival of the child, or weaves it or has it made afterward, using the hanks of cotton thread she has received as gifts. Children

854 wear clothes only when they go on trips. If they are baptized

291 in the Catholic faith, they receive their outfit /ajuar/ from their

[128 godmother, who is also expected to present a dress to the mother.

931] As the child usually goes about naked, they do not make any clothes to wear. Some rather long cloths useful as swaddling clothes and coverlets are prepared and serve various purposes. Wherever possible the mothers try to avoid the child's dirtying them with his excretions, in order to lighten the problem of cleanliness, since water is scarce. /16/

854 Neither are the Guajiro mothers in the habit of wrapping

[164] bellybands round their infants. The navel is left exposed even when it is not completely healed. For this reason ruptures are frequent as well as the death of the newly born due to infection of the navel. But they do use a kind of awning fixed over the

[136] child's hammock to protect him from falling centipedes, snakes, and scorpions that abound in the roofs of the huts, which are covered with plant materials.

* * *

Care, training, and treatment of young children. From birth the child is looked after by people other than his mother, as she is obliged to seek such assistance to be able to attend to her other domestic obligations or to rest and have someone to whom she can delegate this care. When she goes to a place relatively near by, the mother does not take the child but leaves it in the care of his older brothers and sisters or her relatives, when they

Wilbert. E-5 (un. 1997) 1998 BC13 Gua,Sre SC1

As for the sanctioned forms of cousin marriage, Figs. (m. and f.) may marry any cousins on either side except her mother's sister's children. Figs. (m. and f.) may also marry any kinsmen of the third degree with the exception of a mother's sister's daughter's child. All relatives of the fourth degree are potential spouses. Polygyny is practiced and is definitely a mark of status and rank. Sororate is sanctioned although it is very rarely secure. The data indicate, then, a very typical system of Crow type.

No avoidance taboos were said to exist in Guajira society, but great attention is paid to respectful behavior between kinsmen. In the family parents are respected equally highly by the children, whereas among siblings the brother enjoys greater authority than his sisters, and an older than a younger brother. In the presence of the maternal uncle nobody is supposed to speak up unquestionably, this rule applies especially to the younger people. Grandparents maintain close and friendly relations with their grandchildren. They make gifts to the latter, horses, bows and arrows, drums, rifles, etc., and the grandchildren assist the old after having grown up. The father-in-law is respected greatly by his daughter-in-law. When visiting she never hits before the sacred her mother-in-law. She does not, however, attend her own mother. Cousins are completely free to meet without being obliged to observe any avoidance regulations.

Artificial kin relations were said to be existing altogether among the Guajira. Non-relatives are treated with great friendliness and may even be accepted as compadres of an orphan of the group. Orphans usually join a family on the father's side.

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[131 cont.]

796 summer and over sicknesses, pestilences, and deaths which occur
821 as a consequence of it. But we have no work to sustain this affirmation. Also one must take into account the fact that the
[609] natives are not willing that strangers be present at their Fiesta of the Kid; and when they are, the play is much repressed in its natural expression and becomes a pale copy, artificial, almost we might say a special product for exportation. Missionaries
[797] have contributed greatly to this since they are opposed to the fiesta, considering it amoral or immoral because of the sexual freedom which is shown during its performance and the representation of natural scenes of the procreative life of animals. All the
[114 data that we have are not the product of our own personal observation
127] of the fiesta but are reports collected from different sources in diverse parts of La Guajira. They have, at the very least, the value of data verified several times over.

All this leads us to think that even though the Dance of the Kid is directly related to the rains since it always starts when the rains begin even though it is specially dedicated to Mareiwa, the divinity of the rains, as we shall prove in the coming chapter, even though its name [132] appears to be derived from the stellar constellation of the Seven Kids, iwa, whose association with rain we shall also note in the following chapter, it is primarily a ceremony dedicated to fecundity, fecundity of the soil shown by the sprouting of plant life brought about by the rains. Fecundity and rain are seen, then, as two inseparable factors, two terms in the same equation: life.

526 We spoke of the aspect of demonstration of ability in
796 theatrical representations when we delimited the areas of study of the ceremonial of the Kid. In effect, according to narrations we have at our disposal about the representative games, which we shall describe in detail in the latter part of this chapter, at the end of each one, out of the two sides which have taken part in the development, one side is seen to triumph over the other due to its greater skill or ability in movement or to the physical strength of those taking part when it is a matter of representations of struggles, as we saw in the game of the hawksbill turtle, and as we shall see in the representation of scenes introducing animals,

3: Wilbert E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 SC13 Goajiro SC13

582 As for the sanctioned forms of cousin marriage, Ego (m. and f.) may marry any cousins on either side except for mother's sister's children. Ego (m. and f.) may also marry any kinsman of the third degree with the exception of a mother's sister's daughter's child. All relatives of the fourth degree are potential spouses. [595] Polygyny is practiced and is definitely a mark of status and rank. Sororate is sanc- [554] tioned although it very rarely occurs. The data indicate, then, a very typical system [587] of Crow type.

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608 Artificial kin relations were said to be missing altogether among the Goajiro. Non-relatives are treated with great friendliness and may even be accepted as 609 step-parents of an orphan of the group. Orphans usually join a family on the 597 father's side.

CARACAS, VENEZUELA

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

the site of the old Spanish settlement San Juan de Ipapa. On the west side of the Parashi Hills in the plains is another well-known central trading station Jorcy; chief, Majuté, an Ipuana; probably near the old site of the Spanish settlement Moscota. In the neighbourhood are: Guarirpanturi; chief, Concón, an Ipuana. A Dutchman from Aruba has lived here many years, and has become quite an Indian. Aiplapá, a few ranchos on an eminence commanding the whole valley. The Indians here are rather mixed, but the chief is a Pushaina. The well Kapaulera, at the base of the hill, is the finest I saw, and surrounded with rich green vegetation similar to that of Macuira. Katunasió, the most inland station. It is generally the traders that make a rancho known, for the Indians do everything they can to keep their abodes, if not secret, at any rate as much in the dark as possible. The plains being more unsettled than the mountain district, traders do not venture to establish themselves in the interior, as at Morunay or Jorcy, so few ranchos are known. The most important place in the Lower Goajira is Guincua, midway between Riohacha and the Venezuelan town of Las Guardias or Santa Teresa. Paraguaipoa, the new Venezuelan military colony, founded in 1882, counts already 50 houses. It is situated in the plains 12 miles in advance of Santa Teresa, which it completely covers. The garrison at present consists of 30 men, well mounted and found in every respect, under the orders of a commander, two secretaries, and two interpreters; the latter for the purpose of taking statistics as to trade, &c. Altogether it is a model establishment, and does honour to the Government of Venezuela. The entire population of the Goajira may be about 20,000; it does not exceed 25,000, and is not increasing.

As regards manners and customs and the way they enforce their old peculiar laws, these Goajiros are particularly interesting. Of course, like all Indians, they are singularly proficient in begging, stealing, and drinking, but besides these capital vices they add a fourth, that is demanding compensation, tear- or blood-money—principal cause of all the strife and blood feuds between the castes, and an everlasting danger to Indians and strangers alike. Whereas about one-quarter of the male population die a violent death from its result, another quarter are killed by drink and its effects. The laws that govern these compensation cases are very intricate, their number is legion. First is the terrible law of retribution, that makes a whole caste responsible for the acts of any single member. As the Spaniards or white men are considered by the Indians as belonging to one large family, the country is very unsafe for travelling, for every white man is a sort of hostage for the good behaviour of the others. If an Indian should be killed in a quarrel by a white man, the life of another white man, living leagues away, depends upon whether the foe (relations of the dead Indian) or a friend brings the news first. Many an innocent unconscious trader has been sacrificed at one end of the peninsula for a foul murder committed at the other end.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

lost their loads and the mule throwing the photographer, but we were all tired and not easily amused.

I did not want to stay at that rancho. Their reception had been friendly, but they had something against the Gaffer. I thought they had hesitated to receive him, and caution suggested that we ought to camp by ourselves, as long as we had people on whom we could not rely. Evening came and with it a slight, cooling breeze. Travelling was pleasant then without the heat of the sun. Knowing that the moon would rise early, we decided to go on as long as we could.

At midnight we halted in bright moonlight, lit a fire and made coffee. A couple of Indians came uninvited and squatted nearby. The coastal Indians had become infected with the vices of civilization and stole like jackdaws. We had already lost a number of small things at Arema and the other places on the coast, and had no wish to lose more. In Guajira you must take the law into your own hands.

We produced our firearms and set about cleaning them. We each had a rifle and a pistol, and also I had a number of pistols that I had bought cheap at auctions after the war and intended to use as objects of barter. We put up our camp beds under the open sky, laid our weapons beside them and told our Indians to 'sleep with one eye open', a phrase they themselves used. We assured them that we should do the same, and that our open eyes would be fixed on our baggage.

We knew that the Indians would be constantly starting up and looking round. No sound escaped their trained ears. We were not suspicious of their being in a conspiracy with the other Indians; in fact, they were quite frightened.

When we woke at daybreak, all was well. We packed up and set off again at once. Now and again we met naked Indians armed with bows and arrows. We gave tobacco to them all, as custom dictates. It is almost a sort of tax which white people have to pay in order to be able to travel in peace in Guajira. If you happen to be smoking one of the country's thin cigars and meet an Indian, you can, if you are in a hurry, take the cigar from your mouth and stick it into his, mutter a greeting, receive an answer, and ride on.

Although I had a compass and a map, such as it was,

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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Our provisions were at an end. We had been too generous and not rationed them strictly, the men having complained of hunger the whole time. Now we were suffering for it.

Away in the distance, well out of range, we saw a *venado*, a deer, making off through the cactus with graceful bounds. Where did the deer drink? Surely they would not dare approach the Indians' water-holes, which were either guarded or covered.

'Deer do not drink,' said the Indians. 'They are content with the dew they can lick out of the cactus flowers.'

We were thus without both food and water. We whites had tinned food, but the Indians only appreciated the empty tins. The Lad then offered to get us some food and water. He had not been away more than an hour, when he returned with a young girl carrying a live kid in her arms. She wore nothing but the remnants of a woman's loin cloth, and apparently knew that white people did not approve of nakedness, for she tried to hide her charms behind the kid. We therefore gave her a piece of white cloth in payment, although it was really a pity to let her cover herself, for she was the shapeliest Indian girl we had yet seen in the peninsula. The cloth would protect her from the sun and make her fair-skinned and beautiful, so she was overjoyed and offered to show us the way to what she said was a much better water hole.

This new water hole was shaded by some divi-divi trees—the trees were withered and their shade sparse—and surrounded by reddish hillocks. It was not very deep and a couple of women were bathing in it. They paid no attention to us, nakedness in the bath being considered decent. Our Indians and animals were able to drink as much as they liked there, and we also filled our water-containers. Then we moved on looking for a suitable place in which to eat our goat in peace.

Gladtvet, our photographer, put up the tent to give us a little shade, and meanwhile the Indians slaughtered the kid and cut it up. My wife cooked the pieces we had taken for ourselves, helped by the little girl who had come with us. She was now wearing the piece of cloth like a pinafore and

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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hopnig for a taste of the kid. The Indians always share what they have.

When nothing remained of the kid but some well-gnawed bones, a wrinkled old man with a straggling beard approached. He looked famished and we gave him a couple of hooves, which he split and sucked at, while our men cracked the bones for themselves. The newcomer had to have tobacco too, so I gave him a cigar and a box of matches. He turned the matches this way and that in amazement, obviously never having seen such a thing before. He handed it back to me and I showed him how to strike a match, at which he gave a great jump. I had to light my own cigar before he dared let me put the match to his.

Then a group of Indians on horseback came galloping up. Just as they reached us a gust of wind bowled the tent over and a flying tent peg struck my wife on the mouth making it bleed. The newcomers were all young, unarmed men. They dismounted, flocked round my wife, examined her mouth rather roughly, but with the best intentions, bewailing the accident. They then tore Gladtvet's hat off his head and handed it to my wife as suitable compensation for the damage, appearing to be delighted with their judgment. I distributed tobacco and they and the thin old man gobbled up the water in which the kid had been cooked and which our Indians had somehow left in the pot. The young men then rode off, laughing gaily.

Our men did not seem to approve of their visit. They wanted us to move on again at once, as if they thought the young men were spies, so our little caravan moved off, leaving the wrinkled old man sitting there, smiling a wan old man's smile.

We travelled on across hillocks covered with dry scrub. The ground was strewn with bleached bones. Then we came to sparse divi-divi woods, and towards evening we saw ahead of us a wide savanna covered with sparse short grass, on which thin cows, bony horses and woolly sheep were grazing, and in the background rose the shadowy silhouette of hills. These, we felt, must be the Macuira Hills; and the Indians we met confirmed that they were.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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not far from the mission station. Ituhor means 'roast corn' and it does look like a dark golden brown giant corn-cob. Suddenly we were in a valley that was all green. We had to rub our eyes. Not only grass grew there, but tall trees with fresh green leaves. The crests of coconut palms waved high above them. We saw bananas, maize, and all sorts of fruit trees. What a miracle! The cause of it was a little stream that had water in it almost all the year round, though it petered out in sand on its way to the sea. We enjoyed the greenery, the smells and the bird song, and watched the multi-coloured butterflies. The valley was not inhabited; it was a field. After that we came to more white sand, where everything was just as arid as before.

Nazaret lay in the middle of this sea of sand. Ahead of us we saw some whitewashed buildings with grass roofs and one larger building with a turret. A monk came walking briskly to greet us, his white beard waving in the breeze. This was Father Salvador, whom we knew from a trip we had made farther south five years before. He had then been stationed at the foot of the Andes and his flowing beard had been brown. How old he had grown! The desert seemed to have aged him by twenty years at least, we thought. Then the other monks emerged and friendly nuns took charge of my wife.

We had good, sweet water, decent food and black coffee. The kindly fathers at once set about preparing a white-washed hut for us. They wanted us to stay for some time, make Nazaret our headquarters, from which we could go to the Indian camps in the surrounding country, which we would thus get to know. They would also find us good guides.

Then our Indians arrived with our baggage. We paid them and dismissed them. We could not help laughing when Gaffer insisted that he could be of great use to us as a guide, for he had neither been there before, nor even been able to find his way there. His old wife had taken advantage of our absence to appropriate a number of our things, including an aluminium saucepan. This came to light because her pack looked suspiciously bulky and had to be searched, to her

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609 great indignation. In those parts to which civilization had
673 penetrated, it was not considered shameful to steal, provided you were not discovered.

Why do all semi-civilized natives, whether Indians or negroes, steal like jackdaws, while primitive peoples in the jungle respect each other's property? Stealing had become a sport with the half-bred Guajiros, but the Indian law was still enforced: he who was discovered had to replace what he had stolen and pay compensation as well.

The old man took advantage of the confusion to make off. When we had finished with his wife, he and his donkeys had gone, and his spouse had to follow on foot, swearing and cursing as hard as she could.

115 The two younger Indians did not go with the old couple.
124 They received half a bag of maize and were delighted. It should have lasted them the whole way back and more, but I am sure that they cooked it all, as soon as they could borrow a pot, eating more than they had ever done before and treating everyone else, and probably going hungry for the rest of the way home.

We had wanted to give The Lad a hat, a thing for which he longed, as he had spent the last few days trying to explain to my wife, for whom he had a great admiration and for whose help he was hoping. He had been sure that there would be hats to be had at Nazaret. But of Nazaret both he and we had had exaggerated ideas. It was a mission station, not a trading post. The monks did not sell hats, and they possessed but one apiece. The Lad had earned a hat and would have had one, had it been possible; but he had to walk away as bare of head as he came.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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already have talked with both parties and know their points 622
of view. One can imagine what takes place. The killer's 628
family wishing an amicable settlement: 'It is best that we do not begin a war, brothers,' says their leader. He offers reasonable compensation, paints a picture of the horrors of war, the continual fear of attack, the burning houses, the women violated and enslaved, the blood-feud continuing from generation to generation, and, by way of contrast, describes the calm of peaceful work.

The other side are spoiling for a fight. 'I am rich and need no damages. My men are brave and prepared for a fight. I wish that we measure our strength.'

If a settlement is not arrived at, a fresh meeting is arranged, and meanwhile there is a state of latent war. Even if a fine is agreed upon, peace is not restored until the fine has actually been paid. This is probably done in stages, and that is why the Creoles say that the Indians can kill each other on the instalment system.

To bring about another's death, whether intentionally or 682
unintentionally, has grave consequences for the person responsible. The fine that has to be paid is often ruinous. The homicide becomes indebted to his relatives who have to help him pay. Also, for magical reasons, he has to submit to a lengthy period of isolation and to certain restrictions which prevent him attending to his affairs and make him endure certain privations.

If a white man has killed an Indian, he should try to get 682
to safety outside the peninsula, because even if he pays a 648
fine for manslaughter, the Indians will seek his life. Three white men must die for each Indian killed, according to the old rule. They long insisted on regarding all white people [609]
as being of the one clan, though nowadays they know that they are split up into different peoples. They would now never dare extend vengeance for an injury inflicted by a native mulatto to, say, a fair-haired foreigner from the north.

The foregoing are but a few points of Guajiro law which 671
is really much more complicated than these would make it appear. The law ought really to be the same for all, but

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quarrelsome, the parting drink of spirits having had its effect. One old man after much swaying in the saddle was finally thrown off by his jibbing mule. He landed in a prickly bush and became frantic. He wanted to see blood. Luckily his weapons were on his saddle, but he managed to remove one of his spurs and began stabbing with it at those who were trying to help him up. Francisco received a jab, but he and a couple of others managed to overpower the old ruffian, whom they bound and tied to his saddle. Then his wife led him and his mount away.

One by one the groups went off in their various directions. We came to the rancho of the young Indian, our new friend. He had several big huts, built on the sand, where there was no greenery or shade. He explained that when the rains came, it did not become swampy there, as in most other places, but the water ran through the sand and you could walk dry-shod. There were looms in several of the open huts. At one sat our host's young, light-complexioned wife, who undoubtedly was a great beauty by Guajiro standards, and in another his aged mother with a wrinkled clever face.

We were offered goat's milk as a refreshment. I was always amazed at the care with which these Indians collected the small quantities of milk the goats yielded, for each gave a mere squirt. We took a gulp of goat's milk in order to avoid having to drink spirits.

The women were in a great bustle, evidently getting a spread ready. The Guajiro are hospitable, and when strangers or friends come they must have the best the house can provide. If need be, the host gives up his own hammock and lies on the ground.

Our host had plenty of hammocks. After resting a while, my wife went inside to look at the weaving, while I produced one of the pistols I had bought at an auction and demonstrated it, shooting a couple of shots, the noise and smoke of which appeared highly satisfactory to our host. Hastily he drew me aside and whispered that he had something that ought to interest me. He had *unu* and was willing to part with this precious, sought-after article in exchange for my noisy pistol. After all I had a companion without a

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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hands to their faces. From one and all rose the lugubrious, shrill lament that had to sound uninterruptedly as long as the dead man was above ground. (For some time after the funeral, the man's nearest relatives would begin the day with a song of lament.) After some time the wailers nearest to the bier began to make way for others, and then we too began lamenting, imitating the sound as best we could, as politeness required that every guest should.

One of the men now turned and pulled the cloak from his face. It was our host. He was very glad to see us and, above all, seemed to be flattered that my wife had come. He was already slightly under the weather, swaying a little on his feet, and in one hand he held an enamel chamberpot. He looked so comical that my wife had to hold her handkerchief over her mouth so that none should see what difficulty she was having in keeping a straight face. Our host thought she was very moved and at once ordered one of his fattest sheep to be given her to 'dry her tears', as it is called. He always called her majayura, maiden, remarking: 'She is far too young and lovely to be married.' This, of course, was meant as a compliment. He added that he knew very well what we usually ate. He knew that we were from the same part of the world as the monks and that these people lived on bread, sugar and potatoes. He had tasted them in Nazaret. But perhaps we also liked meat? We assured him that we did, and he promised us large pieces of beef and as much maize beer as we wished. Then he had to go and attend to his other guests.

Burials are big affairs. A good proportion of the dead person's livestock has to be slaughtered to accompany him into the hereafter. The guests feast on this meat, and afterwards each is given some to take home. We walked round to look at the many camps, some under cactus trees, others in the open. There were several hundred Indians assembled there. Everywhere sheep were being slaughtered, meat was being roasted and people were feasting. One old woman was stuffing congealed blood from a calabash with both hands. The whole place smelt of blood, maize beer and spirits. Here and there someone was galloping on a horse. Many of

8: Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

the other. Many other cases indicate the absolute nature of *Goajiro* law 672
and the refusal to recognize extenuating circumstances.

Murder is a very serious crime, and the victim's family immediately 682
demands blood money to the amount of 200 or more cattle. For failure 628
to pay, a member of the murderer's sib of the same rank as the victim must forfeit his life. If payment is not forthcoming retaliatory raids are made. As the defenders generally lose more people than the attackers, the feud may continue indefinitely until all the members of one sib will consider themselves at war with the members of the other, thereby spreading the war throughout the peninsula. If a feud should develop between the sib of the husband and that of the wife, the latter, with her children, will return to her own group until the trouble is over.

A person who has received a deadly insult from another is baited and 683
chided until he takes revenge by killing the offender, in proof of which he removes the victim's viscera and takes them home. This act also prevents the victim's soul from bothering him. If unable to accomplish this he may commit suicide. Suicide is also sometimes a means of venge- 762
ance, a person feeling that he will suffer less than those who caused him to commit the act. Thus a wife who is not allowed enough freedom may hang herself.

Next to murder, one of the most serious offenses is to mention a per- 689
son's true name (given at birth?) or to mention a person's name after his death. This has caused many tribal conflicts.

The value of the compensation demanded in disputes varies directly 681
with the social rank of the offended party. In some cases a repeated 565
offender may be killed by his own sib members. Sometimes, rather than 728
to continue the warfare, hostile sibs may confer under the auspices of an outsider, such as a Capuchin monk, and draw up peace terms. In personal quarrels or minor brawls women often step in and enforce peace.

WARFARE

Wars between the *Goajiro* and outsiders are rare, but any White man 721
may be held liable for the offense done by another, as all Whites are thought 609
to belong to the same sib. Sometimes the few civilized people living in the peninsula take vengeance on the Indians, which leads to further reprisals by the latter.

At the time of De la Rosa, war was declared by sending to the other 721
tribe an ambassador who, in a public speech, asked indemnities for damage previously done. If these were not conceded war was declared, but a brief truce was observed in order that preparations might be made. In battle each group of opposing warriors formed a semicircle and tried to surround and destroy the other. In individual encounters a *Goajiro* rode 726
out on a horse, but, upon seeing the enemy, he dismounted and shot his own horse with an arrow to show his confidence and willingness to fight

/3 cont./

co-operation, it is also true that their marriages demand heavy disbursements from everyone, not only in animals but in jewelry -- gold ornaments -- which a man's female relatives give him to be handed over to his future wife as a sign of the engagement. Also, the children of a man's marriage are not his in our sense of the word, so that in spite of the expense borne by the family, it does not become strengthened by the increase. All the children belong to the maternal family group according to Guajiro law.

The wife concurs with her husband in hoping that her first child will be a son but thereafter hopes for a large family of girls, who will enrich and increase the family group to which they belong with children and marriage payments, for a woman in Guajiro society has no less importance than a man, as it is she who transmits relationship and, therefore, increases with her offspring the number of consanguineous relatives. In the woman rest the hopes of her relatives for indemnification for the care they gave her in her youth and the maintenance of her social rank, because, on being bought, the eldest daughter indemnifies her father and his family for the expenses they had in livestock and ornaments in buying her mother. The others, with their marriage payments, increase the maternal income and, to a certain extent, augment with this sum the economic backing for future children and for the support of the husband, and form a nest egg to help should any difficult situation of their own or of their family /4/ arise. Moreover, as women have lately been improving the technique of their handwork by the instruction they receive in the Capuchin mission, and these articles are readily sold in the markets of the interior as well as in the neighboring markets of Valledupar and Maracaibo, the woman really constitutes an important economic force that helps to overcome the precarious financial situation in the home, which is aggravated by the intensely hot summers which do not permit all-season agricultural activity and weaken the livestock. With the revenue so obtained she supports her husband, feeds and clothes herself, her children, and her close relatives.

/163 cont./

592 lead him to pay for abuse or to marriage. In these days
836 prostitution of the Guajiro woman frees the man from these legal dangers and gives him, as it does to bachelors in our society, free access to women before marriage without the attendant unfavorable consequences of previous times.

592 The Guajiro man marries for the first time at an age that
582 varies between seventeen and the maximum of twenty-five, an age which coincides with his economic independence from the family nucleus. With his own livestock and with the gifts he receives from his relatives, he buys a woman but remains in debt to his family until he can repay them by the sale of the first of his daughters in marriage. Once his wife has been handed over, he begins his marital life, (some times, when the marriage has been by abduction, he starts beforehand), traditionally in the maternal home from which place, as the [591] family increases, the new cell will move to the father's hamlet /ranchería/ where the young couple will build their own home, or they will make it in the wife's hamlet.

592 The first child of this union is born, as a general rule, at
•611 the wife's home, that is, in that of her maternal relatives,
602 and the mother is attended by her mother or her aunts, or by her grandmother in the maternal line, or when these are not available, by her married sisters. Nowadays the services of a midwife are employed. This child belongs to the maternal house as it is of their blood, since the mother is the one who transmits this quality, and even if the birth of the child is not preceded by a union legal in the concept of the Guajiro, the consanguineous tie does not differ in its transmission. It is always the mother who transmits this characteristic, and being hers and in no /164/ way counting on the father, the child not only takes the maternal surname but is also included within the kinship circle to which his mother belongs. Thus we have:

1. His legitimate feminine ascendants are his mother, maternal grandmother, and maternal great-grandmother, etc.

2. Also, the maternal aunts in different degrees are his relatives.

/164 cont./

592 3. In the collateral line the mother's sisters and their
602 descendants.

611 4. His closest male relatives, his mother's brothers and those of his grandmother and great-grandmother, etc., in the maternal line.

5. The sons of the sisters of his mother, his grandmother, his great-grandmother, etc.

In this way, the kinship ties of the newborn child extend back indefinitely along the female line and extend forward in the same manner.

With respect to the kinship with individuals of the male sex, this is limited to the collateral branches and to the sons of female relatives. That is, the newborn child does not count male ascendants or the children of his male relatives as his own relatives. Furthermore, if the new baby is a boy he will not in the future count his own direct descendants as relatives.

592 It would be extremely difficult to make a separate study of
593 the exercise of authority in the small family or in the extended family, because these two bodies so intimately interpenetrated due to their members living together that any analysis of them separately would be inaccurate; also, because of the effects of acculturation, the exercise of authority based on the consanguineous unit stemming from the traditional legal union reflects forms different from those developed according to legendary cultural patterns.

593 These two extremes -- traditional culture and culture influenced by whites -- cover an infinite range of varieties difficult to classify and must be studied as special cases (Cf. Marriage).

593 It is essential to recognize that in the civilizado-type home
178 the influence of the maternal family tends to be nullified, a
596 very slow process with regard to the totality of all the members, but a very rapid and effective one with regard to the maternal uncle, for in this case there occurs the phenomenon of transfer: All his influence passes to the father, who from that moment acquires and exercises all the authority delegated by Guajiro

[46 cont.]
411 when the respect due to his status is not shown (Cf. "Magic
495 and Funerals"), and particularly the spirit of those dead through
775 violence, we can better understand the high value they place on the imára, or magic arrow.

593 It will be well to explain again the position of the father
611 in relation to his son in La Guajira. The family in this society follows matrilineal descent, and therefore the father is not really considered as father to his sons but is to his nephews, his sister's sons. The family ties between father and son are so weak that they do not exist except in certain secondary aspects of the family economic organization.

411 The use of the poisoned arrow among the Kusina Indians
539 is shown by the following fragment of a story told by the same woman informant who supplied us with the data on which this
789 present study is based and which refers to the struggle between a Guajiro Indian named Kurira-páta and some Kusina Indians who arrived at his hamlet one night to steal his stock. The section dealing with the magic arrow, translated literally from the Guajiro text, is as follows: [47] "The Kusina shot (with a rifle) at Kurira-páta, who came upon them from behind. They wounded him in the thigh. 'Now, it isn't possible to do anything,' said K.P. 'Let's kill him to end this once and for all,' said the Kusina. K.P. lifted himself on to his sound knee. He shot at them (with his rifle), killing one. Then the Kusina said, 'Let's kill him with the imára (poisoned arrow).'"

411 The fragment of this story corroborates the existence of
789 the magic arrow among the Kusina, and also, as previously stated, the fact that the poisoned arrow,— magic arrow to us — was the last recourse utilized by these Indians when their other weapons did not produce the desired result.

The area of distribution of this cultural element, as we have seen, was in the Sierra de Cocinas, and it was frequently used in Jarara, where it was obtained by purchase or by barter from the makers. This class of weapon used to be employed in this latter region — Jarara — in times of war. Now it is no longer used in either of the two areas mentioned for two reasons.
[797 First, the evangelizing action of the Capuchin fathers in the
778] Sierra de Jarara, who have, in the main, mitigated the warlike

3: Wilbert E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 SC13 Goajiro SC13

Twenty six fundamental kinship terms by which the Goajiro designate their relatives were recorded. Most terms are applied to more than one relative so that the system is classificatory in type. Among the Goajiro, kinship terms are almost exclusively used in reference, while in addressing a person teknonyms are employed, e.g.; nīshi pīichí – father of pīichí (nī – prefix, 3rd pers. singl. masc.; (a)shi – father; pīichí – baciro). The term corresponds to a male person who is the father of a boy child. This practice of teknonymy presupposes the presence of personal names. Either sex can be given a name in remembrance of an event which occurred on their birthday, e.g., "the one of the full moon," "the one of the blossoms of that tree," "the one of the war between . . .," etc. More frequently, however, personal names differ from each other by sex. Boys are called after strong and wild animals, such as baciro (pīichí), tiger (karáira), pig (pīrīkī), wild cat (músī), while girls' names are ornamental and flattering, e.g., "brilliant one" (hɛróts̄ī), brownish one (muríachong), etc. 601 551

The teknonym employed to address a person is derived from the name of the eldest son, and in default of sons, from that of the eldest daughter. Personal names are used in addressing unmarried persons. It is a disgrace, however, for an adult not to have children. Grandparents may be called by a teknonym referring either to a son or to a grandchild. [842]

Kinship terms are never employed in the forms as listed above, but only with possessive prefixes, e.g., tashí – my father; pīshií – your father; nīshí – his father; sīshí – her father; washí – our father; hashí – your (pl.) father; nashí – their father. In the table, kinship terms are represented by their root forms. As a friendly gesture, people may address each other by general terms such as "brother," "sister," etc., or they may call any small child "son" or "grandchild." 601 [572] [576]

Of particular interest is the distinction the Goajiro make between "blood-relatives" and "flesh-relatives." Blood-relatives are all patrilineally related persons, whereas "flesh-relatives" are related to Ego through the mother's line. Kinship ties between flesh-relatives are considered to be stronger than those existing between blood-relatives. In practical life this would mean that Ego would have to help his maternal uncle in a fight against his own father. Among all kinsmen the maternal uncle possesses the greatest authority and his word counts most in all domestic affairs. Frequently, therefore, we find the extended family clustered around the homestead of the maternal uncle, which makes the Goajiro a matrilineal avunculocal society. Otherwise residence is matrilocal. Any one of the three aráur-relatives (maternal uncle), as listed in the table above, may replace the true maternal uncle in case of his death. But only his sister's children can be heirs of his possessions (including his wife or wives). 601 602 611 [604] [591] [768] [428]

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
SC13 Goajiro SC13

the men speak some Spanish in addition to their native 105
language. Some of them know how to read and write. They
are almost entirely pastoral, possessing great herds of horses, [233]
asses, sheep, goats, and cattle. They have borrowed a great
deal from the Europeans but they have also kept their own
culture to a remarkable degree. As usual, native elements
are most strongly present in the non-material phases of culture.
Unfortunately they are not united or organized into a modern
state, though against all foreigners they stand together as a
unit. Authority is acquired by certain caciques through their [554]
wealth and membership in the 'casta,' the major social group- 614
ing in Guajiro society. Each casta claims a mythological 631
origin and holds sovereignty over a well-defined territory.
Many of these castas or social groupings are further sub-
divided. Each casta has its caciques whose function is chiefly
to settle disputes and whose position is inherited, matrilineally.
The oldest of them is allowed more authority, but generally it
is the wealthiest man, and the one who can marshal more [556]
retainers, armed with rifles and revolvers, who is listened to
with greater respect. There are further divisions in Guajiro
society. At the top are the caciques and their families who are 565
rich and powerful. The next group is composed of peons or
retainers in the service of the upper stratum, and at the bottom
are the 'slaves' who have been born in that condition or have
been enslaved following an offense to some powerful group, and [567]
who can even be let out to work for planters in the sugar fields
of Zulia The life of the poor people has not changed much
since early times. Polygamy is widely practised, as is also 595
concubinage, by the wealthier men. Each wife lives in her
own rancho and there awaits the occasional visit of her hus-
band. The children inherit property and social affiliations [611]
through the mother. Disputes that arise within a casta are
settled by arbiters chosen by the families of the litigants. [627]
Disputes inter-casta may be settled by arbitration if violence
is not desirable. Generally the killing of an individual gives [628]
rise to armed action with an eventual composition by payment.

My informants attempted to demonstrate the difference be- 671

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

611 In the following laws it must be borne in mind that it is not the
604 injured individual that demands compensation, but his relations, usually
628 on the mother's side as a rule. From this has arisen the common error
(604) that the father is ignored; as will be seen further on, this is not the case. In compensation it is the caste that reclaims, and the caste is always the mother's side. For example, a Pushaina man marries an Uriana girl; the children are Urianas. If one of these now should kill an Epieyu, for example, the whole caste of Uriana is at war with all the Epieyuns, unless the matter is amicably settled by paying blood-money.

Case No. 1. Personally inflicted wounds. If an Indian accidentally
672 cuts himself, say with his own knife, breaks a limb, or otherwise does him-
683 self an injury, his family on the mother's side immediately demands blood-money. Being of their blood, he is not allowed to spill it without paying for it. The father's relations demand tear-money, not so much. Friends present demand compensation to repay their sorrow at seeing a friend in
[572] pain. If anybody present can seize the instrument that caused the accident it is appropriated. The pay is in ratio to the injury. A slightly cut finger is settled with a little Indian corn, a kid, or such trifle. A bad cut requires at least a goat or a sheep, with other sundries. In all cases of compensation where the Indian has not the wherewith to satisfy his creditors, he goes round begging until it is obtained.

Case No. 2. Damage done by animals. Suppose an Indian borrows a
628 mule or other animal, and is thrown by it, doing himself bodily injury,
672 then his relations demand compensation from the lender, the argument
683 being, had he not lent the animal the accident could not have happened. Should the beast belong to the thrown man himself, then he has to pay. Case of No. 1 in fact.

Case No. 3. General liability all round. This covers an enormous field. The most curious. Everybody selling rum or anything else is answerable for all the damage done by its instrumentality. Unfortunately this law is only, like many others, enforced when it is possible. As the traders know it very well, they never take rum into the interior for barter without being fully able to protect themselves. I was lent a servant as guide by a trader, who requested me not to let the man have any drink, for should anything happen to him he would be responsible to the family. Indians in employment receiving any damage the em-
[466] ployer becomes liable; and so on. Wherever the Indian can only make the ghost of a claim he wants tear-money, blood-money, or some other money, and if not satisfied, helps himself with what he can lay his hands on.

Case No. 4. Mentioning names. This is very curious. The Indians
551 object to have their true names mentioned, and demand heavy com-
628 pensation in aggravated cases. They generally go by a Spanish name—
689 José Antonio, Agustin, Vicente, &c., for an Indian dearly loves to be baptised, that is, he likes the attending feast and having god-fathers on

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

567 sider themselves entitled to the female slaves. The owner, however, is bound to give a slave enough food from his own kitchen or to provide maize or other raw ingredients for him or her to cook. He must also provide a male slave [735] with a wife, either giving him a female slave or buying a girl for him from some poor clan for ten goats. The state of [928] slavery is hereditary; thus the children of slaves belong to the owner of their parents. If the owner of a male slave should buy a poor free girl to make him a wife, her children [611] will be free, since relationship is reckoned on the female side. If a free man pays a bride-price for a slave, she becomes free; but if he merely buys her for a house-slave she remains a slave. Male slaves are set to work in the fields or with the herds. Female slaves perform domestic occupations. Sometimes a female slave becomes nurse to the owner's children. [579] The laws of Guajira hospitality require that the master of a 437 house place a female slave at his guests' disposal for the night.

The Indians, of course, have the right to punish their slaves, but the chastisement is seldom excessive. Slaves are treated as superior domestic animals, or perhaps I ought to say, as we treat domestic animals, for the Creoles, the Indians' neighbours, are not animal-lovers. Naturally there are cruel Indians too. The monks once came across a poor little slave girl out in the wilds. Her hands were so badly burned that she could not use them. She had been trying to keep herself alive by gnawing at cactus with her mouth. They took her back with them. It transpired that her mistress had lost her temper with her, thrust her hands into the fire and then driven her away.

The Indians make a distinction between slaves taken in war, who are their master's property, and dependent workers. These latter have to do what their master tells them, but he does not dispose of their persons. I called them slave-workers. They can be sold, but in theory it is only their labour that is transferred.

735 In times of distress the poor not infrequently have to get 567 rid of members of the family who are unable to contribute to their own support, and this they do by selling them. This

/539 cont./

614 "Each caste holds sovereignty over a well-defined territory"
423 /cited in English/, he correctly presents each clan area as common property. Earlier observers must have already been aware of such circumstances, for they /540/ have represented them with desirable clarity. Such a definite clan-localization is based on the mythology.

614 In Guajira only well-known animals, toward which no reverent veneration is shown, are known as totems; also, avoidance rules do not exist. Clan membership is determined
611 by the mother. Many matriarchal laws and customs are observed strictly and conscientiously by the Indians; they have been described in detail by Sinons, Ernst, Petrullo, Santa Cruz, Armstrong-Métraux, Gutiérrez, Crist (1959), and others.

601 It should be added here that particular kinship-terms
614 were first gathered and published recently by J. Wilbert (p. 59). There are twenty-six basic terms and "most terms are applied to more than one relative so that the system is classificatory in type" /cited in English/.

614 Finally, the question as to whether the Guajiro feel themselves connected by kinship to their totem-animal is still to be answered. As the first, Jahn (p. 145) expressed himself on this: "Each faction regards some animal as its 'totem' or coat-of-arms. It has not been possible to find out whether they believe that they are descended from it; rather it appears to be a symbolic or heraldic emblem" /translated from the Spanish/. V. Gutiérrez (p. 173) expresses herself more decisively and informatively: "Actually there is no belief that they [the Guajiro] descended from it [= totem], nor is there any special prohibition against harming or killing it. The idea that in the representative animal is found the genesis does not seem to have existed even in the remote past. The origins that are come across in the legends do not include this idea. At present they laugh when one asks about the animal of his 'casta'; many confide... that they belong to the jaguar, to the bee, to the rattlesnake... They claim to be as brave as that animal..." /translated from the Spanish/.

1:Gutierrez de Pineda É-5 (1947) 1950 SC13 Goajiro SC13

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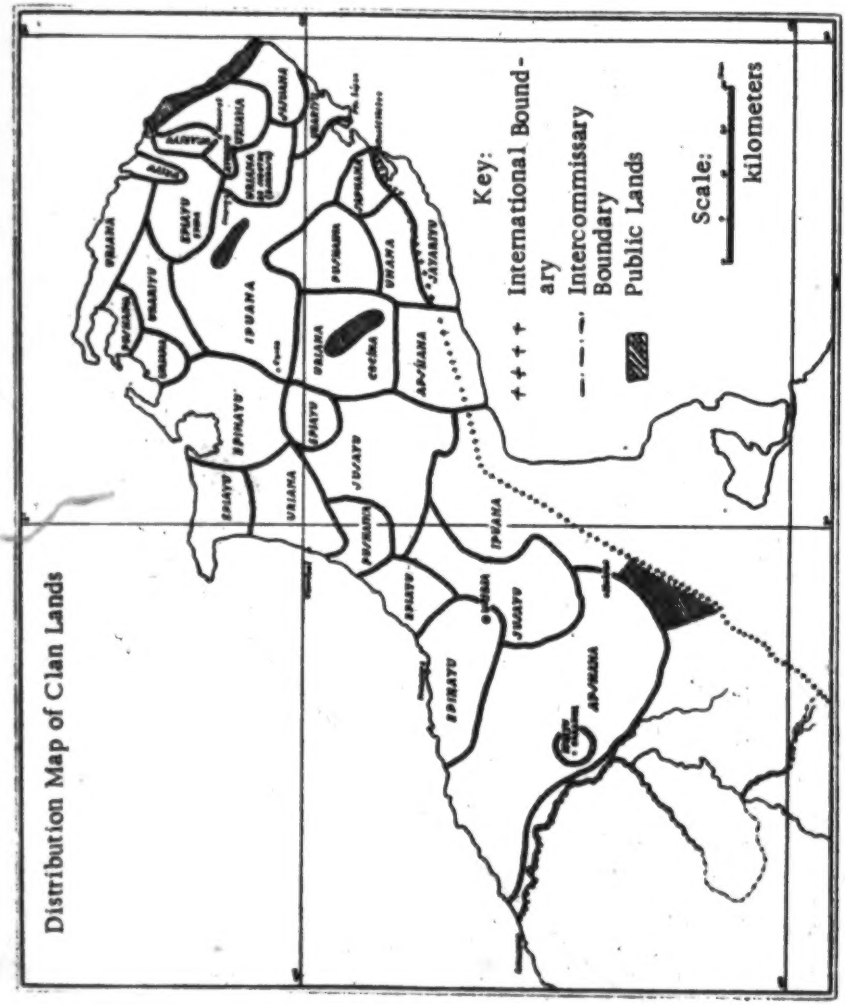

[pacing p. iii]

I

PRENATAL CARE. BIRTH. CHILDREN.

842 Valuation of children. Every Guajiro family group endeavors to increase the number of its members as much as possible. As a consequence, every birth is acclaimed with happiness so that no newborn suffers from the problem that his arrival may not be welcomed by his parents or relatives. On the contrary, he will always find his place within the group, in which it is hoped that he will play his part adequately.

614 The fact is that the importance of any group depends on the number of its members, as it can be observed that, although some groups are economically strong, the relative scarcity of men causes the loss of directive positions and influence. Relations between clan groups are on a par when they are more or less matched in the number of their males; otherwise any problem pending between them will be decided in favor of the side where the greater influence of the men weighs more. In order to balance forces, the weak group must seek alliance with other groups.

614 554 Notwithstanding the general eagerness to increase numerically in order to keep the balance or a more just social situation throughout the peninsula, there are some groups that are not so inclined. These are those that have fallen into an inferior state which obliges them to be put at the margin of Guajiro life, where they end up suffering all kinds of injustice and ill-treatment from the others who, finding no force to withstand them, profit by this and, for any reason whatsoever, confiscate their property, deny them all rights, and burden them with demeaning situations like bond service. Such, in brief, is the lot of groups that have few male members and few economic resources. This being so, as a sort of passive defense, the women refuse to conceive: They make use of every empirical recourse to limit maternity. They use herbs which are prescribed

614 554 842

614 /1 cont./
554 for delaying menstruation during the seclusion following the
[842] appearance of puberty, so that the organism may become weakened and the menstrual cycle no longer appears, with which their matrimonial life does not bear fruit. They know beforehand /2/ the destiny of their children. When they become
[567] of useful age a stronger group will fall upon them to enslave them under any pretext -- such as the loss of an animal whose disappearance will be attributed to them without any outcry or civil authority aroused to impede this, and, the injustice inflicted being proved, without any punishment being applied to the aggressor group. Their daughters will be taken as wives
614 without the necessary Guajiro payment, or, simply, they will
554 abuse them, there being no family backing to oppose the de-
593 mands of the men belonging to the stronger groups. If a daughter should be bought, only a nominal payment will be made to silence the protests of her family, but later a very heavy matrimonial retribution will be demanded. Generally, the husband will brag about the way in which he ill-treats the girl, knowing that she is unprotected and that her relatives have insufficient power to demand justice. Thus it is not rare that poor wives are killed by their husbands after a life in which the unfortunate women have been subjected to cruel beatings and even mutilation. And if the family has no alliance with any powerful groups, the death is not indemnified. The mothers also know that should
614 one of their sons, accidentally or in self-defense, wound or kill
554 a member of a stronger family group, the repirsal taken will
628 not be preceded by a demand for compensation payment or any of the legal requirements usually stipulated, but that his whole group will be destroyed or enslaved and deprived of its clan lands, fields, sources of water supply, and personal effects. For such reasons these weak groups are allowing themselves to die out by reducing their birth rate to a minimum.

82 Regarding the special wishes of each group as to the sex of its future descendants, we feel the need of making an analysis of the valuation which each has in the society.

/25 cont./

857 as the machorro /edible lizard/, or shooting arrows at something white or at pigeons. These are his diversions when he is herding at the times when the animals are resting or quietly feeding.

As a pastime he practices the exercise of controlling the animals he is in charge of and especially his skill in subduing and lassoing them. This gives him great satisfaction as well as training him for his future life. Also of great interest is horse riding and competing in races, which stimulate competition and /help in/ acquiring training.

Thus, the Guajiro boy can learn and play at the same time, and these activities are permitted, as his relatives find them advantageous, since they fit him for the activities he will have to carry out as an adult. Moreover, the life of the Guajiro boy is spent for the most part in the woods, and his home life is reduced practically to the hours of nightly rest and meals. During the day he is only in the company of his older brothers, his maternal uncle, or his father, and it is while with them that he may indulge in the luxury of playing, or at the times when he is free from chores. For this reason and because one sex is not allowed to take part in the play activities of the other, the possibilities of mixed games are very limited.

In spite of the endeavors of the mothers to keep their sons by every means from playing, or getting together, with the sons [614] of neighbors -- because of the danger there exists of incurring a compensation payment if a companion of another clan is injured -- at times they do join us, and it is then that they play the games just described. The boys also look for companions to help them in their chores, such as carrying a message, bringing in an animal, etc.

The girls' play activities are almost always of a type useful in training them for feminine duties. The girls, spending more time at home than the boys, have less chance of escaping from family pressure, which in the poorer classes requires them to assist their mothers in household duties and care of the younger children from a very early age. When they belong to better-class families who have female servants or slaves, they pass their

/135/

VII

THE CACIQUE

614 622 Authority in La Guajira is not concentrated but is distributed among each of the clan groups into which society is divided. It is practically a hierarchy, whose primary nucleus is the small family, after which follows the extended family, which includes uncles and aunts /Spanish tíos/, cousins, nephews and nieces /Spanish sobrinos/ on the maternal side, and, finally, the clan, into which are collected all individuals bearing the same surname and possessing the same symbol animal. It can therefore be said that in La Guajira there is no authority which imposes its will on the collectivity. There are, however, mestizo individuals who, owing to their economic position and social status, have acquired a measure of authority over their Guajiro relatives and over other local groups, an authority that is exercised although not legally recognized. Because of their outstanding economic position these mestizos keep on subordinating a series of people around them: their servants with their families, their many wives and children and the families of these latter who depend directly upon them; with the economic subordination comes submission of will. The authority of these mestizos is increased furthermore because of the influence they have with civilizado /nonnative/ groups because of their personal dealings with them, and their facility in mediating facing the civilizados gives them a superior position within the collectivity. To this class of individuals the name "cacique" is given, even by the Indians themselves, but they are not caciques in the true sense of the word.

622 In La Guajira there is another institution which is also called caciquism, which we will continue to describe briefly below.

The necessary conditions for being a cacique in the Guajiro sense and the attributes and responsibilities of the position are the following.

/167 cont./

592 has some authority over them because, if during his absence some carelessness on /168/ the part of the mother causes the death of one of them, he can collect a compensation payment from his wife's maternal relatives. But at the present time, among mestizos and especially among those who contract Catholic marriages, the father's authority is immediately felt in accordance with the custom of our culture. He represents the home and the children before the other individuals of the social totality as was previously done by the uncle.

This authority has reference not only to the home and to the compliance with certain norms of courtesy, such as those of hospitality for example, but also to the decisive events in family life, such as the marriage of a son, the compensation payment for an offense, the purchase of a daughter, etc. His will is consulted, and the wife obeys it, even against the personal insistence of her mother; in other words, the mother loses authority and responsibility with regard to her children, who now use the father's name and with this the new ascribed kin relationship. /169/

XI

THE CLAN

614 On studying clan organization we wish to present it as it apparently must have functioned in the past and to show the changes it has undergone up to the present. To this end, we make use of mythology to clarify happenings in the remote past.

614 A story from Upper La Guajira runs as follows: "Not far
773 from Nazaret there is a hill lying behind Itojoro. There
539 Mareiwa was born under an olive tree. There he was found as a tiny infant, and he kept growing and growing as rapidly as

539 /169 cont./
614 an Indian. He ate tuuma and wore a Guajiro robe. His mother
773 was an old woman. There she had her home. The father was one Saramai who, it is also said, was a god. As Mareiwa was born under an olive tree, the tree never loses its green leaves during any summer. And when there is a storm the Indians take shelter beneath its branches because lightning cannot penetrate there.

"Mareiwa ordered that there should be an Indian girl whom they called Borunka who was the mother of all the Guajiro Indians. Mareiwa gave her a husband by whom she became pregnant, but when the time of her delivery arrived she was not able to give birth. She had already suffered three days of labor pains without birth taking place. The cause was that her genital organ had teeth. Mareiwa extracted them, and later he took from the husband two ribs, the lower ones from each side of his body, to place in Borunka so that she could give birth to children without difficulty, though not without pain.

"Since there is always some loss of blood when there is a childbirth, Mareiwa called together all the little birds: the one called Sangre de Toro /Bull's Blood/ or pincwait he ordered to go and bathe at the spot where the birth had taken place. Also /he called/ the troupial, the icó with black wings and a red breast and crest, and the macaws. The woodpecker arrived late at the bath. Mareiwa said to him: 'You came late but I will anoint your crest,' and he painted it. For this reason, all these birds have red patches.

"Borunka had several children, and thus the Guajiro went on multiplying. When they became numerous, Mareiwa returned and distributed among them seeds of watermelon, corn, and melon, all of which the Guajiro eat to this day. Until this /170/ time the Guajiro had not sown seed, but had collected only the wild fruits of the forest. Mareiwa brought together all the troupials and woodcocks /zancalargas/. A flock of these he sent far away, very far away, and there they

/170 cont./

539 ate prickly pear and iguarayas. He also called a flock of
●614 pigeons of the woods that brought cherries from Hepechi. Then
773 Mareiwa dispersed these little birds all over La Guajira, who with their excrements showered seeds, which germinated in the earth, covering it with plants which bore fruit and served as food for the Indians.

"To each male Indian Mareiwa gave a pair of animals: goats, burros, cows, horses, and pigs. Then he brought them all together with their animals at a place called Arachi, near Siapana, (to the S. W. of Nazaret), and on a stone he engraved the marks he gave to each group of Indians, sons of Borunka. And even today the marks on that stone can be seen.

"There he formed the Epiayú, Ipuana, Uriana, Sapuana, Jayariyú, Apshana, Sijuana, Urariyú, Epinayú, Jitnú, Soriyú, Pausayú, Uriyú, Woriyú, Urenanaka, Matpishana, Uyarayú, Wáriruyú, Jusayú, Woruboruyú, etc. Mareiwa gave them these marks so that the livestock of one would not be confused with those of another.

"Each group has an animal which distinguishes it from the others: These animals (the present-day totems) according to the creation myth were to have become Indians, but they ate the livestock that Mareiwa had distributed to each group and he, then, to punish them left them in their primitive condition as a symbol of the group they had offended. Thus, the royal turkey buzzard for example ate a cow /res/ belonging to the Epiayú so for this reason it became the symbol of that group. The caricari ate an Ipuana animal and so remained with them. The Uriana have the jaguer /as totem/ because it did the same. The Sapuana group have the bittern; the Jayariyú, the dog; the Apshana, the buzzard; the Sijuana, the wasp; the Urariyú, the rattlesnake; the Jitnú, the fox; the Soriyú have the cataneja; the Pausayú, the bee; the Uyarayú, the stag /Venado Cauquero/, etc."

Another story relates: "... as there was nothing on the Earth, Mareiwa said: 'What shall I do so that there may be something and so that I may then return to Heaven?'

/170 cont./

539 614 773

"He then said to the birds, who were Indians at that time, 'Make your homes and your enramadas /bough-covered shelters/ as I am going to Heaven and I will return.' He went away then, and a few days later he was back again from Heaven. Heaven was then like the Earth today with similar trees and fruits. The birds, who were Indians, did not carry out the order of Mareiwa as they neither built houses nor enramadas. When he returned, Mareiwa found out that what they had built were nests in the trees. /171/ Mareiwa told them angrily: 'Turn into birds and be Indians no longer since you did not obey, and from this originated the different kinds of birds.

"After cursing the birds, Mareiwa took up a quantity of clay and began to make dolls like those that are made now at Jarara and various other kind. He sent for the cucarachero /in Colombia and Venezuela, a songbird which eats cockroaches. -- Ed./ to sing to the dolls while he was making them. The bird did so and in its song mentioned the color and kind of clay of which they were made. He later called for the woodpecker and said to him: 'Go and look for my grandfather,' and when he had come he ordered the bird: 'Name the clan of each one of these dolls.' He said: 'This is Apshana; this Epiayú: this Uriana, etc., etc., etc.' In payment for having named the clans so well, Mareiwa gave him a white necklace which he still wears. Finally, the bird said: 'The Ipuanas and Sapuanas will be allies in matters of putchi (war); the Epiayú with the Apshana.' 'Very good,' said Mareiwa.

"All the groups having been named, the clay dolls were converted into real men and women. Mareiwa then distributed the women and sites so that there should be no fighting afterward. Thus he said: 'You will live with your wife there; you here, etc.' Nowadays the men look for and take more women, but in those days Mareiwa gave each only one. These are latter-day customs. He put the Ipuana in Jarara, the Epinayú in Lower La Guajira, the Urariyú in the region of Nazaret, the Epiayú in the region of Puerto Estrella, and so on with all the rest who were distributed

/171 cont./

539 throughout La Guajira. Mareiwa spoke with them for the last
614 time to bid them farewell. Thus he spoke to them: 'That is
773 what I wanted, that you should live here. I am going away now, but will continue to watch over you from Heaven.'"

• • •

614 To better understand their mythology, it is essential to know the organization of La Guajira. Let us see this in brief.

The whole peninsula is divided among diverse groups having special characteristics, which have received in popular language the name of castas /"race," "breed"/. These castas are really clan groups whose most outstanding traits are the following:

1. Each one, as we were able to see in the preceding stories, has a totemic animal which serves to group together all the individuals belonging to the same clan. With respect to the totem animals we find the following:

Clan	Representative animal
Epiayú	Royal turkey buzzard /172/
Ipuana	Caricari
Uriana	Jaguar

Alfred Jhan,[a] (1) adds for this same clan group the following

1. Alfred Jhan:[a] Los aborígenes del Occidente de Venezuela /The Natives of Western Venezuela/, p. 144.

totemic animals:

Uriana	Jaguar (Zone of Taroa and Bahía Honda)
"	Rabbit (Cruce coast of Maracaibo) /Las Cruces.--Ed./

[a] [sic, should read Jahn. - Ann Lyst]

614 /172 cont./

Uriana	Pauralata (in all parts)
"	Jokóriú /Spanish, tuqueque/(in all the plains)

Professor G. Hernández de Alba (2) points out for the same

2. G. Hernández de Alba: Etnologiá Guajira /Guajira Ethnology/, p. 46.

clan group other representative animals:

Uriana	Jaguar (Canahapur)
"	Lion (Guasach)
"	Cat (Mussa)

In spite of the diversity of the representative animals ascribed to the same clan group, all agree in pointing out first of all the jaguar for the zone where it predominates; moreover, it is the best known in the entire peninsula.

Sapuana	Bittern. For the same group Jhan, in the work and pages cited, gives "hen."
Jayariyú	Dog
Apshana	Buzzard
Sijuana	Wasp
Urariyú	Rattlesnake
Jitnú	Fox
Soriyú	Cataneja
Pausayú	Bee
Usarayú	Stag /Venado Cauquero/
Epinayú	Burro /173/
Jusayú	Mapuro /a kind of oppossum/
Uriyú	Partridge
Sapuana	Machorro /edible lizard/
Pushaina	Wild hog

For some very /numerically/ reduced groups such as the Urenanaka, Woruboruyú, and Mapishana, we have not found a

/173 cont./

614 representative animal. It is not that they do not have one, but that in some regions there are no members of their group /present/, and the other people do not know them /that is, the totems/.

At the present time the association of a clan group with a particular totem animal does not imply that its members need offer sacrifices or keep taboos. The belief that they descend from it no longer prevails nor does the special prohibition that no harm is to be done to it or that it should not be killed. The idea that the genesis /of the group/ is to be found in the totem animal does not appear to have been present even in their remote past. The origins that we found in the native narratives do not include this idea. Nowadays, they laugh when one questions them about the animal of their casta; many confess proudly that they belong to the jaguar, to the bee, or to the rattlesnake. . . . They say they are brave, just like those animals, and that they always cause harm to whoever bothers them. Sometimes they will give an example of how the jaguar devours the other animals, and they believe it is the bravest of them all. It thus acquires the sense of a symbol that prompts them to be aggressive. However, there are others who feel troubled if they have to confess /the name of/ their totem animal as is the case of the clan group represented by the burro. The children refuse to do so and if they do name it say their animal is very ugly, that they do not like it, etc.

614 787 Where we found a strong manifestation of the survival of the identification of the individual or the group with its totem animal is in the interpretation of dreams. In some cases, if a person dreams of one of these symbolic animals, it means that he is going to have something disagreeable happen to him at the hands of some members of the corresponding clan, that he will be visited by them, that a marriage alliance is forthcoming, that some relative of whom he has dreamed is going to upset social stability by wounding one of the clan symbolized by the

/173 cont./
614 animal, or the reverse, etc., according to the nature and the
787 particular details of the dream.

• • •

614 2. We find the origin of clan marks also commemorated
422 in the preceding narratives. Every group of individuals with
304 the same name living in the same place had the problem of /174/ distinguishing their animals from those near by or at a distance. Mareiwa did not want this situation to give rise to problems. Along with each group of animals, he gave the corresponding name and representative animal and the property mark, which he engraved on a stone. At the present time they still recognize the generic mark of each casta used to brand the animals and /mark/ the individuals belonging to it. Nevertheless, a variation of this original idea is to be found. Clan marks are degenerating into family marks, and in a process even further advanced we find individual marks, constituted sometimes by a special sign or by the owner's initials branded by a hot iron on some visible part of the body of the animal, or a special cut or nick in the ears of sheep or goats. Tattooing the clan mark on individuals is becoming more and more rare; it is more common in the lower than in the higher classes, and among the less acculturated than among those brought into contact with whites. Regional and family variations are found in the same clans. The clan mark persists in some localities but as an adornment, a "luxury," as they say when questioned. To this end they replace the totem by a schematic figure of the animal; and among the mestizos, by the intial of the name. The parts of the body where these marks are generally located are the upper part of the thigh on men, and the upper surface of the forearm on women.

614 Sometimes they still place the totem mark of the clan on
422 objects of domestic use, (gourds, pottery, bags). But this practice is not very common. At the present time, articles of

/174 cont./

614 422 personal property are marked with letters, especially such items as clay and gourd vessels and parts of the harness of riding animals and their hammocks /chinchorros and hamacas/.

614 551 3. Naming. According to mythology, every clan had its personal name given to it by Mareiwa directly or was inspired by him. It covers all the individuals belonging to the same clan and is the indication of blood relationship. Clan disintegration at the present time has made it necessary to add to this generic name the name of the locality and the name of the most outstanding family head (cacique).

At the present time a Guajiro individual feels that in spite of being linked to another by an identical name he is not a relative /of that person/, and he makes a distinction within the same clan of diverse groups with more or less prestige. However, at a time when attacked by another group, they may make /175/ common cause if their co-operation is needed. [197] Furthermore, the introduction of the Catholic marriage has given equal value to naming by using the paternal surname followed by the maternal surname, although in a stage of transition the second of these has greater value.

• • •

614 602 4. Consanguinity. Consanguinity plays an important role in the Guajiro concept of kinship, which embraces all individuals joined in a chain through common female ascendants, that is, uterine kinship. In this way they set aside the paternal branch, which may be found in opposition and enmity, because in the Guajiro mentality the father-son biological bond, although it exists, does not count in determining kinship. The common tie that embraces all the individuals of a clan is the mother's blood in the biological act and in the process of gestation. From this premise the Guajiro derives the importance of the spilling of blood through themselves or outsiders, because it represents the destruction of the kinship tie and of the vital element. This valuation is the outstanding concept in the regimen for social stability in the culture.

/175 cont./

614 602 Furthermore, consanguinity regulates some fundamental aspects of clan organization, such as inheritance -- of wealth and of name; group identification; the place to locate the home, the cemetery, and marriage.

Within the group of consanguineous relatives, the influence of the maternal uncle is the one most felt, since the father lacks such authority. The uncle holds in his hands the rights and obligations which in other cultures, like our own, are assigned to the father. Another concept included in consanguinity is that of considering as sons and daughters all the members of the generation immediately following one's generation, and as siblings all the members of one's own generation within the clan group. The nexus of consanguinity within the clan is kept alive in its obligations and rights by the economic and social backing given to all its members. Between the dead and the living, for example, the tie is preserved through the special ceremonial made in tribute to the former (Cf. Cult of the dead, Chap. II) to keep alive the emotional bond between past and present generations.

Relations with other clan groups are controlled through compliance with the regimen for stability and by punitive measures that control aggression. Should aggressive acts occur, the aggressor and the injured party can strengthen their /respective/ positions by /176/ alliances with other groups, thus forming a bloc with sufficient power or coercive strength to bring about a favorable legal settlement.

178 602 614 At the present time all these bonds are becoming weakened by the change in the direction of kinship. The old total group concept has changed, in consequence of various influences, into another which is almost totally opposite. In the first place, the clans show subdivisions which affect their original unity and which have come about by members of the same clan settling in different parts of the peninsula, who, after a long period of growth and assisted by the springing up of their own caciques and for want of contact with the original cell, have become veritable independent groups with a sense of unity, although they all preserve the same totem and a common name and clan marks.

/176 cont./

178 In the second place, we observed a limitation in the exer-
602 cise of the clan's function. The concept of consanguineous kin-
614 ship between all its members has relaxed to the point that con-
sanguineous ties are considered to exist only among the closest relatives. An individual's kinsmen have become limited to his mother and her female ascendant, and to his mother's brothers and sisters together with their offspring. Some extend kinship to include relatives of the fourth degree of collaterality, and then to the brothers, sisters, and their descendants. By limiting the concept of kinship, all obligations attached to those no longer considered consanguineous are lost. Consequently, clan unity begins to disintegrate.

178 Another change in the concept of kinship has been intro-
797 duced by Catholic marriage. It implies the abolition of the
602 uterine affiliation, the basis of clan organization. It introduces
614 the paternal branch into the kinship system and places it on a superior plane since the father's name and not the mother's, as it was traditionally, comes first in the offspring. /According to the Spanish custom of compound surnames, one's father's surname comes first. --Ed./ Furthermore, it destroys the authority and predominance of the maternal uncle because that of the father replaces and surpasses it.

178 5. Exogamy. The Guajiro clan was essentially exogamous.
614 Acculturation has made marriage possible and legal between
582 members of the same clan. In other words, clan exogamy has disappeared, and only family exogamy is followed.

6. Location. With respect to clan settlement the myths
614 already quoted resolve the problem by assigning fixed regions to
423 each of the groups which Mareiwa created. These lands are
178 held in common by each clan, which also works them communally. The /177/ improvements introduced, such as roads, wells, and cemeteries, are made with the assistance of all the clan members who will make use of them. At the present time individual solution of the water problem has permitted the splitting up of the communal pasturage land. Furthermore, there is a strong trend toward the breaking up of agricultural land.

/177 cont./

614 7. Work. Labor is obligatory and communal for carrying
461 out work necessary for the general well-being of the group.
476 In the case of labor on property held by a single individual, aid is voluntarily lent by all the others, including men who may not belong to the same clan. The aid is reciprocated by the return of identical service when it may be requested.

614 8. Location of the dwelling. We have already spoken about the location of the home of the new family cell (Cf. Marriage residence in the chapter on Marriage).

614 9. The clan cemetery. Every clan group has a cemetery
764 on its own land, built by the co-operative work of its members. In it all the members of the clan should be buried; if it is not possible to do so at the time of the first burial, it is mandatory that the ashes /sic/ at least be taken there. With the individualization of property, the small families have constructed private niches situated in sites near the family house to be used as the temporary resting place of the remains of their closest relatives.

614 10. Group feeling. The consanguineous tie between all
571 the members of the same clan group had brought about a natural feeling of group unity. This feeling included a series of mutual duties and a number of rights they all could enjoy. The principal and most outstanding of the first was that of presenting a solid front in the face of any breaking down of the regimen for social stability when they felt injured by an offense or when one of the members had broken some cultural pattern, an act for which the whole clan had to bear responsibility. To get satisfaction and to give it as a total collectivity was their essential duty, as it was also to keep in force their prestige and status through adequate compliance of each of those functions which put the clan to the test.

The disintegration of the clan unit into more or less large family cells broken down the group feeling and transfered it to the family as an independent unit. /page 178 is blank/

/198 cont./

681 614 It is with this understanding that the distribution of animals is made on such an occasion, and with it, payment is made for the pain received for any offense. On the day that such a payment is to be made, all the friends of the beneficiary arrive, reminding him of, and drawing his attention to, the information they gave him and the pain that the offense has given them. At this time the services already given to the group in the past are evaluated and possible future aid is taken into consideration. The totality of various attitudes observed at this moment is known to the Guajiro by the name of jurijonear, which means "to be present at a distribution in order to obtain for any reason some part of it."

In Guajiro law there exists one aspect which we must consider: when the clan group does not accept joint responsibility for an infraction against the regime for social stability by one of its members.

One of the cases when the coercive action of the whole clan is /199/ shown is when an individual commits a delict of such a nature that it provokes in his own consanguineous relatives the reaction of considering him to be outside the collectivity, which signifies in fact that he is also outside Guajiro society. This was the case of the Kusina, marginal outlaws, who were slowly extinguished by all the other clan groups, who made common cause against them. They were individuals turned out of the clan organization by their own consanguineous relatives because of violations against the culture's regimen for social stability.

681 682 614 With respect to the breaking of the regimen for social stability by homicide, it is necessary to note the individual expiation that the violator is obliged to carry out. The offender submits himself voluntarily to a special regimen (1) the object of which is to make

1. Pineda Giraldo, Roberto. Aspectos de la Magia en la Guajira, Revista del Instituto Etnológico Nacional, Vol. III, Part 1, 1947. Bogotá, 1950. Pages 82 and following.

/199 cont./

681 amends to a certain extent for the wrong both before his own
conscience and the opinion of his kin; the Guajiro murderer tries
●614 by means of this expiation to avoid being again involved in an
682 act the consequences of which have already fallen so heavily on
his kin; to free himself in some way from the social coaction
which his act has provoked; and most particularly to placate the
dead man's spirit which from the moment of his death has followed
him everywhere, crying for satisfaction and helping in the punish-
ment of the offender. The Guajiro murderer believes so fully
that he is pursued by the spirit of the murdered person that in those
cases in which the author of the crime is not known, the guilty
man, obsessed by such a belief, especially when he is sick,
confesses his crime publicly and submits to the legal prescriptions
which envelop both him and his kin.

After this regimen of expiation, the Guajiro murderer must
bear the social coaction which forms all around him, expressed
especially by the isolation which is imposed on him. Certain
aspects of magic are connected with the murderer which oblige
him to keep on the margin of society; for instance, he cannot
visit sick people because he will make them worse, nor homes
where there are children because they will become sick at his
presence; wherever he goes he will carry with him the infuriated
spirit of the dead man, which produces these evil results.

His social status goes down as an immediate consequence,
and his economic position suffers considerably, because the delict
of blood prohibits him from freely and efficiently exercising the
productive activities which he used to perform, besides condemn-
ing him to live in exile for many long years. /page 200 is blank/

[24 cont.]

*n56 787 Shamans' dreams are interpreted by themselves in accordance with the elements that occur in them. We shall see how they do so.

If they dream that they see a burro tied to a post, turning continuously about it until it falls to the ground, it signifies that someone — the shaman will determine who — is going to die.

If in a dream they see a very swollen current of water, it implies that an interclan war will break out in the near future. If they dream of someone's death, this means that they are going to kill an animal, or it is simply the announcement of the death of the shaman himself. If, on the other hand, the dream refers to the death of an animal, it is a sign that some known person will be attacked by a serious sickness.

When the shaman dreams that a person has been bitten by a snake, that individual will be wounded by a poisoned arrow (imára), but, if during the dream some other person should kill the snake, it is a sign that both men involved in the action will have trouble and both will be wounded by poisoned arrows. If [64] in the dream two jaguars (representative animals of the Uriana clan) leap on someone, this person should be forewarned to be cautious in his relations with the Uriana, as the men of the Uriana clan are going to kill him.

Dreaming of fire is evidence of the presence of sickness accompanied by fevers; to dream of rain water in great abundance is a sure indication that in La Guajira, without stating exactly where, an important wake will be held in the near future, that is, that a wealthy Indian or Indian woman of good economic position is going to die. To see a male goat killed during a dream is to know that a boy is to be killed; to see a steer being sacrificed is to learn that an adult is to be killed. When the dream is about a small burro that is tied to a hitching post and circles around it and later falls down, this implies the death of a poor Indian. When the animal is a horse that makes the same circle, it implies the death of a wealthy Indian. To dream of blood always means a coming death in the group. [25]

• • •

[62 cont.]
825 whole period of pregnancy. The duality of childbirth-serpent
843 is brought to our notice with an insistence and disconcerting realism which we will endeavor to explain.

If we look into the Guajiro family organization we can
596 see how that community taken as a homogeneous whole is
621 divided into series of extended family groups which follow the line of maternal filiation. Belonging to a family group are the mother, the sons and daughters of the mother, the sons and daughters of the mother's daughters, and so on successively. The administration of the family is not in the hands of the father, who is not considered as such, but in those of the maternal uncles, the eldest of these being predominant. Inheritance also
428 is determined by this system, and sons inherit nothing from their natural father, but from their mother or their maternal uncles. The property of the father is split up among his nephews, sons of his sister, whom he considers as sons. Patrilocality and
591 matrilocality exist, the former predominating. The family group, wrongly named by some authors casta is very much
614 extended, and to it belong all those bearing the same surname. Each large family group has its own property mark or brand and a representative animal. Thus, for example: [63]

Family groups	Representative animals
Uriána (41)	jaguar

[104]

41. For the convenience of our readers we have adapted the phonetics of all these Guajiro names to Spanish orthography, using the most apparent sounds.

Urárivü	rattlesnake
Uriyü	snake
Woürivü	partridge
Uyárayü	cauquero (a species of deer)
Ípwana	cari-cari
Sápwana	bittern

[63 cont.]

614

Family groups	Representative animals
Jayáriyú	dog (42)

42. It should be made clear that this animal symbol is, or must be, relatively modern, as the dog was unknown before the Conquest. The substitution of this for some other animal, we do not know which, must have occurred in the Post-conquest era for reasons unknown up to now.

Ápshana	buzzard
Síjuana	wasp
Soryú	cataneja
Páusayú	bee

The social or mythical meaning of these animals representing the extended family groups has been lost. At least we could not obtain any verbal declaration from our informants in which we could perceive the actuating presence of the totem, which is what possibly in olden times these animal figures represented. But we have in some cases been able to establish linguistic correspondence between the name of the family group and its characteristic animal. To verify this we can show some examples (43).

[114]

43. We expound this short linguistic study with some reservations since our stay in La Guajira was relatively short, two months approximately, in which length of time the study of the language scarcely reached the rudimentary stage.

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614
825

1. uri or wih = snake
wayú = Indian, people

[63 cont.]

192 uriyú = Indians (people of the snake)

●614 2. uráichiser = people of the snake

825 Wuradiru = fish-serpent, (Arawak of Guiana) (44)

44. Taken from: Anonymous: Arawakisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch [Arawak-German Dictionary]. Copy in manuscript form in possession of the Moravian Unity of Brethren at Zittau (translated from the German by Eginhard Menghius).

[64]

wayú = Indian, people

uráriyú = people of the rattlesnake

3. uri = snake

ana = (We do not know the exact meaning of this particle)

uriána = must be "descendant of the snake,"

or something similar. Here the linguistic correspondence between the family group and the name of its representative animal is lost to us, as the word or words to designate "jaguar" are karáira and kánahaput. But in any case the relation with serpent is interesting.

Another case similar to the former is shown by the Wouriyú family group, which has the partridge for its representative animal. The word for this bird is pér; on the other hand, our breakdown of the word wouriyú – bearing in mind the reservation already referred to is as follows:

w (from wa or wayá, "we")	=	our [masc., fem.]
oú	=	eye
uri	=	snake
yú (from wayú, Indian, people)	=	people

From which we can deduce that wouriyú can be translated as "people of the eye of our snake."

[64 cont.]

192 In the case of the Uyárayú group, we find another perfect correspondence between the name of the animal and that of the
614 family group:
825

uyára	= cauquero (a species of deer)
yú	= from wayú Indian, people
uyárayú	= people of the cauquero

614 The foregoing demonstrates the existence within the Guajiro community of the remains of an ancient clan organization, matrilineal and totemic. We say remains because the significance of the totem, as we have noted, has almost completely disappeared, since there does not exist a fixed prohibition against killing certain animals (in this case the animal corresponding to the group) nor any ceremonial ritual related to it. We do not wish to enlarge on this subject of the existence of totems in La Guajira as this will be treated in a later thesis. We only wish to emphasize the value of the serpent in Guajiro
614 magic for which no [65] clearer explanation can be found than
825 the connection it maintains with the ancient beliefs related to
843 the totem. It shows us that the greater percentage of Guajiro totemic clans are connected in their name to this creature; also that the serpent's evil effects fall directly on pregnant women, causing harm not to the children, as occurs with other animals (the fox, sparrow hawk, duck...), but directly to the mother.

• • •

825 The mother-to-be should also avoid seeing a sparrow hawk
843 because if she disobeys this ruling her child will be born bleary eyed, since they say this bird is.

843 A pregnant woman's husband must not go hunting with a modern weapon — the rifle — since he can do this with the tra-
845 ditional weapons, the bow and arrow, for if he does not obey this rule, his wife's labor will be prolonged for a long time, and no remedies nor any other attempts to help her will hasten the birth in any way. When a husband has failed to obey this magico-preventative medicinal norm, it is necessary to obtain a rifle — preferably the one the husband used in his hunting —

682 783 [83 cont.]
warn him of the approach of danger.

7) He must abstain from all business and renounce friendships for some years, avoid social gatherings, especially those of a festive or drinking type.

8) In the case that the two family groups — that of the murderer and that of his victim — do not come to an agreement he, the murderer, must leave the country of his own free will and go to some distant place.

If the murderer should not comply with the requisites indicated, he can be certain that the spirit of his victim will deliver him defenseless into [84] the hands of his enemies, who will immediately kill him to satisfy their vengeance.

We can clearly see two essential things that stand out from these facts: (a) that the murderer, by the social crime he has committed, places himself automatically in the condition of an outcast, one impure, or more correctly, a contaminated, dangerous being. For this reason he becomes an individual who [614] must be set apart from the community. (b) The murderer's family, at the same time that it provides him with the means for going away, carrying out one of its main functions, mutual assistance among its members, takes care that the outcast does not fall an easy prey to his victim's spirit. His retirement from his habitual haunts, from his acquaintances, and particularly 682 785 from his own relatives; his disguise by cutting his hair and wearing certain articles of clothing; his not sleeping in a hammock; his avoiding his face being seen (sleeping face down); his not mixing with friends in business and in social gatherings; and finally, his going away a long distance from his clan, all demonstrate clearly to us that what the murderer is endeavoring to do — consciously or unconsciously — is to effect a total change of personality, we should almost say that he tries to convert himself into another hypothetical person, unrecognizable especially to the spirit of the person he has killed, to avoid its discovering him and taking its revenge on his body.

The clearest demonstration that the change of personality is made to mislead the murdered man is the fact that only when it is found impossible to reach an agreement between the two

526 [139 cont.]
536 shown a test of cunning between these two animals. In this tale,
796 the rabbit is the winner.

11. The man and the wild boar. One man takes the part of a wild boar, the other that of the man who stalks it. The hunter follows the boar, which runs swiftly away, dodging the hunter's arrows in its flight. In this trial of dexterity, the hunter will be the winner if in the end he wounds the boar with one of the arrows he shoots; or it will be the boar that triumphs if it is able to tire out its persecutor and dodge all the arrows shot at it.

12. The hunter, the dog, and the rabbit. This play is another trial of dexterity, as the end in view is to try the ability of each actor in the role assigned to him. It represents, in short, a hunting party, in which the man and the dog try to capture and kill the rabbit. The dog tries to catch it and tear it to pieces, while the man follows at a greater distance, throwing stones at it. If he manages to hit it, the rabbit acts as if killed, giving the victory to the huntsman. The result is the same if the dog is successful in catching his prey with his claws, but if the rabbit should evade both of them, showing greater ability and speed than the other two, he becomes the winner of the test.

536 13. The song of the serpent. We have left this section to
796 terminate our study of the theater in La Guajira because it presents characteristics different from all the other representations which we have described. It does not involve a demonstration of skill or force, nor does it require the intervention of contending groups in any way. In consequence there is no dialogue, but
[533] there is a monologue sung by the leader of the group followed by all the actors, in which the deeds of the serpent are recounted

As a clarifying note we refer our reader to the chapter "Sickness and Medicine," in which this reptile's magic power is clearly evident, especially in relation to pregnant women and all that surrounds them. We also would recall that, as in the case of
[614] the jaguar, the serpent [140] figures in the naming of the clans, at times in close association with the jaguar.

The act develops as follows: A line is formed of alternate men and women who take each other's hands. They run with short steps, undulating to copy the motion of a serpent when

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
SC13 Goajiro SC13

the men speak some Spanish in addition to their native 105
language. Some of them know how to read and write. They
are almost entirely pastoral, possessing great herds of horses, [233]
asses, sheep, goats, and cattle. They have borrowed a great
deal from the Europeans but they have also kept their own
culture to a remarkable degree. As usual, native elements
are most strongly present in the non-material phases of culture.
Unfortunately they are not united or organized into a modern
state, though against all foreigners they stand together as a
unit. Authority is acquired by certain caciques through their [554]
wealth and membership in the 'casta,' the major social group- 614
ing in Guajiro society. Each casta claims a mythological 631
origin and holds sovereignty over a well-defined territory.
Many of these castas or social groupings are further sub-
divided. Each casta has its caciques whose function is chiefly
to settle disputes and whose position is inherited, matrilineally.
The oldest of them is allowed more authority, but generally it
is the wealthiest man, and the one who can marshal more [556]
retainers, armed with rifles and revolvers, who is listened to
with greater respect. There are further divisions in Guajiro
society. At the top are the caciques and their families who are 565
rich and powerful. The next group is composed of peons or
retainers in the service of the upper stratum, and at the bottom
are the 'slaves' who have been born in that condition or have
been enslaved following an offense to some powerful group, and [567]
who can even be let out to work for planters in the sugar fields
of Zulia The life of the poor people has not changed much
since early times. Polygamy is widely practised, as is also 595
concubinage, by the wealthier men. Each wife lives in her
own rancho and there awaits the occasional visit of her hus-
band. The children inherit property and social affiliations [611]
through the mother. Disputes that arise within a casta are
settled by arbiters chosen by the families of the litigants. [627]
Disputes inter-casta may be settled by arbitration if violence
is not desirable. Generally the killing of an individual gives [628]
rise to armed action with an eventual composition by payment.

My informants attempted to demonstrate the difference be- 671

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

133 venting anything being landed dry. The Colombian Government
504 erected a guard-house at the entrance of this bay last year, but I am afraid it will have to be abandoned as untenable. Puerto Estrella makes a very bad port, the small trading schooners having to lie in under the breakers. This is the last recognised Colombian port, at least pending the arbitration question. The next good port is the Laguna de Tucacas, in the Gulf of Maracaybo. This place is much frequented by Venezuelans, and a trade has sprung up that if not checked will ruin the already drooping commerce of Rio Hacha. The last port on the coast is that of Cojoro, and spoken of as the future port of Maracaybo, with which it would have to be connected by rail, an engineering feat of not much difficulty. The *ensenada* or bay of Calabozo has an inaccessible, heavy, surf-beaten coast.

The peninsula is inhabited by only one tribe of Indians. These are
614 subdivided into many families or castes, bearing much analogy to the ancient "clans" of Scotland. Each caste or rather family circle is united against all comers, taking up the quarrel of any one of its members to make it general. The Goajiros are strictly conservative and aristocratic
556 in their ideas, wealth and interest are omnipotent. A poor man may be
[578] insulted with impunity, when the same to a rich man would cause certain bloodshed. They have no veritable rulers, but each community
[622] recognises the wealthiest of its members as the chief or corporal, as he has been dubbed by the Spaniards, and look to him for protection. An Indian born poor, cannot become wealthy and great. Whatever herds he may accumulate, his humble origin would never be forgotten; he
[557] could, however, marry into a high caste family, having the means, and his children could become, through their mother's relations, great chiefs.
614 Besides the name, each caste or family represents some animal, and many of the minor castes, over and above their own symbol, adopt another of some more powerful denomination, to enjoy the privilege of a good protector. There are at present, altogether, some thirty odd castes among the Goajiros. Of these I was able to discover the names of twenty-two. The remainder are insignificant, little known castes, chiefly inhabiting the hills. There are about ten of importance, chief among these the "Urianas." This, the largest caste in the Goajiro, has subdivided or split up into many ramifications, such as Uriana tiger, Uriana rabbit, Uriana paularate (a song bird), Uriana gecko (lizard). This family is at present not only by far the most numerous, but also the richest; due to its connections by marriage with the Pushainas, formerly the wealthiest of the land. The Pushainas are to-day still
[558] great holders of tumas and ornaments, but with the Indian, only cattle, mules, and horses are real estate. The Urianas on receiving the tumas, sold out for cattle. The second in numbers are the Epieyues, as a rule they are poor. Under their protection are the Secuanas, again under these the small caste of the Guorguoriynes. A full list will be given

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in an Appendix. With the exception of the Jirnues or Piesies, a small tribe of 200 souls all told living in the valley of Macuira between Ara-ura and Itujoro, the Güaririúes, a mere handful of Indians under the protectorate of the Jirnu, the Sijuanas, Secuanas, Arapainayúes, Sámuriues, Araurujunas, and the Arpusiatas, all small local tribes, strictly confined to the upper country or east of Cabo de la Vela, the other castes are distributed throughout the breadth and width of the land in the greatest confusion. Living as the Goajiro does, in continual strife and warfare, whole families would speedily become poor or extinct, if they did not take the precaution to separate their wealth and herds, and only keep a few in one place at a time. Scarcity of water and pasture compels them to lead a nomadic life, and makes house-building out of the question, for they are eternally changing abode, now in the upper Goajira and then in the lower or plains. Some branches among the castes have, in spite of their roving propensities, predispositions for certain spots. For example, the proud and wealthy Pushainas are chiefly found round and about Parashi and Ataipa. Urianas tiger frequent Taroa and Bahia Honda a great deal, while near Portoto, Ipuanas and Epinayues abound. In the neighbourhood of Auipana the Ipuanas and Jusayues are in great force; at the Tota nearly all are Jusayues, and near Las Guardias at Guarero, Sapuanas; these three latter are mostly all Cocina Indians. With respect to these terrible Cocinas, the word in Goajira signifies robber, highwayman, or outlaw. They are neither a tribe nor even a separate caste as many have supposed, but simply a band of freebooters—Indians that, for quarrels, murder, thefts, &c., have been expelled the family, and must needs take to pillaging to earn a livelihood. For self-defence, and to better ply their nefarious calling, they are banded together with recognised chiefs, and so are able to go on their marauding expeditions in great force, pouncing on any less numerous or unprepared party, to strip them of everything. One party of Cocinas will rob another if they can. Nearly all the Goajiros have relations among them, but an Indian is only safe with that band to which his relation belongs. They have commercial intercourse with them, and often succeed in getting stolen cattle back. The Cocinas' territory *par excellence* is the Cojoro range of hills, taking in the Tota, traversing the plains in a narrow band, and occupying the Montes of Ocu as a refuge while scouring the plains. The country as far east as the Macuira range is not exempt from their depredations, especially between Ciapana and the Laguna of Tucacas. The principal Cocina chiefs are Alyechipara or Yorujama, as he frequently is called, an Uriana, and rules the country about Auipana and Yuripicho—he is the worst and most feared of the lot; Porón, an Arpushaina, another devil—he has appropriated the district of Cojoro; Masapain, a Josayú, lords it all about the Tota; and Merejildo, a Sapuana, is chief of the country about Las Guardias. Once the terror of the plains, this wild beast has

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611 614 628 [604] In the following laws it must be borne in mind that it is not the injured individual that demands compensation, but his relations, uncles on the mother's side as a rule. From this has arisen the common error that the father is ignored; as will be seen further on, this is not the case. In compensation it is the caste that reclaims, and the caste is always the mother's side. For example, a Pushaina man marries an Uriana girl; the children are Urianas. If one of these now should kill an Epieyu, for example, the whole caste of Uriana is at war with all the Epieyues, unless the matter is amicably settled by paying blood-money.

672 683 Case No. 1. Personally inflicted wounds. If an Indian accidentally cuts himself, say with his own knife, breaks a limb, or otherwise does himself an injury, his family on the mother's side immediately demands blood-money. Being of their blood, he is not allowed to spill it without paying for it. The father's relations demand tear-money, not so much. Friends [572] present demand compensation to repay their sorrow at seeing a friend in pain. If anybody present can seize the instrument that caused the accident it is appropriated. The pay is in ratio to the injury. A slightly cut finger is settled with a little Indian corn, a kid, or such trifle. A bad cut requires at least a goat or a sheep, with other sundries. In all cases of compensation where the Indian has not the wherewith to satisfy his creditors, he goes round begging until it is obtained.

628 672 683 Case No. 2. Damage done by animals. Suppose an Indian borrows a mule or other animal, and is thrown by it, doing himself bodily injury, then his relations demand compensation from the lender, the argument being, had he not lent the animal the accident could not have happened. Should the beast belong to the thrown man himself, then he has to pay. Case of No. 1 in fact.

Case No. 3. General liability all round. This covers an enormous field. The most curious. Everybody selling rum or anything else is answerable for all the damage done by its instrumentality. Unfortunately this law is only, like many others, enforced when it is possible. As the traders know it very well, they never take rum into the interior for barter without being fully able to protect themselves. I was lent a servant as guide by a trader, who requested me not to let the man have any drink, for should anything happen to him he would be responsible to the family. Indians in employment receiving any damage the em- [466] ployer becomes liable; and so on. Wherever the Indian can only make the ghost of a claim he wants tear-money, blood-money, or some other money, and if not satisfied, helps himself with what he can lay his hands on.

551 628 689 Case No. 4. Mentioning names. This is very serious. The Indians object to have their true names mentioned, and demand heavy compensation in aggravated cases. They generally go by a Spanish name—José Antonio, Agustin, Vicente, &c., for an Indian dearly loves to be baptised, that is, he likes the attending feast and having god-fathers on

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122 As a last word I may say from personal experience that the Goajira is an interesting but not a beautiful country, nor is it a desirable place for travelling, either for pleasure or for commerce. Not that there is any actual danger under ordinary circumstances, but what between drunken bloodthirsty Indians, blood- and tear-money, with all the intricacies of their own peculiar laws, travelling among them is as bad as sitting on a keg of gunpowder before a big fire. It is impossible to foretell when a mere spark, accidentally or intentionally, may blow the whole thing up.

APPENDIX.

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List of Tribes or Castes, with their respective animals and favourite resting-places.

Uriana ..	Canahapur	Tiger	About Tarca and Bahia Honda.
" ..	Arpané	Rabbit	About Cuco and Maracaybo coast.
" ..	Guiupiral	A singing bird ..	Everywhere.
" ..	Hokóriu	Gecko (lizard) ..	Only in the plains.
Epleyú ..	Guarusecho	A species of vulture	Bahia Honda, Puerto Estrella, and plains.
Pushaina ..	Puiche ..	A species of small peccary.	Pensahi, Atalya, and plains.
Ipuana ..	Mushará ..	A sort of hawk ..	Portete Joroy, Clapana, &c.
Jayarú ..	Er ..	Dog	Macuira and plains.
Jusayú ..	Kasiaurie	Rat-snake	Tuta, Hayaro.
Arpushaina ..	Sumur ..	Vulture	Guincua and plains, Cohoro.
Sapuana ..	Garina ..	Hen	Plains, Guarero.
" ..	Cirral ..	A species of stork ..	(?)
Epinayu ..	Uyára ..	A small buck ..	Portete, Hayarure.
Jirnu or Pinsí	Guarir ..	Fox	Only in the Macuira valley.
Secuana ..	Ghorgóor or Guarusecho.	Species of vulture ..	Only in the Upper Goajira.
Urariyú ..	Mára ..	Rattlesnake	Everywhere.
Pausayú ..	Huche ..	(?)	(?)
Sijuana ..	Cóori ..	Wasp	Upper Goajira only.
Guaririn ..	Guarir ..	Fox	Only in the hills of Macuira.
Guarîru or Guau-uriu.	Por ..	Partridge	Tarca and Upper Goajira.
Arapainayú ..	Anuwana ..	Species of vulture ..	Upper Goajira only.
Samurú ..	Hepépa ..	Owl	" "
Arpu-lata ..	Iachú ..	Red cardinal bird ..	" "
Uchamaiú ..	Aro all Coeina Indians	.. ..	Cohoro hills only.
Aranrujuna ..	A small, almost unknown tribe in the hills of Macuira.		
Ghorguariyú	Ghorgóor or Guarusecho.	Species of vulture	Only in the hills of Upper Goajira.

[262] N.B.—The Samurides, a very small caste, eat horseflesh and donkeys. This is considered by the other Indians to be very unclean, who, until lately, did not even eat fowls. All Indians are, however, fond of a species of lizard, "gunshoe," and iguanas.

[pages 797-840 do not pertain to SC13 Goajiro]

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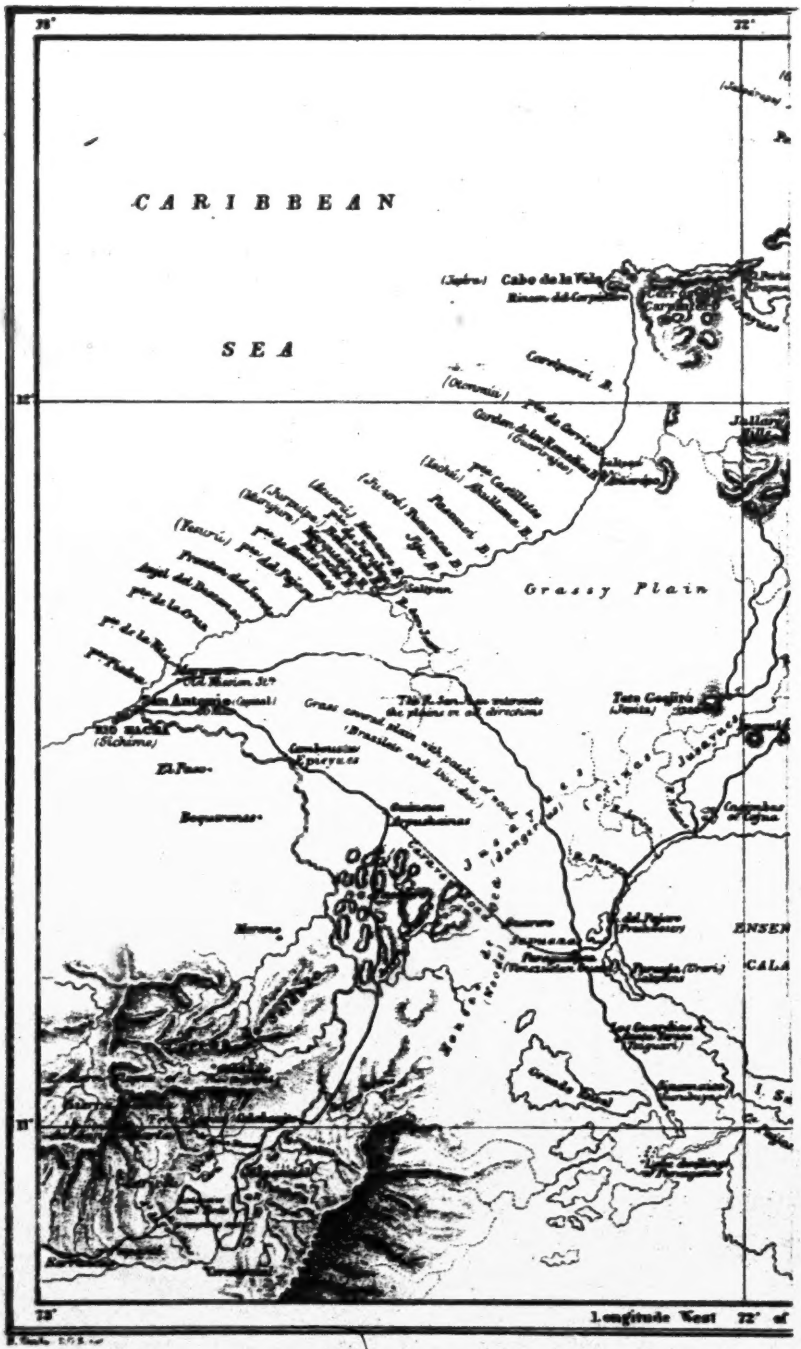

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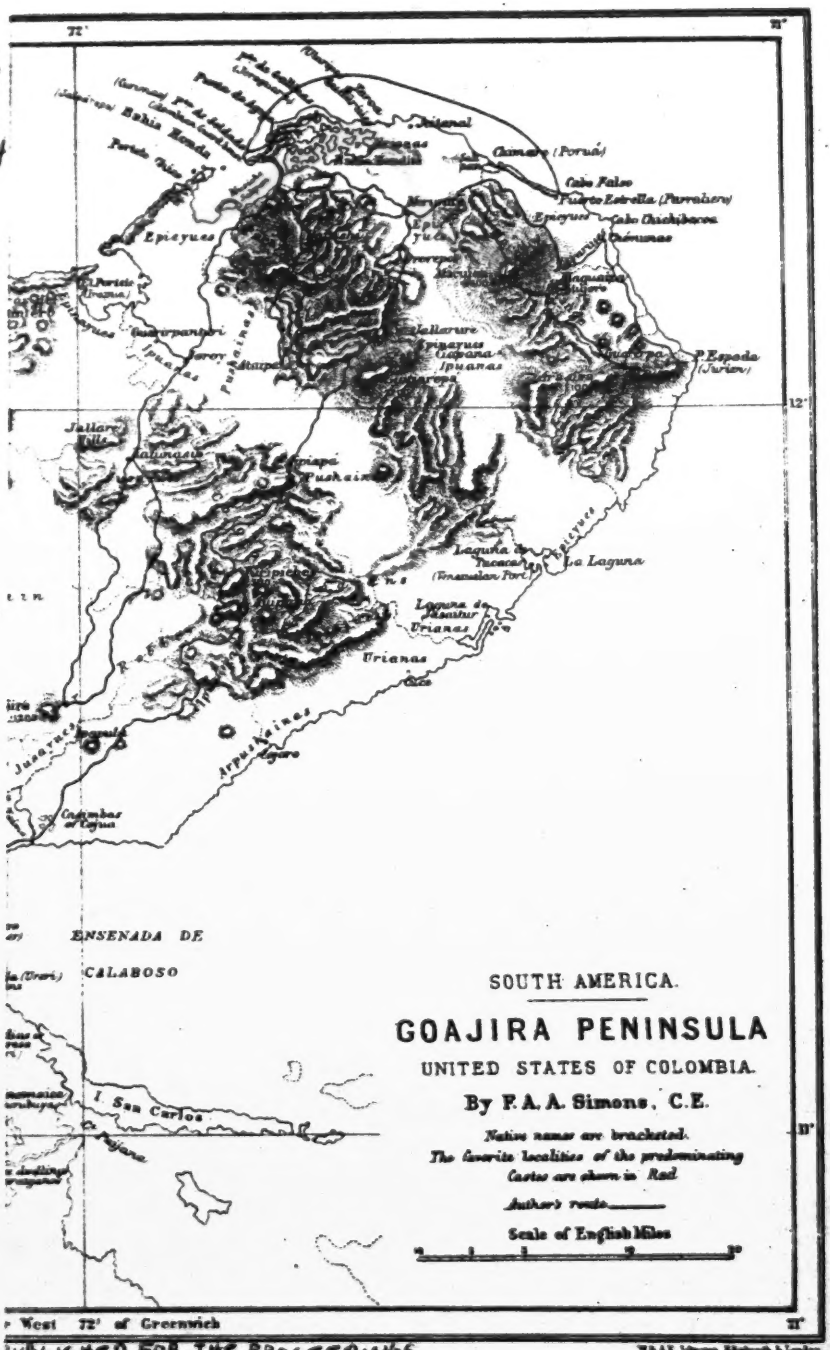

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6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
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ASPECTS OF THE AVUNCULATE IN THE GUAJIRO CULTURE

ANTONIO SANTA CRUZ
Catholic University of America

THE Guajira peninsula is situated in the northwest corner 131
of Colombia, South America, roughly between the 71° and 133
73° W. long., and 11° and 12° N. lat. It is rather flat in
contour with only some hill ranges in the eastern part. Rain- [132]
fall is scarce and the vegetation is of a semi-arid type. The 101
region is inhabited by one tribe of Indians, the Arawak-speak- 197
ing Guajiro. Both culturally and linguistically the Guajira
peninsula presents a uniform block.

The present writer visited the territory in the summer of 1940, 114
but due to illness contracted there was forced to cut short his
visit. Fairly full data were gathered on all phases of social
culture. The present paper deals with certain aspects of one
phase only, the avunculate.

The rôle of the maternal uncle is manifold in Guajira culture, 604
organized as the Guajira are into maternal sibs. Types of be- [614]
havior, both prescribed and unformalized, vary, depending on
the seniority of both uncle and nephew, but not on that of
niece. In this paper we shall be concerned for the most part 121
with the prescribed and voluntary relations between the oldest
brother of a given woman and her eldest son, and between this
oldest brother and his sisters' daughters. Other relations not
involving these specified kin will be touched upon only inciden-
tally for illustrative purposes.

[p. 1]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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neither was much help. Our route went in a zig-zag from 000
water hole to water hole. I did not feel altogether sure that the Gaffer would find the mission station. From what I could understand of the interpreter's inadequate Spanish and floods of Guajiro, it seemed that when the old man made his trip to the Macuira Hills, there was not yet a mission station there. I knew that it was of relatively recent date. If we could only get to Macuira, we could ask our way to the monks, I felt sure of that. Otherwise we should have to try and find our way to the little harbour of Puerto Estrella on the east coast of the peninsula. To go there involved a detour, but there would certainly be a white person or at least a mestizo there, who would be able to show us the way to Amúruru.

It seemed to us that our baquiano not only wandered round in search of water holes, but also avoided certain ranchos. What, we wondered, was the position with his clan? Was it engaged in a feud just then? I knew little of clan quarrels and blood-feuds, then.

The Gaffer now began asking everyone we met the way to 484
Macuira. It was obvious that he did not know where he 151
was and that we had a bad guide. The Guajiro have a 823
wonderful sense of direction. They find their way unerringly about their trackless cactus steppes, where every place looks alike. They know every depression in the ground, every eminence, and they all have names. Like the Arabs in the desert, they never forget a way they have once travelled, so it was obvious that the Gaffer had never before been where we were then, that he had simply gone astray. The Indians' ability to follow tracks is also amazing. [224]
They can see by the hoof prints when a strange horse has been in among a herd, and they can track down a strayed bullock, even if it has joined company with others. An Indian can see whether others belong to his clan or not from a long distance off, even when he does not know them personally. They have a clan mark tattooed, or sometimes [302
painted on their thighs, it is true, but an Indian seems to [304
know to which clan they belong, even when you cannot 614]
distinguish those marks through field glasses.

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applies mainly to children. These then become slave-workers and by right should be liberated once they have paid off with their work the sum for which they were bought, but that may not always be done. It is the mother, the uncle or the aunts who decide when a child is to be sold. This seems cruel to us now, yet it is not so long ago that children in the country were auctioned as workers in Sweden and elsewhere. 735 567

The owner of these slave-workers is bound to provide them with food and clothing as he must his slaves; thus children sold into slavery at least do not starve to death as they well might at home. 614

An Indian who has been unable to pay his debts must in certain circumstances go and serve his creditor. That is reminiscent of our own ancient slavery for debt. The obligation to work for another can also be a punishment laid upon a thief or a robber. As long as the slave-worker's clan is able to take action against the master if he goes beyond his entitlement, the position of the slave-worker is different from that of the slave; but if his clan is weak and unable to help him, he can be utterly in his master's power. At times a whole clan may become so weak that it has to seek the support of a stronger clan, and thereby becomes bound to work for the latter and is entirely dependent upon it. 567 686 [685]

While the master of a female slave may use her as he will, he has no right to have intercourse with a female slave-worker. Nor can he prevent others from entering into relations with her. If her clan has any voice in affairs, it will require damages of anyone who seduces her; but if her clan is powerless, then the female slave-worker is without support either of her clan or her master, and not infrequently ends as a prostitute. Prostitution is contrary to Indian law, but nowadays it does exist. 567 833 614 [548]

Even if a girl's clan is insignificant it will always demand damages, if someone has had relations with the girl and made her pregnant. Usually the man will pay up, that being the decent thing to do. Perhaps he wishes to marry the girl; in that case he must first pay her master the debt

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567 614 833 which occasioned her becoming a slave-worker, and then pay a bride-price to her family. The girl becomes free and, of course, her child is born free.

567 Real slaves are those taken in war. Nowadays they seldom take men or boys prisoner, but prefer to kill them instead. Otherwise there is always a risk that eventually they will try to avenge themselves. Women and girls are 628 mostly spared and made slaves. Civil strife is common, and 648 the Macuira Hills were no more peaceful than other areas, but the Indians were reluctant to harm the monks, though on occasion even they became involved.

One day a violent feud broke out between two clans. The chief of one clan himself led the fighting and had determined that the enemy was to be utterly exterminated. The battle raged quite close to the mission. To be anywhere near the Indians when they are fighting is dangerous, for those with rifles are seldom able to shoot and stray bullets fly everywhere. Poisoned arrows are also in the air, but they are better aimed and do not travel so far.

628 One day the monks heard that this chief had captured a 727 couple of boys of the enemy clan and had ordered that they 797 should be burned alive. The boys were reported to have been tied to a tree, round which a large fire had been lit, 649 after which the chief's men had gone away, leaving the boys to their fate. Two of the monks set off at once for the tree. As they hurried along rain began to fall and they hoped that that might put the fire out and so save the boys' lives. When they arrived, however, one of the boys was already dead, having been suffocated by the smoke. The other was still alive and the monks carried him back with them, though they scarcely expected him to survive, for he was very badly burned. It seems pointless and cruel to kill little boys, but the Indians were afraid that, if they spared them, they would take vengeance later; thus, when they heard what had happened, they sent a message saying that the monks must hand the boy over.

The monks replied that the boy was dead. That was the only way of saving his life—if it could be saved. He died during the night, however, and was buried in the mission's

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Francisco's blood was slightly mixed, but, of course, he followed his Indian mother's clan and bore the name Ipuana. This clan's symbol is the hawk. Francisco was married and his wife belonged to the Dog clan, Jayariyú Their children were thus called Jayariyú, and Francisco was not even of the same family, though no one doubted his paternity. 115 [614]

Francisco served us well on our journeys. He was not especially quick-witted, but he was certainly not a simpleton. He suited us well in Guajira, for he knew both the country and the people; later, when we came to parts that he did not know, he was a little out of his depth.

Francisco's wife, Anita—the nuns had called her that—used to help my wife in our hut, and glad we were to have her, for primitive housekeeping involves much hard labour. Anita had a sweet young sister, who had not yet acquired a christian name. She was called Chinca. She had no real business in our hut, but she used to come sometimes and lounge in the doorway, looking rather fetching. We noticed, however, that after each of Chinca's visits something was missing. These were not valuable things, it is true, for we did not leave those lying about, but match boxes used to disappear and occasional packets of oatmeal. Although we still had plenty of the latter and Chinca was good to look at and welcome to stand in our doorway—we thought we would teach her not to steal. We filled an empty oatmeal packet with hay and sand and laid it conveniently within reach. Chinca came and went again, and the packet went too. A few minutes later Chinca came rushing back, flung the packet on to the floor and cursed us up hill and down dale in her own expressive tongue. We could not help roaring with laughter; a thief who goes back to those he has robbed and curses them because the stolen goods have not been to his liking! Anita begged our forgiveness on her sister's behalf:

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'After all, she is a heathen and does not know better.'

'And you, Anita, do you never steal?'

'Not now. I am Christian. But when I was a heathen, ah! then I stole such a lot.'

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They were of black earthenware ornamented with figures. 252
The women were making maize gruel. There, close to the green valleys, they ought to have been able to get any [262] vegetables or roots they liked, yet they clung to their diet of maize and goat's meat. They had obviously put the pots on because they expected the men, and sure enough a 492 couple of naked horsemen came galloping up, so at one with their horses that they looked like centaurs. The Guajiro Indians can be born on a horse in the literal sense, if their mothers have to be on a journey at the time. They look well on horseback, and even the old men rode well. [142] The younger men were muscular and well-made, and more pleasing to our eye than the women.

The men had been out enjoying themselves. They had 224 been hunting and their clan mark was painted in blue on 614 ● their thighs. They must have done that to amuse themselves 304 before they left, for normally both men and women have 302 their clan marks tattooed.

We asked the men what they had hunted with, for they 224 carried neither bows nor firearms, and also what they had 411 hunted, for they did not seem to have got anything. They laughed and explained that they had had no luck, and showed us slings of plaited bast. They had been out after doves or rabbits, but had seen nothing. (The Creoles call the animal in question a rabbit, but its Latin name is *Sylvilagus cumanicus*.) They showed us the short throwing clubs with which they hunted this and made some practice throws. They were expert at hitting the target with both club and sling, but only at distances of twenty to thirty yards.

A youth showed us a whistle that he said would unfail- 224 ingly entice a deer if you blew it—provided there was a deer nearby, as he hastened to add. Judging by the expression on the women's faces he was no famous hunter. A 439 couple of men also arrived and we were able to think of doing business. We had no difficulty in buying what we wanted, provided we paid well. Prices were our great difficulty, yet these men were less spoiled than elsewhere in the peninsula. The Guajiro not only trafficked with the

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our cameras up, when a plump, middle-aged Indian came rushing up and began giving the fencers orders in a stern voice. He had not noticed us.

'That's Mauana,' Francisco whispered respectfully.

Mauana was wearing only a guayuco and brow-band, which is the genuine Guajiro garb. When he saw us, he at once spoke to us in good Spanish, which not all the chiefs know, for the Guajiro cling stubbornly to their own tongue. Mauana, of course, had heard of us. He now invited us to go with him and see how he lived.

First, we came to his plantations, which many in the peninsula must have envied him. There was a green valley, one of the oases in the semi-desert, where manioc, sugar-cane and maize grew, shaded by coconut palms, mango trees and bananas. The plots were watered by narrow canals which all came from the one stream in Guajira that never ran dry.

Mauana was obviously a strict master and he ordered his slaves about like a sergeant-major, but his plantation was a model one and he was an efficient chief who maintained order in a most commendable way. Once or twice he had caught white criminals who had hidden in the hills there and sent them back to the authorities—to their great disappointment. He lived simply, as all Guajiro do, but he had an unusually well-built house that was completely roofed.

We told Mauana of the purchi we had seen, and he used this as an excuse to give us a lesson in Indian law. Such an account of the Indians' social order and laws was both amusing and interesting, and it showed how different from ours the primitive's conception of justice can be. One knows all too well what mistakes colonial authorities have made through misunderstanding the native conception of these matters, especially of the rights of ownership.

The Indians, as has already been said, are divided into clans in which relationship follows the female line. Children thus take their mothers' names. Their fathers belong to a different clan and strictly speaking are not related to them. It is their eldest maternal uncle who is their head and guardian, and it is from him, not from their father, that they

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inherit. They hold him in great respect. A man's chief heir 614
is thus his eldest nephew and he takes particular care of him. [604]
During his lifetime a well-to-do man will give his sons [428]
enough cattle to ensure that they will not be left destitute
when he dies. Each clan has its name and its symbol: the [431]
jaguar, rattle-snake, king vulture, dog, etc., but this has no
connection with totemism or magic. The Indians think no
more of their name's meaning than we do, when people
have animal names. They often joke about them.

A number of the clans are large and powerful, others
small and weak, sometimes entirely dependent on one of
the big clans. Those born into a big clan are fortunate, for
they have power behind them and can count on support
and help if they are insulted, threatened or robbed, for the
members of a clan stick together whatever happens, united
by the bond of blood. The same blood flows in all their
veins. The Indians imagine that the human grows from a [843]
drop of the mother's blood, and that the foetus feeds on
the new vital fluid—for they know that menstruation
ceases during pregnancy.

A man does not possess the right to dispose of his blood [752]
or his life. They both belong to the clan. If he hurts himself
so that blood flows he must pay damages to his clan for
shedding their blood. Suicide is also punishable, though [762]
not at all unusual. After an unsuccessful attempt at suicide,
the clan will claim damages, even if no blood has been
shed. An Indian wanting to take his own life hangs himself.
Such importance is attached to the shedding of blood, that, 683
if someone strikes another and makes his nose bleed, this is
regarded as an aggravating circumstance and increases the 614
compensation the victim demands. His whole clan will
consider itself insulted. In fact, one can really say that an
Indian only has the usufruct of his life and blood.

It is the same with the land. The land in the peninsula is 423
owned by the clans, each of which has its own defined terri- 614
tory. The cultivable areas are not large and lie round the
few water-courses that are not dry during most of the year.
These plantations are traditionally exploited by certain
families in each clan and are inherited by the eldest nephews.

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423 614 It is, of course, only the usufruct that is inherited. The land can neither be sold nor given away, for it belongs to the clan. All members of a clan have the right to pasture their herds in the clan's territories, and every man also has the right to graze his beasts and to use wood and water in the lands belonging to his wife's clan. That is one of the advantages he acquires in return for the bride-price he has paid. 565 614 There has developed a class distinction unusual among Indians on the primitive level. A man of simple origins can sometimes marry into a high-born family, but he does not become any the better for that, though his children belong to their mother's aristocratic clan. It is, however, seldom that a man of humble family can get himself a girl from the upper classes—that could only happen if he had inherited or had relatives who could help him pay the bride-price. 583 614 This is so high that a young man almost always has to have the help of his clan to pay it. The relatives of a girl of really good family may demand £2000 worth of cattle, while a girl of humbler stock can be had for £50 worth. The amount can be paid in money, but that is only done in the south, in the areas belonging to Venezuela, where the Indians are more accustomed to coins and have confidence in gold.

It must not be imagined that this is a question of purchase like buying a donkey, a cow or a slave. It is a transaction that concerns both clans. One should not marry within one's [178] own clan. In the old days that was forbidden, but now they are not so strict, since the clans are often split into local sub-groups. The whole marriage transaction is well adapted to the social and economic system. (When, during the first oil rush, white workers from the Maracaibo oil fields bought poor girls, usually of half-breed parents, those were transactions whose legality under Guajiro law was merely fictitious.) The bridegroom's family helps him to pay the bride-price and contributes generously if the girl is of good family. The bride-price is to some extent regarded as compensation for what the family expended on the girl while she was growing up.

When a couple's first daughter marries, the father asks

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for her as much as will enable him to repay the cattle the clan laid out for him when he married. The amounts obtained for younger daughters are also distributed among the family in a certain way. Payment of the bride-price confers a number of benefits. During the first year the newly married couple usually live as the guests of the bride's family. As has been said, the husband has the right to use the land owned by his wife's clan. The bride always brings a dowry in the form of ornaments and household utensils, often of cattle as well. The husband must look after the cattle, unless, as happens, the girl's family sends its own herdsman to see to them. The bride usually provides all the furnishings of the huts, as well as materials, hammocks and other textiles. 583 614 [591]

These advantages offset the bride-price to a quite considerable extent. The husband knows, too, that his wife's relations will keep an eye on her when he is away, for if she betrays him, he can return her to her family and require refund of the bride-price and payment of compensation. Thus the bride-price also acts as a guarantee against a grass widow kicking over the traces.

If the husband does not fulfil his duties, or if he treats his wife badly, her family can take her back without returning the bride-price. After that the man will naturally get no help from his clan, if he wishes to get himself another wife. [586]

It is not always possible for the groom and his relations to pay all the bride-price immediately. In such cases it is possible to pay by instalments. The groom pays a large proportion of the price when the bride is handed over to him. If he is unable to pay the balance at the time fixed, he must give the girl back, losing what he has already paid. The girl is now less valuable in the marriage market, being second-hand, so to speak. The man is made to pay for the time he has had her and thereby makes up for the lower price she can command, if a new suitor turns up. According to this principle a seducer must pay compensation to the family of the girl he has seduced. It sometimes happens that a couple fall in love and the parents approve, but the young [684]

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583 man cannot immediately pay any worthwhile part of the
614 bride-price. The young man may then abduct the girl with the tacit consent of her parents, and thereby postpone having to pay the bride-price. After some time, the girl's relatives will require payment, but meantime his family will have been trying to scrape together at least a first instalment.

Genuine abduction does occur occasionally, but only when the man knows that the girl's clan is weak and that her relatives will thus have difficulty in claiming their rights. He will take the girl as far away as possible. If he is caught, her relatives will try to demand a bride-price. Perhaps he is already tired of the girl by then and wants to return her. She is the clan's property and is not being returned un-
583 damaged, so the man must pay damages for seduction and,
565 if the girl is pregnant, also for childbirth.

In the lower classes that would dispose of the matter.
614 The baby would in any event be taken into the mother's
624 clan and have her name. In the upper classes a girl would be turned out if she had had such an accident and the considerable damages required had not been paid immediately. The clan's prestige cannot be allowed to suffer.

Indian girls never keep a seducer's name secret, but at once tell their family who he is.

Among the lower classes cases of wives eloping are said to occur. The man to whom they have gone can legalize the position by paying compensation to the husband. If the husband agrees to do a deal, he cannot ask as much as the bride-price he himself paid, for the girl is by then less valuable.

It follows from all this that a woman has not the right to
560 dispose of her own body. She belongs to her mother's
583 family until she marries, and her closest relatives must be compensated for any injury done her. Once the man has paid the bride-price she becomes his property. If she is
[768] widowed, she is inherited along with the rest of his effects by his nephews (sister's sons) and she has to purchase her freedom from them, paying a sum equivalent to the bride-price less what she is held to have lost in value since marriage.

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riage. A Guajiro woman has no right to sell her body. The law does not recognize prostitution. 562 [548]

A married woman's relatives and clan do not leave her entirely in her husband's hands. He may not do as he likes with her, nor cause her suffering. Suffering and discomfort she is bound to experience in childbirth, however, and of that he is the primary cause; thus whether as a result of legal or illegal relations, the man must compensate the mother for her confinement by giving her family a few cattle. The woman herself may not eat their meat under any circumstances. 562 614 844 [431]

Originally the Guajiro clans were exogamous; members were not allowed to marry within the clan. That is no longer insisted upon, but not only brothers and sisters, but maternal males and cousins on the mother's side, are still reckoned among the forbidden degrees. It is unthinkable that an Indian girl should marry her maternal uncle; that would be like having her father for her husband. It once happened that an uncle and niece had a secret relationship and the girl became pregnant. A monk married them, but the Indians regarded the relationship as a heinous crime and the whole district reacted so violently that the couple had to leave the peninsula and go far away, where there was no risk of meeting members of their tribe. 582 614 835 [626]

There is nothing to prevent an Indian getting himself several wives. Infrequently white men have married into Guajiro families and they too have had to pay a bride-price. A number of poor Creoles have contracted Guajiro marriages with poor girls. I have already mentioned how foreign oil workers made Guajiro marriages. In those early days there were no arrangements made for employees' families, and the Guajiro girls suited those primitive conditions very well, though as a rule such marriages with Indian girls were very short-lived, as those of the Creoles with them still are. The girl is soon abandoned, if that can be done without risk, the girl's family in such cases being powerless. So the Indians told me. [595] 648 582

The monks had already told us that where Creoles had married Guajiro girls of good family, those marriages had

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plain to the civil authorities; but the government inspector at the coast just smiled and shook his head when they asked if he could do anything about it. 685 674

'The only advice I can give you is that you double your plantation next year. Then perhaps the crop will suffice both for you and the Indians.'

When a monk once reproached an Indian who worked at the mission for pilfering sugar, the Indian replied: 'But, father, every Indian steals!'

As Simmons thought, the Cusina are made up of the bad elements, those outcast from their clans. In the long run no clan can shield a member who commits all sorts of crimes. Some flee to the hills because they cannot pay compensation for someone they have killed, nor count on help from their clan, which perhaps is also without resources. Such people are real outcasts, for anyone can kill them without risk of their clan's exacting vengeance. These outcasts once took refuge in the most desolate hills of the peninsula, Sierra de Cusina, and ever since others have come to replenish their ranks. It was said that they also had women, either captured or runaways. Grazing and water were said to be scarce there. It was a desolate part and none disputed it with the Cusina. They had to live largely by plunder and robbery. They could only keep goats in their hills, so what cattle they rustled, they ate. They were keen to get arms. We were told that none then alive had ever seen a Cusina. They attacked by night and killed everyone. That, of course, was the old Guajiro way: let no one live who might conceivably exact vengeance. 579 614 619 579 619

The old accounts from the days of the conquest also mention Cusina, but they must have meant ordinary Guajiro Indians from the area of the Cusina Hills.

The brigands were supposed to have scouts out on the roads, who signalled to their comrades when they scented prey. They very seldom dared attack a well-armed company, as ours was. We three white people each had a gun or rifle and a pistol; and in reserve we had some of my cheap barter pistols. We equipped Francisco with a saloon pistol which had a long barrel and looked impressive. Then we 579

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the chief game. The *Goajiro* who live near the coast sometimes catch 22
fish (with hook and line), lobsters, mollusks, and crabs.

Cattle raising.—The *Goajiro* are primarily nomadic cattle raisers and, 231
consequently, depend upon the water supply. In the rainy season they 221
seek natural depressions, which they sometimes enlarge artificially, where [312]
the water may gather. In case of drought they wander toward the sea, where wells 30 to 40 feet (9 to 12 m.) deep are dug.

Besides cattle the *Goajiro* keep sheep, goats, horses (pl. 72, *bottom, left*), mules, pigs, and domestic fowls, which they take with them wherever 231
they go. An estimate gives them 100,000 cattle, 200,000 sheep and goats, 20,000 horses and mules, and 30,000 donkeys. As cattle are a measure [556]
of wealth, the Indians are reluctant to kill them for food, but they utilize [438]
the milk or export the animals to Curaçao and Aruba in exchange for [422]
textiles and corn. Each tribe has its own cattle brand, and the annual round-up and branding is an occasion for great festivities. Horse races [527]
and other sports take place, and large quantities of food and drink are consumed.

Food preparation.—*Goajiro* diet consists almost entirely of meat and 262
milk products. Goats and sheep are killed every day or two for meat, 252
and the milk of the cows is made into butter and cheese. This diet is supplemented by yuca, cactus fruit, sugar, rice, and plantains, the last three obtained from Colombian and Venezuelan traders in exchange for skins. Meat that is not immediately consumed is suspended from tall poles, and skins are pegged to the ground and salted in preparation for sale. Butter is made by stirring the cream with a fluted stick in a calabash or wooden bucket. To make cheese, rennet is added to skimmed milk in a trough, and the curds are put in a primitive wooden cheese press, which is weighted with a heavy rock.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Although the *Goajiro* are of a common origin, they are divided into 614
sibs ("castes" or "tribes"), each living within a rather limited area 361
(Simons, 1885, p. 796). The sibs are split into local groups, which occupy extended villages or rancherías, each with 2 to 50 houses (ranchos) and 10 to 250 or more Indians. Houses are always within gunshot distance of one another and so disposed that surprise attacks would be difficult. If a village is at all permanent, a protective cactus hedge surrounds it.

Goajiro nomadism makes elaborate houses unnecessary. Dwellings 342
are mere lean-tos, arbors, and temporary gabled roofs supported on poles. Thatch is made from the core of the cactus, split lengthwise. Rough [352]
tables, chairs with rawhide seats, and benches are often used. The hammock is always present. House walls are often lacking, but a corner [881]
of the hut may be closed off for a girl's puberty seclusion. When mi-

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441 by an empty cartridge case, to which a metal ring is sometimes attached, giving a musical note with every shot.

Feathered arrows show many designs. Bird arrows may be tipped with cartridge cases or with large, rounded, wooden knobs about 1 inch (2.5 cm.) in diameter. Heads made from nails are used for small game. Serrated metal-tipped arrows are used in warfare; but the most dangerous arrow is pointed with a sting ray tail, sharpened to a fine needlelike point and fitted into the hollow end of a light cane shaft about 4 feet (1.2 m.) long and three-eighth inch (9 mm.) thick.

[278] To prepare arrow poison, scorpions, centipedes, and poisonous spiders are mashed, snake venom is added, and the mixture is allowed to putrefy for several days. The poison will retain its potency for six months. It is kept in a short section of bamboo, which is carried around the waist, together with the arrow points, each in a hollow reed. Before shooting, an Indian dips the point into the poison and inserts it in the shaft.

[282] A decorated leather wrist strap is worn as a bowstring guard.

372 **Fire making.**—Fire is made by twirling an arrow on a cactus hearth; the spark is caught in dry grass.

TRADE

439 There is considerable trade between the *Goajiro* and foreigners. Firearms and ammunition, cloth, beads, blankets, rum, cutlery, corn, crude sugar, rice, plantains, and tobacco are imported in exchange for salt, cattle, cheese, milk, hides, pearls and pearl shells, logwood (*Haematoxylon campechianum*), and divi-divi (*Caesalpinia coriaria*).

464 During the salt season the Indians of the interior flock to Manaure, where they are paid for loading sacks of salt into the warehouse and onto ships. Both men and women take part in the work, the men filling the sacks and the women carrying them.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

614 The *Goajiro* are subdivided into 30 odd matrilineal sibs ("castes" or "tribes"), each identified with an animal. Some of the larger and more important sibs are split into smaller groups, each with a special totem. (See Simons, 1885, p. 796, and Weston, 1937, p. 139, for a list of the various sibs, together with the totem animals and the locality which they inhabit.) The members of any sib are more widely spread throughout the peninsula than previously thought, although in some localities, one sib may be found to the exclusion of all others. Each "caste," according to Petrullo (1937, p. 155), "holds sovereignty over a well-defined territory." The sib which is largest and wealthiest in livestock is that of the Urianas. It has many subdivisions, such as Uriana jaguar, Uriana rabbit, Uriana paularate (a song bird), and Uriana gecko (a lizard). The

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Urianas are connected by marriage with the Pushaina, another wealthy 614
"tribe" of the *Goajiro*.

Each extended village (section or rancheria) consists of related sib 614
members who are bound by close ties and who unite against outsiders 1162
one of them is wronged. Intermarriage among the sibs is common.

The role of the maternal uncle in *Goajiro* culture is of great importance. 604
Santa Cruz's detailed study of it (1941) will be summarized here. Types of behavior, both prescribed and unformalized, vary, not only according to the seniority of either uncle or nephew but also according to that of the nieces. The maternal uncle must leave all his property to his oldest sister's oldest son, the other nephews receiving nothing. In practice the maternal uncle transfers most of his property to his own children, and after his death little if anything remains for the nephew. The attitude of a senior nephew toward his senior maternal uncle largely depends on what inheritance he expects from him. If the nephew marries a girl from a wealthy family and has, therefore, to pay a high bride price, the senior maternal uncle is expected to make a donation to meet the price. The uncle has no authority, however, in the selection of the bride.

Etiquette requires that in company the nephew must always remain silent if his senior maternal uncle is speaking; if the nephew wishes to speak he must first ask his uncle's permission. The nephew must always show respect and conduct himself with propriety. On the other hand, a senior uncle should not criticize or laugh at his senior nephew. No such behavior is prescribed between father and son or between other uncles and nephews. Public opinion castigates any deviation from this behavior between uncle and nephew.

The relationship between a maternal uncle and his niece is just the reverse of this, for the uncle is the recipient of benefits. He receives the bride price paid for the niece, and he contributes nothing toward the dowry for the bridegroom. The maternal uncle, however, is empowered to accept or reject a prospective bridegroom, and the girl has no recourse in the matter. A girl is respectful and considerate, although less rigidly formal, toward her senior maternal uncle. Her behavior toward her other uncles depends solely on her regard for them.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

There is no central government uniting all the sibs, but each sib or 614
subdivision thereof has its chiefs who inherit their position matrilineally. [622]
The oldest chief has greatest authority and may carry a knobbed stick as symbol of his authority. He is generally the wealthiest and has most [554
retainers. Hereditary status is very important, and a man born poor 556]
may never achieve a high position, even though he acquires much wealth. He may, however, marry a woman of high rank and his children will inherit her rank. Chiefs are polygynous and have many daughters, for 600

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622 Chiefs are polygynous and have many daughters, for
595 whom very high bride prices are paid—sometimes thousands of animals,
583 worth $6,000 to $10,000. Such rich chiefs take great pride in their
556 daughters, dressing them in fine silken robes and necklaces of gold and pearls and providing them with personal servants.

567 There is a class of slaves who are beneath the chiefs' retainers in the social hierarchy. It consists of people born into this status and of captives.

PROPERTY

422 All cattle, though individually owned, belong in theory to the local group as a whole and are worked for the common benefit of all. For example, the cattle paid as a bride price when a girl marries within her own sib go to a new owner, but the milk, butter, cheese, and hides from them continue to be shared by everyone in the sib. When a woman receives cattle as a bride price for her daughter any new stock born to them belongs to the daughter's husband and his sons, and when the animals are rounded up for the annual branding each son is allowed to brand a certain number of them.

ETIQUETTE

576 The *Goajiro* are in general unfriendly to strangers but have a well-
574 established code of hospitality. Strangers calling at a house must wait until invited in. Inside a house a bowl of chicha or rum (coffee when available) is the first gift offered the visitor, who is thereafter given a hammock and treated as a member of the family. A special feast may
[565] be arranged if there are many guests. A guest of high rank is feasted, and some of the young girls of the house may be placed at his disposal.

LAW AND ORDER

627 The chiefs have little power outside their own local group, where they settle minor disputes. The solution of many disputes and transgressions of custom are left to the parties concerned. The laws of group respon-
628 sibility and group retaliation lead to frequent intertribal feuds. A person
614 without a strong sib to protect him is helpless, for others may use any act which may conceivably be interpreted as harmful as pretext for demanding indemnity. For example, a person injured while intoxicated may demand payment from the person who sold him the rum, or a person injured by a borrowed animal may demand payment from the owner of the animal; a thief who hurts himself when trespassing on the property of his intended victim will demand compensation of him; and anyone aiding a sick or wounded person who subsequently dies incurs a liability.

872 If a person injures himself he must make an expiatory gift to the members of his own sib and a lesser gift to his father's relatives. If a child dies when under the care of one parent, this parent must reimburse

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121 the individual who was to provide the raw material for this article. This is more or less a biography of the man who was at the same time guide, interpreter, and driver for the author and with whom extensive conversations, both formal and informal, took place.[2]

177 Guajiro culture, like most native cultures in the New World, has suffered great acculturation due to the impact with European ways of life. Some of these cultures have been more resistant to change than others; and within one culture, certain aspects have remained closer to the traditional forms than have others. In Guajiro culture, it is perhaps the social organization, with all of its ramifications, that has resisted recent acculturation 174 more than the other aspects of the culture. We know very little [233] of the pre-cattle culture of the Guajiro and even Juan de Castellanos, writing at the beginning of the seventeenth century, describes them as having numerous herds of domestic animals. 554 Nowhere in the literature on the Guajiros is there an example of status having been acquired outside the traditional way and the present writer, in his two field trips to the region, has found only the case here described.

619 As it is not the purpose of this article to give a full description 614 of the social organization of the Guajiro, it will be sufficient to state that the tribe is divided into some twenty-five matrilineal clans, of which about eleven are large and rather powerful in their socio-economic aspects, and the rest—due mainly to the fact of having a small number of members—are weak, and 428 relatively unimportant. Inheritance is along the mother's line, an individual acquiring property from his maternal uncle. The [604] avunculate in all its social and economic aspects, is a very important institution (Santa Cruz, 1941).

614 Traditionally the clans are exogamous with incest taboos and 582 punishments for those who break them. This exogamic characteristic of the clan is apparently disappearing, as several cases of endogamous unions were found among the Guajiro living in the outskirts of the city of Maracaibo. No endogamous marriages, however, were found in the Guajiro proper by the present writer, although Gregorio Hernandez de Alba (1936) has

[2] Proper names, especially of the subject, have all been disguised in some way, so as to spare personal feelings.

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reported several in the vicinity of the town of Riohacha in Colombia. 614 582

Residence is normally matrilocal, although, at present, there is a tendency towards neo-locality. The author has found no case of patrilocality either in the field or in the literature. 591

The names of the five more important clans in Guajiro society, and those with which we are concerned in this article are: Uriana, Epinayú, Pushaina, Guajariyú, and Epieyú. These designations have lost meaning in Guajiro and not even the oldest members questioned by the writer remember what they mean. The clans also have an animal or plant totem closely attached to food and hunting taboos. How deep this totemic aspect of the clan goes the writer does not know and the two references found in the literature, A. Ernst (1887) and A. Jahn (1927), simply mention the fact without going into details. 614 [178]

Today the clans have no distinct geographic distribution. Members of the different clans are found scattered more or less at random over the whole peninsula, and in both Colombia and Venezuela. This may be due perhaps to the extensive migrations of families within the region in their quest for water for themselves and their domestic animals. This necessity has also probably contributed to the gradual breakdown of the matrilocal residence. The earlier literature suggests that the clans may have had, at one time, certain regional characteristics. Juan de Castellanos cites that the Guajiros living near what is now the town of Riohacha all belonged to the Uriana clan. A. Ernst goes as far as showing a distribution map of the clans. A. Jahn and G. Hernandez de Alba draw their conclusion of geographic distribution for the clans based on the earlier sources but definitely state that today the clans present the scattered distribution the present writer found. [166] [178]

The Guajiro culture may be described in brief as pastoral, with a small-scale supplementary agriculture, especially in the southern part of the peninsula where water and more fertile lands are available. Domestic animals, cattle in particular, represent the foundation of wealth to the Guajiro. His economic position, and likewise his social status, is measured in the number of cattle, sheep, goats, asses and horses he owns. This pastoral complex permeates practically every aspect of the culture. 233 241 231 556

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159 554 office expired (in two years time) he sought and obtained a position in the Federal Ministry of Public Works in a project which was seeking the best places to drill water wells all over the Guajira peninsula. He held this job for about a year and half. He is now employed in the Guajira office, in Paraguaipoa, of the Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry and is "ad honorem" agent of the Comisión Indigenista in the Guajira. In these two jobs he gets paid only when he performs certain work, such as when he recently acted as guide and interpreter for the present writer.

159 554 583 614 585 During his term as Prefect of Paez (Sinamaica) he married, according to the Guajira tradition and law, one of the daughters of To'olito Fernandez, for whom he had to pay a very high price, as the girl was the daughter of an important chief. Following Guajira law the price for the bride was gathered among the members of the Uriana clan to which Perez belongs due to his mother's heritage. Incidentally, as Fernandez also belongs to the Uriana clan he had to contribute in the collection of the bride-price of his own daughter although, of course, the amount collected did not go to him but to the girl's maternal uncle. This was a typical exogamous marriage as the girl belongs to the [595] Guajariyú clan, that being her mother's clan. At present, Perez keeps two households, one in Maracaibo with his white wife and son, whom he visits once or twice a week, if he is not doing any special work for the ministries; the other, is his native household at the Laguna del Pajaro, Guajira, where he remains most of his time. He has had no children with his Indian wife. His two simultaneous marriages have brought him no trouble with the law, as according to Guajiro tradition polygyny is perfectly acceptable, and according to Venezuelan law he has only one legitimate wife.

159 595 It is interesting to note at this point that Perez denies having a white wife in Maracaibo, although he does not deny having the son and shows pride in saying that his son is in medical school. The present writer was not able to fathom the reasons behind this denial. Data regarding his Maracaibo marriage was obtained from Perez's father who was also unable to furnish good motives for the fact that Perez tries to hide that he has a household in that city. To test this point the writer, after the

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620 cordial, no fights or even harsh words between them was ever
557 noticed, and when Perez was arrested, as mentioned before, his
593 wife showed great concern and distress and did everything possible to have him released from jail and brought home. Still the question of how much real affection, especially on Perez's part, is involved in this marriage cannot be answered with certainty.
622 As regards the grantings of favors to the Guajiro, it is obvious
557 that he makes a careful selection and never or hardly ever grants them to indivduals who could not, in the future, be of some help to him.

Whether or not Perez will attain a position of respect and leadership such as Panchito Silva and José de la Rosa Fernandez enjoy is hard to say, but the writer will try to make an analysis of the situation and draw certain tentative conclusions.

620 There is no doubt that clan leadership with all its privileges
614 and responsibilities is slowly dying out in the Guajira. Among the 25 odd clans existing at present the writer has met only two individuals who have all the earmarks of a true economic, political, and social leader, namely, Panchito Silva and José de la Rosa Fernandez. Informants have told him that there are two others, the heads of the Epinayú and the Epieyú clans living in the upper Guajira and in Colombia respectively. From what information was gathered these two other leaders fit closely to the pattern described for Silva and Fernandez. The remainder of the clans have no true, powerful leaders, although they do have elder members who are more or less respected and consulted in certain clan matters. Around the turn of the century, however, according to the information gathered first hand from old men like Silva and Fernandez, and from the literature, there were at least twenty powerful leaders among the clans.

182 Undoubtedly one of the contributing factors to the breakdown
178 of clan leadership has been the great horizontal movement in population among the Guajiro in the last fifty years. Such
[161] spread would tend, naturally, to break down the regional characteristics of the clan and ultimately help to bring about a loss of personal contact between a leader and the rest of his clan and hence the loss of control. Whether there are other economic, social, or political factors in operation favoring this breakdown is not fully known. The writer suspects that there may be but this problem would need further intensive investigation. The

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writer hopes in future researches to complete the picture of leadership among the Guajiro and the present breakdown in their social organization.

As mentioned above, traditional form clan leadership is obtained either through inheritance or by selection made by a council of elders. Perez's case is entirely different and he has followed white culture means and ways, more or less, in obtaining leadership in Guajiro society irrespective of clan organization. In other words, he has become, in certain aspects, a leader of the Guajiro as a whole and not of a particular clan. It is to be expected that as more and more Guajiro individuals go to Maracaibo for higher education, these new methods, such as those utilized by Perez, of attaining status will become stronger and will also be a contributing factor in the final breakdown of the traditional clan leadership. Some years must pass, however, to determine conclusively whether this is the path that leadership in the Guajira will take. At the moment four important clans still have their traditional leaders—the Pushiana, Uriana, Epinayú, and Epieyú—with strong and well definied heirs to their present leaders; and as long as the inheritance lines remain firm, clan leadership among these four clans will cling to the traditional. The rest of the clans, having lost their lines of inheritance and lacking men of strong personality to become their unquestioned leaders, will tend, we predict, to fall in step with new leaders of the Perez type. Such leaders will, undoubtedly, become more numerous as the acculturation processes go forward.

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1958 Apuntes sobre la lengua guajira. Publicaciones de la Comisión Indigenista, Ministerio de Justicia. Caracas.

/532 cont./

105 Only a few accounts concerning the social order and po-
175 litical organization of the Guajiro are available from that
614 period. It cannot be ascertained when the Spanish conquistadors first found clues to the family groups existing there, true sibs /Sippen/ in the sense of modern ethnology. Father Álvarez José Nicolás de la Rosa (5) in 1739 described certain burial

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5. Under "Álvarez" I am citing in the following the rare work, Floresta de la Santa Iglesia Catedral de la Ciudad de Santa Marta /Anthology of the Santa Iglesia Cathedral of the City of Santa Marta/, compiled by Father Álvarez Don José Nicolás de la Rosa in 1739 and printed in Valencia in 1833. Francis C. Nicholas translated significant sections from this work into English and supplied supplementary notes which a trip through Guajira induced him to make. According to his judgment, "the book forms a stepping-stone to a study of the history and antiquities of the Indians of northern South America" /cited in English/ (p. 606). This translation, with the title, "The Aborigines of the Province of Santa Marta, Colombia," is to be found in American Anthropologist, 3, 1901, pp. 606-649. Pages 625-636 are devoted to the Guajiro.

ceremonies and in this connection made the incidental remark that they were held "according to the castes [clans] by which they are distinguished" /cited in English/ (p. 634). He enumerated six, "thus: Casta de Guacamaya [macaw] (this is the

105 /532 cont./
175 highest), Casta de Paguil, Casta de Guacharaca, Casta de
614 Mono, Casta de Machin, Casta de Gallinazo (this is the poorest)" /cited in English/ (ibid.). Explanatory additions are lacking. In the light of later successful inquiries, however, these few statements are given their full meaning.

Not until 1870 did A. Ernst publish an extended list of these totem groups (p. 329). He enumerated twelve of them and called them "tribes /Stämme/," which "have definite dwelling sites." He correctly separated from them the so-
101 called Cocinas, which "perhaps are a different tribe than the
175 rest of the populace and a vagabond gang of robbers that makes
574 all paths unsafe" (6).

6. Father Álvarez had already referred to them as "more barbarous than any of the Guagiros, and consequently less tractable and more dangerous, horrible and proud" /cited in English/ (p. 635). In the same sense Stutzer (p. 136) describes them as "dregs of all castes. They murder in order to rob. It is regarded as dangerous to pass through their area alone or in small groups..." They do not merit further mention.

175 A few years later the British engineer, F. Simons,
614 traveled through Guajira. He related in his excellent report to the Royal Geographical Society (1885): "The Guajiros are subdivided into many families or castes, bearing much analogy to the ancient clans of Scotland. Each caste or rather family circle is united against all comers... Besides the name, each caste or family represents some animal, and many of the minor castes, over and above /533/ /a table appears here/ /534/ their

[text continues on p. 6]

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614

Distinctive Marks of the Guajiro Castes

Mark	Caste	Place	Totem	Mark	Caste	Place	Totem
	Epiayu	Alta Guajira	Macaw		Hayariyú	Alta Guajira	Dog
	»	»	"		»	Casti-lletes	"
	»	Portete	"		»	Nazareth	"
	»	»	"		Uraliyú		Rattle-snake
	»	Jarare	"		Sapuana	Alta Guajira	Gaiay or stone curlew
	»	»	"		Pushaina	Jarare	Peccary
	»	Alta Guajira	"		Goujirú	Pto. Estrella	Partridge
	Uriana	San José	Jaquar		Arpu-shana	Alta y Baja Guajira	Turkey buzzard
	»	»	"		Husayú	Jarare	Rabbit
	»	Buenos Aires	"		Epinayú		Burro
	»	Pto. Lopez	"		Uléguana	Alta Guajira	Machorro
	»	Cosina	"		Hirnú	»	Fox
	»	Alta Guajira	"		Pausayú		Black wasp
	»	»	"		Sijuana	Yimarú	Bee
	Ipuana	»	Mushale		»	Pto. Espada	"
	»	Jarare	"		»	Alta Guajira	"
	Hayariyú	Alta Guajira	Dog		Guaririyú		Partridge

/The heading, the column headings, and the column entries under "Totem" have been translated from the Spanish./

/534 cont./

175 614 own symbol, adopt another of some more powerful denomination, to enjoy the privilege of a good protector. There are at present, altogether, some thirty odd castes among the Goajiros... There are about ten of importance, chief among these the Urianas. This, the largest caste in the Guajira, has subdivided or split up into many ramifications, such as Uriana tiger, Uriana rabbit, Uriana paularate (a song bird), Uriana gecko (lizard). This family is at present not only by far the most numerous, but also the richest; due to its connections by marriage with the Pushainas, formerly the wealthiest of the land" /cited in English/. In an "Appendix" (p. 796) at the end of his report, Simons gives a "List of Tribes or Castes, with their respective animals and favourite resting-places" /cited in English/; each of the twenty-two names is found in its proper region on the map provided by him (7).

114 614 7. Frazer (Vol. 3, p. 560) reproduced this table in full and clearly expressed his conviction that "the Guajiros have a totemic system of the normal pattern" /cited in English/. In connection with this, he discussed in detail the mother-right customs of this tribe. — Kirchhoff (p. 154) analyzed only the relationship between paternal and maternal relatives, so far as it was then possible when "the description of the kinship organization" was" [still] most incomplete and unsatisfactory." He also clearly made the distinction between the extended family /Grossfamilie/ and sib and

/534 cont./

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distinctly stressed that the sib "need not necessarily be a local unit. . . . The bond that holds together the members of a sib is the idea that they descend from the same ancestor and are therefore brothers and sisters. . . " (p. 90). Actually, the clan members /Klanmitgliedern/ of any sib are allowed to move in complete freedom over all of Guajira. — Vegamian (pp. 36, 347), too, explained: "The Guajiro Indians are divided into castes /castas/ of totemic denomination" /translated from the Spanish/. He discussed in detail their local placement and explained the somewhat variable spelling of the clan names among the authors as follows: "Among the same Indians, perfectly expert in their tongue, there is no uniformity in the pronunciation of one and the same word" /translated from the Spanish/.

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A. Ernst in his second report (1887) used the reliable details furnished by Simons and declared concerning them: "One gains from his presentation a clear picture of the peculiar social relations in which the inhabitants of the peninsula live. What the Spanish writers in their meager reports designated with the vagué name 'parcialidades /factions, parties/,' Simons recognized quite rightly as family /Familie/ in the ethnological sense (clan, gens) and gave for several of them the habitual place of residence and the totem

/534 cont./

114 concerned..." (p. 426). "Most are no longer explicable
175 from the present language of the Guajiro..." According to
614 Simons, "there is no doubt that the Guajiro believe in their descent from such an animal... How far the use of the totem extends among the Guajiro is not said either by Simons or by any other reporter" (pp. 440f.). For such an animal, Ernst (1887, p. 442) regarded the valuation "totem" as proper and promised a linguistic analysis of the names for the twenty-two totem-animals noted by Simons.

614 Individual clans /Klane/ exceed others in economic influence and social significance. The ones smaller in number of persons attach themselves to one or several others. The belief in the kindred solidarity of the clan members is grounded in the traditionally transmitted conviction /535/ /map appears here/ /536/ of actual descent from the same totem-animal. Ernst further states: "Since the individual families [= clan groups] live, if not exactly in hostility, nevertheless separated from one another, marriages between members of different families [take] place only in rare cases" (p. 442); which is synonomous with clan-endogamy as the prevailing rule.

114 A series of names given by other reporters are found in
614 part in A. Jahn (p. 142), Armstrong-Métraux (p. 383), and R. Crist (1959, p. 485). Occasionally one has the impression that these authors drew on Simons and Ernst as their sole sources. The statements that the journalist J. Weston makes are false.

2. Most Recent Reports

What Virginia Gutiérrez has put down in her article, "Organización Social en la Guajira" (1948) comes from personal field research. Her article became known to me only after my crossing of the peninsula. The myth recorded by her, in which sibs still living in Guajira are mentioned by name, follows here in free translation. The same account was repeated to me, with a few insignificant variations, by

[text continues on p. 10]

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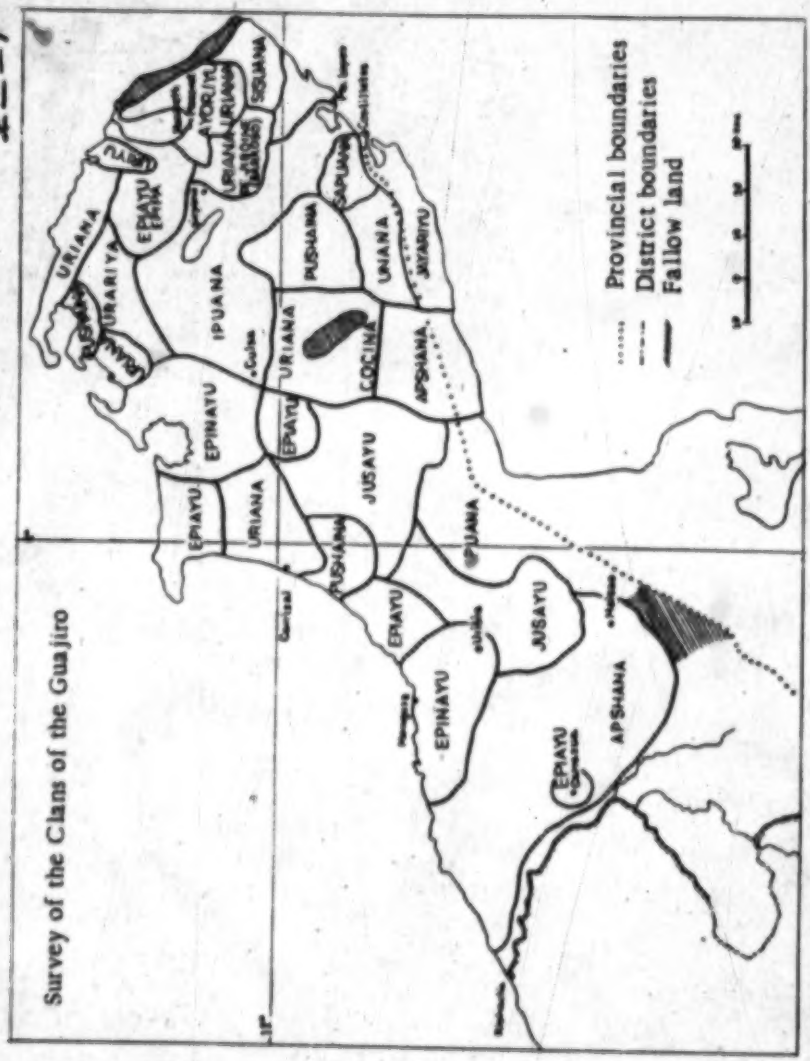

/536 cont./

114 two wives of the influential and intelligent Cacique Briscol
614 (alias Antonio Juan López); from both I was given the assurance that it is known to nearly all of their people. In a subse-
178 quent conversation with still other women it became clear
614 that the social and juristic role of the clan system had become simplified and dulled in the course of the centuries up to the present, and above all that the original rigor of its demands had become milder and in part even lost. Certain practices still maintained and various fragments of tradition permit one to piece together an adequately clear picture of the totemistic organization in Guajira, despite many manifestations of mother-right.

614 Our Indians have a mythological explanation of how the whole Guajiro people was originally divided into many clans
[312] (8). Each totem-clan has its individual symbol, comparable

8. Petrullo (p. 155) supplements this by confirming: "Casta [is] the major social grouping in Guajiro society. Each casta claims a mythological origin and holds sovereignty over a well-defined territory" /cited in English/.

to a monogram. Every clan-member marks himself and his
614 personal goods, predominately domestic animals, with it.
212 The Indians paint this symbol with ordinary watercolor on a
422 stone, carve it in wooden objects (plates, style of a mattock,
221 house posts), tattoo it on their arms, etc., all in plain fun and without any serious intention of demonstrating their right of ownership. On the other hand, the same symbol, which is peculiar to a clan, is branded without exception on every domestic animal that the individual clan-member owns. Obviously it is the same sign for all the animals of all the members of a particular clan; yet the animals remain /537/ the personal property of their owner, and the latter himself

/537 cont./

614 knows precisely which animals belong to him and which
212 property belongs to other clan-members.
231 In a way also customary among us (for example, the
422 burning on of the steed-brand for foals), the clan-symbol in Guajira is pressed into the skin of the domestic animal with a branding iron, usually on the rear leg, sometimes on
[413] the lower neck. The branding iron is a rod as thick as a finger and about a meter long, on whose lower end the brand, made in iron, is fixed. This is highly heated and briefly set on the skin of the animal with moderate pressure (9).

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9. Everyone knows that many livestock-raising primitive peoples use the method described here for "branding" their domestic animals, and, to be sure, do it primarily with the intention of indicating the individual possessor or a group consisting of several men as the owner. M. Merker (p. 163) reports this for the Masai. H. Field collected more than a thousand such markings (Figs. 24-43) among the Bedouin and related tribes in the Near East. It might seem surprising that individual ones among them are very similar to the brands of the Guajiro. This correspondence, however, can easily be traced back to the mentality of the natives and their undeveloped technical skill, as well as to the brittle wrought-iron itself. The "branding iron" probably goes back to an earlier period of mankind; from its place of invention, it went on its way

/537 cont./

171 around the world simultaneously
231 with the domestic animals them-
422 selves.

614 The branding described was probably learned by the
212 Indians from the Spaniards themselves, simultaneously with
231 the adoption of the first European domestic animals, and
422 has been retained since then. It is all the more surprising
177 that the branding iron (hierro) appears in an old myth which
614 for its part clearly states where the customary individual
212 clan-signs came from. The following version (according to
773 V. Gutiérrez, p. 168) is common in the northern part of the peninsula:

Not far from Nazareth (10) a hill rises behind Itojoro.

[749] [131]

10. This post lies only several kilometers south of Puerto Estrella and is actually a small Catholic mission station. Cf. Stutzer, pp. 131 ff., and Barranquilla, pp. 151 ff.

Here, under an oil tree, Mareiwa (11) came into the world.

776 114

11. That is the spelling of this mythological name that I felt to be correct, as did V. Gutiérrez (p. 168). Chaves (1946, p. 307) explains in the myth concerning "Las Serranías de la Guajira," among other things: "Mareigua [is] one of the principal deities of the Guajiro people, who with his supernatural power converts persons into hills, separates the

/537 cont./

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sea from the land and the planting of trees and animals to benefit man" /translated from the Spanish/. The original figure of Mareiwa is probably that of a culture-hero. Chaves (1953, p. 183) makes the same assumption, but adds that this personality is "at the present time like God for many mestizos" /translated from the Spanish/. Jahn (p. 183) declares "that the Spanish have identified /Maleiwa/ with the true God or Supreme Being" /translated from the Spanish/. In Torrano (p. 188) one reads "Maréigua = God, Supreme Being" /translated from the Spanish/. Unfortunately even today it is still true that the "Goajiro religion is imperfectly known" /cited in English/ (Armstrong-Métraux, p. 382).

614 He was found as an infant, who grew rapidly like any Indian
812 child. He ate tuuma (12) and dressed like the Guajiro.
773

[262]

12. It was identified for me as tuna, which is the fruit of the Opuntia (Indian fig) and very well-known in South America. Cf. Vegamian, p. 214.

The mother was an old woman; her hut stood in the north. The father, a certain Saramai, was also said to be a god.
[824] Because Mareiwa was born under an oil tree, this tree does
[82]

/537 cont./

●614 not lose its green leaves, even in the dry season. The Indians
212 seek shelter under its branches during storms, because lightning
773 will not strike there.
[824] /538/ Mareiwa created an Indian woman named
[821] Borunka; she became the mother of all the Guajiro people (13).

[114]

13. Chaves (1953, p. 181) reports another myth of the "Origen de los Guajiros," in which, however, the totem clans are not mentioned; therefore, no contradiction of the myth presented here can be brought forward from there.

He also gave her a companion, by whom she became pregnant. When the time of her delivery came, however, she felt incapable of giving birth. The pains lasted for three days without delivery. Her vagina was set with teeth. Mareiwa removed them. At the same time he took two ribs, the lowest one from each side, from her mate. He inserted them in Borunka so that she could later give birth without hindrance, though not without pain.

614 Since loss of blood was connected with delivery since
212 then, Mareiwa summoned all the birds. He commanded the
773 sangre de toro, or pincwait, to wash itself where the birth
825 took place. He gave the same order to the troupials (weaver
844 birds of the family Icteridae), as well as to the icó [ishu, Phoenicotraupis rubra] with the black wings, whose breast feathers and head-tuft are red in color, and finally to the macaws. The woodpecker [Ceophloeus lineatus] arrived late for this bath. Mareiwa said to him, "You came late, to be sure, but I shall paint your tuft anyway," and he painted it red. Thus, the birds mentioned have red spots in their plumage.

614 Borunka bore several children, and the Guajiro pro-
212 ceeded to multiply. When there were many of them, Mareiwa
773

/538 cont./

●614 returned to them. He distributed among them the seeds of
212 the watermelon (Citrullus vulgaris), maize (Zea), squash,
773 and all the other vegetables with which the Guajiro nourish
[212] themselves. Until that time no Guajiro had laid out a seeded field; before that anyone who wished to eat had reached for the fruit that grew by itself. Mareiwa gathered all the
614 zancalargas (thin-legged grallatores) and weaver birds; he
212 commanded a flock of them to go far away and feed on
773 iguarayas (cereals) and the fruit of the Indian fig (Opuntia).
825 He likewise summoned a flock of rock pigeons; they brought hepechi cherries. Then he distributed the birds over all of Guajira. With their excrement they were to make the simultaneously eliminated seeds germinate; the latter were to grow and cover the whole land with a blanket of plants on which fruit would ripen and serve the people for food.

614 Mareiwa handed over to each native man a pair of goats,
212 donkeys, cattle, horses, and pigs. Then he assembled all
773 the people with their animals in the district of Arachi near
[231] Siapana. There, on a cliff, he engraved the symbols, one of which he intended to assign to each of the family groups, the children of Borunka. They are still visible today on that cliff.

Thus he established there the sign-patterns for the Epiayú, Ipuana, Uriana, Sapuana, Jayariyú, Apshana, Sijuana, Urariyú, Epinayú, Jitnú, Soriyú, Pausayú, Uriyú, Woriyú, Urenanaka, Matpishana, Uyarayú, Wariruyú, Jusayú, Woruboruyú, and others. Mareiwa handed over these property
[422] marks to the people in order that the movable property of one group would not be mistaken for that of the others.

614 Each group has its animal-sign by means of which it
212 distinguishes its property from that of the other groups. This
773 happened for the following reason: these animals were to
825 have become Indians. But they ate the herds that Mareiwa
422 had assigned to each group. As punishment he left them in their animal state as symbols of the individual groups which

/538 cont./

614 had been insulted or harmed by them. Thus, the leader of
212 the black vultures /Coragyps atratus foetens/ had eaten a
773 head of cattle of the Epiayú, and he therefore remained the
825 symbol for this group. The caricari /Brazilian falcon/ de-
427 voured an animal of the Ipuana group. The Uriana people now have as their totem-animal the jaguar (Felis onca). The Sapuana group claims for itself the alcaraván /stone curlew/ (Burhinus bistriatus vocifer), the Jayariyú people the dog, the Apshana the kite, the Sijuana the wasp, the Urariyú the rattlesnake (Crotalus terrificius), the Jitnú people the fox (Canis azarae), the Soriyú people the cataneja (macaw, Ara), the Pausayú the black wasp, the Uyarayú the deer (Cervus alaphus), etc.

614 /539/ V. Gutiérrez (p. 170) then presents another myth.
773 This describes how the individual totem-clans were assigned their names and definite districts of residence after a fateful, tragic scene of disobedience of the creatures against their creator took place. This report, too, emphatically brings out the fact that Mareiwa personally, by his will and authority, introduced a totemistic way of life for the first living beings in Guajira. The myth has the dramatic conclusion: "For the last time Mareiwa spoke with them [the totem groups] in order to take his leave. He therefore addressed them: It was my will that you should live here! I am leaving now; I shall be watching you from heaven."

614 The individual totem-districts with the thirty-four clan
101 names are noted on the map (14).[1] The appropriate clan-

193 14. The spelling and pronunciation
194 of the clan designations favored here
614 by and large resemble the Spanish sounds. Young Indians today feel a marked uncertainty in using the correct Spanish names for individual totem-animals; even in the pronunciation of the Guajiro designations

[1] [see p.9.—Analyst]

/539 cont./

193 194 614 [128]

a foreign observer encounters slight variations — as has just been mentioned. For this reason, in the table (p. 5) I put in the names corresponding with precisely the sounds that I heard most frequently; I have taken the map (p. 9) unchanged from the original.

614 101 178 101 578 614

marks are found in the table. Every Guajiro knows them. As an established tradition, every generation has taken over the details from the others, either as clan property or as a duty. But as a result of so many hostile encounters of the clans with one another — the Guajiro even in early times made themselves known as very quarrelsome—the boundaries of the individual clan-districts have shifted. Some clans have actually disappeared, either because their members were entirely destroyed or because individuals from them were incorporated into other clans. Therefore, the number and boundaries of the individual clan-districts were and are subject to insignificant fluctuations. I was unable to ascertain when the map provided — taken from a Colombian authority —was drawn; it appears to have come out around 1935. It is also found in V. Gutiérrez (p. xvi).

3. Concluding Remarks

614 [423]

Spanish writers have reported on "castas" in Guajira from the early colonial period; the designation corresponds to actual totemistic clans. Recently it could be demonstrated that some thirty of them have existed since antiquity. The members of any one clan were entitled by common law to move freely over the whole peninsula without being hindered by the boundaries. When Petrullo (p. 155) states unmistakably,

/539 cont./

614 "Each caste holds sovereignty over a well-defined territory"
423 /cited in English/, he correctly presents each clan area as common property. Earlier observers must have already been aware of such circumstances, for they /540/ have represented them with desirable clarity. Such a definite clan-localization is based on the mythology.

614 In Guajira only well-known animals, toward which no reverent veneration is shown, are known as totems; also, avoidance rules do not exist. Clan membership is determined [611] by the mother. Many matriarchal laws and customs are observed strictly and conscientiously by the Indians; they have been described in detail by Sinons, Ernst, Petrullo, Santa Cruz, Armstrong-Métraux, Gutiérrez, Crist (1959), and others.

601 It should be added here that particular kinship-terms
614 were first gathered and published recently by J. Wilbert (p. 59). There are twenty-six basic terms and "most terms are applied to more than one relative so that the system is classificatory in type" /cited in English/.

614 Finally, the question as to whether the Guajiro feel themselves connected by kinship to their totem-animal is still to be answered. As the first, Jahn (p. 145) expressed himself on this: "Each faction regards some animal as its 'totem' or coat-of-arms. It has not been possible to find out whether they believe that they are descended from it; rather it appears to be a symbolic or heraldic emblem" /translated from the Spanish/. V. Gutiérrez (p. 173) expresses herself more decisively and informatively: "Actually there is no belief that they [the Guajiro] descended from it [= totem], nor is there any special prohibition against harming or killing it. The idea that in the representative animal is found the genesis does not seem to have existed even in the remote past. The origins that are come across in the legends do not include this idea. At present they laugh when one asks about the animal of his 'casta'; many confide... that they belong to the jaguar, to the bee, to the rattlesnake... They claim to be as brave as that animal..." /translated from the Spanish/.

/540 cont./

614 The continued influencing through a series of generations, even though nevertheless brief, by Spanish culture and the 614 177 178 spirit of modern times has finally also altered the primitive judgment and feeling of these Indians and has strengthened in them the pride to assert themselves now as "enlightened." It therefore need not be surprising that today they laugh in the face of a foreign visitor when the latter poses his questions as though he himself regarded a blood descent of the clan members from their totem animal as established and factual. [123] The above-mentioned Cacique Briscol (15) even whispered

15. This pure-blooded, intelligent, and experienced Indian refers several times to the clans of his Guajiro people in his well-written story.

disrespectfully in my ear: "You must not suppose that we think of an animal when we present the totem as our ancestor. Every ancestor was as human as we are; only at the very beginning was he just like the totem that each clan has had since then. Our forefathers respected their totem animal more than we do today; they neither persecuted it nor ate its flesh. Now the habits of our ancestors are disappearing among us, one after another. There are now only sixteen independent 614 'castas'; their number was formerly double that." V. Gutiérrez 173 herself agreed with Briscol's interpretation when she presented 114 the introductory words to another myth, "The Distribution /541/ of the Clan Districts" (p. 170): Mareiwa "then told the birds they were Indians" /translated from the Spanish/. Such words make it clear: the myth knows no distinction between totem animal and Indian in their mode of being and acting! Therefore one does not get anywhere in the analysis of myths with a knife-sharp dialectic lacking any imagination. 614 Thus, I may indeed, along with the reporters from former times up to our day, regard the social division of the Guajiro people as properly totemistic in style. Two years ago (1959),

/541 cont./

●614 Crist (p. 485) wrote: "The Indians of the Guajira are divided into various clans or blood groups, castas, each with its distinguishing totem representing the animal with whose traits, according to legend, the clan was originally imbued" /cited in English/.

614 212 The thought complex that has solidified around the totem of our Indians — to mention it once more in conclusion — gets significant confirmation of its truely totemistic character by the visible symbol for each one of the three dozen of them. None of these totem signs — whether one calls them clan signs, symbols, monograms, emblems, property marks, or something else — is revealed as typically [286] Christian or Spanish in design. The Indian women of olden times wove them into their pieces of weaving, and, as has already been mentioned above (p. 10), the men put their clan-signs on other objects. According to the myth, the [173] original ancestor of a given clan was assigned it in an individual presentation by Mareiwa himself, and it has been retained down to the present day. /See the foreign text for the list of "Sources Mentioned," pp. 541-542./

/542/ Supplement:

114 614 As a consequence of a long stay in East Asia, which I concluded a short time ago, two pertinent articles first came to my attention when the article presented here was already in printing:

[113] Santa Cruz, Antonio, "Acquiring Status in Guajiro Society," Anthropological Quarterly, 33, 1960, pp. 115-127.

Wilbert, Johannes, "Identificación Etno-Lingüística de Tribus Indígenas del Occidente de Venezuela," Mem. Soc. de Ciencias Natur. La Salle, 21, 1961, pp. 5-14.

Both articles refer to the clan-division among the Guajiro described by me. The almost completed printing of my article, however, does not permit me to discuss them in detail; therefore this brief reference must suffice.

[62 cont.]

825 whole period of pregnancy. The duality of childbirth-serpent
843 is brought to our notice with an insistence and disconcerting realism which we will endeavor to explain.

If we look into the Guajiro family organization we can
596 see how that community taken as a homogeneous whole is
621 divided into series of extended family groups which follow the line of maternal filiation. Belonging to a family group are the mother, the sons and daughters of the mother, the sons and daughters of the mother's daughters, and so on successively. The administration of the family is not in the hands of the father, who is not considered as such, but in those of the maternal uncles, the eldest of these being predominant. Inheritance also
428 is determined by this system, and sons inherit nothing from their natural father, but from their mother or their maternal uncles. The property of the father is split up among his nephews, sons of his sister, whom he considers as sons. Patrilocality and
591 matrilocality exist, the former predominating. The family group, wrongly named by some authors casta is very much
614 extended, and to it belong all those bearing the same surname. Each large family group has its own property mark or brand and a representative animal. Thus, for example: [63]

Family groups	Representative animals
Uriña (41)	jaguar

[104]

41. For the convenience of our readers we have adapted the phonetics of all these Guajiro names to Spanish orthography, using the most apparent sounds.

Urariyú	rattlesnake
Uriyú	snake
Wouriyú	partridge
Uyúrayú	cauquero (a species of deer)
Ipwana	cari-cari
Sápwana	bittern

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

579 been completely tamed by the Venezuelans. He, with of course his
648 followers, have found honesty the best policy after all, and are now reformed and peaceful members of society, returned to breeding and agriculture. This shows what can be done with firmness combined with a little judicious tact and management.

The Indians build no elaborate dwelling-houses. Their best ranchos
342 are simple, and constructed in a short time. The roof is covered with the split woody core of a tall euphorbia. This makes a good cool roof, impermeable to water and easily removed when the family flits. The rancho is seldom used for sleeping purposes; for this numerous poles
[513] (*tchepsi*) are firmly fixed all over the place for swinging hammocks, often three and four to one pole, and crossing each other. Sometimes two and three sleep in a hammock. Further off other poles (*palámaler*)
[417] are found, to tie animals up at, and a small corral or sheep-pen for the goats and sheep is also indispensable in every well-regulated family. The site of a rancho is always carefully chosen, much strategy being
361 displayed in locating the whole, so that each rancho covers the other
621 without itself being seen. Although villages are never attempted, yet a family rarely lives isolated. Everybody bolsters himself with that bugbear of Goajira society, his relations. Their ranchos are always within gunshot distance, so as mutually to defend each other. One is
[712] invariably on high ground to dominate the country, the rest are hidden away in nooks and corners where least expected. If one rancho is seen, others are close at hand. In case of attack, this system prevents a whole family being exterminated. One or two ranchos may be taken, but the rest escape or fly to the rescue, as the case may be. At all events the
[552] avenger, so dear to the Indian, survives. Each rancho has a distinct name. Besides, every Indian who is anybody has several ranchos
[423] spread over the country. To collect the names of the ranchos would be paramount to taking a census of the territory. The following are
103 well-known ranchos, with usually some half-caste from Riohacha
443 trading with the Indians. In the Macuira range, six miles from Punta
592 Espada, is Guarorpá, at the foot of Ara-ura; chief, Caijuna, a Jirau. Westwards, close to the sea-shore, Chómunno; chief, José Agustin, a
621 Jallariú, a half-caste speaking good Spanish. At the foot of Itujoro, Magualpá, situated on a slight eminence eight miles from the sea, and is an important trading station. Paraliero, native name of Puerto Estrella, boasts twelve houses and three iron warehouses, with always two or three Riohacheros resident there. The chief, Pedro Quinto, is Epieyu, but his sister Mauricia is the virtual ruler. Inland, 16 miles from Bahia Honda or Taroa is Merunay, another large trading station, usually with two or three Riohacheros established there. The eight ranchos are well located on a plain between Macuira and Parashi. The chief, Salpa, is Epieyu. This is one of the most central stations in the Goajira, and is surrounded by several important places; it is probably

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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the site of the old Spanish settlement San Juan de Ipapa. On the west side of the Parashi Hills in the plains is another well-known central trading station Joroy; chief, Majutó, an Ipuana; probably near the old site of the Spanish settlement Moscota. In the neighbourhood are: Guarirpanturi; chief, Concón, an Ipuana. A Dutchman from Aruba has lived here many years, and has become quite an Indian. Aipiapá, a few ranchos on an eminence commanding the whole valley. The Indians here are rather mixed, but the chief is a Pushaina. The well Kapaulera, at the base of the hill, is the finest I saw, and surrounded with rich green vegetation similar to that of Macuira. Katunasió, the most inland station. It is generally the traders that make a rancho known, for the Indians do everything they can to keep their abodes, if not secret, at any rate as much in the dark as possible. The plains being more unsettled than the mountain district, traders do not venture to establish themselves in the interior, as at Merunay or Joroy, so few ranchos are known. The most important place in the Lower Goajira is Guincna, midway between Riohacha and the Venezuelan town of Las Guardias or Santa Teresa. Paraguaipoa, the new Venezuelan military colony, founded in 1882, counts already 50 houses. It is situated in the plains 12 miles in advance of Santa Teresa, which it completely covers. The garrison at present consists of 30 men, well mounted and found in every respect, under the orders of a commander, two secretaries, and two interpreters; the latter for the purpose of taking statistics as to trade, &c. Altogether it is a model establishment, and does honour to the Government of Venezuela. The entire population of the Goajira may be about 20,000; it does not exceed 25,000, and is not increasing.

As regards manners and customs and the way they enforce their old peculiar laws, these Goajiros are particularly interesting. Of course, like all Indians, they are singularly proficient in begging, stealing, and drinking, but besides these capital vices they add a fourth, that is demanding compensation, tear- or blood-money—principal cause of all the strife and blood feuds between the castes, and an everlasting danger to Indians and strangers alike. Whereas about one-quarter of the male population die a violent death from its result, another quarter are killed by drink and its effects. The laws that govern these compensation cases are very intricate, their number is legion. First is the terrible law of retribution, that makes a whole caste responsible for the acts of any single member. As the Spaniards or white men are considered by the Indians as belonging to one large family, the country is very unsafe for travelling, for every white man is a sort of hostage for the good behaviour of the others. If an Indian should be killed in a quarrel by a white man, the life of another white man, living leagues away, depends upon whether the fee (relations of the dead Indian) or a friend brings the news first. Many an innocent unconscious trader has been sacrificed at one end of the peninsula for a foul murder committed at the other end.

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

Urianas are connected by marriage with the Pushaina, another wealthy 614
"tribe" of the *Goajiro*.

Each extended village (section or rancheria) consists of related sib 614
members who are bound by close ties and who unite against outsiders 11621
one of them is wronged. Intermarriage among the sibs is common.

The role of the maternal uncle in *Goajiro* culture is of great importance. 604
Santa Cruz's detailed study of it (1941) will be summarized here. Types of behavior, both prescribed and unformalized, vary, not only according to the seniority of either uncle or nephew but also according to that of the nieces. The maternal uncle must leave all his property to his oldest sister's oldest son, the other nephews receiving nothing. In practice the maternal uncle transfers most of his property to his own children, and after his death little if anything remains for the nephew. The attitude of a senior nephew toward his senior maternal uncle largely depends on what inheritance he expects from him. If the nephew marries a girl from a wealthy family and has, therefore, to pay a high bride price, the senior maternal uncle is expected to make a donation to meet the price. The uncle has no authority, however, in the selection of the bride.

Etiquette requires that in company the nephew must always remain silent if his senior maternal uncle is speaking; if the nephew wishes to speak he must first ask his uncle's permission. The nephew must always show respect and conduct himself with propriety. On the other hand, a senior uncle should not criticize or laugh at his senior nephew. No such behavior is prescribed between father and son or between other uncles and nephews. Public opinion castigates any deviation from this behavior between uncle and nephew.

The relationship between a maternal uncle and his niece is just the reverse of this, for the uncle is the recipient of benefits. He receives the bride price paid for the niece, and he contributes nothing toward the dowry for the bridegroom. The maternal uncle, however, is empowered to accept or reject a prospective bridegroom, and the girl has no recourse in the matter. A girl is respectful and considerate, although less rigidly formal, toward her senior maternal uncle. Her behavior toward her other uncles depends solely on her regard for them.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

There is no central government uniting all the sibs, but each sib or 614
subdivision thereof has its chiefs who inherit their position matrilineally. [522]
The oldest chief has greatest authority and may carry a knobbed stick as symbol of his authority. He is generally the wealthiest and has most [554
retainers. Hereditary status is very important, and a man born poor 556]
may never achieve a high position, even though he acquires much wealth. He may, however, marry a woman of high rank and his children will inherit her rank. Chiefs are polygynous and have many daughters, for for

[152 cont.]

177 community, especially in cases of illness and pestilences, as can be seen in the section "Shamanistic treatment of animals" in 233 Chapter II. If, on one hand, stock grazing partly changed some 789 of the social system related to magic, on the other hand, at the same time it has also felt the influence of this institution to the point of acquiring its own characteristics which differentiate it from other systems of stock grazing, which follow, in general, the lines laid down by the Spanish colonists. Magic is sui generis and plays its part today, as the oldest institution can, in Guajiro culture.

789 Moreover, not only in the collective sense but in the individual, the action of magic on the economy shows itself very clearly in the charm [contra] to make oneself rich, which we have described in detail in Chapter VI and which, as is logical within the Guajiro social dynamic, is connected to such important social matters as status, as we shall see later.

In the chapter which we have called "Magic as the Origin of the Theater in La Guajira," we may also see the effectiveness [774] of magic in the private economy, since the owner of a piece of cultivated land is the one who organizes at his own expense the dance and fiesta given to attract the blessing of the good spirits, of Mareiwa on the crops, which require sufficient rain and certain climatic conditions to ripen. So great is their confidence that they believe that the more solemn the ceremony of the Dance of the Kid, the more benefit will be received from the spirits they invoke and fete, and the greater the probability of success for the harvest.

182 2. Society. Guajiro society, as we have said, has transferred a great part of the responsibility for its survival and •619 stability to magic and has a tranquil confidence in it, convinced 789 of its effectiveness and holding firmly to an institutional determinism which only now is beginning to break down fundamentally. The cultural institution of magic represents to the individual Guajiro a system of life, thought, and belief which unites him to his group as much as does the consanguineous tie and the established clan system. Magic is the general and generalized institution, essentially independent of the characteristic social divisions

[152 cont.]

182 brought about by the family and clan organization; it embraces
789 all the community without distinction and influences and de-
[614] termines it in many of its aspects. [153]

For this reason magic is bound up closely with their regimen for personal security and collective stability in three ways: 1) because it establishes a series of preventative norms aimed at defending the individual and the community from possible evils provoked by the concurrence of natural or supernatural, physical or psychic phenomena; 2) because it possesses adequate methods of treating the evils, which the individuals of the community, by transgressing the cultural patterns, bring upon themselves, thus affecting them in their persons or interests; 3) because it instills the belief in the community that any infraction of the established norms can provoke abnormal happenings which work against their stability.

182 We would say, then, that in the first place the shaman
+756 with his methods of magic is an institution created to maintain, defend, and even restore the regimen of stability to the community and its members as will be seen by the short enumeration of the following facts.

a) Medication for illness to restore the health of the patients.

b) Propitiation of the rains, indispensable for agriculture, the growth and conservation of pastures (the essential factor for stock grazing), and the maintenance of fresh water in the wells and water holes, as much for the use of the members of the community as for the sustenance of the stock.

c) Warding off pestilences and epidemics, both in humans and in animals, directed first to the saving of life among the individuals of the community and second to the defense of their interests represented by the stock — the support of their economy and of their existence.

d) Prevention of the effects of dreams, which within Guajiro mental mechanics correspond to actual realities as revelations of the future, anticipatory announcements of things that are going to happen within the community and which will affect one or
[782] more persons in their social group. This is one of the origins, as we have seen, for the animal sacrifices which have so much importance in the daily lives of these Indians.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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Hills, the most dangerous part of the peninsula. There were no chiefs there, no cattle and no other Indians than chance travellers. The new member of our company, however, proved to be lazy and useless from the very first. Francisco had got it into his head that the mestizo had sent his slave with us in order to steal my double-barrelled gun—for which he had asked in return for hiring us the donkeys, an offer that I pretended to take as a jest, since such a gun was worth its weight in gold in Guajira. The mestizo's slave boasted to Francisco that he had killed an Indian, so Francisco went in fear that he would try to kill me in order to get the gun. It certainly was not as bad as that. The man was really quite timid and everybody had their eye on him.

Now began the exciting part of our journey. As we were to go quite close to the dreaded hills, I consulted the only reliable authority I had, the English engineer, Simmons's, account of them. 'As far as the terrible Cusina are concerned,' he wrote, 'it must be pointed out that their name in the Guajiro tongue means "thief", "brigand". They are not a distinct clan or sub-division, as is sometimes maintained. They have been accused of being cannibals—Reclus, the geographer, wrote that the Guajiro tremble at the thought of being roasted and eaten by them. This, however, is incorrect and there is no proof of any such thing. It is true that the Guajiro fear them and will not pass their haunt, unless they are numerous enough to defend themselves and their herds; but their fear is that which people always have of robbers and brigands, when they have property to protect. In actual fact, it is difficult to find a Guajiro who does not have a relation among the Cusina.' He then gives some examples of this, and continues: 'These Cusina are nothing but a band of robbers expelled from their clans as a result of quarrels, murder or theft, and thereby compelled to plunder in order to live. In order to be better able to defend themselves and to have more success in attack, they have joined together in larger and smaller bands under recognized leaders. Thus they can organize plundering expeditions. If they find themselves strong enough, they will surprise less

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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579 numerous and worse armed companies and take what they
619 have. The various bands, however, have no mutual respect or consideration, but will plunder each other if they can. Perhaps a Guajiro with a relation among the attackers can count on some consideration, unless his relative is inimical. However, the Guajiro do sometimes do business with the [131] Cusina, and also can negotiate and secure the return of stolen animals. The Cusina's haunt is the Cojoro Hills and a narrow strip of the lowland is also accounted theirs.' He then named the leaders of that time and told where they and their men were. In those days the Cusina had a number of plantations in the lowland, and also cattle, though they could not be bothered to look after these, but preferred to live by banditry. Simmons also says that it was the Cusina who sold the poisoned arrows.

Nearly forty years had passed since Simmons had journeyed in those parts and it was obvious that the Cusina were no longer so numerous nor so dominant, though one still had to take heed of them and be on one's guard. We were to learn that they could still make daring raids to parts far from their haunts. All unattached Indians one met in the vicinity of the hills were held to be Cusina—it was safest so.

Attack and highway robbery was one thing, ordinary [685] theft another. If a thief was caught, it cost him dear in compensation, but theft itself, as we heard in connection with Chinca, was almost regarded as a sport. It was thus common for poor Indians at least to pinch things from those who were better off. We, of course, were considered very rich.

685 It was not to be wondered at if an Indian, having nothing
674 to eat during the worst of the drought, appropriated a bit of this and that from those who were better off. If he knew that he would be able to repay it, it became a sort of loan, without the owner's permission.

Once, some Indians got in ahead of the monks when the time came to harvest the manioc at the mission's plantation in Macuira. When the monks came there with the mission's children to carry it home, all had gone. In the hope of preventing this happening again, the monks decided to com-

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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plain to the civil authorities; but the government inspector at the coast just smiled and shook his head when they asked if he could do anything about it. 685 674

'The only advice I can give you is that you double your plantation next year. Then perhaps the crop will suffice both for you and the Indians.'

When a monk once reproached an Indian who worked at the mission for pilfering sugar, the Indian replied: 'But, father, every Indian steals!'

As Simmons thought, the Cusina are made up of the bad elements, those outcast from their clans. In the long run no clan can shield a member who commits all sorts of crimes. Some flee to the hills because they cannot pay compensation for someone they have killed, nor count on help from their clan, which perhaps is also without resources. Such people are real outcasts, for anyone can kill them without risk of their clan's exacting vengeance. These outcasts once took refuge in the most desolate hills of the peninsula, Sierra de Cusina, and ever since others have come to replenish their ranks. It was said that they also had women, either captured or runaways. Grazing and water were said to be scarce there. It was a desolate part and none disputed it with the Cusina. They had to live largely by plunder and robbery. They could only keep goats in their hills, so what cattle they rustled, they ate. They were keen to get arms. We were told that none then alive had ever seen a Cusina. They attacked by night and killed everyone. That, of course, was the old Guajiro way: let no one live who might conceivably exact vengeance. 579 614 619 579 619

The old accounts from the days of the conquest also mention Cusina, but they must have meant ordinary Guajiro Indians from the area of the Cusina Hills.

The brigands were supposed to have scouts out on the roads, who signalled to their comrades when they scented prey. They very seldom dared attack a well-armed company, as ours was. We three white people each had a gun or rifle and a pistol; and in reserve we had some of my cheap barter pistols. We equipped Francisco with a saloon pistol which had a long barrel and looked impressive. Then we 579

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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They make designs on their skin with black stain and tattoo themselves, especially on the arms and legs, with charcoal dust pigment. At least one of the marks is the same as the tribal brand.

MANUFACTURES

Women have a rather definite daily routine. They arise before day-break, milk the cows, and prepare the morning meal for the men, who then go off to fish, hunt, fight, or merely loaf and drink chicha. They fill their jugs at the water hole and then spend the rest of the day collecting wild cotton, spinning, weaving, making ropes, grinding corn, making butter, cheese, and chicha, and performing other household duties. They milk again in the evening.

Textiles are probably the best *Goajiro* manufactures. Their other products are pottery (which is the virtual monopoly of a few sibs), bows and arrows, and saddles and harnesses.

Spinning and weaving.—Wild cotton is collected, the seeds removed by hand, and small wads are rolled around a thin stick to form small tubes about half an inch (12.5 mm.) in diameter and 6 inches (15 cm.) long. These tubes are then spun into thread with the use of a spindle, one end of which rests in a calabash bowl on the ground. Yarns are colored with vegetable dyes, especially divi-divi.

Almost every household owns a loom, before which the women sit for hours weaving hammocks and bright-colored belts for men and horses. The warp is made from one long continuous thread wound around two thick horizontal poles, the upper one firmly attached to two uprights, the lower one hanging loose and maintaining the tension. As the work progresses, the cloth is moved forward around the poles, so that an endless strip of cloth is produced, which is then cut. Shuttles are passed through by hand, the warp being shifted by means of a threading arrangement which takes hold of alternate strands. On a piece of cloth about 2 yards wide an inch of weave every three hours is considered very fast work.

Containers.—Most cooking utensils are made of crude earthenware by a few tribes in the vicinity of the Teta, a peak near the middle of the peninsula. Spoons and forks are cut out of calabashes. Some Indians possess enameled mugs and pots obtained from itinerant traders.

Weapons.—Almost every man possesses a good rifle. Cartridges are scarce and expensive and must be smuggled in. Firearms are consequently reserved mainly for warfare, and the bow and arrow is the everyday weapon.

The bow is made from the hard, springy wood of the black palm. It is almost round in cross section, 5 to 6 feet (1.7 to 2 m.) long, and strung with a special steel cord. The end which rests on the ground is protected

9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
SC13 Goajiro SC13

the individual who was to provide the raw material for this article. This is more or less a biography of the man who was at the same time guide, interpreter, and driver for the author and with whom extensive conversations, both formal and informal, took place.[2]

Guajiro culture, like most native cultures in the New World, has suffered great acculturation due to the impact with European ways of life. Some of these cultures have been more resistant to change than others; and within one culture, certain aspects have remained closer to the traditional forms than have others. In Guajiro culture, it is perhaps the social organization, with all of its ramifications, that has resisted recent acculturation more than the other aspects of the culture. We know very little of the pre-caste culture of the Guajiro and even Juan de Castellanos, writing at the beginning of the seventeenth century, describes them as having numerous herds of domestic animals. Nowhere in the literature on the Guajiros is there an example of status having been acquired outside the traditional way and the present writer, in his two field trips to the region, has found only the case here described.

As it is not the purpose of this article to give a full description of the social organization of the Guajiro, it will be sufficient to state that the tribe is divided into some twenty-five matrilineal clans, of which about eleven are large and rather powerful in their socio-economic aspects, and the rest—due mainly to the fact of having a small number of members—are weak, and relatively unimportant. Inheritance is along the mother's line, an individual acquiring property from his maternal uncle. The avunculate in all its social and economic aspects, is a very important institution (Santa Cruz, 1941).

Traditionally the clans are exogamous with incest taboos and punishments for those who break them. This exogamic characteristic of the clan is apparently disappearing, as several cases of endogamous unions were found among the Guajiro living in the outskirts of the city of Maracaibo. No endogamous marriages, however, were found in the Guajiro proper by the present writer, although Gregorio Hernandez de Alba (1936) has

[2] Proper names, especially of the subject, have all been disguised in some way, so as to spare personal feelings.

VII

THE CACIQUE

614 Authority in La Guajira is not concentrated but is distributed among each of the clan groups into which society is divided. It
622 is practically a hierarchy, whose primary nucleus is the small family, after which follows the extended family, which includes uncles and aunts /Spanish tíos/, cousins, nephews and nieces /Spanish sobrinos/ on the maternal side, and, finally, the clan, into which are collected all individuals bearing the same surname and possessing the same symbol animal. It can therefore be said that in La Guajira there is no authority which imposes its will on the collectivity. There are, however, mestizo individuals who, owing to their economic position and social status, have acquired a measure of authority over their Guajiro relatives and over other local groups, an authority that is exercised although not legally recognized. Because of their outstanding economic position these mestizos keep on subordinating a series of people around them: their servants with their families, their many wives and children and the families of these latter who depend directly upon them; with the economic subordination comes submission of will. The authority of these mestizos is increased furthermore because of the influence they have with civilizado /nonnative/ groups because of their personal dealings with them, and their facility in mediating facing the civilizados gives them a superior position within the collectivity. To this class of individuals the name "cacique" is given, even by the Indians themselves, but they are not caciques in the true sense of the word.

In La Guajira there is another institution which is also called
622 caciquism, which we will continue to describe briefly below.

The necessary conditions for being a cacique in the Guajiro sense and the atributes and responsibilities of the position are the following.

/135 cont./

622 1. The cacique's maternal family must be strong in masculine elements who are ready to back up his decisions and enforce compliance to his will.

2. He must be a Guajiro and of high social standing. /136/

3. He as well as his relatives must be rich, possessing goods, represented above all by animals, which is what gives most prestige in the eyes of the other natives.

4. He must tener palabra /literally, "have word"), that is
622 to say, he must have oratorical talents (Cf. Valuation of the
537 Woman, in chapter on Premarital Considerations; and Compensation payment for death, in chapter on Law), because from this skill he derives one of his principal attributes: acting as intermediary in the putchis, or wars between clans, and in all quarrels between groups and individuals. Tener palabra is the primary and basic talent for the acquisition of prestige as a cacique, for on this gift of oratory, on the practical knowledge of native psychology and of traditional law which guides him in his decisions, depends the success of his arbitrations.

The opinions of the cacique, mediator, or orator /Spanish
622 palabra, lit. "word"/ -- all of which titles he has -- are respected; *his counsel is asked for, his help is solicited in time of need, his* opinion is consulted in the varying circumstances of the life of his kin and of others who know him. His accurate deductions and prudence keep strengthening his power until he becomes the headman of a district, which sees in him its representative and lawyer in all its problems and expects from him in exchange for the submission made to him, that he be capable of winning every time and easily dominating every abnormal situation that might arise.

In every family group one of these caciques will be found in power and one or more others capable of succeeding him, but circumstances will eliminate competitors until only one remains.

The authority of a headman is recognized primarily by his extended family group, but outstanding qualities of one of these family heads may cause his influence to be extended to other groups who, by considering him more powerful and influential

/136 cont./

622 than their own head, will solicit his intervention in special problems, especially when these refer to personal differences with groups stronger than themselves. This attitude is taken with the approval of the other cacique, who also on occasion will add his efforts to assist him when he wants to impress his point of view on another very strong clan group.

When a pact in which he has mediated or lent his assistance is not complied with, he must resort to force, if the noncompliance of the opposing party drives him to this extreme, so as not to lose his power and authority, and he has to give examples of great personal courage, exposing himself more than the other who go to back him up, if he does not wish to lose credit in the opinion of his own people as well as of outsiders, but to give the impression of a real headman, successfully directing any warlike actions that may develop. He should let himself be killed before yielding in his task, /137/ and fight on until he has made the enemy comply with the pact made and agree to the recognition of his authority and to complete submission. In this fighting all his relatives in the maternal line join up with him, but not his [593] own sons, because, as we know, these do not form part of his family and if they were wounded, their maternal relatives would present a claim for compensation payment against the father, and thus the number of his enemies would be increased. However, at the present time, through the influence of the civilizados, the son is following and backing up his father in spite of Guajiro law.

Another of the functions of the cacique is to counsel his people and those who recognize his authority and who seek his opinion in any of their problems. In these cases his advice is to be prudent. He exhorts them to comply with the law; He obliges the thief to return the stolen goods, and he reprimands him for his felonious action; he tries to arrange that those in enmity over the spilling of blood arrive at an equitable settlement to avoid later reprisals; he asks the women to be faithful to their husbands; he mediates in conjugal arguments and quarrels, trying to obtain from the men more consideration for their wives.

/137 cont./

622 As he is the recognized family head, his own conduct should be strictly in accordance with Guajiro laws, although this does not imply that he does not try to obtain the maximum advantages, even beyond those stipulated, when he intervenes in his own peoples' affairs.

His own personal superiority obliges him to how his economic strength. In every collection that may be made for the marriage of a relative of his, or for any other kind of payment, he should head the list with a good subscription which should in no case be less than any other contributor's. At wakes he should do likewise, and also, by his authority, oblige all his own people to contribute adequately, as this establishes the good name of the family group which he heads and directs.

He ought to be kindly, amiable, and cordia with all, listen to all complaints calmly and patiently, be ready to help everyone; he should keep his house open to everyone, for his hospitality must be the most ample and welcoming.

The office of the cacique is transmitted in two ways: It is inherited, in which case it passes to a nephew, the son of a sister; and it is acquired by virtue of personal and family merit: high social and economic position, facility in oratory, knowledge of native psychology, a suave but energetic character, power of conviction, friendliness, and diplomatic talents. /139/

VIII

SLAVERY AND BOND SERVICE

567 Causes of slavery. Slavery is always an outcome of the violation of the regimen for social stability in the community; this means that if an offense is committed against a member of one of the consanguineous groups (totemic clans) existing in La Guajira,

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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133 venting anything being landed dry. The Colombian Government
504 erected a guard-house at the entrance of this bay last year, but I am afraid it will have to be abandoned as untenable. Puerto Estrella makes a very bad port, the small trading schooners having to lie in under the breakers. This is the last recognised Colombian port, at least pending the arbitration question. The next good port is the Laguna de Tucacas, in the Gulf of Maracaybo. This place is much frequented by Venezuelans, and a trade has sprung up that if not checked will ruin the already drooping commerce of Rio Hacha. The last port on the coast is that of Cujoro, and spoken of as the future port of Maracaybo, with which it would have to be connected by rail, an engineering feat of not much difficulty. The *ensenada* or bay of Calabozo has an inaccessible, heavy, surf-beaten coast.

614 The peninsula is inhabited by only one tribe of Indians. These are subdivided into many families or castes, bearing much analogy to the ancient "clans" of Scotland. Each caste or rather family circle is united against all comers, taking up the quarrel of any one of its members to make it general. The Goajiros are strictly conservative and aristocratic
556 in their ideas, wealth and interest are omnipotent. A poor man may be
[578] insulted with impunity, when the same to a rich man would cause certain bloodshed. They have no veritable rulers, but each community
● [622] recognises the wealthiest of its members as the chief or corporal, as he has been dubbed by the Spaniards, and look to him for protection. An Indian born poor, cannot become wealthy and great. Whatever herds he may accumulate, his humble origin would never be forgotten; he
[557] could, however, marry into a high caste family, having the means, and his children could become, through their mother's relations, great chiefs.
614 Besides the name, each caste or family represents some animal, and many of the minor castes, over and above their own symbol, adopt another of some more powerful denomination, to enjoy the privilege of a good protector. There are at present, altogether, some thirty odd castes among the Goajiros. Of these I was able to discover the names of twenty-two. The remainder are insignificant, little known castes, chiefly inhabiting the hills. There are about ten of importance, chief among these the "Urianas." This, the largest caste in the Goajira, has subdivided or split up into many ramifications, such as Uriana tiger, Uriana rabbit, Uriana paularate (a song bird), Uriana gecko (lizard). This family is at present not only by far the most numerous, but also the richest; due to its connections by marriage with the Pushainas, formerly the wealthiest of the land. The Pushainas are to-day still
[558] great holders of tumas and ornaments, but with the Indian, only cattle, mules, and horses are real estate. The Urianas on receiving the tumas, sold out for cattle. The second in numbers are the Epieyuas, as a rule they are poor. Under their protection are the Sovanas, again under these the small caste of the Guergueriynas. A full list will be given

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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those we had left, but just as simple. Inside were hammocks slung this way and that. Along the walls were carrying-nets filled with things, and earthenware vessels lay scattered about the floor of hard-trodden sand. Some of these vessels were grey, others reddish-brown, some had necks and handles. One was an obvious imitation of a Dutch liqueur jar. It was not far to Puerto Estrella, to which schooners from the Dutch islands came.

Most of the earthenware vessels had red decoration. Some, with wavering lines, were obviously the work of the oldest of the women, who was frail and almost blind; but there was no fault in the shape of the vessel. The woven cloths were hung up in a special shelter. The warp hung vertical and ran like an endless belt over an upper and a lower pole. Several related tribes, members of the Aruak family, use the same method. When the cloth is finished, it forms a ring, and is then cut up.

They were working on a man's belt or sash. The everyday belt was only a couple of inches wide, but sashes intended for more solemn occasions were some eighteen inches broad and very colourful. They used red, yellow, black and white yarn and the pattern was most interesting. Ceremonial cloaks are also woven for the men, just as colourful as the sashes, but, to my sorrow, I was never able to acquire a really fine specimen. They were simply too expensive. The rich chiefs collected them, but custom decreed that they must be wrapped in all their cloaks when they died, which meant that none were inherited. The men's everyday cloaks I have already described; they pulled them on and then twisted them so that their chest was bared. The women's dress was considerably more Spartan: it was a wide tunic, made like a sack with holes for the head and arms, and dyed black with divi-divi or brown with stuff from some other plant. Their loin-cloth only became visible when they were working in the shade or indoors and removed their tunics. It too was black or undyed. They themselves thought that there was no call to use a nice patterned cloth for underclothes. Little girls often had patterned loin-cloths, but then they did not wear tunics

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CHAPTER 7

Laws with No Tablets

As we were riding through a parched and savage landscape we saw at a distance a number of mounted warriors divided into two groups, which were drawn up in semi-circles facing each other. We thought there must be some ceremony in progress and wanted to ride across. They were all magnificently got up and armed to the teeth with bows, arrows and guns. Our Indian guide stopped us.

'Be careful! Be careful! That is a *purchi!*'

We knew what that meant. A dispute had arisen between two clans, through someone having been offended, robbed or perhaps killed. The victim's family had asked for help and the matter was now to be settled at a meeting with the offender's clan. Damages would be demanded and paid, or there would be a fight—the start of a blood-feud. One should be careful not to get involved in that sort of thing.

These Indians have no police, no authority that dispenses justice; they have to judge and settle matters themselves with the help of their families, yet in accordance with their laws. These are curious, detailed and logical. They are, of course, unwritten, mere customary rights, but they are strictly observed and applied with the utmost consistence. Before we crossed into Indian territory, the Creoles had urged us to make ourselves acquainted with the Indians' laws, as otherwise we could get into trouble quite unwittingly.

Soon after seeing the purchi we met the region's most powerful chief, Manana. We were on our way to a small rancho, when we caught sight of some Indians working on a cactus fence. We wanted to film them, and had just got

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our cameras up, when a plump, middle-aged Indian came rushing up and began giving the fencers orders in a stern voice. He had not noticed us.

'That's Mauana,' Francisco whispered respectfully.

Mauana was wearing only a guayuco and brow-band, which is the genuine Guajiro garb. When he saw us, he at once spoke to us in good Spanish, which not all the chiefs know, for the Guajiro cling stubbornly to their own tongue. Mauana, of course, had heard of us. He now invited us to go with him and see how he lived.

First, we came to his plantations, which many in the peninsula must have envied him. There was a green valley, one of the oases in the semi-desert, where manioc, sugar-cane and maize grew, shaded by coconut palms, mango trees and bananas. The plots were watered by narrow canals which all came from the one stream in Guajira that never ran dry.

Mauana was obviously a strict master and he ordered his slaves about like a sergeant-major, but his plantations was a model one and he was an efficient chief who maintained order in a most commendable way. Once or twice he had caught white criminals who had hidden in the hills there and sent them back to the authorities—to their great disappointment. He lived simply, as all Guajiro do, but he had an unusually well-built house that was completely roofed.

We told Mauana of the purchi we had seen, and he used this as an excuse to give us a lesson in Indian law. Such an account of the Indians' social order and laws was both amusing and interesting, and it showed how different from ours the primitive's conception of justice can be. One knows all too well what mistakes colonial authorities have made through misunderstanding the native conception of these matters, especially of the rights of ownership.

The Indians, as has already been said, are divided into clans in which relationship follows the female line. Children thus take their mothers' names. Their fathers belong to a different clan and strictly speaking are not related to them. It is their eldest maternal uncle who is their head and guardian, and it is from him, not from their father, that they

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55 idea being that to speak the name renews the grief of the
63 dead person's relatives. An old man of the Uriana clan, who called himself Juan, died. Some time later some of his relatives were at an entertainment, at which too was a woman of the Jusuá clan with her little son. A Creole asked this woman what her little boy was called and without thinking, she replied: 'Juan'. The dead man's relatives then claimed damages because she had mentioned the dead man's name, and she had to pay them a bullock, even though it was a Spanish name. It was the reminder of their grief that had
[64] to be compensated. It is also an offence to tread on an Indian's grave.

It is more expensive to strike a person than to insult him.
65 One should not answer an insult with a blow, but a well-to-do Indian will not infrequently do so and gladly pay the damages. If an Indian strikes another without hurting him, he must pay nonetheless, because he has treated the other as a slave—it being only one's own slaves that one has the right to strike. If someone tears a tunic, he must not only
66 *replace it, but pay for* the shame the other felt at going about in rags.

A thief, if caught, must repay several times the value of what he has stolen. Not infrequently he must pay with his life, especially if the person he has robbed is a powerful personage, as he usually is, and the thief belongs to a weak clan that cannot help his family to exact blood-money.

[67] A thief can be forced to pay by working for his victim. He
68 becomes a debtor-slave. Murder, manslaughter and being the cause of another's death are the most serious crimes. They do not have these sexual categories. The penalty for manslaughter is very heavy. If agreement cannot be reached on it, it can sometimes lead to war, a war in which the enemy must either be exterminated or enslaved.

69 It is on such occasions that a parabi is held, at which you can see the groups of warriors drawn up facing each other, while a chief presides.

70 The chief is a mighty person and will have been chosen
71 for his excellent qualities, yet he is not a judge, but rather advisor and mediator. His rule is so considerate. He will

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already have talked with both parties and know their points of view. One can imagine what takes place. The killer's family wishing an amicable settlement: 'It is best that we do not begin a war, brothers,' says their leader. He offers reasonable compensation, paints a picture of the horrors of war, the continual fear of attack, the burning houses, the women violated and enslaved, the blood-feud continuing from generation to generation, and, by way of contrast, describes the calm of peaceful work. 622 628

The other side are spoiling for a fight. 'I am rich and need no damages. My men are brave and prepared for a fight. I wish that we measure our strength.'

If a settlement is not arrived at, a fresh meeting is arranged, and meanwhile there is a state of latent war. Even if a fine is agreed upon, peace is not restored until the fine has actually been paid. This is probably done in stages, and that is why the Creoles say that the Indians can kill each other on the instalment system.

To bring about another's death, whether intentionally or unintentionally, has grave consequences for the person responsible. The fine that has to be paid is often ruinous. The homicide becomes indebted to his relatives who have to help him pay. Also, for magical reasons, he has to submit to a lengthy period of isolation and to certain restrictions which prevent him attending to his affairs and make him endure certain privations. 682

If a white man has killed an Indian, he should try to get to safety outside the peninsula, because even if he pays a fine for manslaughter, the Indians will seek his life. Three white men must die for each Indian killed, according to the old rule. They long insisted on regarding all white people as being of the one clan, though nowadays they know that they are split up into different peoples. They would now never dare extend vengeance for an injury inflicted by a native mulatto to, say, a fair-haired foreigner from the north. 682 648 [684]

The foregoing are but a few points of Guajiro law which is really much more complicated than these would make it appear. The law ought really to be the same for all, but 671

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CHAPTER 8

Innocence and the Fertility Dance

MAUANA invited us to visit him again, and we were glad to do so. We liked him and his oasis. Also he taught us a lot, for he was knowledgeable and intelligent, a proper chief who was not called *cacique* just out of politeness, as is the case with many rich mestizos near the border. 622

The Indians expect a great deal of their chief. He has to be an adroit negotiator, able to uphold the clan's rights and support its members. In war he is the leader who must be in the van and never yield. He must be ever hospitable, a good speaker and in every way a worthy representative. Mauana seemed to be such a chief.

Our only means of repaying his hospitality was to give a great porridge feast—we had a lot of oatmeal with us. The Indians loved our porridge, perhaps because it was reminiscent of their own maize gruel, which we ourselves far preferred. This feast took place on Mauana's next visit to Nazaret, and after it he was eager for us to pay him another visit, promising to show us dancing. 648 574

On our arrival we were introduced to the 'princess', his unmarried daughter. Mauana wanted us to photograph her. She was not pretty, but typically Indian in appearance. She had to put on all her finery and her paint, and her mule was saddled and decked out as for a ceremonial occasion. She had gold and coral at her neck, ankles and wrists, and large spiral patterns painted on her cheeks. Her mule had three tails: its own and two artificial ones, such being the fashion then. The girl was no film star: she was as stiff as a ram-rod and not to be thawed. Luckily, her skin looked light on the photograph, as every Guajiro girl desires it to be. Mauana 622 [23] 622 142

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would not have been pleased if we had not managed to get her looking nice and pale. In reality her complexion was perhaps a shade too dark. Mauana asked if everyone in our country was as fair-skinned as my wife, and when I assured him that they were, he wondered whether he should not send his daughter to Sweden for a time to let her become lighter. The girl did not appear to be so very young. Francisco told us that Mauana was not finding it easy to marry her off. Being the greatest and richest chief in the Macuira Hills, with plantations that were always watered, the price he must ask for her was considerable by Indian standards, and though there had been no lack of inquiries, no deal had yet been made. All this according to Francisco. The price could not be lowered. The girl's uncle insisted on that, as she did too. Every Indian girl is proud of commanding a high price. That not only shows that she is of good family, but also that her mother and grandmother cost a lot too, in other words that she is of an old, propertied family.

'You often hear people say,' Francisco added, 'that it is better to pay little for a wife from a poor family who has been taught to work well, than to give much for a rich girl who only wants to be waited upon. But the fact is that the rich girl's family will provide her with what she might need to live according to her status even after she has married. She will still be supported from home. That, of course, lightens the husband's duties: so it isn't so silly to marry a rich wife,' and he sighed heavily.

Mauana then joined us and he too began discussing marriage. We had heard a certain amount on this subject already, but listened nonetheless attentively. A suitor does not go in person to ask for a girl's hand; he sends a proxy, his eldest maternal uncle or, if possible, a chief on his mother's side. His mother usually goes as well. Sometimes a whole deputation arrives, to be given a ceremonial reception.

The delegates bring with them gifts in the form of necklaces of gold beads and tuma stones. A man like Mauana could expect several of these. If the gifts are accepted, as almost always they are, they at once start discussing the

Uriana are connected by marriage with the Pushaina, another wealthy 614
"tribe" of the *Goajiro*.

Each extended village (section or rancheria) consists of related sib 614
members who are bound by close ties and who unite against outsiders if 621
one of them is wronged. Intermarriage among the sibs is common.

The role of the maternal uncle in *Goajiro* culture is of great importance. 604
Santa Cruz's detailed study of it (1941) will be summarized here. Types of behavior, both prescribed and unformalized, vary, not only according to the seniority of either uncle or nephew but also according to that of the nieces. The maternal uncle must leave all his property to his oldest sister's oldest son, the other nephews receiving nothing. In practice the maternal uncle transfers most of his property to his own children, and after his death little if anything remains for the nephew. The attitude of a senior nephew toward his senior maternal uncle largely depends on what inheritance he expects from him. If the nephew marries a girl from a wealthy family and has, therefore, to pay a high bride price, the senior maternal uncle is expected to make a donation to meet the price. The uncle has no authority, however, in the selection of the bride.

Etiquette requires that in company the nephew must always remain *silent if his senior maternal uncle is speaking; if the nephew* wishes to speak he must first ask his uncle's permission. The nephew must always show respect and conduct himself with propriety. On the other hand, a senior uncle should not criticize or laugh at his senior nephew. No such behavior is prescribed between father and son or between other uncles and nephews. Public opinion castigates any deviation from this behavior between uncle and nephew.

The relationship between a maternal uncle and his niece is just the reverse of this, for the uncle is the recipient of benefits. He receives the bride price paid for the niece, and he contributes nothing toward the dowry for the bridegroom. The maternal uncle, however, is empowered to accept or reject a prospective bridegroom, and the girl has no recourse in the matter. A girl is respectful and considerate, although less rigidly formal, toward her senior maternal uncle. Her behavior toward her other uncles depends solely on her regard for them.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

There is no central government uniting all the sibs, but each sib or 614
subdivision thereof has its chiefs who inherit their position matrilineally. [522]
The oldest chief has greatest authority and may carry a knobbed stick as symbol of his authority. He is generally the wealthiest and has most [524
retainers. Hereditary status is very important, and a man born poor 524]
may never achieve a high position, even though he acquires much wealth. He may, however, marry a woman of high rank and his children will inherit her rank. Chiefs are polygynous and have many daughters, for 607

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622 Chiefs are polygynous and have many daughters, for
595 whom very high bride prices are paid—sometimes thousands of animals,
583 worth $6,000 to $10,000. Such rich chiefs take great pride in their
556 daughters, dressing them in fine silken robes and necklaces of gold and pearls and providing them with personal servants.

567 There is a class of slaves who are beneath the chiefs' retainers in the social hierarchy. It consists of people born into this status and of captives.

PROPERTY

422 All cattle, though individually owned, belong in theory to the local group as a whole and are worked for the common benefit of all. For example, the cattle paid as a bride price when a girl marries within her own sib go to a new owner, but the milk, butter, cheese, and hides from them continue to be shared by everyone in the sib. When a woman receives cattle as a bride price for her daughter any new stock born to them belongs to the daughter's husband and his sons, and when the animals are rounded up for the annual branding each son is allowed to brand a certain number of them.

ETIQUETTE

576 The *Goajiro* are in general unfriendly to strangers but have a well-
577 established code of hospitality. Strangers calling at a house must wait until invited in. Inside a house a bowl of chicha or rum (coffee when available) is the first gift offered the visitor, who is thereafter given a hammock and treated as a member of the family. A special feast may
[545] be arranged if there are many guests. A guest of high rank is feasted, and some of the young girls of the house may be placed at his disposal.

LAW AND ORDER

627 The chiefs have little power outside their own local group, where they settle minor disputes. The solution of many disputes and transgressions of custom are left to the parties concerned. The laws of group respon-
628 sibility and group retaliation lead to frequent intertribal feuds. A person
614 without a strong sib to protect him is helpless, for others may use any act which may conceivably be interpreted as harmful as pretext for demanding indemnity. For example, a person injured while intoxicated may demand payment from the person who sold him the rum, or a person injured by a borrowed animal may demand payment from the owner of the animal; a thief who hurts himself when trespassing on the property of his intended victim will demand compensation of him; and anyone aiding a sick or wounded person who subsequently dies incurs a liability.

672 If a person injures himself he must make an expiatory gift to the members of his own sib and a lesser gift to his father's relatives. If a child dies when under the care of one parent, this parent must reimburse

8;Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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586 minus an amount considered equivalent for the sexual right he had exer-
[845 cised. If a woman dies in her first childbirth the husband may demand
583 the full return of the bride price (Simons, 1885, p. 792, however, states
that the wife's relatives demand compensation from the husband).
586 Adultery entails divorce with full return of the bride price. It rarely
837 occurs, however, as the wife will be treated badly by her own relatives.
At his death a man's wives are inherited by his brother, and next by his
587 sister's sons; the women may avoid this by making a payment equivalent
768 to their bride price. If he is of the Catholic faith his children may claim
184 to be his legal heirs, which leads to conflict with the maternal nephews.
(See Social Organization, p. 374.)

562 The influence of women in political affairs is sometimes noticeable.
●622 There are cases of female chiefs, and women are respected enough so as to be able to intervene and stop brawls.

764 **Death.**—Funerals are accompanied by festivities which last days or even
[55 weeks, according to the wealth of the family. There are some differences
[84 in the funeral ceremonies which are apparently associated with the particular sibs. These funeral feasts afford the best opportunity for display of wealth, and more than 1,000 head of livestock may be butchered. Every mourner who comes to the feast contributes animals for slaughter and continues to do so as long as he cares to remain. After the mourning period, marked by weeping and lamenting interspersed with drinking and feasting, the corpse, which has lain in a hammock slung from the rafters,
[787 is sewn up in hides by the women (men may not touch a dead body) and carried to the cemetery of the tribe. For a year or so, the body may be temporarily consigned to a shallow grave marked by a pile of stones. Food and drink are often placed in the grave, and, if the deceased had been a warrior, his bows and arrows are put in. A year or two later the bones
764 are exhumed and reburied in a large urn. The exhumation is generally
765 done at night and is accompanied by a feast. The remains are carried in a funeral procession to the dead person's birthplace, where they are buried in the family's own cemetery. The funeral urn is placed in a vertical position with the narrow neck of the jar protruding above ground to permit the free entry and exit of the spirit and to allow the remains of other members of the family to be added from time to time. A cactus hedge surrounds the cemetery, and in wet weather half a calabash is placed over the opening of each jar to keep out the rain. Whenever two relatives of a recently deceased person meet, they bow to the ground, shouting and groaning, for several minutes. (For a slightly different account of the burial of a rich man, see Simons, 1885, p. 792.)

761 If a person is stricken with smallpox the whole tribe moves away, only
766 the family of the sick person remaining. When the death occurs they bury the body below the floor and burn the hut over the grave.

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231 The whole judiciary structure with its elaborate system of torts
556 is based on the payment of a given number of domestic animals.
681 There is no crime, including murder, that cannot be amiably settled by such payments (Petrullo, 1937). The acquisition of
[585] a bride is also reduced to the payment of a stipulated price, in terms of domestic animals, to be given to the maternal uncle of the girl.

231 Social, economic, and political status in the Guajiro society
554 is intimately connected with the cattle complex. To have a high status an individual needs, primarily, two assets: he must possess a large number of domestic animals, in other words, he must be considered rich; and he must be an older man. If he lacks either of these requisites, he is not a leader, as he will not be sufficiently respected nor will members of his clan come to him to seek his advice. Consequently, leaders are not numerous in the Guajiro peninsula. The present writer knows only two individuals, both in Venezuela, who are today the unquestionable
159 leaders of their respective clans. These men are Panchito Silva,
554 of the Pushaina clan, and José de la Rosa Fernandez of the
556 Uriana clan.
[602] An analysis of the lives of these two men will be illustrative of the traditional methods of acquiring status among the Guajiro.

Panchito Silva, a man of about 80 years of age, lives in the
[595] native village of Sishipes in Venezuela. During his life-time he has had eight wives (two or three at a time) and now lives with his surviving two, one about 35 years old and the other about 50. He is a full-blooded Indian as has been the case of his wives. There is no trace of race mixture in his family. He has no clear idea of how many children he has had, apart from those living with him now (two men and five women). Yet he knows definitely that he has four younger brothers—who will inherit his wealth and position before these are passed on to his nephews—three sisters and twenty-five nephews and nieces (all
[604] sons and daughters of his sisters). His lack of concern towards his own children coupled with his keen interest in his nephews and nieces seems to be a clear indication of how strong the avunculate is in traditional Guajiro society. His holdings in cattle and other domestic animals are very large. Roughly he owns around 1,000 head of cattle and about 3,000 of sheep,

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goats, mules, asses, and horses. Approximately 60% of this total he acquired through inheritance, as his maternal uncle was a wealthy man and, in his time, the leader of the Pushaina clan. The rest of his property, Panchito has acquired through the payment of bride-prices received for his nieces. Unquestionably, Panchito Silva has become wealthy and the leader of his clan through inheritance, although, through the years, as he has aged and his nieces have married he has become more firmly established in his position.

Members of the Pushaina clan come to Panchito from the most remote places of the peninsula (both from Colombia and Venezuela), to seek his advice; to ask him to settle disputes among families within the clan; to tell him about injuries received by a clan member so he can establish the amount of compensation to be paid and exact payment from the offending clan; to fix the bride-price of a given girl member of the clan; to establish how much each male member must contribute in order to pay compensation due to another clan; and for many other minor details of clan organization and function. The writer was a guest at Panchito's home for two days and, during that period, Panchito received the visit of no less than 63 clan members, who, in all, brought about 25 or 30 different clan problems to be settled.

The story of José de la Rosa Fernandez, although different from that of Panchito Silva, represents a second method of acquiring status following the traditional law of the tribe. José de la Rosa Fernandez is also a full-blooded Indian, about 65 years old. He has had seven wives, but always one at the time, except now when he has two. One of them is an old woman with whom he lives most of the time, and just recently he married a very young girl (who remains living with her mother) whom he visits once or twice a week. Fernandez's position in the Uriana clan is very similar to that of Silva in the Pushaina. The writer was not able to hold private conversations with Fernandez and, consequently, exact data regarding his property are lacking. Although he did not inherit too much property nor the clan leadership as in Silva's case, he was fortunate to have many nieces whom he has managed to marry off very well and to get large bride-prices for them. Thus he began to accumulate property and at present he is probably the richest man in the

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159 Venezuelan Guajiro. As his wealth grew so did his prestige.
554 About twenty years ago the then leader of the Uriana clan died
555 leaving no heirs, as he had no brothers and no direct nephews.
600 Guajiro tradition establishes that, if upon the death of a clan leader and wealthy man there are no close heirs, even though
[623] there be distant ones, a council of elders (informally chosen
623 among the oldest and more respected men of the clan) will meet and select the individual who shall take over not only the leadership of the clan but the wealth of the deceased as well. These cases are very infrequent (actually the writer could only find, in the memory of the oldest men, two instances of a council of elders meeting to select a leader; one is the case mentioned in this article, and the other occurred among the Epieyú clan, in Colombia, about fifty or sixty years ago). Fernandez
[557] now confesses, quite candidly, that at the time of the meeting of the council of elders, he distributed a number of gifts among them, thus succeeding in having them select him as clan leader and heir to the wealth of the dead chief.

179 It is interesting to note—and it shows how much acculturation
193 Guajiro culture has undergone with the assimilation of the cattle complex—that the true Guajiro term for leader or chief (which also means "old man") *alat'laa* is almost all but forgotten and practically never used, having been substituted by the word *to'olo* a corruption of the Spanish word *toro* meaning BULL.
[194] (Stops are not glottal, but simple stoppage of the sound to be renewed with the coming vowel. Phonetic transcription have followed those given by Dr. Martha Hilderbrand's work on the Guajiro language published by the Comisión Indigenista, Venezuela, in 1958).

622 The role of Fernandez as leader of the Uriana clan is an
627 exact replica of Silva's. He acts as advisor, settles disputes, makes arrangements for the payments of torts, bride-prices, etc. His day is fully as busy as that of Silva and he attends to all these matters besides his personal affairs.

554 Here we have, then, the two traditional ways of acquiring status in Guajiro society that the present writer has been able to investigate; one through inheritance, as in the case of Panchito Silva; and the other, through selection by a council of elders, as in the case of José de la Rosa Fernandez. It is doubtful that

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there may be other traditional ways of acquiring status. The literature mentions none, although Ernst (1887), Jahn (1927), and Hernandez de Alba (1936) make detailed comments on the two traditional ways described here.

Incidentally, these two leaders are never called by their first names, not even by their closest relatives, and are referred to as To'olito Silva and To'olito Fernandez.

To illustrate the new way of acquiring status in Guajiro society it is best to describe quite fully how one individual, and as far as the writer knows, the only one, whom we shall name José Perez, has reached a certain status though employing none of the traditional methods. As guide and interpreter of the present writer during the recent field trip, José Perez was in constant personal contact with the author, who was able to obtain valuable first hand information and observe reactions to personal and intimate questions.

First let us give a brief biographical sketch of José Perez. Perez is now 46 years old. He was born in the village of Castilletes, Venezuela, in the extreme north-eastern part of the Guajiro peninsula. His father (still living, now in the town of Paraguaipoa, Venezuela) has no trace of Indian blood and is considered in Paraguaipoa as pure white, while his mother (deceased) was a pure Indian belonging to the Uriana Clan. Perez's father took him, while still a child, to Maracaibo for schooling which included three years of high school. At that time Perez's father was quite influential in local politics in Maracaibo and was able to get the Governor of the State of Zulia interested in the youth. Perez was given a small position in the State's government, where he was employed for about ten years. During this period he married a local white girl with whom he had a child (now in his fifth year of medical college, State University of Zulia) and apparently had all but forgotten the Indian half of his heritage settling into the whites' ways of life.

Perez went into politics and was elected Prefect (an office similar to the County Sheriff in the United States) of the Paez district, Sinamaica, in the threshold of the Guajira, so to speak. He moved north to his district leaving his family in Maracaibo. This return to a semi-Indian district apparently had some influence in Perez's outlook for the future, for as soon as his term of

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two days' visit at the home of Panchito Silva and while returning to Paraguaipoa, asked Perez how many wives he had had. Perez was obviously quite upset by the question, but did not hesitate in answering: "Oh, no, Mr. Santa Cruz! I have and only have had one wife, Anita!" (Anita is his Indian wife). Whether the motives for the denial are of a personal nature or involve some cultural complex is unknown to the writer. 159 595

Nevertheless Perez leads a perfectly discernable dual life. He has two homes, as described, dividing his time between them, devoting about 40% of the time (when he is not working) to his Maracaibo home, and about 60% to his Guajira home. He has two sets of friends which he is very careful not to mix. His plans for the future of his son are entirely along white cultural lines. At this point we find contradictory thoughts in Perez's mind. The present writer has heard him repeatedly criticize the attitude of certain Guajiros, both full-blooded and half-breeds, who, having gone to Maracaibo for formal education (especially to Teachers' College) have then sought, and in many cases obtained, positions in Maracaibo instead of returning to the Guajira to practice their professions. Yet when it comes to his own son, Perez's plans are for a permanent residence in Maracaibo or, if possible, Caracas, where he could go into practice in an entirely white cultural background.

The problem now is to define Perez's status in the Guajira. Undoubtedly his personality has some importance in Guajiro social stratification, especially among his own generation. This importance he has attained by granting favors, which his semi-official government position enables him to do, to those whom he thinks will, in the future, be of help to him. Perhaps this is best illustrated by an example. The Ministry of Justice, through the Comisión Indigenista, grants ten scholarships annually to Guajiros who meet certain educational requirements. These scholarships are for the State of Zulia Teachers' College in Maracaibo. Perez has been given, more or less, a free hand in the selection of the candidates for these scholarships. About 65% of the candidates chosen by Perez, in the four years that the plan has been in operation, have been admitted to the College. The writer was able to look briefly into the family back- 632 557 658

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ground of the candidates selected by Perez so far, and he has found that only one among all the boys and girls recommended by him actually came from a Guajiro family that could not afford to pay for higher education. All the rest came from families, both pure Indian and with white mixture, belonging to the upper economic and social strata of the Guajiro society, who could easily pay for the education of their children.

C22 557

These and other favors that Perez has granted to the upper social class have, undoubtedly, given him a unique status in the social structure. Perez is not respected in the same sense as Fernandez and Silva are respected, but his advice is sought and no favor he asks is ever denied. The older men, especially those enjoying certain leadership, look upon Perez with certain scorn as an upstart. For instance, on several occasions, when the present writer with Perez visited his father-in-law, Fernandez, the old leader, in a half-humorous and half-serious way, would repeatedly say: "This is To'lito; I am the To'olo," meaning that Perez was just a "little bull," while he was the big, the important "bull." Nevertheless, regardless of this general attitude of the older men, even they come to him whenever they want some favor from the Government. The writer has never heard Perez deny such requests to individuals of the upper stratum, while on several occasions it was noted that he refused to do anything on behalf of those who are economically and socially below him.

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As far as the younger generation is concerned, Perez unquestionably has many friends and individuals who look upon him as the possible means of bettering their position. His bitter enemies are also to be found among the younger generation. These will stop at nothing in the hope of having him completely discredited in general and in particular they aim to have him lose his semi-official position. Just recently, this group went so far as to accuse him of having been a collaborator of the deposed dictatorial regime of Perez Jimenez and an enemy of the democratic government now in power in Venezuela. This landed Perez in jail but, as these accusations could not be substantiated, he was released in 24 hours. This incident is referred to here for the sole purpose of illustrating to what measures his enemies

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will go to have him fall in disgrace. Whether these accusations are true or false is not our concern in this article. 600 557 518

Summing up Perez's position in Guajiro society we find the following facts: Among the older and more influential men, Perez is not considered as one of them and their attitude towards him is not a respectful one. He on the contrary is quite respectful towards them. No one, however, among this group can be classified as his enemy, and they do seek him out for advice in their dealings with Government officials. Among his contemporaries he enjoys a very influential position and practically everyone seeks his friendship. His true friends are to be found, without question, among this group, and, as far as it could be investigated, he has no real enemies among them, although there may be a few who envy his position. The younger generations are clearly divided into two groups—one group which truly respects and looks up to him, and another which is composed of his bitter enemies. 600 554

From the many formal and informal conversations the present writer has had with Perez—at his home, while traveling, when visiting some one else, etc.—the following analysis may be made of his behavior and position. While in Maracaibo, Perez soon became aware that he could attain no high status within a white culture where competition is always very keen. As Prefect of Sinamaica he clearly saw the possibilities of climbing up the ladder in Guajiro society and the first step he took towards that goal was to marry a full-blooded Indian girl from an important family, and to marry her in accordance with the traditional Guajiro law. There was very little chance for him to obtain the necessary wealth and to attain leadership status through property, but he saw the opportunity his semi-official position gave him to become the point of contact between the Guajiro and white cultures, cultivating both and becoming an almost indispensable person in the dealings the true natives had with the authorities. Whether his marriage to the Guajiro girl was purely for interest or whether there was any love involved is, of course, very difficult to say. As the writer made his headquarters in Perez's household at the Laguna del Pajaro, during his stay in the Guajira, he was able to observe, at first hand, the relationship between Perez and his native wife. These were always 600 557 600 557 593

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cordial, no fights or even harsh words between them was ever noticed, and when Perez was arrested, as mentioned before, his wife showed great concern and distress and did everything possible to have him released from jail and brought home. Still the question of how much real affection, especially on Perez's part, is involved in this marriage cannot be answered with certainty. As regards the grantings of favors to the Guajiro, it is obvious that he makes a careful selection and never or hardly ever grants them to individuals who could not, in the future, be of some help to him.

Whether or not Perez will attain a position of respect and leadership such as Panchito Silva and José de la Rosa Fernandez enjoy is hard to say, but the writer will try to make an analysis of the situation and draw certain tentative conclusions.

There is no doubt that clan leadership with all its privileges and responsibilities is slowly dying out in the Guajira. Among the 25 odd clans existing at present the writer has met only two individuals who have all the earmarks of a true economic, political, and social leader, namely, Panchito Silva and José de la Rosa Fernandez. Informants have told him that there are two others, the heads of the Epinayú and the Epieyú clans living in the upper Guajira and in Colombia respectively. From what information was gathered these two other leaders fit closely to the pattern described for Silva and Fernandez. The remainder of the clans have no true, powerful leaders, although they do have elder members who are more or less respected and consulted in certain clan matters. Around the turn of the century, however, according to the information gathered first hand from old men like Silva and Fernandez, and from the literature, there were at least twenty powerful leaders among the clans.

Undoubtedly one of the contributing factors to the breakdown of clan leadership has been the great horizontal movement in population among the Guajiro in the last fifty years. Such spread would tend, naturally, to break down the regional characteristics of the clan and ultimately help to bring about a loss of personal contact between a leader and the rest of his clan and hence the loss of control. Whether there are other economic, social, or political factors in operation favoring this breakdown is not fully known. The writer suspects that there may be but this problem would need further intensive investigation. The

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writer hopes in future researches to complete the picture of leadership among the Guajiro and the present breakdown in their social organization.

As mentioned above, traditional form clan leadership is obtained either through inheritance or by selection made by a council of elders. Perez's case is entirely different and he has followed white culture means and ways, more or less, in obtaining leadership in Guajiro society irrespective of clan organization. In other words, he has become, in certain aspects, a leader of the Guajiro as a whole and not of a particular clan. It is to be expected that as more and more Guajiro individuals go to Maracaibo for higher education, these new methods, such as those utilized by Perez, of attaining status will become stronger and will also be a contributing factor in the final breakdown of the traditional clan leadership. Some years must pass, however, to determine conclusively whether this is the path that leadership in the Guajiro will take. At the moment four important clans still have their traditional leaders—the Pushiana, Uriana, Epinayú, and Epieyú—with strong and well defined heirs to their present leaders; and as long as the inheritance lines remain firm, clan leadership among these four clans will cling to the traditional. The rest of the clans, having lost their lines of inheritance and lacking men of strong personality to become their unquestioned leaders, will tend, we predict, to fall in step with new leaders of the Perez type. Such leaders will, undoubtedly, become more numerous as the acculturation processes go forward.

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159 Venezuelan Guajiro. As his wealth grew so did his prestige.
554 About twenty years ago the then leader of the Uriana clan died
556 leaving no heirs, as he had no brothers and no direct nephews.
622 Guajiro tradition establishes that, if upon the death of a clan leader and wealthy man there are no close heirs, even though there be distant ones, a council of elders (informally chosen among the oldest and more respected men of the clan) will meet and select the individual who shall take over not only the leadership of the clan but the wealth of the deceased as well. These cases are very infrequent (actually the writer could only find, in the memory of the oldest men, two instances of a council of elders meeting to select a leader; one is the case mentioned in this article, and the other occurred among the Epieyú clan, in Colombia, about fifty or sixty years ago). Fernandez now confesses, quite candidly, that at the time of the meeting of the council of elders, he distributed a number of gifts among them, thus succeeding in having them select him as clan leader and heir to the wealth of the dead chief.

[623] [623] [557]

179 It is interesting to note—and it shows how much acculturation
192 Guajiro culture has undergone with the assimilation of the cattle complex—that the true Guajiro term for leader or chief (which also means "old man") *alat'laa* is almost all but forgotten and practically never used, having been substituted by the word *to'olo* a corruption of the Spanish word *toro* meaning BULL. (Stops are not glottal, but simple stoppage of the sound to be renewed with the coming vowel. Phonetic transcription have followed those given by Dr. Martha Hilderbrand's work on the Guajiro language published by the Comisión Indigenista, Venezuela, in 1958).

[194]

622 The role of Fernandez as leader of the Uriana clan is an
627 exact replica of Silva's. He acts as advisor, settles disputes, makes arrangements for the payments of torts, bride-prices, etc. His day is fully as busy as that of Silva and he attends to all these matters besides his personal affairs.

554 Here we have, then, the two traditional ways of acquiring status in Guajiro society that the present writer has been able to investigate; one through inheritance, as in the case of Panchito Silva; and the other, through selection by a council of elders, as in the case of José de la Rosa Fernandez. It is doubtful that

/224 cont./

of the date work will begin and asks for their co-operation. Meanwhile at his house abundant food is prepared for the occasion and drink in considerable quantity: chicha made from chewed wild yucca or from corn. And each Indian who decides to lend a hand brings the tools required for the job and arrives at sunrise. At night he returns to his dwelling after working all day, generally drunk from the great quantity of chicha or rum which he has drunk. This cycle repeats itself daily during all the time necessary to finish the work. The owner of the house, or one of the volunteers of most experience, assumes direction of all the activities and gives orders which are quickly carried out. We will take as an example the case of the construction of a dwelling. For this, necessary plant materials are located beforehand in the woods of the clan property or in wasteland, and the services of an individual acquainted with the method of housebuilding is also secured beforehand and the work carried out under his direction. The according to the ability of each of the workers, tasks are distributed; some prepare yonojoro (1), which is the roofing material; some

1. The woody part of the cactus called cardón.

lay the roof while others cover the walls with the bark of the trupillo /Mimosaceae family/, with green stems, or with bohareque /small sticks with canes and clay, sometimes also called bareque/, according to the region or taste /of the owner/. In this way /225/ the work is finished in a short time. By the same procedure the excavation of a well or the building of a dam for rain water is carried out.

When it is a matter of preparing ground for sowing or any other agricultural work, the activity is carried out in an identical manner. Some go to give their services to a friend so that once they have finished work on his agricultural land, the friend will immediately reciprocate by lending his assistance on their land. The Goajiro keeps very much in mind the person who refuses to

/225 cont./

give his co-operation on occasions like these, so that later, if he asks for his help, he also refuses.

There is one type of communal activity carried out by the women; it is that connected with the work of chewing which they contribute in the preparation of chicha of wild yucca or of corn used at all their festivals or on the eve of male communal work. On such occasions the women's assistance is requested, and they all gather, very pleased with the work they have to do, by virtue of which once finished they receive rum or chicha as recompense, and can eat large quantities of yucca and corn cakes on the sly while they are doing their job. The two types of communal work are substantially different. The first benefits all the community or at least a clan group, while the second affects only one individual and his immediate relatives. The participation of the individual and of the family in true community work acquires in some cases the character of an obligation inherent in the position of a member of a given clan group. In others his co-operation depends on the benefit he is likely to derive from it: the use of a cemetery, wells for water supply, etc.

In the second type, on the contrary, the individual participant derives no benefit from the work in itself, but from the reciprocal co-operation that the beneficiary on that occasion must give to each of those who have helped him. To refuse to participate is an infraction of a norm that may isolate the man from society. What is accomplished by the co-operative work of various groups acquires for this reason a communal character in its utilization. In the second case it is individual or family private property.

For the first, the Guajiro gives his aid in labor, the loan of tools, the maintenance of laborers, the handing over of part of the construction materials, etc. For the second, he gives nothing more than his labor and the use of his tools because the maintenance of the men is the direct concern of the party benefited.

/226/

Domestic work. The division of activities by sex is one of the primary classifications that can be made in La Guajira in

/[illegible] cont./

559 561 In addition to bond servants and slaves who at any rate are still part of the Guajiro social conglomerate or their special status, there exist those outside society who have got into this situation as a consequence of breaking of the regimen for social stability, security, but who besides not having paid the indemnity required for their delict are cast out of the community because their clan group refuses to admit any responsibility for the crime, by which act they are excluded from the community and have to flee and go into exile. This appears to have been the case with the Koeine Indians, who have already definitely disappeared, due to the exterminating expeditions that have been launched against them by all the consanguineous Guajiro groups and by whites. They were a group of Indians ostracized for delicts committed, who had no family backing and who gathered together to live by robbery and murder of other Indians and the whites who lived in the neighborhood of their hideouts in the Sierra de los Koeine. /[illegible]/

III

559 568 Prostitutes also can be classified among those of lowest feminine status, as their conduct is not in accord with the female cultural patterns for women in the community, which practically treats them as outcasts. Although they may enjoy a measure of individual prestige due to the satisfactions they give, they attract to themselves the contempt of society as they are constantly violating culture patterns. They are evaluated in two ways, but primarily are classified as despicable beings, violators of cultural patterns.

Nevertheless, during the summers, which are the periods of scarcity and misery, their conduct finds, if not approbation, at least excuse among their relatives, who see in their way of life a means of income which serves in part to supply the most basic necessities of life. Furthermore, with the change in ideas

[82 cont.]

682 nightmares and dreams, possibly in the delirium of fever, so
775 that the spirit creeps around him and painfully crushes his chest.
783 It pursues him insistently, which provokes a grave crisis in illness. The spirit then takes advantage of his weak state to aggravate his sickness. Self-confession is one of the most important social consequences of this state of mind as, due to the obsession
682 with the presence of the spirit, every time a murderer has been
626 able to conceal the secret of the murder and in consequence has so far escaped the compensation payment for blood, he loses his equanimity during sickness and will then talk freely about his crime. In the delirium of fever, haunted by the anguish caused by the supposed weight of the spirit of the murdered man on his chest, he raves about all the details of his crime. This confession, according to his belief, does bring him some relief as in a certain manner it admits the dead man's vengeance and in consequence it gives some peace to the criminal as well as rest to the offended spirit.

775 The spirits of those who have died violent deaths fall, so to speak, within a class of more highly dangerous spirits than those that die from natural causes. They represent, we should say, the middle point between these latter spirits and those of suicides. This is certain to such a point that the house in which
[768] a native has been killed is immediately vacated, because his spirit will live in that house and it will only leave it on occasions when it goes to torment the murderer. A Guajiro Indian will never pass by the place between sunset and dawn because he is convinced that every detail of the scene of the tragedy is continually being repeated in that place ; the insults are heard again, the shots or whir of arrows, the sighs and groans of agony, just as were heard on the day of the tragedy. In addition the spirit appears in the shape of a flame that pursues whoever may be near the house; or it may also appear in the form of any animal whatsoever, a bird, for example.

But the highest degree of danger occurs when the spirit of the murdered Indian is face to face with his murderer. This is a wounded spirit and full of desire for vengeance to such a point that the family of the murderer, after having fulfilled the

182 [154 cont.]
781 is for this reason most probably a moral and material fraud.

We have to remember that there are two fundamental facts
956 with respect to divination: 1) that the shaman can be both
787 things, magician and diviner, which increases his position and prestige; and 2) that any individual can learn for his personal use and the good of others the methods of divination, which do not require, as they do in the case of the shaman, the illumination and constant presence of the protector spirits who exercise their domination over the individual in whom they dwell and whom they submit entirely to their will.

• • •

182 Ordinary magic, that is, that which does not depend on the shaman or the diviner, but is rooted in popular belief and
626 is like a code of preventative norms tending to avoid the break-
787 ing of institutionalized cultural patterns, is also a true regimen for [156] stability. It clearly indicates that if this or that norm is violated, the individual will suffer the punishment in himself, in his offspring, or in his family group, such as, for example: a) nonattendance at burials, not assisting in the digging of graves, not looking on the lowering of bodies into the grave, etc., on the part of both parents when the woman is pregnant.

b) The prohibition against approaching children or sick people after having touched a corpse.

c) The precautions that a pregnant woman should take on meeting a snake.

d) The ceremony that should be practiced with the corpse of a first-born child.

e) The restriction imposed on a pregnant woman's husband regarding hunting with modern firearms.

f) Finally, the observation of all those norms whose violation may adversely affect the actual birth or the health of the newborn baby by causing the mother to be upset and ill before or during childbirth.

g) We may also see this action of magic in the use of different kinds of charms (fetishes, amulets, talismans), in the express prohibition of not pronouncing the personal name of an

[155 cont.]

182 626 789 individual or of the dead, in the aspect which we have called "Omens and Augural Birds," in the behavior followed by individuals who wish to call up a breeze during a windless calm at sea or to send away eclipses and lightning which, according to their belief, are malevolent.

• • •

789 505 A very interesting aspect of magic is its use for and against some of the cultural institutions and their institutionalized patterns; for example, the use of love charms and the compliance with certain norms after the period of seclusion accompanying the ceremonies at the time of a young woman's initiation. Her aim is to fight against polygamy, with a view either to obtaining predominance over other wives or, better, to prevent the man who has acquired her for his wife from acquiring more women with whom she would have to share his life. Possibly due to the influence of acculturation, there is a tendency toward monogamy on the part of the women. The men, however, tend toward polygamy for prestige, since for it they must have a good economical position, as the price of women is high, increasingly so the greater their social position.

[177] [654]

[156] Another institution that we see directly affected by magic is this same initiation of young women. We saw how the death of a first-born child required a series of ceremonies to prevent future children dying at birth, one after the other, and we stated that one of the principal ceremonies consisted in the observance of certain norms which bring to mind very clearly the initiation of the young mother. Their idea would seem to be that one of the causes of the death of the first-born was the deficient carrying out of the magic-biological-social ceremonial to which the girl must submit to prepare for her life as an adult.

751 771 981 [264]

Also the norms relating to the dead and the belief in a life beyond the grave rest almost exclusively on magic, and through it their prestige and their functioning are kept up. Magic is also the cause of the fear and respect which relatives and friends show to their dead, and it is magic which also promotes all the ceremonial rites that are celebrated in this connection.

964 775 771 626

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
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671 tween law and custom in Guajiro society by a variety of illustrations. One of them said in effect:

> If a cacique visits me and I fail to kill a sheep in honor of his visit
> 579 and to feast him in accordance with the dignity of his rank and my
> ●626 wealth, I have broken a custom of my people. However, though I
> 671 offend him by such negligence my guest may take no action to redress the wrong other than to inflict the same discourtesy on me if the opportunity should arise. He may seek neither redress in violence nor composition in payment. My only punishment may be the acquisition of a bad name among my people.
>
> But if I visit one of my wives at her rancho and she fails to kill a
> 586 sheep from her own flocks to feast me, refuses me her person, neglects
> 671 to supply me with hammocks, saddle-bags, and other articles made
> 685 by women, or refuses me shelter, she will have broken a "law"; that is, she will have broken the marriage contract. In this case I may demand from her and her family payment or a divorce. In the latter case her family would have to return to me the bride-price plus any increase in the herds but less an amount considered fair for my having exercised sexual privileges over her, though I may demand even this if she marries again. In case her family refuses to adjust
> [626] the matter in accordance with our law I may appeal to my family for help in obtaining my just rights. I should be justified in having recourse to violence. However, the law is so well understood that it would not be necessary to resort to such drastic measures generally.[1]

671 These informants were acquainted to some extent with
[115] Colombian and Venezuelan laws and were attempting, no
[177] doubt, to classify their own customs in accordance with European practices. Nevertheless it is an indication that in their minds there does exist a class of offenses for which one may seek composition even through violence, and a class that is in the category of merely moral obligations though investigators may not always draw an equally fine distinction. Simons, for example, in discussing Guajiro law speaks of injury
[184] to oneself as giving rise to a legal obligation for composition. My informants, on the contrary, distinguished it from that
579 class of wrongful acts. If a man cuts himself, his father and
626 father's relatives receive an expiatory offering. Had one of
672 my informants, the son of a rich cacique, cut himself he would
602 have given a small barrel of rum and five or more sheep to his

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father's relatives who would eat the meat and drink the rum immediately, a feast to which the mother's relatives might be invited as a gesture of courtesy. The offering of rum and meat is voluntary, and even a friend may ask for something as an indication of deep personal interest in the welfare of the injured person. If the injured man makes no offering, no action is taken by anyone to make him do so, but he will acquire a 'bad name.' A Guajiro has a moral obligation to avoid shedding his own blood, but not a legal obligation. Since the father takes care of his son during his lifetime, this obligation is directed towards him and his relatives, but is extended to include any good friend. 574 626 602 672

Another example of the same distinction is the case where a son asks his father for a particular horse or object possessed by the latter, as a gift. The father is morally bound to grant the request, but there is no legal compulsion to do so. I gave a cacique a fine hunting knife which pleased him greatly. To my surprise his son was proudly wearing it the following day. On inquiring about it the cacique told me that his eldest son had asked for it. Had he refused to give it he would have been considered a bad father. The son inherits nothing from his father on the death of the latter, but while he is alive the son may beg anything within certain limits set by precedent. This moral obligation to give up a prized possession when asked for by one's sons is extended to include close friends. 431 593 [626] [428] [572]

Allowing the Guajiro to make their own distinctions, let us turn to a consideration of their 'laws.' The commission of certain acts, which in our society would give rise to criminal prosecution, in Guajiro society are considered matters to be settled by the parties concerned. Criminal law is practically non-existent. There is no body politic, properly speaking, that meters out punishment whether or not the injured party seeks redress, and social pressure can hardly be of any importance in a society that protects the individual through the instrument of family and casta membership. In only one case does there seem to be an approach to concerted social action. If an individual has caused his family much trouble and is incorrigible, if his family has been called upon to pay for his mis- 671 629 681 672

could not have paid the price in the first place, and besides B's family would have little to fear from them. 554 628

The father and maternal uncle of the slain man take the initiative in seeking payment which goes to the mother's family. 672 682

If A and B had been workmen or retainers of C, a cacique, and A's family could not have paid the price of composition, then C would have paid B's family and in compensation would have enslaved A and his family. Payment for killing a peon is 10 asses, 50 to 100 sheep, and 10 steers. [466] [567]

Case IV: A was working for B. In the course of the work through no fault of B, A was hurt. B paid A's family for the injury. A's family took care of A. 466 672 683

Case V: A and B were working for C. Through accident B hurt A. B's family had to settle the injury with A's family. Had A been hurt in the course of the work without B acting as the instrument, then C, the employer, would have had to pay.

This case is similar to the one described by Simons. If A lends a horse to B and B is hurt through the instrumentality of the horse, A has to pay. If A gives rum to B and B injures C, A is held responsible.

Case VI: A wants to marry B. B or B's family reject his suit. A goes to B's rancho at night and commits suicide there B's family has to pay A's family for the death of A, B being considered as the direct instrument that caused A's death. 672 682 762

Case VII: A injures or kills B, caught *in flagrante delicto* with A's wife. A has to pay B's family a price minus an amount considered fair value for the sexual privilege that B exercised on A's wife. 672 682 684

These illustrations point to the absolute nature of Guajiro law. No extenuating circumstances are allowed to enter into settlement of cases of battery or other trespass on the rights of an individual. The case is different in so far as public sympathy and moral censure or approbation are concerned. Furthermore, society as a whole takes no action in righting wrongs. The family of the injured person must seek composition, and if it is not powerful enough to demand a high price it has to be satisfied with a smaller one. Conversely, there is 672 628 [626]

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
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672 family responsibility for the acts of one of its members. If
628 there is no property composition for a tort committed and the injured family has recourse to arms, the revenge that it may take is limited by precedent. If the family is very powerful
[626] it may dispense with that, but public moral reprobation is a strong barrier to excesses.

NOTES

121 1. J. Austin and T. E. Holland restrict the term Law to those rules which a fully organized state recognizes and enforces. I.e., T. E. Holland: 'A law, in the proper sense of the term, is a general rule of human action, taking cognizance only of external acts, enforced by a determinate authority, which authority is human, and among human authorities, is that which is paramount in a political society.' (See Bibliography.)

2. Rivet, Durkheim, Hartland, and Hobhouse express this position.

3. Radcliffe-Brown, 202.

4. See Malinowski in Hogbin.

114 5. From my field notes gathered in 1935. The Columbia University—University Museum Goajiro Expedition spent three months in the peninsula making an ethnological and archaeological survey. The other members of the expedition were: Dr. Paul Kirchhoff; Mr. Lewis Korn and Mrs. Gwyneth Browne Harrington, archaeologists; Miss Lydia C. du Pont, photographer; Señor Gregorio Hernandez de Alba, a Colombian student.

6. See Bohlen.

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S: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

whom to exercise his begging propensities. To mention the dead before the relations is a dreadful offence, often punished by death; for if it happens in the dead person's ranche, with nephew or uncle present, they will assuredly kill the offender on the spot if possible. If not on the spur of the moment, it resolves itself into a heavy fine, usually two or more oxen. Even if none of the dead person's relations are present, any friend can carry the news to the relations, and compensation is at once required. When not given it is forcibly taken, probably executed, and the two castes are at war. It is not wise to mention names of any sort in the Goajira in mixed company. 551 628 689

Another peculiar case: if a child dies in the custody of the mother or father, and they are living separate at the time of its death, then tear-money has to be paid by the one, under whose care the child died, to the other. This is "Taguira sushirua tushin," "My tears on account of my child." To demand payment for debts, ardouke, is one thing, and to demand compensation, nenpe, is another. They are generally pretty punctual in paying debts; should the debtor die, the creditor is secure, for the relations will suffer anything rather than allow the name of their dead to be abused. The following case of murder I witnessed in Ataipa. Some Paalaiuos drinking, one got on to a strange horse, and was ordered off by the owner, on not complying he was shot dead. Both parties being poor and near relations, it was arranged as follows: First payment, eight sheep, two oxen, one horse, two necklaces of cornelian beads, two sirapes of black beads (about 16 lbs.). Six months afterwards, second payment, similar to first. A few months after a third payment is asked, but is more an extra than anything else. After second payment all animosity ceases, and the two families can look again at each other on meeting. Should an Indian in attempting to kill another be wounded or killed, his family demand the same as though no attempt were made. 672 682 [426] [426] [628]

Among domestic customs, the one that calls most attention is shutting up their young girls on arriving at womanhood. The custom is religiously carried out throughout the country. Each girl is cooped in a separate little hut by herself. She is stripped of all her ornaments, even to her beads and sirape, and all her clothing with the exception of the long loose cotton gown, nor is she allowed to cut her hair. For the first couple of days, drinking water is denied her, the only food being hapepe, a composition of medicinal herbs. According to birth, a rigorous diet is observed the first month, no meat being allowed. She can be freely mentioned and is merely alluded to by her relations as "sartiso sura pauru," "she is shut up in her house." The term of retirement varies according to the wealth and rank of her family. Poor people cannot afford to keep girls idle more than a couple of weeks or a month; whereas the rich confine them for one, two, or even four years. It is while in this state that she learns all women's requirements— 881 [278] [262] [556] [348]

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
SC13 Goajiro SC13

604 Regarding the marriage of the senior nephew, the maternal
584 uncle plays no prescribed part, unless the prospective bride
comes from a very wealthy family and consequently the bride
price is quite high. In such cases the uncle is expected to help
(583) with a small donation to meet the price. Although this is ex-
pected from him he has no say whatsoever in the selection of
the bride. The bride price in its entirety, or certainly in major
part, is paid by the father of the bridegroom. The influence of
the uncle, even if he has happened to help pay part of the bride
price, is practically zero. This is the rule, but naturally in-
(583) dividual deviations from it are found. The case of Camilo
is again illustrative of this. Although he is not contemplating
marriage for the present, Camilo told the present writer that
once he had made up his mind to get married he would go to
his uncle for advice. No other such cases come to the attention
of the writer, but speaking with other informants on this subject
he was invariably told that such cases do often occur and that
they are not out of the ordinary. However, this is not pre-
scribed behavior and arises only from personal regard or affection.

604 There is a prescribed pattern of conduct that both the senior
maternal uncle and his senior nephew must observe when in
each other's company, regardless of what personal sentiments
they have for each other. If there are other people around the
nephew must always keep silence if his uncle is speaking and if
the nephew wants to say something he must first ask permission
of his uncle. This permission is asked by the nephew rising
from his seat or, if he is already standing, by tapping his uncle
on the arm. The uncle is at complete liberty to grant or refuse
the permission; however, a refusal was never witnessed by the
present writer. In all ways the nephew must show respect and
604 conduct himself with propriety. If he, in any way, should fail
626 to conform, he would be severely criticized, not only by his
uncle but also by the rest of the company, whether they were
relatives or not. On the other hand, the uncle must not laugh
at his nephew,—although he may laugh with him,—and if his
nephew says something wrong he must correct him in such a
way that his nephew would not feel hurt. Should the uncle do
otherwise he would be subjected to criticism, not by his nephew,
but by the rest of the company.

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
SC13 Goajiro SC13

603 having asked the permission of his uncle, and when he had
593 finished he asked his uncle's opinion on the subject, something he had not asked of his father prior to his uncle's arrival. In every way Ilaro showed respect toward his uncle, although as has been previously pointed out, contacts between the two are neither close nor numerous. At one time the uncle made a remark which apparently was not in agreement with Ilaro's opinion. However, Ilaro did not speak until his uncle was gone, which was a good two hours later. Ilaro remembered the remark, however, and referring to it, gave his opinion, asking the present writer not to mentioned it to his uncle. The matter was of little importance, having to do with the proper selection of a bough for the manufacture of a bow. A breach of this prescribed pattern of behavior would have brought public criticism, and the guilty party would have had no excuse.

604 As regards the behavior between an individual and all his other uncles, data were secured on various occasions. One illustration will suffice. It again concerns Ilaro. The day before his departure the writer was given a feast by Rafael, to which the latter invited nearly all of his relatives by blood and by marriage who could come. Consequently there was plenty of opportunity to observe the behavior of Ilaro toward his uncles. Toward Calleja, Ilaro's behavior was exactly the same as on the occasion described above. Toward his other uncles a certain deference was shown, but not nearly as much as toward Calleja. For example, Ilaro showed no hesitation in interrupting his other uncles' speech, which he did on various occasions. This gave rise to no criticism of him.

So far we have been dealing with the behavior in public between the senior nephew and his senior maternal uncle. Naturally no such observation was possible in regard to the private relations between the two, that is, when nephew and uncle are together by themselves. However, judging from what informants said, it appears that the behavior of the nephew in private
604 is very much the same as in public, if he expects inheritance
624 from his uncle, because were he to depart from the conventional, the uncle would disinherit him. On the other hand, if the nephew expects no such inheritance, and the uncle is thus

6:Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
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unable to punish his nephew by disinheriting him, the nephew's 604
behavior is very much dictated by the ties of regard or affection 626
that exist or are lacking between the two. The private behavior 428
of the uncle toward his nephew is almost wholly controlled by the same ties, as there would be no way for the nephew to retaliate if his uncle were to break the rule. There is one control, however, that both the nephew and the uncle have over each other. It has nothing to do with either regard or affection or with the possibility of inheritance. It is the fear that if either the nephew or the uncle break the rule the offended one may circulate the news in the community. If such news were circulated the reaction of the community would depend on the standing in the community of both parties concerned. If, for example, the offended had good standing while the offender had 554
not, the reaction would be highly condemnatory. In the reverse situation, the news would be taken lightly.

From the evidence gathered, three primary factors condition the actual attitudes and behavior of a senior nephew and his senior maternal uncle. The first is the economic interest that the nephew may have in his uncle's property. The second is the fear of public opinion. The economic factor may or may not be operative; the fear of public opinion is always present. The third factor is regard or affection or similar personal sentiments. These three factors may go hand in hand and then it is very difficult to say which is the strongest. In some cases, as in that of Camilo and his uncle, mutual affection and regard are undoubtedly the dominant factor.

To sum up: when the senior maternal uncle is rich, he is the giver, and the senior nephew the receiver, of benefits. As to actual behavior, however, a nephew is obliged to show deference in a particular manner to his senior maternal uncle, and the uncle in turn must show a certain amount of respect for his nephew. Fear of public opinion makes for conformity in behavior regardless of economic interest or personal regard.

Reciprocal Relations of Maternal Uncle and Niece

The relationship here is just the reverse of the uncle-nephew 604
relationship. Here the uncle is the receiver of the benefits and

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
SC13 Goajiro SC13

Estrella and her uncle may be controlled somewhat by personal regard and affection, such appear not to exist in the relations between Carmelina and her uncle. 604

The behavior of the senior maternal uncle is uniformly the same toward all of his nieces so far as the prescribed conduct is concerned, although he may not personally feel exactly the same toward every one of them due to individual difference in character and personality.

The behavior described so far has been that of the uncle and niece in public. As to the private relations between them, the present writer was informed that the relations were no different in private than in public.

Cases in which the niece goes against her uncle's will in marriage and elopes are very infrequent in the Guajira. When they occur they are severely criticized and the girl gets the reputation of being loose. Public opinion is so strong that in all the cases except one, which came to the attention of the present writer, the couple has had to move to another community away from both her family and his. The case in which the uncle has at first been opposed to the marriage but finally consents on the insistence of the couple falls into a different category. Such a couple is not criticized and may live without fear in the community. 583 584 604 626

Summary

As regards the senior maternal uncle and senior nephew relationship: first, the nephew, at least theoretically, is the recipient of benefits, and conducts himself with extreme propriety. Regardless of the regard or affection, he may or may not have for his uncle, he behaves according to rule lest public opinion turn against him and curtail his chances for trade, marriage, etc. Toward his other uncles, there seems to be no prescribed pattern and he may behave toward them as he pleases. Second, the attitude of the uncle toward his nephew is again largely controlled by public opinion. It is true that he does not have to show such marked formality as his nephew shows toward him, but on the other hand he must do nothing detrimental to the character or respect-status of the nephew. His behavior toward 604

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

562 [348]

riage. A Guajiro woman has no right to sell her body. The law does not recognize prostitution.

562 614 844

A married woman's relatives and clan do not leave her entirely in her husband's hands. He may not do as he likes with her, nor cause her suffering. Suffering and discomfort she is bound to experience in childbirth, however, and of that he is the primary cause; thus whether as a result of legal or illegal relations, the man must compensate the mother for her confinement by giving her family a few cattle. The woman herself may not eat their meat under any circumstances. [431]

582 614

Originally the Guajiro clans were exogamous; members were not allowed to marry within the clan. That is no longer insisted upon, but not only brothers and sisters, but maternal males and cousins on the mother's side, are still reckoned among the forbidden degrees. It is unthinkable that an Indian girl should marry her maternal uncle; that would be like having her father for her husband. It once happened that an uncle and niece had a secret relationship and the girl became pregnant. A monk married them, but the Indians regarded the relationship as a heinous crime and the whole district reacted so violently that the couple had to leave the peninsula and go far away, where there was no risk of meeting members of their tribe. 835 [626]

[595] 648 582

There is nothing to prevent an Indian getting himself several wives. Infrequently white men have married into Guajiro families and they too have had to pay a bride-price. A number of poor Creoles have contracted Guajiro marriages with poor girls. I have already mentioned how foreign oil workers made Guajiro marriages. In those early days there were no arrangements made for employees' families, and the Guajiro girls suited those primitive conditions very well, though as a rule such marriages with Indian girls were very short-lived, as those of the Creoles with them still are. The girl is soon abandoned, if that can be done without risk, the girl's family in such cases being powerless. So the Indians told me.

The monks had already told us that where Creoles had married Guajiro girls of good family, those marriages had

/75/
548 maternal relatives; when married, of her husband; and if he dies, of his heirs. In case of adultery it is her lover who must pay to have legal right to her.

• • •

Prostitution, which is continually growing in La Guajira, has many causes, which have developed rapidly in recent times, endangering all the social organization. The principal ones are:

548 Slavery. The /social/ organization in La Guajira has
567 created for itself this class of social elements placed at the
627 very margin of life. Its origin is in the clan groups which, when weakened by economic failure and the scarcity of male elements to strengthen them, have been slowly pushed to the margin /of society/. The murder, for example, of a member of a powerful group caused by a member of one of these groups spells its ruin. The law establishes in such cases a considerable payment to the maternal relatives of the murdered man by the clan group that is responsible for his death, a payment which has to be transacted in accordance with special forms which facilitate peaceful settlement between both parties and a reasonable time limit, at the termination of which both groups renew their peaceful relations and give proofs of new friendship, although in practice these appearances show themselves to be quite false. However, when the aggressor belongs to an inferior group, these negotiations are not followed out, as it would appear that added to the sorrow over the death is the offense of the crime having been perpetrated by a group without social standing, without prestige, and without sufficient means to pay the indemnity. "These people," say the offended ones, "who have no money to pay us for the grief they have caused us have no right either to a legal negotiation." They fall on the small group in overwhelming numbers like an avalanche, on their lands and their houses, leveling them to the ground without

/73 cont./

548 547 547 enemy, burning their homes with the occupants in them, destroying the crops, filling up and poisoning the springs, carrying off the few livestock and personal effects there may be about. The worst fate is suffered by the children and especially the women, old women, young women, and girls, who are carried off as trophies of war to pay with their service as slaves for the crime committed by their relatives.

548 547 Although these women are not to be considered as true prostitutes, their daughters are forced to suffer this illegal condition because, although they belong to their mother's master, they are strongly besieged by all the men, especially by those who have not yet been able to buy a wife and who will find /74/ satisfaction in them without economic or social responsibilities. The girls submit little by little to this situation, giving themselves to whoever gives them presents, and eventually become harlots. (Cf. Slavery and Bond Service.)

Furthermore, many of these girls are sold by their masters to be sent out of the peninsula (to Aruba, Maracaibo, Curaçao, Riohacha, etc.), but when they grow up they escape and, when it is possible for them, they return again to La Guajira, where the fate that awaits them is no better, for they have been placed, so to speak, outside the law, as they lack the two strong social bonds: land and blood. Hence, not possessing these, they are free, which is equivalent to being without protection. No one will take notice of what they do, but neither will anyone speak up for them to prevent their being the victims of force. They have no economic backing nor private means. Moreover, many of them have been started off in prostitution during their servitude. In the circumstances described, it is rare that they can raise themselves and manage to find a place again in a society that turned them out, so that they find themselves obliged to live on the margin of society, as also their offspring. In this way slavery creates the prostitute, a public property, something that does not fit within the legal norms, as we have seen throughout this chapter.

/254 cont./

554 group, which implies in fact a lack of social backing; b) eco-
558 nomic losses which prevent their maintaining their clan or family rank and, therefore, their individual prestige. c) the breaking of the regimen for personal security and collective stability which implicitly carries /255/ with it the lowering of status, because when a group which has suffered considerable losses in number as well as in capital commits a punishable act against an individual of a superior clan, it becomes liable, not to the legal negotiation for indemnity but to extermination as a free unit, because the offended group, being superior, will not deal with the offenders on a legal basis. Furthermore, if the infraction wrongs a group weakened in its economy and in the number of its male members, the indemnity is not governed by legality but rests on the individual judgment of the powerful offender, in conflict with whom the offended one cannot put up sufficient coercive force to insist on an adequate indemnity.

671 This phenomenon is due to a clear and precise fact within
627 the social mesh that holds the clans together in La Guajira: questions of law are applicable only when the clan groups who are challenging each other are equally equipped in economic strength and in fighting men. It is only then that the legal action of the arbitrators can be brought into play to negotiate an arrangement equitable to both sides. Law, therefore, is regulated by equality of strength. But once this equilibrium is broken, law no longer exists as an institution if it is contrary to the will of the /stronger/ injured side, which will impose the indemnity by means of its strength and according to its personal ambition, sacrificing the offender both socially and economically, or when the injury has been inflicted on a weaker group, allowing the aggressive action to go unpunished.

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
SC13 Goajiro SC13

the men speak some Spanish in addition to their native 105
language. Some of them know how to read and write. They
are almost entirely pastoral, possessing great herds of horses, [233]
asses, sheep, goats, and cattle. They have borrowed a great
deal from the Europeans but they have also kept their own
culture to a remarkable degree. As usual, native elements
are most strongly present in the non-material phases of culture.
Unfortunately they are not united or organized into a modern
state, though against all foreigners they stand together as a
unit. Authority is acquired by certain caciques through their [554]
wealth and membership in the 'casta,' the major social group- 614
ing in Guajiro society. Each casta claims a mythological 631
origin and holds sovereignty over a well-defined territory.
Many of these castas or social groupings are further sub-
divided. Each casta has its caciques whose function is chiefly
to settle disputes and whose position is inherited, matrilineally.
The oldest of them is allowed more authority, but generally it
is the wealthiest man, and the one who can marshal more [556]
retainers, armed with rifles and revolvers, who is listened to
with greater respect. There are further divisions in Guajiro
society. At the top are the caciques and their families who are 565
rich and powerful. The next group is composed of peons or
retainers in the service of the upper stratum, and at the bottom
are the 'slaves' who have been born in that condition or have
been enslaved following an offense to some powerful group, and [567]
who can even be let out to work for planters in the sugar fields
of Zulia. The life of the poor people has not changed much
since early times. Polygamy is widely practised, as is also 595
concubinage, by the wealthier men. Each wife lives in her
own rancho and there awaits the occasional visit of her hus-
band. The children inherit property and social affiliations [611]
through the mother. Disputes that arise within a casta are
settled by arbiters chosen by the families of the litigants. [627]
Disputes inter-casta may be settled by arbitration if violence
is not desirable. Generally the killing of an individual gives [628]
rise to armed action with an eventual composition by payment.

My informants attempted to demonstrate the difference be- 671

622 Chiefs are polygynous and have many daughters, for
595 whom very high bride prices are paid—sometimes thousands of animals,
583 worth $6,000 to $10,000. Such rich chiefs take great pride in their
556 daughters, dressing them in fine silken robes and necklaces of gold and pearls and providing them with personal servants.

567 There is a class of slaves who are beneath the chiefs' retainers in the social hierarchy. It consists of people born into this status and of captives.

PROPERTY

622 All cattle, though individually owned, belong in theory to the local group as a whole and are worked for the common benefit of all. For example, the cattle paid as a bride price when a girl marries within her own sib go to a new owner, but the milk, butter, cheese, and hides from them continue to be shared by everyone in the sib. When a woman receives cattle as a bride price for her daughter any new stock born to them belongs to the daughter's husband and his sons, and when the animals are rounded up for the annual branding each son is allowed to brand a certain number of them.

ETIQUETTE

576 The *Goajiro* are in general unfriendly to strangers but have a well-
579 established code of hospitality. Strangers calling at a house must wait until invited in. Inside a house a bowl of chicha or rum (coffee when available) is the first gift offered the visitor, who is thereafter given a hammock and treated as a member of the family. A special feast may
[565] be arranged if there are many guests. A guest of high rank is feasted, and some of the young girls of the house may be placed at his disposal.

LAW AND ORDER

627 The chiefs have little power outside their own local group, where they settle minor disputes. The solution of many disputes and transgressions of custom are left to the parties concerned. The laws of group respon-
628 sibility and group retaliation lead to frequent intertribal feuds. A person
614 without a strong sib to protect him is helpless, for others may use any act which may conceivably be interpreted as harmful as pretext for demanding indemnity. For example, a person injured while intoxicated may demand payment from the person who sold him the rum, or a person injured by a borrowed animal may demand payment from the owner of the animal; a thief who hurts himself when trespassing on the property of his intended victim will demand compensation of him; and anyone aiding a sick or wounded person who subsequently dies incurs a liability.

672 If a person injures himself he must make an expiatory gift to the members of his own sib and a lesser gift to his father's relatives. If a child dies when under the care of one parent, this parent must reimburse

9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
SC13 Goajiro SC13

goats, mules, asses, and horses. Approximately 60% of this total he acquired through inheritance, as his maternal uncle was a wealthy man and, in his time, the leader of the Pushaina clan. The rest of his property, Panchito has acquired through the payment of bride-prices received for his nieces. Unquestionably, Panchito Silva has become wealthy and the leader of his clan through inheritance, although, through the years, as he has aged and his nieces have married he has become more firmly established in his position.

Members of the Pushaina clan come to Panchito from the most remote places of the peninsula (both from Colombia and Venezuela), to seek his advice; to ask him to settle disputes among families within the clan; to tell him about injuries received by a clan member so he can establish the amount of compensation to be paid and exact payment from the offending clan; to fix the bride-price of a given girl member of the clan; to establish how much each male member must contribute in order to pay compensation due to another clan; and for many other minor details of clan organization and function. The writer was a guest at Panchito's home for two days and, during that period, Panchito received the visit of no less than 63 clan members, who, in all, brought about 25 or 30 different clan problems to be settled.

The story of José de la Rosa Fernandez, although different from that of Panchito Silva, represents a second method of acquiring status following the traditional law of the tribe. José de la Rosa Fernandez is also a full-blooded Indian, about 65 years old. He has had seven wives, but always one at the time, except now when he has two. One of them is an old woman with whom he lives most of the time, and just recently he married a very young girl (who remains living with her mother) whom he visits once or twice a week. Fernandez's position in the Uriana clan is very similar to that of Silva in the Pushaina. The writer was not able to hold private conversations with Fernandez and, consequently, exact data regarding his property are lacking. Although he did not inherit too much property nor the clan leadership as in Silva's case, he was fortunate to have many nieces whom he has managed to marry off very well and to get large bride-prices for them. Thus he began to accumulate property and at present he is probably the richest man in the

In Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
SC13 Guajiro SC13

Venezuelan Guajiro. As his wealth grew so did his prestige. About twenty years ago the then leader of the Uriana clan died leaving no heirs, as he had no brothers and no direct nephews. Guajiro tradition establishes that, if upon the death of a clan leader and wealthy man there are no close heirs, even though there be distant ones, a council of elders (informally chosen among the oldest and most respected men of the clan) will meet and select the individual who shall take over not only the leadership of the clan but the wealth of the deceased as well. These cases are very infrequent (actually the writer could only find, in the memory of the oldest men, two instances of a council of elders meeting to select a leader; one is the case mentioned in this article, and the other occurred among the Epinyú clan, in Colombia, about fifty or sixty years ago). Fernandez now confesses, quite candidly, that at the time of the meeting of the council of elders, he distributed a number of gifts among them, thus succeeding in having them select him as clan leader and heir to the wealth of the dead chief.

It is interesting to note—and it shows how much acculturation Guajiro culture has undergone with the assimilation of the cattle complex—that the true Guajiro term for leader or chief (which also means "old man") *alat'lua* is almost all but forgotten and practically never used, having been substituted by the word *to'ulo* a corruption of the Spanish word *toro* meaning BULL. (Stops are not glottal, but simple stoppage of the sound to be renewed with the coming vowel. Phonetic transcription have followed those given by Dr. Martha Hilderbrand's work on the Guajiro language published by the Comisión Indigenista, Venezuela, in 1958).

The role of Fernandez as leader of the Uriana clan is an exact replica of Silva's. He acts as adviser, settles disputes, makes arrangements for the payments of torts, bride-prices, etc. His day is fully as busy as that of Silva and he attends to all these matters besides his personal affairs.

Here we have, then, the two traditional ways of acquiring status in Guajiro society that the present writer has been able to investigate; one through inheritance, as in the case of Panchito Silva; and the other, through selection by a council of elders, as in the case of José de la Rosa Fernandez. It is doubtful that

614 /1 cont./
554 for delaying menstruation during the seclusion following the
[842] appearance of puberty, so that the organism may become weakened and the menstrual cycle no longer appears, with which their matrimonial life does not bear fruit. They know beforehand /2/ the destiny of their children. When they become
[567] of useful age a stronger group will fall upon them to enslave them under any pretext -- such as the loss of an animal whose disappearance will be attributed to them without any outcry or civil authority aroused to impede this, and, the injustice inflicted being proved, without any punishment being applied to the aggressor group. Their daughters will be taken as wives
614 without the necessary Guajiro payment, or, simply, they will
554 abuse them, there being no family backing to oppose the de-
943 mands of the men belonging to the stronger groups. If a daughter should be bought, only a nominal payment will be made to silence the protests of her family, but later a very heavy matrimonial retribution will be demanded. Generally, the husband will brag about the way in which he ill-treats the girl, knowing that she is unprotected and that her relatives have insufficient power to demand justice. Thus it is not rare that poor wives are killed by their husbands after a life in which the unfortunate women have been subjected to cruel beatings and even mutilation. And if the family has no alliance with any powerful groups, the death is not indemnified. The mothers also know that should
614 one of their sons, accidentally or in self-defense, wound or kill
554 a member of a stronger family group, the reprisal taken will
628 not be preceded by a demand for compensation payment or any of the legal requirements usually stipulated, but that his whole group will be destroyed or enslaved and deprived of its clan lands, fields, sources of water supply, and personal effects. For such reasons these weak groups are allowing themselves to die out by reducing their birth rate to a minimum.

82 Regarding the special wishes of each group as to the sex of its future descendants, we feel the need of making an analysis of the valuation which each has in the society.

/191 cont./

684 husband until this payment has been made. It is very common for the man not to make any demand for money for the hurt inflicted but to try to revenge himself by his future attitude. The Guajiro women say that a woman once initiated into sexual life acquires the need for repetition of the act. Then the man refuses to satisfy her, does not frequent the home, and does not give the slightest sign of his affection. The woman is in fact abandoned and yet in the situation of a married woman without a husband, with the obligations inherent in marriage and none of its rights.

Another aspect considered as an aggressive act is the fraud entailed when a man discovers that the woman he has married is not a virgin (See Valuation of virginity in the chapter, Premarital Considerations).

684 As homosexuality is very much disapproved of in the culture and regarded as almost an enforced degeneration of
838 the young slaves, whoever practices it draws on himself the
628 contempt and scorn of society, and his status is compared to that of those outside society. It is the custom, when two groups are at enmity, to hurl an insult which must result in a decision by arms. This insult consists in telling the enemy that their men would not even serve as women for their opponents. The hidden aim is to avoid legal proceedings and to start a war without quarter, in which they hope to obtain more advantages than by peaceful and orderly negotiation. /192/

682 The most serious aggressive act is homicide. No attenuating circumstances are taken into account, not even that the killing was involuntary or done in self-defense, since the Guajiro solely considers the act itself: An individual took the life of another and serves punishment.

Let us consider some aspects of this type of aggression.

1. Voluntary homicide, that is, one person killing another consciously and deliberately.

2. Involuntary homicide, that is, one person killing another without intending to execute an aggressive act, such as

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XIII

PRESENTATION OF A CLAIM FOR COMPENSATION PAYMENT

628 A claim for compensation payment /cobro/ is presented to a family group when it has violated some point of the regimen for personal security or collective stability, thereby violationg a civil or judicial right of another group. It is an essential condition that the two groups should be more or less equally placed socially and economically, because when there is inequality, the stronger does not wait for the regular procedure of justice, but gains it by its own hand, in accordance with its own wishes.

The person who brings the "word, " that is, the one who is charged with presenting the claim for compensation payment to a family group is, as a general rule, the cacique of a region (Cf. Chap, VII) or someone else of prestige, who receives from the offended clan group the charge of delivering its demand and demonstrating /the grounds for/ the complaint to the other group. Let us see how a claim for death is effected.

A claim for death is presented when the family of the murderer is considered capable of paying for the murder, that is, of a social and economic position equal to that of the dead man.

The man who speaks for the offended clan, in addition to belonging to neither of the two bands, must tener palabra /"have word"/. By tener palabra a Guajiro means a person, man or woman, who is a master of the native language, knows very clearly the suitable course /to take/ for every situation; who is capable of expressing his thoughts in a fluid and clear form, without hesitation, with the necessary energy before all the men congregated together to hear him; who, possessing the gift of clear and serene exposition, at the same time is easy and pertinent in repartee; who can dominate his audience because his phrases have great power of conviction to establish, above all, the superiority of the group which he is representing against its

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628 adversary; who knows how to describe the situation of the offended group without humbling it or provoking a negative reaction from the enemy; who is capable of making the opponents feel their guilt without injuring them; who leads them by means of considerations of personal convenience to the acceptance of a commitment which benefits the group he is defending, without being too /202/ onerous for the other; who does not provoke resistance and criticism from the opposing group; who does not appear to be a prosecutor but rather a mediator of good will in the problem of the interested parties; who knows how to listen serenely to the insults that the two groups hurl at each other and does not transmit them literally, but rather in a form that will lead to a settlement; who knows how to get the better of his adversary, not only through his inferiority as the guilty party but through his personal weaknesses as a man; and finally, who conducts the discussion cleverly, now humbly, now proudly, in accordance with the changes of opinion of his hearers, recalling the past or presenting to the enemy the dangers of an anxious future if they do not come to some settlement, showing the bitterness of exile and the distress of a life without peace and the natural advantage of a settlement which benefits both equally, until he overcomes the antagonist and obliges him of his own accord, without annoyance of rancor, to make the peace after a solemn promise to make a settlement or a commitment to pay a just amount to the offended group.

The procedure is as follows: Having been charged with the representation of one group to present the claim for compensation payment to the other, he who brings the "word" goes to the house of the murderer's closest relatives.

He arrives very early, at two o'clock in the morning generally, before the assembled family has dispersed to attend to its daily work.

He draws the attention of the owners of the house to his [576] presence, and they give him the usual salutation, Ansh pía ("Have you arrived?"), which permits him to introduce himself. They all rise and talk to him; then he explains the reason for his visit; he has come to present a claim on the part of such-and-such a

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628 group for such-and-such a delict, and he expounds at once the conditions, if the deed is not considered very grave, that is, if it is not for murder. If it has assumed a special gravity, he asks for a gathering of all the men of the family in a certain place, near which the men of the offended group will also meet. He serves as intermediary between the two in order to arrive at a settlement.

At the specified place on the day set both groups gather, armed and considerably animated, which makes it necessary to maintain a certain distance between them to avoid clashes and worse consequences.

Then begins the most interesting part of the mediator's work, trying to bring to an agreement the interests of the two bands, taking into consideration the means of the offender without defrauding the offended. Success depends in great part on his action. He listens to the demands and charges of one, which he then carries to the others after thinking them over, and after expounding /203/ them and listening to their reply, which he transmits to the other group. His attitude must almost be neutral; if the opponents get angry, he must remain impassive because he must not lose his serenity, or he will not be able to reply in a convincing manner. His words must be measured, although at times he may have to allow himself to be swayed by the force of the sentiments of one or the other side in order to persuade. His first moments of contact between the two bands is dedicated to directing soothing, calming words to the offended ones, making promises of a possible settlement because the other side wishes it, appeasing their bad feelings and somewhat restricting their excessive demands. On the other side, he represses the outbursts of rebellion, the tendency to solve the problem by arms, and endeavors to give to his mediation the aspect of a disinterested counsel, in which capacity he hopes to be listened to.

Thus he takes to the group he represents the words of their adversaries: "It is better that we do not wage war, brother. I come with my men to attain the peace which a settlement with you can give me. I want to satisfy your just anger. And the

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628 fact is that I don't have, as you do, enough enramadas /bough-covered shelters/ to bring together all my people attacked by yours." (He may be richer than his adversary and the person who brings the "word" makes his side believe that there is a strong desire to come to a settlement on the opposite side. With this their anger and their pretensions grow less, and a settlement is possible. He does not repeat, for any reason whatever, insults and threats, because it would only increase bad feeling and cause the mediation to fail). "I lack sufficient hammocks to offer them hospitality. I don't have enough cooking pots and provisions to satisfy their necessities and sufficient animals to slaughter every morning. We want to work. We want to go back peacefully again to our everyday work. I want to be free; to be able to sleep peacefully in the early morning without fear of attack, without the worry caused by hearing the dogs barking to announce the arrival of your people in a warlike manner. I want my mother and my sisters, my aunts and my nieces to be able to wander in peace about the woods looking for iguarayas; I want them to be able to go each day to the well for water without being waylaid and without having to be escorted, to be able to walk on every road without fearing an attack from your people, to be able to go visiting without worry, and not to wait anxiously every day for the return of our sons. I don't want to think that the women of my family or my nieces may be made into slaves by your violence after having been born free. I don't want you to seal my springs nor violate my women. I want to live peacefully with my own people, who respect me; I want to die peacefully on my land and be buried in it. I don't for a moment want to meet death at the hands of your people, a death which all future generations of my descendants will bewail /204/ and which will make our enmity the greater. For this, brother, I do not want war and come for peace."

These words, although they are not said by the adversary, must be said by the good arbitrator to his own side, who in this way believe they see in their enemy good will to make amends for the ill done to them, and so their feelings are predisposed

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628 toward making a settlement and establishing a payment which will restore peace. The people, on hearing the words, are moved and applaud the facile oratory of the person who brings the "word"; they praise him and begin to give ground in their too onerous demands against the clan of the murderer; they put to one side the haughty tone with which they started the proceedings and begin to outline the basis for a settlement, which the arbitrator then transmits to the other side.

However, it may happen that the clan that has suffered the death of its relative, inflamed by the loss and also wishing to prevent the other side from thinking them afraid, boasts of its force and shows its dislike of the settlement. Thus, it declares to the other: "I am a rich Indian. My people are brave and are ready to fight. I want our people to measure their strength against yours. We are not able to forget that one of your men cowardly spilled our blood and took away a life, which was part of ours, too. His spirit cannot rest and still wanders about the places where he was slaughtered. We want to make felt in those of your blood what they have done to ours, so that you do not laugh at our pain nor think us cowards. Dying means nothing to us if for each one of ours we kill more of yours, and our nephews will multiply to avenge our deaths. We're not afraid of you, and we want to fight. We are eager to prove to you that we are capable of making you respect our pain and of avenging our spilled blood. We are not cowards; nobody can yet dominate our men, and they have the courage to make themselves respected. Yours aren't even good as women for ours. We ask for war."

628 577 554 The Guajiro Indian fears above everything else that he be thought a coward, because then the other groups would not respect his rights. His women would be easily violated without obligatory payment; his cowardice and his fear would be thrown up at him at every moment in such a way that his social life would be made impossible. On the other hand, as long as they are more brave and more cruel, they are sure of implanting fear, and with it authority and power. A group that is feared is a powerful group and one that maintains its status.

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628 On some occasions the offender group replies again that it wants peace. "Yes, I know that you are rich and want war. I know that you are well armed and that your people busy themselves night and day preparing for the struggle. But I don't want this." (He returns to the humble tone as a tactic for obtaining a lesser obligatory payment.) "I'm not rich. You do not know /205/ that I don't have enough enramadas /bough-covered shelters/ to shelter my people molested by yours. I don't have enough hammocks to give them hospitality or animals to slaughter or pots to prepare their food. I've told you that they want to go back to their work again, look after their livestock, and await the first rains to do their sowing. They prefer to make a sacrifice and pay you for the offense we have done you so that we may go hunting in the woods and travel on the roads without having to take short cuts because of the fear of meeting some of you. I want to live many years to see my niece's children. I want to take my livestock to distant pasturage and in the winter see them grazing peacefully on my land, which I do not want to be obliged to leave. I want to die and be buried on the land of my people. War is not a game nor a light thing; for this reason I tell you again that I want peace."

In addition to these words spoken by the head of the group to which the murderer belongs, the arbitrator emphasizes to the side he represents the willingness their enemies show to come to some agreement, how pained they are by the bad thing that was done and in which they find themselves involved against their will; they declare it was an accident. He reminds them that they have nieces and sisters who would suffer the consequences of a war. He begs them to think of so many innocent people who are going to suffer the consequences of a rash attack. He talks to them about the future of the group, so peaceful and so happy before, worried and constantly disturbed by a war without quarter which little by little will destroy the important members of the family; he tells them it is better to come to a friendly settlement which offers security and an indemnity for the wrong done than to take justice into their own hands, risking their own lives and those of their relatives without any advantage. Furthermore,

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628 he reminds them of their group's past, the favors they have received at times from their present enemies; the happy hours passed in their company, etc., always emphasizing that what happened was an accident, a misfortune for which those responsible now wish to make amends in the best way possible, and wooing them with the prospect of the economic advantages they can obtain by a peaceful settlement that brings with it all the advantages of peace.

The arbitrator returns once more to the other group, carrying his impressions back and forth and the bases for an agreement, which begins to outline itself, until he achieves a final settlement.

However, in this first meeting the arbitrator sometimes does not reach anything conclusive, and to see if he can obtain better results, he asks for a second session to try his luck. /206/

Once the two bands have decided that the affair can be arranged by means of a payment, the difficulty of getting them both to agree on the amount arises; one side asks too much, surpassing the means of the other to pay, and the latter in turn does not want to pay what is just in such cases. At times the offended group demands things which can hurt the feelings of the other side: the necklace that the murderer's mother received when she got married, for instance, with the idea of humiliating them. Or a very high price is demanded, which causes the offenders to protest: "Don't demand so much. It is true that we ought to pay you more but remember that we are not rich. The long summer parched our grass, and our animals, thin with hunger, died beside the dried-up wells. Our crops dried up for want of water without giving any harvest, and our families suffer from scarcity and need. The epidemics at the end of winter took our loved relatives, and the rest have had to emigrate to foreign lands, looking for work and food. In spite of our troubles, we want the peace that a friendly settlement with you would bring. We want peace. We do not want to look at you with hate nor to have to avoid each other on our common roads. We ask for justice, reminding you of all we have said, and then, to please you, we will gather all our available means. We will beg amongst all of us until we manage to get what you demand, but do not make it so much."

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628 At last the amount of the payment is definitively stipulated, so many animals, so many ornaments etc. The offenders fix a date on which they hope to have everything gathered together in the house of their leading man. The arbitrator goes there on that date, and through their arbitrator, or cacique, they hand over to him in a solemn manner each one of the things they have promised to pay, so that it can be finally and duly noted. The representative then gathers together everything that has been handed over and counts it very carefully in full view of everyone. He receives the ornaments agreed upon and puts them away.

He asks for help in taking the animals given in payment and the other objects to the lands of the others. Members of the group accept this charge at the order of their leader and drive the animals to the borders of the litigants' property, and then return. From there the livestock are taken by members of the offended clan to the house of the murdered man's mother or to that of his maternal uncles. The head of the family group receives from the hands of the arbitrator the stipulated payment and distributes it in a way that we shall see later on, in the pertinent section.

When feelings run very high on both sides and when after postponing and holding several different meetings no agreement is reached /207/ between the two groups, due to the exaggerated greediness of one side and the bad will of the other, the moment arrives when the arbitrator can do no more, and as the problem remains without a peaceful solution, that is, without an agreement to pay, war becomes the only acceptable formula between the two enemy groups, a defensive war on the part of the group to which the murderer belongs, an offensive war on the part of the offended group. Before they know if there is a possibility of a peaceful solution, the men of each group begin to arm themselves quickly; 411 they take animals to town to trade them for guns and equipment, 278 and they quickly make bows and arrows, especially those with a point made from the sting ray which are used in war; they prepare poisons from poisonous animals, which they leave to rot and then use to put on the points of these arrows; and in addition, they seek, if possible, magic arrows in order to obtain an easy conquest of their enemy.

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628 They go fully armed to market gatherings to prevent a possible attack from the other side; this situation, which is also expected by the opposing side, in some cases makes a peaceful settlement impossible, because the Guajiro feels that, being armed, he can violate the law with impunity; he feels it best to arrange things by armed force, and thus an atmosphere of hot-headedness is produced which at times explodes into armed clashes that end in real battles, which worsen the problem and make a legal solution impossible from every point of view, because from these fights new situations of conflict arise which cannot be resolved except on the basis of mutual reprisals that are prolonged over several generations.

When war is declared, wherever two men of the opposing groups meet, they attack each other instantly, because the fight is to the death, and if at the beginning it is the offended group which takes the offensive, from the moment that the fight is on, both sides are constantly in a state of defense and attack. Then men never go out alone but always in well-armed groups, and they try not to pass places frequented by the others, although sometimes they do so to provoke the opposition. Women of each side stop going alone to the wells, but always go escorted; they do not go visiting or looking for fruit or burros lost in the woods, because they could be attacked by the enemy, who spy on them to take them for slaves or to kill them. There is a continual state of upset and uncertainty; any moment they expect an attack from the opposite side, and everywhere they go they expect to meet an enemy or to encounter death. They cannot sleep peacefully because generally the enemy attacks at dawn to take their opponents by surprise and set fire to the dwelling, forcing the women, children, and old men to stay indoors. /208/

Attacks are frequent, and in them some of each side die, with which the enmity gets worse and worse and is carried on for several generations, each of which feels the full weight of the acts done, which naturally increases hate and the idea of vengeance, which they carry out the moment they have a chance.

Distribution of the payment. The amount of a payment depends on the value the culture puts on the offense. When dealing

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628 with the payment for the death of a Guajiro, man or woman, it is generally customary to make it in three installments, which are distributed in this manner; the first immediately after the burial; the second at the exhumation of the remains; and the third a short time later, as the final armistice, which puts an end to the family fights and closes the offense and the period of aggression, which continues until the legal infraction has been effectively purged, that is, until the final payment has been made.

The arbitrator receives the payments from the hand of the principal head of the offender group and takes it to the house of the principal head of the offended group. All the relatives who feel themselves injured by the aggression, their friends, and the informers who have made common cause with them gather there, as do those also who with their economic and social backing have reinforced the position of the injured party in order to enable the securing of the payment.

The arbitrator hands over to the most important family head what has been obtained from the opposite band, making quite clear in the presence of all what he has given, in order to avoid later problems. The distribution begins; usually it is done by the head of the family group, that is, the cacique if he has intervened, or the group head most closely related, that is, the dead man's maternal uncle with the highest position and greatest age. If no one with these two qualifications is present, the mother may carry out this function, but generally she delegates it to her eldest child or her male child. First he gives their part to the closest relatives, and then to the rest of the relatives, to recompense them for their sorrow and in order that what they receive should soothe feelings still bitter against the aggressor. This part is greater than all the rest. The relatives are /considered/ in this order: The mother, to whom they give the marriage necklace belonging to the murderer's mother; the brothers /and sisters? hermanos/ and uncles /and aunts? tios/, when the murdered person is a man, for if it is a woman, children are considered before uncles /and aunts/. Then the arbitrator is given his share, a payment settled beforehand, generally in cattle of good quality and size. Later, in order of

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628 importance, the other participants in the negotiation of the payment get their share, that is, those who reinforced the group with their attendance at the meetings, those /209/ who most impressed the relatives with the intensity of their grief, weeping for the dead and making a great show of their regret for what had happened, and particularly the men of high position who supplied great supporting strength, for one cannot alienate these connections which supply help at a moment's notice. These are given their share for their pain and their tears proportional to their position, so as not to hurt them socially, which would imply an offense and therefore enmity.

A share is also given to those who in a similar distribution had given a portion to those who are now distributing; to these they give in proportion, if not more at least an equal value to that received. And lastly, those who come to jurijonear, that is, to see what they can pick up, are not allowed to leave empty handed.

When no agreement is reached or the offenders do not wish to pay an indemnity, this is obtained by an expedition of war to the lands of the relatives of the offender; the members of this expedition sieze goods and people, after burning and razing all they cannot take and killing all the men they cannot enslave. With the booty taken, they return to the house of the closest relative to carry out the distribution. Generally, the head of this punitive expedition is the closest relative, or the so-called cacique of the family group. They initiate the distribution in a form similar to that already described, handling over in this case in addition to the material goods -- livestock and ornaments -- the slaves captured, whom they distribute in the same proportion as the rest of the booty to the closest relatives, then to distant ones, and then to the participants in the armed attack, according to their status.

The other payments, the second and third, are distributed in the presence of all, favoring the nearest blood relatives and those of higher position with the larger portions.

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628 Long after these payments have been made, sometimes 30 years or more later, some Guajiro groups of relatives have resurrected the family past and with it have remembered the deaths which took place. As a consequence of this renewal of times gone by, some of the present-day descendants, without having known their distant relatives, want to start demands for payment from the descendants, also distant, of the homicide group; and it has happened sometimes that the latter, intimidated, have paid again the debt that their ancestors had already paid to excess. /page 210 blank/

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XIV

LAND

423 With regard to ownership, land in La Guajira Peninsula is divided into three classes: a) land that belongs to the civil and ecclesiastical authorities and to some whites and mestizos, whose ownership is governed by the Colombian code; b) Indian land of clan ownership; c) wasteland. We will study the last two types which are those related to this study.

Clan land. Clan land includes the territories occupied by different groups of relatives and their ownership is determined by oral tradition which indicates the places where their ancestors were established in accordance with legends associated with Mareiwa (Cf. The Clan). However, the lands of each clan are not circumscribed to a particular region but are rather more or less extensive properties spread over various places in the peninsula. A single clan group can have property in Upper La Guajira and in Lower La Guajira and at the same time in different places in each of these, which in great measure has facilitated the gradual dismemberment of the clan. Each portion is subdivided into land suitable for planting crops, grassland for pasturing, woods, and wasteland zones.

[77 cont.]

762 inflicted on the objects which were the principal active agents
768 in carrying out his fatal determination. As the form of suicide
672 that is practiced in La Guajira is almost exclusively that of hanging, they proceed to burn the branch on which the individual hanged himself and the rope which he used, because, they say, these were the direct causes of his death.

With respect to the punishment carried out on the objects
682 (inanimate to us) which served for the carrying out of suicide,
672 several suggestions may be made. In one case, the "compensation payment for blood" may be recalled, the established customary law of this community by means of which whatever spilling of blood that may be caused in any person, voluntary or involuntary, directly or indirectly, has to be paid for in accord-
[692] ance with a valuation decreed by the so-called "arbitrators," or "palabras," who are nothing more than intermediaries named by the family groups affected to settle the affair peacefully. This payment is considerable when the blood spilling ends in the victim's death. Should the murderer refuse to pay the sum ar-
682 ranged for (whether in livestock, necklaces, precious stones,
628 etc.), then the members of the victim's family group take vengeance on him personally and kill him. All this naturally ends in war to the death, or putchi, between the two extended family groups, an occurrence which is extremely frequent in La
682 Guajira. Hence as "compensation payment for blood" cannot
762 be claimed, from these objects (the tree and the rope), they are
672 punished in default by destruction by fire. This hypothesis is reinforced, if we remember that to the Guajiro Indian, as well as
[774] to most primitives, objects — which to us are not alive — are
[778] able to exercise both good and bad influences on the individual (Cf. "Sickness and Medicine" and "Amulets, Fetishes, Talismans"), because they possess a spirit — a kind of mana, or immaterial force, which surrounds and animates everything.

Another suggestion that could be made with respect to the
762 destruction of the objects used by a suicide is the following: As
783 these articles were in direct contact with the dead man, and particularly with a corpse as dangerous as a suicide is, it is necessary that they be destroyed so that the contamination

[109 cont.]

551 say his name and not be a close relative must pay a sum de-
[Dar] cided upon [110] as reparation for this violation of the social
norm. Usually they demand in payment the delivery of several
head of livestock, necklaces, and other adornments. If the sum
[22] agreed upon by the arbitrators is not paid in due time, war may
be provoked.

551 When a girl is born, the father gives her a name which
553 may be the same as her mother's, that of her maternal grand-
mother, or, secondarily, that of a favorite aunt or cousin, or
that of a much appreciated friend. But besides this name which
is derived from family sentiment or a friendship of the father's, the
girl will also have various capricious nicknames which do not
necessarily correspond to natural qualities or defects in her
psycho-physical personality or some special circumstance at her
birth but can be any arbitrary name which may occur to her
father, her mother, or her brothers [and sisters? hermanos] on
the spur of the moment. So the girl may grow up with several
nicknames, of which in the long run one will win out and be
generally adopted.

But when the girl becomes a young woman, when her first
menstruation appears and her complicated initiation ceremony
is carried out, the changes she experiences in her biological
functioning and her social standing also extend to the aspect of
her name, and she will no longer wish to respond to the nickname
by which she has been called ever since her infancy, but only to
her new name, by which she will be known until her death.

551 From the above we note that in La Guajira a person's
name is not used among the natives except in a very restricted
sense, but on the other hand, the nickname which a person
acquires when a child through the intervention of his parents
or brothers [siblings? hermanos], is the true, the universal name,
which may be used by all his countrymen up to the time of his
death.

787 Omens. When a mountain cat [cougar] cries repeatedly
825 throughout the night near the house and remains a long time
prowling about, it implies the approaching death of an inmate
of that house. The behavior of this animal can become maddening,
as at times it will repeat its patrolling and mewing for several

[112 cont.]

787 Another bird of bad augury is the red owl. If a person
825 who is traveling by night along the road sees one and hears its hoot, this is a signal that a misfortune is about to happen at the spot the walker met the bird or that something will happen to upset him on the road.

If at nightfall the long-drawn out song of the waimpirai is heard, it is an indication that there will be a war between two important clans, or extended families. They say in La Guajira that on a certain occasion, after this omen had occurred, a struggle between two families broke out and 20
[797 members of the Uriyú clan had to take refuge in the convent
628] of Nazaret, defeated by their adversaries who were hunting them down wishing to kill them.

When a hen cackles at daybreak there will surely be a death in the house, particularly when the cackling is repeated on three consecutive days.

312 Natural phenomena in magic. The most important natural
132 phenomenon for the Guajiro is rain, the essential fount for his
133 agriculture and stock grazing and the basis of his present-day economic organization. It is not strange that this is so because if for every community and for living beings in general water is an indispensable element and if many of the divinities and spirits of the primitive Americans center around it, for the Guajiro it is infinitely more essential if we take into consideration the geographical milieu in which he lives and to which we have referred, perhaps insistently, in this work as we consider it of vital importance (cf. "Introduction"). In the whole area there is no river or stream of importance. The soil has a maximum permeability and has to withstand high temperatures; [113] and as the Guajiro have no practical knowledge of the conservation and distribution of rain water, they always live dependent on the winter season for sowing their crops. For
789 this reason many acts of magic have this end in view, but as this aspect will be better understood in the chapter on "Mareiwa and Wanurú," or notions of good and evil, we will confine ourselves in this section to noting some magic acts related to rainfall and to other natural phenomena.

789 The intervention of the shaman, which we have lost
*756 sight of since the second chapter when we described at length his personality and attributes, returns again to participate in

[123 cont.]

796 aspects: 1) it shows ability in theatrical representations; 2) dancing, such as we have described in previous paragraphs, accompanied by songs; 3) a very interesting sexual aspect, in which the cultural patterns which govern Guajiro society are [786] broken, permitting the possibility of a certain sexual freedom without the consequences attached to such in normal times. We will begin with this last aspect, leaving for later a discussion of what their songs, plays, or drama really are.

Sexual aspect. a) The man, when the moment for dancing 796 arrives, takes a partner who usually accompanies him on every 786 evening of the dance. When they end by liking each other, as a result of dancing together, the couples leave the dancing group and withdraw to the forest to satisfy their sexual desires.

In normal times in the community this act would lead to 684 outbreaks of fighting in which the clans of the two participants 628 would clash. The man would be summoned and would be under an obligation to pay a large sum for the harm done and a further sum for the dangers and pains of childbirth in case of pregnancy; or he would find himself obliged to buy the woman for wife in reparation for the fault he had committed. In case he failed to comply with one of these requirements, vengeance and war would follow. But none of this happens during this time of fiesta. 796 If a man who has been with a woman during these nights of 786 dancing (which can go on for three or four months) cares to take her as his wife, he must pay for her the price arranged with her relatives, but if he does not want to do this, his total obligation [431] is limited to a present of a robe. She on her part will give him a similar gift or simply a belt for his loincloth. Afterward they do not meet each other except on casual occasions.

Furthermore, if, owing to intimacies during the dance between unmarried couples, a child should be born, the father has [848] no responsibility toward it or to the girl's relatives. The child is accepted by the girl's family; it is not looked down on, and it participates under conditions of equality with the legitimate heirs in all the duties and rights of the other members of the family group.

[127 cont.]
314 representation of the re-creation of the universe, the resurgence of nature that changes and disappears, to reappear later.

796 In large part, this could explain the whole of the fiesta. In reality what in La Guajira is being celebrated under the name 821 of the Dance of the Kid is nothing but a true re-creation of the world of the natives of those barren plains. With the arrival of the rains the sea of sand is converted into a green world, the dry beds of the streams become powerful streams of water, the dry brushwood is transformed into green forest, anxiety over thirst disappears, fatigue from sun and desert is changed to rest, hunger to abundance, and worry to hope in the ripening of fruits and the disappearance of the specter of poverty which prowls the sierras and the plains. It is Mareiwa, their divinity, their good spirit, who has made his apparition over the lakes of the Sierra de Nevada, unleashing storms and hurricanes and bringing the promised rains to his creatures.

786 But, on the other hand, the sexual acts we have just shown to be present at this traditional fiesta of La Guajira should be 796 treated apart as they represent a transgression of the established rigid and severe cultural patterns that refer to carnal relations between men and women. As the general interpretation of the whole of the Guajiro community has not yet been finished, which could give us sufficient data to carry out necessary clarifications, we shall have to limit ourselves to noting certain outstanding facts.

836 Unmarried men and women in La Guajira, when looked at in its normal state, are subject to rigorous restrictions in their sex life. Sexual intercourse before marriage is not allowed to their women as the men want their spouses to be virgin. The [689] bachelor is limited in the satisfaction of his sexual impulses by the law of compensation payment, which forces him in the case of his having relations with an unmarried girl to pay a heavy indemnity by which is covered the harm done to the woman, the offense [128] to her relatives, and the possible pains and dangers of childbirth when pregnancy occurs. And if these impositions [628] are not complied with or if the Indian does not marry the girl, paying the price her relatives demand, revenge and declaration

[128 cont.]
of war to the death will result between the clans affected.

One has to take into account the fact that a woman who has been bought for wife is relatively valuable, and the native is not always in a position to accumulate the number of animals sufficient to pay for her, although it is considered an obligation on the part of his relatives to assist him when the time for his marriage arrives. As prostitution is so limited because of the condition of inferiority in which it places the woman who traffics in sex, the situation of the unmarried male in this respect is difficult. We repeat again that we make this statement on the basis of the facts of La Guajira social customs in normal times, and not on the basis of the present period when they are suffering from ever increasing problems of hunger, poverty, and acculturation, phenomena which are overthrowing all their traditional institutions.

Presenting the question in these terms, one can appreciate the trying position of the bachelor Guajiro native who is without slaves and without economic resources to enable him to buy a wife. He lives within a regimen of limitations and restrictions which reach even to sexual taboos which can be divided into two classes: special cases, especially applicable to the sex life of shamans, as we have seen; and general cases, applicable to the whole community and which go to the extreme of provoking curious euphemisms in the language when the word for the genital organ is phonetically similar to some other word, as in the case with the word for dog.

These restrictions must be considered in the totality of the social norms,* but this is not the moment to expound on them as they will be fully covered in this review as an interpretation of the whole of Guajiro society. However, we wish to point out their presence in the Dance of the Kid, or better said their absence, since, as we have said, these restrictions disappear, and there is complete sexual freedom which permits the minstrel to caress the young maids on the pretext of deciding their virginity or loss of it, a thing that in normal times would not be permitted, and to go to the extreme of countenancing carnal union without economic or social consequences, the only

the men speak some Spanish in addition to their native 105
language. Some of them know how to read and write. They
are almost entirely pastoral, possessing great herds of horses, [235]
asses, sheep, goats, and cattle. They have borrowed a great
deal from the Europeans but they have also kept their own
culture to a remarkable degree. As usual, native elements
are most strongly present in the non-material phases of culture.
Unfortunately they are not united or organized into a modern
state, though against all foreigners they stand together as a
unit. Authority is acquired by certain caciques through their [554]
wealth and membership in the 'casta,' the major social group-
ing in Guajiro society. Each casta claims a mythological 619
origin and holds sovereignty over a well-defined territory. 651
Many of these castas or social groupings are further sub-
divided. Each casta has its caciques whose function is chiefly
to settle disputes and whose position is inherited, matrilineally.
The oldest of them is allowed more authority, but generally it
is the wealthiest man, and the one who can marshal more [552]
retainers, armed with rifles and revolvers, who is listened to
with greater respect. There are further divisions in Guajiro
society. At the top are the caciques and their families who are 585
rich and powerful. The next group is composed of peons or
retainers in the service of the upper stratum, and at the bottom
are the 'slaves' who have been born in that condition or have
been enslaved following an offense to some powerful group, and [567]
who can even be let out to work for planters in the sugar fields
of Zulia. The life of the poor people has not changed much
since early times. Polygamy is widely practiced, as is also 595
concubinage, by the wealthier men. Each wife lives in her
own rancho and there awaits the occasional visit of her hus-
band. The children inherit property and social affiliations [611]
through the mother. Disputes that arise within a casta are
settled by arbiters chosen by the families of the litigants. [627]
Disputes inter-casta may be settled by arbitration if violence
is not desirable. Generally the killing of an individual gives [628]
rise to armed action with an eventual composition by payment.

My informants attempted to demonstrate the difference be- 671

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
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father's relatives who would eat the meat and drink the rum 574
immediately, a feast to which the mother's relatives might be 626
invited as a gesture of courtesy. The offering of rum and 602
meat is voluntary, and even a friend may ask for something as 672
an indication of deep personal interest in the welfare of the injured person. If the injured man makes no offering, no action is taken by anyone to make him do so, but he will acquire a 'bad name.' A Guajiro has a moral obligation to avoid shedding his own blood, but not a legal obligation. Since the father takes care of his son during his lifetime, this obligation is directed towards him and his relatives, but is extended to include any good friend.

Another example of the same distinction is the case where a 431
son asks his father for a particular horse or object possessed by 593
the latter, as a gift. The father is morally bound to grant the request, but there is no legal compulsion to do so. I gave a cacique a fine hunting knife which pleased him greatly. To my surprise his son was proudly wearing it the following day. On inquiring about it the cacique told me that his eldest son had asked for it. Had he refused to give it he would have [626]
been considered a bad father. The son inherits nothing from [428]
his father on the death of the latter, but while he is alive the son may beg anything within certain limits set by precedent. This moral obligation to give up a prized possession when [572]
asked for by one's sons is extended to include close friends.

Allowing the Guajiro to make their own distinctions, let us 671
turn to a consideration of their 'laws.' The commission of certain acts, which in our society would give rise to criminal prosecution, in Guajiro society are considered matters to be settled by the parties concerned. Criminal law is practically non-existent. There is no body politic, properly speaking, that metes out punishment whether or not the injured party seeks redress, and social pressure can hardly be of any importance in a society that protects the individual through the instrument of family and casta membership. In only one case 628
does there seem to be an approach to concerted social action. 681
If an individual has caused his family much trouble and is in- 672
corrigible, if his family has been called upon to pay for his mis-

628 deeds frequently, and fears that he may bring severe disaster
672 on his relatives, he may be killed. It is interesting to know
681 that the individual may not necessarily be evil-intentioned.

We are accustomed to think that for an act of trespass on
672 the person or property the injured party can recover only if the act is considered to have been intentional or negligent.[6] Among the Guajiro there is no such qualification of a tort in order to allow legal action and to recognize legal liability. The act and the injury ensuing from it are the only considerations which have any importance.

Case I: Three boys, A, B, and C, close friends, were seated
628 on a log in the order named. B held a knife in his hand. In
672 the spirit of play A and C attempted to take it away from him.
683 In the good-natured scuffle that ensued A was slashed across the thigh accidentally.

The families of A, the injured party, and of B were on friendly terms. B's family immediately offered payment for the hurt done to A. Each family chose an arbiter, men known for their knowledge of law and their fairness, who granted A's family payment commensurate with the social position of A and the ability of B's family to pay: 60 sheep, 1 bull, 1 ass, a gold necklace, a horse.

Case II: Cacique A killed Cacique B through the accidental
628 discharge of a firearm. Their families belonged to the same
672 casta, and both being anxious to avoid armed conflict B's
682 family agreed to accept a property composition for the tort: 100 cows, 100 horses, 7 mules, 1,000 sheep.

Case III: Cacique A killed Cacique B in a quarrel. Both families being desirous of keeping the peace and both being members of the same casta, property composition was arranged.

This case would obviously fall within the class of crimes in our society and A would have been punished irrespective of the attitude of B's family. As a matter of fact, had B's family
554 been less important or had it belonged to the peon or slave
628 class, A's family may not have paid anything. On the other
672 hand had A been a peon or slave, his family would have suf-
682 fered extermination at the hands of B's relatives. A's family

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
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could not have paid the price in the first place, and besides 554
B's family would have little to fear from them. 628

The father and maternal uncle of the slain man take the 672
initiative in seeking payment which goes to the mother's 682
family.

If A and B had been workmen or retainers of C, a cacique,
and A's family could not have paid the price of composition, [466]
then C would have paid B's family and in compensation would
have enslaved A and his family. Payment for killing a peon [567]
is 10 asses, 50 to 100 sheep, and 10 steers.

Case IV: A was working for B. In the course of the work 466
through no fault of B, A was hurt. B paid A's family for the 672
injury. A's family took care of A. 683

Case V: A and B were working for C. Through accident B hurt A. B's family had to settle the injury with A's family. Had A been hurt in the course of the work without B acting as the instrument, then C, the employer, would have had to pay.

This case is similar to the one described by Simons. If A lends a horse to B and B is hurt through the instrumentality of the horse, A has to pay. If A gives rum to B and B injures C, A is held responsible.

Case VI: A wants to marry B. B or B's family reject his suit. 672
A goes to B's rancho at night and commits suicide there B's 682
family has to pay A's family for the death of A, B being con- 762
sidered as the direct instrument that caused A's death.

Case VII: A injures or kills B, caught *in flagrante delicto* with 672
A's wife. A has to pay B's family a price minus an amount 682
considered fair value for the sexual privilege that B exercised 684
on A's wife.

These illustrations point to the absolute nature of Guajiro 672
law. No extenuating circumstances are allowed to enter into
settlement of cases of battery or other trespass on the rights of 628
an individual. The case is different in so far as public sym-
pathy and moral censure or approbation are concerned. [626]
Furthermore, society as a whole takes no action in righting wrongs. The family of the injured person must seek composition, and if it is not powerful enough to demand a high price it has to be satisfied with a smaller one. Conversely, there is

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
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672 family responsibility for the acts of one of its members. If
628 there is no property composition for a tort committed and the injured family has recourse to arms, the revenge that it may take is limited by precedent. If the family is very powerful
[626] it may dispense with that, but public moral reprobation is a strong barrier to excesses.

NOTES

121 1. J. Austin and T. E. Holland restrict the term Law to those rules which a fully organized state recognizes and enforces. I.e., T. E. Holland: 'A law, in the proper sense of the term, is a general rule of human action, taking cognizance only of external acts, enforced by a determinate authority, which authority is human, and among human authorities, is that which is paramount in a political society.' (See Bibliography.)

2. Rivet, Durkheim, Hartland, and Hobhouse express this position.

3. Radcliffe-Brown, 202.

4. See Malinowski in Hogbin.

114 5. From my field notes gathered in 1935. The Columbia University—University Museum Goajiro Expedition spent three months in the peninsula making an ethnological and archæological survey. The other members of the expedition were: Dr. Paul Kirchhoff; Mr. Lewis Korn and Mrs. Gwyneth Browne Harrington, archæologists; Miss Lydia C. du Pont, photographer; Señor Gregorio Hernandez de Alba, a Colombian student.

6. See Bohlen.

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5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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the site of the old Spanish settlement San Juan de Ipapa. On the west 103
side of the Parashi Hills in the plains is another well-known central 443
trading station Joroy; chief, Majuté, an Ipuana; probably near the old 592
site of the Spanish settlement Moscota. In the neighbourhood are: 621
Guarirpanturi; chief, Conoón, an Ipuana. A Dutchman from Aruba [167]
has lived here many years, and has become quite an Indian. Alpiapá,
a few ranchos on an eminence commanding the whole valley. The
Indians here are rather mixed, but the chief is a Pushaina. The well
Kapanlera, at the base of the hill, is the finest I saw, and surrounded with
rich green vegetation similar to that of Macuira. Katunasió, the most
inland station. It is generally the traders that make a rancho known, for
the Indians do everything they can to keep their abodes, if not secret, at
any rate as much in the dark as possible. The plains being more unsettled
than the mountain district, traders do not venture to establish them-
selves in the interior, as at Morunay or Joroy, so few ranchos are known.
The most important place in the Lower Goajira is Guincua, midway 361
between Riohacha and the Venezuelan town of Las Guardias or Santa 648
Teresa. Paraguaipon, the new Venezuelan military colony, founded in
1882, counts already 50 houses. It is situated in the plains 12 miles in
advance of Santa Teresa, which it completely covers. The garrison at
present consists of 30 men, well mounted and found in every respect,
under the orders of a commander, two secretaries, and two interpreters;
the latter for the purpose of taking statistics as to trade, &c. Altogether
it is a model establishment, and does honour to the Government of
Venezuela. The entire population of the Goajira may be about 20,000; 161
it does not exceed 25,000, and is not increasing.

As regards manners and customs and the way they enforce their old 672
peculiar laws, these Goajiros are particularly interesting. Of course, 681
like all Indians, they are singularly proficient in begging, stealing, and 628
drinking, but besides these capital vices they add a fourth, that is
demanding compensation, tear- or blood-money—principal cause of all
the strife and blood feuds between the castes, and an everlasting danger
to Indians and strangers alike. Whereas about one-quarter of the male
population die a violent death from its result, another quarter are killed
by drink and its effects. The laws that govern these compensation cases
are very intricate, their number is legion. First is the terrible law of
retribution, that makes a whole caste responsible for the acts of any
single member. As the Spaniards or white men are considered by the
Indians as belonging to one large family, the country is very unsafe for [609]
travelling, for every white man is a sort of hostage for the good be-
haviour of the others. If an Indian should be killed in a quarrel by a
white man, the life of another white man, living leagues away, depends
upon whether the foe (relations of the dead Indian) or a friend brings
the news first. Many an innocent unconscious trader has been sacri-
ficed at one end of the peninsula for a foul murder committed at the
other end.

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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611 614 ●628 [604] In the following laws it must be borne in mind that it is not the injured individual that demands compensation, but his relations, uncles on the mother's side as a rule. From this has arisen the common error that the father is ignored; as will be seen further on, this is not the case. In compensation it is the caste that reclaims, and the caste is always the mother's side. For example, a Pushaina man marries an Uriana girl; the children are Urianas. If one of these now should kill an Epieyu, for example, the whole caste of Uriana is at war with all the Epieyues, unless the matter is amicably settled by paying blood-money.

672 683 Case No. 1. Personally inflicted wounds. If an Indian accidentally cuts himself, say with his own knife, breaks a limb, or otherwise does himself an injury, his family on the mother's side immediately demands blood-money. Being of their blood, he is not allowed to spill it without paying for it. The father's relations demand tear-money, not so much. Friends [572] present demand compensation to repay their sorrow at seeing a friend in pain. If anybody present can seize the instrument that caused the accident it is appropriated. The pay is in ratio to the injury. A slightly cut finger is settled with a little Indian corn, a kid, or such trifle. A bad cut requires at least a goat or a sheep, with other sundries. In all cases of compensation where the Indian has not the wherewith to satisfy his creditors, he goes round begging until it is obtained.

628 672 683 Case No. 2. Damage done by animals. Suppose an Indian borrows a mule or other animal, and is thrown by it, doing himself bodily injury, then his relations demand compensation from the lender, the argument being, had he not lent the animal the accident could not have happened. Should the beast belong to the thrown man himself, then he has to pay. Case of No. 1 in fact.

Case No. 3. General liability all round. This covers an enormous field. The most curious. Everybody selling rum or anything else is answerable for all the damage done by its instrumentality. Unfortunately this law is only, like many others, enforced when it is possible. As the traders know it very well, they never take rum into the interior for barter without being fully able to protect themselves. I was lent a servant as guide by a trader, who requested me not to let the man have any drink, for should anything happen to him he would be responsible to the family. Indians in employment receiving any damage the em- [466] ployer becomes liable; and so on. Wherever the Indian can only make the ghost of a claim he wants tear-money, blood-money, or some other money, and if not satisfied, helps himself with what he can lay his hands on.

551 628 689 Case No. 4. Mentioning names. This is very serious. The Indians object to have their true names mentioned, and demand heavy compensation in aggravated cases. They generally go by a Spanish name—José Antonio, Agustin, Vicente, &c., for an Indian dearly loves to be baptised, that is, he likes the attending feast and having god-fathers on

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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whom to exercise his begging propensities. To mention the dead before the relations is a dreadful offence, often punished by death; for if it happens in the dead person's rancho, with nephew or uncle present, they will assuredly kill the offender on the spot if possible. If not on the spur of the moment, it resolves itself into a heavy fine, usually two or more oxen. Even if none of the dead person's relations are present, any friend can carry the news to the relations, and compensation is at once required. When not given it is forcibly taken, probably resented, and the two castes are at war. It is not wise to mention names of any sort in the Goajira in mixed company. 551 628 689

Another peculiar case: if a child dies in the custody of the mother or father, and they are living separate at the time of its death, then tear-money has to be paid by the one, under whose care the child died, to the other. This is "Taguira suchírua tachón," "My tears on account of my child." To demand payment for debts, *achecaha*, is one thing, and to demand compensation, *manga*, is another. They are generally pretty punctual in paying debts; should the debtor die, the creditor is secure, for the relations will suffer anything rather than allow the name of their dead to be abused. The following case of murder I witnessed in Ataipa. Some Pushainas drinking, one got on to a strange horse, and was ordered off by the owner, on not complying he was shot dead. Both parties being poor and near relations, it was arranged as follows: First payment, eight sheep, two oxen, one horse, two necklaces of cornelian beads, two sirapos of black beads (about 16 lbs.). Six months afterwards, second payment, similar to first. A few months after a third payment is asked, but is more an extra than anything else. After second payment all animosity ceases, and the two families can look again at each other on meeting. Should an Indian in attempting to kill another be wounded or killed, his family demand the same as though no attempt were made. 672 682 [426] [626] [628]

Among domestic customs, the one that calls most attention is shutting up their young girls on arriving at womanhood. The custom is religiously carried out throughout the country. Each girl is enclosed in a separate little hut by herself. She is stripped of all her ornaments, even to her beads and sirapo, and all her clothing with the exception of the long loose cotton gown, nor is she allowed to cut her hair. For the first couple of days, drinking water is denied her, the only food being *haguape*, a composition of medicinal herbs. According to birth, a rigorous diet is observed the first month, no meat being allowed. She can be freely mentioned and is merely alluded to by her relations as "surtise suru pauru," "she is shut up in her house." The term of retirement varies according to the wealth and rank of her family. Poor people cannot afford to keep girls idle more than a couple of weeks or a month; whereas the rich enclose them for one, two, or even four years. It is while in this state that she learns all women's requirements— 881 [278] [262] [556] [868]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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One day we met three slave-workers. They were sitting on a hillside gnawing at roast goat's feet. Talking with them we discovered that they had to serve their master without wages. Must they do so all their lives? we asked. Perhaps not, but they were bound to work for him till certain debts and obligations had been paid off, and these seemed very complicated and vague. 567

The real slaves for life are the prisoners taken in war. Thus there are various forms of slavery in Guajira. It is, of course, an ancient phenomenon, of which the whites would seem to have taken advantage rather than to have combatted. [727]

Slavery is a form of punishment. Formerly it was only conquered people and prisoners of war who were kept as slaves. This was usual among several Indian peoples, especially the Aruaks, to which group the Guajiro belong. With them slavery has been systematized. [97]

Let us see how it is that someone becomes a slave. If an Indian has been insulted or killed, his clan demands compensation. If this is not paid, war breaks out between the two clans and those taken prisoner are treated as slaves without further ado. The Indians, however, never begin a war for the purpose of obtaining slaves. The slaves are reckoned as part of the damages, and they and the possessions of the conquered are divided among the victors according to certain principles. The eldest maternal uncle, mother, nephew, brothers and the leader of the fighting are entitled to damages; and if there is enough, the leader of the warriors will usually distribute some of the booty to his nearest relatives, mother, sisters, and maternal aunts. All the property of the enslaved prisoners-of-war passes into the hands of the victors: their pastures, water-holes, cattle, utensils, clothing, ornaments. 628 567

Slaves are the property of their masters, who can do with them as they see fit; sell them, give them away, kill them or use their labour and, if they are women, have intercourse with them as they may desire. The same goes for the men, if their master is a homosexual, as is not unusual in Guajira. The owner's unmarried sons or nephews also con- 567 [838]

567 614 833 which occasioned her becoming a slave-worker, and then pay a bride-price to her family. The girl becomes free and, of course, her child is born free.

567 Real slaves are those taken in war. Nowadays they seldom take men or boys prisoner, but prefer to kill them instead. Otherwise there is always a risk that eventually they will try to avenge themselves. Women and girls are ●628 mostly spared and made slaves. Civil strife is common, and 648 the Macuira Hills were no more peaceful than other areas, but the Indians were reluctant to harm the monks, though on occasion even they became involved.

One day a violent feud broke out between two clans. The chief of one clan himself led the fighting and had determined that the enemy was to be utterly exterminated. The battle raged quite close to the mission. To be anywhere near the Indians when they are fighting is dangerous, for those with rifles are seldom able to shoot and stray bullets fly everywhere. Poisoned arrows are also in the air, but they are better aimed and do not travel so far.

628 One day the monks heard that this chief had captured a 727 couple of boys of the enemy clan and had ordered that they 797 should be burned alive. The boys were reported to have been tied to a tree, round which a large fire had been lit, 648 after which the chief's men had gone away, leaving the boys to their fate. Two of the monks set off at once for the tree. As they hurried along rain began to fall and they hoped that that might put the fire out and so save the boys' lives. When they arrived, however, one of the boys was already dead, having been suffocated by the smoke. The other was still alive and the monks carried him back with them, though they scarcely expected him to survive, for he was very badly burned. It seems pointless and cruel to kill little boys, but the Indians were afraid that, if they spared them, they would take vengeance later; thus, when they heard what had happened, they sent a message saying that the monks must hand the boy over.

The monks replied that the boy was dead. That was the only way of saving his life—if it could be saved. He died during the night, however, and was buried in the mission's

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garden. In the morning the Indians came and demanded the 628
body. The monks refused, not wishing to lend themselves 727
to violation of the dead, and said that they would only 797
treat with the chief. He, however, was not in the vicinity. 648
The Indians threatened to burn the mission station. Fortunately the chief arrived at this juncture, and told his braves that they must not use violence against the monks.

'Never to kill and just to rescue those condemned to death as you do, does not fit in with our laws,' he said to the monks. 'You Capuchins lack any sense of reality. But I shall do you no harm, since you never harm others.'

It sometimes happens that the victor instead of killing 567
his male prisoners will sell them as slaves to the white 439
men, preferably to places at some distance from the peninsula, such as the Dutch islands of Aruba and Curaçao, Zulia in Venezuela, or the Magdalena department of Colombia. The Indians deal in slaves among themselves; they also sell them to the white men and these, too, traffic in them among themselves.

Legally, a slave sold to a white person should become free, but in reality the owner of the *hacienda* treats him as a serf, branding his own mark on him, depriving him of his clan name and giving him his own. To sell a prisoner into slavery is not always to hear the last of him; for some have escaped from the Dutch islands, stowing away on boats, and on their return have exacted vengeance. It is not easy for hacienda slaves to escape. They are often hunted like animals.

There was a considerable sale of young girls to the whites, 548
a scandalous traffic. In Indian territory this was mainly in 567
the hands of quasi-chiefs, generally mestizos and other half-breeds with no right to the title, who cleverly saw how to exploit the Guajiro laws to earn a lot of money. The Guajiro customary law was never intended to apply to export.

The monks were the chief opponents of the slave-traffic. 567
They received a special grant from the government of 648
Colombia to enable them to purchase the freedom of slave children. The white men made no distinction between slave

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I have had to anticipate to tell how the secret of the 574
arrows' effect was discovered. Let me now go back to
where we were sitting on our stools talking with the
Indians. It was late in the day and Francisco suggested that
we should stay the night and go on at daybreak to another
place where lived some prosperous Indians who had
many materials and earthenware vessels. They had ham-
mocks that we could borrow. It was a good suggestion
and our hosts were more than agreeable. They wanted to
vacate one of their huts, but we preferred to sleep in one
of their open sheds. It was cool and, being tired, we fell
asleep while the Indians were still sitting round the fire.

We were awakened by plaintive singing. It was still night. 765
The Guajiro are excessively early risers. In the tropics you 511
become accustomed to getting up at daybreak, but there
on the peninsula everybody woke at three o'clock, when 513
there were still a couple of hours of darkness left. Three
o'clock was even a suitable visiting-hour. They liked to take
advantage of the coolest part of the day, which was from
three to six in the morning. The singing came from the big 765
hut beside us. It was followed by a spoken rigmarole. The
whole was as dreary as a funeral mass, and the voice was an
old woman's. I discovered that it was a sort of pagan morn-
ing prayer for the children, used all over Guajira, in which
an old woman recalled the memory of departed relations.
If any of these had been killed and left unavenged, she
would not neglect to remind the children of the fact and
point out the guilty person. It ended with yet another
wailing song.

What the old woman told them about their ancestors
and injuries received was impressed upon the children's
minds by hearing it repeated every morning in this way. [628]
Thus is a blood feud perpetuated from generation to
generation.

We made ourselves porridge and took our departure as 123
day was breaking, Then we tramped on through the sand
to the next rancheria. There only the women were at home,
but as it is the women who make the things we wished to 342
see, that suited us quite well. The huts were larger than

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

CHAPTER 7

Laws with No Tablets

As we were riding through a parched and savage landscape we saw at a distance a number of mounted warriors divided into two groups, which were drawn up in semi-circles facing each other. We thought there must be some ceremony in progress and wanted to ride across. They were all magnificently got up and armed to the teeth with bows, arrows and guns. Our Indian guide stopped us. 628

'Be careful! Be careful! That is a *purchi!*'

We knew what that meant. A dispute had arisen between two clans, through someone having been offended, robbed or perhaps killed. The victim's family had asked for help and the matter was now to be settled at a meeting with the offender's clan. Damages would be demanded and paid, or there would be a fight—the start of a blood-feud. One should be careful not to get involved in that sort of thing.

These Indians have no police, no authority that dispenses justice; they have to judge and settle matters themselves with the help of their families, yet in accordance with their laws. These are curious, detailed and logical. They are, of course, unwritten, mere customary rights, but they are strictly observed and applied with the utmost consistence. Before we crossed into Indian territory, the Creoles had urged us to make ourselves acquainted with the Indians' laws, as otherwise we could get into trouble quite unwittingly. 671

Soon after seeing the purchi we met the region's most powerful chief, Mauana. We were on our way to a small rancho, when we caught sight of some Indians working on a cactus fence. We wanted to film them, and had just got 622

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

usually lasted. Here, of course, the girl's family had power and the means to check that all was well. In such marriages the husband was considered liable to provide the household equipment, as well as paying a bride-price.

If a Creole marries a Guajiro girl according to the Catholic rites there are all sorts of complications, even if he has paid the bride-price, for the European concept of the father's rights conflicts with the Indian matriarchal law. Problems of relationship and inheritance, the separation of the child from its clan and many other things all provide problems which cause the bride's family a lot of trouble. But that is enough about Indian marriage.

Since all members of a clan are of the same blood, the Indians consider themselves justified in wreaking vengeance on a near relative, if they are unable to lay hands on the actual culprit. This can give rise to a whole chain of acts of vengeance, a real vendetta. In the old days all white people were held to be of one clan, and so the Indians thought that they could avenge an injury inflicted by a white person on the first member of his clan they came across. 'To travel in Guajira is like sitting on a keg of gunpower beside a fire; you are afraid the whole time that a spark will cause a catastrophe', was what used to be said.

Guajiro law always tries to find a scapegoat, and one must remember that when having any dealings with the Indians. If I take a man into my service or merely send him on an errand, I am responsible if anything happens to him and for anything he himself may do to others all the time his mission lasts.

A mother sent her little girl on a donkey to fetch water. The girl took a playmate up on the saddle beside her. The other little girl fell off and hurt herself quite slightly, yet the family had to pay considerable damages.

A mestizo family, receiving unexpected visitors, took an Indian girl to help in the kitchen. The girl cut her finger and her family demanded compensation. After all blood had been shed. The girl was of humble family and thus no large sum could be claimed, yet according to our ideas what had to be paid was a very great deal for a mere cut:

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

551 idea being that to speak the name renews the grief of the
683 dead person's relatives. An old man of the Uriana clan, who called himself Juan, died. Some time later some of his relatives were at an entertainment, at which too was a woman of the Jusuá clan with her little son. A Creole asked this woman what her little boy was called and without thinking, she replied: 'Juan'. The dead man's relatives then claimed damages because she had mentioned the dead man's name, and she had to pay them a bullock, even though it was a Spanish name. It was the reminder of their grief that had
[164] to be compensated. It is also an offence to tread on an Indian's grave.

683 It is more expensive to strike a person than to insult him. One should not answer an insult with a blow, but a well-to-do Indian will not infrequently do so and gladly pay the damages. If an Indian strikes another without hurting him, he must pay nonetheless, because he has treated the other as a slave—it being only one's own slaves that one has the right to strike. If anyone tears a tunic, he must not only
685 replace it, but pay for the shame the other felt at going about in rags.

A thief, if caught, must repay several times the value of what he has stolen. Not infrequently he must pay with his life, especially if the person he has robbed is a powerful personage, as he usually is, and the thief belongs to a weak clan that cannot help his family to exact blood-money.

[567] A thief can be forced to pay by working for his victim. He
682 becomes a debtor-slave. Murder, manslaughter and being the cause of another's death are the most serious crimes. They do not have these actual categories. The penalty for manslaughter is very heavy; if agreement cannot be reached on it, it can sometimes lead to war, a war in which the enemy must either be exterminated or enslaved.

628 It is on such occasions that a purchi is held, at which you can see the groups of warriors drawn up facing each other, while a chief presides.

622 The chief is a mighty person and will have been chosen
628 for his excellent qualities, yet he is not a judge, but rather advocate and mediator. His role is as conciliator. He will

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

already have talked with both parties and know their points of view. One can imagine what takes place. The killer's family wishing an amicable settlement: 'It is best that we do not begin a war, brothers,' says their leader. He offers reasonable compensation, paints a picture of the horrors of war, the continual fear of attack, the burning houses, the women violated and enslaved, the blood-feud continuing from generation to generation, and, by way of contrast, describes the calm of peaceful work. 622 628

The other side are spoiling for a fight. 'I am rich and need no damages. My men are brave and prepared for a fight. I wish that we measure our strength.'

If a settlement is not arrived at, a fresh meeting is arranged, and meanwhile there is a state of latent war. Even if a fine is agreed upon, peace is not restored until the fine has actually been paid. This is probably done in stages, and that is why the Creoles say that the Indians can kill each other on the instalment system.

To bring about another's death, whether intentionally or unintentionally, has grave consequences for the person responsible. The fine that has to be paid is often ruinous. The homicide becomes indebted to his relatives who have to help him pay. Also, for magical reasons, he has to submit to a lengthy period of isolation and to certain restrictions which prevent him attending to his affairs and make him endure certain privations. 682

If a white man has killed an Indian, he should try to get to safety outside the peninsula, because even if he pays a fine for manslaughter, the Indians will seek his life. Three white men must die for each Indian killed, according to the old rule. They long insisted on regarding all white people as being of the one clan, though nowadays they know that they are split up into different peoples. They would now never dare extend vengeance for an injury inflicted by a native mulatto to, say, a fair-haired foreigner from the north. 682 648 [609]

The foregoing are but a few points of Guajiro law which is really much more complicated than these would make it appear. The law ought really to be the same for all, but 671

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

622 Chiefs are polygynous and have many daughters, for
595 whom very high bride prices are paid—sometimes thousands of animals,
583 worth $6,000 to $10,000. Such rich chiefs take great pride in their
556 daughters, dressing them in fine silken robes and necklaces of gold and pearls and providing them with personal servants.

567 There is a class of slaves who are beneath the chiefs' retainers in the social hierarchy. It consists of people born into this status and of captives.

PROPERTY

422 All cattle, though individually owned, belong in theory to the local group as a whole and are worked for the common benefit of all. For example, the cattle paid as a bride price when a girl marries within her own sib go to a new owner, but the milk, butter, cheese, and hides from them continue to be shared by everyone in the sib. When a woman receives cattle as a bride price for her daughter any new stock born to them belongs to the daughter's husband and his sons, and when the animals are rounded up for the annual branding each son is allowed to brand a certain number of them.

ETIQUETTE

576 The *Goajiro* are in general unfriendly to strangers but have a well-
574 established code of hospitality. Strangers calling at a house must wait until invited in. Inside a house a bowl of chicha or rum (coffee when available) is the first gift offered the visitor, who is thereafter given a hammock and treated as a member of the family. A special feast may
[565] be arranged if there are many guests. A guest of high rank is feasted, and some of the young girls of the house may be placed at his disposal.

LAW AND ORDER

627 The chiefs have little power outside their own local group, where they settle minor disputes. The solution of many disputes and transgressions of custom are left to the parties concerned. The laws of group respon-
628 sibility and group retaliation lead to frequent intertribal feuds. A person
614 without a strong sib to protect him is helpless, for others may use any act which may conceivably be interpreted as harmful as pretext for demanding indemnity. For example, a person injured while intoxicated may demand payment from the person who sold him the rum, or a person injured by a borrowed animal may demand payment from the owner of the animal; a thief who hurts himself when trespassing on the property of his intended victim will demand compensation of him; and anyone aiding a sick or wounded person who subsequently dies incurs a liability.

672 If a person injures himself he must make an expiatory gift to the members of his own sib and a lesser gift to his father's relatives. If a child dies when under the care of one parent, this parent must reimburse

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

the other. Many other cases indicate the absolute nature of *Goajiro* law 672
and the refusal to recognize extenuating circumstances.

Murder is a very serious crime, and the victim's family immediately 682
demands blood money to the amount of 200 or more cattle. For failure 628
to pay, a member of the murderer's sib of the same rank as the victim must forfeit his life. If payment is not forthcoming retaliatory raids are made. As the defenders generally lose more people than the attackers, the feud may continue indefinitely until all the members of one sib will consider themselves at war with the members of the other, thereby spreading the war throughout the peninsula. If a feud should develop between the sib of the husband and that of the wife, the latter, with her children, will return to her own group until the trouble is over.

A person who has received a deadly insult from another is baited and 683
chided until he takes revenge by killing the offender, in proof of which he removes the victim's viscera and takes them home. This act also prevents the victim's soul from bothering him. If unable to accomplish this he may commit suicide. Suicide is also sometimes a means of venge- 762
ance, a person feeling that he will suffer less than those who caused him to commit the act. Thus a wife who is not allowed enough freedom may hang herself.

Next to murder, one of the most serious offenses is to mention a per- 689
son's true name (given at birth?) or to mention a person's name after his death. This has caused many tribal conflicts.

The value of the compensation demanded in disputes varies directly 681
with the social rank of the offended party. In some cases a repeated 565
offender may be killed by his own sib members. Sometimes, rather than 728
to continue the warfare, hostile sibs may confer under the auspices of an outsider, such as a Capuchin monk, and draw up peace terms. In personal quarrels or minor brawls women often step in and enforce peace.

WARFARE

Wars between the *Goajiro* and outsiders are rare, but any White man 721
may be held liable for the offense done by another, as all Whites are thought 609
to belong to the same sib. Sometimes the few civilized people living in the peninsula take vengeance on the Indians, which leads to further reprisals by the latter.

At the time of De la Rosa, war was declared by sending to the other 721
tribe an ambassador who, in a public speech, asked indemnities for damage previously done. If these were not conceded war was declared, but a brief truce was observed in order that preparations might be made. In battle each group of opposing warriors formed a semicircle and tried to surround and destroy the other. In individual encounters a *Goajiro* rode 726
out on a horse, but, upon seeing the enemy, he dismounted and shot his own horse with an arrow to show his confidence and willingness to fight

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
SC13 Goajiro SC13

the men speak some Spanish in addition to their native 105
language. Some of them know how to read and write. They
are almost entirely pastoral, possessing great herds of horses, [233]
asses, sheep, goats, and cattle. They have borrowed a great
deal from the Europeans but they have also kept their own
culture to a remarkable degree. As usual, native elements
are most strongly present in the non-material phases of culture.
Unfortunately they are not united or organized into a modern
state, though against all foreigners they stand together as a
unit. Authority is acquired by certain caciques through their [554]
wealth and membership in the 'casta,' the major social group- 614
ing in Guajiro society. Each casta claims a mythological 631
origin and holds sovereignty over a well-defined territory.
Many of these castas or social groupings are further sub-
divided. Each casta has its caciques whose function is chiefly
to settle disputes and whose position is inherited, matrilineally.
The oldest of them is allowed more authority, but generally it
is the wealthiest man, and the one who can marshal more [556]
retainers, armed with rifles and revolvers, who is listened to
with greater respect. There are further divisions in Guajiro
society. At the top are the caciques and their families who are 565
rich and powerful. The next group is composed of peons or
retainers in the service of the upper stratum, and at the bottom
are the 'slaves' who have been born in that condition or have
been enslaved following an offense to some powerful group, and [567]
who can even be let out to work for planters in the sugar fields
of Zulia The life of the poor people has not changed much
since early times. Polygamy is widely practised, as is also 595
concubinage, by the wealthier men. Each wife lives in her
own rancho and there awaits the occasional visit of her hus-
band. The children inherit property and social affiliations [611]
through the mother. Disputes that arise within a casta are
settled by arbiters chosen by the families of the litigants. [627]
Disputes inter-casta may be settled by arbitration if violence
is not desirable. Generally the killing of an individual gives [628]
rise to armed action with an eventual composition by payment.

My informants attempted to demonstrate the difference be- 671

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

in an Appendix. With the exception of the Jirunas or Piesies, a 614
small tribe of 200 souls all told living in the valley of Macuira between
Ara-ura and Itujoro, the Guaririnas, a mere handful of Indians under
the protectorate of the Jirnu, the Sijuanas, Seonanas, Arapainayúes,
Sámurinas, Arsurujunas, and the Arpusiatas, all small local tribes,
strictly confined to the upper country or east of Cabo de la Vela, the
other castes are distributed throughout the breadth and width of the
land in the greatest confusion. Living as the Goajiro does, in continual 361
strife and warfare, whole families would speedily become poor or extinct, 614
if they did not take the precaution to separate their wealth and herds,
and only keep a few in one place at a time. Scarcity of water and
pasture compels them to lead a nomadic life, and makes house-building [312]
out of the question, for they are eternally changing abode, now in the [233]
upper Goajira and then in the lower or plains. Some branches among [342]
the castes have, in spite of their roving propensities, predispositions
for certain spots. For example, the proud and wealthy Pushainas are
chiefly found round and about Parashi and Ataipa. Urianas tiger
frequent Turca and Bahia Honda a great deal, while near Portete,
Ipuanas and Epinayues abound. In the neighbourhood of Anipana the
Ipuanas and Jusayues are in great force; at the Tota nearly all are
Jusayues, and near Las Guardias at Guarero, Sapuanas; these three
latter are mostly all Cocina Indians. With respect to these terrible 579
Cocinas, the word in Goajira signifies robber, highwayman, or outlaw.
They are neither a tribe nor even a separate caste as many have
supposed, but simply a band of freebooters—Indians that, for quarrels, [681]
murder, thefts, &c., have been expelled the family, and must needs take
to pillaging to earn a livelihood. For self-defence, and to better ply
their nefarious calling, they are banded together with recognised chiefs,
and so are able to go on their marauding expeditions in great force,
pouncing on any less numerous or unprepared party, to strip them of
everything. One party of Cocinas will rob another if they can. Nearly
all the Goajiros have relations among them, but an Indian is only safe
with that band to which his relation belongs. They have commercial
intercourse with them, and often succeed in getting stolen cattle back.
The Cocinas' territory *par excellence* is the Cojoro range of hills, taking
in the Tota, traversing the plains in a narrow band, and occupying the
Montes of Oca as a refuge while scouring the plains. The country as
far east as the Macuira range is not exempt from their depredations,
especially between Ciapana and the Laguna of Tucacas. The principal
Cocina chiefs are Alyochipara or Yorujama, as he frequently is called, an [631] ●
Uriana, and rules the country about Anipana and Yuripicho—he is the
worst and most feared of the lot; Porón, an Arpushaina, another devil—
he has appropriated the district of Cojoro; Masapain, a Josayú, lords
it all about the Tota; and Morujildo, a Sapuana, is chief of the country [648]
about Las Guardias. Once the terror of the plains, this wild beast has

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[Information on clan-districts will be found in category 614.]

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[Information on clan-districts will be found in category 614.]

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548 648 The civilizado /civilized/ element. A civilizado according to the Guajiro concept is one who does not belong to their community or the mestizo who has adopted a culture different from theirs. The classification covers people on the Atlantic coast both Columbian and Venezuelan (negroid for the most part) and some other white or mestizo groups in the interior of Columbia.

This civilizado element puts the native on an inferior plane not only where their material culture is concerned, which they despise, but also their spiritual aspect. They look with compassion and curiosity at the manifestations of this and find them difficult to accept. They regard them as savages, and they respect them only because they are strong. This has provoked in the native a feeling of suspicion and misgiving in all that is dear to him, and he has become resentful to a point that he hopes to find a similar failing in the white man in order to reproach him with it.

The cultural norms of a social and moral aspect that they receive from the civilizado are precisely what lead to the systematic destruction of their organization. Generally, the white men who go to La Guajira are men who have to be absent from their families for various reasons, and they find the solution for their biological needs in the Guajiro woman. Their temporary residence there will not permit them (as it might when they make it their permanent home) to buy a girl for a wife, because the price is high for their small means, and it would cause /78/ problems with their own families, so that a man of this type solves the situation by making an easy arrangement with an Indian woman, who gives herself to him in return for presents or a money payment on each occasion.

The Guajiro woman who has emigrated from her district sooner or later returns home and finds in the peninsula a propitious medium for the life she began when away, because beside finding it difficult to obtain a legitimate source of income, her prime needs continually demand immediate satisfaction.

/145 cont./

567 the death of his aunt, Umaralá dedicated himself to living in
538 a hut in the near-by woods where his aunt lay buried. There he fed on roots and wild fruit picked in the woods and only received a visit from time to time from his male slave, from whom he had also parted. /146/

175 Negro slavery in the eighteenth century. A most interest-
567 ing aspect of slavery in La Guajira is that related to Negro
648 slavery among these natives, which was at its height during the period of colonization, especially during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and was due to Negro commerce and to pearl fishing. Unfortunately, there remain only a few notes about these happenings, written by Father Julián in the
[114] eighteenth century, which have aided us in writing this last section regarding slavery. In the following lines we transcribe these notes which confirm the first case known up to the present in the history of all American Indians regarding the presence of Negro slaves among them. Father Julián says: "The fishermen of such pearls are the Guajiro Indians, who are in control of all this coast from the Río de la Hacha almost up to the famous lake of Maracaybo. These are the fishermen and owners of the pearls. It is they who sell them, who carry them to the Río de la Hacha, who trade them with foreigners who come in their brigs to these waters or anchor in the Bahía Honda. For the pearls they bring in, these Indians receive firearms, alcohol, wines, and even slaves, all of which they procure, becoming richer and ever more insolent and less conquerable." (1)

1. Julián, Antonio: La Perla de América, Provincia de Santa Marta, reconocida, observada y expuesta en discursos históricos /The Pearl of America: Province of Santa Marta, checked, observed, and explained in historical

/146 cont./

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discourses/. Madrid, by don Antonio de Sancha. 1787. 1st III, 12. NOTE: all italics are ours.

Further on, he repeats the reference in these terms: "The value given them by the buyers is represented by three kinds of things. For the pearls, the foreigners give them: firearms, nails, and even slaves, in addition to cloth brought from Europe...." (2)

2. Ibid., 1st V, 19.

More explicit in relation to the problem is the following paragraph: "The Guajiro are fishers of pearls which they sell to the dealers, who in turn sell them to certain brigs and packetboats in exchange for spirits, Negro slaves, and firearms." (3)

3. Ibid., 2nd XII, 187.

And finally he ends by outlining the duties that these Negro slaves carried out and the recial mixing that resulted between them and the Indians in the paragraph which we transcribe as follows: "...He then gave me two rather useful pieces of information which I, impelled by zeal for the good of the Guajiro Nation and of the Monarchy, now retell. /147/ The first is the provision of arms and knowledge of their use which they get from constant trade and contact with foreigners, and the second is that through these /foreigners/ have now been introduced male and female Negroes and intermarriage with the same Indians who buy them and keep them as slaves, and this leads not only to an increase in the number of people among the Guajiro but also to an increase in a diversity of fearsome races of Mestizos, Mulattos, Zambos, etc., who, united with the Guajiro, will make this Nation formidable

/147 cont./

175 ever more and more and more difficult to conquer. In fact,
567 when we came into the lands of the Guajiro the Cacique came
648 to meet us with two Negroes as lackeys, dressed in bright red uniforms with all the corresponding facings and braid, something which was quite a novelty to me and made a deep impression." (1)

1. Ibid., 2nd XIV, 159.

BOND SERVICE

566 There is a fundamental difference between the concepts of slavery and bond service in La Guajira. While it is certainly true that in both cases the liberty of the individual is restricted, it is also true that it is restricted in different degrees. Similarly, we can state that while in slavery the owner has absolute rights over the person of the slave, in the case of bond service he has power only over his working potential.

Bond service includes certain groups whose economic, social, and numerical situation has weakened; they are clans which, to a certain point, are without effective male backing and who for this reason attach themselves, if not by law at least by act, to a family of superior position belonging to a strong group, in exchange for the use of their services.

Origin. Bond service has three causes. First, the voluntary sale of men and women, and particularly of children /en la edad infantile/, by their immediate owners, the mother, the maternal uncle of most authority, the grandmother, and the maternal aunts being considered as such; second, when a group cannot comply satisfactorily with its economic-social commitments, such as the payment of debts, indemnity for an offense, etc.; and, third, in cases of social inferiority in which the application of the law is up to the offended party, and certain members are taken from the lower social group as bond servants, especially when the offense committed is robbery.

/195 cont./

682 Upper La Guajira who arrived in Uribia suffering from measles and asked for hospitality in the house of a friend of hers of the well-to-do class. This friend, the owner of the house, could not deny her request and as a result caught the measles and died. The family of the dead woman demanded a very high compensation payment from the woman who brought the disease.

One must also consider the homicide caused, according to the Guajiro mentality by the breaking of a taboo. The Guajiro woman during her periods of pregnancy and menstruation, the murderer, and the participants in funeral rites are at all times bearers of a malignant magic power that can infect, hurt, or kill young children and people seriously ill. If one of these tabooed people presents himself at a house where there is one of those liable to this evil influence, and this person dies within a period such that it can be presumed that the death was the result of the transgression of the taboo, his maternal relatives declare the tabooed person guilty of the death or illness of the child when this occurs, or of the seriousness of the sickness in question.

682 When a Guajiro's death is caused by a white, that is, by an individual who does not belong to the community, the idea of
648 blame is governed by the norms just set forth. At the present time they generally submit /196/ to Guajiro law as the punitive form, but customarily in the peninsula, one of these deaths is paid for by the death of three civilizados /nonnatives/, since many Indians still believe that every civilizado is part of a homogeneous consanguineous family group. Others know this is not so, but nevertheless the death of an Indian by a white gives rise to strong reprisals and even to the death of the white man. If the murderer remains in the peninsula territory or near it, it is almost certain that he will be killed tragically by some relative of the murdered man, who will wait, although already well paid, for some suitable occasion to kill him.

685 Other kinds of aggressive acts are those involved in the theft of food, livestock, and personal belongings.

The first two are the most common in the peninsula, to the point that some authors and travelers have considered theft to be

[4 cont.]

221 on the other hand, is a synonym of hunger, misery, and of death.

221 361 233 The conditions of their geographical situation and the occupation of stock grazing, to which the Indians have devoted themselves since the Conquest, have accentuated their nomadic character because of the need to bring their herds to places where the indispensable pasture and water are available. Furthermore, this need has held back the formation of towns in the true sense of the word, as what is called a rancherfa ["hamlet"] in La Guajira is nothing more than two or three huts of wood and thatch, inhabited by people related to each other and which may be several kilometers away from other rancherías. The presence of water at minimum distances greatly influences the location [5] of these habitations, so that the occupants are not obliged to walk long distances.

177 361 Only in those localities where the influences of civilizados [generally, nonnatives] are greatly felt do we find what we may call urban centers, but in these the foreign element is more in evidence than the aboriginal. Such for example is the case of Uribia, capital of the Comisaría; Nazaret, a mission center; Maicao, Puerto Estrella, and Carraipía, points of trade with Venezuela, Aruba, Curaçao, and the interior of the country; and Manaure and Bahía Honda, centers of the salt industry.

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175 648 The Guajiro Indian was never completely conquered. Throughout the Conquest and the colonization, he kept up a series of wars with the Spanish authorities, whom he learned always to resist, thus maintaining his independence. But he kept up his trade relations with the whites, not only Spaniards but Europeans in general, who reached his shores when they established stations for fishing and the pearl trade, as well as with the group of Spaniards resident in Ríohacha, the western limit of the peninsula.

175 177 These contacts with European civilization were slowly changing their ways of life in the major part of its aspects, whenever the Guajiro incorporated a series of relatively new elements

[5 cont.]

175 177 into his culture, especially into the economy, some of their social institutions, and even in the aspect of their racial composition. Acculturation has been greatly accelerated in recent years due to the ever increasing presence of foreign elements in [648] La Guajira Peninsula, facilitated by the intervention of the government in this administrative section, by the development of communication, and by the commercial possibilities that dealing with the natives presents.

105 175 177 The fundamental change in the Guajiro's life occurred in their economy. Until the arrival of the conquistadors, according to the data available, the Guajiro were a hunting and fishing people who lived in a constant state of nomadism to the point of having no true habitations, as has been stated by different chroniclers of Conquest times. They also practiced a rudimentary agriculture, mainly the cultivation of corn and yucca, the bases of their vegetable food and of their principal drinks.

With the establishment of stock raising centers by the [648] Spaniards in the regions bordering on La Guajira, the natives found a new source of subsistence. They started a series [6] of thefts from the haciendas which enabled them to obtain animals suited for raising, which adapted wonderfully to the normal conditions of their territory, where during the winter season pasture grows spontaneously, pasture which previously had served only to feed the deer and other herbivorous animals which form part of the fauna of La Guajira.

With the introduction of this new economic element the native began, step by step, to change his economy of fishing, hunting, and rudimentary agriculture into a new system based principally on stock grazing. His state as a nomadic hunter was transformed to that of herdsman, also nomadic because of the geographic conditions we have just described in previous paragraphs. They also changed their mode of transport by learning to use horses and asses, and even their tactics of war were appreciably changed once they could make use of horses in their battles, placing them thereby on an equal footing with the Spanish conquistador; as in addition to this decisive element, [439] they could also count on firearms obtained in the pearl trade with foreign ships which came up their coast.

[44 cont.]

764 784 778 him on his journey and which remain his only possessions, since the rest will be distributed among his heirs — take on the quality of untouchables.

782 789 2. The poisoned arrow. The second sacrifice about which we gathered information has a greater importance than the previous one for two reasons: first, because it is the sacrifice of a human being, and second, because it is linked to a series of ceremonies set in motion to obtain a certain end, the deadly power of the imára, or poisoned arrow, or better said, the magic arrow.

101 105 184 782 This sacrifice, so far as we could observe, is no longer practiced in La Guajira. According to the information gathered, it was practiced exclusively by the Kusina Indians, inhabitants of the sierra of that name. They were bellicose Indians, warriors, robbers, and animal stealers, who kept the other communities of the peninsula in an incessant state of tension by their attacks and evil-doings. We think it interesting to point out here that these Indians, commonly known as Cocina, according to all the information obtained did not constitute in themselves a separate cultural group. Their language was the same as that of the other Guajiro; their customs were relatively the same, and their physical type identical. Everything seems to indicate that they were no more than social outcasts, all those who, for crimes committed and not paid for in accordance with established laws, had found it necessary to unite themselves into societies outside the law. The question is not entirely clear, and it will be difficult to make it so because Kusina Indians are no longer found in La Guajira.

411 Bows and arrows stood out among the arms used by the Guajiro, (We say "stood" out because now they chiefly use rifles of foreign make). One of these arrows, which they call poisoned, bears the name of imára. The shaft of this arrow is made of a thin piece of wood taken from the tree called parára and measures approximately 80 centimeters in length. At the upper end of this sharpened shaft is placed poison of a ray or the bone of a poisonous serpent. This imára is what the Kusina Indians used as a last resort in their battles with Whites or with

411 648 921

[44 cont.]

411 some of the Guajiro communities during their pillaging expedi-
●648 tions.
721 The value of the arrow, considered to be infallible,
stemmed from the extremely important fact that its tip was
411 anointed with the blood of a sacrificed child. The arrow took
798 into itself, by magic contamination, the sacred and impure
782 quality of the sacrificial ceremony performed on the child,
[45] a quality of extreme value when one realizes that the
child's own father performed the sacrifice.

782 The process is as follows: The Kusina, according to the
story of our informant, an Indian woman from the Sierra de Jarara
who had heard from her parents a great deal about the customs
of these Indians, with whom the people of the Sierra had had
dealings, were accustomed to take a male child from their own
family. They carried him off to some distant hills situated in
the interior of the Cocina sierra. They took him up a particular
mountain, and on its summit under a pó (a special tree) they
killed him. He was killed in this way: They blocked up his
nostrils and squeezed his throat with their hands, that is, they
strangled him, and with a pointed stone they struck his forehead
several times continuously until blood flowed from it. This
blood, which was exactly what they wished to obtain in the
sacrifice, was not allowed to spill, but was gathered very care-
fully in a very clean utensil. In recent times the blood was col-
lected in an empty tin such as those used for sardines or salmon,
but it is to be supposed that in olden times a special ceramic
container was used. Once the blood had been collected, they
put it to boil in the same utensil in which it had been collected.
Next they put it in another that in modern times was a glass con-
tainer, although in former times it must have been of some other
material, in order to preserve it. This utensil which contained
the boiled blood of the boy was kept in the woods among stones
[593] which they collected for this purpose. The executioner, who was
none other than the boy's father, had prepared beforehand a
[278] quantity of arrows tipped with the poison of a ray, which he later
[458] anointed with the blood and distributed among the rest of the
Kusina natives or the Guajiro in general, in exchange for live-
stock. The price that had to be paid for one of these arrows was

[52 cont.]

753 lacking this support, certain practices of a magic character
755 which place him — always respecting due proportions — on a
*756 plane of equality with the spirit or at least give him the possibility of warding off its harmful effects from him or his fellows. In the methods of healing, as will be seen as we progress in this chapter, the individual makes use, either directly or indirectly through an intermediary — the medicine man in this case, of the benevolent powers of the instrument causing the sickness, or else those of another spirit — under whatsoever materialization — as strong or stronger than the original cause of the sickness, in order to banish the illness.

755 The value of the Guajiro shaman, or medicine man, as
*756 a curer, as we were able to observe in Chapter II, lies in the superiority conceded to him through his constant communication with the world of the spirits, which places him, so to speak, on a plane of equality with them. Nevertheless, in the aspect of Guajiro medicine four different factors intervene, which we can define in general as follows:

1) Medicine practiced directly by the shaman through his communication with benevolent spirits.

2) Medicine by divination, dependent or independent of the shaman, which creates another social group, not so clearly defined: that of the diviner.

757 3) Medicine which might be called household, independent of the shaman and of the diviner, which is applied through pragmatic knowledge of the curative value of certain plants, or through the observation of particular customs related to taboo, which as we shall see later, are of a preventative type.

174 4) Medicine practiced by foreigners. This last factor must
● 648 have its origins in ethnographic history, and it appears to us
*756 quite difficult to clarify. It deals with the medical intervention of curers from the [53] Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, whom the Guajiro consult in certain cases. These inhabitants of the Sierra belong to native groups included by Professor Rivet in the large Chibcha linguistic family (38). Our supposition of contacts between

38. Rivet, Paul. Conferencias dictadas en el Instituto Etnológico Nacional

[53 cont.]

174 [Lectures given at the National Ethnological Institute]. Bogotá, 1942.
●648
*756

the two groups at some period of their history, — we cannot say if before or after the Conquest, is based on the presence of certain material cultural techniques of the Arwako [Arhuaco] Indians in the Guajiro group.

Let us now analyze carefully and separately each one of these factors:

*756 Medicine practiced by the shaman. In chapter II of this study, we referred to the shaman's curative methods which are effected through their magic communication with the spirits. These spirits supply the instructions required for the ceremonies and processes that are to be practiced to effect the cures of illnesses caused by the wanurú which have a sick person in their power. We again refer the reader then to chapter II.

791 Medicine by divination. Before entering fully into this subject, we feel obliged to clarify somewhat the diviner's position in La Guajira and to learn something more, if only superficially, of the processes of divination.

There are certain men and women capable of seeing secret events that have occurred or foreseeing those that will occur. For this they employ different objects; some use a machete (an item of acculturation), and by closely studying its edge they divine, for example, what has happened at the site of a robbery and where the stolen objects will be found. Others make use of burning tobacco and others, finally, of a burning firebrand.

787 In this aspect of divination the world of the spirits plays
[796] as great a role as it does in general in all the themes of magic, since the chain of events in the case of the divination of a robbery, for example, is that the spirit of the diviner disengages itself from his body and goes in search of the lost articles, following the track of the thief until it finds the hiding place and consequently the stolen goods, returning then to the body of the diviner to communicate the result to him so that he can, on his part, transmit the information to the party who has come to consult him. [54]

[67 cont.]

826 he will die consumed by flames. Likewise, if a lock of human
754 hair is buried with a small quantity of dog excrement, the person who carries out this act of witchcraft can cause any harm he wishes to the owner of the hair.

•648 Medicine practiced by foreigners. To ensure that his child
757 will be sound and fit and show greater resistance to sickness, the Guajiro father makes use of the medicine of the Arhuaco, who like the other natives we know connect this art directly with magic. It is well to take note, before pursuing this description, that the Arhuaco are held to be excellent doctors by all their neighbors, not only by the Indians but also by mestizos and mulattos, and even by Whites. The fame of these curers is such that sick people from the neighboring cities of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta and even from Maracaibo have themselves carried to them to be cured of their illnesses, or, as a last resort, send them some of their personal articles of underclothing by which the Arhuaco curer determines the sickness from which the individual is suffering and sends the necessary medicines.

The Guajiro have not escaped this influence. Their geographical nearness facilitates communication with the Arhuaco, but we do not know whether this interchange of relations was already established before the Conquest or if it is due to the external influence of the colonists who have settled on the slopes of the Sierra or in regions close to them, who in their turn have transmitted the legend of the fame of the Arhuaco as doctors to the Indians of La Guajira.

757 The fact is that generally, shortly before the birth of a
751 child or when some opportunity presents itself, the father goes
278 to the Arhuaco, and from one of them who knows the preventa-
843 tive or curative value of plants he obtains several of these in order to doctor his child or prevent its sicknesses. Among these herbs are the vira-vira, quina dulce ["sweet quina], the frailejón, and a number of others. These herbs are shredded and put into a bottle containing rum and to this mixture is added two kinds of drops, also of plant juices, which have been carefully [68] "whispered" or "muttered" over by the Arhuaco doctor. These drops, in addition to the plants to which we have previously

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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in an Appendix. With the exception of the Jirnues or Piesies, a 614
small tribe of 200 souls all told living in the valley of Macuira between
Ara-ura and Itujoro, the Güaririúes, a mere handful of Indians under
the protectorate of the Jirnu, the Sijuanas, Socuanas, Arapainayúes,
Sámuriues, Araurujunas, and the Arpusiatas, all small local tribes,
strictly confined to the upper country or east of Cabo de la Vela, the
other castes are distributed throughout the breadth and width of the
land in the greatest confusion. Living as the Goajiro does, in continual 361
strife and warfare, whole families would speedily become poor or extinct, 614
if they did not take the precaution to separate their wealth and herds,
and only keep a few in one place at a time. Scarcity of water and [312]
pasture compels them to lead a nomadic life, and makes house-building [233]
out of the question, for they are eternally changing abode, now in the [342]
upper Goajira and then in the lower or plains. Some branches among
the castes have, in spite of their roving propensities, predispositions
for certain spots. For example, the proud and wealthy Pushainas are
chiefly found round and about Parashi and Ataipa. Urianas tiger
frequent Taroa and Bahia Honda a great deal, while near Portete,
Ipuanas and Epinayues abound. In the neighbourhood of Auipana the
Ipuanas and Jusayues are in great force; at the Tota nearly all are
Jusayues, and near Las Guardias at Guarero, Sapuanas; these three
latter are mostly all Cocina Indians. With respect to these terrible 579
Cocinas, the word in Goajira signifies robber, highwayman, or outlaw.
They are neither a tribe nor even a separate caste as many have
supposed, but simply a band of freebooters—Indians that, for quarrels, [681]
murder, thefts, &c., have been expelled the family, and must needs take
to pillaging to earn a livelihood. For self-defence, and to better ply
their nefarious calling, they are banded together with recognised chiefs,
and so are able to go on their marauding expeditions in great force,
pouncing on any less numerous or unprepared party, to strip them of
everything. One party of Cocinas will rob another if they can. Nearly
all the Goajiros have relations among them, but an Indian is only safe
with that band to which his relation belongs. They have commercial
intercourse with them, and often succeed in getting stolen cattle back.
The Cocinas' territory *par excellence* is the Cojoro range of hills, taking
in the Tota, traversing the plains in a narrow band, and occupying the
Montes of Oca as a refuge while scouring the plains. The country as
far east as the Macuira range is not exempt from their depredations,
especially between Ciapana and the Laguna of Tucacas. The principal
Cocina chiefs are Alyechipara or Yorujama, as he frequently is called, an [631]
Uriana, and rules the country about Auipana and Yuripicho—he is the
worst and most feared of the lot; Perón, an Arpushaina, another devil—
he has appropriated the district of Cojoro; Masapain, a Jusayú, lords
it all about the Tota; and Merojildo, a Sapuana, is chief of the country
about Las Guardias. Once the terror of the plains, this wild beast has [648]

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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579 been completely tamed by the Venezuelans. He, with of course his
●648 followers, have found honesty the best policy after all, and are now reformed and peaceful members of society, returned to breeding and agriculture. This shows what can be done with firmness combined with a little judicious tact and management.

The Indians build no elaborate dwelling-houses. Their best ranchos
342 are simple, and constructed in a short time. The roof is covered with the split woody core of a tall euphorbia. This makes a good cool roof, impermeable to water and easily removed when the family flits. The rancho is seldom used for sleeping purposes; for this numerous poles
[513] (*tchepsi*) are firmly fixed all over the place for swinging hammocks, often three and four to one pole, and crossing each other. Sometimes two and three sleep in a hammock. Further off other poles (*palámaler*)
[417] are found, to tie animals up at, and a small corral or sheep-pen for the goats and sheep is also indispensable in every well-regulated family. The site of a rancho is always carefully chosen, much strategy being
361 displayed in locating the whole, so that each rancho covers the other
621 without itself being seen. Although villages are never attempted, yet a family rarely lives isolated. Everybody bolsters himself with that bugbear of Goajira society, his relations. Their ranchos are always within gunshot distance, so as mutually to defend each other. One is
[712] invariably on high ground to dominate the country, the rest are hidden away in nooks and corners where least expected. If one rancho is seen, others are close at hand. In case of attack, this system prevents a whole family being exterminated. One or two ranchos may be taken, but the rest escape or fly to the rescue, as the case may be. At all events the
[552] avenger, so dear to the Indian, survives. Each rancho has a distinct name. Besides, every Indian who is anybody has several ranchos
[423] spread over the country. To collect the names of the ranchos would be paramount to taking a census of the territory. The following are
103 well-known ranchos, with usually some half-caste from Riohacha
443 trading with the Indians. In the Macuira range, six miles from Punta
592 Espada, is Guarorpá, at the foot of Ara-ura; chief, Caijuna, a Jirau. Westwards, close to the sea-shore, Chémunao; chief, José Agustin, a
621 Jallariú, a half-caste speaking good Spanish. At the foot of Itujoro, Maguaipá, situated on a slight eminence eight miles from the sea, and is an important trading station. Paraliero, native name of Puerto Estrella, boasts twelve houses and three iron warehouses, with always two or three Riohacheros resident there. The chief, Pedro Quinto, is Epioyu, but his sister Mauricia is the virtual ruler. Inland, 16 miles from Bahia Honda or Taroa is Merumay, another large trading station, usually with two or three Riohacheros established there. The eight ranchos are well located on a plain between Macuira and Parashi. The chief, Saipa, is Epioyu. This is one of the most central stations in the Goajira, and is surrounded by several important places; it is probably

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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the site of the old Spanish settlement San Juan de Ipapa. On the west side of the Parashi Hills in the plains is another well-known central trading station Joroy; chief, Majuté, an Ipuana; probably near the old site of the Spanish settlement Moscota. In the neighbourhood are: Guarirpanturi; chief, Concón, an Ipuana. A Dutchman from Aruba has lived here many years, and has become quite an Indian. Aiplapá, a few ranchos on an eminence commanding the whole valley. The Indians here are rather mixed, but the chief is a Pushaina. The well Kapaulera, at the base of the hill, is the finest I saw, and surrounded with rich green vegetation similar to that of Macuira. Katunasió, the most inland station. It is generally the traders that make a rancho known, for the Indians do everything they can to keep their abodes, if not secret, at any rate as much in the dark as possible. The plains being more unsettled than the mountain district, traders do not venture to establish themselves in the interior, as at Morunay or Joroy, so few ranchos are known. The most important place in the Lower Goajira is Guinoua, midway between Riohacha and the Venezuelan town of Las Guardias or Santa Teresa. Paraguaipon, the new Venezuelan military colony, founded in 1882, counts already 50 houses. It is situated in the plains 12 miles in advance of Santa Teresa, which it completely covers. The garrison at present consists of 30 men, well mounted and found in every respect, under the orders of a commander, two secretaries, and two interpreters; the latter for the purpose of taking statistics as to trade, &c. Altogether it is a model establishment, and does honour to the Government of Venezuela. The entire population of the Goajira may be about 20,000; it does not exceed 25,000, and is not increasing.

As regards manners and customs and the way they enforce their old peculiar laws, these Goajiros are particularly interesting. Of course, like all Indians, they are singularly proficient in begging, stealing, and drinking, but besides these capital vices they add a fourth, that is demanding compensation, tear- or blood-money—principal cause of all the strife and blood feuds between the castes, and an everlasting danger to Indians and strangers alike. Whereas about one-quarter of the male population die a violent death from its result, another quarter are killed by drink and its effects. The laws that govern these compensation cases are very intricate, their number is legion. First is the terrible law of retribution, that makes a whole caste responsible for the acts of any single member. As the Spaniards or white men are considered by the Indians as belonging to one large family, the country is very unsafe for travelling, for every white man is a sort of hostage for the good behaviour of the others. If an Indian should be killed in a quarrel by a white man, the life of another white man, living leagues away, depends upon whether the foe (relations of the dead Indian) or a friend brings the news first. Many an innocent unconscious trader has been sacrificed at one end of the peninsula for a foul murder committed at the other end.

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which occasioned her becoming a slave-worker, and then pay a bride-price to her family. The girl becomes free and, of course, her child is born free.

Real slaves are those taken in war. Nowadays they seldom take men or boys prisoner, but prefer to kill them instead. Otherwise there is always a risk that eventually they will try to avenge themselves. Women and girls are mostly spared and made slaves. Civil strife is common, and the Macuira Hills were no more peaceful than other areas, but the Indians were reluctant to harm the monks, though on occasion even they became involved.

One day a violent feud broke out between two clans. The chief of one clan himself led the fighting and had determined that the enemy was to be utterly exterminated. The battle raged quite close to the mission. To be anywhere near the Indians when they are fighting is dangerous, for those with rifles are seldom able to shoot and stray bullets fly everywhere. Poisoned arrows are also in the air, but they are better aimed and do not travel so far.

One day the monks heard that this chief had captured a couple of boys of the enemy clan and had ordered that they should be burned alive. The boys were reported to have been tied to a tree, round which a large fire had been lit, after which the chief's men had gone away, leaving the boys to their fate. Two of the monks set off at once for the tree. As they hurried along rain began to fall and they hoped that that might put the fire out and so save the boys' lives. When they arrived, however, one of the boys was already dead, having been suffocated by the smoke. The other was still alive and the monks carried him back with them, though they scarcely expected him to survive, for he was very badly burned. It seems pointless and cruel to kill little boys, but the Indians were afraid that, if they spared them, they would take vengeance later; thus, when they heard what had happened, they sent a message saying that the monks must hand the boy over.

The monks replied that the boy was dead. That was the only way of saving his life—if it could be saved. He died during the night, however, and was buried in the mission's

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garden. In the morning the Indians came and demanded the 628
body. The monks refused, not wishing to lend themselves 727
to violation of the dead, and said that they would only 797
treat with the chief. He, however, was not in the vicinity. 648
The Indians threatened to burn the mission station. Fortunately the chief arrived at this juncture, and told his braves that they must not use violence against the monks.

'Never to kill and just to rescue those condemned to death as you do, does not fit in with our laws,' he said to the monks. 'You Capuchins lack any sense of reality. But I shall do you no harm, since you never harm others.'

It sometimes happens that the victor instead of killing 567
his male prisoners will sell them as slaves to the white 439
men, preferably to places at some distance from the peninsula, such as the Dutch islands of Aruba and Curaçao, Zulia in Venezuela, or the Magdalena department of Colombia. The Indians deal in slaves among themselves; they also sell them to the white men and these, too, traffic in them among themselves.

Legally, a slave sold to a white person should become free, but in reality the owner of the *hacienda* treats him as a serf, branding his own mark on him, depriving him of his clan name and giving him his own. To sell a prisoner into slavery is not always to hear the last of him; for some have escaped from the Dutch islands, stowing away on boats, and on their return have exacted vengeance. It is not easy for hacienda slaves to escape. They are often hunted like animals.

There was a considerable sale of young girls to the whites, 548
a scandalous traffic. In Indian territory this was mainly in 567
the hands of quasi-chiefs, generally mestizos and other half-breeds with no right to the title, who cleverly saw how to exploit the Guajiro laws to earn a lot of money. The Guajiro customary law was never intended to apply to export.

The monks were the chief opponents of the slave-traffic. 567
They received a special grant from the government of 648
Colombia to enable them to purchase the freedom of slave children. The white men made no distinction between slave

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567 and slave-worker, whichever they bought, they treated alike. In times of famine, so-called recruiting-agents, usually
● 648 half-breeds, appeared on the scene and bought up workers for the haciendas. Even those Creoles who were not directly engaged in this shameful traffic considered slavery a phenomenon about which there was nothing to be done. After all it was an ancient institution. Slave-workers with Creoles never became free, unless they could manage to escape, for the Creoles did not respect the Guajiro law according to which a slave-worker's servitude ceases when he has paid his debt. Those white people, mestizos or mulattos who had bought slave-workers saw to it that they never got away once they had put their clan mark to a contract, the purport of which they did not understand.

The central chain of hills, Sierra de Jarará, and Maicao in
567 the western low country, were usually accounted the centre
797 of this slave traffic. If a poor man stole a bullock or a goat to feed himself and his family, he was often punished by being sold as a slave-worker—having nothing with which to pay the owner compensation.

The monks are needed there all right. They calculated that during the five years they had been working there, some
[563] three thousand slaves had been sold. In the old days the Guajiro also had negro slaves, as is apparent from Antonio Julian's description of the country written at the end of the eighteenth century. According to him, the Indians used to
[439] obtain firearms, spirits, wine and slaves in Rio Hacha, in exchange for their pearls. The pearl fishery was entirely in the Indians' hands. Elsewhere, negro slaves were bartered for pearls from boats lying off the coast. Antonio Julian expressed concern at the fact that with the addition of negroes and negresses not only would the Indians increase in numbers, but also that they would acquire an additional population of mulattos, mestizos and zambos, who would make common cause with them and make them 'even more terrible, insolent and difficult to conquer'.

When he visited the peninsula he was met by a chief who was attended by two negro slaves, splendidly got up, like lackeys, and that obviously impressed him greatly.

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CHAPTER 6

Indiscreet Investigation

123 THAT heading really describes our activities during the next few weeks, while we travelled round among the Indians of Macuira, visiting them in their ranchos and questioning them about all sorts of things. The Indians were not at all self-conscious and gladly and frankly told us all [648] we wished to know. They had not been bullied by white people, as so many other Indians have, and we took care not to make fun of their customs. Because of that, they had no inhibitions. The monks assured us that on the whole we should be able to make the acquaintance of the Indians in more peaceful conditions in the Macuira Hills than elsewhere in the peninsula. They had put it about that we belonged to quite a different clan from the Creoles, which our appearance seemed to confirm, and they thought that it would never occur to the Indians to avenge themselves on us, if one of them had been insulted by a white person somewhere else. Of course, we ought to be careful, they added, and promised to give us a reliable servant. The snug little whitewashed hut in which we lived was to be at our disposal as long as we remained in Macuira. From it we could go off for trips of a few days, as it suited us, and so get to know the whole area.

115 We got our servant, an unusually nice Guajiro called Francisco who had often travelled with Father Crispin. Francisco was peace-loving, but not at all afraid of his fellow Indians. That was a great advantage. In dealing with primitive peoples you must always keep calm, especially when they appear aggressive.

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562 riage. A Guajiro woman has no right to sell her body. The [548] law does not recognize prostitution.

A married woman's relatives and clan do not leave her 562 entirely in her husband's hands. He may not do as he likes 614 with her, nor cause her suffering. Suffering and discomfort 844 she is bound to experience in childbirth, however, and of that he is the primary cause; thus whether as a result of legal or illegal relations, the man must compensate the mother for her confinement by giving her family a few [431] cattle. The woman herself may not eat their meat under any circumstances.

Originally the Guajiro clans were exogamous; members 582 were not allowed to marry within the clan. That is no 614 longer insisted upon, but not only brothers and sisters, but maternal males and cousins on the mother's side, are still reckoned among the forbidden degrees. It is unthinkable that an Indian girl should marry her maternal uncle; that would be like having her father for her husband. It once 835 happened that an uncle and niece had a secret relationship and the girl became pregnant. A monk married them, but the Indians regarded the relationship as a heinous crime and the whole district reacted so violently that the couple [626] had to leave the peninsula and go far away, where there was no risk of meeting members of their tribe.

There is nothing to prevent an Indian getting himself [595] several wives. Infrequently white men have married into 648 Guajiro families and they too have had to pay a bride-price. 582 A number of poor Creoles have contracted Guajiro marriages with poor girls. I have already mentioned how foreign oil workers made Guajiro marriages. In those early days there were no arrangements made for employees' families, and the Guajiro girls suited those primitive conditions very well, though as a rule such marriages with Indian girls were very short-lived, as those of the Creoles with them still are. The girl is soon abandoned, if that can be done without risk, the girl's family in such cases being powerless. So the Indians told me.

The monks had already told us that where Creoles had married Guajiro girls of good family, those marriages had

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usually lasted. Here, of course, the girl's family had power and the means to check that all was well. In such marriages the husband was considered liable to provide the household equipment, as well as paying a bride-price.

If a Creole marries a Guajiro girl according to the Catholic rites there are all sorts of complications, even if he has paid the bride-price, for the European concept of the father's rights conflicts with the Indian matriarchal law. Problems of relationship and inheritance, the separation of the child from its clan and many other things all provide problems which cause the bride's family a lot of trouble. But that is enough about Indian marriage.

Since all members of a clan are of the same blood, the Indians consider themselves justified in wreaking vengeance on a near relative, if they are unable to lay hands on the actual culprit. This can give rise to a whole chain of acts of vengeance, a real vendetta. In the old days all white people were held to be of one clan, and so the Indians thought that they could avenge an injury inflicted by a white person on the first member of his clan they came across. 'To travel in Guajira is like sitting on a keg of gunpower beside a fire; you are afraid the whole time that a spark will cause a catastrophe', was what used to be said.

Guajiro law always tries to find a scapegoat, and one must remember that when having any dealings with the Indians. If I take a man into my service or merely send him on an errand, I am responsible if anything happens to him and for anything he himself may do to others all the time his mission lasts.

A mother sent her little girl on a donkey to fetch water. The girl took a playmate up on the saddle beside her. The other little girl fell off and hurt herself quite slightly, yet the family had to pay considerable damages.

A mestizo family, receiving unexpected visitors, took an Indian girl to help in the kitchen. The girl cut her finger and her family demanded compensation. After all blood had been shed. The girl was of humble family and thus no large sum could be claimed, yet according to our ideas what had to be paid was a very great deal for a mere cut:

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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already have talked with both parties and know their points 622
of view. One can imagine what takes place. The killer's 628
family wishing an amicable settlement: 'It is best that we do not begin a war, brothers,' says their leader. He offers reasonable compensation, paints a picture of the horrors of war, the continual fear of attack, the burning houses, the women violated and enslaved, the blood-feud continuing from generation to generation, and, by way of contrast, describes the calm of peaceful work.

The other side are spoiling for a fight. 'I am rich and need no damages. My men are brave and prepared for a fight. I wish that we measure our strength.'

If a settlement is not arrived at, a fresh meeting is arranged, and meanwhile there is a state of latent war. Even if a fine is agreed upon, peace is not restored until the fine has actually been paid. This is probably done in stages, and that is why the Creoles say that the Indians can kill each other on the instalment system.

To bring about another's death, whether intentionally or 682
unintentionally, has grave consequences for the person responsible. The fine that has to be paid is often ruinous. The homicide becomes indebted to his relatives who have to help him pay. Also, for magical reasons, he has to submit to a lengthy period of isolation and to certain restrictions which prevent him attending to his affairs and make him endure certain privations.

If a white man has killed an Indian, he should try to get 682
to safety outside the peninsula, because even if he pays a 648
fine for manslaughter, the Indians will seek his life. Three white men must die for each Indian killed, according to the old rule. They long insisted on regarding all white people [609]
as being of the one clan, though nowadays they know that they are split up into different peoples. They would now never dare extend vengeance for an injury inflicted by a native mulatto to, say, a fair-haired foreigner from the north.

The foregoing are but a few points of Guajiro law which 671
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7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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CHAPTER 8

Innocence and the Fertility Dance

MAUANA invited us to visit him again, and we were glad to do so. We liked him and his oasis. Also he taught us a lot, for he was knowledgeable and intelligent, a proper chief who was not called *cacique* just out of politeness, as is the case with many rich mestizos near the border. 622

The Indians expect a great deal of their chief. He has to be an adroit negotiator, able to uphold the clan's rights and support its members. In war he is the leader who must be in the van and never yield. He must be ever hospitable, a good speaker and in every way a worthy representative. Mauana seemed to be such a chief.

Our only means of repaying his hospitality was to give a great porridge feast—we had a lot of oatmeal with us. The Indians loved our porridge, perhaps because it was reminiscent of their own maize gruel, which we ourselves far preferred. This feast took place on Mauana's next visit to Nazaret, and after it he was eager for us to pay him another visit, promising to show us dancing. 648 574

On our arrival we were introduced to the 'princess', his unmarried daughter. Mauana wanted us to photograph her. She was not pretty, but typically Indian in appearance. She had to put on all her finery and her paint, and her mule was saddled and decked out as for a ceremonial occasion. She had gold and coral at her neck, ankles and wrists, and large spiral patterns painted on her cheeks. Her mule had three tails: its own and two artificial ones, such being the fashion then. The girl was no film star: she was as stiff as a ram-rod and not to be thawed. Luckily, her skin looked light on the photograph, as every Guajiro girl desires it to be. Mauana 622 123 622 142

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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Guajiro women are stocky and powerfully built

Below: *Frontier guard—Paraguaipoa*

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[facing p. 145]

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

175 During the Colonial Period, the *Goajiro* were hostile toward the Span-
●648 iards. After 1830, however, as a result of better treatment from the Whites, thanks in part to the efforts of Juan MacPherson, they become more friendly. Present authorities in the *Goajiro* region merely regulate frontier traffic.

797 The attempts by the Capuchin Fathers to alter their ways of life have
177 been unsuccessful. Except for the thin Catholic veneer, noticeable in baptismal rites and Spanish names, *Goajiro* social life seems to have been little affected by centuries of contact with Hispanic culture. Foreign influence is more apparent materially in iron implements, utensils, guns, textiles, and ornaments. All the domestic animals are of Spanish origin.

161 As a result of tuberculosis, smallpox, and venereal disease, the *Goajiro*
164 are gradually dying out, and the population estimates found in the literature have become smaller and smaller, the most recent indicating a scant 18,000.

PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

142 The *Goajiro* are usually described as aggressive and untrustworthy, of
[18] medium or small stature (cf. J. A. Mason, 1926, pp. 39, 52), copper colored, with jet-black hair, dark eyes rather obliquely set, a broad and blunt nose, and a large mouth (pl. 72, *bottom, right*). Within the tribes there are physical differences which seem to correspond with social status,
[565] the lower classes being smaller and more Indian in appearance, while those of higher rank are more often of a greater stature, with curlier hair and larger noses.

LANGUAGE

197 The *Goajiro* language belongs to the *Arawakan* family. There is, however, no good analysis of it. A grammar, "replete with errors" according to Simons, was published by Rafael Caledon in 1878. Various word lists have been published from time to time.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.**—The *Goajiro* have a poor opinion of agriculture, and only
[558] the poorer sibs practice it. The one fertile part of the peninsula is near Punta Espada. Here the land is well cultivated, and plantains, maguey, onions, coca, sugarcane, and grain are grown. Tobacco, bananas, maize, gourds, manioc, sweetpotatoes, millet, beans, and watermelons also are raised. Those who own cattle grow only small patches of quick-maturing corn for the purpose of making chicha beer.

22 **Hunting, fishing, and gathering.**—Hunting, fishing, and gathering occupy a minor place. Deer, armadillos, land tortoises, and rabbits are

[3 cont.]

133 adjacent to the hamlet of Roble; also one must consider the
312 water holes, shallow depressions in the ground which store rain water for some time and are utilized as watering places for livestock. Besides these sources of water, [4] the Guajiro digs wells [casimbas] in the dry beds of arroyos, generally, having to excavate to depths of 30 vara at times to reach the underground water. Windmills, which the Water Department of the Ministry of Na-
[653] tional Economy has been constructing for some years past, have helped to solve the water problem as have at a few dams, such as those in Ipanarú and Garrapatamana.

137 The factors which we have been describing determine vegetation in La Guajira, which is mainly comprised of thorny creepers, small thickets, cactus, thorn trees, and some wooded areas, especially in the mountain ridges and their spurs, where one finds an abundance of divi-divi, the totumo, indigo, the caraño, [a resinous gum tree], guayacan, the cedar, oak, cherry, and olive, the last two being fruit trees. On the banks of the coves and bays the mangrove grows abundantly.

During the rainy season in the peninsula, the sandy soil is covered with grass and brambles and briars and the woods [montes] become green again, giving a splendid background of color to the whole countryside, but in the summer season all the trees lose their foliage and look like burned logs; the smaller plants disappear, leaving the surface bare to the mercies of the burning sand and showing as characteristic patches the tall cacti with arms raised like great candelabra. The only different shades of color are provided by the olive trees, which never dry out and always show their fresh green foliage and darker fruit, and by some small oases of vegetation on the shores of ponds and water holes.

221 For this same reason the economy of La Guajira and the people's life in general swings like a great pendulum between two extremes — summer and winter. Their principal activity, stock grazing, requires rainfall to maintain pasture and to provide water in the water holes and wells. Agriculture, their other occupation, requires sufficient humidity for the germination of the seed and for maintaining the life of the plants. Winter in La Guajira means good living, abundance, satisfaction. Summer,

9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
SC13 Goajiro SC13

two days' visit at the home of Panchito Silva and while returning to Paraguaipoa, asked Perez how many wives he had had. Perez was obviously quite upset by the question, but did not hesitate in answering: "Oh, no, Mr. Santa Cruz! I have and only have had one wife, Anita!" (Anita is his Indian wife). Whether the motives for the denial are of a personal nature or involve some cultural complex is unknown to the writer. 159 595

Nevertheless Perez leads a perfectly discernable dual life. He has two homes, as described, dividing his time between them, devoting about 40% of the time (when he is not working) to his Maracaibo home, and about 60% to his Guajira home. He has two sets of friends which he is very careful not to mix. His plans for the future of his son are entirely along white cultural lines. At this point we find contradictory thoughts in Perez's mind. The present writer has heard him repeatedly criticize the attitude of certain Guajiros, both full-blooded and half-breeds, who, having gone to Maracaibo for formal education (especially to Teachers' College) have then sought, and in many cases obtained, positions in Maracaibo instead of returning to the Guajira to practice their professions. Yet when it comes to his own son, Perez's plans are for a permanent residence in Maracaibo or, if possible, Caracas, where he could go into practice in an entirely white cultural background.

The problem now is to define Perez's status in the Guajira. Undoubtedly his personality has some importance in Guajiro social stratification, especially among his own generation. This importance he has attained by granting favors, which his semi-official government positions enables him to do, to those whom he thinks will, in the future, be of help to him. Perhaps this is best illustrated by an example. The Ministry of Justice, through the Comisión Indigenista, grants ten scholarships annually to Guajiros who meet certain educational requirements. These scholarships are for the State of Zulia Teachers' College in Maracaibo. Perez has been given, more or less, a free hand in the selection of the candidates for these scholarships. About 65% of the candidates chosen by Perez, in the four years that the plan has been in operation, have been admitted to the College. The writer was able to look briefly into the family back- 622 557 658

9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
SC13 Goajiro SC13

622 557 658

ground of the candidates selected by Perez so far, and he has found that only one among all the boys and girls recommended by him actually came from a Guajiro family that could not afford to pay for higher education. All the rest came from families, both pure Indian and with white mixture, belonging to the upper economic and social strata of the Guajiro society, who could easily pay for the education of their children.

622 557

These and other favors that Perez has granted to the upper social class have, undoubtedly, given him a unique status in the social structure. Perez is not respected in the same sense as Fernandez and Silva are respected, but his advice is sought and no favor he asks is ever denied. The older men, especially those enjoying certain leadership, look upon Perez with certain scorn as an upstart. For instance, on several occasions, when the present writer with Perez visited his father-in-law, Fernandez, the old leader, in a half-humorous and half-serious way, would repeatedly say: "This is To'lito; I am the To'olo," meaning that Perez was just a "little bull," while he was the big, the important "bull." Nevertheless, regardless of this general attitude of the older men, even they come to him whenever they want some favor from the Government. The writer has never heard Perez deny such requests to individuals of the upper stratum, while on several occasions it was noted that he refused to do anything on behalf of those who are economically and socially below him.

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As far as the younger generation is concerned, Perez unquestionably has many friends and individuals who look upon him as the possible means of bettering their position. His bitter enemies are also to be found among the younger generation. These will stop at nothing in the hope of having him completely discredited in general and in particular they aim to have him lose his semi-official position. Just recently, this group went so far as to accuse him of having been a collaborator of the deposed dictatorial regime of Perez Jimenez and an enemy of the democratic government now in power in Venezuela. This landed Perez in jail but, as these accusations could not be substantiated, he was released in 24 hours. This incident is referred to here for the sole purpose of illustrating to what measures his enemies

/254 cont./

554 group, which implies in fact a lack of social backing; b) eco-
558 nomic losses which prevent their maintaining their clan or family rank and, therefore, their individual prestige. c) the breaking of the regimen for personal security and collective stability which implicitly carries /255/ with it the lowering of status, because when a group which has suffered considerable losses in number as well as in capital commits a punishable act against an individual of a superior clan, it becomes liable, not to the legal negotiation for indemnity but to extermination as a free unit, because the offended group, being superior, will not deal with the offenders on a legal basis. Furthermore, if the infraction wrongs a group weakened in its economy and in the number of its male members, the indemnity is not governed by legality but rests on the individual judgment of the powerful offender, in conflict with whom the offended one cannot put up sufficient coercive force to insist on an adequate indemnity.

671 This phenomenon is due to a clear and precise fact within
627 the social mesh that holds the clans together in La Guajira: questions of law are applicable only when the clan groups who are challenging each other are equally equipped in economic strength and in fighting men. It is only then that the legal action of the arbitrators can be brought into play to negotiate an arrangement equitable to both sides. Law, therefore, is regulated by equality of strength. But once this equilibrium is broken, law no longer exists as an institution if it is contrary to the will of the /stronger/ injured side, which will impose the indemnity by means of its strength and according to its personal ambition, sacrificing the offender both socially and economically, or when the injury has been inflicted on a weaker group, allowing the aggressive action to go unpunished.

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
SC13 Goajiro SC13

the men speak some Spanish in addition to their native 105
language. Some of them know how to read and write. They
are almost entirely pastoral, possessing great herds of horses, [233]
asses, sheep, goats, and cattle. They have borrowed a great
deal from the Europeans but they have also kept their own
culture to a remarkable degree. As usual, native elements
are most strongly present in the non-material phases of culture.
Unfortunately they are not united or organized into a modern
state, though against all foreigners they stand together as a
unit. Authority is acquired by certain caciques through their [554]
wealth and membership in the 'casta,' the major social group- 614
ing in Guajiro society. Each casta claims a mythological 631
origin and holds sovereignty over a well-defined territory.
Many of these castas or social groupings are further sub-
divided. Each casta has its caciques whose function is chiefly
to settle disputes and whose position is inherited, matrilineally.
The oldest of them is allowed more authority, but generally it
is the wealthiest man, and the one who can marshal more [556]
retainers, armed with rifles and revolvers, who is listened to
with greater respect. There are further divisions in Guajiro
society. At the top are the caciques and their families who are 565
rich and powerful. The next group is composed of peons or
retainers in the service of the upper stratum, and at the bottom
are the 'slaves' who have been born in that condition or have
been enslaved following an offense to some powerful group, and [567]
who can even be let out to work for planters in the sugar fields
of Zulia The life of the poor people has not changed much
since early times. Polygamy is widely practised, as is also 595
concubinage, by the wealthier men. Each wife lives in her
own rancho and there awaits the occasional visit of her hus-
band. The children inherit property and social affiliations [611]
through the mother. Disputes that arise within a casta are
settled by arbiters chosen by the families of the litigants. [627]
Disputes inter-casta may be settled by arbitration if violence
is not desirable. Generally the killing of an individual gives [628]
rise to armed action with an eventual composition by payment.

My informants attempted to demonstrate the difference be- 671

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
SC13 Goajiro SC13

671 tween law and custom in Guajiro society by a variety of illustrations. One of them said in effect:

574 If a cacique visits me and I fail to kill a sheep in honor of his visit
626 and to feast him in accordance with the dignity of his rank and my
671 wealth, I have broken a custom of my people. However, though I offend him by such negligence my guest may take no action to redress the wrong other than to inflict the same discourtesy on me if the opportunity should arise. He may seek neither redress in violence nor composition in payment. My only punishment may be the acquisition of a bad name among my people.

586 But if I visit one of my wives at her rancho and she fails to kill a
671 sheep from her own flocks to feast me, refuses me her person, neglects to supply me with hammocks, saddle-bags, and other articles made
684 by women, or refuses me shelter, she will have broken a 'law'; that is, she will have broken the marriage contract. In this case I may demand from her and her family payment or a divorce. In the latter case her family would have to return to me the bride-price plus any increase in the herds but less an amount considered fair for my having exercised sexual privileges over her, though I may demand even this if she marries again. In case her family refuses to adjust
[626] the matter in accordance with our law I may appeal to my family for help in obtaining my just rights. I should be justified in having recourse to violence. However, the law is so well understood that it would not be necessary to resort to such drastic measures generally.[8]

671 These informants were acquainted to some extent with
[115] Colombian and Venezuelan laws and were attempting, no doubt, to classify their own customs in accordance with
[177] European practices. Nevertheless it is an indication that in their minds there does exist a class of offenses for which one may seek composition even through violence, and a class that is in the category of merely moral obligations though investigators may not always draw an equally fine distinction.
[114] Simons, for example, in discussing Guajiro law speaks of injury to oneself as giving rise to a legal obligation for composition.
574 My informants, on the contrary, distinguished it from that class of wrongful acts. If a man cuts himself, his father and
626 father's relatives receive an expiatory offering. Had one of
672 my informants, the son of a rich cacique, cut himself he would
602 have given a small barrel of rum and five or more sheep to his

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
SC13 Goajiro SC13

father's relatives who would eat the meat and drink the rum 574
immediately, a feast to which the mother's relatives might be 626
invited as a gesture of courtesy. The offering of rum and 602
meat is voluntary, and even a friend may ask for something as 672
an indication of deep personal interest in the welfare of the injured person. If the injured man makes no offering, no action is taken by anyone to make him do so, but he will acquire a 'bad name.' A Guajiro has a moral obligation to avoid shedding his own blood, but not a legal obligation. Since the father takes care of his son during his lifetime, this obligation is directed towards him and his relatives, but is extended to include any good friend.

Another example of the same distinction is the case where a 431
son asks his father for a particular horse or object possessed by 593
the latter, as a gift. The father is morally bound to grant the request, but there is no legal compulsion to do so. I gave a cacique a fine hunting knife which pleased him greatly. To my surprise his son was proudly wearing it the following day. On inquiring about it the cacique told me that his eldest son had asked for it. Had he refused to give it he would have [626]
been considered a bad father. The son inherits nothing from [428]
his father on the death of the latter, but while he is alive the son may beg anything within certain limits set by precedent. This moral obligation to give up a prized possession when [572]
asked for by one's sons is extended to include close friends.

Allowing the Guajiro to make their own distinctions, let us 671
turn to a consideration of their 'laws.' The commission of certain acts, which in our society would give rise to criminal prosecution, in Guajiro society are considered matters to be settled by the parties concerned. Criminal law is practically non-existent. There is no body politic, properly speaking, that metes out punishment whether or not the injured party seeks redress, and social pressure can hardly be of any importance in a society that protects the individual through the instrument of family and casta membership. In only one case 628
does there seem to be an approach to concerted social action. 681
If an individual has caused his family much trouble and is in- 672
corrigible, if his family has been called upon to pay for his mis-

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

CHAPTER 7

Laws with No Tablets

As we were riding through a parched and savage landscape we saw at a distance a number of mounted warriors divided into two groups, which were drawn up in semi-circles facing each other. We thought there must be some ceremony in progress and wanted to ride across. They were all magnificently got up and armed to the teeth with bows, arrows and guns. Our Indian guide stopped us. 628

'Be careful! Be careful! That is a *purchi!*'

We knew what that meant. A dispute had arisen between two clans, through someone having been offended, robbed or perhaps killed. The victim's family had asked for help and the matter was now to be settled at a meeting with the offender's clan. Damages would be demanded and paid, or there would be a fight—the start of a blood-feud. One should be careful not to get involved in that sort of thing.

These Indians have no police, no authority that dispenses justice; they have to judge and settle matters themselves with the help of their families, yet in accordance with their laws. These are curious, detailed and logical. They are, of course, unwritten, mere customary rights, but they are strictly observed and applied with the utmost consistence. Before we crossed into Indian territory, the Creoles had urged us to make ourselves acquainted with the Indians' laws, as otherwise we could get into trouble quite unwittingly. 671

Soon after seeing the purchi we met the region's most powerful chief, Mauana. We were on our way to a small rancho, when we caught sight of some Indians working on a cactus fence. We wanted to film them, and had just got 622

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

already have talked with both parties and know their points 622
of view. One can imagine what takes place. The killer's 628
family wishing an amicable settlement: 'It is best that we do not begin a war, brothers,' says their leader. He offers reasonable compensation, paints a picture of the horrors of war, the continual fear of attack, the burning houses, the women violated and enslaved, the blood-feud continuing from generation to generation, and, by way of contrast, describes the calm of peaceful work.

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671 when it is a case of getting one's rights, the men of property and the members of the big clans are nowadays favoured. All this and much more Mauana and his friends told us, things it was useful and even necessary for us to know.

/166 cont./

592 but the decisions made must be made by the woman head of the house. Every married woman exercises independently her authority in her home without intereference from the female relatives of her group except when she asks for assistance in an attack from her husband. On the other hand, there is the authority of the man, who is in control of the staff and his nephews and other relatives. He is responsible for the execution of all male work, as much for his own personal duties as for the work force he has at his disposal for such a purpose. When he is absent his authority and responsibility are taken over by his eldest maternal nephew.

In case the father lives at home, that is, in the house of his first wife, it is he who makes arrangements, gives orders, carries out the organization of administrative life, the daily pasturing chores, and the periodic and occasional agricultural work done by /members of/ his sex. In his absence he may be replaced by his sons, in chronological order. As at the present time male emigration is so widespread and as in general the father is periodically absent on pasturing activities or on his visits to his other women (polygamy), the woman who has no responsible son may on her own account order work to be done, even if such work comes /167/ under the husband's jurisdiction. Once the boys are grown they begin to supplant the maternal uncle or the father in masculine work. Also, as they grow older and become adults, family authority gradually loses its power over them. The boy begins to make [67a] his will felt and to take the initiative, but he must be responsible for his actions, because Guajiro law establishes culpability extensible to the consanguineous relatives when any social or cultural rule has been violated. The boy, then, becomes gradually independent from direct family tutelage and is able to plan his life in accordance with the cultural norms of the society and within these to develop his own personality. He does not attain absolute independence. He breaks away from the family discipline represented in the person of his mother,

/179 cont./

683 kept below the surface for various reasons, suddenly shows itself at a given moment. That is to say, the cause is in short a family vendetta which may break out at any instant. Another of the causes can be an enmity originating in an illegal act committed by one group against another, such as the stealing of animals, /180/ the abduction of a woman without the corresponding payment, or suspicions or evidence of adultery. In addition one must consider those aggressive acts which occur on the spur of the moment, that is, aggression provoked in the majority of cases by alcoholic abuse.

683 One must also consider many aspects itself of spilling blood which extend responsibility for this aggressive act to one or 672 various persons who did not participate in it directly, but in a passive form. Thus we have the situation that the person guilty of a punishable action of this class is not only he who does it willfully, but also the individual who does it involuntarily, as illustrated in the following example. Two very intimate friends went out one day to hunt. They belonged to different family groups. They had hunted all afternoon and were returning to their homes when a chance of a shot presented itself. When the man carrying the gun tried to shoot, the gun went off unexpectedly and wounded his friend. The culprit, with his relatives, suffered all the consequences connected with breaking the law. No attenuating circumstances of any kind were considered -- neither the friendship nor the involuntary character of the act.

683 The owner of a firearm which causes injury or death brings punishment upon himself and upon his relatives. For this reason, the man who lends a weapon must suffer the consequences of its wrong use, whether voluntary or involuntary.

Injuries to oneself. Anyone who wounds himself must pay his relatives for having shed blood, their common bond to which he has no right.

When some person with an object owned by him injures another person. From among others we cite one case as an example. A rich Indian living in Nazaret got drunk one day.

/180 cont./

683 Already very intoxicated, he started off for home at nightfall, riding on a very frisky burro. For some reason the animal got frightened on the road, near a fence of sticks which protected a corn field belonging to a family different from his own. Because of the jumping of his mount and his own condition, the Indian fell off and scratched his face on the fence, and received in addition several wounds caused by the out-of-control animal. The injured Guajiro charged the owners of the fence with the responsibility of his having shed blood and to indemnify him for this involuntary spilling of his blood, the owners of the sown field were punished by the destruction of their fence, which meant that they lost their harvest. The owners, of a group inferior to that of the injured man, had to resign themselves to this punishment /181/ for fear of worse sanctions, without being able to appeal at all to their favor lack of guilt, since the fence, as their property which it was, had caused the loss of blood. They could be thankful, furthermore, that they were not forced to pay a much higher compensation payment which the injured Indian initially wanted to claim.

Also grouped together under this heading are injuries caused by an animal, whose responsibility is transferred to its owner, who must pay the indemnity due. We have the following case of this. A dog belonging to the convent at Nazaret bit a calf that was in the convent's sown field. After a time the calf died. The wounds received were then taken as the cause of death and payment was demanded for the animal on both counts /of injury and death/.

[672] When one Guajiro lends another any animal, he makes himself responsible, as in the case of firearms, for anything that may happen as a consequence of the loan. Thus, for example, if the loan of a beast of burden or a pack animal leads to the borrower's getting hurt, the owner of the animal must pay the damages incurred, because they say that if he had not lent the horse the incident would not have occurred, hence he is the cause of it.

/183 cont./

683 The responsibility for the delict in La Guajira is borne not
672 only by he who gave the order but also by he who carries it out. Both are involved to an equal degree in the aggressive act. Furthermore, all the people accompanying an individual at the time this person breaks the legal system for stability and injures a /184/ family group are involved in his culpability. They tell of the case of a well-known putchi (1) between Jayariyúes and

1. War between two clan groups.

Pushainas, in which all the people accompanying the aggressor had to contribute to the payment because they found themselves involved by the very act of being present in a common complicity.

They consider as a transgressor, and therefore culpable, any individual who indirectly aids the aggressor in accomplishing his delict. It is not considered extenuating that the help was given without previous knowledge that the act was going to occur. We have already seen the case in which the culpability extended to the owners of a firearm, for example, or to those who were along. We must also classify in this totality people who collaborate in transporting the offender in a vehicle or on an animal to the site of the crime, even if they lack knowledge of the reason for such transport. That the crime took place is sufficient for them to be included as culpable.

When a Guajiro spreads slander, if it can be proved to be false, he is obliged to pay for the offense and for the damage he inflicted on the slandered person. This type of case is common among men in respect to the chastity of their women and is used as vengenace against the woman who has refused their amorous attentions or their desire for marriage. The payment demanded as indemnity covers the moral injuries caused, the material consequences, and the pain occasioned to the injured person and to her consanguineous relatives.

/192 cont./

682 when a shot hits a person during hunting, or when a shot is fired accidentally at the moment the owner or someone else is cleaning a gun and in this way kills another, etc. Included in these cases we must note one that occurs very frequently when a man lends a gun. If an accident occurs which results in the death of a third person, that is, a homicide, the owner of the gun must help the man who caused the accident to pay for the death. If it is used to commit suicide, again it is the owner of the gun who must pay. For this reason the material objects that a person uses for [672] killing himself are punished. As the general custom is to hang oneself, the beam and the rope are burned at such a time; and if the act was done inside a dwelling, it is also burned, although in this case for another reason connected now with magic. In summary, then, we can say that homicide is considered as such without any excuses for those who commit it, directly or indirectly.

* * *

682 Suicide brings punishment on the person who has provoked it, directly or indirectly. Very frequently young men commit suicide 762 when their father, mother, or other relatives reprimand them or do not satisfy some whim. And girls do the same when they are sold in marriage by their uterine relatives without taking their wishes into account.

In this case those who gave cause for the suicide are held responsible. If it was the mother or some relative of hers, the father of the suicide demands compensation payment, or if the reverse -- if it was the father -- the mother with her relatives do the same. /193/

If a man should commit suicide because of unrequited love, when for example he asks to buy a girl and her relatives will not let him have her as his wife or she refuses his amorous attentions and in consequence he commits suicide, the claim for compensation payment for his death is made against the maternal relatives of the girl or against whoever refused to let him buy her.

[76 cont.]

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775 We can say that in La Guajira among the spirits of the dead there are categories determined by capacity to work evil. Spirits in general are indifferent as long as the established norms regarding their treatment are not violated, such as the fulfillment of the post-mortem ceremonial, avoidance of the use of [762] their names, etc. But when the spirit is that of a suicide, then his standing as an author of evil grows, as the fact of his having violated the established social order places him automatically at the margin of the community; he is a social outcast even in the world of the dead, and his spirit does not wander around as the others do but face downward and at ground level; for this reason he is considered an enemy of the community.

773 A Guajiro legend regarding Katétamána Hill relates that 823 in remote times there was a majayura ("a young woman") who 762 had sexual relations with her father and became pregnant. According to the legend, on finding herself in this condition, she was so ashamed that she wanted to wipe out her social sin by hanging herself, which she did. Mareiwa, the god of the Guajiro, told her that as punishment for her offense he would change her into a hill. For this reason, say the Indians, Katétamána Hill has the shape of a hanged woman. Ever since, concludes the story, Indians frequently hang themselves when any adverse event disturbs their lives.

762 As the legend transcribed above will indicate, an Indian 775 commits suicide when he cannot carry out some act which is at variance with the established patterns of his family circle or of society in general. Since he cannot be punished for the violation when alive, he must pay the penalty after his death. It is his spirit which receives and feels the consequences of the social sin he has committed. For this reason the general belief to which we have already alluded exists that the spirit of the suicide always wanders face downward and at ground level in the regions of the dead. [77]

762 But if the punishment of the suicide cannot be inflicted on 768 the individual himself while alive, it can, on the other hand, be
672

[77 cont.]

762 inflicted on the objects which were the principal active agents
768 in carrying out his fatal determination. As the form of suicide
672 that is practiced in La Guajira is almost exclusively that of hanging, they proceed to burn the branch on which the individual hanged himself and the rope which he used, because, they say, these were the direct causes of his death.

With respect to the punishment carried out on the objects
682 (inanimate to us) which served for the carrying out of suicide,
672 several suggestions may be made. In one case, the "compensation payment for blood" may be recalled, the established customary law of this community by means of which whatever spilling of blood that may be caused in any person, voluntary or involuntary, directly or indirectly, has to be paid for in accord-
[698] ance with a valuation decreed by the so-called "arbitrators," or "palabras," who are nothing more than intermediaries named by the family groups affected to settle the affair peacefully. This payment is considerable when the blood spilling ends in the victim's death. Should the murderer refuse to pay the sum ar-
682 ranged for (whether in livestock, necklaces, precious stones,
628 etc.), then the members of the victim's family group take vengeance on him personally and kill him. All this naturally ends in war to the death, or putchi, between the two extended family groups, an occurrence which is extremely frequent in La
682 Guajira. Hence as "compensation payment for blood" cannot
762 be claimed, from these objects (the tree and the rope), they are
672 punished in default by destruction by fire. This hypothesis is reinforced, if we remember that to the Guajiro Indian, as well as
[794] to most primitives, objects — which to us are not alive — are
[798] able to exercise both good and bad influences on the individual (Cf. "Sickness and Medicine" and "Amulets, Fetishes, Talismans"), because they possess a spirit — a kind of mana, or immaterial force, which surrounds and animates everything.

Another suggestion that could be made with respect to the
762 destruction of the objects used by a suicide is the following: As
783 these articles were in direct contact with the dead man, and particularly with a corpse as dangerous as a suicide is, it is necessary that they be destroyed so that the contamination

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
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671 tween law and custom in Guajiro society by a variety of illustrations. One of them said in effect:

574 If a cacique visits me and I fail to kill a sheep in honor of his visit
626 and to feast him in accordance with the dignity of his rank and my
671 wealth, I have broken a custom of my people. However, though I offend him by such negligence my guest may take no action to redress the wrong other than to inflict the same discourtesy on me if the opportunity should arise. He may seek neither redress in violence nor composition in payment. My only punishment may be the acquisition of a bad name among my people.

586 But if I visit one of my wives at her rancho and she fails to kill a
671 sheep from her own flocks to feast me, refuses me her person, neglects
684 to supply me with hammocks, saddle-bags, and other articles made by women, or refuses me shelter, she will have broken a 'law'; that is, she will have broken the marriage contract. In this case I may demand from her and her family payment or a divorce. In the latter case her family would have to return to me the bride-price plus any increase in the herds but less an amount considered fair for my having exercised sexual privileges over her, though I may demand even this if she marries again. In case her family refuses to adjust
[626] the matter in accordance with our law I may appeal to my family for help in obtaining my just rights. I should be justified in having recourse to violence. However, the law is so well understood that it would not be necessary to resort to such drastic measures generally.[5]

671 These informants were acquainted to some extent with
[115] Colombian and Venezuelan laws and were attempting, no
[177] doubt, to classify their own customs in accordance with European practices. Nevertheless it is an indication that in their minds there does exist a class of offenses for which one may seek composition even through violence, and a class that is in the category of merely moral obligations though investigators may not always draw an equally fine distinction.
[114] Simons, for example, in discussing Guajiro law speaks of injury to oneself as giving rise to a legal obligation for composition.
574 My informants, on the contrary, distinguished it from that class of wrongful acts. If a man cuts himself, his father and
626 father's relatives receive an expiatory offering. Had one of
● 672 my informants, the son of a rich cacique, cut himself he would
602 have given a small barrel of rum and five or more sheep to his

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
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father's relatives who would eat the meat and drink the rum 574
immediately, a feast to which the mother's relatives might be 626
invited as a gesture of courtesy. The offering of rum and 602
meat is voluntary, and even a friend may ask for something as 672
an indication of deep personal interest in the welfare of the injured person. If the injured man makes no offering, no action is taken by anyone to make him do so, but he will acquire a 'bad name.' A Guajiro has a moral obligation to avoid shedding his own blood, but not a legal obligation. Since the father takes care of his son during his lifetime, this obligation is directed towards him and his relatives, but is extended to include any good friend.

Another example of the same distinction is the case where a 431
son asks his father for a particular horse or object possessed by 593
the latter, as a gift. The father is morally bound to grant the request, but there is no legal compulsion to do so. I gave a cacique a fine hunting knife which pleased him greatly. To my surprise his son was proudly wearing it the following day. On inquiring about it the cacique told me that his eldest son had asked for it. Had he refused to give it he would have [626]
been considered a bad father. The son inherits nothing from his father on the death of the latter, but while he is alive the [428]
son may beg anything within certain limits set by precedent. This moral obligation to give up a prized possession when [572]
asked for by one's sons is extended to include close friends.

Allowing the Guajiro to make their own distinctions, let us 671
turn to a consideration of their 'laws.' The commission of certain acts, which in our society would give rise to criminal prosecution, in Guajiro society are considered matters to be settled by the parties concerned. Criminal law is practically non-existent. There is no body politic, properly speaking, that metes out punishment whether or not the injured party seeks redress, and social pressure can hardly be of any importance in a society that protects the individual through the instrument of family and casta membership. In only one case 628
does there seem to be an approach to concerted social action. 681
If an individual has caused his family much trouble and is in- 672
corrigible, if his family has been called upon to pay for his mis-

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
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628 deeds frequently, and fears that he may bring severe disaster
672 on his relatives, he may be killed. It is interesting to know
681 that the individual may not necessarily be evil-intentioned.

We are accustomed to think that for an act of trespass on
672 the person or property the injured party can recover only if the act is considered to have been intentional or negligent.[6] Among the Guajiro there is no such qualification of a tort in order to allow legal action and to recognize legal liability. The act and the injury ensuing from it are the only considerations which have any importance.

Case I: Three boys, A, B, and C, close friends, were seated
628 on a log in the order named. B held a knife in his hand. In
672 the spirit of play A and C attempted to take it away from him.
683 In the good-natured scuffle that ensued A was slashed across the thigh accidentally.

The families of A, the injured party, and of B were on friendly terms. B's family immediately offered payment for the hurt done to A. Each family chose an arbiter, men known for their knowledge of law and their fairness, who granted A's family payment commensurate with the social position of A and the ability of B's family to pay: 60 sheep, 1 bull, 1 ass, a gold necklace, a horse.

Case II: Cacique A killed Cacique B through the accidental
628 discharge of a firearm. Their families belonged to the same
672 casta, and both being anxious to avoid armed conflict B's
682 family agreed to accept a property composition for the tort: 100 cows, 100 horses, 7 mules, 1,000 sheep.

Case III: Cacique A killed Cacique B in a quarrel. Both families being desirous of keeping the peace and both being members of the same casta, property composition was arranged.

This case would obviously fall within the class of crimes in our society and A would have been punished irrespective of the attitude of B's family. As a matter of fact, had B's family
554 been less important or had it belonged to the peon or slave
628 class, A's family may not have paid anything. On the other
672 hand had A been a peon or slave, his family would have suf-
682 fered extermination at the hands of B's relatives. A's family

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
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could not have paid the price in the first place, and besides B's family would have little to fear from them. 554 628

The father and maternal uncle of the slain man take the initiative in seeking payment which goes to the mother's family. 672 682

If A and B had been workmen or retainers of C, a cacique, and A's family could not have paid the price of composition, then C would have paid B's family and in compensation would have enslaved A and his family. Payment for killing a peon is 10 asses, 50 to 100 sheep, and 10 steers. [466] [567]

Case IV: A was working for B. In the course of the work through no fault of B, A was hurt. B paid A's family for the injury. A's family took care of A. 466 672 683

Case V: A and B were working for C. Through accident B hurt A. B's family had to settle the injury with A's family. Had A been hurt in the course of the work without B acting as the instrument, then C, the employer, would have had to pay.

This case is similar to the one described by Simons. If A lends a horse to B and B is hurt through the instrumentality of the horse, A has to pay. If A gives rum to B and B injures C, A is held responsible.

Case VI: A wants to marry B. B or B's family reject his suit. A goes to B's rancho at night and commits suicide there B's family has to pay A's family for the death of A, B being considered as the direct instrument that caused A's death. 672 682 762

Case VII: A injures or kills B, caught *in flagrante delicto* with A's wife. A has to pay B's family a price minus an amount considered fair value for the sexual privilege that B exercised on A's wife. 672 682 684

These illustrations point to the absolute nature of Guajiro law. No extenuating circumstances are allowed to enter into settlement of cases of battery or other trespass on the rights of an individual. The case is different in so far as public sympathy and moral censure or approbation are concerned. Furthermore, society as a whole takes no action in righting wrongs. The family of the injured person must seek composition, and if it is not powerful enough to demand a high price it has to be satisfied with a smaller one. Conversely, there is 672 628 [626]

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
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672 628 family responsibility for the acts of one of its members. If there is no property composition for a tort committed and the injured family has recourse to arms, the revenge that it may take is limited by precedent. If the family is very powerful [626] it may dispense with that, but public moral reprobation is a strong barrier to excesses.

NOTES

121 1. J. Austin and T. E. Holland restrict the term Law to those rules which a fully organized state recognizes and enforces. I.e., T. E. Holland: 'A law, in the proper sense of the term, is a general rule of human action, taking cognizance only of external acts, enforced by a determinate authority, which authority is human, and among human authorities, is that which is paramount in a political society.' (See Bibliography.)

2. Rivet, Durkheim, Hartland, and Hobhouse express this position.

3. Radcliffe-Brown, 202.

4. See Malinowski in Hogbin.

5. From my field notes gathered in 1935. The Columbia University—
114 University Museum Guajiro Expedition spent three months in the peninsula making an ethnological and archæological survey. The other members of the expedition were: Dr. Paul Kirchhoff; Mr. Lewis Korn and Mrs. Gwyneth Browne Harrington, archæologists; Miss Lydia C. du Pont, photographer; Señor Gregorio Hernandez de Alba, a Colombian student.

6. See Bohlen.

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5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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the site of the old Spanish settlement San Juan de Ipapa. On the west side of the Parashi Hills in the plains is another well-known central trading station Joruy; chief, Majutá, an Ipuana; probably near the old site of the Spanish settlement Moscota. In the neighbourhood are: Guarirpanturi; chief, Conoón, an Ipuana. A Dutchman from Aruba has lived here many years, and has become quite an Indian. Alpiapá, a few ranchos on an eminence commanding the whole valley. The Indians here are rather mixed, but the chief is a Pushaina. The well Kapaulers, at the base of the hill, is the finest I saw, and surrounded with rich green vegetation similar to that of Macuira. Katunaslá, the most inland station. It is generally the traders that make a rancho known, for the Indians do everything they can to keep their abodes, if not secret, at any rate as much in the dark as possible. The plains being more unsettled than the mountain district, traders do not venture to establish themselves in the interior, as at Moruzay or Joruy, so few ranchos are known. The most important place in the Lower Goajira is Guincua, midway between Riohacha and the Venezuelan town of Las Guardias or Santa Teresa. Paraguaipoa, the new Venezuelan military colony, founded in 1882, counts already 50 houses. It is situated in the plains 12 miles in advance of Santa Teresa, which it completely covers. The garrison at present consists of 30 men, well mounted and found in every respect, under the orders of a commander, two secretaries, and two interpreters; the latter for the purpose of taking statistics as to trade, &c. Altogether it is a model establishment, and does honour to the Government of Venezuela. The entire population of the Goajira may be about 20,000; it does not exceed 25,000, and is not increasing.

As regards manners and customs and the way they enforce their old peculiar laws, these Goajiros are particularly interesting. Of course, like all Indians, they are singularly proficient in logging, stealing, and drinking, but besides these capital vices they add a fourth, that is demanding compensation, tear- or blood-money—principal cause of all the strife and blood feuds between the castes, and an everlasting danger to Indians and strangers alike. Whereas about one-quarter of the male population die a violent death from its result, another quarter are killed by drink and its effects. The laws that govern these compensation cases are very intricate, their number is legion. First is the terrible law of retribution, that makes a whole caste responsible for the acts of any single member. As the Spaniards or white men are considered by the Indians as belonging to one large family, the country is very unsafe for travelling, for every white man is a sort of hostage for the good behaviour of the others. If an Indian should be killed in a quarrel by a white man, the life of another white man, living leagues away, depends upon whether the fee (relations of the dead Indian) or a friend brings the news first. Many an innocent unconscious trader has been sacrificed at one end of the peninsula for a foul murder committed at the other end.

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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611 614 628 [604] In the following laws it must be borne in mind that it is not the injured individual that demands compensation, but his relations, uncles on the mother's side as a rule. From this has arisen the common error that the father is ignored; as will be seen further on, this is not the case. In compensation it is the caste that reclaims, and the caste is always the mother's side. For example, a Pushaina man marries an Uriana girl; the children are Urianas. If one of these now should kill an Epieyu, for example, the whole caste of Uriana is at war with all the Epieyues, unless the matter is amicably settled by paying blood-money.

672 683 Case No. 1. Personally inflicted wounds. If an Indian accidentally cuts himself, say with his own knife, breaks a limb, or otherwise does himself an injury, his family on the mother's side immediately demands blood-money. Being of their blood, he is not allowed to spill it without paying for it. The father's relations demand tear-money, not so much. Friends [572] present demand compensation to repay their sorrow at seeing a friend in pain. If anybody present can seize the instrument that caused the accident it is appropriated. The pay is in ratio to the injury. A slightly cut finger is settled with a little Indian corn, a kid, or such trifle. A bad cut requires at least a goat or a sheep, with other sundries. In all cases of compensation where the Indian has not the wherewith to satisfy his creditors, he goes round begging until it is obtained.

628 672 683 Case No. 2. Damage done by animals. Suppose an Indian borrows a mule or other animal, and is thrown by it, doing himself bodily injury, then his relations demand compensation from the lender, the argument being, had he not lent the animal the accident could not have happened. Should the beast belong to the thrown man himself, then he has to pay. Case of No. 1 in fact.

Case No. 3. General liability all round. This covers an enormous field. The most curious. Everybody selling rum or anything else is answerable for all the damage done by its instrumentality. Unfortunately this law is only, like many others, enforced when it is possible. As the traders know it very well, they never take rum into the interior for barter without being fully able to protect themselves. I was lent a servant as guide by a trader, who requested me not to let the man have any drink, for should anything happen to him he would be responsible to the family. Indians in employment receiving any damage the em- [466] ployer becomes liable; and so on. Wherever the Indian can only make the ghost of a claim he wants tear-money, blood-money, or some other money, and if not satisfied, helps himself with what he can lay his hands on.

551 628 689 Case No. 4. Mentioning names. This is very serious. The Indians object to have their true names mentioned, and demand heavy compensation in aggravated cases. They generally go by a Spanish name—José Antonio, Agustin, Vicente, &c., for an Indian dearly loves to be baptised, that is, he likes the attending feast and having god-fathers on

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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whom to exercise his begging propensities. To mention the dead before the relations is a dreadful offence, often punished by death; for if it happens in the dead person's rancho, with nephew or uncle present, they will assuredly kill the offender on the spot if possible. If not on the spur of the moment, it resolves itself into a heavy fine, usually two or more oxen. Even if none of the dead person's relations are present, any friend can carry the news to the relations, and compensation is at once required. When not given it is forcibly taken, probably resented, and the two castes are at war. It is not wise to mention names of any sort in the Goajira in mixed company. 551 628 689

Another peculiar case: if a child dies in the custody of the mother or father, and they are living separate at the time of its death, then tear-money has to be paid by the one, under whose care the child died, to the other. This is "Taguira suchirua tachón," "My tears on account of my child." To demand payment for debts, *achecaba*, is one thing, and to demand compensation, *mangu*, is another. They are generally pretty punctual in paying debts; should the debtor die, the creditor is secure, for the relations will suffer anything rather than allow the name of their dead to be abused. The following case of murder I witnessed in Ataipa. Some Pushainas drinking, one got on to a strange horse, and was ordered off by the owner, on not complying he was shot dead. Both parties being poor and near relations, it was arranged as follows: First payment, eight sheep, two oxen, one horse, two necklaces of cornelian beads, two sirapes of black beads (about 16 lbs.). Six months afterwards, second payment, similar to first. A few months after a third payment is asked, but is more an extra than anything else. After second payment all animosity ceases, and the two families can look again at each other on meeting. Should an Indian in attempting to kill another be wounded or killed, his family demand the same as though no attempt were made. 672 682 [426] [624] [628]

Among domestic customs, the one that calls most attention is shutting up their young girls on arriving at womanhood. The custom is religiously carried out throughout the country. Each girl is enclosed in a separate little hut by herself. She is stripped of all her ornaments, even to her beads and sirapo, and all her clothing with the exception of the long loose cotton gown, nor is she allowed to cut her hair. For the first couple of days, drinking water is denied her, the only food being *haguape*, a composition of medicinal herbs. According to birth, a rigorous diet is observed the first month, no meat being allowed. She can be freely mentioned and is merely alluded to by her relations as "surtiee sura paura," "she is shut up in her house." The term of retirement varies according to the wealth and rank of her family. Poor people cannot afford to keep girls idle more than a couple of weeks or a month; whereas the rich enclose them for one, two, or even four years. It is while in this state that she learns all women's requirements— 881 [278] [262] [556] [168]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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usually lasted. Here, of course, the girl's family had power and the means to check that all was well. In such marriages the husband was considered liable to provide the household equipment, as well as paying a bride-price.

If a Creole marries a Guajiro girl according to the Catholic rites there are all sorts of complications, even if he has paid the bride-price, for the European concept of the father's rights conflicts with the Indian matriarchal law. Problems of relationship and inheritance, the separation of the child from its clan and many other things all provide problems which cause the bride's family a lot of trouble. But that is enough about Indian marriage.

Since all members of a clan are of the same blood, the Indians consider themselves justified in wreaking vengeance on a near relative, if they are unable to lay hands on the actual culprit. This can give rise to a whole chain of acts of vengeance, a real vendetta. In the old days all white people were held to be of one clan, and so the Indians thought that they could avenge an injury inflicted by a white person on the first member of his clan they came across. 'To travel in Guajira is like sitting on a keg of gunpower beside a fire; you are afraid the whole time that a spark will cause a catastrophe', was what used to be said.

Guajiro law always tries to find a scapegoat, and one must remember that when having any dealings with the Indians. If I take a man into my service or merely send him on an errand, I am responsible if anything happens to him and for anything he himself may do to others all the time his mission lasts.

A mother sent her little girl on a donkey to fetch water. The girl took a playmate up on the saddle beside her. The other little girl fell off and hurt herself quite slightly, yet the family had to pay considerable damages.

A mestizo family, receiving unexpected visitors, took an Indian girl to help in the kitchen. The girl cut her finger and her family demanded compensation. After all blood had been shed. The girl was of humble family and thus no large sum could be claimed, yet according to our ideas what had to be paid was a very great deal for a mere cut:

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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4 goats, 5 pigs, 15 hens, 25 skeins of yarn, 5 bars of soap (an expensive commodity) and some mirrors and handkerchiefs. Employees are very well insured, it would seem. If an employee destroys anything belonging to a third party, the employer has to pay twice its value or more. One's responsibility is not confined to what persons in one's service may do, but extends to animals and inanimate objects if one lends them. If I let an Indian ride my horse and the horse throws him off, I have to pay; and if someone cuts himself on a knife belonging to me, I have to pay—for it was my knife that did it. 672

It can even be risky to give advice in Guajira: for if you suggest a course of action and things go wrong, you may have to pay compensation. That is why the Indians will seldom tell you the way when you ask it.

A host is responsible to his guests, even if they are self-invited. Hospitality is sacred and one cannot refuse to receive someone seeking shelter. If the guest is ill, the host looks after him as best he can, but immediately sends for one of his relations. As soon as a relative arrives the host's responsibilities cease, but if the guest should die before the relative gets there, the host is liable for damages, hard as it may seem. On the other hand, if a person suffering from an infectious disease goes to someone else's house, it is the guest who is responsible and must pay his host damages. 672 574

If two guests start fighting the host is considered jointly responsible, for if he had not invited them there would never have been a fight. If the others present do not try to avert the quarrel, they must pay up too.

Insults and calumny are contrary to the law, and it is especially serious if one reviles another's mother's family. Among themselves the Indians consider it disparaging to be addressed in Spanish, instead of in their mother tongue. 683 [578]

Every Indian has a personal name used only by his nearest and dearest. For an outsider to pronounce this calls for a heavy penalty, as it does to speak the name of someone dead. As soon as it is learned that someone has died, all those with the same name at once change it for another. The 551 683

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

622 Chiefs are polygynous and have many daughters, for
595 whom very high bride prices are paid—sometimes thousands of animals,
583 worth $6,000 to $10,000. Such rich chiefs take great pride in their
556 daughters, dressing them in fine silken robes and necklaces of gold and pearls and providing them with personal servants.

567 There is a class of slaves who are beneath the chiefs' retainers in the social hierarchy. It consists of people born into this status and of captives.

PROPERTY

622 All cattle, though individually owned, belong in theory to the local group as a whole and are worked for the common benefit of all. For example, the cattle paid as a bride price when a girl marries within her own sib go to a new owner, but the milk, butter, cheese, and hides from them continue to be shared by everyone in the sib. When a woman receives cattle as a bride price for her daughter any new stock born to them belongs to the daughter's husband and his sons, and when the animals are rounded up for the annual branding each son is allowed to brand a certain number of them.

ETIQUETTE

576 The *Goajiro* are in general unfriendly to strangers but have a well-
579 established code of hospitality. Strangers calling at a house must wait until invited in. Inside a house a bowl of chicha or rum (coffee when available) is the first gift offered the visitor, who is thereafter given a hammock and treated as a member of the family. A special feast may
565 be arranged if there are many guests. A guest of high rank is feasted, and some of the young girls of the house may be placed at his disposal.

LAW AND ORDER

627 The chiefs have little power outside their own local group, where they settle minor disputes. The solution of many disputes and transgressions of customs are left to the parties concerned. The laws of group respon-
628 sibility and group retaliation lead to frequent intertribal feuds. A person
619 without a strong sib to protect him is helpless, for others may use any act which may conceivably be interpreted as harmful as pretext for demanding indemnity. For example, a person injured while intoxicated may demand payment from the person who sold him the rum, or a person injured by a borrowed animal may demand payment from the owner of the animal; a thief who hurts himself when trespassing on the property of his intended victim will demand compensation of him; and anyone aiding a sick or wounded person who subsequently dies incurs a liability.

672 If a person injures himself he must make an expiatory gift to the members of his own sib and a lesser gift to his father's relatives. If a child dies when under the care of one parent, this parent must reimburse

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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the other. Many other cases indicate the absolute nature of *Goajiro* law 672
and the refusal to recognize extenuating circumstances.

Murder is a very serious crime, and the victim's family immediately 682
demands blood money to the amount of 200 or more cattle. For failure 628
to pay, a member of the murderer's sib of the same rank as the victim
must forfeit his life. If payment is not forthcoming retaliatory raids are made. As the defenders generally lose more people than the attackers, the feud may continue indefinitely until all the members of one sib will consider themselves at war with the members of the other, thereby spreading the war throughout the peninsula. If a feud should develop between the sib of the husband and that of the wife, the latter, with her children, will return to her own group until the trouble is over.

A person who has received a deadly insult from another is baited and 683
chided until he takes revenge by killing the offender, in proof of which he removes the victim's viscera and takes them home. This act also prevents the victim's soul from bothering him. If unable to accomplish this he may commit suicide. Suicide is also sometimes a means of venge- 762
ance, a person feeling that he will suffer less than those who caused him to commit the act. Thus a wife who is not allowed enough freedom may hang herself.

Next to murder, one of the most serious offenses is to mention a per- 689
son's true name (given at birth?) or to mention a person's name after his death. This has caused many tribal conflicts.

The value of the compensation demanded in disputes varies directly 681
with the social rank of the offended party. In some cases a repeated 565
offender may be killed by his own sib members. Sometimes, rather than 728
to continue the warfare, hostile sibs may confer under the auspices of an outsider, such as a Capuchin monk, and draw up peace terms. In personal quarrels or minor brawls women often step in and enforce peace.

WARFARE

Wars between the *Goajiro* and outsiders are rare, but any White man 721
may be held liable for the offense done by another, as all Whites are thought 609
to belong to the same sib. Sometimes the few civilized people living in the peninsula take vengeance on the Indians, which leads to further reprisals by the latter.

At the time of De la Rosa, war was declared by sending to the other 721
tribe an ambassador who, in a public speech, asked indemnities for damage previously done. If these were not conceded war was declared, but a brief truce was observed in order that preparations might be made. In battle each group of opposing warriors formed a semicircle and tried to surround and destroy the other. In individual encounters a *Goajiro* rode 726
out on a horse, but, upon seeing the enemy, he dismounted and shot his own horse with an arrow to show his confidence and willingness to fight

/27 cont./

861 respected. This sudden reaction may be due to personal feelings of the parents; for example, when the mother is repressing some disappointment she will often relieve her feelings by punishing her child, somewhat unjustly, for some fault or faults previously committed. However, it may be that naughtiness is immediately followed by punishment.

Furthermore, the parents being confronted with a repetition of an act previously punished, persistently remind the child of what he suffered before and the possibility of again feeling more severe punishment because of his repeated disobedience, or they simply show him the objects used to press him with a view to compelling him to submit to the paternal will.

The most common causes for punishment are the following:

862 1. Acts against normal feeding habits, such as stealing food,
673 frequently practiced by children for various reasons: a) because he is the last to receive his helping at mealtime; b) because adults ostensibly get preference when any special dish is being served; c) because in times of scarcity it is the elders who avail themselves of the short rations, which provokes a feeling of inferiority in the child that his hunger helps to emphasize and forces him to steal to remedy the situation. This theft may be /28/ of several kinds: Stealing of food which is immediately eaten, since it is cooked or does not require cooking, such as chicha, milk, cheese, panela, sweets, fruit, or a special dish that the mother is keeping in expectation of a visitor or is meant for her husband or an invalid. To steal this food that the mother hangs from the ceiling or puts in some hiding place means that the child must take advantage of some carelessness on the part of the mother to carry out his act.

Another kind is the theft of food that is not to be eaten immediately but that is taken to be hidden and eaten later when he needs it -- while away from home pasturing the animals or when going off surreptitiously to hunt.

Another form of food stealing is that done by the eldest brother or the one with a sweeter tooth than the others. On being handed

/28 cont./

862 their share of food, they quickly eat theirs and wait till the mother
673 is not there to snatch the share of a younger or weaker brother by force, by stealth, by deception, by false promises, or by coercion in some form, such as threatening to reveal to the parents some misdeed not known to them.

862 In general, the growing Guajiro child is never satisfied with
261 the amount of food he gets, and in his craving for more he places no normal restraint on his appetite. He is always capable of eating more than he can normally hold, even to the point of suffering, in the hope of building up a reserve or because, feeling himself undernourished, he finds pleasure and satisfaction in eating to repletion. He always eats as if he were starving, which sometimes is the case, but at other times is only the remembrance of past hunger and the fear of its repetition.

Parents believe that the habit of these small thefts may lead to bigger robberies from people not relatives, which would bring about a series of troubles to the family group to which the young delinquent belongs. Also, the food stolen may be necessary and even indispensable for home use, and the theft means that an adult, a sick relative, or a visitor whom they wish or need to look after is deprived of it. One has to bear in mind that in certain parts of the country the sources of food supplies are so few that food is scrupulously rationed to last out until new supplies become available.

Children are also punished as their parents want them to behave abstemiously and uncomplainingly during the long spells of scarcity so frequent in this country, /29/ although they have their reward later when, in time of abundant harvest, food is plentiful and extravagantly used, only sufficient seed being retained for the next sowing. During these times of scarcity the Guajiro lives on a very reduced food ration and puts up with hunger and thirst to an incredible degree, and mothers want their children to achieve a similar standard: to behave like adults in such circumstances.

862 A further motive for correction and punishment is when the
574 child refuses to share the food that has been given to him or that

[92 cont.]

177 789 The previous statement is borne out to such a point that even in native communities that are quite homogeneous, anthropologically speaking, as is La Guajira, it is difficult to learn which beliefs, which practices of magic or of sorcery, are autochthonous and which are acculturations due to contacts with the neighboring mestizos who, given the circumstances we have noted of being in the greater part mulattos, have a considerable collection of this type of beliefs and practices inherited largely from their Negro ancestors.

As it is totally impossible for us to make a list of the origin of all and each one of the autochthonous Guajiro beliefs, we shall have to confine ourselves to showing the similarities which they have in the whole of Colombian folklore. It is clear that this similarity will not always indicate acculturation, but only similarity due to the influence of other native groups that have disappeared but who once lived in Colombian territory, or exact beliefs which reached there from other continents and which can only be explained by the general evolutionary process of human mentality.

789 Characteristics of charms. 1. Some charms can be lent by their owner to another person, if both the owner and [93] the [424] borrower are of the same sex and if the charm is to be used by the borrower so that he may benefit by its virtues.

[262] 2. *To make use of them, the individual during the period* of action must submit himself to a special, very strict diet. The breaking of any one of the norms will cancel the effect and bring about serious prejudice to health, if not results contrary to what he had looked for and expected. The way to carry out this diet will be found described in the following section, "Application and Effects."

3. It is sufficient for a stranger to look at the magic object belonging to someone else for all its magic power to be transferred to him. For this reason it is an indispensable requisite to keep it safely from other people's sight and always to be wary of this type of violation.

438 789 673 4. It is very difficult to obtain a true charm because while those who sell these are old women very practiced in this art, many unscrupulous women often devote themselves to the trade

[93 cont.]

in charms, which usually have no magic value and are a complete fraud. These women are accustomed to putting in a small wool bag something that has the appearance of a charm and selling it as the legitimate article.

5. A love charm is worth about 300 Colombian pesos, and just the loan of it for a few days to a friend for him to get the desired results is paid for. Such a temporary loan is worth 100 Colombian pesos.

6. Besides the love charms which are strictly Guajiro, there are others that the so-called "Gocha" women sell. There are many of these women in Maracaibo and Zulia. Unfortunately, we could not obtain any special data about these makers of magic charms, of whom there are many on the eastern borders of La Guajira.

7. The charms serve equally for either sex; what varies is in general terms the effects of the charm.

8. Some personal objects, such as hair, sandals, etc., may form the basis of a love charm of great magic potential. This potential is above all due to the possession of a part of the personality of the person whom one wishes to harm.

9. Different love charms can be mixed together.

10. Charms may be acquired among civilizados. This kind of magic material is carefully kept in glass containers made *especially for this* purpose. [94]

Love charms. The Guajiro Indian, man or woman, knows and uses different charms to attract or repel love. They have them of different classes as regards form, preparation, and raw material. Some of them are the following:

a) One has the shape and general appearance of the excrement of the machorro, (a species of lizard). It has been stated that one of the magic objects used by the shaman is a small wool bag containing a paste prepared by a herbalist that is in the shape of goat excrement and is used to attract the spirits.

b) Another, which is kept inside a small glass receptacle, looks like a stone and is accompanied by some small pieces of coral.

c) Another is made in the following way: The root of a herb, very abundant on Itojoro Hill, is ground and [the paste]

[95 cont.]

832 Once she has finished her bath, she must hang up her dress over her hammock to dry, also inside the house. It is also necessary for her to apply achiote powder to certain parts of her body, such as under her arms, on her breasts, on her genital organs, etc., with the object of aiding the magic action of the charm on those parts, and avoiding the loss or lessening of the magic power. This special regimen must be carried through for four consecutive days, at the end of which the effect has already been obtained or at least there is no longer the fear that it may pass to some other person.

In general, every man or woman who possesses a charm keeps his body (armpits, breasts, genital organs, etc.) permanently dusted with achiote powder.

The men also make use of the same charms as the women. The magic power of these charms enables them to obtain the wholehearted love of women without their own affections becoming involved.

881 When a young woman reaches the age of puberty, and her
832 first menstrual period arrives, a love charm is hung about her neck during all the time that she is kept indoors and hanging up in her hammock (ritual of initiation of young girls). This charm will give her the quality of being admired and loved by men. The plan in wearing this token is that when she leaves her seclusion she will find the man who will buy her for a wife
[602] at a good price. The charm is hung about the adolescent girl's neck by her mother or by a maternal aunt.

When a girl's mother or aunt finds out that she has not
832 been happy in her love life, they obtain charms which will make her more lovable and desirable.

[826] Women should be very careful of their hair when it has been cut after the appearance of their first menstruation because
832 if a man gets hold of it he practically becomes the owner of the
673 woman, for by mixing it with hummingbird blood, dog's tail, and achiote he can make a charm which will act directly against the owner of the hair. The man, with the firm intention of causing her harm, may show her the charm or better still may produce it when she has her back to him. [96] The woman because of this simple charm becomes madly enamored with the man

[96 cont.]

832 673 and is made foolish and boastful of the difficult position she is placed in.

This charm, capable of such mischief according to the belief of the natives, is used especially when a man wishes to cause some woman harm or to mock either her or her relatives.

754 832 578 Fortunately for women in general they have a way to scoff at, or revenge themselves on, the men who have been false and whose love they no longer want – only revenge. For such cases they buy a charm from the old Indian women who know of these things, a charm which they place among the clothing of the man on whom they wish to effect a malevolent action. Then they obtain an old sandal belonging to their victim and burn it. It is most important that the sandal should be old so [826 828] that the sweat of the man in question, as part of his personality, should have soaked into it.

With these two simple things, the Indian women affirm, the man loses his senses, he goes about as if stupefied, neglects his person, is a failure and a brutish person thereafter. So sure are they of this that they say that a mad Indian living in Nazaret is in that condition because of a charm like that we have just described after he had been one of the most elegant and well dressed of Indians.

832 Another love charm is used not to regain a man's love that has been lost but to retain affection that is desired; and as it is the woman's property – for evil against the man – this aims at making the man unable to take another woman. This charm, like others, is obtained from the old Indian women of the Sierra de Jarara, and it is made of carefully ground herbs to which they add achiote, an excellent substance for charms. The mixture is wrapped in a rag, or it is kept in a little wool bag.

The effect of love charms can be diverted to other purposes. For example, when a woman wants her husband to make her a special present she goes to her charm, picks it up, shakes it well, and looks firmly at it, at the same time asking for the desired object. The charm works, and the woman obtains what she wished for.

Necklaces of small perforated discs of coconut shell are transformed into love charms when the women experts in this

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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not far from the mission station. Ituhor means 'roast corn' 133
and it does look like a dark golden brown giant corn-cob. [103]
Suddenly we were in a valley that was all green. We had to
rub our eyes. Not only grass grew there, but tall trees with [137]
fresh green leaves. The crests of coconut palms waved high
above them. We saw bananas, maize, and all sorts of fruit
trees. What a miracle! The cause of it was a little stream
that had water in it almost all the year round, though it
petered out in sand on its way to the sea. We enjoyed the
greenery, the smells and the bird song, and watched the
multi-coloured butterflies. The valley was not inhabited;
it was a field. After that we came to more white sand, where
everything was just as arid as before. 797

Nazaret lay in the middle of this sea of sand. Ahead of us
we saw some whitewashed buildings with grass roofs and
one larger building with a turret. A monk came walking
briskly to greet us, his white beard waving in the breeze.
This was Father Salvador, whom we knew from a trip we
had made farther south five years before. He had then been
stationed at the foot of the Andes and his flowing beard
had been brown. How old he had grown! The desert seemed
to have aged him by twenty years at least, we thought. Then
the other monks emerged and friendly nuns took charge of
my wife.

We had good, sweet water, decent food and black coffee.
The kindly fathers at once set about preparing a white-
washed hut for us. They wanted us to stay for some time,
make Nazaret our headquarters, from which we could go to
the Indian camps in the surrounding country, which we
would thus get to know. They would also find us good
guides.

Then our Indians arrived with our baggage. We paid 699
them and dismissed them. We could not help laughing when 673
Gaffer insisted that he could be of great use to us as a guide,
for he had neither been there before, nor even been able to
find his way there. His old wife had taken advantage of our
absence to appropriate a number of our things, including an
aluminium saucepan. This came to light because her pack
looked suspiciously bulky and had to be searched, to her

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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609 great indignation. In those parts to which civilization had
678 penetrated, it was not considered shameful to steal, provided you were not discovered.

Why do all semi-civilized natives, whether Indians or negroes, steal like jackdaws, while primitive peoples in the jungle respect each other's property? Stealing had become a sport with the half-bred Guajiros, but the Indian law was still enforced: he who was discovered had to replace what he had stolen and pay compensation as well.

The old man took advantage of the confusion to make off. When we had finished with his wife, he and his donkeys had gone, and his spouse had to follow on foot, swearing and cursing as hard as she could.

115 The two younger Indians did not go with the old couple.
124 They received half a bag of maize and were delighted. It should have lasted them the whole way back and more, but I am sure that they cooked it all, as soon as they could borrow a pot, eating more than they had ever done before and treating everyone else, and probably going hungry for the rest of the way home.

We had wanted to give The Lad a hat, a thing for which he longed, as he had spent the last few days trying to explain to my wife, for whom he had a great admiration and for whose help he was hoping. He had been sure that there would be hats to be had at Nazaret. But of Nazaret both he and we had had exaggerated ideas. It was a mission station, not a trading post. The monks did not sell hats, and they possessed but one apiece. The Lad had earned a hat and would have had one, had it been possible; but he had to walk away as bare of head as he came.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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231 422 [133] Later that day we reached the coast at Castilletes. It was desert country there, dreary, full of sand-dunes and furrowed with salt water channels. There we came across an emaciated horse, a poor brute that had obviously strayed and was now desperately looking for water and grazing that did not exist. It stopped and drank sea-water. It must have been dying, and the kindest thing would have been to shoot it, but that could have cost us dear. The owner would have demanded unreasonable compensation. Instead, the Indians went to see what clan mark it had, so that they could report to their fellows in Castilletes. News spreads quickly among the Indians. The owner would not have much joy of his horse, for the hide could not be worth much, but he would learn where it was to be found.

Francisco got us to Castilletes easily. He had been there often before, even once on our behalf—to fetch gold, literally, for we were expecting a transfer of money from Caracas and it came in the form of gold, American, Venezuelan and Colombian gold and silver coinage circulated in Guajira, but the Indians would have nothing to do with notes.

694 There was, of course, a certain risk in conveying several hundred gold coins through Guajira from a slave-port like Castilletes, where there were plenty of shady characters. The money, however, was packed in boxes made for photographic plates and the same schooner from Maracaibo brought some packages for the monks, to whom our money was also addressed. The boxes interested neither Customs nor others. Francisco rode a wretched horse and had dressed in his worst jacket and a pair of indecently ragged trousers, so that he did not look as though he were carrying large sums on him, while his horse would not have tempted any thief. Thus, all had gone well, Francisco had not been nervous, though we had.

Castilletes was the only place on the south coast where white people lived and to which whites frequently came. Schooners from Venezuela put in there. The frontier between Colombia and Venezuela ran between the houses, of which there were about a dozen in those days. The sur-

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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579 numerous and worse armed companies and take what they
619 have. The various bands, however, have no mutual respect or consideration, but will plunder each other if they can. Perhaps a Guajiro with a relation among the attackers can count on some consideration, unless his relative is inimical. However, the Guajiro do sometimes do business with the Cusina, and also can negotiate and secure the return of [131] stolen animals. The Cusina's haunt is the Cojoro Hills and a narrow strip of the lowland is also accounted theirs.' He then named the leaders of that time and told where they and their men were. In those days the Cusina had a number of plantations in the lowland, and also cattle, though they could not be bothered to look after these, but preferred to live by banditry. Simmons also says that it was the Cusina who sold the poisoned arrows.

Nearly forty years had passed since Simmons had journeyed in those parts and it was obvious that the Cusina were no longer so numerous nor so dominant, though one still had to take heed of them and be on one's guard. We were to learn that they could still make daring raids to parts far from their haunts. All unattached Indians one met in the vicinity of the hills were held to be Cusina—it was safest so.

Attack and highway robbery was one thing, ordinary [685] theft another. If a thief was caught, it cost him dear in compensation, but theft itself, as we heard in connection with Chinca, was almost regarded as a sport. It was thus common for poor Indians at least to pinch things from those who were better off. We, of course, were considered very rich.

685 It was not to be wondered at if an Indian, having nothing
674 to eat during the worst of the drought, appropriated a bit of this and that from those who were better off. If he knew that he would be able to repay it, it became a sort of loan, without the owner's permission.

Once, some Indians got in ahead of the monks when the time came to harvest the manioc at the mission's plantation in Macuira. When the monks came there with the mission's children to carry it home, all had gone. In the hope of preventing this happening again, the monks decided to com-

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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plain to the civil authorities; but the government inspector at the coast just smiled and shook his head when they asked if he could do anything about it. 685 674

'The only advice I can give you is that you double your plantation next year. Then perhaps the crop will suffice both for you and the Indians.'

When a monk once reproached an Indian who worked at the mission for pilfering sugar, the Indian replied: 'But, father, every Indian steals!'

As Simmons thought, the Cusina are made up of the bad elements, those outcast from their clans. In the long run no clan can shield a member who commits all sorts of crimes. Some flee to the hills because they cannot pay compensation for someone they have killed, nor count on help from their clan, which perhaps is also without resources. Such people are real outcasts, for anyone can kill them without risk of their clan's exacting vengeance. These outcasts once took refuge in the most desolate hills of the peninsula, Sierra de Cusina, and ever since others have come to replenish their ranks. It was said that they also had women, either captured or runaways. Grazing and water were said to be scarce there. It was a desolate part and none disputed it with the Cusina. They had to live largely by plunder and robbery. They could only keep goats in their hills, so what cattle they rustled, they ate. They were keen to get arms. We were told that none then alive had ever seen a Cusina. They attacked by night and killed everyone. That, of course, was the old Guajiro way: let no one live who might conceivably exact vengeance. 579 614 619 579 619

The old accounts from the days of the conquest also mention Cusina, but they must have meant ordinary Guajiro Indians from the area of the Cusina Hills.

The brigands were supposed to have scouts out on the roads, who signalled to their comrades when they scented prey. They very seldom dared attack a well-armed company, as ours was. We three white people each had a gun or rifle and a pistol; and in reserve we had some of my cheap barter pistols. We equipped Francisco with a saloon pistol which had a long barrel and looked impressive. Then we 579

/198 cont./

•681 614 It is with this understanding that the distribution of animals is made on such an occasion, and with it, payment is made for the pain received for any offense. On the day that such a payment is to be made, all the friends of the beneficiary arrive, reminding him of, and drawing his attention to, the information they gave him and the pain that the offense has given them. At this time the services already given to the group in the past are evaluated and possible future aid is taken into consideration. The totality of various attitudes observed at this moment is known to the Guajiro by the name of jurijoonar, which means "to be present at a distribution in order to obtain for any reason some part of it."

In Guajiro law there exists one aspect which we must consider: when the clan group does not accept joint responsibility for an infraction against the regime for social stability by one of its members.

One of the cases when the coercive action of the whole clan is /199/ shown is when an individual commits a delict of such a nature that it provokes in his own consanguineous relatives the reaction of considering him to be outside the collectivity, which signifies in fact that he is also outside Guajiro society. This was the case of the Kusina, marginal outlaws, who were slowly extinguished by all the other clan groups, who made common cause against them. They were individuals turned out of the clan organization by their own consanguineous relatives because of violations against the culture's regimen for social stability.

681 682 614 With respect to the breaking of the regimen for social stability by homicide, it is necessary to note the individual expiation that the violator is obliged to carry out. The offender submits himself voluntarily to a special regimen (1) the object of which is to make

1. Pineda Giraldo, Roberto. Aspectos de la Magia en la Guajira, Revista del Instituto Etnológico Nacional, Vol. III, Part 1, 1947. Bogotá, 1950. Pages 82 and following.

/199 cont./

681 614 682 amends to a certain extent for the wrong both before his own conscience and the opinion of his kin; the Guajiro murderer tries by means of this expiation to avoid being again involved in an act the consequences of which have already fallen so heavily on his kin; to free himself in some way from the social coaction which his act has provoked; and most particularly to placate the dead man's spirit which from the moment of his death has followed him everywhere, crying for satisfaction and helping in the punishment of the offender. The Guajiro murderer believes so fully that he is pursued by the spirit of the murdered person that in those cases in which the author of the crime is not known, the guilty man, obsessed by such a belief, especially when he is sick, confesses his crime publicly and submits to the legal prescriptions which envelop both him and his kin.

After this regimen of expiation, the Guajiro murderer must bear the social coaction which forms all around him, expressed especially by the isolation which is imposed on him. Certain aspects of magic are connected with the murderer which oblige him to keep on the margin of society; for instance, he cannot visit sick people because he will make them worse, nor homes where there are children because they will become sick at his presence; wherever he goes he will carry with him the infuriated spirit of the dead man, which produces these evil results.

His social status goes down as an immediate consequence, and his economic position suffers considerably, because the delict of blood prohibits him from freely and efficiently exercising the productive activities which he used to perform, besides condemning him to live in exile for many long years. /page 200 is blank/

/225 cont./

476 give his co-operation on occasions like these, so that later, if he [626] asks for his help, he also refuses.

There is one type of communal activity carried out by the women; it is that connected with the work of chewing which they contribute in the preparation of chicha of wild yucca or of corn used at all their festivals or on the eve of male communal work. On such occasions the women's assistance is requested, and they all gather, very pleased with the work they have to do, by virtue of which once finished they receive rum or chicha as recompense, and can eat large quantities of yucca and corn cakes on the sly while they are doing their job. The two types of communal work are substantially different. The first benefits all the community or at least a clan group, while the second affects only one individual and his immediate relatives. The participation of the individual and of the family in true community work acquires in some cases the character of an obligation inherent in the position of a member of a given clan group. In others his co-operation depends on the benefit he is likely to derive from it: the use of a cemetery, wells for water supply, etc.

In the second type, on the contrary, the individual participant derives no benefit from the work in itself, but from the reciprocal co-operation that the beneficiary on that occasion must give to each of those who have helped him. To refuse to participate is [621] an infraction of a norm that may isolate the man from society. [626] What is accomplished by the co-operative work of various groups acquires for this reason a communal character in its utilization. In the second case it is individual or family private property.

For the first, the Guajiro gives his aid in labor, the loan of tools, the maintenance of laborers, the handing over of part of the construction materials, etc. For the second, he gives nothing more than his labor and the use of his tools because the maintenance of the men is the direct concern of the party benefited.

/226/

46a Domestic work. The division of activities by sex is one of the primary classifications that can be made in La Guajira in

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
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father's relatives who would eat the meat and drink the rum 574
immediately, a feast to which the mother's relatives might be 626
invited as a gesture of courtesy. The offering of rum and 602
meat is voluntary, and even a friend may ask for something as 672
an indication of deep personal interest in the welfare of the injured person. If the injured man makes no offering, no action is taken by anyone to make him do so, but he will acquire a 'bad name.' A Guajiro has a moral obligation to avoid shedding his own blood, but not a legal obligation. Since the father takes care of his son during his lifetime, this obligation is directed towards him and his relatives, but is extended to include any good friend.

Another example of the same distinction is the case where a 431
son asks his father for a particular horse or object possessed by 593
the latter, as a gift. The father is morally bound to grant the request, but there is no legal compulsion to do so. I gave a cacique a fine hunting knife which pleased him greatly. To my surprise his son was proudly wearing it the following day. On inquiring about it the cacique told me that his eldest son had asked for it. Had he refused to give it he would have [626] been considered a bad father. The son inherits nothing from [428] his father on the death of the latter, but while he is alive the son may beg anything within certain limits set by precedent. This moral obligation to give up a prized possession when [571] asked for by one's sons is extended to include close friends.

Allowing the Guajiro to make their own distinctions, let us 671
turn to a consideration of their 'laws.' The commission of certain acts, which in our society would give rise to criminal prosecution, in Guajiro society are considered matters to be settled by the parties concerned. Criminal law is practically non-existent. There is no body politic, properly speaking, that meets out punishment whether or not the injured party seeks redress, and social pressure can hardly be of any importance in a society that protects the individual through the instrument of family and caste membership. In only one case 628
does there seem to be an approach to concerted social action. 681
If an individual has caused his family much trouble and is in- 672
corrigible, if his family has been called upon to pay for his mis-

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
SC13 Goajiro SC13

628 deeds frequently, and fears that he may bring severe disaster
672 on his relatives, he may be killed. It is interesting to know
681 that the individual may not necessarily be evil-intentioned.

We are accustomed to think that for an act of trespass on
672 the person or property the injured party can recover only if the act is considered to have been intentional or negligent.[6] Among the Guajiro there is no such qualification of a tort in order to allow legal action and to recognize legal liability. The act and the injury ensuing from it are the only considerations which have any importance.

Case I: Three boys, A, B, and C, close friends, were seated
628 on a log in the order named. B held a knife in his hand. In
672 the spirit of play A and C attempted to take it away from him.
683 In the good-natured scuffle that ensued A was slashed across the thigh accidentally.

The families of A, the injured party, and of B were on "friendly" terms. "B's family" immediately "offered payment" for the hurt done to A. Each family chose an arbiter, men known for their knowledge of law and their fairness, who granted A's family payment commensurate with the social position of A and the ability of B's family to pay: 60 sheep, 1 bull, 1 ass, a gold necklace, a horse.

Case II: Cacique A killed Cacique B through the accidental
628 discharge of a firearm. Their families belonged to the same
672 caste, and both being anxious to avoid armed conflict B's
682 family agreed to accept a property composition for the tort: 100 cows, 100 horses, 7 mules, 1,000 sheep.

Case III: Cacique A killed Cacique B in a quarrel. Both families being desirous of keeping the peace and both being members of the same caste, property composition was arranged.

This case would obviously fall within the class of crimes in our society and A would have been punished irrespective of the attitude of B's family. As a matter of fact, had B's family
554 been less important or had it belonged to the peon or slave
628 class, A's family may not have paid anything. On the other
672 hand had A been a peon or slave, his family would have suf-
682 fered extermination at the hands of B's relatives. A's family

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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in an Appanlie. With the exception of the Jiruzus or Pizaiza, a 614
small tribe of 200 souls all told living in the valley of Macuira between
Ara-ara and Itejaro, the Guariritas, a mere handful of Indians under
the protectorate of the Jiruz, the Sijuanas, Soenanas, Arapainayder,
Simurinas, Arurujunas, and the Arpuaintas, all small local tribes,
strictly confined to the upper country or east of Cabo de la Vela, the
other castes are distributed throughout the breadth and width of the
land in the greatest confusion. Living as the Goajiro does, in continual 361
strife and warfare, whole families would speedily become poor or extinct, 614
if they did not take the precaution to separate their wealth and herds,
and only keep a few in one place at a time. Scarcity of water and [312]
pasture compels them to lead a nomadic life, and makes house-building [233]
out of the question, for they are eternally changing abode, now in the [342]
upper Goajira and then in the lower or plains. Some branches among
the castes have, in spite of their roving propensities, predispositions
for certain spots. For example, the proud and wealthy Pushainas are
chiefly found round and about Paraibi and Ataipa. Urianas tigur
Guarapi, Tuma and Bahia Honda a great deal, while near Portete,
Iyanuas and Epinayuas abound. In the neighbourhood of Anipana the
Iyanuas and Jusayuas are in great force; at the Tota nearly all are
Jusayuas, and near Las Guazilas at Guazero, Sapuanas; these three
latter are mostly all Cuisas Indians. With respect to these terrible 579
Cuisas, the word in Goajira signifies robber, highwayman, or outlaw.
They are neither a tribe nor even a separate caste as many have
supposed, but simply a band of freebooters—Indians that, for quarrels [681]
murder, thefts, &c., have been expelled the family, and must needs take
to pillaging to earn a livelihood. For self-defence, and to better ply
their notorious calling, they are banded together with recognised chiefs,
and so are able to go on their marauding expeditions in great force,
pounce on any less numerous or unprepared party, to strip them of
everything. One party of Cuisas will rob another if they can. Nearly
all the Goajiros have relations among them, but an Indian is only safe
with that band to which his relation belongs. They have commercial
intercourse with them, and often succeed in getting stolen cattle back.
The Cuisas' territory *par excellence* is the Cujoro range of hills, taking
in the Tota, traversing the plains in a narrow band, and occupying the
Montes of Oca as a refuge while encircling the plains. The country as
far east as the Macuira range is not exempt from their depredations,
especially between Cagana and the Laguna of Tucuna. The principal
Cuisas chiefs are Alyushipara or Yurijuna, as he frequently is called, and [631]
Uriana, and rules the country about Anipana and Yuripicho—he is the
worst and most feared of the lot; Purin, an Arpushaina, another devil—
he has appropriated the district of Cujoro; Mamguin, a Jusayá, holds
it all about the Tota; and Mowjibio, a Sapuana, is chief of the country
about Las Guazilas. Once the terror of the plains, this wild beast has [649]

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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the site of the old Spanish settlement San Juan de Ipapa. On the west side of the Paraehi Hills in the plains is another well-known central trading station Jorcy; chief, Majuté, an Ipuana; probably near the old site of the Spanish settlement Moscota. In the neighbourhood are: Guarirpanturi; chief, Concón, an Ipuana. A Dutchman from Aruba has lived here many years, and has become quite an Indian. Aipiapá, a few ranchos on an eminence commanding the whole valley. The Indians here are rather mixed, but the chief is a Pushaina. The well Kapualura, at the base of the hill, is the finest I saw, and surrounded with rich green vegetation similar to that of Macuira. Katunasió, the most inland station. It is generally the traders that make a rancho known, for the Indians do everything they can to keep their abodes, if not secret, at any rate as much in the dark as possible. The plains being more unsettled than the mountain district, traders do not venture to establish themselves in the interior, as at Morunay or Jorcy, so few ranchos are known. The most important place in the Lower Goajira is Guincua, midway between Riohacha and the Venezuelan town of Las Guardias or Santa Teresa. Paraguaipoa, the new Venezuelan military colony, founded in 1882, counts already 50 houses. It is situated in the plains 12 miles in advance of Santa Teresa, which it completely covers. The garrison at present consists of 30 men, well mounted and found in every respect, under the orders of a commander, two secretaries, and two interpreters; the latter for the purpose of taking statistics as to trade, &c. Altogether it is a model establishment, and does honour to the Government of Venezuela. The entire population of the Goajira may be about 20,000; it does not exceed 25,000, and is not increasing.

As regards manners and customs and the way they enforce their old peculiar laws, these Goajiros are particularly interesting. Of course, like all Indians, they are singularly proficient in begging, stealing, and drinking, but besides these capital vices they add a fourth, that is demanding compensation, tear- or blood-money—principal cause of all the strife and blood feuds between the castes, and an everlasting danger to Indians and strangers alike. Whereas about one-quarter of the male population die a violent death from its result, another quarter are killed by drink and its effects. The laws that govern these compensation cases are very intricate, their number is legion. First is the terrible law of retribution, that makes a whole caste responsible for the acts of any single member. As the Spaniards or white men are considered by the Indians as belonging to one large family, the country is very unsafe for travelling, for every white man is a sort of hostage for the good behaviour of the others. If an Indian should be killed in a quarrel by a white man, the life of another white man, living leagues away, depends upon whether the foe (relations of the dead Indian) or a friend brings the news first. Many an innocent unconscious trader has been sacrificed at one end of the peninsula for a foul murder committed at the other end.

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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the other. Many other cases indicate the absolute nature of *Goajiro* law 672
and the refusal to recognise extenuating circumstances.

Murder is a very serious crime, and the victim's family immediately 682
demands blood money to the amount of 200 or more cattle. For failure 628
to pay, a member of the murderer's sib of the same rank as the victim must forfeit his life. If payment is not forthcoming retaliatory raids are made. As the defenders generally lose more people than the attackers, the feud may continue indefinitely until all the members of one sib will consider themselves at war with the members of the other, thereby spreading the war throughout the peninsula. If a feud should develop between the sib of the husband and that of the wife, the latter, with her children, will return to her own group until the trouble is over.

A person who has received a deadly insult from another is baited and 683
chided until he takes revenge by killing the offender, in proof of which he removes the victim's viscera and takes them home. This act also prevents the victim's soul from bothering him. If unable to accomplish this he may commit suicide. Suicide is also sometimes a means of venge- 762
ance, a person feeling that he will suffer less than those who caused him to commit the act. Thus a wife who is not allowed enough freedom may hang herself.

Next to murder, one of the most serious offenses is to mention a per- 689
son's true name (given at birth?) or to mention a person's name after his death. This has caused many tribal conflicts.

The value of the compensation demanded in disputes varies directly 631
with the social rank of the offended party. In some cases a repeated 565
offender may be killed by his own sib members. Sometimes, rather than 728
to continue the warfare, hostile sibs may confer under the auspices of an outsider, such as a Capuchin monk, and draw up peace terms. In personal quarrels or minor brawls women often step in and enforce peace.

WARFARE

Wars between the *Goajiro* and outsiders are rare, but any White man 721
may be held liable for the offense done by another, as all Whites are thought 609
to belong to the same sib. Sometimes the few civilized people living in the peninsula take vengeance on the Indians, which leads to further reprisals by the latter.

At the time of De la Rosa, war was declared by sending to the other 721
tribe an ambassador who, in a public speech, asked indemnities for damage previously done. If these were not conceded war was declared, but a brief truce was observed in order that preparations might be made. In battle each group of opposing warriors formed a semicircle and tried to surround and destroy the other. In individual encounters a *Goajiro* rode 726
out on a horse, but, upon seeing the enemy, he dismounted and shot his own horse with an arrow to show his confidence and willingness to fight

9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
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The whole judiciary structure with its elaborate system of torts is based on the payment of a given number of domestic animals. There is no crime, including murder, that cannot be amiably settled by such payments (Petrullo, 1937). The acquisition of a bride is also reduced to the payment of a stipulated price, in terms of domestic animals, to be given to the maternal uncle of the girl.

Social, economic, and political status in the Guajiro society is intimately connected with the cattle complex. To have a high status an individual needs, primarily, two assets: he must possess a large number of domestic animals, in other words, he must be considered rich; and he must be an older man. If he lacks either of these requisites, he is not a leader, as he will not be sufficiently respected nor will members of his clan come to him to seek his advice. Consequently, leaders are not numerous in the Guajiro peninsula. The present writer knows only two individuals, both in Venezuela, who are today the unquestionable leaders of their respective clans. These men are Panchito Silva, of the Pushaina clan, and José de la Rosa Fernandez of the Uriana clan.

An analysis of the lives of these two men will be illustrative of the traditional methods of acquiring status among the Guajiro.

Panchito Silva, a man of about 80 years of age, lives in the native village of Sishipes in Venezuela. During his life-time he has had eight wives (two or three at a time) and now lives with his surviving two, one about 35 years old and the other about 50. He is a full-blooded Indian as has been the case of his wives. There is no trace of race mixture in his family. He has no clear idea of how many children he has had, apart from those living with him now (two men and five women). Yet he knows definitely that he has four younger brothers—who will inherit his wealth and position before these are passed on to his nephews—three sisters and twenty-five nephews and nieces (all sons and daughters of his sisters). His lack of concern towards his own children coupled with his keen interest in his nephews and nieces seems to be a clear indication of how strong the avunculate is in traditional Guajiro society. His holdings in cattle and other domestic animals are very large. Roughly he owns around 1,000 head of cattle and about 3,000 of sheep,

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684 When the abortion is provoked by the woman when she is
682 in an advanced stage of pregnancy, the husband demands compensation payment, and the act is considered a homicide.

684 An offense of a very grave character for an individual and
838 his relatives is the attempt made by a homosexual to abuse him. Generally, this aggressive act is directed against defenseless young boys, who can be physically forced to submit. Their relatives demand compensation payment, not only for the physical molestation suffered by their relative but for the psychological and social significance of the offense, which completely devolves on them.

684 Exhibitionism of a sexual type is considered a punishable
839 act because it entails an offense against the modesty of those present, and if /191/ the spectator is a person of high standing, it implies moreover a grave offense to his high status which demands respect from others; in this case the payment is greater and may cause strong reprisals to be taken against the offender's relatives. These offenses may refer to homosexual practices, suggestions or representations real or imaginary of copulation, or exhibition of the genital organs. Both sexes may undress in
[515 public without the spectators feeling offended, as happens at
831] the public baths, where the women bathe without concern, taking care to cross their legs. The man holds the penis to his waist in a way that his hairiness covers him and so does not offend the modesty of the bystanders.

684 Other aspects which have to be taken into consideration are the offenses that the woman can inflict on the man during married life. Let us remember that Guajiro women, even to this day, are bought without their wishes being taken into account, and that those who cannot avoid this marriage -- by means of suicide, flight, or breaking with the community -- may refuse to cohabit with the husband imposed on them or to satisfy his sexual desires. The man then abandons such a woman or demands compensation payment for the pain her attitude has caused him and refuses to resume his position as

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684 husband until this payment has been made. It is very common for the man not to make any demand for money for the hurt inflicted but to try to revenge himself by his future attitude. The Guajiro women say that a woman once initiated into sexual life acquires the need for repetition of the act. Then the man refuses to satisfy her, does not frequent the home, and does not give the slightest sign of his affection. The woman is in fact abandoned and yet in the situation of a married woman without a husband, with the obligations inherent in marriage and none of its rights.

Another aspect considered as an aggressive act is the fraud entailed when a man discovers that the woman he has married is not a virgin (See Valuation of virginity in the chapter, Pre-marital Considerations).

684 As homosexuality is very much disapproved of in the culture and regarded as almost an enforced degeneration of
818 the young slaves, whoever practices it draws on himself the
628 contempt and scorn of society, and his status is compared to that of those outside society. It is the custom, when two groups are at enmity, to hurl an insult which must result in a decision by arms. This insult consists in telling the enemy that their men would not even serve as women for their opponents. The hidden aim is to avoid legal proceedings and to start a war without quarter, in which they hope to obtain more advantages than by peaceful and orderly negotiation. /192/

682 The most serious aggressive act is homicide. No attenuat-
• ing circumstances are taken into account, not even that the killing was involuntary or done in self-defense, since the Guajiro solely considers the act itself: An individual took the life of another and serves punishment.

Let us consider some aspects of this type of aggression.

1. Voluntary homicide, that is, one person killing another consciously and deliberately.

2. Involuntary homicide, that is, one person killing another without intending to execute an aggressive act, such as

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682 when a shot hits a person during hunting, or when a shot is fired accidentally at the moment the owner or someone else is cleaning a gun and in this way kills another, etc. Included in these cases we must note one that occurs very frequently when a man lends a gun. If an accident occurs which results in the death of a third person, that is, a homicide, the owner of the gun must help the man who caused the accident to pay for the death. If it is used to commit suicide, again it is the owner of the gun who must pay. For this reason the material objects that a person uses for [692] killing himself are punished. As the general custom is to hang oneself, the beam and the rope are burned at such a time; and if the act was done inside a dwelling, it is also burned, although in this case for another reason connected now with magic. In summary, then, we can say that homicide is considered as such without any excuses for those who commit it, directly or indirectly.

• • •

682 Suicide brings punishment on the person who has provoked it,
762 directly or indirectly. Very frequently young men commit suicide when their father, mother, or other relatives reprimand them or do not satisfy some whim. And girls do the same when they are sold in marriage by their uterine relatives without taking their wishes into account.

In this case those who gave cause for the suicide are held responsible. If it was the mother or some relative of hers, the father of the suicide demands compensation payment, or if the reverse -- if it was the father -- the mother with her relatives do the same. /193/

If a man should commit suicide because of unrequited love, when for example he asks to buy a girl and her relatives will not let him have her as his wife or she refuses his amorous attentions and in consequence he commits suicide, the claim for compensation payment for his death is made against the maternal relatives of the girl or against whoever refused to let him buy her.

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682 762 As the most important function of a wife is to take care of her husband, particularly his health, she must answer for it to his maternal relatives, if for some reason he commits suicide; she is considered guilty of his death, as well as guilty of not having been at his side to prevent it. We have information of men who committed suicide while they were drunk and their wives were absent for some very well-justified reason, and the husbands' maternal relatives made the wives responsible for their deaths because they said that it was their first and most important duty to avoid these tragedies by watching their husbands every moment while they were drunk.

If ill-treatment by the husband or other act for which he is responsible provokes his wife's suicide, her relatives present a claim for compensation payment against him as guilty of her death.

Anyone who by a slight, a joke, or an offense drives someone else to commit suicide is made responsible for the death and for this reason must pay for the criminal act.

Attempted suicide is also punished; the maternal relatives demand from the person who made the attempt an adequate indemnity for having broken a law, because he has no right to spill his own blood, the bond common to the other members, nor to dispose of his life, which belongs to the consanguineous group, nor to cause the group the pain of his death.

682 Guajiro law considers the uterine relatives of the expectant mother responsible for the life of the child about to be born, and if the child dies they are made responsible and must pay the husband, if the cause of the death was a wrong movement made by the mother during the delivery, or noncompliance with the midwife's instructions, etc. But if the child is the first child, who must be born in the home of the expectant mother's maternal relatives, and the father has not taken her there and the woman does not receive adequate attention and the baby dies, the blame is placed on the husband, who must pay for the death of his son to his wife's maternal relatives.

If a child dies while the father is absent, and the mother has not complied with her obligation to give him immediate news

/193 cont./

of the child's illness, he may demand a compensation payment as though she had been to blame for the child's death. /194/

When a woman dies in childbirth, her maternal relatives demand compensation payment from the husband.

When the death of an individual is caused by the infidelity of one of his wives, that is, when the husband kills her lover because he has discovered her committing the delict of adultery, or simply because he suspects it, the dead man's family demand compensation payment for homicide from the husband's family, in spite of the fact that he isbacked by popular opinion since it is considered a sign of manliness to kill one's wife's lover. Apart from this demand, they may make a second one for compensation payment, this time from the adulterous woman's relatives as they consider her to have been the cause of the tragedy.

When both husband and rival perish in the struggle, which sometimes happens, the richer and more important family demands compensation payment, even though they are the lover's family and in spite of the fact that his death is considered justified by Guajiro legal conscience; his relatives allege that the maternal relatives of the husband must pay because they are not their economic and social equals. In this way the principle of justice which inspires all Guajiro law is satisfied; the law favors the litigant group of relatives which has the higher status. The payment the woman has to make is twofold; to the maternal relatives of the lover and to those of the husband, since she is responsible for the whole affair.

When the husband kills the lover in a fight which originated from the wife's adultery, the husband is made to pay for the death, especially if the dead man's consanguineous relatives belong to a group of superior status. They legalize their claim for compensation payment by saying: "What right has this man who has nothing to pay us with to put his hands on our relative, to spill his blood, taking away his life and separating his spirit? What does it matter that he did it in defending his right to his wife whom he bought for himself, if he has nothing to pay us with?" In this case the family group of the dead man, without any negotiations whatever, takes justice into its own hands, razing, destroying, and

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taking for itself everything it can lay hands on, unless some alliance of relatives reinforces the unprotected position of the husband's group and obliges the others to follow legal proceedings.

If a Guajiro, man or woman, dies suddenly in a house where he has sought temporary hospitality, the woman who is head of that house must pay for his death to the dead man's maternal relatives, who, considering her culpable, demand compensation payment. A case is known in Upper La Guajira of an individual who, having helped in the communal work of seed sowing, drank a great quantity of chicha made from wild yucca /yuca brava/ given to him by the owners of the field. He started off for home late in the afternoon in an advanced state of drunkenness. As it was getting late, he asked for hospitality /195/ in the first house that he passed on the road. To comply with the laws of hospitality, they took him in, hung up a hammock in the enramada /shelter of boughs/ so that he could go to bed and spend the night. They gave him nothing to drink. The next day they found him dead. It is very probable that the chicha of wild yucca had not been sufficiently cooked and for that reason had not lost its toxic nature, and this had killed him. Nevertheless, because he died in the house where they had hospitably taken him in, the owners of the house were held liable to his maternal relatives for his death.

This application of the law makes the Guajiro very solicitous of those who ask for hospitality and also obliges him to do his utmost if his guest becomes ill, to attend to him, and to report the news at the earliest possible moment to his relatives so that they can come and see him and thus free the host from the responsibility for his death.

Guajiro law considers the head of the house as author of, and the one responsible for, the death when he gives the participants in a communal piece of work insufficiently cooked chicha made of wild yucca which intoxicates and kills any of them. This covers any food or drink believed to cause the death of anyone.

Here we must add the delict of causing the death of another by spreading a disease. We have the case of a native woman from

/195 cont./

682 Upper La Guajira who arrived in Uribia suffering from measles and asked for hospitality in the house of a friend of hers of the well-to-do class. This friend, the owner of the house, could not deny her request and as a result caught the measles and died. The family of the dead woman demanded a very high compensation payment from the woman who brought the disease.

One must also consider the homicide caused, according to the Guajiro mentality by the breaking of a taboo. The Guajiro woman during her periods of pregnancy and menstruation, the murderer, and the participants in funeral rites are at all times bearers of a malignant magic power that can infect, hurt, or kill young children and people seriously ill. If one of these tabooed people presents himself at a house where there is one of those liable to this evil influence, and this person dies within a period such that it can be presumed that the death was the result of the transgression of the taboo, his maternal relatives declare the tabooed person guilty of the death or illness of the child when this occurs, or of the seriousness of the sickness in question.

When a Guajiro's death is caused by a white, that is, by an 682 individual who does not belong to the community, the idea of 684 blame is governed by the norms just set forth. At the present time they generally submit /196/ to Guajiro law in the punitive form, but commonly in the peninsula, one of these deaths is paid for by the death of three civilizados /nonnatives/, since many Indians still believe that every civilizado is part of a homogeneous consanguineous family group. Others know this is not so, but nevertheless the death of an Indian by a white gives rise to strong reprisals and even to the death of the white man. If the murderer remains in the peninsula territory or near it, it is almost certain that he will be killed magically by some relative of the murdered man, who will wait, although already well paid, for some suitable occasion to kill him.

685 Other kinds of aggressive acts are those involved in the theft of food, livestock, and personal belongings.

The first two are the most common in the peninsula, to the point that some authors and travelers have considered theft to be

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681 614 It is with this understanding that the distribution of animals is made on such an occasion, and with it, payment is made for the pain received for any offense. On the day that such a payment is to be made, all the friends of the beneficiary arrive, reminding him of, and drawing his attention to, the information they gave him and the pain that the offense has given them. At this time the services already given to the group in the past are evaluated and possible future aid is taken into consideration. The totality of various attitudes observed at this moment is known to the Guajiro by the name of jurijonear, which means "to be present at a distribution in order to obtain for any reason some part of it.".

In Guajiro law there exists one aspect which we must consider: when the clan group does not accept joint responsibility for an infraction against the regime for social stability by one of its members.

One of the cases when the coercive action of the whole clan is /199/ shown is when an individual commits a delict of such a nature that it provokes in his own consanguineous relatives the reaction of considering him to be outside the collectivity, which signifies in fact that he is also outside Guajiro society. This was the case of the Kusina, marginal outlaws, who were slowly extinguished by all the other clan groups, who made common cause against them. They were individuals turned out of the clan organization by their own consanguineous relatives because of violations against the culture's regimen for social stability.

681 682 614 With respect to the breaking of the regimen for social stability by homicide, it is necessary to note the individual expiation that the violator is obliged to carry out. The offender submits himself voluntarily to a special regimen (1) the object of which is to make

1. Pineda Giraldo, Roberto. Aspectos de la Magia en la Guajira, Revista del Instituto Etnológico Nacional, Vol. III, Part 1, 1947. Bogotá, 1950. Pages 82 and following.

/199 cont./

681 614 682 amends to a certain extent for the wrong both before his own conscience and the opinion of his kin; the Guajiro murderer tries by means of this expiation to avoid being again involved in an act the consequences of which have already fallen so heavily on his kin; to free himself in some way from the social coaction which his act has provoked; and most particularly to placate the dead man's spirit which from the moment of his death has followed him everywhere, crying for satisfaction and helping in the punishment of the offender. The Guajiro murderer believes so fully that he is pursued by the spirit of the murdered person that in those cases in which the author of the crime is not known, the guilty man, obsessed by such a belief, especially when he is sick, confesses his crime publicly and submits to the legal prescriptions which envelop both him and his kin.

After this regimen of expiation, the Guajiro murderer must bear the social coaction which forms all around him, expressed especially by the isolation which is imposed on him. Certain aspects of magic are connected with the murderer which oblige him to keep on the margin of society; for instance, he cannot visit sick people because he will make them worse, nor homes where there are children because they will become sick at his presence; wherever he goes he will carry with him the infuriated spirit of the dead man, which produces these evil results.

His social status goes down as an immediate consequence, and his economic position suffers considerably, because the delict of blood prohibits him from freely and efficiently exercising the productive activities which he used to perform, besides condemning him to live in exile for many long years. /page 200 is blank/

[45 cont.]

782 quite high, which also gives us an idea of their value in the opinion of the Indians since they considered that the fact of their points being impregnated with the blood of the sacrificed child made them both more poisonous and more accurate.

766 The body of the boy, who had to be between four and six years old, was brought by the father to the hamlet after these magic operations were finished and was buried in the clan cemetery. The burial and the death of the child were secrets. Nobody must know about it. We could not discover if the secret nature of the ceremony was due to the fact that the community [682 might punish the murderer, the mother or maternal aunt, or 787] some member of the child's family on the maternal side, collecting the corresponding sum for his death in accord [46] with customary Guajiro law, or if the reason was that secrecy strengthened the malevolent qualities of the poison on the arrows. It is to be presumed that the latter hypothesis is the more acceptable, since the disappearance of the child and the sale of magic arrows by the father would point him out as the author of the sacrifice.

682 683 826 In any case we cannot overlook the aspects of blood in the child sacrifice just mentioned. Spilling blood is one of the crimes most severely punished. Blood, according to everything one can deduce, has great value for the natives,as it is considered an integral part of their human personality, even to confounding it, so to speak, with personality itself, as they do in the case of names. Hence, for the same reason, he who voluntarily or involuntarily sheds the blood of another person is stigmatized and becomes an outcast from society. He becomes unclean, and in consequence has to make the corresponding reparation which at the present time is complied with by paying to the offended party or to his family a determined [911] quantity of valuable objects or animals. For this same reason, arrows contaminated with the blood of the child sacrificed by his father have, or ought to have, according to the Guajiro mentality, an incalculable value due to their participation in 911 the sacrifice and spilling of blood, thanks to its presence on 935 their points. Moreover, if we take into account what the 775 dead man means to the Guajiro as a spirit capable of doing harm

[47 cont.]
character of the inhabitants of Jarara; and second, the complete disappearance (according to all sources) of the Koriza Indians in the last 20 to 25 years for various reasons. In other words, the arrows which may still exist but of which we could not obtain a sample are those preserved by the aged Indians of Jarara, purchased from the makers in times past.

Sacrifice to forestall the effects of dreams. In the Guajiro mentality dreams are considered to be revelations of the future, coming from a benign spirit who seeks in this way to show his protection to a certain person. When the shaman himself has the revealing dreams then these acquire greater importance, as we have already seen. For the same reason, when one of these shamans has a special dream, he informs the interested party and adds to it the necessary instructions or special ceremonies that he should arrange in order to counteract the prognostication. If such ceremonies are not carried out or are not totally complied with, the dream will become converted to reality. The Guajiro has immense faith in dreams, particularly in those of shamans, and very few persons will leave themselves open to suffer the consequences of the nonfulfillment of the rituals indicated, as experience, according to them, has [48] shown that noncompliance with the indications of the shamans has resulted in many deaths and disasters when the events foretold have taken place.

As the aspect of dreams is treated in a special section, we will here only refer to the theme which interests us and which is related to sacrifices. In this respect we quote the narrative of one of our informants.

This occurred in Jarara. A woman shaman dreamed that a member of the Pushaina family clan was threatened with a fatal tragedy: he would die by the hand of one of his own family group. The shaman immediately informed him of it and ordered him, in order to avert the danger, to organize a fiesta of horse racing and, above all, to sacrifice a black male goat and to bathe himself in its blood. The Indian did not want to carry out the shaman's instructions, and within a short time he was killed by a member of his own group of inferior economic standing. The reprisals taken against the

[68 cont.]

682 murderer's family after the crime were extremely cruel, as was to be expected given the Guajiro social organization. Their homes were burned down, their sources of water supply demolished, three men and four women were killed, and their children enslaved.

E69

The interesting part of the subject we are now dealing with lies in the sacrifice of animals. These apparently serve as substitutes for the individuals whose sentence has been revealed in a dream. They take their place and are sacrificed in their stead. As a death has taken place, the evil spirit which had enslaved the future criminal in order to carry out its determination to harm him is now nullified by this act of propitiation. Moreover, as the animal (the black male goat in this case) shares the qualities of its owner by reason of such ownership, a part of the personality of the person sentenced to be punished in the dream is also sacrificed. The individual thus suffers two processes, death in part through the sacrifice of the animal and participation in the sacrifice by bathing in its blood.

Possible vestiges of this native belief still persist in Colombian folklore in some parts of the departments of Antioquia, Boyacá, Huila, and Santander. There the people hold the belief that when a domestic animal dies, especially if it is an animal that has been much loved by the people of the house, it is a sign that some member of the household had been about to die. The sentence of death which lay on that person, according to the explanation given in all cases, was transferred to the animal by a special concession from God, [68] thus avoiding a greater calamity to the family. In Huila this belief, according to information from the Licenciado Chaves, appears in popular oral literature. There is in reality a story which tells of a recently married couple who felt or knew (we cannot say how) that they would die very shortly. To avoid this, the wife dedicated herself to breeding *cuyes* (*cuyes* [*conejillo de Indias*, a rodent of the order of rodents], which one by one died off, then she turned to breed chickens, which also successively died, she then devoted herself to dogs, which also died. With the successive deaths of the animals, they were able to elude their own fate and lived happily together for a long time, free

[77 cont.]

762 inflicted on the objects which were the principal active agents
768 in carrying out his fatal determination. As the form of suicide
672 that is practiced in La Guajira is almost exclusively that of hanging, they proceed to burn the branch on which the individual hanged himself and the rope which he used, because, they say, these were the direct causes of his death.

With respect to the punishment carried out on the objects
682 (inanimate to us) which served for the carrying out of suicide,
672 several suggestions may be made. In one case, the "compensation payment for blood" may be recalled, the established customary law of this community by means of which whatever spilling of blood that may be caused in any person, voluntary or involuntary, directly or indirectly, has to be paid for in accord-
[682] ance with a valuation decreed by the so-called "arbitrators," or "palabras," who are nothing more than intermediaries named by the family groups affected to settle the affair peacefully. This payment is considerable when the blood spilling ends in the victim's death. Should the murderer refuse to pay the sum ar-
682 ranged for (whether in livestock, necklaces, precious stones,
628 etc.), then the members of the victim's family group take vengeance on him personally and kill him. All this naturally ends in war to the death, or putchi, between the two extended family groups, an occurrence which is extremely frequent in La
682 Guajira. Hence as "compensation payment for blood" cannot
762 be claimed, from these objects (the tree and the rope), they are
672 punished in default by destruction by fire. This hypothesis is reinforced, if we remember that to the Guajiro Indian, as well as
[774] to most primitives, objects — which to us are not alive — are
[778] able to exercise both good and bad influences on the individual (Cf. "Sickness and Medicine" and "Amulets, Fetishes, Talismans"), because they possess a spirit — a kind of mana, or immaterial force, which surrounds and animates everything.

Another suggestion that could be made with respect to the
762 destruction of the objects used by a suicide is the following: As
783 these articles were in direct contact with the dead man, and particularly with a corpse as dangerous as a suicide is, it is necessary that they be destroyed so that the contamination

[81 cont.]

158 individual is not capable of distinguishing between the merely
775 fictitious, the imaginary and the real. To him, the image so
787 faithfully rebuilt in his imagination is as real as the living image of the deceased. The explanation of the phenomenon, then, according to his mentality, is that the dead man has appeared before him for some reason or other.

775 This fact is complicated in addition by the belief that every dead person "retraces his steps," that is, he treads again all the paths he traveled during his life; he returns to places where he had been at different times; this is why he is "felt" very often. Many times the individual feels the presence of the dead, even if he does not see it. This Guajiro belief is [171] also found to be very prevalent in all Colombian folklore. The 536 phenomenon that the Colombian people call "retracing his steps" corresponds exactly to the Guajiro version which we have just transcribed. Of course, according to popular legends, the dead "retrace their steps" when they are dying or a few moments or even days before their death. To hear strange noises [787] without apparent logical explanation, to see shadows, etc., are for the people evident signs that one of their relatives or friends, or even some person who in the past has lived in these parts, is dying or will die from one moment to the next. For the same reason they avoid walking alone along certain places when they know that someone who has lived there is close to death's door.

682 Degrees of danger in spirits. The Guajiro murderer suffers
775 a double punishment: first, the claim for compensation payment for blood presented by the dead man's relatives, which involves his own death if he does not pay the sum agreed on; and second, the constant presence of the dead man's spirit, which never leaves him. For this reason, the murderer cannot enter a home where there are small children because the spirit of the dead man follows him, will climb over them, squeeze them, and make them [763] cry. If the children are sick, the murderer's presence is even more dangerous because the spirit will rapidly cause their death. If they are well they usually become ill. [80]

The death of a fellow being becomes a tremendous obsession with the Guajiro; the murderer is convinced that the [753] dead man's spirit follows him everywhere. When he is ill he has

[82 cont.]

682 nightmares and dreams, possibly in the delirium of fever, so
775 that the spirit creeps around him and painfully crushes his chest.
853 It pursues him insistently, which provokes a grave crisis in illness. The spirit then takes advantage of his weak state to aggravate his sickness. Self-confession is one of the most important social consequences of this state of mind as, due to the obsession
682 with the presence of the spirit, every time a murderer has been
626 able to conceal the secret of the murder and in consequence has so far escaped the compensation payment for blood, he loses his equanimity during sickness and will then talk freely about his crime. In the delirium of fever, haunted by the anguish caused by the supposed weight of the spirit of the murdered man on his chest, he raves about all the details of his crime. This confession, according to his belief, does bring him some relief as in a certain manner it admits the dead man's vengeance and in consequence it gives some peace to the criminal as well as rest to the offended spirit.

775 The spirits of those who have died violent deaths fall, so to speak, within a class of more highly dangerous spirits than those that die from natural causes. They represent, we should say, the middle point between these latter spirits and those of
[964] suicides. This is certain to such a point that the house in which a native has been killed is immediately vacated, because his spirit will live in that house and it will only leave it on occasions when it goes to torment the murderer. A Guajiro Indian will never pass by the place between sunset and dawn because he is convinced that every detail of the scene of the tragedy is continually being repeated in that place ; the insults are heard again, the shots or whir of arrows, the sighs and groans of agony, just as were heard on the day of the tragedy. In addition the spirit appears in the shape of a flame that pursues whoever may be near the house; or it may also appear in the form of any animal whatsoever, a bird, for example.

But the highest degree of danger occurs when the spirit of the murdered Indian is face to face with his murderer. This is a wounded spirit and full of desire for vengeance to such a point that the family of the murderer, after having fulfilled the

[82 cont.]

formalities agreed upon with the victim's family, find that it imposes on them a sort of punishment, a rhythm of life totally different from that to which they were normally accustomed and which can be interpreted in two ways: (a) as a purification rite; (b) as a change of personality, in order to avoid the mortifying presence of the spirit face to face with the murderer. [83] To us the second interpretation appears clearer and more acceptable as we do not know of any other rites of purification in La Guajira which can show reason for the first assumption.

A repentant murderer, according to the statement collected by our colleague and expedition companion, Licenciado Milciades Chaves Ch., is punished by his own will as well as by the decision of his family through norms imposed by his uncles and aunts. He voluntarily submits to them so as not to commit a second time the same delict which constituted his own ruin and that of his family, who like himself are liable to become victims of the retaliation of the murdered man's relatives in revenge for the murder. This punishment is executed in the following way:

1) The murderer must spend five or six days hiding in the selva or some distant mountain.

2) He must take no solid food. He is only allowed to take hot drinks or very thin masamorra (corn chicha), and water.

3) He must not speak to anyone and must be on the alert all the time, with his rifle ready to defend himself from his enemies.

4) He must disguise himself: cut his hair, wear special belts and fringes, and wear a robe, black in color. (This robe is so small and short that it barely covers the top part of his body.)

5) In the forest he must sleep on the ground at night. Above all, he should not sleep face upward because the soul of his victim may climb into his mouth and press on his chest, even to the extent of killing him by asphyxia. He may only return to his home for a short time to rest in a hammock, but this must be so small that he cannot lie comfortably on it, and due to this inconvenience he is unable to sleep for long.

6) He must eat and sleep very little and be continually alert, having for his only companion a dog, whose season will warn him of the approach of danger.

[83 cont.]
682 783 warn him of the approach of danger.

7) He must abstain from all business and renounce friendships for some years, avoid social gatherings, especially those of a festive or drinking type.

8) In the case that the two family groups — that of the murderer and that of his victim — do not come to an agreement he, the murderer, must leave the country of his own free will and go to some distant place.

If the murderer should not comply with the requisites indicated, he can be certain that the spirit of his victim will deliver him defenseless into [84] the hands of his enemies, who will immediately kill him to satisfy their vengeance.

We can clearly see two essential things that stand out from these facts: (a) that the murderer, by the social crime he has committed, places himself automatically in the condition of an outcast, one impure, or more correctly, a contaminated, dangerous being. For this reason he becomes an individual who [64] must be set apart from the community. (b) The murderer's family, at the same time that it provides him with the means for going away, carrying out one of its main functions, mutual assistance among its members, takes care that the outcast does not fall an easy prey to his victim's spirit. His retirement from his habitual haunts, from his acquaintances, and particularly 682 785 from his own relatives; his disguise by cutting his hair and wearing certain articles of clothing; his not sleeping in a hammock; his avoiding his face being seen (sleeping face down); his not mixing with friends in business and in social gatherings; and finally, his going away a long distance from his clan, all demonstrate clearly to us that what the murderer is endeavoring to do — consciously or unconsciously — is to effect a total change of personality, we should almost say that he tries to convert himself into another hypothetical person, unrecognizable especially to the spirit of the person he has killed, to avoid its discovering him and taking its revenge on his body.

The clearest demonstration that the change of personality is made to mislead the murdered man is the fact that only when it is found impossible to reach an agreement between the two

[84 cont.]

682 775 family groups — that of the murderer and that of the victim — is it considered necessary for the murderer to flee to distant parts to avoid the vengeance of his enemies falling on him. We have here, then, a repetition, different in form but essentially the same, of a disguise to avoid the presence of the spirits, [171] which the Witoto practice either in the father, the mother, or the child, with the object of protecting the child from the malevolent action of the spirits (Cf. "Sickness and Medicine").

787 Presence of the dead in dreams. The dead person can also reappear through the medium of dreams. He is then as real, as 769 alive, to the Indian [illegible] in his apparition during the day or night in a corporeal or other form, such as we have shown throughout this chapter. For this reason, when an Indian dreams of one of his dead relatives on any occasion, he believes that this relative is in need of something in his other world and requires [85] special help from his relatives. He therefore assembles the dead man's closest relatives, and they all go as soon as possible to the grave of the person who appeared in the dream and take a little food with them. After some time passed in lamentation over the tomb, they unwrap the meat expressly taken there for the occasion and seat themselves on the grave, prepared to eat, saying as they begin eating, "Come then, let us all eat together." To avoid the appearance of spirits through dreams, it is a general custom to visit the graves of the dead at times of full moon [luna clara], at night, and on the anniversary of the person's death.

The explanation of the spirit's appearance in a dream can be found very clearly expressed in the words we quote from Dr. Born and according to which "... from experiences in the world of dreams he derived the belief in the soul as a clear explanation of the consciousness of "ego," which is opposed to the destiny of death." According to this, in the dream communication is established between two spirits, between two souls, as Dr. Born says: that of the dead, already definitively free of its human wrapping; and that of the living, momentarily free of its body by the effects of the dream.

766 Burial and children. When the first-born of a Guajiro marriage dies before other children are born, they place it in an urn

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
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628 deeds frequently, and fears that he may bring severe disaster
672 on his relatives, he may be killed. It is interesting to know
681 that the individual may not necessarily be evil-intentioned.

We are accustomed to think that for an act of trespass on
672 the person or property the injured party can recover only if the act is considered to have been intentional or negligent.[6] Among the Guajiro there is no such qualification of a tort in order to allow legal action and to recognize legal liability. The act and the injury ensuing from it are the only considerations which have any importance.

Case I: Three boys, A, B, and C, close friends, were seated
628 on a log in the order named. B held a knife in his hand. In
672 the spirit of play A and C attempted to take it away from him.
683 In the good-natured scuffle that ensued A was slashed across the thigh accidentally.

The families of A, the injured party, and of B were on friendly terms. B's family immediately offered payment for the hurt done to A. Each family chose an arbiter, men known for their knowledge of law and their fairness, who granted A's family payment commensurate with the social position of A and the ability of B's family to pay: 60 sheep, 1 bull, 1 ass, a gold necklace, a horse.

Case II: Cacique A killed Cacique B through the accidental
628 discharge of a firearm. Their families belonged to the same
672 casta, and both being anxious to avoid armed conflict B's
682 family agreed to accept a property composition for the tort: 100 cows, 100 horses, 7 mules, 1,000 sheep.

Case III: Cacique A killed Cacique B in a quarrel. Both families being desirous of keeping the peace and both being members of the same casta, property composition was arranged.

This case would obviously fall within the class of crimes in our society and A would have been punished irrespective of the attitude of B's family. As a matter of fact, had B's family
554 been less important or had it belonged to the peon or slave
628 class, A's family may not have paid anything. On the other
672 hand had A been a peon or slave, his family would have suf-
682 fered extermination at the hands of B's relatives. A's family

could not have paid the price in the first place, and besides B's family would have little to fear from them. 554 628

The father and maternal uncle of the slain man take the initiative in seeking payment which goes to the mother's family. 672 682

If A and B had been workmen or retainers of C, a cacique, and A's family could not have paid the price of composition, then C would have paid B's family and in compensation would have enslaved A and his family. Payment for killing a peon is 10 asses, 50 to 100 sheep, and 10 steers. [466] [567]

Case IV: A was working for B. In the course of the work through no fault of B, A was hurt. B paid A's family for the injury. A's family took care of A. 466 672 683

Case V: A and B were working for C. Through accident B hurt A. B's family had to settle the injury with A's family. Had A been hurt in the course of the work without B acting as the instrument, then C, the employer, would have had to pay.

This case is similar to the one described by Simons. If A lends a horse to B and B is hurt through the instrumentality of the horse, A has to pay. If A gives rum to B and B injures C, A is held responsible.

Case VI: A wants to marry B. B or B's family reject his suit. A goes to B's rancho at night and commits suicide there B's family has to pay A's family for the death of A, B being considered as the direct instrument that caused A's death. 672 682 702

Case VII: A injures or kills B, caught *in flagrante delicto* with A's wife. A has to pay B's family a price minus an amount considered fair value for the sexual privilege that B exercised on A's wife. 672 682 684

These illustrations point to the absolute nature of Guajiro law. No extenuating circumstances are allowed to enter into settlement of cases of battery or other trespass on the rights of an individual. The case is different in so far as public sympathy and moral censure or approbation are concerned. Furthermore, society as a whole takes no action in righting wrongs. The family of the injured person must seek composition, and if it is not powerful enough to demand a high price it has to be satisfied with a smaller one. Conversely, there is 672 628 [626]

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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whom to exercise his begging propensities. To mention the dead before the relations is a dreadful offence, often punished by death; for if it happens in the dead person's rancho, with nephew or uncle present, they will generally kill the offender on the spot if possible. If not on the spot of the moment, it resolves itself into a heavy fine, usually two or more cows. Even if none of the dead person's relations are present, any friend can carry the news to the relations, and compensation is at once required. When not given it is forcibly taken, probably resented, and the two castes are at war. It is not wise to mention names of any sort in the Goajira in mixed company. 551 628 689

Another peculiar case: if a child dies in the custody of the mother or father, and they are living separate at the time of its death, then tear-money has to be paid by the one, under whose care the child died, to the other. This is "Tagwiro cashirua tashin," "My tears on account of my child." To demand payment for debts, *ai-cuke*, is one thing, and to demand compensation, *nanpe*, is another. They are generally pretty punctual in paying debts; should the debtor die, the creditor is sure, for the relations will suffer anything rather than allow the name of their dead to be abused. The following case of murder I witnessed in Atalpa. Some Pushaions drinking, one got on to a strange horse, and was ordered off by the owner, on not complying he was shot dead. Both parties being poor and near relations, it was arranged as follows: First payment, eight sheep, two cows, one horse, two necklaces of cornelian beads, two strapes of black beads (about 16 lbs.). Six months afterwards, second payment, similar to first. A few months after a third payment is asked, but is more an extra than anything else. After second payment all animosity ceases, and the two families can look again at each other on meeting. Should an Indian in attempting to kill another be wounded or killed, his family demand the same as though no attempt were made. 672 682 [424] [426] [428]

Among domestic customs, the one that calls most attention is shutting up their young girls on arriving at womanhood. The custom is religiously carried out throughout the country. Each girl is confined in a separate little hut by herself. She is stripped of all her ornaments, even to her beads and strapes, and all her clothing with the exception of the long loose cotton gown, nor is she allowed to cut her hair. For the first couple of days, drinking water is denied her, the only food being *kapeape*, a composition of medicinal herbs. According to birth, a rigorous diet is observed the first month, no meat being allowed. She can be freely mentioned and is merely alluded to by her relations as "earthe sure pearu," "she is shut up in her house." The term of retirement varies according to the wealth and rank of her family. Poor people cannot afford to keep girls idle more than a couple of weeks or a month; whereas the rich confine them for one, two, or even four years. It is while in this state that she learns all women's requirements— 881 [278] [262] [556] [566]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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551 idea being that to speak the name renews the grief of the
683 dead person's relatives. An old man of the Uriana clan, who called himself Juan, died. Some time later some of his relatives were at an entertainment, at which too was a woman of the Jusuá clan with her little son. A Creole asked this woman what her little boy was called and without thinking, she replied: 'Juan'. The dead man's relatives then claimed damages because she had mentioned the dead man's name, and she had to pay them a bullock, even though it was a Spanish name. It was the reminder of their grief that had [564] to be compensated. It is also an offence to tread on an Indian's grave.

682 It is more expensive to strike a person than to insult him. One should not answer an insult with a blow, but a well-to-do Indian will not infrequently do so and gladly pay the damages. If an Indian strikes another without hurting him, he must pay nonetheless, because he has treated the other as a slave—it being only one's own slaves that one has the right to strike. If anyone tears a tunic, he must not only
685 replace it, but pay for the shame the other felt at going about in rags.

A thief, if caught, must repay several times the value of what he has stolen. Not infrequently he must pay with his life, especially if the person he has robbed is a powerful personage, as he usually is, and the thief belongs to a weak clan that cannot help his family to exact blood-money.

[567] A thief can be forced to pay by working for his victim. He becomes a debtor-slave. Murder, manslaughter and being
692 the cause of another's death are the most serious crimes. They do not have these actual categories. The penalty for manslaughter is very heavy; if agreement cannot be reached on it, it can sometimes lead to war, a war in which the enemy must either be exterminated or enslaved.

628 It is on such occasions that a purehi is held, at which you can see the groups of warriors drawn up facing each other, while a chief presides.

620 The chief is a mighty person and will have been chosen
629 for his excellent qualities, yet he is not a judge, but rather advocate and mediator. His role is as conciliator. He will

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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already have talked with both parties and know their points 622
of view. One can imagine what takes place. The killer's 628
family wishing an amicable settlement: 'It is best that we do not begin a war, brothers,' says their leader. He offers reasonable compensation, paints a picture of the horrors of war, the continual fear of attack, the burning houses, the women violated and enslaved, the blood-feud continuing from generation to generation, and, by way of contrast, describes the calm of peaceful work.

The other side are spoiling for a fight. 'I am rich and need no damages. My men are brave and prepared for a fight. I wish that we measure our strength.'

If a settlement is not arrived at, a fresh meeting is arranged, and meanwhile there is a state of latent war. Even if a fine is agreed upon, peace is not restored until the fine has actually been paid. This is probably done in stages, and that is why the Creoles say that the Indians can kill each other on the instalment system.

To bring about another's death, whether intentionally or 682
unintentionally, has grave consequences for the person responsible. The fine that has to be paid is often ruinous. The homicide becomes indebted to his relatives who have to help him pay. Also, for magical reasons, he has to submit to a lengthy period of isolation and to certain restrictions which prevent him attending to his affairs and make him endure certain privations.

If a white man has killed an Indian, he should try to get 682
to safety outside the peninsula, because even if he pays a 648
fine for manslaughter, the Indians will seek his life. Three white men must die for each Indian killed, according to the old rule. They long insisted on regarding all white people [609]
as being of the one clan, though nowadays they know that they are split up into different peoples. They would now never dare extend vengeance for an injury inflicted by a native mulatto to, say, a fair-haired foreigner from the north.

The foregoing are but a few points of Guajiro law which 671
is really much more complicated than these would make it appear. The law ought really to be the same for all, but

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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761 would be able to live to all intents and purposes for ever.
776 The Guajiro word for illness, [illegible], is the same as that for the spirit of death, and actually means 'he within us'. As so often happens, they make no distinction between the spirits of the dead and other spirits.

775 The spirits of suicides are especially feared. As a safety
762 measure the rope and tree used are burned, since death still clings to them and is infectious. Round the scene of the suicide the dead man's ghost wanders head down, sometimes pursuing passers-by in the shape of a flame. Everybody avoids such places. It sometimes happens that Indians, both children and grown-ups, say that they have met dead relatives in human guise, but dumb. Such encounters bring misfortune. If a Guajiro Indian moves outside the peninsula, he will after death rest on the burial place of his fathers. After death he has a long journey ahead of him, and if he is to reach the realm of the dead he ought to start out from the burial place of his own people. Besides, and this perhaps is the most important point of all, the ritual prescribed in Guajira has to be observed.

775 The spirit of a murdered person follows his slayer everywhere and attacks him if he falls ill or becomes weak, appear-
682 ing in the hallucinations of fever. Its presence also constitutes a danger to the murderer's children. It can also appear in the form of a flame or of an animal, for example a bird. As I have already said, the house in which someone has been murdered is abandoned immediately, for the angry spirit of the dead man can appear there at any time.

To protect himself the slayer must submit to severe restrictions, which are prescribed by his maternal aunts and the elder women and which he follows in his own interest. He hides in the wilds, has nothing but maize gruel and water. He ought not to speak or have anything to do with anyone, and must be ever ready with weapons in his hand. An enemy may appear. The slayer cuts off his hair, wears a very short black cloak and must sleep on the ground with his face downwards and hidden, never on his back, otherwise the spirit of the man he killed could sit on his chest. It is best if he can sleep little and seldom, and have a dog with

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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him that can give the alarm. For a long time he has to refrain from all association with his friends and keep away from feasts. In the end, if agreement on compensation is not reached with the dead man's family, he will have to leave the district for a period of years. This precaution is to protect the slayer from the spirit of the man he killed, which would look for him in his normal haunts and would not recognize him under the new conditions, but it is also a protection against the dead man's nearest relatives, who will thirst for vengeance as long as compensation has not been agreed and paid.

We mounted and rode away from our first burial feast. On the fringe of the area stood six Indians armed, some with guns, others with bows and arrows. Their task was to shoot after all departing guests in order to scare off any dangerous spirits that might be intending to keep them company. Here, a deputy-host presented us with a live heifer. Every guest was to have a present of an animal according to his rank. We also had the meat that had been distributed that morning. It was considered quite all right either to eat it or to take it to eat on the way home. Several others were doing as we and there was a long line of departing guests, the men on horseback, the women mostly on donkeys. We all kept together for quite a distance.

Spirits rose as the heat increased, for drink had been handed out along with the meat, the Indians believing, as did the Creoles, that spirits were the best protection against the dangers of the hot sun.

A young Indian rode up to us. He wore a cloak with a beautiful pattern and was mounted on a splendid mare, which showed that he was of well-to-do family. He was in a bad mood, however, having been forgotten in the distribution of parting gifts and had not been given even a sheep. For that reason he was highly incensed with his neglectful hosts, whom he obviously scarcely knew.

We rode past an old man on foot dragging a calf behind him. The old man was obviously sober, but he kept muttering imprecations to himself. He too had been forgotten.

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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the other. Many other cases indicate the absolute nature of *Goajiro* law 672
and the refusal to recognize extenuating circumstances.

Murder is a very serious crime, and the victim's family immediately 652
demands blood money to the amount of 200 or more cattle. For failure 628
to pay, a member of the murderer's sib of the same rank as the victim must forfeit his life. If payment is not forthcoming retaliatory raids are made. As the defenders generally lose more people than the attackers, the feud may continue indefinitely until all the members of one sib will consider themselves at war with the members of the other, thereby spreading the war throughout the peninsula. If a feud should develop between the sib of the husband and that of the wife, the latter, with her children, will return to her own group until the trouble is over.

A person who has received a deadly insult from another is baited and 653
chided until he takes revenge by killing the offender, in proof of which he removes the victim's viscera and takes them home. This act also prevents the victim's soul from bothering him. If unable to accomplish this he may commit suicide. Suicide is also sometimes a means of venge- 762
ance, a person feeling that he will suffer less than those who caused him to commit the act. Thus a wife who is not allowed enough freedom may hang herself.

Next to murder, one of the most serious offenses is to mention a per- 669
son's true name (given at birth?) or to mention a person's name after his death. This has caused many tribal conflicts.

The value of the compensation demanded in disputes varies directly 631
with the social rank of the offended party. In some cases a repeated 565
offender may be killed by his own sib members. Sometimes, rather than 728
to continue the warfare, hostile sibs may confer under the auspices of an outsider, such as a Capuchin monk, and draw up peace terms. In personal quarrels or minor brawls women often step in and enforce peace.

WARFARE

Wars between the *Goajiro* and outsiders are rare, but any White man 721
may be held liable for the offense done by another, as all Whites are thought 609
to belong to the same sib. Sometimes the few civilized people living in the peninsula take vengeance on the Indians, which leads to further reprisals by the latter.

At the time of De la Rosa, war was declared by sending to the other 721
tribe an ambassador who, in a public speech, asked indemnities for damage previously done. If these were not conceded war was declared, but a brief truce was observed in order that preparations might be made. In battle each group of opposing warriors formed a semicircle and tried to surround and destroy the other. In individual encounters a *Goajiro* rode 726
out on a horse, but, upon seeing the enemy, he dismounted and shot his own horse with an arrow to show his confidence and willingness to fight

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XII

LAW

683 Delicts of aggression. The regimen for social stability is breached, according to the Guajiro Indian's tradition, when aggressive acts are committed in one way or another against the security of individuals.

Let us see some of these infractions which are considered punishable acts that cause the culprit to be sanctioned, in each case in the form of a material indemnity of variable amount, paid to the offended party.

The Guajiro thinks that life rests in the blood, since it is the vital element of most importance (See Ideas about fecundation in Chap. V). To spill blood in any way implies taking some part of his life away from its owner, and in addition, as blood is not the property of the individual only but of all the consanguineous relatives since it is the tie of solidarity through the uterine line, it is necessary for this reason to indemnify these relatives for the injury done to one of their members. Translated into its legal aspect, this means that the breaking of the regimen for stability through an offense or by a delict involves not only the individual but all his consanguineous relatives. But not only are the cases that involve the spilling of blood considered as punishable acts, the Guajiro also classify as delicts against the regimen for social stability all those that in some manner constitute in themselves an open aggression against the person of an individual and that therefore extend to his relatives.

Injuries. Various causes lead to this aggressive act /sic/. The majority of these stem from an old quarrel between two family groups that has not been effectively solved by a payment that should clearly have settled it, so that the members of the two sides are always openly antagonistic, and this feeling,

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683 kept below the surface for various reasons, suddenly shows itself at a given moment. That is to say, the cause is in short a family vendetta which may break out at any instant. Another of the causes can be an enmity originating in an illegal act committed by one group against another, such as the stealing of animals, /180/ the abduction of a woman without the corresponding payment, or suspicions or evidence of adultery. In addition one must consider those aggressive acts which occur on the spur of the moment, that is, aggression provoked in the majority of cases by alcoholic abuse.

683 One must also consider many aspects itself of spilling blood
672 which extend responsibility for this aggressive act to one or various persons who did not participate in it directly, but in a passive form. Thus we have the situation that the person guilty of a punishable action of this class is not only he who does it willfully, but also the individual who does it involuntarily, as illustrated in the following example. Two very intimate friends went out one day to hunt. They belonged to different family groups. They had hunted all afternoon and were returning to their homes when a chance of a shot presented itself. When the man carrying the gun tried to shoot, the gun went off unexpectedly and wounded his friend. The culprit, with his relatives, suffered all the consequences connected with breaking the law. No attenuating circumstances of any kind were considered -- neither the friendship nor the involuntary character of the act.

683 The owner of a firearm which causes injury or death brings punishment upon himself and upon his relatives. For this reason, the man who lends a weapon must suffer the consequences of its wrong use, whether voluntary or involuntary.

Injuries to oneself. Anyone who wounds himself must pay his relatives for having shed blood, their common bond to which he has no right.

When some person with an object owned by him injures another person. From among others we cite one case as an example. A rich Indian living in Nazaret got drunk one day.

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683 Already very intoxicated, he started off for home at nightfall, riding on a very frisky burro. For some reason the animal got frightened on the road, near a fence of sticks which protected a corn field belonging to a family different from his own. Because of the jumping of his mount and his own condition, the Indian fell off and scratched his face on the fence, and received in addition several wounds caused by the out-of-control animal. The injured Guajiro charged the owners of the fence with the responsibility of his having shed blood and to indemnify him for this involuntary spilling of his blood, the owners of the sown field were punished by the destruction of their fence, which meant that they lost their harvest. The owners, of a group inferior to that of the injured man, had to resign themselves to this punishment /181/ for fear of worse sanctions, without being able to appeal at all to their favor lack of guilt, since the fence, as their property which it was, had caused the loss of blood. They could be thankful, furthermore, that they were not forced to pay a much higher compensation payment which the injured Indian initially wanted to claim.

Also grouped together under this heading are injuries caused by an animal, whose responsibility is transferred to its owner, who must pay the indemnity due. We have the following case of this. A dog belonging to the convent at Nazaret bit a calf that was in the convent's sown field. After a time the calf died. The wounds received were then taken as the cause of death and payment was demanded for the animal on both counts /of injury and death/.

[622] When one Guajiro lends another any animal, he makes himself responsible, as in the case of firearms, for anything that may happen as a consequence of the loan. Thus, for example, if the loan of a beast of burden or a pack animal leads to the borrower's getting hurt, the owner of the animal must pay the damages incurred, because they say that if he had not lent the horse the incident would not have occurred, hence he is the cause of it.

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A man who employs another runs the risk that something may happen to him while he is in his service or carrying out one of his orders.

A little girl in the orphanage burns her leg in the kitchen when carrying out a task she had been told to do while learning to cook. Her mother, when she heard of the incident, came to the convent in spite of the fact that the burn was insignificant and formally demanded compensation payment from the Reverend Sisters, the persons responsible for what had happened to her daughter as she was under their orders.

A rich mestizo woman one night requested the services of a Guajiro girl who lived in the neighborhood to help her prepare a meal quickly for her husband and some of his friends who had arrived unexpectedly. While this girl was dressing a hen she cut her finger. The wound bled a little but was of no importance. Nevertheless, very early the following day her mother appeared and demanded compensation payment from the mestizo for the blood shed by her daughter. As the girl was of low status, the mestizo only had to pay four goats, five pigs, 15 hens, 25 skeins of thread for hammocks, five bars of soap worth $1.50 /sic/ each, and several mirrors and kerchiefs. /182/

Contagion. The passing on of a disease, when it does not cause death, can be considered an aggressive act liable to a payment in accordance with the consequences of the contagion.

Any accident, even if caused directly by an enemy of the family or a personal one, which occurs to a person sent by another in compliance with the latter's orders, makes the responsibility and the fault lie equally with the direct causer of the accident and the man under whose orders the injured man acted, since the victim's relatives allege that if he had not been sent under orders to such a place, the act would not have occurred.

Involuntary responsibility implies payment in cases such as the following: A girl was going with a burro to a near-by well for water. Passing the house of a friend, she invited her to

/182 cont. /

683 accompany her. Both got on the burro, which was loaded with the pitchers. The animal reared, and the second girl fell on a cactus, whose needles caused her to bleed. The injured girl's mother demanded compensation payment from the other, and thus made the mother of the first girl go from house to house among her friends and relatives to collect animals and objects with which to pay for her daughter's wrongdoing. If the girl had not invited her friend and if she had not mounted her on an animal which was her property, the accident would not have occurred was the reason presented by the mother of the injured girl when pressing for payment.

A person is also considered to culpable if through giving advice, he causes a particular course of action during the execution of which something happens which brings harmful consequences to the person who took his advice or to his family. We heard for example of the case of an Indian who had advised a friend not to use the customary road to get to a certain place but to take another which he judged to be shorter; his friend took his advice and suffered a fall from his horse, and consequently the Indian had to pay an indemnity, since his advice became an aggressive act against the other, which although involuntary required an indemnity.

It is not considered an attenuating circumstance of guilt when an injury results from an act done in the case of injury or defense. A native of Upper La Guajira very frequently bothered a mestizo because the latter would not get drunk with him, insisting that his refusal was due to his considering the native's group to be inferior to his and that he wanted to humiliate him with this. The mestizo showed himself unwilling to please him until one day they happened to get drunk together in the mestizo's house. The Indian revived his ill-humor and said insulting things about the mestizo's maternal family. The latter, on one hand, should have asserted himself before the onlookers, but on the other hand, the law /183/ did not give him the right, in spite of the offense, to hit one who insulted his family in his own house and in front of onlookers.

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Furthermore, the laws of hospitality held him back. But there came a moment when he could stand no more, and he hit his antagonist, making his nose bleed profusely. The claim for compensation payment was immediate: He had to pay 45 goats, ten mules, two demijohns of rum, two gold necklaces, 25 skeins of cotton thread, ten hens, four machetes, large kerchiefs, and 80 pesos to a white doctor for his medical services. All this he paid in less time than that agreed upon, with the intent of humiliating his enemy and making a public demonstration of his consanguineous relatives' prestige as rich people.

That the aggressive act is done in legitimate self-defense does not excuse the man who does the injury from culpability. Above all, the claim for compensation payment is promptly presented and the amount is considerable, if the wounded man is the richer.

We must also note the following case: If someone is hurt in the house of some Guajiro the culpability extends to the family head of the house, who in this way is involved in the payment, since it is said that if the man had not been there, the deed would not have happened. The culpability is even more certain if it is established that the owner of the house invited the injured person.

In the general case of injuries we must consider those which are mutually caused by children of different family groups either during their childish activities or those which can be included among the causes just seen. A single exception is made, however, where the two disputants are both slightly hurt, and more or less equally so, while they are playing. But in spite of this, if one of the mothers demands compensation payment from the other, the latter will have to pay. For this reason the mothers try, with the means they have at their disposal, to prevent their children being in the company of children of another family group.

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683 672 The responsibility for the delict in La Guajira is borne not only by he who gave the order but also by he who carries it out. Both are involved to an equal degree in the aggressive act. Furthermore, all the people accompanying an individual at the time this person breaks the legal system for stability and injures a /184/ family group are involved in his culpability. They tell of the case of a well-known putchi (1) between Jayariyŭes and

1. War between two clan groups.

Pushainas, in which all the people accompanying the aggressor had to contribute to the payment because they found themselves involved by the very act of being present in a common complicity.

They consider as a transgressor, and therefore culpable, any individual who indirectly aids the aggressor in accomplishing his delict. It is not considered extenuating that the help was given without previous knowledge that the act was going to occur. We have already seen the case in which the culpability extended to the owners of a firearm, for example, or to those who were along. We must also classify in this totality people who collaborate in transporting the offender in a vehicle or on an animal to the site of the crime, even if they lack knowledge of the reason for such transport. That the crime took place is sufficient for them to be included as culpable.

When a Guajiro spreads slander, if it can be proved to be false, he is obliged to pay for the offense and for the damage he inflicted on the slandered person. This type of case is common among men in respect to the chastity of their women and is used as vengenace against the woman who has refused their amorous attentions or their desire for marriage. The payment demanded as indemnity covers the moral injuries caused, the material consequences, and the pain occasioned to the injured person and to her consanguineous relatives.

/184 cont./

613 The native adds a great deal of his own phantasy to the truth of the facts. For this reason his testimony is sometimes false. He sometimes lies deliberately to obtain the personal advantage of demanding a payment for himself or for someone who has bribed him. If the lie is proved, or if the instigator of the idea is known, the responsibility for the punishable act embraces both, who are jointly punished.

We have already seen a case in which a disinterested and sincere piece of advice led to a man's being saddled with culpability by the one to whom he gave it, since he was regarded as an indirect participant in an aggressive action against the person who took his advice. Ill-intentioned advice is also considered as a transgressive act, which if it is followed by bad results to the person who takes it and if the bad intentions are proved, the counselor is considered guilty because he has caused a break in the regimen for social security. Furthermore, if the crooked intentions of the advice are proved beforehand, the culpability is clearer and demands an economic indemnity.

The following are also considered to be aggressive acts:/185/

683 a) Pronouncing the personal name of an individual. This
689 name, according to Guajiro custom, may only be pronounced without giving offense by the closest maternal relatives. To pronounce it or to make it known to other people is to inflict an insult on the individual and involves punishment. This is probably due to the identification of an individual with his personal name. To betray the name is to betray the individual.

b) The worst offense that a Guajiro can receive from an outsider is for the latter, consciously or unconsciously, to pronounce in front of him or in front of his relatives or friends -- who would tell him about it -- the name of a dead maternal relative. The offense is as great as the relative is close. This aggressive act includes not only pronouncing the name of the dead relative when referring to him, but also addressing someone with the same name. From this stems the established custom of changing the names of all the namesakes of a person when he dies.

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683 689 The reason which justifies compensation payment in Guajira mentality is that saying the word which designates a dead relative immediately brings back a vision of that person with the remembrance of his death, and recalls the anguish and pain of that moment. The pain of his absence is renewed, and they are reminded of how much they miss him in the group which may have suffered socially and economically due to the lack of effective backing which the dead man used to provide. All this revival of memories and the consequent affective valuation of the deceased gives great pain to his relatives, for which they must be indemnified.

The offense is graver when the individual for some reason mentions the dead person in a contemptuous way. This may cause the offended relative to kill the offender, as a natural reaction to an aggressive act, even though such an offense is not considered extenuating in this type of homicide.

The act of stepping on a Guajiro's grave is considered an aggressive act against the regimen for social security. If someone sees this happen he informs the relatives, who immediately demand an indemnity of considerable size from the relatives of the offender. This payment has to be made very quickly, since it is an assault on the cult of the dead and can give rise to an armed struggle between clans.

683 Another aggressive act which can give rise to compensation payment is contemptuous allusion to a physical defect which an individual may have or the mention of his nickname, if this refers to a bodily deformity, such as the case of a person who is one-eyed, squint-eyed, /186/ lacks an arm, or has very noticeable scars on his face or on some visible part of his body.

An offense on the same scale as the above is to mention ironically or contemptuously or in a pejorative manner the maternal relatives of someone, especially their ascendants in the female line, or their uncles, criticising their physical defects or their acts.

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683 An insult is taken as an offense that has legal sanction. We note the case of two co-wives who did not get on well. One day they met unexpectedly on the road. One insulted the other with obscenities (in Spanish) and spat on the ground when she passed. This led to her being considered the author of an aggressive act and having to pay an indemnity for the moral offense caused.

When obscenities refer to a woman's honor they are specially injurious, the more so when they refer to her genital organs or to the sex act.

To show open suspicion of another person is also an offensive action which is punished. The story is told how in the Nazaret orphanage some clothes which had been left all night in one of the interior patios to dry were stolen. The Father Superior, looking for the thief, walked around the vicinity visiting the huts and obtaining information. He wanted to find out indirectly who was the thief, and in each house he got new data. In one of these huts, the owners were away and only the servants were there, for which reason he did not enter but only looked in from the outside in a guarded way. This action was noticed, however, by a bond servant, who told his master, a laborer who worked at the orphanage. Time passed and the Father needed someone to accompany him on a trip and when he asked the Indian, the latter openly refused to go with him. Asked why, he said that he was terribly resentful because the suspicion expressed in the Father's act of curiosity had pained him profoundly. If he was not paid for the pain thus caused, he would not go with him. The Father had to indemnify him.

683 522 Another act considered offensive in the Guajiro mentality is to ridicule someone. The Indian has a jocular nature, but to make someone openly the butt of his jests may cause such a feeling of offense that the man whose feelings have been wounded demands payment. It is not unusual that they joke among themselves, especially under the effects of alcohol, but it is also not unusual for their feelings to be hurt very easily, and a simple joke may cause offense, even between very close friends. To erase the effect of the hurt and /187/ sorrow (as the Guajiro says) caused by

/187 cont./

683 being put in a ridiculous position, the individual demands a payment that compensates him for what was said.
[522]

It is also considered offensive and therefore contrary to the regimen for personal safety if one man hits another without wounding him. There are two aspects to be considered in this act as aggravations: the physical, that is, the blow in itself, and the psychological, for the Guajiro thinks that by being hit in this way he has been reduced to the status of a slave or bond servant; and consequently he has not only been lowered in his standing as a free man but has also been placed on a plane of dependence with respect to the person who hit him. The indemnity must satisfy both offenses.

To tear someone's robe also has a double significance as an aggressive act: the material damage caused, which must be replaced by buying a new one (conduct of a drunken husband); and the psychological damage, as it is like injuring the person himself, since a person is identified with the clothes he wears.

Any damage to the property of a person is an aggressive act and punishable as such, and the indemnity should be greater than the loss, since the excess represents the grievance suffered.

* * *

689 The transgression of the legal norms illustrated in the above
191 aggressive acts against the regimen for stability in La Guajira must be paid for both by a member of the society as well as by an outsider. But there are two things which can only apply to a native individual, an active member of the Guajiro community. These two things are the following.

a) Language. The Indian very much values his native language and tries to preserve it at all cost. His women do not want to learn Spanish and pretend they do not know it when they are questioned. It constitutes in itself a grave offense if one native speaks to another in Spanish instead of his native tongue. The story is told of a Guajiro who spoke to a relative in Spanish during

[45 cont.]

782 quite high, which also gives us an idea of their value in the opinion of the Indians since they considered that the fact of their points being impregnated with the blood of the sacrificed child made them both more poisonous and more accurate.

766 The body of the boy, who had to be between four and six years old, was brought by the father to the hamlet after these magic operations were finished and was buried in the clan cemetery. The burial and the death of the child were secrets. Nobody must know about it. We could not discover if the secret nature of the ceremony was due to the fact that the community [682 might punish the murderer, the mother or maternal aunt, or 789] some member of the child's family on the maternal side, collecting the corresponding sum for his death in accord [46] with customary Guajiro law, or if the reason was that secrecy strengthened the malevolent qualities of the poison on the arrows. It is to be presumed that the latter hypothesis is the more acceptable, since the disappearance of the child and the sale of magic arrows by the father would point him out as the author of the sacrifice.

682 In any case we cannot overlook the aspects of blood in the child sacrifice just mentioned. Spilling blood is one of the 683 crimes most severely punished. Blood, according to everything 826 one can deduce, has great value for the natives, as it is considered an integral part of their human personality, even to confounding it, so to speak, with personality itself, as they do in the case of names. Hence, for the same reason, he who voluntarily or involuntarily sheds the blood of another person is stigmatized and becomes an outcast from society. He becomes unclean, and in consequence has to make the corresponding reparation which at the present time is complied with by paying to the offended party or to his family a determined [411] quantity of valuable objects or animals. For this same reason, arrows contaminated with the blood of the child sacrificed by his father have, or ought to have, according to the Guajiro mentality, an incalculable value due to their participation in 411 the sacrifice and spilling of blood, thanks to its presence on 435 their points. Moreover, if we take into account what the 775 dead man means to the Guajiro as a spirit capable of doing harm

628 deeds frequently, and fears that he may bring severe disaster
672 on his relatives, he may be killed. It is interesting to know
681 that the individual may not necessarily be evil-intentioned.

We are accustomed to think that for an act of trespass on
672 the person or property the injured party can recover only if the act is considered to have been intentional or negligent.[6] Among the Guajiro there is no such qualification of a tort in order to allow legal action and to recognize legal liability. The act and the injury ensuing from it are the only considerations which have any importance.

Case I: Three boys, A, B, and C, close friends, were seated
628 on a log in the order named. B held a knife in his hand. In
672 the spirit of play A and C attempted to take it away from him.
683 In the good-natured scuffle that ensued A was slashed across the thigh accidentally.

The families of A, the injured party, and of B were on friendly terms. B's family immediately offered payment for the hurt done to A. Each family chose an arbiter, men known for their knowledge of law and their fairness, who granted A's family payment commensurate with the social position of A and the ability of B's family to pay: 60 sheep, 1 bull, 1 ass, a gold necklace, a horse.

Case II: Cacique A killed Cacique B through the accidental
628 discharge of a firearm. Their families belonged to the same
672 casta, and both being anxious to avoid armed conflict B's
682 family agreed to accept a property composition for the tort: 100 cows, 100 horses, 7 mules, 1,000 sheep.

Case III: Cacique A killed Cacique B in a quarrel. Both families being desirous of keeping the peace and both being members of the same casta, property composition was arranged.

This case would obviously fall within the class of crimes in our society and A would have been punished irrespective of the attitude of B's family. As a matter of fact, had B's family
554 been less important or had it belonged to the peon or slave
628 class, A's family may not have paid anything. On the other
672 hand had A been a peon or slave, his family would have suf-
682 fered extermination at the hands of B's relatives. A's family

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
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could not have paid the price in the first place, and besides B's family would have little to fear from them. 554 628

The father and maternal uncle of the slain man take the initiative in seeking payment which goes to the mother's family. 672 682

If A and B had been workmen or retainers of C, a cacique, and A's family could not have paid the price of composition, then C would have paid B's family and in compensation would have enslaved A and his family. Payment for killing a peon is 10 asses, 50 to 100 sheep, and 10 steers.* [466] [567]

Case IV: A was working for B. In the course of the work through no fault of B, A was hurt. B paid A's family for the injury. A's family took care of A. 466 672 683

Case V: A and B were working for C. Through accident B hurt A. B's family had to settle the injury with A's family. Had A been hurt in the course of the work without B acting as the instrument, then C, the employer, would have had to pay.

This case is similar to the one described by Simons. If A lends a horse to B and B is hurt through the instrumentality of the horse, A has to pay. If A gives rum to B and B injures C, A is held responsible.

Case VI: A wants to marry B. B or B's family reject his suit. A goes to B's rancho at night and commits suicide there B's family has to pay A's family for the death of A, B being considered as the direct instrument that caused A's death. 672 682 762

Case VII: A injures or kills B, caught *in flagrante delicto* with A's wife. A has to pay B's family a price minus an amount considered fair value for the sexual privilege that B exercised on A's wife. 672 682 684

These illustrations point to the absolute nature of Guajiro law. No extenuating circumstances are allowed to enter into settlement of cases of battery or other trespass on the rights of an individual. The case is different in so far as public sympathy and moral censure or approbation are concerned. Furthermore, society as a whole takes no action in righting wrongs. The family of the injured person must seek composition, and if it is not powerful enough to demand a high price it has to be satisfied with a smaller one. Conversely, there is 672 628 [626]

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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611 614 628 [604] In the following laws it must be borne in mind that it is not the injured individual that demands compensation, but his relations, uncles on the mother's side as a rule. From this has arisen the common error that the father is ignored; as will be seen further on, this is not the case. In compensation it is the caste that reclaims, and the caste is always the mother's side. For example, a Pushaina man marries an Uriana girl; the children are Urianas. If one of these now should kill an Epieyu, for example, the whole caste of Uriana is at war with all the Epieyues, unless the matter is amicably settled by paying blood-money.

672 683 Case No. 1. Personally inflicted wounds. If an Indian accidentally cuts himself, say with his own knife, breaks a limb, or otherwise does himself an injury, his family on the mother's side immediately demands blood-money. Being of their blood, he is not allowed to spill it without paying for it. The father's relations demand tear-money, not so much. Friends [572] present demand compensation to repay their sorrow at seeing a friend in pain. If anybody present can seize the instrument that caused the accident it is appropriated. The pay is in ratio to the injury. A slightly cut finger is settled with a little Indian corn, a kid, or such trifle. A bad cut requires at least a goat or a sheep, with other sundries. In all cases of compensation where the Indian has not the wherewith to satisfy his creditors, he goes round begging until it is obtained.

628 672 683 Case No. 2. Damage done by animals. Suppose an Indian borrows a mule or other animal, and is thrown by it, doing himself bodily injury, then his relations demand compensation from the lender, the argument being, had he not lent the animal the accident could not have happened. Should the beast belong to the thrown man himself, then he has to pay. Case of No. 1 in fact.

Case No. 3. General liability all round. This covers an enormous field. The most curious. Everybody selling rum or anything else is answerable for all the damage done by its instrumentality. Unfortunately this law is only, like many others, enforced when it is possible. As the traders know it very well, they never take rum into the interior for barter without being fully able to protect themselves. I was lent a servant as guide by a trader, who requested me not to let the man have any drink, for should anything happen to him he would be responsible to the family. Indians in employment receiving any damage the em- [466] ployer becomes liable; and so on. Wherever the Indian can only make the ghost of a claim he wants tear-money, blood-money, or some other money, and if not satisfied, helps himself with what he can lay his hands on.

551 628 689 Case No. 4. Mentioning names. This is very serious. The Indians object to have their true names mentioned, and demand heavy compensation in aggravated cases. They generally go by a Spanish name—José Antonio, Agustin, Vicente, &c., for an Indian dearly loves to be baptised, that is, he likes the attending feast and having god-fathers on

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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inherit. They hold him in great respect. A man's chief heir 614
is thus his eldest nephew and he takes particular care of him. [604]
During his lifetime a well-to-do man will give his sons [428]
enough cattle to ensure that they will not be left destitute
when he dies. Each clan has its name and its symbol: the [431]
jaguar, rattle-snake, king vulture, dog, etc., but this has no
connection with totemism or magic. The Indians think no
more of their name's meaning than we do, when people
have animal names. They often joke about them.

A number of the clans are large and powerful, others
small and weak, sometimes entirely dependent on one of
the big clans. Those born into a big clan are fortunate, for
they have power behind them and can count on support
and help if they are insulted, threatened or robbed, for the
members of a clan stick together whatever happens, united
by the bond of blood. The same blood flows in all their
veins. The Indians imagine that the human grows from a [843]
drop of the mother's blood, and that the foetus feeds on
the new vital fluid—for they know that menstruation
ceases during pregnancy.

A man does not possess the right to dispose of his blood [752]
or his life. They both belong to the clan. If he hurts himself
so that blood flows he must pay damages to his clan for
shedding their blood. Suicide is also punishable, though [762]
not at all unusual. After an unsuccessful attempt at suicide,
the clan will claim damages, even if no blood has been
shed. An Indian wanting to take his own life hangs himself.
Such importance is attached to the shedding of blood, that, 683
if someone strikes another and makes his nose bleed, this is 614
regarded as an aggravating circumstance and increases the
compensation the victim demands. His whole clan will
consider itself insulted. In fact, one can really say that an
Indian only has the usufruct of his life and blood.

It is the same with the land. The land in the peninsula is 423
owned by the clans, each of which has its own defined terri- 614
tory. The cultivable areas are not large and lie round the
few water-courses that are not dry during most of the year.
These plantations are traditionally exploited by certain
families in each clan and are inherited by the eldest nephews.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

4 goats, 5 pigs, 15 hens, 25 skeins of yarn, 5 bars of soap (an expensive commodity) and some mirrors and handkerchiefs. 672 Employees are very well insured, it would seem. If an employee destroys anything belonging to a third party, the employer has to pay twice its value or more. One's responsibility is not confined to what persons in one's service may do, but extends to animals and inanimate objects if one lends them. If I let an Indian ride my horse and the horse throws him off, I have to pay; and if someone cuts himself on a knife belonging to me, I have to pay—for it was my knife that did it.

It can even be risky to give advice in Guajira: for if you suggest a course of action and things go wrong, you may have to pay compensation. That is why the Indians will seldom tell you the way when you ask it.

A host is responsible to his guests, even if they are self- 672 invited. Hospitality is sacred and one cannot refuse to 574 receive someone seeking shelter. If the guest is ill, the host looks after him as best he can, but immediately sends for one of his relations. As soon as a relative arrives the host's responsibilities cease, but if the guest should die before the relative gets there, the host is liable for damages, hard as it may seem. On the other hand, if a person suffering from an infectious disease goes to someone else's house, it is the guest who is responsible and must pay his host damages.

If two guests start fighting the host is considered jointly responsible, for if he had not invited them there would never have been a fight. If the others present do not try to avert the quarrel, they must pay up too.

Insults and calumny are contrary to the law, and it is 683 especially serious if one reviles another's mother's family. Among themselves the Indians consider it disparaging [578] to be addressed in Spanish, instead of in their mother tongue.

Every Indian has a personal name used only by his 551 nearest and dearest. For an outsider to pronounce this calls 683 for a heavy penalty, as it does to speak the name of someone dead. As soon as it is learned that someone has died, all those with the same name at once change it for another. The

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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551 idea being that to speak the name renews the grief of the
683 dead person's relatives. An old man of the Uriana clan, who called himself Juan, died. Some time later some of his relatives were at an entertainment, at which too was a woman of the Jusuá clan with her little son. A Creole asked this woman what her little boy was called and without thinking, she replied: 'Juan'. The dead man's relatives then claimed damages because she had mentioned the dead man's name, and she had to pay them a bullock, even though it was a Spanish name. It was the reminder of their grief that had
[564] to be compensated. It is also an offence to tread on an Indian's grave.

683 It is more expensive to strike a person than to insult him. One should not answer an insult with a blow, but a well-to-do Indian will not infrequently do so and gladly pay the damages. If an Indian strikes another without hurting him, he must pay nonetheless, because he has treated the other as a slave—it being only one's own slaves that one has the right to strike. If anyone tears a tunic, he must not only
685 replace it, but pay for the shame the other felt at going about in rags.

A thief, if caught, must repay several times the value of what he has stolen. Not infrequently he must pay with his life, especially if the person he has robbed is a powerful personage, as he usually is, and the thief belongs to a weak clan that cannot help his family to exact blood-money.

[567] A thief can be forced to pay by working for his victim. He becomes a debtor-slave. Murder, manslaughter and being
68 the cause of another's death are the most serious crimes. They do not have these actual categories. The penalty for manslaughter is very heavy; if agreement cannot be reached on it, it can sometimes lead to war, a war in which the enemy must either be exterminated or enslaved.

628 It is on such occasions that a purchi is held, at which you can see the groups of warriors drawn up facing each other, while a chief presides.

622 The chief is a mighty person and will have been chosen
628 for his excellent qualities, yet he is not a judge, but rather advocate and mediator. His role is as conciliator. He will

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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the other. Many other cases indicate the absolute nature of *Goajiro* law 672
and the refusal to recognize extenuating circumstances.

Murder is a very serious crime, and the victim's family immediately 682
demands blood money to the amount of 200 or more cattle. For failure 628
to pay, a member of the murderer's sib of the same rank as the victim must forfeit his life. If payment is not forthcoming retaliatory raids are made. As the defenders generally lose more people than the attackers, the feud may continue indefinitely until all the members of one sib will consider themselves at war with the members of the other, thereby spreading the war throughout the peninsula. If a feud should develop between the sib of the husband and that of the wife, the latter, with her children, will return to her own group until the trouble is over.

A person who has received a deadly insult from another is baited and 683
chided until he takes revenge by killing the offender, in proof of which he removes the victim's viscera and takes them home. This act also prevents the victim's soul from bothering him. If unable to accomplish this he may commit suicide. Suicide is also sometimes a means of venge- 762
ance, a person feeling that he will suffer less than those who caused him to commit the act. Thus a wife who is not allowed enough freedom may hang herself.

Next to murder, one of the most serious offenses is to mention a per- 689
son's true name (given at birth?) or to mention a person's name after his death. This has caused many tribal conflicts.

The value of the compensation demanded in disputes varies directly 681
with the social rank of the offended party. In some cases a repeated 565
offender may be killed by his own sib members. Sometimes, rather than 728
to continue the warfare, hostile sibs may confer under the auspices of an outsider, such as a Capuchin monk, and draw up peace terms. In personal quarrels or minor brawls women often step in and enforce peace.

WARFARE

Wars between the *Goajiro* and outsiders are rare, but any White man 721
may be held liable for the offense done by another, as all Whites are thought 609
to belong to the same sib. Sometimes the few civilized people living in the peninsula take vengeance on the Indians, which leads to further reprisals by the latter.

At the time of De la Rosa, war was declared by sending to the other 721
tribe an ambassador who, in a public speech, asked indemnities for damage previously done. If these were not conceded war was declared, but a brief truce was observed in order that preparations might be made. In battle each group of opposing warriors formed a semicircle and tried to surround and destroy the other. In individual encounters a *Goajiro* rode 726
out on a horse, but, upon seeing the enemy, he dismounted and shot his own horse with an arrow to show his confidence and willingness to fight

/63 cont./

581 harness for animals, and, when living among civilizado /nonnative/ groups, domestic service in the homes of whites and mestizos, the carrying of water and part of the agricultural work in areas, such as Nazaret, where cultivation is possible on the banks of streams, as well as in regions where only temporary cultivation is carried on. In places like Carrizal and Bahía Honda they collect divi-divi, and in the saltworks they do secondary work for pay or simply to assist their husbands.

581 593 [684] This aspect of Guajiro marriage is so important that when a man has abducted a woman and he is considering whether he will buy her or only make a payment for the abuse he has committed, he obtains plant filaments or cotton and sets her to work to make a hammock or a belt. If the woman is not capable he will reject her, as he will reckon that he should not pay for her a price as high as is being demanded. The fact that the woman is an independent economic unit with her children allows her husband to dedicate himself entirely to his pastoral work, to go to the men's gatherings and to the various fiestas, to participate in communal work when asked, to go off on hunting trips for weeks at a time, without having to worry about his home, to join up with his group to fight when necessary, to go traveling from place to place where his other women are, where he gets other economic assistance; in fact to lead a life without worry, although at the present time, owing to conditions of diverse nature, he is finding it necessary to change this pattern of living and to take a more active part in economic life, through the necessity to migrate or to work in the urban centers. This does not mean that he is forced to give more direct assistance to the home: He still follows the traditional way in which his help is only sporadic and absolutely voluntary, leaving to the wife's care the support of the home and of herself; only at the present time when he receives a day's wage for his work, he will drink more and spend more time in idleness while he is spending his earnings.

/68 cont./

583 836 the situation in a different manner. He says: "The past does not matter to me. I suppose he did not cut out your organ." In this way the woman gets tranquilly married, and the husband, aware of the facts, makes no later claims, though it may happen that the price paid is lower, although this is not usual, as the man in recognition of the woman's confession shows a generous attitude.

In the case when the woman who is about to be bought has received payment for abuse, the man takes into account the intervention of the maternal family who saw to it that the feminine elements of the group were respected, which proves to him that it is a family group that insists on the law being complied with and for this reason has sufficient prestige and masculine elements to enforce it and is a group that, because of the payment he will make, will look after the security and stability of his marriage. Also, the knowledge of every one of the details of what happened (violation or marriage not carried out because of the nonpayment of the second payment) is an adequate palliative which excuses, to the Indian's way of thinking, what has occurred and does not constitute a deception or an economic or moral fraud.

[684] When in consequence of premarital relations a pregnancy has resulted, the man who causes it must pay for the birth in addition to the abuse, in accordance with Guajiro tradition: a number of animals to the mother or the immediate relatives for the troubles of pregnancy and for the birth itself, which includes the pain suffered and the blood lost. If this woman is later bought, an amount is deducted from the payment, which tacitly amounts to the value of her virginity, already paid for in the sum given for the abuse. It can, however, occur, and in effect it does occur, that the man /69/ ignores the past when he has a special affection or feels greatly attracted by the woman, in which case he pays the price asked without the afore-mentioned discount.

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/89 cont./

836 Today this causes less repercussion, and the phenomena which were
558 aroused in the society and the individual have become weakened.
178 But by contrast, it /virginity/ is an object of greater search, and the man who is successful /70/ in finding a virgin bride publicizes it as an individual reason for prestige. Furthermore, men are complaining less and less when their wives have not come as virgins to the nuptial hammock, and they only make it the subject of satirical songs when they are drunk. That is to say, they take the matter more broadmindedly, giving it the character of an accomplished fact and almost to be expected.

684 Violation and rape. The payment for abuse is that which the Guajiro must pay for illicit sexual relations with an unmarried woman, being a material compensation for the improper use made of her and returning to the woman her position of respected spinster, with the possibility that another man will court her and buy her for himself, without the fact of the abuse weighing as a dishonor in her past or having any echo in the future. It is also the compensation to the maternal relatives of the woman for the material and moral offense of violation of a right. They receive this payment because, by not accepting it, they would lower their kinswoman, and through her all of the family, to the category of "a dog or a burro," with no one to make their rights valid, and in order to prevent others wishing to do the same thing to other women of the family, which would bring the prestige of the group to an end. Also, because the man made use of a right which he should have paid for beforehand, to compensate the woman's relatives for rearing her and for the social support they have given her. The payment covers two distinct aspects of different value: violation and rape.

684 In the first case, as it is considered that the woman has shown
839 willingness in the act, only the abuse is taken into account. In the second, as force has been used, a compensation payment is demanded not only for abuse but for violation, specifying that the man used force and thereby humiliated the woman, made her dishonor and her physical weakness more obvious, and offended

/70 cont./

684 839 her maternal relatives by reducing them to the level of a conquered group whose women are the easy prey of any man as they have no one strong enough to back the claim for them. For this an increase in the payment is included as indemnity. Also, if when the assault took place the woman was injured, the payment is further increased because they also collect compensation payment for the spilling of blood, the common link of kinship and vital element of the body.

It frequently occurs in certain places where the economic differences between different groups are very pronounced, that when a young girl is in the period of seclusion and her relatives have had to leave her alone in her room to attend to work outside the house, rich Indians take advantage of the occasion to violate her. In such a case /71/ when the offended group obtains the backing of another group that is as strong as that of the offender's, the payment for abuse is very high, because in addition to the lowering of family prestige, they consider the value of the girl's seclusion and her isolation from men to have been lost, so placing her and her relatives on an inferior plane by not being able to comply in full with the traditional formalities usual in order to become a complete woman in the Guajiro sense. If the payment is not effected due to the inferiority and lack of backing of the offended group, one of the members of the clan, feeling the humiliation of his kinswoman, will wait for an opportunity to kill the culprit, but by doing so he will cause the destruction and exile of his family group.

684 It can happen, and it is very frequent at the present time, that a woman has received payment for successive abuses. The young girl, demoralized for various reasons, gives herself secretly to a man, an act which on becoming known leads to a claim for compensation payment. It may also come about that a woman comes to be bought as a wife after what has happened. As the young Guajiro woman considers it an honor to be bought rapidly and at a good price, she looks enviously at the luck of such women, and since she thinks that they owe it to their way she tries to do the same. This increases the frequency of the act, which in

/71 cont./

684 poor groups does not call for compensation payment as it is a distinct source of income, which compensates for a payment difficult to obtain and which necessitates invoking the force of the whole family group, usually very dispersed due to migration.

It must also be made clear that the payment demanded has a special character with regard to the amount, which should not reach or be equal to a marriage payment in normal times, because in that case the man could retain the woman as his own property. Also, this payment must come from the personal capital of the guilty individual as his relatives or friends will not be disposed to bring forward livestock or jewels to accept conduct not in accord with the legal norms of the peninsula. Also, this payment is not at all large, and in a certain sense it is a sanction against lack of control in conduct and a defense against the disintegration of the family, basis of the social structure.

We have to include in this section a payment which in a certain way covers the same conditions already described. It sometimes happens that a woman is sold by her relatives under agreement to pay in two installments. On paying the first, the man has free access to cohabit with her. But if the second installment is not paid up at the end of the stipulated time, the maternal relatives of the woman take her back with any children she might have had, the man losing his right to claim the amount already paid on account, /72/ as this sum is considered a payment for abuse although it may be a higher price than that established by custom.

We should note that the Guajiro, on paying the sum claimed as indemnity for transgression of the law of marriage, considers he has terminated all his relations, and he must again pay, if he reinitiates such relations, an amount equal or greater, according to what the young girl's relatives decide. If after the payment he wants to buy her as his wife, he can claim what he has paid for the abuse as an advance payment toward the marriage payment.

548 Prostitution. Guajiro law excludes the prostitute absolutely from their society. We have seen how on reaching adult age, the

/85 cont./

583 Furthermore, the marriage payment includes a compensation for the care the woman received during her life in the family and the obligations that her group will incur in taking charge of the children of the marriage. And in relation to the lands, it permits the husband and his relatives the usufruct of the land belonging to the woman, where from then on they are permitted to pasture their livestock, cultivate the soil, and establish their home. In this way the right over the land of a certain family group is extended to others, and at the same time, the woman's relatives acquire identical rights in respect to the land of the husband and his maternal group; the children they have in the marriage have rights over both. /86/

The payment is also the regulator of conjugal relations and is in a way the yardstick by which the man measures the virginity of the woman when he marries her, on the one hand (cf. Chap. IV, section on Valuation of virginity and of the woman), and on the other, the fidelity to him she must maintain according to Guajiro law.

583 It is in this question of fidelity that the marriage payment
684 plays a predominant part. With the roving life of the Guajiro Indian due to his occupation as a nomadic herder who looks for water and grass for his livestock and now migrates to Venezuela for long periods of time, the assurance of his wife's faithfulness rests on this payment. During his long absences his wife generally lives with her relatives, who feel themselves obliged to watch her surreptitiously and give an account of her conduct to the man, and even more they feel responsible to him for her actions, for if her infidelity is proved, the payment must be returned to him who paid it to them, confident in the honor of his wife and counting on the backing of his in-laws. This prevents all right of protest from them and requires immediate and effective repayment, for otherwise the offended husband might kill his wife's lover, and with that the relatives of the guilty woman would find themselves involved in a death compensation payment since she was the cause. In such a case the maternal relatives of the adulterous

/86 cont./

SR3 UR4 woman are at the mercy of the offended husband's demands: return of the animals he gave as payment for the woman and the giving up of the children conceived in the marriage, plus an additional payment as compensation for the insult received. As the children belong to the maternal relatives, to have them taken away is a terrible disgrace, and for this he /the injured husband/ accepts in lieu of them further indemnification in animals, and they hand over one /of the children/.

SR3 The payment made for the woman also serves as a controlling factor on the general conduct of the wife, preventing her from leaving her home and obligations while her husband is away.

On the other hand, the payment regulates the relations of the man to the woman, because if he subjects her to bad treatment, and this treatment forces her to leave him, then the man is dispossessed of his right over her, because she cannot be obliged to live with him if he has made her life unbearable, and furthermore neither does it give him the right to present a claim for compensation payment for her leaving her home and obligations, which in the other case, as we have seen, implies the return of the amount handed over for her purchase.

The payment that the man makes to the woman's maternal relatives gives him a proprietary right over her as if she were /87/ chattel, in a way, because if, for example, the woman is coveted by another man who wants to buy her, the two -- husband and would-be-buyer -- may come to some arrangement, through intermediaries (if the woman is not of a high class or a first wife) to make a deal, the husband, in exchange for the wife, receiving a payment which is nearly always less than he gave for her originally, taking into consideration the use he has made of her in sexual relations and the children they have had. This second husband may sell her to a third, and so on successively. This usually occurs when a married woman goes off with somebody and lives with him, in view of which the husband resolves to make a claim against the lover, who, accepting it, accepts also the transference of the right of a legitimate spouse. This system,

/133 cont./

SES He has the best livestock on her land, it is the who is really considered as his main wife, who represents him in rank, and whose children belong to a higher group than the rest. And it is to her home and not to that of any of his other wives that the Guajiro takes his friends when he owes them some attention, if they are people of a status equal or superior to his own.

She adopts an attitude of simulated indifference before society with regard to the polygamy of her husband. She does not comment on the matter or associate with the others, although in the lower classes she is frequently obliged to live with them, in which case she will tenaciously defend her privileges.

Also, the Guajiro man at the present time marries by the Catholic rite but later contracts other marriages under the Guajiro system. In these cases it is not unusual for the first wife to be unaware of his subsequent marriage, since the husband hides it, but she may also get to hear of it because of the general practice of selling information among some women. In such a situation she maintains a reserved attitude before outsiders, and although she really recognizes the importance of such acts, she behaves as though her husband's later marriage means nothing in her life; she considers such things as misdeeds on her husband's part and regards other wives, even those legally bought, as concubines and their children as having the illegitimate standing they would have in our society.

As the acquisition of each new wife may bother the previous ones, he does not insist that they attend the marriage ceremony, unless they are pleased about it because the new wife is an intimate friend or a sister.

SES [84] Adultery. We have seen in this chapter that the man's first reaction to knowledge of his wife's adultery is to kill /134/ her lover and bring on all the consequences this death may entail or, as an alternative, to demand indemnification from his wife's maternal relatives for the offense suffered. However, when the man cares very much for his wife, he may forgive her after a terrible quarrel. It can happen that she may go away for some time with another man, and her husband will later live with her

/124 cont./

837 confess and admit her guilt. Her conduct when she commits adultery /125/ is always under cover. Thus, if during a long absence of her husband she has had relations with another man and, her menstrual period failing to appear, she fears she is pregnant, she goes to look for her husband on the pretext of taking a present and lives with him in order to supply herself with an alibi. As the pregnancy advances she makes her husband believe that it originated on that occasion, thus defending herself from the possible consequences of her infidelity. The husband, who does not bother much about dates, accepts the alibi as a fact. However, certain cases are cited in which the man has later become aware of the deception, usually from observing a marked likeness the child bears to the real father. Then he concentrates on making his wife confess her offense or on trying to prove it himself. If she confesses, then he invokes the law covering adultery; if she does not, there is nothing he can do legally, but he delights in throwing his suspicions in her face; he gets drunk with his friends and sings insulting and offensive songs to her; he treats her badly, hitting her on any pretext. As for the child whose paternity he doubts, he dislikes it, barely tolerating its presence and waiting until it grows up to see if the physical likeness becomes clearer so that he can take advantage of it as decisive proof against his wife and demand the prescribed payment. He spies on her every movement. He leaves the house declaring that he is going to be away a long time and returns when least expected, or he hides and watches the movements of his wife when she goes out to get water, firewood, etc., and follows her tracks until at times he discovers the place she meets her lover, and
837 if he finds there the proofs of infidelity he seeks and the tracks
684 of the lover, he goes home hurriedly and brings his wife to the spot to confront her with everything and to oblige her by force of blows to confess. Sometimes he manages to catch the guilty couple together, and in the exultation of his jealousy he kills both the woman and her lover. Sometimes the lover manages to escape, and at other times, after a furious fight, they both

/125 cont./

837 die, which complicates the situation gravely, because it brings
684 the three clan groups into the picture: the woman's, the man's, and the lover's. In such cases, the payment usually falls on the group weakest both socially and economically, even though it may have lost one of its members, is least to blame, or has acted only in self-defense. If the lover is of low standing and dies, his relatives must pay the husband and the wife's relatives the amount established.

586 If in any case of adultery the man possesses sufficient proof
837 to accuse his wife, he can demand from her maternal relatives the return of the purchase price plus the indemnity considered just /126/ and the children they have had; if, on the other hand, the relatives can prove that before the adultery the man mistreated her, neither the payment nor the indemnity are justified, and with the return of one of the children of the marriage to the man, the whole matter is closed. At the same time the man loses his right to the woman, this being the only case of true dissolution of marriage.

Dissolution of marriage. A Guajiro marriage can, in a way,
586 be considered indissoluble. The woman who is bought according to the law of La Guajira is considered as the husband's personal property, property assured by the girl's relatives, who have received payment for her, and this restrains the girl from behaving in any way different from the traditional.

Proved adultery can be the cause of disuniting the pair, as we have just seen. In such a case, the offended husband demands the return of the payment made when he bought his wife, with which the tie is considered broken and the woman may abandon the home and return to her kin, losing the right to keep her children, who are of her blood and her family but in this case pass into the possession of the husband.

The lover, who cannot consider himself free of responsibility for the problem he has created, becomes, voluntarily or involuntarily, by the payment which he has to make to the woman's relatives, the husband of the woman accused of adultery.

/189 cont./

689 177 hidden. The breaking up of the cultural institutions against which the aggression is directed is accelerated, and these forms /of protest/, in spite of the disagreeable consequences to the individual who makes them, are becoming more numerous. Lately it has not been necessary to resort to such extreme attitudes as those mentioned, since the tenacious refusal of a woman who does not want to conform to a cultural pattern has been sufficient; this conduct does not now place her outside the institutions to which she belongs by birth, but permits her -- without sanction -- to adopt the cultural norms of the whites in this respect, or violate her own as in the case of prostitution and adultery.

* * *

684 Another type of aggression directed against the regimen for collective stability is that determined by punishable acts relating to sex.

The abuse of a young Guajiro girl without legal purchase is an act of aggression which gives cause for the paying of an indemnity.

In this aspect of abuse one must consider violation and surreptitious sexual relations.

The first is more grave and demands a large payment from the offender, not only for illegally making use of property to which he had no right, but for the way he did it, socially humuliating for the woman and her consanguineous relatives because force is employed and wounds received, /both/ evaluated as injuries.

In the second case, in which the expressed consent of the woman is taken for granted, payment is demanded only for the sexual use of the woman and for taunting the woman's family group.

The man who pays for abuse in either of these two cases does not acquire future rights over the woman. He has paid

/189 cont./

684 for what he took advantage of in the /190/ past and nothing more. If he wishes, he may buy the woman as a wife after what has happened, but this is voluntary, whereas the previous payment is obligatory and its compliance is as strictly enforced as it is in cases of bloodshed. In this payment for abuse, the offender is not helped by his consanguineous relatives nor his friends, who show their disapproval of his conduct in this way, but they will intervene to oblige him to pay an adequate indemnity.

In cases of adultery when the man not only is certain but has proof of the infidelity of his wife, he demands from her maternal relatives a payment for the offense that the act has inflicted on him (See Adultery in Chapter V).

In cases of pregnancy, the woman's condition is considered in a certain way as an aggressive act on the man's part because it gives rise in her organism to a series of inconveniences for which the husband or the man who caused the pregnancy has to pay, and in effect does pay, in livestock, which he hands over to the pregnant woman's maternal relatives and of which she may have no part since they are subject to a magic taboo. This payment is still made even though the pregnancy is illegal and the price for abuse has been paid.

Payment for giving birth (suffering and bloodshed) is also demanded in the case of both legitimate and illegitimate birth. This indemnity is paid to the woman's uterine relatives.

Abortion is an act of aggression, and the injurers in this act may be either the husband or the woman's consanguineous relatives, according to who provoked it. If the man did by ill-treatment or sexual demands, the woman's family presents the claim for compensation payment. For this reason the man never suggests abortion to either his wife or his mistress and for the same reason she never confesses it to him when she resorts to it, even when it was done during the time when she was unmarried to free herself from the problems inherent in an illegitimate pregnancy.

/190 cont./

684 682 When the abortion is provoked by the woman when she is in an advanced stage of pregnancy, the husband demands compensation payment, and the act is considered a homicide.

684 838 An offense of a very grave character for an individual and his relatives is the attempt made by a homosexual to abuse him. Generally, this aggressive act is directed against defenseless young boys, who can be physically forced to submit. Their relatives demand compensation payment, not only for the physical molestation suffered by their relative but for the psychological and social significance of the offense, which completely devolves on them.

684 839 Exhibitionism of a sexual type is considered a punishable act because it entails an offense against the modesty of those present, and if /191/ the spectator is a person of high standing, it implies moreover a grave offense to his high status which demands respect from others; in this case the payment is greater and may cause strong reprisals to be taken against the offender's relatives. These offenses may refer to homosexual practices, suggestions or representations real or imaginary of copulation, or exhibition of the genital organs. Both sexes may undress in [515 public without the spectators feeling offended, as happens at the public baths, where the women bathe without concern, 831] taking care to cross their legs. The man holds the penis to his waist in a way that his hairiness covers him and so does not offend the modesty of the bystanders.

684 Other aspects which have to be taken into consideration are the offenses that the woman can inflict on the man during married life. Let us remember that Guajiro women, even to this day, are bought without their wishes being taken into account, and that those who cannot avoid this marriage -- by means of suicide, flight, or breaking with the community -- may refuse to cohabit with the husband imposed on them or to satisfy his sexual desires. The man then abandons such a woman or demands compensation payment for the pain her attitude has caused him and refuses to resume his position as

/191 cont./

684 husband until this payment has been made. It is very common for the man not to make any demand for money for the hurt inflicted but to try to revenge himself by his future attitude. The Guajiro women say that a woman once initiated into sexual life acquires the need for repetition of the act. Then the man refuses to satisfy her, does not frequent the home, and does not give the slightest sign of his affection. The woman is in fact abandoned and yet in the situation of a married woman without a husband, with the obligations inherent in marriage and none of its rights.

Another aspect considered as an aggressive act is the fraud entailed when a man discovers that the woman he has married is not a virgin (See Valuation of virginity in the chapter, Pre-marital Considerations).

684 838 628 As homosexuality is very much disapproved of in the culture and regarded as almost an enforced degeneration of the young slaves, whoever practices it draws on himself the contempt and scorn of society, and his status is compared to that of those outside society. It is the custom, when two groups are at enmity, to hurl an insult which must result in a decision by arms. This insult consists in telling the enemy that their men would not even serve as women for their opponents. The hidden aim is to avoid legal proceedings and to start a war without quarter, in which they hope to obtain more advantages than by peaceful and orderly negotiation. /192/

682 The most serious aggressive act is homicide. No attenuating circumstances are taken into account, not even that the killing was involuntary or done in self-defense, since the Guajiro solely considers the act itself: An individual took the life of another and serves punishment.

Let us consider some aspects of this type of aggression.

1. Voluntary homicide, that is, one person killing another consciously and deliberately.

2. Involuntary homicide, that is, one person killing another without intending to execute an aggressive act, such as

[123 cont.]

796 aspects: 1) it shows ability in theatrical representations; (2) dancing, such as we have described in previous paragraphs, accompanied by songs; 3) a very interesting sexual aspect, in which the cultural patterns which govern Guajiro society are [786] broken, permitting the possibility of a certain sexual freedom without the consequences attached to such in normal times. We will begin with this last aspect, leaving for later a discussion of what their songs, plays, or drama really are.

796 Sexual aspect. a) The man, when the moment for dancing 786 arrives, takes a partner who usually accompanies him on every evening of the dance. When they end by liking each other, as a result of dancing together, the couples leave the dancing group and withdraw to the forest to satisfy their sexual desires.

●684 In normal times in the community this act would lead to 628 outbreaks of fighting in which the clans of the two participants would clash. The man would be summoned and would be under an obligation to pay a large sum for the harm done and a further sum for the dangers and pains of childbirth in case of pregnancy; or he would find himself obliged to buy the woman for wife in reparation for the fault he had committed. In case he failed to comply with one of these requirements, vengeance and war would follow. But none of this happens during this time of fiesta. 796 If a man who has been with a woman during these nights of 786 dancing (which can go on for three or four months) cares to take her as his wife, he must pay for her the price arranged with her relatives, but if he does not want to do this, his total obligation [431] is limited to a present of a robe. She on her part will give him a similar gift or simply a belt for his loincloth. Afterward they do not meet each other except on casual occasions.

Furthermore, if, owing to intimacies during the dance between unmarried couples, a child should be born, the father has [846] no responsibility toward it or to the girl's relatives. The child is accepted by the girl's family; it is not looked down on, and it participates under conditions of equality with the legitimate heirs in all the duties and rights of the other members of the family group.

[127 cont.]

714 representation of the re-creation of the universe, the resurgence of nature that changes and disappears, to reappear later.

796 In large part, this could explain the whole of the fiesta. In reality what in La Guajira is being celebrated under the name 821 of the Dance of the Kid is nothing but a true re-creation of the world of the natives of those barren plains. With the arrival of the rains the sea of sand is converted into a green world, the dry beds of the streams become powerful streams of water, the dry brushwood is transformed into green forest, anxiety over thirst disappears, fatigue from sun and desert is changed to rest, hunger to abundance, and worry to hope in the ripening of fruits and the disappearance of the specter of poverty which prowls the sierras and the plains. It is Mareiwa, their divinity, their good spirit, who has made his apparition over the lakes of the Sierra de Nevada, unleashing storms and hurricanes and bringing the promised rains to his creatures.

786 But, on the other hand, the sexual acts we have just shown to be present at this traditional fiesta of La Guajira should be 796 treated apart as they represent a transgression of the established rigid and severe cultural patterns that refer to carnal relations between men and women. As the general interpretation of the whole of the Guajiro community has not yet been finished, which could give us sufficient data to carry out necessary clarifications, we shall have to limit ourselves to noting certain outstanding facts.

836 Unmarried men and women in La Guajira, when looked at in its normal state, are subject to rigorous restrictions in their sex life. Sexual intercourse before marriage is not allowed to their women as the men want their spouses to be virgin. The [684] bachelor is limited in the satisfaction of his sexual impulses by the law of compensation payment, which forces him in the case of his having relations with an unmarried girl to pay a heavy indemnity by which is covered the harm done to the woman, the offense [128] to her relatives, and the possible pains and dangers of childbirth when pregnancy occurs. And if these impositions [628] are not complied with or if the Indian does not marry the girl, paying the price her relatives demand, revenge and declaration

671 tween law and custom in Guajiro society by a variety of illustrations. One of them said in effect:

574 If a cacique visits me and I fail to kill a sheep in honor of his visit
626 and to feast him in accordance with the dignity of his rank and my
671 wealth, I have broken a custom of my people. However, though I offend him by such negligence my guest may take no action to redress the wrong other than to inflict the same discourtesy on me if the opportunity should arise. He may seek neither redress in violence nor composition in payment. My only punishment may be the acquisition of a bad name among my people.

586 But if I visit one of my wives at her rancho and she fails to kill a
671 sheep from her own flocks to feast me, refuses me her person, neglects to supply me with hammocks, saddle-bags, and other articles made
684 by women, or refuses me shelter, she will have broken a 'law'; that is, she will have broken the marriage contract. In this case I may demand from her and her family payment or a divorce. In the latter case her family would have to return to me the bride-price plus any increase in the herds but less an amount considered fair for my having exercised sexual privileges over her, though I may demand even this if she marries again. In case her family refuses to adjust
[626] the matter in accordance with our law I may appeal to my family for help in obtaining my just rights. I should be justified in having recourse to violence. However, the law is so well understood that it would not be necessary to resort to such drastic measures generally.[5]

671 These informants were acquainted to some extent with
[115] Colombian and Venezuelan laws and were attempting, no doubt, to classify their own customs in accordance with
[177] European practices. Nevertheless it is an indication that in their minds there does exist a class of offenses for which one may seek composition even through violence, and a class that is in the category of merely moral obligations though investigators may not always draw an equally fine distinction. Simons, for example, in discussing Guajiro law speaks of injury
[114] to oneself as giving rise to a legal obligation for composition. My informants, on the contrary, distinguished it from that
574 class of wrongful acts. If a man cuts himself, his father and
626 father's relatives receive an expiatory offering. Had one of
672 my informants, the son of a rich cacique, cut himself he would
602 have given a small barrel of rum and five or more sheep to his

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
SC13 Goajiro SC13

could not have paid the price in the first place, and besides 554
B's family would have little to fear from them. 628

The father and maternal uncle of the slain man take the 672
initiative in seeking payment which goes to the mother's 682
family.

If A and B had been workmen or retainers of C, a cacique, [466]
and A's family could not have paid the price of composition,
then C would have paid B's family and in compensation would [567]
have enslaved A and his family. Payment for killing a peon
is 10 asses, 50 to 100 sheep, and 10 steers.

Case IV: A was working for B. In the course of the work 466
through no fault of B, A was hurt. B paid A's family for the 672
injury. A's family took care of A. 683

Case V: A and B were working for C. Through accident B hurt A. B's family had to settle the injury with A's family. Had A been hurt in the course of the work without B acting as the instrument, then C, the employer, would have had to pay.

This case is similar to the one described by Simons. If A lends a horse to B and B is hurt through the instrumentality of the horse, A has to pay. If A gives rum to B and B injures C, A is held responsible.

Case VI: A wants to marry B. B or B's family reject his suit. 672
A goes to B's rancho at night and commits suicide there B's 682
family has to pay A's family for the death of A, B being con- 762
sidered as the direct instrument that caused A's death.

Case VII: A injures or kills B, caught *in flagrante delicto* with 672
A's wife. A has to pay B's family a price minus an amount 682
considered fair value for the sexual privilege that B exercised 684
on A's wife.

These illustrations point to the absolute nature of Guajiro 672
law. No extenuating circumstances are allowed to enter into 628
settlement of cases of battery or other trespass on the rights of
an individual. The case is different in so far as public sym- [626]
pathy and moral censure or approbation are concerned.
Furthermore, society as a whole takes no action in righting wrongs. The family of the injured person must seek composition, and if it is not powerful enough to demand a high price it has to be satisfied with a smaller one. Conversely, there is

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

88 weaving, making dresses, hammocks, sashes, &c., sewing, and all the
[868] little knick-knacks Indians love so well.

The confinement is not so isolated as it seems, generally several of her female relations are round the door with the enclosed, who of course becomes rather stout, much blanched, almost white, and some exceedingly beautiful. Strangers and men are not excluded from peeping in through
[584] the door, always with an eye to matrimony, and she can be sold and liberated at once, though her husband if rich prefers leaving her to complete her term of schooling. On re-entering to society again, a special festival, *ahuitis*, is held with dancing, &c. An ox is killed, and the girl is dressed in the clothes she has made; her hair is cut and she resumes all her beads, necklaces, bracelets, and other ornaments.

562 Women are much respected by the Goajiros. In a quarrel or drunken
[579] brawl, women often save bloodshed by stepping in and tearing the weapons out of their husband's or brother's hand. Travelling with women is consequently perfectly safe, and in case of danger, if one undertakes to protect a stranger, he may rely upon coming out all right.

583 Matrimony is a mere case of barter. The girl is sold for a certain price, fixed by the father. This is paid by the intended husband, and divided by the father, who appropriates the best part for himself and his relations, the rest going to the wife's relations. As it is chiefly in
585 cattle, these are killed and a kind of bridal festival held. There is no other ceremony. A wife is under obligation to support her husband,
593 find him in food, clothes, &c. She does most of the trading, and a
[462] contract made with an Indian is worthless, should his better half object. An Indian cannot inflict bodily injury on his wife, for he becomes liable
[583] to her relations, and should she die during childbirth he has to repay the father what he gave for her. But if the wife is untrue (a rare occurrence) he demands from the father the price he paid for her, who if he
● [684] cannot refund, helps him to recover from the seducer, plus tear or compensation from his mother-in-law. At the husband's death, the
587 wife becomes a legacy to his brother, usually the youngest; if there are
764 none, then his nephew inherits her. The daughter of a chief is worth,
583 according to his wealth and power (i. e. the number of men he can dispose of in a fight) from 6 to 150 head of cattle (12*l.* to 300*l.*).

764 When a person dies, a grand drinking festival is given, that lasts as long as there is anything to drink—days, and even weeks, with the wealthy. These latter are buried twice, and have two festivals. A rich person is always buried in the rancho, and on the spot where he was born; being often carried for that purpose immense distances. A fire is lighted every night from sunset to sunrise in front of the grave, for the sole use of the dead. Immense piles of wood are gathered for this purpose, as the body is kept two years in the house. Then all the relations can meet on a certain day, and the second feast takes place, when the bones are carefully gathered, placed in a jar, and consigned to the

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

for her as much as will enable him to repay the cattle the 583
clan laid out for him when he married. The amounts ob- 614
tained for younger daughters are also distributed among
the family in a certain way. Payment of the bride-price
confers a number of benefits. During the first year the newly [591]
married couple usually live as the guests of the bride's
family. As has been said, the husband has the right to use
the land owned by his wife's clan. The bride always brings a
dowry in the form of ornaments and household utensils,
often of cattle as well. The husband must look after the
cattle, unless, as happens, the girl's family sends its own
herdsman to see to them. The bride usually provides all
the furnishings of the huts, as well as materials, hammocks
and other textiles.

These advantages offset the bride-price to a quite considerable extent. The husband knows, too, that his wife's relations will keep an eye on her when he is away, for if she betrays him, he can return her to her family and require refund of the bride-price and payment of compensation. Thus the bride-price also acts as a guarantee against a grass widow kicking over the traces.

If the husband does not fulfil his duties, or if he treats
his wife badly, her family can take her back without return- [586]
ing the bride-price. After that the man will naturally get no
help from his clan, if he wishes to get himself another
wife.

It is not always possible for the groom and his relations to pay all the bride-price immediately. In such cases it is possible to pay by instalments. The groom pays a large proportion of the price when the bride is handed over to him. If he is unable to pay the balance at the time fixed, he must give the girl back, losing what he has already paid. The girl is now less valuable in the marriage market, being second-hand, so to speak. The man is made to pay for the time he has had her and thereby makes up for the lower price she can command, if a new suitor turns up. According
to this principle a seducer must pay compensation to the [684]
family of the girl he has seduced. It sometimes happens that
a couple fall in love and the parents approve, but the young

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

583 man cannot immediately pay any worthwhile part of the
614 bride-price. The young man may then abduct the girl with the tacit consent of her parents, and thereby postpone having to pay the bride-price. After some time, the girl's relatives will require payment, but meantime his family will have been trying to scrape together at least a first instalment.

Genuine abduction does occur occasionally, but only when the man knows that the girl's clan is weak and that her relatives will thus have difficulty in claiming their rights. He will take the girl as far away as possible. If he is caught, her relatives will try to demand a bride-price. Perhaps he is already tired of the girl by then and wants to return her. She is the clan's property and is not being returned un-
583 damaged, so the man must pay damages for seduction and,
565 if the girl is pregnant, also for childbirth.

In the lower classes that would dispose of the matter.
614 The baby would in any event be taken into the mother's
684 clan and have her name. In the upper classes a girl would be turned out if she had had such an accident and the considerable damages required had not been paid immediately. The clan's prestige cannot be allowed to suffer.

Indian girls never keep a seducer's name secret, but at once tell their family who he is.

Among the lower classes cases of wives eloping are said to occur. The man to whom they have gone can legalize the position by paying compensation to the husband. If the husband agrees to do a deal, he cannot ask as much as the bride-price he himself paid, for the girl is by then less valuable.

It follows from all this that a woman has not the right to
560 dispose of her own body. She belongs to her mother's
583 family until she marries, and her closest relatives must be compensated for any injury done her. Once the man has paid the bride-price she becomes his property. If she is
[768] widowed, she is inherited along with the rest of his effects by his nephews (sister's sons) and she has to purchase her freedom from them, paying a sum equivalent to the bride-price less what she is held to have lost in value since marriage.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

the first wife retains a privileged position. She will be of the best family and the highest in rank. She is the hostess.

One day, when I was standing talking with Mauana, he pointed to a couple walking past and said eagerly:

'You should picture those with your apparatus.'

I photographed the two, who to me appeared very ordinary. The woman had her cheeks and nose painted red. Mauana whispered to me that the woman was not a woman, but that they were two men living together. Later we came across several Indian men who did women's work and wore women's dress. This was not considered really right, but it was looked upon with indulgence. In the early days of discovery gold coins were found on the coast by Santa Marta which depicted 'shameful acts contrary to Nature'. Among the Guajiros' relatives in the West Indies there were chiefs who had whole harems of boys.

'We were talking of bride-price and buying women slaves,' said I, to revert to more normal things. 'What does a poor youth do, who possesses nothing?'

Everyone agreed that it was a pity about any such. The law had definite regulations for intercourse between man and woman, and any infringement involved a claim for damages. If anyone seduced a woman, he must pay considerable compensation to her relatives, however willing she may have been; but if he took her against her will, it costs him considerably more. A poor man cannot pay and therefore risks losing his life as a punishment. The Indians admitted that here and there on the border there was prostitution, but it was mostly mestizo women who lent themselves to that. In Guajira proper, there were no prostitutes. Both the chiefs and the monks told us that. Thus in the interior, a young man without means must live a life of abstinence. The time when the dances of the kid were performed would be his only opportunity of enjoying a woman's favours, provided he could find a willing partner. At this time the otherwise strict code is suspended and free love permitted.

Mauana had promised to arrange a dance, but of another kind. The dances of the kid are performed during the rainy

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682 Upper La Guajira who arrived in Uribia suffering from measles and asked for hospitality in the house of a friend of hers of the well-to-do class. This friend, the owner of the house, could not deny her request and as a result caught the measles and died. The family of the dead woman demanded a very high compensation payment from the woman who brought the disease.

One must also consider the homicide caused, according to the Guajiro mentality by the breaking of a taboo. The Guajiro woman during her periods of pregnancy and menstruation, the murderer, and the participants in funeral rites are at all times bearers of a malignant magic power that can infect, hurt, or kill young children and people seriously ill. If one of these tabooed people presents himself at a house where there is one of those liable to this evil influence, and this person dies within a period such that it can be presumed that the death was the result of the transgression of the taboo, his maternal relatives declare the tabooed person guilty of the death or illness of the child when this occurs, or of the seriousness of the sickness in question.

When a Guajiro's death is caused by a white, that is, by an 682 individual who does not belong to the community, the idea of 648 blame is governed by the norms just set forth. At the present time they generally submit /196/ to Guajiro law as the punitive form, but customarily in the peninsula, one of these deaths is paid for by the death of three civilizados /nonnatives/, since many Indians still believe that every civilizado is part of a homogeneous consanguineous family group. Others know this is not so, but nevertheless the death of an Indian by a white gives rise to strong reprisals and even to the death of the white man. If the murderer remains in the peninsula territory or near it, it is almost certain that he will be killed tragically by some relative of the murdered man, who will wait, although already well paid, for some suitable occasion to kill him.

685 Other kinds of aggressive acts are those involved in the theft of food, livestock, and personal belongings.

The first two are the most common in the peninsula, to the point that some authors and travelers have considered theft to be

/196 cont./

685 a peculiar characteristic of the Guajiro Indian. They steal from the time they are children, since the scarcity of food in La Guajira makes the child steal food from his younger brother, from his relatives, and from outsiders; and he eats it immediately or takes it away and hides it in the woods to use when it is possible and convenient to his need.

This means that they are punished when they steal food from their own homes and praised when they steal it from outsiders. Even men frequently steal from the sown fields at night, and there is hardly a stock breeder who does not have to exercise scrupulous vigilance over his livestock day and night to avoid being the victim of thieves. At night the livestock must be shut up in well-fenced corrals, annexed to the houses, but even so they are frequently stolen. During the day the flocks are never allowed to pasture without someone looking after them. The Guajiro knows and can distinguish from others the tracks of his animals, which permits him to track them over long distances, helped by the sandy soil, until he finds where they are. The tracker follows the thief until he finds him, and if he discovers him with the stolen animal it is not unusual for him to kill him. If he knows who the thief is, he goes at once to this man's closest relatives, demanding indemnity, which they will certainly pay, because if they do not, the wronged man will take advantage of any opportunity to recuperate his loss and damages by his own hand.

[787] When they wish to know who the rustler is, they frequently have recourse to the diviner, who takes a cigarette, a wand, or a firebrand, according to his speciality, and lights it. In the wisps of smoke and in the way the flame consumes the burning article, he believes that he can find, after long observation, the thief and the place where the stolen thing can be found. /197/

When they recover an important object, the family that had lost it give a small feast in which an animal is slaughtered to [533] divide among attending friends; chicha and rum are drunk, and [535] a drum is beaten with the monotonous, prolonged rhythm to which they dance the chicha maya for several nights.

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685 The punishments which the Guajiro establish to punish crimes against property are varied and very elastic in their application, since it depends on the standing and strength of those concerned.

We have seen how the first reaction when a thief is discovered is to kill him, in spite of the consequences it can bring. If they do not kill him at once, they follow a curious magic process aimed at the same end: to contrive the thief's death. "This is why when they recover a cow or an animal that had been stolen from [789] them, or it reappears, they cut its hair and bury it up to its neck; the owners surround it and cry as if they were at a wake; they insult and curse the thief, reinforcing their actions with explosions of gunpowder, which they mix with ashes and the hair of the stolen animal. In this way they believe they will cause the death of the thief (1)."

1. Jahn, Alfred. Los Aborígenes del Occidente de Venezuela, page 187.

Guajiro law stipulates as indemnity for the theft of an object or an animal, double or sometimes three times the value of the stolen item. Generally it is double, to pay for what was stolen and indemnification for damages. But the application of the law exceeds this at times, particularly when it is made effective on unprotected groups, in which case it has on occasion gone as high as ten times the value of what was stolen and even the elimination of the thief's family, leaving them in abject misery because they took away all their herds, as happens in Jarara. In this region, which is dryer than the rest of the peninsula and consequently lacking in agricultural resources, the whole economic life is centered around stock raising, which provides food and in olden times helped to provide clothing. If the thief is punished by taking away his livestock, he is by that act reduced to the margin of the social collectivity, since he finds himself obliged to emigrate as he has no other means of livelihood. When he emigrates he abandons his lands, which his enemies take. These

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685 groups left destitute by the application of the law governing theft join others, impoverished by the summer /droughts/ for example, and form the social part of the community which is easily forced into bond service by the stronger groups. (Cf. Chap. Slavery and Bond Service.)

203 Informer. In La Guajira the informer acquires the character of an institution which helps to maintain the regimen for social
691 stability in /198/ the peninsula. This individual -- man or woman -- busies himself bringing to members of any family group news of an infraction of any legal precept which affects them and which has not been done in their presence. For instance, if the name of a dead man was spoken, if a joke was made about him, if someone stepped on his grave, etc., the informer carries the news to the interested parties, so that when the indemnity is paid for the aggressive act, he as informer will get his share. When two family groups find themselves enemies through the violation by one of the sides of some section of the regimen for social stability, they are very careful not to comment about the case in front of outsiders, because the news, misrepresented, may be taken to the opposite side, obstructing at times the legal work of the arbitrator and causing an open struggle between the two sides. The informer wants to have the right to a part when the distribution of the indemnity is carried out.

Where the action of the informer is most noticeable is in the case of a constant struggle among various co-wives. He takes advantage of this situation of mutual rancor, bringing and taking news of the movements of their husband from one to the other, etc., to obtain a remuneration for his services.

The informer defends his position, participating directly but without getting himself involved in the legal infraction against the family group to whom he reports. Later he justifies his right to receive indemnity by asserting that he too has suffered pain, has shed tears for example, when the offense has led to the death of a person, and he served as a mourner during the ceremony which followed the death.

[153 cont.]

182 *756 e) Defense of the community and the individual from the harmful influence of evil spirits, an influence which largely expresses itself in personal and communal illnesses.

554 *756 In exchange for all these services given by the shaman, the community offers him as payment, on one hand, their backing, respect, admiration, and even fear, and on the other hand, material goods which consolidate his status of privilege, such as necklaces, cloth, jewels in general, animals, and money.

• • •

182 741 [154] In accordance with the previously established division between magic and the foretelling of the future in Chapter IV, we should now state that the diviner, like the shaman, serves to maintain, defend, and restore the regimen for individual security and collective stability, an affirmation which we have based on the following functions which he performs:

a) Discovery through divination of the causes of illnesses, thus permitting the prescribing of adequate medication, with great probability of success for the patient, who is generally a child.

b) Also through divination the restoration of lost objects [685] and the discovery of the thief — factor in the breaking of the regimen for personal security — so that the thief may suffer the penalties with which society punishes those who violate the cultural norms concerning personal property.

[787] c) Divination by which, when husbands are absent from home, their state of health can be ascertained and their wives can provide them with rapid and effective help.

d) Determination, in the last instance, of a novice's "vocation" or lack of "vocation" in the science of shamanism, a decision which is of great importance for the community in general, since on it depends whether the community has in its future magician a defender of its regimen for stability, a counselor and spiritual director, or, on the contrary, a charlatan on whom the protector spirits have not descended to illuminate him and who

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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applies mainly to children. These then become slave-workers and by right should be liberated once they have paid off with their work the sum for which they were bought, but that may not always be done. It is the mother, the uncle or the aunts who decide when a child is to be sold. This seems cruel to us now, yet it is not so long ago that children in the country were auctioned as workers in Sweden and elsewhere. 735 567

The owner of these slave-workers is bound to provide them with food and clothing as he must his slaves; thus children sold into slavery at least do not starve to death as they well might at home. 614

An Indian who has been unable to pay his debts must in certain circumstances go and serve his creditor. That is reminiscent of our own ancient slavery for debt. The obligation to work for another can also be a punishment laid upon a thief or a robber. As long as the slave-worker's clan is able to take action against the master if he goes beyond his entitlement, the position of the slave-worker is different from that of the slave; but if his clan is weak and unable to help him, he can be utterly in his master's power. At times a whole clan may become so weak that it has to seek the support of a stronger clan, and thereby becomes bound to work for the latter and is entirely dependent upon it. 567 636 [635]

While the master of a female slave may use her as he will, he has no right to have intercourse with a female slave-worker. Nor can he prevent others from entering into relations with her. If her clan has any voice in affairs, it will require damages of anyone who seduces her; but if her clan is powerless, then the female slave-worker is without support either of her clan or her master, and not infrequently ends as a prostitute. Prostitution is contrary to Indian law, but nowadays it does exist. 567 833 614 [548]

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Francisco's blood was slightly mixed, but, of course, he followed his Indian mother's clan and bore the name Ipuana. This clan's symbol is the hawk. Francisco was married and his wife belonged to the Dog clan, Jayariyú Their children were thus called Jayariyú, and Francisco was not even of the same family, though no one doubted his paternity. 115 [614]

Francisco served us well on our journeys. He was not especially quick-witted, but he was certainly not a simpleton. He suited us well in Guajira, for he knew both the country and the people; later, when we came to parts that he did not know, he was a little out of his depth.

Francisco's wife, Anita—the nuns had called her that—used to help my wife in our hut, and glad we were to have her, for primitive housekeeping involves much hard labour. Anita had a sweet young sister, who had not yet acquired a christian name. She was called Chinca. She had no real business in our hut, but she used to come sometimes and lounge in the doorway, looking rather fetching. We noticed, however, that after each of Chinca's visits something was missing. These were not valuable things, it is true, for we did not leave those lying about, but match boxes used to disappear and occasional packets of oatmeal. Although we still had plenty of the latter and Chinca was good to look at and welcome to stand in our doorway—we thought we would teach her not to steal. We filled an empty oatmeal packet with hay and sand and laid it conveniently within reach. Chinca came and went again, and the packet went too. A few minutes later Chinca came rushing back, flung the packet on to the floor and cursed us up hill and down dale in her own expressive tongue. We could not help roaring with laughter; a thief who goes back to those he has robbed and curses them because the stolen goods have not been to his liking! Anita begged our forgiveness on her sister's behalf: 115 625

'After all, she is a heathen and does not know better.'

'And you, Anita, do you never steal?'

'Not now. I am Christian. But when I was a heathen, ah! then I stole such a lot.'

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115 And her eyes shone at the recollection of the now for-
●685 bidden pleasures of her girlhood.

When I went on trips in the surrounding country I
124 usually had Francisco with me and often my wife. Anita had then to be ready to feed us when we came home, whether it were the same day, or the next, or three days later. In such things Indian women have patience. They know how to wait, and they are never surprised.

We began our exploration of the brown hills and green
124 valleys of Macuira with a long trip on foot. Laboriously
55L we waded through the fine sand. This is almost firm when it is damp, but it was then the dry season and the sand was loose. We were going to visit relatives of Francisco, simple people, but not actually poor. To us who had already had a certain amount to do with Indians, it was a surprise to find ourselves dealing in such categories as 'rich', 'poor', 'well-to-do', etc., just as though we were concerned with white people. Among all other Indians the difference in economic status between individuals had been relatively insignificant, as, presumably, it had been among the Guajiro before they took to herding cattle.

133 The Indians we were to visit lived in a beautiful place, just on the fringe of a watered valley between purple brown heights, with the peak of Ituhor dominating the landscape. The valley was like a green Bengal fire against its parched
342 background. There were two huts, built of cactus wood and with roofs of the same material. They were saddle-backed and linked by a wall, which acted as a shield against the wind, that there always blows in the same direction. In front of this wall, that is between the two houses, were the
[411] fires. Round about were shelves covered with grass and erected on four poles. The Creoles call these *trojas*. You can sit under them and be out of the sun, and cooking utensils and stores can be kept on them out of reach of animals.
[352] Here and there were hammocks stretched between poles stuck in the ground, and there were other poles used in the all but daily butchering of a goat or sheep. Round these there were dark patches on the ground.

123 Having Francisco with us we were naturally well re-
352

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551 idea being that to speak the name renews the grief of the
683 dead person's relatives. An old man of the Uriana clan, who called himself Juan, died. Some time later some of his relatives were at an entertainment, at which too was a woman of the Jusuá clan with her little son. A Creole asked this woman what her little boy was called and without thinking, she replied: 'Juan'. The dead man's relatives then claimed damages because she had mentioned the dead man's name, and she had to pay them a bullock, even though it was a Spanish name. It was the reminder of their grief that had
[164] to be compensated. It is also an offence to tread on an Indian's grave.

683 It is more expensive to strike a person than to insult him. One should not answer an insult with a blow, but a well-to-do Indian will not infrequently do so and gladly pay the damages. If an Indian strikes another without hurting him, he must pay nonetheless, because he has treated the other as a slave—it being only one's own slaves that one has the right to strike. If anyone tears a tunic, he must not only
685 replace it, but pay for the shame the other felt at going about in rags.

A thief, if caught, must repay several times the value of what he has stolen. Not infrequently he must pay with his life, especially if the person he has robbed is a powerful personage, as he usually is, and the thief belongs to a weak clan that cannot help his family to exact blood-money.

[567] A thief can be forced to pay by working for his victim. He
682 becomes a debtor-slave. Murder, manslaughter and being the cause of another's death are the most serious crimes. They do not have these actual categories. The penalty for manslaughter is very heavy; if agreement cannot be reached on it, it can sometimes lead to war, a war in which the enemy must either be exterminated or enslaved.

628 It is on such occasions that a purchi is held, at which you can see the groups of warriors drawn up facing each other, while a chief presides.

622 The chief is a mighty person and will have been chosen
628 for his excellent qualities, yet he is not a judge, but rather advocate and mediator. His role is as conciliator. He will

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579 numerous and worse armed companies and take what they
619 have. The various bands, however, have no mutual respect or consideration, but will plunder each other if they can. Perhaps a Guajiro with a relation among the attackers can count on some consideration, unless his relative is inimical. However, the Guajiro do sometimes do business with the
[131] Cusina, and also can negotiate and secure the return of stolen animals. The Cusina's haunt is the Cojoro Hills and a narrow strip of the lowland is also accounted theirs.' He then named the leaders of that time and told where they and their men were. In those days the Cusina had a number of plantations in the lowland, and also cattle, though they could not be bothered to look after these, but preferred to live by banditry. Simmons also says that it was the Cusina who sold the poisoned arrows.

Nearly forty years had passed since Simmons had journeyed in those parts and it was obvious that the Cusina were no longer so numerous nor so dominant, though one still had to take heed of them and be on one's guard. We were to learn that they could still make daring raids to parts far from their haunts. All unattached Indians one met in the vicinity of the hills were held to be Cusina—it was safest so.

Attack and highway robbery was one thing, ordinary
[685] theft another. If a thief was caught, it cost him dear in compensation, but theft itself, as we heard in connection with Chinca, was almost regarded as a sport. It was thus common for poor Indians at least to pinch things from those who were better off. We, of course, were considered very rich.

685 It was not to be wondered at if an Indian, having nothing
674 to eat during the worst of the drought, appropriated a bit of this and that from those who were better off. If he knew that he would be able to repay it, it became a sort of loan, without the owner's permission.

Once, some Indians got in ahead of the monks when the time came to harvest the manioc at the mission's plantation in Macuira. When the monks came there with the mission's children to carry it home, all had gone. In the hope of preventing this happening again, the monks decided to com-

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plain to the civil authorities; but the government inspector at the coast just smiled and shook his head when they asked if he could do anything about it. 685 674

'The only advice I can give you is that you double your plantation next year. Then perhaps the crop will suffice both for you and the Indians.'

When a monk once reproached an Indian who worked at the mission for pilfering sugar, the Indian replied: 'But, father, every Indian steals!'

As Simmons thought, the Cusina are made up of the bad elements, those outcast from their clans. In the long run no clan can shield a member who commits all sorts of crimes. Some flee to the hills because they cannot pay compensation for someone they have killed, nor count on help from their clan, which perhaps is also without resources. Such people are real outcasts, for anyone can kill them without risk of their clan's exacting vengeance. These outcasts once took refuge in the most desolate hills of the peninsula, Sierra de Cusina, and ever since others have come to replenish their ranks. It was said that they also had women, either captured or runaways. Grazing and water were said to be scarce there. It was a desolate part and none disputed it with the Cusina. They had to live largely by plunder and robbery. They could only keep goats in their hills, so what cattle they rustled, they ate. They were keen to get arms. We were told that none then alive had ever seen a Cusina. They attacked by night and killed everyone. That, of course, was the old Guajiro way: let no one live who might conceivably exact vengeance. 579 614 619 579 619

The old accounts from the days of the conquest also mention Cusina, but they must have meant ordinary Guajiro Indians from the area of the Cusina Hills.

The brigands were supposed to have scouts out on the roads, who signalled to their comrades when they scented prey. They very seldom dared attack a well-armed company, as ours was. We three white people each had a gun or rifle and a pistol; and in reserve we had some of my cheap barter pistols. We equipped Francisco with a saloon pistol which had a long barrel and looked impressive. Then we 579

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applies mainly to children. These then become slave-workers and by right should be liberated once they have paid off with their work the sum for which they were bought, but that may not always be done. It is the mother, the uncle or the aunts who decide when a child is to be sold. This seems cruel to us now, yet it is not so long ago that children in the country were auctioned as workers in Sweden and elsewhere. 735 567

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While the master of a female slave may use her as he will, he has no right to have intercourse with a female slave-worker. Nor can he prevent others from entering into relations with her. If her clan has any voice in affairs, it will require damages of anyone who seduces her; but if her clan is powerless, then the female slave-worker is without support either of her clan or her master, and not infrequently ends as a prostitute. Prostitution is contrary to Indian law, but nowadays it does exist. 567 833 614 [548]

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551 The nickname is so generally used that when a personal name is mentioned, few people recall to whom it refers. However, they give their Spanish name to a white, trying to pronounce it properly. /22/

Linked with this question of names is the problem of the Indians who emigrate to the haciendas of Venezuela, where they receive a name and surname, generally that of the hacienda, the owner, or the manager. There they are registered with these names. Moreover, some of the bond servants and slaves when sold are given the name of the master and when freed keep this name, sometimes a foreign one, which later they pass on to their children if they marry in the Catholic church.

Magic is intimately connected with the name question (1).

1. See Aspectos de la Magia en la Guajira by Roberto Pineda Giraldo, for further information. Published in Revista del Instituto Etnológico Nacional, Vol. III, No. 1.

Following is a brief summary of this matter: The personal name [689] must not be used by outsiders, and the breaking of this rule would occasion a compensation payment. At the death of a Guajiro, others of the same name change theirs, at least in the area of the habitual home of the dead man's relatives, in order to prevent that name being used in their presence, as this also would involve compensation payment. As a result of this prohibition, the same person at different times and places may have a different name by which he may be called, which can cause confusion.

The personal name is given, as mentioned above, by his parents or closest relatives. The same applies to the general Catholic or Guajiro name, according to the following rules: If the marriage is a Catholic one, the children are named by the father, whose surname is taken. The daughters are given the

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865 4. The child should adopt certain habits in the conduct of his relations with his parents and relatives: to listen submissively to remarks without a haughty reply or showing unwillingness to carry out orders or making gestures that might appear arrogant; never to give a rude answer to whoever gives them orders about their work; never to answer discourteously nor in a way to show displeasure or arrogance when reprehended or punished nor to run away in these circumstances, as then the punishment would be greater; never to use bad words in Spanish as that implies a double offense: that of making use of a foreign language as well as bad words as such, besides coarseness and insults between adults lead to the compensation payment, which (as all of these social payments do) falls on the relatives. /31/

[191 [195 689]

5. Besides aggressive acts toward his elders, we have those that can occur with his playmates or his own relatives and which acquire a more serious character when they affect his friends from other clans, and when from the verbal offense -- which may also have to be compensated -- they pass to fighting, because if blood should be shed the mother of the injured boy will make her claim for compensation payment (unless both combatants are hurt, in which case it is cancelled). In these cases of bloodshed, as will be seen hereafter, the relative social and economic strength or weakness of each of the clans to which the combatants belong is an important factor, as the stronger group always imposes its interpretation of justice on the weaker. These are the reasons that compel the mother to try to prevent her children from playing with those of another clan to forestall such possible claims. In spite of this, however, the boys escape her vigilant eye, ignore her orders, and manage to get together in most of their boyish activities. The prohibition to join up with boys of another clan develops also from the fact that if a boy is invited to join another group and some accident should occur, the responsibility will fall on the group of the boy who extended the invitation.

865 593 The relationship between siblings is usually peaceful especially between those of the same sex. They readily become comrades.

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861 what was used for his punishment, such as the nettles or the bag. Terrified by these, he will obey the commands of his elders.

On giving an order or forbidding a child to do something, they may threaten him various times beforehand in order to ensure obedience. /34/

When the boy or girl is approaching puberty or has passed it, the verbal reprimand or scolding is the more common. This [762] nagging disapproval may be repeated to a point where the boy or girl in desperation will leave home or even commit suicide. Another way to enforce obedience from a young child or to get him to sleep is to frighten him, when he is very small, telling him that the cocón (1) will take him or that some old drunk will

1. Degeneration of the word coco, used in Colombia to frighten children in expressions such as: "The coco will take you" and "There comes the coco," etc.

carry him off. The small child is frightened and obeys, but when he is older he loses his fears and the threats are no longer of any use.

The mother, the aunts, and the grandmothers take the [602] principal part in applying punishments; also the maternal uncles. [689] The father's part is limited in this respect as his children are not considered to belong to his clan (cf. kinship) so that should he go too far and draw blood from the boy or should the boy kill himself or become ill through his fault, the mother would claim compensation payment from her husband. Nevertheless, this is reciprocal, for if the son commits suicide because of the punishment inflicted by the mother, it is the father who then presents the corresponding claim for compensation payment.

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861 Another very usual reaction is that of learning each day to dissemble and show astuteness in avoiding punishment. When he sees the attention of his mother or his elders is distracted, he will do what has been forbidden: go to visit at a neighboring house, steal food, climb trees, etc. Later he will lie barefacedly to avoid the possible punishment.

861 When a boy is very frequently punished, which does happen in some homes where the mother is continually beating the chil-
593 dren, the child becomes sullen and withdrawn; he stays away from home, passing most of his time out and about or in the neighbors' houses, endeavoring to avoid the presence of his parents. We have heard of a mother who asked her eldest son, who was in Venezuela, for money as she needed it urgently. His answer was: "I have no mother. She was a tyrant to me and to my brothers, and I plan to bring them here with me so she will not be able to beat them for nothing. I will send her no money as she was always so wicked and cruel she does not deserve it." When the mother learned of this reply, her reaction was to
[762] cruelly beat all her younger children as a warning to them not to do what their elder brother had done. The husband reprehended her for her cruelty, and she ended by hanging herself. There are several similar cases which show the later resentment of some sons against their parents for the harshness of their treatment during their childhood. A boy can bear a permanent grudge, and as soon as he feels strong enough to oppose his will to that of his mother or his elders in general, he becomes stubborn and
[762] stands up to them. On occasion, if opposed in his deepest feelings and blind with fury because of some punishment inflicted, he will hang himself, by which deed the consequences of his
[689] death fall on the originator of the punishment, as the other parent will put in a claim for compensation payment, alleging that the boy was so exasperated it drove him to /36/ to take his own life. This law of obligatory payment tends to limit the application as well as the violence of the punishment, although, in spite of it children are cruelly treated in many homes.

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764 554 The distribution of animals and drink is made according to the standing of the visitor. Those of high class should be given cattle, mules, or horses (already mature), and rum or brandy in abundance; the poor, goats and sheep, and drink in lesser quantity and quality. In some cases a piece of meat is distributed among them so that they can eat during the funeral gathering.

It is customary to retain a reserve of animals for the second burial, which in a certain way is a repetition of the first.

When the personal property of the dead man is not sufficient to maintain adequately the status of the clan group, his consanguineous relatives, headed and directed by the family head, start a collection which is obligatory in nature to gather together livestock and drink in order to sustain the prestige of the collectivity and that of the dead man in particular. This collection is repeated for the second burial.

764 Once all the livestock of the deceased has been distributed, the family orders the burial. If the death occurred outside the lands of his consanguineous relatives where the clan cemetery [492] is located, he is carried there, tied on a horse. All those attending the wake accompany the corpse, on horseback or on foot, drinking incessantly during the whole procession. The grave has been opened previously by a very close and dear relative of the dead man, usually /159/ a nephew, his sister's son, who feels honored with this responsibility. If he should [689] refuse to do it, it would imply the greatest offense to his group, but we found no such case of refusal to comply with this honorable duty. (The influence of the mission in Upper La Guajira has caused the Indians there to place the body in a crude coffin of wood of the pionillo, a leguminous tree which is very abundant in the region. In Lower La Guajira the body is wrapped in the fresh skin of one of the slaughtered animals, one or two /sic/, which preserves it from putrefaction for a longer time.)

In front of the open grave the funeral procession halts while the children related to the deceased, and later the adults, walk over it, with the idea that this will delay /the return of/ death.

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683 The native adds a great deal of his own phantasy to the truth of the facts. For this reason his testimony is sometimes false. He sometimes lies deliberately to obtain the personal advantage of demanding a payment for himself or for someone who has bribed him. If the lie is proved, or if the instigator of the idea is known, the responsibility for the punishable act embraces both, who are jointly punished.

We have already seen a case in which a disinterested and sincere piece of advice led to a man's being saddled with culpability by the one to whom he gave it, since he was regarded as an indirect participant in an aggressive action against the person who took his advice. Ill-intentioned advice is also considered as a transgressive act, which if it is followed by bad results to the person who takes it and if the bad intentions are proved, the counselor is considered guilty because he has caused a break in the regimen for social security. Furthermore, if the crooked intentions of the advice are proved beforehand, the culpability is clearer and demands an economic indemnity.

683 The following are also considered to be aggressive acts:/185/

689 a) Pronouncing the personal name of an individual. This name, according to Guajiro custom, may only be pronounced without giving offense by the closest maternal relatives. To pronounce it or to make it known to other people is to inflict an insult on the individual and involves punishment. This is probably due to the identification of an individual with his personal name. To betray the name is to betray the individual.

b) The worst offense that a Guajiro can receive from an outsider is for the latter, consciously or unconsciously, to pronounce in front of him or in front of his relatives or friends -- who would tell him about it -- the name of a dead maternal relative. The offense is as great as the relative is close. This aggressive act includes not only pronouncing the name of the dead relative when referring to him, but also addressing someone with the same name. From this stems the established custom of changing the names of all the namesakes of a person when he dies.

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683 The reason which justifies compensation payment in Guajira
689 mentality is that saying the word which designates a dead relative immediately brings back a vision of that person with the remembrance of his death, and recalls the anguish and pain of that moment. The pain of his absence is renewed, and they are reminded of how much they miss him in the group which may have suffered socially and economically due to the lack of effective backing which the dead man used to provide. All this revival of memories and the consequent affective valuation of the deceased gives great pain to his relatives, for which they must be indemnified.

The offense is graver when the individual for some reason mentions the dead person in a contemptuous way. This may cause the offended relative to kill the offender, as a natural reaction to an aggressive act, even though such an offense is not considered extenuating in this type of homicide.

The act of stepping on a Guajiro's grave is considered an aggressive act against the regimen for social security. If someone sees this happen he informs the relatives, who immediately demand an indemnity of considerable size from the relatives of the offender. This payment has to be made very quickly, since it is an assault on the cult of the dead and can give rise to an armed struggle between clans.

683 Another aggressive act which can give rise to compensation payment is contemptuous allusion to a physical defect which an individual may have or the mention of his nickname, if this refers to a bodily deformity, such as the case of a person who is one-eyed, squint-eyed, /186/ lacks an arm, or has very noticeable scars on his face or on some visible part of his body.

An offense on the same scale as the above is to mention ironically or contemptuously or in a pejorative manner the maternal relatives of someone, especially their ascendants in the female line, or their uncles, criticising their physical defects or their acts.

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683 being put in a ridiculous position, the individual demands a pay-
[522] ment that compensates him for what was said.

It is also considered offensive and therefore contrary to the regimen for personal safety if one man hits another without wounding him. There are two aspects to be considered in this act as aggravations: the physical, that is, the blow in itself, and the psychological, for the Guajiro thinks that by being hit in this way he has been reduced to the status of a slave or bond servant; and consequently he has not only been lowered in his standing as a free man but has also been placed on a plane of dependence with respect to the person who hit him. The indemnity must satisfy both offenses.

To tear someone's robe also has a double significance as an aggressive act: the material damage caused, which must be replaced by buying a new one (conduct of a drunken husband); and the psychological damage, as it is like injuring the person himself, since a person is identified with the clothes he wears.

Any damage to the property of a person is an aggressive act and punishable as such, and the indemnity should be greater than the loss, since the excess represents the grievance suffered.

* * *

689 The transgression of the legal norms illustrated in the above
191 aggressive acts against the regimen for stability in La Guajira must be paid for both by a member of the society as well as by an outsider. But there are two things which can only apply to a native individual, an active member of the Guajiro community. These two things are the following.

a) Language. The Indian very much values his native language and tries to preserve it at all cost. His women do not want to learn Spanish and pretend they do not know it when they are questioned. It constitutes in itself a grave offense if one native speaks to another in Spanish instead of his native tongue. The story is told of a Guajiro who spoke to a relative in Spanish during

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689 191 a family chat. The man thus addressed, greatly offended by what in Guajiro culture is considered a great insult, flogged him pitilessly, after having hung him by his hands from a tree. Later he wanted to kill him but was prevented by the onlookers. As he was a close relative he could not demand compensation payment, but he repaid himself for the offense by inflicting punishment. This was so terrible that the boy became mentally unbalanced and up to the time of our visit had not fully regained the use of his faculties. /188/

It is believed that the native who does not use his own language as a medium of expression among the other natives does not because he is ashamed of his own people and openly disowns them by substituting one language for another. Also, to accept another mode of expression indicates a superiority of the latter over the former, and of the foreign element over the native.

b) Breaking away of the individual from the consanguineous

689 family group and, in general, from the Guajiro community. This 291 is best expressed by the following facts. Some time ago, the 177 Guajiro boy educated in the mission or who emigrated to other centers was obliged to use the clothes used by civilizados /non-natives/. If he returned to his own environment again he had to use the guayuco once more and give up trousers. Nowadays, mestizos and rich Indians have adopted the use of a shirt or undershirt but without abandoning the guayuco, which has become converted into a garment of a distinctive Guajiro character. When a man from the peninsula wishes to show that he has broken with Guajiro culture, that he has thrown off affective, consanguineous, and legal ties, and that he has placed himself outside their society, he refuses to use a guayuco, which he hangs up in some noticeable place as a symbol of his break with the past. An equivalent act can be seen in the women. The Guajiro Indian woman denies that she is such when she refuses to wear the robe, but at present the significance of this rejection has weakened and is now replaced by the open abandoning of an undergarment, which corresponds to the men's guayuco, both functionally and symbolically. It is a

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689 177 [291]

kind of trousers which is kept up by the so-called sirapo, a belt of cords and beads whose inheritance has a special meaning. The Guajiro woman who wishes to renounce her society and her culture hangs these garments up and leaves her home.

These two acts are carried out when individual interests clash with collective ones, when a social pattern must be complied with at the risk of not surviving. Here we have the case of certain Guajiro girls educated by Christian norms. When they reach marriageable age, they must submit to their own cultural patterns, which permit polygamy, and they must be bought, just as their female antecessors were. This clashes with the education they have received under other norms. Others reject the family's imposition of its own candidate for a husband and the fact that they are not allowed to follow their own affectionate impulses, etc. To such a girl there are various solutions she may take to disregard the social norms of her consanguineous relatives: committing suicide, if it comes to that, but this idea, which in extreme cases is carried out, also clashes with the moral concepts in which she has been educated; running away, but this recourse is very difficult for a woman of standing with /189/ many relatives. Then she sees as the ultimate solution the prospect of breaking with her culture, which is no longer compatible with her world view as a civilized /civilizado/ woman. She looks for refuge in a civilized institution of this kind and finds it in the Capuchin mission. In this way a number of young Guajiro have arrived looking for protection after having hung up the guayuco and the sirapo as a symbol of the break with everything that was theirs.

This is an offense of a very grave character, not only for the abandoned relatives but for the whole social collectivity. It is thought that whoever does it expresses clearly his contempt for the whole cultural group to which he belonged, placing it by this act on a lower plane. This hurts the native and increases his feeling of inferiority when confronted by the white man and brings to the fore resentments which sometimes have remained

/189 cont./

689 177 hidden. The breaking up of the cultural institutions against which the aggression is directed is accelerated, and these forms /of protest/, in spite of the disagreeable consequences to the individual who makes them, are becoming more numerous. Lately it has not been necessary to resort to such extreme attitudes as those mentioned, since the tenacious refusal of a woman who does not want to conform to a cultural pattern has been sufficient; this conduct does not now place her outside the institutions to which she belongs by birth, but permits her -- without sanction -- to adopt the cultural norms of the whites in this respect, or violate her own as in the case of prostitution and adultery.

* * *

684 Another type of aggression directed against the regimen for collective stability is that determined by punishable acts relating to sex.

The abuse of a young Guajiro girl without legal purchase is an act of aggression which gives cause for the paying of an indemnity.

In this aspect of abuse one must consider violation and surreptitious sexual relations.

The first is more grave and demands a large payment from the offender, not only for illegally making use of property to which he had no right, but for the way he did it, socially humuliating for the woman and her consanguineous relatives because force is employed and wounds received, /both/ evaluated as injuries.

In the second case, in which the expressed consent of the woman is taken for granted, payment is demanded only for the sexual use of the woman and for taunting the woman's family group.

The man who pays for abuse in either of these two cases does not acquire future rights over the woman. He has paid

[109] VII

Other Aspects of Magic

551 The name in magic. "The prohibition against uttering a
689 dead person's name generally is quite rigidly obeyed. Certain South American tribes consider that to pronounce the name of a dead person in the presence of his living relatives is to inflict on them a serious offense, and they apply to the offender a penalty no less rigorous than that assigned to a murder . . . ," says Freud (63), and the Guajiro is typical in this respect. Let us see

63. Freud. Totem y Tabú.

one by one the rituals followed with respect to the dead person's name when a death occurs in their community.

[553] It is imperative that every other person who bears the same name as the deceased should change it. This is done to avoid pronouncing that name in the presence of any of the dead man's relatives, because if this should happen the relatives are entitled to present a claim for compensation payment for the offense. The family considers that by mentioning the name of their deceased relative, the offender has renewed all the painful sorrow which they suffered at his death.

551 This change of names among those who are namesakes of a dead man is made for life and extends geographically over all the zone inhabited by the dead man's relatives and causes the same person at times to have different names. It is, at least, one of the reasons.

At the present time it is common among the natives for
[177 947] every person to have three names: one Spanish, taken from the list of saints and given him by the priest at his baptism; a family nickname, by which he is generally known and which almost always refers to a distinctive physical or spiritual quality; and a third, intimate name, a secret for the majority of people and only known by its owner and some members of his family.

The personal name of the individual should never be
[689] pronounced by anyone but his close relatives. Whoever should

[109 cont.]

551 say his name and not be a close relative must pay a sum de-
[685] cided upon [110] as reparation for this violation of the social norm. Usually they demand in payment the delivery of several head of livestock, necklaces, and other adornments. If the sum
[628] agreed upon by the arbitrators is not paid in due time, war may be provoked.

551 553 When a girl is born, the father gives her a name which may be the same as her mother's, that of her maternal grandmother, or, secondarily, that of a favorite aunt or cousin, or that of a much appreciated friend. But besides this name which is derived from family sentiment or a friendship of the father's, the girl will also have various capricious nicknames which do not necessarily correspond to natural qualities or defects in her psycho-physical personality or some special circumstance at her birth but can be any arbitrary name which may occur to her father, her mother, or her brothers [and sisters? hermanos] on the spur of the moment. So the girl may grow up with several nicknames, of which in the long run one will win out and be generally adopted.

But when the girl becomes a young woman, when her first menstruation appears and her complicated initiation ceremony is carried out, the changes she experiences in her biological functioning and her social standing also extend to the aspect of her name, and she will no longer wish to respond to the nickname by which she has been called ever since her infancy, but only to her new name, by which she will be known until her death.

551 From the above we note that in La Guajira a person's name is not used among the natives except in a very restricted sense, but on the other hand, the nickname which a person acquires when a child through the intervention of his parents or brothers [siblings? hermanos], is the true, the universal name, which may be used by all his countrymen up to the time of his death.

787 825 Omens. When a mountain cat [cougar] cries repeatedly throughout the night near the house and remains a long time prowling about, it implies the approaching death of an inmate of that house. The behavior of this animal can become maddening, as at times it will repeat its patrolling and mewing for several

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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611 In the following laws it must be borne in mind that it is not the
614 injured individual that demands compensation, but his relations, uncles
628 on the mother's side as a rule. From this has arisen the common error
{604} that the father is ignored; as will be seen further on, this is not the case. In compensation it is the caste that reclaims, and the caste is always the mother's side. For example, a Pushaina man marries an Uriana girl; the children are Urianas. If one of these now should kill an Epieyu, for example, the whole caste of Uriana is at war with all the Epieyues, unless the matter is amicably settled by paying blood-money.

Case No. 1. Personally inflicted wounds. If an Indian accidentally
672 cuts himself, say with his own knife, breaks a limb, or otherwise does him-
683 self an injury, his family on the mother's side immediately demands blood-money. Being of their blood, he is not allowed to spill it without paying for it. The father's relations demand tear-money, not so much. Friends
[572] present demand compensation to repay their sorrow at seeing a friend in pain. If anybody present can seize the instrument that caused the accident it is appropriated. The pay is in ratio to the injury. A slightly cut finger is settled with a little Indian corn, a kid, or such trifle. A bad cut requires at least a goat or a sheep, with other sundries. In all cases of compensation where the Indian has not the wherewith to satisfy his creditors, he goes round begging until it is obtained.

Case No. 2. Damage done by animals. Suppose an Indian borrows a
628 mule or other animal, and is thrown by it, doing himself bodily injury,
672 then his relations demand compensation from the lender, the argument
683 being, had he not lent the animal the accident could not have happened. Should the beast belong to the thrown man himself, then he has to pay. Case of No. 1 in fact.

Case No. 3. General liability all round. This covers an enormous field. The most curious. Everybody selling rum or anything else is answerable for all the damage done by its instrumentality. Unfortunately this law is only, like many others, enforced when it is possible. As the traders know it very well, they never take rum into the interior for barter without being fully able to protect themselves. I was lent a servant as guide by a trader, who requested me not to let the man have any drink, for should anything happen to him he would be responsible to the family. Indians in employment receiving any damage the em-
[466] ployer becomes liable; and so on. Wherever the Indian can only make the ghost of a claim he wants tear-money, blood-money, or some other money, and if not satisfied, helps himself with what he can lay his hands on.

Case No. 4. Mentioning names. This is very serious. The Indians
551 object to have their true names mentioned, and demand heavy com-
628 pensation in aggravated cases. They generally go by a Spanish name—
689 José Antonio, Agustin, Vicente, &c., for an Indian dearly loves to be baptised, that is, he likes the attending feast and having god-fathers on

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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whom to exercise his begging propensities. To mention the dead before the relations is a dreadful offence, often punished by death; for if it happens in the dead person's rancho, with nephew or uncle present, they will assuredly kill the offender on the spot if possible. If not on the spur of the moment, it resolves itself into a heavy fine, usually two or more oxen. Even if none of the dead person's relations are present, any friend can carry the news to the relations, and compensation is at once required. When not given it is forcibly taken, probably resented, and the two castes are at war. It is not wise to mention names of any sort in the Goajira in mixed company. 551 628 689

Another peculiar case: if a child dies in the custody of the mother or father, and they are living separate at the time of its death, then tear-money has to be paid by the one, under whose care the child died, to the other. This is "Taguira suchirua tachón," "My tears on account of my child." To demand payment for debts, *achcaka*, is one thing, and to demand compensation, *manga*, is another. They are generally pretty punctual in paying debts; should the debtor die, the creditor is secure, for the relations will suffer anything rather than allow the name of their dead to be abused. The following case of murder I witnessed in Ataipa. Some Pushaimas drinking, one got on to a strange horse, and was ordered off by the owner, on not complying he was shot dead. Both parties being poor and near relations, it was arranged as follows: First payment, eight sheep, two oxen, one horse, two necklaces of cornelian beads, two sirapos of black beads (about 16 lbs.). Six months afterwards, second payment, similar to first. A few months after a third payment is asked, but is more an extra than anything else. After second payment all animosity ceases, and the two families can look again at each other on meeting. Should an Indian in attempting to kill another be wounded or killed, his family demand the same as though no attempt were made. 672 682 [426] [626] [628]

Among domestic customs, the one that calls most attention is shutting up their young girls on arriving at womanhood. The custom is religiously carried out throughout the country. Each girl is enclosed in a separate little hut by herself. She is stripped of all her ornaments, even to her beads and sirapo, and all her clothing with the exception of the long loose cotton gown, nor is she allowed to cut her hair. For the first couple of days, drinking water is denied her, the only food being *kagaspa*, a composition of medicinal herbs. According to birth, a rigorous diet is observed the first month, no meat being allowed. She can be freely mentioned and is merely alluded to by her relations as "sartiso suru paura," "she is shut up in her house." The term of retirement varies according to the wealth and rank of her family. Poor people cannot afford to keep girls idle more than a couple of weeks or a month; whereas the rich enclose them for one, two, or even four years. It is while in this state that she learns all women's requirements— 881 [278] [262] [556] [868]

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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the other. Many other cases indicate the absolute nature of *Goajiro* law 672
and the refusal to recognize extenuating circumstances.

Murder is a very serious crime, and the victim's family immediately 682
demands blood money to the amount of 200 or more cattle. For failure 628
to pay, a member of the murderer's sib of the same rank as the victim must forfeit his life. If payment is not forthcoming retaliatory raids are made. As the defenders generally lose more people than the attackers, the feud may continue indefinitely until all the members of one sib will consider themselves at war with the members of the other, thereby spreading the war throughout the peninsula. If a feud should develop between the sib of the husband and that of the wife, the latter, with her children, will return to her own group until the trouble is over.

A person who has received a deadly insult from another is baited and 683
chided until he takes revenge by killing the offender, in proof of which he removes the victim's viscera and takes them home. This act also prevents the victim's soul from bothering him. If unable to accomplish this he may commit suicide. Suicide is also sometimes a means of venge- 762
ance, a person feeling that he will suffer less than those who caused him to commit the act. Thus a wife who is not allowed enough freedom may hang herself.

Next to murder, one of the most serious offenses is to mention a per- 689
son's true name (given at birth?) or to mention a person's name after his death. This has caused many tribal conflicts.

The value of the compensation demanded in disputes varies directly 681
with the social rank of the offended party. In some cases a repeated 565
offender may be killed by his own sib members. Sometimes, rather than 728
to continue the warfare, hostile sibs may confer under the auspices of an outsider, such as a Capuchin monk, and draw up peace terms. In personal quarrels or minor brawls women often step in and enforce peace.

WARFARE

Wars between the *Goajiro* and outsiders are rare, but any White man 721
may be held liable for the offense done by another, as all Whites are thought 609
to belong to the same sib. Sometimes the few civilized people living in the peninsula take vengeance on the Indians, which leads to further reprisals by the latter.

At the time of De la Rosa, war was declared by sending to the other 721
tribe an ambassador who, in a public speech, asked indemnities for damage previously done. If these were not conceded war was declared, but a brief truce was observed in order that preparations might be made. In battle each group of opposing warriors formed a semicircle and tried to surround and destroy the other. In individual encounters a *Goajiro* rode 726
out on a horse, but, upon seeing the enemy, he dismounted and shot his own horse with an arrow to show his confidence and willingness to fight

/197 cont./

685 groups left destitute by the application of the law governing theft join others, impoverished by the summer /droughts/ for example, and form the social part of the community which is easily forced into bond servic by the stronger groups. (Cf. Chap. Slavery and Bond Service.)

203 691 Informer. In La Guajira the informer acquires the character of an institution which helps to maintain the regimen for social stability in /198/ the peninsula. This individual -- man or woman -- busies himself bringing to members of any family group news of an infraction of any legal precept which affects them and which has not been done in their presence. For instance, if the name of a dead man was spoken, if a joke was made about him, if someone stepped on his grave, etc., the informer carries the news to the interested parties, so that when the indemnity is paid for the aggressive act, he as informer will get his share. When two family groups find themselves enemies through the violation by one of the sides of some section of the regimen for social stability, they are very careful not to comment about the case in front of outsiders, because the news, misrepresented, may be taken to the opposite side, obstructing at times the legal work of the arbitrator and causing an open struggle between the two sides. The informer wants to have the right to a part when the distribution of the indemnity is carried out.

Where the action of the informer is most noticeable is in the case of a constant struggle among various co-wives. He takes advantage of this situation of mutual rancor, bringing and taking news of the movements of their husband from one to the other, etc., to obtain a remuneration for his services.

The informer defends his position, participating directly but without getting himself involved in the legal infraction against the family group to whom he reports. Later he justifies his right to receive indemnity by asserting that he too has suffered pain, has shed tears for example, when the offense has led to the death of a person, and he served as a mourner during the ceremony which followed the death.

[77 cont.]

762 inflicted on the objects which were the principal active agents
768 in carrying out his fatal determination. As the form of suicide
672 that is practiced in La Guajira is almost exclusively that of hanging, they proceed to burn the branch on which the individual hanged himself and the rope which he used, because, they say, these were the direct causes of his death.

With respect to the punishment carried out on the objects
682 (inanimate to us) which served for the carrying out of suicide,
672 several suggestions may be made. In one case, the "compensation payment for blood" may be recalled, the established customary law of this community by means of which whatever spilling of blood that may be caused in any person, voluntary or involuntary, directly or indirectly, has to be paid for in accord-
[698] ance with a valuation decreed by the so-called "arbitrators," or "palabras," who are nothing more than intermediaries named by the family groups affected to settle the affair peacefully. This payment is considerable when the blood spilling ends in the victim's death. Should the murderer refuse to pay the sum ar-
682 ranged for (whether in livestock, necklaces, precious stones,
628 etc.), then the members of the victim's family group take vengeance on him personally and kill him. All this naturally ends in war to the death, or putchi, between the two extended family groups, an occurrence which is extremely frequent in La
682 Guajira. Hence as "compensation payment for blood" cannot
762 be claimed, from these objects (the tree and the rope), they are
672 punished in default by destruction by fire. This hypothesis is reinforced, if we remember that to the Guajiro Indian, as well as
[774] to most primitives, objects — which to us are not alive — are
[778] able to exercise both good and bad influences on the individual (Cf. "Sickness and Medicine" and "Amulets, Fetishes, Talismans"), because they possess a spirit — a kind of mana, or immaterial force, which surrounds and animates everything.

Another suggestion that could be made with respect to the
762 destruction of the objects used by a suicide is the following: As
783 these articles were in direct contact with the dead man, and particularly with a corpse as dangerous as a suicide is, it is necessary that they be destroyed so that the contamination

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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579 been completely tamed by the Venezuelans. He, with of course his
648 followers, have found honesty the best policy after all, and are now reformed and peaceful members of society, returned to breeding and agriculture. This shows what can be done with firmness combined with a little judicious tact and management.

The Indians build no elaborate dwelling-houses. Their best ranchos
342 are simple, and constructed in a short time. The roof is covered with the split woody core of a tall euphorbia. This makes a good cool roof, impermeable to water and easily removed when the family flits. The rancho is seldom used for sleeping purposes; for this numerous poles
[513] (*tchepsi*) are firmly fixed all over the place for swinging hammocks, often three and four to one pole, and crossing each other. Sometimes two and three sleep in a hammock. Further off other poles (*palúmaler*)
[417] are found, to tie animals up at, and a small corral or sheep-pen for the goats and sheep is also indispensable in every well-regulated family. The site of a rancho is always carefully chosen, much strategy being
361 displayed in locating the whole, so that each rancho covers the other
621 without itself being seen. Although villages are never attempted, yet a family rarely lives isolated. Everybody bolsters himself with that bugbear of Goajira society, his relations. Their ranchos are always within gunshot distance, so as mutually to defend each other. One is
[712] invariably on high ground to dominate the country, the rest are hidden away in nooks and corners where least expected. If one rancho is seen, others are close at hand. In case of attack, this system prevents a whole family being exterminated. One or two ranchos may be taken, but the rest escape or fly to the rescue, as the case may be. At all events the
[552] avenger, so dear to the Indian, survives. Each rancho has a distinct name. Besides, every Indian who is anybody has several ranchos
[423] spread over the country. To collect the names of the ranchos would be paramount to taking a census of the territory. The following are
103 well-known ranchos, with usually some half-caste from Riohacha
443 trading with the Indians. In the Macuira range, six miles from Punta Espada, is Guarorpá, at the foot of Ara-ura; chief, Caijuna, a Jirnu.
592 Westwards, close to the sea-shore, Chómunao; chief, José Agustin, a
621 Jallariú, a half-caste speaking good Spanish. At the foot of Itujoro, Magualpá, situated on a slight eminence eight miles from the sea, and is an important trading station. Paraliero, native name of Puerto Estrella, boasts twelve houses and three iron warehouses, with always two or three Riohacheros resident there. The chief, Pedro Quinto, is Epieyu, but his sister Maurlcia is the virtual ruler. Inland, 16 miles from Bahia Honda or Tarua is Merunay, another large trading station, usually with two or three Riohacheros established there. The eight ranchos are well located on a plain between Macuira and Parashi. The chief, Saipa, is Epieyu. This is one of the most central stations in the Goajira, and is surrounded by several important places; it is probably

868 /40 cont./
604 and if he inherits a piece he will acquire the status of the uncle
[728] who has made him the owner.

The boy also learns from the uncle skill in certain tasks in which the latter is practiced, such as the making of harness and weapons, housebuilding, and other accomplishments like horse riding, lassoing, horse racing, etc.

867 Another very important function also learnt from the uncle,
604 although it might be self-taught, is that of arbitrator or cacique. From the uncle the boy takes in the legal tradition of the peninsula, and, listening to stories of acts which have occurred in the past, he learns the line of reasoning observed, the psychology, and the problems of his kin, the mastery of the language, all essential requirements for success when the responsibility passes into his hands.

868 While living with the uncle the boy also becomes adept
604 at hunting, as he accompanies him on his expeditions, during which he learns all the necessary details until he becomes expert in all /41/ respects, including laying traps to catch the animals that damage the crops. And secondarily, in addition to hunting and livestock or pastoral activity, the boy learns the art of stalking, which in hunting is important in order to get better results and is useful in stock raising also, for various reasons, such as finding a lost animal or following up thieves who attack his herd, etc.

868 Also, in war he is on this relative's side, because, accord-
721 ing to traditional Guajiro law, war unites the consanguineous
604 relatives on the maternal side. So he learns, when warlike deeds are spoken of, how to carry them out, and it is not unusual for him personally to experience the conclusions. He puts these ideas into practice when his kin go to war, headed by the maternal uncle of highest standing or the consanguineous head of most prestige. He goes with them to swell their ranks, so putting into practice what his theoretical education has taught him. Indirectly he has been training for the fray when employed in making weapons for hunting and perfecting himself

/41 cont./

868 721 604 in the way they are used. When taking part in these warlike operations he makes use of all his social and legal training, and puts into practice the tradition of his group, besides which the basic principle of consanguineous relationship, mutual aid, and backing to resist aggression from outside elements is brought home to him.

593 604 178 It is almost entirely from his maternal uncle that he learns the cultural patterns of his masculine world, as the uncle becomes for him a mold and patterns, whose example he should follow as the leading male figure on the family level. But with the process of acculturation the influence of the father has now come to the fore. Nowadays, when the father expresses a wish that his first-born should be a son, to be a companion to him in his life as a shepherd, he thereby indicates that it is he who is going to educate his sons, or at least the first-born, supplanting to a certain extent the old family figure represented by the maternal uncle. In this case the boy shares with his father the care of his own livestock as well as his father's herd, and even his mother's dowry when her elder relatives consider it advisable. And there, as in the previous case, the boy learns both the economic and cultural side of group life and becomes attached to his father both in affection and materially, a tie that did not exist before but may lead him later to take a hand in his interest, thus bringing about something previously unheard of in Guajiro tradition, that the son goes to fight in the ranks of his father's group, without any consequent claim for compensation payment or other social demand being made.

Also, as when he is with his maternal uncle, he can join in and learn at his father's side agricultural lore, hunting, fishing, and how to go on excursions into the surrounding country; /42/ he also learns the technique of masculine occupations, but what it appears he cannot yet participate in is the political life of his father as cacique, or arbitrator, as this still remains an inheritance possible only from his maternal uncle, nor in the activities relating to the shaman /piache/ as an institution.

* * *

/140 cont./

567 to accept the conditions proposed by the other, owing to its inability to defend itself. Furthermore, when the offender clan is very inferior to that of the offended person then claims are not even presented; the stronger group proceeds directly against the weaker and exterminates or enslaves its members.

The condition of conflict which we have described in the previous paragraphs is reached not only after homicide or after a delict involving bloodshed, but also for abduction of women, proven adultery, etc., when the indemnity claimed by the clan of the offended party has not been paid.

(For further information read the chapter on Law).

721 It is also very important to note that in La Guajira, wars are not intentionally made with the manifest aim of acquiring slaves by the defeat of another group; slavery in La Guajira, as we have stated, is a consequence of the violation of the code of social order and not an end in itself. It is, then, a social punishment, not a commercial or economic institution. So much is this so, that female slaves are sold at low prices and male slaves may even become an economic burden which the owner bears rather than giving them freedom.

Control and regulation. Slaves and their property are divided according to the social position of the participants of the victorious group in the following way: by the head, who is usually the maternal uncle of highest prestige in the small family group initially offended; or by the mother; or the eldest son appointed by the mother; or, finally, by the head who acted as leader of the punitive expedition. First, the part going to the injured family is handed over as payment for the offense. Of this sum the greater part is for the mother, then another share goes to the maternal uncles /and aunts? tios/, after this some part to the nephews /and nieces, sobrinos/, and, finally, a share to the brothers /and sisters, hermanos/ of the man directly offended. Of the remaining booty, the greatest and best part goes to the head of the expedition if he does not belong to the same small family as the injured man; the balance is then divided among

[44 cont.]
764 him on his journey and which remain his only possessions, since
784 the rest will be distributed among his heirs — take on the quality
778 of untouchables.

782 2. The poisoned arrow. The second sacrifice about which
789 we gathered information has a greater importance than the previous one for two reasons: first, because it is the sacrifice of a human being, and second, because it is linked to a series of ceremonies set in motion to obtain a certain end, the deadly power of the imára, or poisoned arrow, or better said, the magic arrow.

This sacrifice, so far as we could observe, is no longer
101 practiced in La Guajira. According to the information
105 gathered, it was practiced exclusively by the Kusina Indians,
184 inhabitants of the sierra of that name. They were bellicose
782 Indians, warriors, robbers, and animal stealers, who kept the other communities of the peninsula in an incessant state of tension by their attacks and evil-doings. We think it interesting to point out here that these Indians, commonly known as Cocina, according to all the information obtained did not constitute in themselves a separate cultural group. Their language was the same as that of the other Guajiro; their customs were relatively the same, and their physical type identical. Everything seems to indicate that they were no more than social outcasts, all those who, for crimes committed and not paid for in accordance with established laws, had found it necessary to unite themselves into societies outside the law. The question is not entirely clear, and it will be difficult to make it so because Kusina Indians are no longer found in La Guajira.

411 Bows and arrows stood out among the arms used by the Guajiro, (We say "stood" out because now they chiefly use rifles of foreign make). One of these arrows, which they call poisoned, bears the name of imára. The shaft of this arrow is made of a thin piece of wood taken from the tree called parára and measures approximately 80 centimeters in length. At the upper end of this sharpened shaft is placed poison of a ray
411 or the bone of a poisonous serpent. This imára is what the Kusina
618 Indians used as a last resort in their battles with Whites or with
921

[44 cont.]

411 some of the Guajiro communities during their pillaging expedi-
648 tions.
724 The value of the arrow, considered to be infallible,
411 stemmed from the extremely important fact that its tip was
778 anointed with the blood of a sacrificed child. The arrow took
782 into itself, by magic contamination, the sacred and impure quality of the sacrificial ceremony performed on the child, [45] a quality of extreme value when one realizes that the child's own father performed the sacrifice.

782 The process is as follows: The Kusina, according to the story of our informant, an Indian woman from the Sierra de Jarara who had heard from her parents a great deal about the customs of these Indians, with whom the people of the Sierra had had dealings, were accustomed to take a male child from their own family. They carried him off to some distant hills situated in the interior of the Cocina sierra. They took him up a particular mountain, and on its summit under a pó (a special tree) they killed him. He was killed in this way: They blocked up his nostrils and squeezed his throat with their hands, that is, they strangled him, and with a pointed stone they struck his forehead several times continuously until blood flowed from it. This blood, which was exactly what they wished to obtain in the sacrifice, was not allowed to spill, but was gathered very carefully in a very clean utensil. In recent times the blood was collected in an empty tin such as those used for sardines or salmon, but it is to be supposed that in olden times a special ceramic container was used. Once the blood had been collected, they put it to boil in the same utensil in which it had been collected. Next they put it in another that in modern times was a glass container, although in former times it must have been of some other material, in order to preserve it. This utensil which contained the boiled blood of the boy was kept in the woods among stones
[593] which they collected for this purpose. The executioner, who was
[278] none other than the boy's father, had prepared beforehand a quantity of arrows tipped with the poison of a ray, which he later
[438] anointed with the blood and distributed among the rest of the Kusina natives or the Guajiro in general, in exchange for livestock. The price that had to be paid for one of these arrows was

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[98 cont.]

224 237 It is very interesting at this point to emphasize the fact that these hunting charms, in both cases, take the shape of the excrement of the animal that is to be hunted. We cannot allow to pass unnoticed this constantly recurring presence of excrement in the matter of magic. Let us recall the fact which we have frequently mentioned that for certain umbilical illnesses in children they apply excrement; that to call up their protector spirits the shaman use talismans that are shaped like goat excrement; and young Guajiro women bury their hair underneath patches of cow dung in order that they may be bought for wives at a good price.

These phenomena make us think of a very important function of excrement in the Indians' belief in magic, a function that [99] we know about only in its external aspects, but its application does not surprise us even though its explanation still appears obscure.

773 One has to remember that the guano of birds, according to Guajiro myths, was what favored the spread of seeds and populated the country with nourishing and useful plants for man and beast. One of our informants recounted this part of the Creation in the following manner: "Then Mareiwa brought together all the zancalargas (wading birds), troupials, and doves in a flock. He pointed out the far distance and told them to go in search, and there they ate of the iwaráya (fruit of the cardon) and prickly pear. He ordered them to bring the fruit of the cherry trees, and Mareiwa made it rain throughout all La Guajira. Each dove went about spreading his droppings, and where these fell there sprang up all the plants which both the wayú (Indian) and their animals could eat. So were propogated the cardon and cherry trees, and the earth was sown...."

751 726 579 Charms for war. This charm has the virtue of giving its owner complete bodily immunity in the fights which frequently arise between the various family groups. For this reason, before getting ready for combat, when on the way and in fear of a surprise attack, or when he goes to present a claim for compensation payment in the case of the violent death of one of the members of his clan, the Indian will rub himself all over with

[99 cont.]

751 the charm. He has two aims in view, to render himself immune
526 from harm from his enemies' weapons, and to acquire courage
579 and coolness in the coming fight. This type of charm is called ranía in Guajiro.

The evil eye. This is one of the beliefs which seems to us to
754 have been acquired by the Guajiro Indians through acculturation,
[170] as we have not found it in any purely native group but, on the contrary, have found it very widely spread in all parts of Colombia, especially among the mestizos. We have personally en-
[171] countered it in the departments of Cauca, Valle del Cauca, Tolima, Antioquia, Santander, and Magdalena. Without being exclusive to Negro or Negroid groups, it is among them that this belief is found with the greatest intensity and frequency.

175 The presence of Negroes in La Guajira is not due only to
563 racial mixing with the groups of mulattos of the coast but was initiated in the centuries of the Colony as can be seen from these notes taken from Father Julián: "Two evident and palpable reasons came to me: practical reasons which because of my zeal for the welfare of the Guajiro Nation and for the Monarchy I now express. The first is their provision and use of [100] firearms through their continual trade with foreigners; secondly, these same foreigners have brought in Negroes and Negresses, and these
[567] have mixed with the Indian men and women who have bought and kept them as slaves. The result is that not only is the number of people in La Guajira increased but so also is the number of terrible races of Mestizos, Mulattos, Zambos, etc., who united with the Guajiro will make this nation even more formidable and everyday more difficult to conquer." (59)

59. Julián, Antonio. La Perla de la América [The Pearl of America], 2nd, XIV, 195.

754 Referring to this popular Santander belief, Juan de Dios Arias affirms: "In our territory, for example, there is a very general belief that certain persons have the evil eye, and if they should look fixedly and with evil intention at a child, in the course of a few days the latter will be covered with pimples and sore places which are difficult to cure. This evil influence is

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726 on equal terms. He then approached the enemy from the left while making quick movements, jumps, and turns, with his legs apart and his knees bent. More recently, according to Ernst (1887 c), war is not declared, attempts being made to take the enemy by surprise.

[707] Wars last indefinitely, sometimes being broken by a peace brought about by an influential "civilizado" or the Capuchin monks, the latter sometimes paying the retribution demanded out of their own pockets.

579 Some tribes, such as the *Cosina* of Serranía Cosina (actually a conglomeration of outcastes rather than a sib), make their living almost entirely by robbery and pillage, destroying houses, stealing cattle, and killing or enslaving their enemies.

LIFE CYCLE

843 **Birth and childhood.**—During pregnancy a woman continues to do her heavy work up to the very hour of delivery. At childbirth, the shaman

844 pronounces various spells over the patient and applies poultices made of

[156] dried flowers, roots, etc. A large, heavy stone placed over the womb and vigorous massaging bring about the birth. If the placenta is not soon expelled, the woman drinks a medicine concocted by the medicine man. As soon as the child is safely delivered the father serves rum and chicha

[484] to all his relatives. If the pains of childbirth appear when the sib is on the march, the woman mounts and rides ahead so that when the sib catches up the event is practically over. The husband cuts the cord with his machete and cauterizes its ends with a glowing ember. The woman

[854] then continues on the march with the child in a sling on her back. When the permanent camp is reached she washes herself and the child.

85 Baptism is a Christian ceremony which the *Goajiro* have adopted, and

55 most of the Indians are called by Spanish names, as their real names may

177 not be mentioned. Teknonymy is practiced; a parent is addressed by its child's name plus a prefix, nushi or sushi for the father, ni or si for the mother. Thus, a father may be called Nushijuan after a son or Sushijuana after a daughter.

857 At 6 or 7, girls learn to grind salt, pick cotton, and tend the smaller

869 animals; the boys imitate their fathers.

855 Parents are said to show little affection for their children, sometimes

[436] selling them at Sinamaica. They receive $10 or $15 for a child of 8 or 9 years. The purchaser becomes the child's guardian, teaches him the Catholic faith, and keeps him until he is 17 years old. These children

[536 rarely return home. Abandoned children are taken to the San Antonio

79] orphanage, where the girls continue to wear their *Goajiro* dress, but the boys are put into jackets and pants.

881 **Girls' puberty.**—At her first menstruation a girl is isolated in a small dark hut and stripped of all her ornaments. She lies in a hammock, sometimes hoisted near the roof. For the first 2 days she drinks no

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One day we met three slave-workers. They were sitting 567
on a hillside gnawing at roast goat's feet. Talking with them we discovered that they had to serve their master without wages. Must they do so all their lives? we asked. Perhaps not, but they were bound to work for him till certain debts and obligations had been paid off, and these seemed very complicated and vague.

The real slaves for life are the prisoners taken in war. [727]
Thus there are various forms of slavery in Guajira. It is, of course, an ancient phenomenon, of which the whites would seem to have taken advantage rather than to have combatted.

Slavery is a form of punishment. Formerly it was only conquered people and prisoners of war who were kept as slaves. This was usual among several Indian peoples, [197]
especially the Arusks, to which group the Guajiro belong. With them slavery has been systematized.

Let us see how it is that someone becomes a slave. If an 628
Indian has been insulted or killed, his clan demands com- 567
pensation. If this is not paid, war breaks out between the two clans and those taken prisoner are treated as slaves without further ado. The Indians, however, never begin a war for the purpose of obtaining slaves. The slaves are reckoned as part of the damages, and they and the possessions of the conquered are divided among the victors according to certain principles. The eldest maternal uncle, mother, nephew, brothers and the leader of the fighting are entitled to damages; and if there is enough, the leader of the warriors will usually distribute some of the booty to his nearest relatives, mother, sisters, and maternal aunts. All the property of the enslaved prisoners-of-war passes into the hands of the victors: their pastures, water-holes, cattle, utensils, clothing, ornaments.

Slaves are the property of their masters, who can do 567
with them as they see fit; sell them, give them away, kill them or use their labour and, if they are women, have intercourse with them as they may desire. The same goes for the men, if their master is a homosexual, as is not unusual in [838]
Guajira. The owner's unmarried sons or nephews also con-

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which occasioned her becoming a slave-worker, and then pay a bride-price to her family. The girl becomes free and, of course, her child is born free.

Real slaves are those taken in war. Nowadays they seldom take men or boys prisoner, but prefer to kill them instead. Otherwise there is always a risk that eventually they will try to avenge themselves. Women and girls are mostly spared and made slaves. Civil strife is common, and the Macuira Hills were no more peaceful than other areas, but the Indians were reluctant to harm the monks, though on occasion even they became involved.

One day a violent feud broke out between two clans. The chief of one clan himself led the fighting and had determined that the enemy was to be utterly exterminated. The battle raged quite close to the mission. To be anywhere near the Indians when they are fighting is dangerous, for those with rifles are seldom able to shoot and stray bullets fly everywhere. Poisoned arrows are also in the air, but they are better aimed and do not travel so far.

One day the monks heard that this chief had captured a couple of boys of the enemy clan and had ordered that they should be burned alive. The boys were reported to have been tied to a tree, round which a large fire had been lit, after which the chief's men had gone away, leaving the boys to their fate. Two of the monks set off at once for the tree. As they hurried along rain began to fall and they hoped that that might put the fire out and so save the boys' lives. When they arrived, however, one of the boys was already dead, having been suffocated by the smoke. The other was still alive and the monks carried him back with them, though they scarcely expected him to survive, for he was very badly burned. It seems pointless and cruel to kill little boys, but the Indians were afraid that, if they spared them, they would take vengeance later; thus, when they heard what had happened, they sent a message saying that the monks must hand the boy over.

The monks replied that the boy was dead. That was the only way of saving his life—if it could be saved. He died during the night, however, and was buried in the mission's

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garden. In the morning the Indians came and demanded the 628
body. The monks refused, not wishing to lend themselves 727
to violation of the dead, and said that they would only 797
treat with the chief. He, however, was not in the vicinity. 648
The Indians threatened to burn the mission station. Fortunately the chief arrived at this juncture, and told his braves that they must not use violence against the monks.

'Never to kill and just to rescue those condemned to death as you do, does not fit in with our laws,' he said to the monks. 'You Capuchins lack any sense of reality. But I shall do you no harm, since you never harm others.'

It sometimes happens that the victor instead of killing 567
his male prisoners will sell them as slaves to the white 439
men, preferably to places at some distance from the peninsula, such as the Dutch islands of Aruba and Curaçao, Zulia in Venezuela, or the Magdalena department of Colombia. The Indians deal in slaves among themselves; they also sell them to the white men and these, too, traffic in them among themselves.

Legally, a slave sold to a white person should become free, but in reality the owner of the *hacienda* treats him as a serf, branding his own mark on him, depriving him of his clan name and giving him his own. To sell a prisoner into slavery is not always to hear the last of him; for some have escaped from the Dutch islands, stowing away on boats, and on their return have exacted vengeance. It is not easy for hacienda slaves to escape. They are often hunted like animals.

There was a considerable sale of young girls to the whites, 548
a scandalous traffic. In Indian territory this was mainly in 567
the hands of quasi-chiefs, generally mestizos and other half-breeds with no right to the title, who cleverly saw how to exploit the Guajiro laws to earn a lot of money. The Guajiro customary law was never intended to apply to export.

The monks were the chief opponents of the slave-traffic. 567
They received a special grant from the government of 648
Colombia to enable them to purchase the freedom of slave children. The white men made no distinction between slave

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[6 cont.]

105 177 However, at the beginning the fundamental change in their economy did not affect their most characteristic social institutions. They preserved, almost to the present, their family organization based on the uterine line of kinship and all the other institutions which derive from, or are directly or indirectly related, to it. Only now with the presence of an ever increasing number of foreign elements who are attracted to La Guajira territory by different circumstances is the Indian gradually losing these fundamental ideas of his organization and beginning to change them, forced to do so by events, to the point that today it is becoming difficult to decide up to what point a social phenomenon is autochthonous and to what point it is impregnated with new ideas brought in by evangelists, government and military officials, and traders.

144 175 In the racial aspect the phenomenon shows up less strongly, although, as in other aspects, it has been gradually accelerating as means of communication develop and the contraband between the islands of Aruba and Curaçao, the department of Magdalena, and the port of Maracaibo increase. Racial mixing [mestizaje] began in the colony not only between Spaniards and Indians, as happened in the greater part of Latin America, but also with the Negroes who were acquired as slaves from the Dutch and British slave traders in exchange for pearls. Naturally, this mixture was of insignificant proportions, but [7] at the present time it is developing more rapidly, stemming from the element, also Negroid, of the coastal areas of Colombia and Lake Maracaibo. In spite of all this, at the present time one can still find a large percentage of the pure element in La Guajira, especially in the regions distant from the traffic with Maracaibo or with the interior of Colombia, or relatively isolated from civilizado centers of La Guajira such as Uribia, Puerto Estrella, Puerto López, etc.

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132 031 In the past five to six years La Guajira has suffered extremely severe summers which have almost completely crushed its economic bases, stock grazing and agriculture, for scarcely enough rainfall has fallen to save their pastures or their harvests.

[7 cont.]

132 Consequently at this time, the Indian faces a situation of misery
731 that has brought him to seek monetary income either as a worker in the maritime saltworks or as a herdsman in the neighboring haciendas of Venezuela and Colombia; or if he is obstinate in his attachment to his native soil, he has to put up with conditions of hunger, bond service, and even slavery in his own territory.

166 The lack of water has been the main factor leading to the
464 mass emigration of entire native families to the nearest centers of trade and work; there they enroll themselves as paid farm workers; or simply beg for charity, which is frequently seen in the streets and plazas of Maracaibo; or apply themselves to some other trade such as the making of charcoal to be sold in Ríohacha; or work in the loading and unloading of ships in neighboring ports.

* * *

121 All these facts that we have been describing and the little
114 that was known of this interesting Colombian aboriginal community led the Institute of Ethnology and Archaeology of the Ministry of National Education of Colombia to organize an expedition to study for a reasonable period of time the greater part of the characteristic social phenomena of this group of people, the actual social situation of the natives confronted by the new conditions of life, the anthropological aspect, the language, etc. This decision was put into effect with the ethnographic expedition of 1947, which, during the months of July, August, and September, traveled over a great part of the territory making the corresponding studies. [8] This expedition was composed of: the investigators, Licentiate Milcíades Chaves, Licentiate Virginia Gutiérrez de Pineda Giraldo, Señora María Rosa de Recasens, and the author.

The result of these investigations is the work we now present, the first of a series of publications which will cover the major part of the aspects of the material and spiritual life of the Guajiro.

The work to which these few lines serve as an introduction is based on facts carefully gathered by us in the field, especially by my wife Licentiate Virginia Gutiérrez de Pineda Giraldo, who kindly handed over data to be studied and added to ours, and we

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576 You always rein in before a rancho and wait for those inside to call to you. If no one comes, it is best to continue on your way, for either you are not welcome or your prospective host is not at home. We halted outside this rancho 574 and after a short wait a friendly voice called '*anshi pia*' 'You 262 have come?' and we answered '*aa*', yes. We were then invited to halt and entertained with sour goat's milk and boiled goat's meat. In exchange we gave them a little maize, which is an expensive article there and not easily come by. Vegetables and fruit are even greater rarities. Naturally 262 they eat the fruit of the fig-cactus during its season. It has a faint smell, but is refreshing. There is also a tree with fruit like olives, and which the whites call olives, and the Indians eat them, but they are said to be poisonous, at least in large quantities. This tree has the great advantage that, to all intents and purposes, it never withers. At that time we were not yet tired of goat's meat and could eat the fare they offered us. It is the staple food of Guajira, however, and in the end we got more than enough of it. Even at this place we thought that everything tasted or smelled of goat, not only the meat and milk, but the water, the huts and the surroundings as well.

We went with our animals when they were to be watered, 312 to see that they got enough. Many Indians and quite a number of cattle had gathered round the casimba, for it was to one of those we went. They had dug deep into the river bed, making a funnel-shaped hole several score feet in circumference and, as far as we could see, some thirty feet deep. During the rains this casimba overflowed and normally it was half full, they told us, but now there was only a little running in at the bottom.

The sand was firm enough there for them to have cut [482] steps, and the Indians were climbing up and down the whole time with large jars which they emptied into troughs made of long, hollowed divi-divi trunks, from which the animals drank greedily.

[415] The women fetched their water there in calabashes or 312 earthenware vessels. An Indian who spoke a little Spanish 731 told us how desperate their plight had been a few years

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before, when the casimba had dried up and the cattle had roamed round the troughs bellowing till they collapsed and died. The horses, on the other hand, had given up the ghost without complaint.

The water was already turgid; before long it would be as thick as gruel. The water we had been given by the bishop was now finished, and we had to boil the water from the casimba, which had a beastly taste and did not quench our thirst because of the salt in it. The best water is that near the coast.

The cattle and horses were thin, but the men at the well looked strong and well-nourished, as did the women. But how would they look by the time October came with its rain? It was then only July. And suppose no rain came? Or only a few showers? That had happened before. The threat of it always hung over the Indians. If the rain god Juvap turned his face from them, they were lost. There were still patches of grass here and there, but it was dry and scorched. If need be the cattle could make do with cactus, despite the long spikes that could pierce a stout leather shoe with ease. Very, very carefully the cow lets one of the oval leaves slide into her mouth, almost sucking it in, so that the spikes are bent backwards; she then starts chewing as hard as she can. Often cows have more cactus stuck in their hides than they get inside them. Horses and mules, on the other hand, apparently do not like cactus and will not do more than nibble at it. It is too slow a business to eat it. The goats seemed able to find something to eat everywhere, and are themselves eaten sooner or later. Cattle are not often slaughtered, but goat is the daily fare. Live goats are also taken as provisions on journeys, being easily led on a rope.

We had halted only in order to let the animals drink and for the Indians to fill their water containers. The Gaffer needed a lot of water now—his thirst was unbounded—but the calabashes were in his wife's charge and she only allowed him an occasional gulp. Also he was having to walk, for she was tired and had mounted the donkey again. The Lad tried to enliven the company by imitating the donkeys when they

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567 sider themselves entitled to the female slaves. The owner, however, is bound to give a slave enough food from his own kitchen or to provide maize or other raw ingredients for him or her to cook. He must also provide a male slave [435] with a wife, either giving him a female slave or buying a girl for him from some poor clan for ten goats. The state of [428] slavery is hereditary; thus the children of slaves belong to the owner of their parents. If the owner of a male slave should buy a poor free girl to make him a wife, her children [611] will be free, since relationship is reckoned on the female side. If a free man pays a bride-price for a slave, she becomes free; but if he merely buys her for a house-slave she remains a slave. Male slaves are set to work in the fields or with the herds. Female slaves perform domestic occupations. Sometimes a female slave becomes nurse to the owner's children. [574] The laws of Guajira hospitality require that the master of a 837 house place a female slave at his guests' disposal for the night.

The Indians, of course, have the right to punish their slaves, but the chastisement is seldom excessive. Slaves are treated as superior domestic animals, or perhaps I ought to say, as we treat domestic animals, for the Creoles, the Indians' neighbours, are not animal-lovers. Naturally there are cruel Indians too. The monks once came across a poor little slave girl out in the wilds. Her hands were so badly burned that she could not use them. She had been trying to keep herself alive by gnawing at cactus with her mouth. They took her back with them. It transpired that her mistress had lost her temper with her, thrust her hands into the fire and then driven her away.

The Indians make a distinction between slaves taken in war, who are their master's property, and dependent workers. These latter have to do what their master tells them, but he does not dispose of their persons. I called them slave-workers. They can be sold, but in theory it is only their labour that is transferred.

735 In times of distress the poor not infrequently have to get 567 rid of members of the family who are unable to contribute to their own support, and this they do by selling them. This

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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applies mainly to children. These then become slave-workers and by right should be liberated once they have paid off with their work the sum for which they were bought, but that may not always be done. It is the mother, the uncle or the aunts who decide when a child is to be sold. This seems cruel to us now, yet it is not so long ago that children in the country were auctioned as workers in Sweden and elsewhere. 735 567

The owner of these slave-workers is bound to provide them with food and clothing as he must his slaves; thus children sold into slavery at least do not starve to death as they well might at home. 614

An Indian who has been unable to pay his debts must in certain circumstances go and serve his creditor. That is reminiscent of our own ancient slavery for debt. The obligation to work for another can also be a punishment laid upon a thief or a robber. As long as the slave-worker's clan is able to take action against the master if he goes beyond his entitlement, the position of the slave-worker is different from that of the slave; but if his clan is weak and unable to help him, he can be utterly in his master's power. At times a whole clan may become so weak that it has to seek the support of a stronger clan, and thereby becomes bound to work for the latter and is entirely dependent upon it. 567 686 [685]

While the master of a female slave may use her as he will, he has no right to have intercourse with a female slave-worker. Nor can he prevent others from entering into relations with her. If her clan has any voice in affairs, it will require damages of anyone who seduces her; but if her clan is powerless, then the female slave-worker is without support either of her clan or her master, and not infrequently ends as a prostitute. Prostitution is contrary to Indian law, but nowadays it does exist. 567 833 614 [548]

Even if a girl's clan is insignificant it will always demand damages, if someone has had relations with the girl and made her pregnant. Usually the man will pay up, that being the decent thing to do. Perhaps he wishes to marry the girl; in that case he must first pay her master the debt

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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CHAPTER 5

Slaves and Slave-dealers

We had expected lush green valleys and thus the mission station lying on its terrace of sand was to some extent a disappointment. There was greenery in the area, as we knew from having passed it on the way, but it was quite far off and one had to wade laboriously through deep sand to reach it.

Those green valleys could be called oases. Nazaret, perhaps, was the one relatively peaceful place on the whole peninsula. The Indians respected the monks, who were kindly, understanding, civilized people. Nazaret was a fixed point and the only place where we could set up a headquarters from which to make excursions of varying length; otherwise we would have to travel and keep travelling all the time we were in Guajira. There were supplies of food there and drinking water. They had a rainwater cistern and also a casimba with clear water that never seemed to run dry. It had cost them a lot of labour and effort to erect the buildings there. All the materials had been brought by pack-donkey from Puerto Estrella, to which it was taken in schooners. Maize, sugar and other such provisions still had to be fetched the same way. They were not always able to get meat from the Indians. Once it was nearly three months before they could replenish their larder. They had great difficulty in protecting things from ants, which were as numerous there as everywhere in tropical South America, to say nothing of other noxious creatures.

The monks and nuns together looked after two hundred Indian children, and their support was not to be hazarded. The Capuchins always concentrate on the children, whom

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

797 they take into boarding schools, so-called *orfelinatos*. It
736 was not difficult to get children for these schools there. Many poor families voluntarily hand their children over in hard times, when they cannot support them themselves. Others sell them for a quantity of maize. If the mission did not buy them, some well-to-do chief would, and they [567] would become slaves. The monks did not always know whether a child offered them was stolen or not.

Well-to-do Indians also liked to send their children to Nazaret to learn Spanish and other useful things. These, however, often became more Indian than the Indians once they left the school. We met a few who refused to remember their Spanish and who appeared to be quite uninfluenced by the monks. This evident reaction against civilization was due, perhaps, to the strictly ordered life of the school.

The poor children had to stay there always. Some of them worked in a cotton plantation which the monks had started in order to help the mission's finances. There were already one or two married couples. They were not considered proper Indians, because the men wore trousers.

584 A Guajiro girl is normally not allowed to choose her
797 husband. Her family does that. Thus, if the monks and nuns decided which pupil was to marry which, it amounted to the same thing. The monks, of course, did not get a bride-price, nor did the bridegroom often receive his morning-gift that traditionally consists of ornaments and clothing.

797 Why had they built the mission station just at that spot, where it was so difficult to maintain it? The choice had been dictated mainly by the monks' desire to try and save children and others from being sold as slaves. Also there was water and it was near a harbour.

567 Do people really traffic in slaves in our day? Yes, slavery still exists. In Guajira, the traffic increases whenever there is a drought and times are bad. It has always gone through Castilletes on the south coast, which lies just where the frontier between Colombia and Venezuela reaches the sea. The slaves are sold to Venezuela, which is also more accessible for that part of the peninsula.

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

726 on equal terms. He then approached the enemy from the left while making quick movements, jumps, and turns, with his legs apart and his knees bent. More recently, according to Ernst (1887 c), war is not declared, attempts being made to take the enemy by surprise.

[797] Wars last indefinitely, sometimes being broken by a peace brought about by an influential "civilizado" or the Capuchin monks, the latter sometimes paying the retribution demanded out of their own pockets.

579 Some tribes, such as the *Cosina* of Serranía Cosina (actually a conglomeration of outcastes rather than a sib), make their living almost entirely by robbery and pillage, destroying houses, stealing cattle, and killing or enslaving their enemies.

LIFE CYCLE

843 **Birth and childhood.**—During pregnancy a woman continues to do her heavy work up to the very hour of delivery. At childbirth, the shaman

844 pronounces various spells over the patient and applies poultices made of

[156] dried flowers, roots, etc. A large, heavy stone placed over the womb and vigorous massaging bring about the birth. If the placenta is not soon expelled, the woman drinks a medicine concocted by the medicine man. As soon as the child is safely delivered the father serves rum and chicha

[484] to all his relatives. If the pains of childbirth appear when the sib is on the march, the woman mounts and rides ahead so that when the sib catches up the event is practically over. The husband cuts the cord with his machete and cauterizes its ends with a glowing ember. The woman

[854] then continues on the march with the child in a sling on her back. When the permanent camp is reached she washes herself and the child.

851 Baptism is a Christian ceremony which the *Goajiro* have adopted, and

551 most of the Indians are called by Spanish names, as their real names may

177 not be mentioned. Teknonymy is practiced; a parent is addressed by its child's name plus a prefix, nushi or sushi for the father, ni or si for the mother. Thus, a father may be called Nushijuan after a son or Sushijuana after a daughter.

857 At 6 or 7, girls learn to grind salt, pick cotton, and tend the smaller

868 animals; the boys imitate their fathers.

855 Parents are said to show little affection for their children, sometimes

[436] selling them at Sinamaica. They receive $10 or $15 for a child of 8 or 9 years. The purchaser becomes the child's guardian, teaches him the Catholic faith, and keeps him until he is 17 years old. These children

[536 rarely return home. Abandoned children are taken to the San Antonio

797] orphanage, where the girls continue to wear their *Goajiro* dress, but the boys are put into jackets and pants.

881 **Girls' puberty.**—At her first menstruation a girl is isolated in a small dark hut and stripped of all her ornaments. She lies in a hammock, sometimes hoisted near the roof. For the first 2 days she drinks no

[68 cont.]

757 referred, are what contain the curative properties because of their
751 magic force. These medicines are applied in the following
278 manner: The infusion of herbs with rum and the drops "whis-
643 pered over" are added to previously boiled water, and the child is bathed at birth with this mixture. When the mother feels the pains of approaching childbirth, she also takes a glass of this mixture and repeats this a few moments after the child is born, which helps her to get rid of the placenta.

• • •

75 Thus far the notes that we have concerning the magico-preventative or curative medical methods of the Indians of La Guajira [sic]. These show first, how medicine, like birth, sickness, and death, is subject to a series of cultural patterns, the result of the individual's relations, magic or spiritualistic (so far as the spirit of the dead is concerned), with his environ-
774 ment. The latter are to be understood in their widest meaning, since as Doctor W. Born says:

> "Primitive man's intellectual world is not really limited to sorcery since there are too many enigmas facing young humanity such as birth and death, dreams and sickness. To explain these, primitive man appeals to various supernatural forces. From experiences in the world of dreams, he derived the belief in a soul as a clear explanation of the consciousness of "ego," which is opposed to the destiny of death. The power of the soul to free itself from its body (as dreams seemed to indicate) accepted, it was natural that he should accept the possibility of the existence of independent and active souls in nature. This state renders feasible not only a polydemonism but also the notion of a material soul. Polydemonism admits that a demon, a sort of soul, lives in everything in nature, while the substance of the soul is an invisible energy which emanates from objects. As the substance

291 /50 cont./
855 it fits very tightly, facilitates the normal development of her
301 breasts. Like the boys, the girls wear some wrist ornaments,
751 magic preventatives, and it is not rare for them to wear some
855 necklace with magic objects which have been "made sacred,"
to avoid bad influences; nor /is it rare/ that they already have
[304] their ears pierced and occasionally wear earrings, although
this ornament is for grown women. They do not cover the head
302 and usually wear the hair short, as if it had been shaved and
855 the hair was in an advanced state of growing in again. Never-
291 theless, though the garb described is the usual thing, the present-
day girl frequently uses the adult robe /manta/ from the time
she is very small, especially among upper-class mestizos. /51/

III

INITIATION OF YOUNG WOMEN

881 The life of a girl approaching puberty becomes less free in the upper classes, because her maternal relatives apparently then take her into account and endeavor to train her in feminine activities. In the lower classes the same preoccupation is shown, but oriented in another direction, as her labor has already been made use of very early in the family life, since, as we have already stated, they see in her the future adult woman for which reason they discourage her somewhat in her comings and goings into the woods, although it is also true that they show more concern than if they treated her as a child. Furthermore, they start to use blouses, as we described in the previous chapter, and she is told at a convenient time of the biological phenomenon which is to take place in her: menstruation. When the time comes and this shows itself, her first reaction is to inform her mother, or in her absence, the kinswoman with the most authority.

[23 cont.]

*756 to divine his future by means of a firebrand, and sees that it
787 does not burn or blaze. His spirit has abandoned him and no longer comes at his call. Finally, the spirit descends to him and says, "This has happened to you because you did not obey me on such-and-such an occasion."

Up to now there are two clear examples of the relation between unknown lands and death in the case of the shaman. Let us recall the talks held between the shaman and his protector spirit during the ceremony for curing a sick person, in which the protector spirit describes to him a marvelous country crossed by wide, blue rivers as a dwelling place to enter after death. Now this same representation reappears in his dream, which implies a vision of the world beyond the tomb to which he will shortly go.

[755] If during a curing ceremony he should dream that at some time during the dance which he has demanded for the total rehabilitation of the sick man he sees a group of rich Indian women arrive mounted on horses, bringing with them in a pitcher a small quantity of water or rum with which they bathe the sick person and then blow on him at midnight, this means that the sick man in question will recover completely and will not have a relapse.

● 751 At other times the shaman may dream that someone is
*756 going to be killed. To avert the danger he goes to the relatives
787 of the person dreamed of to order them to perform a sacrifice or ceremony such as the following. They must bring a heifer of a certain color, slaughter it at dawn, and bathe in its blood the Indian on whom the tragedy is to fall according to the dream. To end the ceremony they must hold a chicha-maya dance. The Indian referred to must follow strictly the orders of the shaman [24] otherwise, there is no doubt that a tragedy will befall him, so the natives affirm. (Cf. "Magic and Sacrifice.")

There is a story, for example, of a female shaman who dreamed that she should "shamanize" an Indian woman with rum and hold a chicha-maya dance, or otherwise death would rapidly overtake her. The woman of the dream did not obey the orders of the shaman, and a few days later she had a quarrel with her
[762] husband, who struck her, and, broken-hearted over her husband's action, she hung herself from a tree at midnight.

411 [47 cont.]
789 character of the inhabitants of Jarara; and second, the complete
[78 disappearance (according to all sources) of the Kusina Indians in
797 the last 20 to 25 years for various reasons. In other words, the arrows which may still exist but of which we could not obtain a sample are those preserved by the aged Indians of Jarara, purchased from the makers in times past.

Sacrifice to forestall the effects of dreams. In the Guajiro
787 mentality dreams are considered to be revelations of the future, coming from a benign spirit who seeks in this way to show his protection to a certain person. When the shaman himself has the revealing dreams then these acquire greater importance, as we have already seen. For the same reason, when one of these
*756 shamans has a special dream, he informs the interested party
787 and adds to it the necessary instructions or special ceremonies
951 that he should arrange in order to counteract the prognostication. If such ceremonies are not carried out or are not totally complied with, the dream will become converted to reality. The Guajiro has immense faith in dreams, particularly in those of shamans, and very few persons will leave themselves open to suffer the consequences of the nonfulfillment of the rituals indicated, as experience, according to them, has [48] shown that noncompliance with the indications of the shamans has resulted in many deaths and disasters when the events foretold have taken place.

As the aspect of dreams is treated in a special section, we will here only refer to the theme which interests us and which is related to sacrifices. In this respect we quote the narrative of one of our informants.

This occurred in Jarara. A woman shaman dreamed that a member of the Pushaina family clan was threatened with a fatal tragedy; he would die by the hand of one of his own family group. The shaman immediately informed him of it and ordered him, in order to avert the danger, to organize a fiesta of horse racing and, above all, to sacrifice a
62 black male goat and to bathe himself in its blood. The Indian did not want to carry out the shaman's instructions, and within a short time he was killed by a member of his own group of inferior economic standing. The reprisals taken against the

[48 cont.]

682 murderer's family after the crime were extremely cruel, as was to be expected given the Guajiro social organization. Their homes were burned down, their sources of water supply demol-
[569] ished, three men and four women were killed, and their children enslaved.

782 The interesting part of the subject we are now dealing with
● 751 lies in the sacrifice of animals. These apparently serve as
761 substitutes for the individuals whose sentence has been revealed in a dream. They take their place and are sacrificed in their stead. As a death has taken place, the evil spirit which had enslaved the future criminal in order to carry out its determination to harm him is now mollified by this act of propitiation. Moreover, as the animal (the black male goat in this case) shares the qualities of its owner by reason of such ownership, a part of the personality of the person sentenced to be punished in the dream is also sacrificed. The individual thus suffers two processes, death in part through the sacrifice of the animal and participation in the sacrifice by bathing in its blood.

171 Possible vestiges of this native belief still persist in
761 Colombian folklore in some parts of the departments of Antioquia,
825 Boyacá, Nariño, and Santander. There the people hold the be-
538 lief that when a domestic animal dies, especially if it is an animal that has been much loved by the *people of the house*, it is a sign that some member of the household had been about to die. The sentence of death which lay on that person, according to the explanation given in all cases, was transferred to the animal by a special concession from God, [49] thus avoiding a greater calamity to the family. In Nariño this belief, according to information from the Licentiate Chaves, appears in popular oral literature. There is in reality a story which tells of a recently married couple who felt or knew (we cannot say how) that they would die very shortly. To avoid this, the wife dedicated herself to breeding cuyes (curíes) [conejillo de Indias, a mammal of the order of rodents], which one by one died off; then she hastened to breed chickens, which also successively died; she then devoted herself to dogs, which also died. With the successive deaths of the animals, they were able to elude their own fate and lived happily together for a long time, free

[61 cont.]

825 twining itself around it, and with its tail, which is very thin, it
843 pierces his ear. The pressure is so great that generally the tip of its tail comes out of the other ear, which causes the death of the person attacked. The method of defense does not invoke magic as in other cases but is limited to the simple precaution [751] taken by the woman of going about with a pañuelo [kerchief] on her head which covers her ears. Hence the serpent winds itself around the head but is unable to introduce its tail into the ear of the victim. The woman, on reaching home or on meeting someone, will be able to take revenge on the snake and kill it. But the snake also takes its own precautions, according to the story, as, if the husband and wife walk together, it will not attack for fear that the man will kill it.

Up to this point the story is no more than an interesting legend, the fruit of the primitive's imagination, but for the study we are interested in the latter part of the story, which runs as follows, has great value. If the same serpent on the other hand sees a woman when her pregnancy is advanced (after the fourth month), the woman seems to have an evil influence on the snake, which appears to suffer from paralysis and becomes helpless, lying on the [62] ground unable to spring into the trees. There in that condition it can be easily killed. If it is not dispatched at this moment, the snake recovers its strength and agility as soon as the woman goes away.

Once again we see the magic interaction of serpent and pregnant woman. But there is this difference between the magic action of the other animals which makes its influence felt through the mother upon the child to be born, and that of the serpent which discharges all its magic power directly on the mother, provoking in her pains and delays at birth, abortions, etc. We would ask why?

We have up to this point collected a series of facts which quite clearly show the magic-participatory action of animals in the lives of the Guajiro natives and above all in what refers to the explanation for the presence of sickness. Furthermore, the action of the snake is related to one of the most interesting phenomena in the life cycle, childbirth, which includes the

[65 cont.]

843 and very carefully wash it [in water]. Giving the woman this
845 water to drink will permit her to deliver the child immediately.

If a Guajiro father has to set off on a long journey on
751 horseback, leaving behind his newborn son, he must comply
854 with another custom of a magic nature, which requires him to
492 wrap the cinch of his horse about the child for a few minutes. If he fails to do this, the child will be very ill and complain pitifully during the time his father is absent. An equivalent form under the same circumstances is the father's customarily placing his foot on the newborn baby's chest for a brief moment. If this obligation is not complied with, either through forgetfulness or all will on the part of the father, the mother, or some close relative of the child, must find the father's old sandals and place them on the child's chest for a few moments in order to obtain the effect desired, which the ritual action if performed by the father would have accomplished.

751 We venture to attempt an explanation of the last two
854 phenomena as follows: The object that is sought in the fulfillment of these two traditional customs is to drive away from the child the presence of the wanurú or the evil spirit of sickness. The pressure exercised by the father's foot or, lacking this, [66] by
[753 the father's old sandals, symbolizes his presence in the child
126] precisely in the place where the spirits in order to attain their evil designs often lodge in the child's body, i.e., its chest, as we shall have occasion to see in the following chapter. This symbolic presence of the father prevents the spirits from approaching near the child to work it harm. Lastly, the custom of wrapping the cinch of [the harness of] the horse on which the father will be traveling around the body of the child is intimately linked
[125 with the belief of these natives that the horse has the power to frighten away the wanurú, or spirit of sickness, with its snorting; more simply this same protection is achieved by placing a horse's skull in a place near the houses. (Cf. "Amulets, Fetishes, Talismans." Also, in this case there is a substitution of the magic formula (using the cinch instead of the horse), a substitution that has exactly similar effects and the action of which could be based on one of the laws of magic established by Sir J. G. Frazer

[66 cont.]
751 according to which "things which have once been in contact with each other continue to act on each other at a distance after the physical contact has been severed." (45) [Cited in Spanish.]

45. Frazer. La Rama Dorada [The Golden Bough], III, 27.

751 There is another medical preventative, also of a magic
843 nature, taken to avoid infant mortality in Guajiro marriages after the death of the first-born child. This preventative obliges
[766] them to bury the body in a certain manner. It also imposes upon the mother a further seclusion, such as she underwent on reaching puberty (ceremony of initiation), and entails her taking certain medicines extracted from vegetable roots. If all these prescriptions are not fully complied with, her future children will die successively as soon as they are born.

844 Once the child is born, the placenta must be thrown a long way away from the house and completely lost to sight. If
[777] it is buried it will bring bad luck to the child, who in consequence of such an imprudence will live a weakling and suffer greatly until his death.

853 When only two or three days after the mother has given
827 birth, her breasts badly swell with severe pains and a lack of
755 milk, her husband must place his foot on her naked breast, pressing lightly on it, with which treatment the woman will recover. When a mother loses her milk after a long period of breast feeding and is no longer able to nourish her child, she must be struck on her shoulder and her breasts a number of times with the branches of a plant which is found mainly in the neighborhood of [67] Puerto Estrella and which on being cut emits a white liquid.

826 The Guajiro takes great care of any of his hair which has
754 been cut off, as he is afraid that it can be used to do him harm. This fear is based on the belief that if anyone can obtain postession of a lock of hair, whatever harm he may do to this will react directly on its owner; if that hair, for example, is thrown on the fire, its original owner will suffer a similar fate:

[67 cont.]

826 he will die consumed by flames. Likewise, if a lock of human
754 hair is buried with a small quantity of dog excrement, the person who carries out this act of witchcraft can cause any harm he wishes to the owner of the hair.

648 Medicine practiced by foreigners. To ensure that his child
757 will be sound and fit and show greater resistance to sickness, the Guajiro father makes use of the medicine of the Arhuaco, who like the other natives we know connect this art directly with magic. It is well to take note, before pursuing this description, that the Arhuaco are held to be excellent doctors by all their neighbors, not only by the Indians but also by mestizos and mulattos, and even by Whites. The fame of these curers is such that sick people from the neighboring cities of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta and even from Maracaibo have themselves carried to them to be cured of their illnesses, or, as a last resort, send them some of their personal articles of underclothing by which the Arhuaco curer determines the sickness from which the individual is suffering and sends the necessary medicines.

The Guajiro have not escaped this influence. Their geographical nearness facilitates communication with the Arhuaco, but we do not know whether this interchange of relations was already established before the Conquest or if it is due to the external influence of the colonists who have settled on the slopes of the Sierra or in regions close to them, who in their turn have transmitted the legend of the fame of the Arhuaco as doctors to the Indians of La Guajira.

757 The fact is that generally, shortly before the birth of a
751 child or when some opportunity presents itself, the father goes
278 to the Arhuaco, and from one of them who knows the preventa-
843 tive or curative value of plants he obtains several of these in order to doctor his child or prevent its sicknesses. Among these herbs are the vira-vira, quina dulce ["sweet quina], the frailejón, and a number of others. These herbs are shredded and put into a bottle containing rum and to this mixture is added two kinds of drops, also of plant juices, which have been carefully [68] "whispered" or "muttered" over by the Arhuaco doctor. These drops, in addition to the plants to which we have previously

[68 cont.]

757 referred, are what contain the curative properties because of their
751 magic force. These medicines are applied in the following
278 manner: The infusion of herbs with rum and the drops "whis-
643 pered over" are added to previously boiled water, and the child is bathed at birth with this mixture. When the mother feels the pains of approaching childbirth, she also takes a glass of this mixture and repeats this a few moments after the child is born, which helps her to get rid of the placenta.

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75 Thus far the notes that we have concerning the magico-preventative or curative medical methods of the Indians of La Guajira [sic]. These show first, how medicine, like birth, sickness, and death, is subject to a series of cultural patterns, the result of the individual's relations, magic or spiritualistic (so far as the spirit of the dead is concerned), with his environ-
774 ment. The latter are to be understood in their widest meaning, since as Doctor W. Born says:

> "Primitive man's intellectual world is not really limited to sorcery since there are too *many enigmas facing young humanity such as* birth and death, dreams and sickness. To explain these, primitive man appeals to various supernatural forces. From experiences in the world of dreams, he derived the belief in a soul as a clear explanation of the consciousness of "ego," which is opposed to the destiny of death. The power of the soul to free itself from its body (as dreams seemed to indicate) accepted, it was natural that he should accept the possibility of the existence of independent and active souls in nature. This state renders feasible not only a polydemonism but also the notion of a material soul. Polydemonism admits that a demon, a sort of soul, lives in everything in nature, while the substance of the soul is an invisible energy which emanates from objects. As the substance

[68 cont.]

714 of the soul is uniform, so also the effects of all things are magically related to one another." (46)

46. Born. Fetiche, Amuleto, Talisman [Fetish, Amulet, Talisman], p. 3.

This polydemonism of which Dr. Born writes, or spiritism as we have called it, can be seen more clearly in the life of the Guajiro communities in the chapter which deals with the [764] aspect of funerals. All the ceremonial relating to the dead is filled with this belief [68] in the universal soul and in the survival of a personal soul after death.

755 In the chapter we are dealing with we see it also clearly established, especially in the curative methods followed by the shaman, or medicine man, who seeks the assistance of his protector spirit or spirits to find out the kind of illness the sick man is suffering from and the manner of eradicating it from his body, as well as in certain aspects of household remedies consisting of prevenative methods. In no way different are the 764 taboo prohibitions related to the dead, the burials and exhuma- 783 tions in general, animals sacrificed in funeral ceremonial, and 784 persons who have been in contact, directly or indirectly, with the dead by assisting in the burial or exhumation of human remains, in digging graves, in imprudently gazing on the placing of a burial in the grave, etc., all of which contaminate with the essence of the dead, who by his very nature, by the act of having passed to a higher life situated on a plane of superior potentialities to that which he has left, is converted into something dangerous, sacred or impure, as the case may be, and for this reason contaminating.

751 This contaminating action of the dead also appears in the 775 aspect of medicine since they endeavor to avoid possible harm to children before birth and therefore to pregnant women or those in actual childbirth, because, as we have already seen these are the most likely victims of the malevolent action of spirits. Children especially receive such influences through their parents when they are in the mother's womb and have such poor means of self-defense.

[69 cont.]

of self-defense. If we take into account the high infant mortality among the Guajiro population, which reaches a very high rate (32.97%) according to the data collected by the investigators Virginia de Pineda Giraldo and María Rosa de Recasens, whose findings were published in the Boletín de Anqueología (47), we

47. Pineda Giraldo Roberto. "Informe preliminar sobre aspectos sociales y económicos de la Guajira [Preliminary Report on Social and Economic Aspects of La Guajira]."

can even better explain the series of prohibitions, of patterns established to protect the future mothers and unborn children from the malevolent influence of the spirits, whether of humans, animals, etc.

On the other hand, we can deduce from this study the following points: 1) Medicine practiced by shamans, intermediaries between the two worlds, is carried out almost exclusively on adults, for whom they prescribe the curative methods they deem essential in accord with the patient's illness. 2) On the other hand, curing by [70] divination, which we have called household curing, using a common term, has its field of action among newborn babies and mothers-to-be. 3) In this last type we encounter an extremely interesting fact, the ambivalence of certain animals, represented by their double capacity to cause illness and at the same time to cure it. 4) In the application of household preventative medicine, magic called sympathetic is frequently practiced. 5) In one of the accounts we find the occurrence of the magic action of a plant. This deals with the plant used to make the mammary glands secrete their milk after a mother had lost it and the child still requires to be breast fed. As the plant is able to produce milk, the mother by contact with it will inevitably be able to do the same, according to native belief. This aspect has been fully treated by Castiglione in one of the chapters of his work Encantamiento y Magia [Enchantment and Magic]. We wish to quote only a few paragraphs which will better clarify

753 [73] In the Guajiro mentality sickness, as we were able to see
751 in the corresponding sections ("Medicine and Sickness" and "Life Cycle of the Shaman"), is not something provoked by natural causes but is the consequence of the malevolent action of some special being, above all, of a spirit. So a series of beliefs, magic preventatives, have been established in order to avoid or ward off the hostile action of these spirits on the individual, as we were able to note in the chapter "Sickness and Medicine." We also saw in the matter relating to magic and sickness how certain animals, plants, and objects could be agents by contamination or participation in the cause and development of
[775] sickness. But it is particularly the spirit of the dead, offended and malevolent, that causes major disasters among the Guajiro, as is shown by their beliefs and their own preventative systems.

We can get aid from linguistics to clarify this concept.
192 The word that the Guajiro uses for illness in general is wanurú,
753 and the same word is the one that is used for the spirit of the
775 dead – the devil, according to all writers and even to the na-
[797] tives themselves, due to the effects of religious acculturation provoked by the Capuchin fathers. Still further, if we break
[196] down the word we find that it is formed of three special particles, wa, num ru, which separately correspond to three different concepts: Wa is derived from the first person plural of the personal pronoun wayú, which means "we"; nu, or simply n, is nothing more than the general contraction of the third person singular of the personal pronoun niú, "he," and rú is a relative particle derived from surú or hurú (s or h according to which dialectal zone the word is taken from), which signifies "inside," "inside of," or "within." In view of the idiomatic composition of the Guajiro dialect, we can with all safety translate the word wanurú as follows: "he, inside of us." The linguistic construction therefore corresponds to a social reality: sickness, wanurú, is nothing more than that: the spirit of the dead that has entered an individual in order to cause him a particular illness for some disrespect or other that he has shown toward the spirit, or simply just because it is a malignant and vindictive spirit.

171 The relation sickness – death – spirit, which will later be
753 the object of a special study on our part, can be proved through
775 linguistics in many of the aboriginal Colombian and even American
*756

[77 cont.]

762 783 should not be transmitted to the persons who for any circumstance may approach or touch them.

The wickedness of the spirit of the suicide, in any event, 762 is seen to be reaffirmed by another Guajiro belief, which is that 769 of not daring to pass at [78] night by the place where an Indian 775 may have hanged himself because his spirit wanders continually around the place, and being malignant it will certainly pursue and chase after one in the form of a great flame or some other shape.

775 As we proceed to set down the present data relating to the participation of the dead in the lives of the Guajiro community, we shall refer to those related to the spirits of suicides with the idea of obtaining greater objectivity in our statements.

Presence and life of the dead. The spirit of the dead, known usually by the name wanurú and at other times as yoruja, on being separated from its body wanders about the world. Although it no longer has any tangible relationship with terrestial things, it is still dangerous. Usually it takes refuge in lonely and isolated places such as in some cemeteries, in the crevices formed by sea erosion in Cabo de la Vela, or in the solitudes of the Emejuy forest. But it appears that in addition to these places frequented by the spirits of the dead, there is one undetermined special place far away from La Guajira. It is customary when a 764 woman has died to cover her face with paipai (a paint for the 775 face) before wrapping her in her shroud and placing her in her coffin ready for burial. The explanation for this is that she is going on a long journey, a very long journey, and the sun to which she will be exposed will be very strong and harmful to her face. For this reason, according to Guajiro custom, they must try to protect the skin of her face from the sun's action by the use of this face paint. Also she is going to pay a visit, and it is indispensable that a woman should have her face painted when visiting friends or relatives (55).

751 55. The Guajiro woman, every time she is exposed to the sun's rays, protects her face with paipai powder (color of burnt sienna)

[78 cont.]

751 or another powder, achiote, mixed with tallow or other animal grease of some kind, which prevents the severe sunburn which the strong desert sun can cause.

764 The following facts give clearer and more convincing
775 proof of the reality of the dead as beings who pass to another life, to a certain point a material one. When a person dies the relatives usually place by his side at the moment of burial a small portion of chicha in a gourd; they also put in some meat and rum, as indispensable nourishment which he will require during the long journey he has to make. After the burial they place on his grave one of the objects of his personal ownership which had been used by him to satisfy his primary necessities. These objects [79] can be: a night glass (influence of acculturation through civilizado elements) if he is a rich Indian; the jug he used to drink from, or the plate he used for meals. In the case of a woman, in addition to these objects they place a special one, something which she greatly liked and worked with during her life — for example, her spindle. Furthermore, after having buried the dead person, they light small fires for several nights so that the spirit can find the way it has to travel in its passage to the other world and will not be inconvenienced by losing its way, an inconvenience which might lead to trouble for its relatives.

On the other hand, when the Guajiro Indian has emigrated from his country for various reasons, especially in times of extreme summers when poverty becomes felt in an alarming way, and falls ill on foreign soil, his great concern is the need to return to his native land as soon as possible in order to die there and be buried in the cemetery where the remains of the ancestors of his family group lie. This concern, which could be interpreted romantically as a sentimental one, a simple manifestation of homesickness, has another explanation, more sociological and conscious, related to life beyond the tomb. This is that the Guajiro, whatever his social or family condition may be, is convinced that after his death he will have to travel a long way

[86 cont.]

In these magic practices we can observe the following facts: 1) The burial of the first-born infant face downward in a funeral urn prevents succeeding children dying in the same way. If he is buried face upward, the future children will all unfailingly die. The spirit of the child is, then, like that of all other dead adults, a spirit capable of doing harm, but its influence can be easily counteracted by varying the normal position of the head at the time of burial. 2) There is here the intervention of a special tree, the huruwi, the reason for which is at present unknown to us but which presupposes its possessing certain magic properties, as it is below this tree and no other that the body of the first-born must be buried. 3) The presence of the father or of the mother at the moment of burial would cause the death of their future children, which corroborates the above statement that the spirit of the dead, even that of the newborn child, by its death makes its influence felt in the matter of conception, as we have seen in other cases. (Cf. "Magic and Sacrifice" and "Sickness and Medicine"). 4) The mother has to undergo or relive the ceremonial of the initiation rite as this, which is also directly connected with magic, prepares a woman for her life as such. If we make an analysis we can presume or reproduce the mental processes of the Indian in this case. If the initiation rite has as its special function the preparation of the woman for her place in society and in the family and if, in spite of it, the first-born – which implicates one of her principal functions: conception – dies, it must mean that the said rite was not carried out in all solemnity, all and each of its [87] fundamental parts were not complied with, and it is necessary to repeat them. The mother of a dead first-born is placed then in the condition of an adolescent.

• • •

We said in one of the sections in the chapter "Sickness and Medicine" that the child is regarded by primitives as a being defenseless up to a certain point, and that for this reason he needs

[98 cont.]

It is very interesting at this point to emphasize the fact that these hunting charms, in both cases, take the shape of the excrement of the animal that is to be hunted. We cannot allow to pass unnoticed this constantly recurring presence of excrement in the matter of magic. Let us recall the fact which we have frequently mentioned that for certain umbilical illnesses in children they apply excrement; that to call up their protector spirits the shamas use talismans that are shaped like goat excrement; and young Guajiro women bury their hair underneath patches of cow dung in order that they may be bought for wives at a good price.

These phenomena make us think of a very important function of excrement in the Indians' belief in magic, a function that [99] we know about only in its external aspects, but its application does not surprise us even though its explanation still appears obscure.

One has to remember that the guano of birds, according to Guajiro myths, was what favored the spread of seeds and populated the country with nourishing and useful plants for man and beasts. One of our informants recounted this part of the Creation in the following manner: "Then Mareiwa brought together all the zancalargas (wading birds), woopists, and doves in a flock. He pointed out the far distance and told them to go in search, and there they ate of the jwardya (fruit of the cardon) and prickly pear. He ordered them to bring the fruit of the cherry trees, and Mareiwa made it rain throughout all La Guajira. Each dove went about spreading his droppings, and where these fell there sprang up all the plants which both the wayú (Indian) and their animals could eat. So were propagated the cardon and cherry trees, and the earth was rich. . . ."

Charms for war. This charm has the virtue of giving its owner complete bodily immunity in the fights which frequently arise between the various family groups. For this reason, before getting ready for combat, when on the way and in fear of a surprise attack, or when he goes to present a claim for compensation payment in the case of the violent death of one of the members of his clan, the Indian will rub himself all over with

[99 cont.]

751 the charm. He has two aims in view, to render himself immune
726 from harm from his enemies' weapons, and to acquire courage
579 and coolness in the coming fight. This type of charm is called ranfa in Guajiro.

754 The evil eye. This is one of the beliefs which seems to us to have been acquired by the Guajiro Indians through acculturation, [579] as we have not found it in any purely native group but, on the contrary, have found it very widely spread in all parts of Colombia, especially among the mestizos. We have personally en- [171] countered it in the departments of Cauca, Valle del Cauca, Tolima, Antioquia, Santander, and Magdalena. Without being exclusive to Negro or Negroid groups, it is among them that this belief is found with the greatest intensity and frequency.

175 The presence of Negroes in La Guajira is not due only to
563 racial mixing with the groups of mulattos of the coast but was initiated in the centuries of the Colony as can be seen from these notes taken from Father Julián: "Two evident and palpable reasons came to me: practical reasons which because of my zeal for the welfare of the Guajiro Nation and for the Monarchy I now express. The first is their provision and use of [100] firearms through their continual trade with foreigners; secondly, these same foreigners have brought in Negroes and Negresses, and these [563] have mixed with the Indian men and women who have bought and kept them as slaves. The result is that not only is the number of people in La Guajira increased but so also is the number of terrible races of Mestizos, Mulattos, Zambos, etc., who united with the Guajiro will make this nation even more formidable and everyday more difficult to conquer." (59)

59. Julián, Antonio. La Perla de la América [The Pearl of America], 2nd, XIV, 195.

754 Referring to this popular Santander belief, Juan de Dios Arias affirms: "In our territory, for example, there is a very general belief that certain persons have the evil eye, and if they should look fixedly and with evil intention at a child, in the course of a few days the latter will be covered with pimples and sore places which are difficult to cure. This evil influence is

[100 cont.]

954 also effective on birds, which die in a short time when they have the evil eye put on them. To protect the children they are [751] made to wear rings or bracelets made of jet beads, buzzard [chulo] bones, guache [a certain serpent] teeth, or male and female coral stones. They also avert the evil eye by singing three hymns over the sufferer.

"We also find this superstition in Spain. The physician 171 Rodríguez López, referring to Galician superstitions, writes: 954 'Here, where the belief in the evil eye is so strongly held, it 751 is exceptional for a mother not to hang round her child's neck certain relics, herbs, horns, or other objects of all shapes and sizes, or at other times to sew them on to their children's clothes, or tie them to their wrists to protect them from the contagious effects of the evil eye.'" (60)

60. Arias, Juan de Dios. Supersticiones Populares [Popular Superstitions], pp. 265-266.

Besides this, in the study made by the Licenciate Panesso Robledo on Antiochian folklore we find the following:

"Not only country people but also city dwellers wear opals, nearly all imitation, to protect themselves from evil actions, and on their children's wrists they tie black beads, called jet but rarely genuine, to keep them safe from the evil eye, a universal superstition whose effects if they really occur are to be imputed to the phenomena of auto-suggestion or hypnotism." (61)

61. Panesso R., Antonio. Del Folklore Antioqueño [Antioquian Folklore], p. 25.

751 Leaving Colombian folklore and limiting ourselves to that 754 of La Guajira, we find there that jet is the best charm to protect 623 one from the evil eye, [101] which especially affects children. 865 This evil effect is not obtained if the person on whom it is practiced carries jet on his person, since it has the property of counteracting the evil. According to the belief, when the evil eye has been cast upon a person carrying a piece of jet, this

[101 cont.]

751 823 855 754 breaks, thus counteracting the evil. In other words, the magic action of the eyes is deviated toward the jet, which directly receives the effect, so liberating its owner from it.

For the same purpose they also use a mineral called salta piedra ["jumping stone"], which is hung by a string from children's wrists. It is yellow and shining.

Pieces of coral, which the women use in their necklaces, [m] bracelets, and anklets as ornaments and bringers of happiness, health, and good fortune, are suspended from children's wrists to forestall the evil eye and some other sicknesses. The mestizos who live in La Guajira wear it attached to their waists by means of a cord.

751 754 824 It is also very common to find, as a preventative of this evil, "oxeye" seeds hung by a small cotton string from some part of the body.

Also coconut shell in the shape of a little hand is frequently seen, a shape which is probably more effective made in jet.

754 The evil eye, according to native belief, is exercised by certain people who have a special power in their eyes which causes sickness in those they look at if these are weak, such as children and sick persons, but this harmful action is involuntary in the majority of cases, though some do knowingly use their power and put it into practice with the manifest intention of causing evil. The effects of these "eyes" also extends to plants and animals.

The sickness shows itself in the form of stomach troubles, diarrhea, vomiting, fever, and by general eruptions on the skin. Animals also sicken and die, and plants cease to develop naturally and in the end dry up.

751 825 Method of warding off the wanurú. Near native habitations the owners place horses' skulls, which they say serve to drive off sickness both in children and adults, as they have the effect of frightening away the wanurú. We believe that this attitude is closely allied to another native belief which convinces them that the neighing of horses frightens the spirits that [n] wander on the roads at night. For this reason, when the Indians travel at night, as we saw personally, the horsemen always [102]

head the party, and these insist that the rest of the caravan who are riding on burros or are on foot follow them closely.

If the wanurú fears the neighing of horses, it is also afraid in the presence of its skull. The important element in this belief is that its appearance must date from the Post-conquest period, since the natives did not have horses before that event. It is thus a belief acquired through acculturation. Our hypothesis is that it was introduced by the Negroes, as similar beliefs are found in the mining regions of Antioquia, as we can show by quoting Tomas Carrasquilla in his work La Marquesa de Yolombó [The Marchioness of Yolombó], the plot of which is unfolded in colonial times in these regions. He speaks of the popular belief in demonic monsters, especially by the Negro slaves who worked the mines, and refers particularly to a special being whom the simple people named the pate-tarro [pata de tarro, "can foot"], "a giant who had only one foot of flesh and bone. If it were not that this great scoundrel was scared to death by skulls of cows, there would not have remained alive a single pawpaw tree in these mountainous cultivated lands."

The similarity is obvious: A cow's skull keeps away evil spirits and avers their wickedness. The difference lies in something of minor importance -- one is the skull of a cow, the other that of a horse. The beings against whom they direct their evil are different by reason of mere accommodation to the cultural atmosphere in which the belief is implanted.

Charms for becoming rich. This charm is acquired, as are all others, by purchase from a Guajiro woman experienced in the matter. Almost always the owner of such a charm is a man who by means of its power has acquired considerable wealth, because his charm will not allow him to do any bad business. It counsels him on what operations he must accomplish, it points out to him the profits that he could obtain from certain financial operations, and, above all, it guarantees him success in whatever business he undertakes.

The charm is kept inside a small wool bag, and with it he keeps a gold bead and at times a gold necklace. The part of the charm that we might call nonmaterial is produced by the various

[103 cont.]

This charm is personal and nontransferable. If a person who is not the legitimate owner should touch it, he has to submit to the diet just described or his punishment will be madness; his character will be changed, he will have fits of anger without apparent or justified cause, he will suffer from permanent nervousness, and his mind will be come deranged. However, he may look at the charm with the owner's permission without suffering any change in personality. It is useless to steal the charm as it will give no aid to the thief but will remain faithful to its original owner and will most likely cause harm to him who may have appropriated it illegally.

As do nearly all charms, it has its special covering and is kept together with achiote in three successive bags which have been knitted from wool by [104] the same Indian woman who inspired the charm with its magic power. As a matter of fact it is not known of what the charm is made because it cannot be completely uncovered.

What is the quality it possesses that makes it so valuable? The native belief insists that when the owner sleeps it makes him dream what is going to happen to him down to the most insignificant detail. During his sleep it tells him who his hidden enemies are, what people wish to do him harm, where they will spy on him when he is traveling on the road, what difficulties he will encounter in the negotiation of an agreement, what words he should use, etc. The owner of the charm wakes up with a start, gets up immediately, quickly finds the charm, and taps it lightly, which averts all evil.

According to the Indians, the charm is like another person that is in every place where its owner is not; it knows the intentions of other people, deduces what is going to happen, and warns its master.

Charm for the sea. In Riohacha one of the Indians who assisted in fishing and the cartage of cargo to and from the ship at the wharf wore, hanging from his neck, a piece of bark of a tree the species of which we could not determine. When we asked him the reason for the charm, he explained that he wore it to safeguard himself from the waves of the sea, that is, to avoid being drowned if some day he should fall into the sea.

[104 cont.]

226 Never again during our visit did we come across this type
751 of magic object, which leads us to believe that it does not be-
[177 long to the Guajiro cultural whole, but that it is due rather to
184] the influence of the mulattoes of the coast who, as is well known,
are extremely superstitious.

*756 Charms used to call spirits. The use of these charms, to
which we have referred on other occasions, is limited to shamans.
778 They use them to facilitate the arrival of their protector spirits
when they are in a curing trance or are carrying out any of the
functions related to their status. Up to the present we have not
arrived at a satisfactory explanation of their influence on the
spirits, but we might now bring together the few data we do have.
One of the female shamans who served us as informant and who
[776] came from the Sierra [de] Jarara possessed charms to attract her
spirits. She explained to us that as those spirits are assistants,
some to young shamans, some to old ones, the charms to facilitate
the arrival of their spirits are also of two classes: for young
shamans and the other for old ones.

The charm is made from the leaf of a plant called in Guajiro
[824] morõno, which is found in abundance on Itojoro Hill. A woman
expert in such articles makes them there [105] by grinding the
leaves of the plant to a paste and shaping this into a rounded form
which she keeps in a small bag of red thread. The larger ones
are reserved for the older shamans, and the others, combined with
some of the former, are for the younger.

778 The guará or guale. The guará or guale, difficult to find at
789 present, is a kind of idol made from solid gold or silver and of
[325] which only a few examples exist as they are no longer made. This
[532] small idol is an anthropomorphic representation in fetal position,
and it does not seem to be an autochthonous product of the
Guajiro as they themselves assert that these idols come from their
[173] distant ancestors, by which they mean the Arhuaco of the Sierra
Nevada de Santa Marta.

This fetish is known sometimes by the name Mareiwa, a divinity or spirit similar to the idea of God but which appears to be nothing else than the spirit of Rain, as we shall see further ahead (cf. "Mareiwa and Wanurú").

[155 cont.]

182 individual or of the dead, in the aspect which we have called
626 "Omens and Augural Birds," in the behavior followed by individ-
789 uals who wish to call up a breeze during a windless calm at sea or to send away eclipses and lightning which, according to their belief, are malevolent.

• • •

789 A very interesting aspect of magic is its use for and against
595 some of the cultural institutions and their institutionalized patterns; for example, the use of love charms and the compliance with certain norms after the period of seclusion accompanying the ceremonies at the time of a young woman's initiation. Her aim is to fight against polygamy, with a view either to obtaining predominance over other wives or, better, to prevent the man who has acquired her for his wife from acquiring more women with whom she would have to share his life. Possibly due to the influence of acculturation, there is a tendency toward monogamy on the part of the women. The men, however, tend toward polygamy for prestige, since for it they must have a good economical position, as the price of women is high, increasingly so the greater their social position.

[177] [654]

[156] Another institution that we see directly affected by
751 magic is this same initiation of young women. We saw how
771 the death of a first-born child required a series of ceremonies
881 to prevent future children dying at birth, one after the other, and we stated that one of the principal ceremonies consisted in the observance of certain norms which bring to mind very clearly the initiation of the young mother. Their idea would seem to be that one of the causes of the death of the first-born was the deficient carrying out of the magic-biological-social ceremonial to which the girl must submit to prepare for her life as an adult.

[761]

Also the norms relating to the dead and the belief in a
764 life beyond the grave rest almost exclusively on magic, and
775 through it their prestige and their functioning are kept up. Magic
771 is also the cause of the fear and respect which relatives and friends
626 show to their dead, and it is magic which also promotes all the ceremonial rites that are celebrated in this connection.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

in a wide woman's tunic, dyed black with divi-divi. Her face was painted black, too. At her age that could scarcely have been necessary to save her complexion, but such painting is also a protection against dangerous spirits. The Gaffer carried his ceremonial dress with him, tucked away somewhere. This consisted of an oblong piece of cloth sewn up along one side and with a hole for the head at the top. It is worn draped in such a way that the chest is bare.

Thus our caravan made its way along. The animals' shadows contracted further and further. Soon the sun would be right overhead. The very air seemed to have melted in the heat, and the blue hills in the distance had begun to dissolve. Here and there grew a cactus, otherwise there was nothing but sand and salt to be seen. Slowly the caravan crept along. We spurred our mules and rode on ahead, but after a while we had to turn back in order not to go astray. We found the Gaffer riding and the Gammer walking. The Gaffer could hardly stick on. He swayed in the saddle, for he was as drunk as a lord, having smuggled with him a calabash containing spirits instead of water.

He was just about to take another pull as we came galloping up, and he was so frightened that he dropped the calabash, which smashed and the spirits ran out. At that we searched the old couple's baggage, despite their protests, and found another calabash of spirits. We gave the Gaffer a large coin for it. The two young ones were delighted at his misfortune, for his baggage had given them a lot of trouble. It was obvious that the Gaffer had started drinking early, for the loads on the donkeys in his charge were badly secured and danced about, so that one after the other had to be lashed on afresh.

We told the Gammer that she must restrain her old man, an order which the interpreter undoubtedly passed on, probably with some comments of his own. The Gammer was not popular with the two young ones, and Bristles would not lack the courage to tell a woman a few home truths. Gradually the Gaffer sobered up, and a good thing he did, for we were approaching an Indian rancho, where he would have to act as spokesman for me.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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until they reached marriageable age. Even when they were 291
little they wore belts of seed pearls which were added to
with the years, and other strings of beads were put round [301]
their shoulders and across their chests. A girl of eight or
ten might carry fifteen or twenty pounds weight of beads
and pearls. The string round the waist was made of black
beads, but those on the upper part of the body had to be of
different colours.

The rich used gold and coral. Necklaces of gold beads 301
were traditional, but every other bead had to be black and [556]
be either a seed-pearl or of glass. Poor girls used plaits of
cotton threads on their torsos instead of strings of beads.
All who could, wore sandals with pompoms to protect [311]
their feet against the thorns on the ground.

Women slaves and slave-workers were often not given 291
protective tunics by their masters and therefore went about 567
perpetually half-naked. Being unable to protect themselves
from the sun, they become darker skinned than the others.

The women's dress was thus colourless—unless they had 302
bought some coloured cloth from a white trader. To make
up for this, they painted their faces with patterns, mostly [386]
using the violet dye of a fruit called *guajo*. The men
painted themselves too, but restricted this to a few lines.
Only the women took real pains about painting themselves.
It was mainly their faces they painted, but on occasion their
arms and legs could also be covered with patterns. When on
a journey, the women painted their noses and cheeks all
over with black or red paint. This was not done for the [75]
sake of appearance, but to protect themselves against sun-
burn. We tried the method ourselves and found it excellent.
If one did not follow the Indians' example there, one easily
got badly burned. The Indians regard this protective effect [719]
as supernatural—all paint is magical and the pattern has
secret significance. The women showed my wife red and
brown powders that they had and advised her to try them.

All at once the women were in a hurry. They had 881
remembered that the men were due and hastened to the fires
and their pots. We roamed around and came across a small
hut, entirely closed, standing just behind the big houses.

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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wife and he perhaps could do with it. I knew what uma was, but had never expected to be offered a secret magical object by an Indian who scarcely knew me.

Uma was one of the many *cóntra* or instruments of magic used by the Indians either to protect or help the possessor. Uma stimulated love. The Guajiro have not only their old Indian magic, but some of Spanish-Moorish and African negro origin. Where these cóntra are concerned, it would be most interesting, though difficult, to find out which were of red, black or white origin. They differ in character, but one and all can be lent or hired to a person of the same sex and can be used by that person with as much effect as when used by the owner himself.

A uma love magic was most difficult and expensive to acquire. The equivalent of £30 or £40 was the current price, while the owner will normally charge £10 or £15 if he hires it out. A cóntra must not be shown to any unauthorized person, as its power may then transfer itself to the person who happens to see it.

Love talismans were of different kinds. That considered to be of the best quality was a tiny pouch containing small pieces of what looked like the droppings of some sort of lizard. The magic stuffs of Guajiro often imitate the excrement of various animals. Others consist of little stones in a glass bottle, or a decoction of herbs, which the person on whom the magic is to be worked has to take or wash in. One powerful and unfailing love specific is the hair clippings of the confined majayura girl, mixed with the blood of humming birds and other ingredients, but that can only be used on the girl in question. With her, however, it cannot fail.

The love magic the young Indian now said he would give me was one of those little pouches, thus very precious. He was willing to let it go because he liked my pistol so much. He had no further need of a love specific now that he had got himself a beautiful wife with its help—and, he might have added, thanks to a good supply of cattle. And if he ever wanted another cóntra, well, he knew where to get one. But he would not get any more wives. He was a

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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several days afterwards, but have to be fed. They also have 767
to keep to a diet for a while, a precaution that, like the
cloaks they are wrapped in while digging up the bones, is to
protect them against spirits.

In the old days the house in which a person died was 768
abandoned. Nowadays that is only done if the person has
been murdered.

I have come across this after-funeral among several 765
Indian tribes farther south, in particular the Motilon in the 171
Andes, neighbours of the Guajiro, and the Indians of the
Llanos plains around the Orinoco. It seems a peculiar
custom to us, but it is a sort of memorial ceremony, a feast
of remembrance devoted to the dead person, who is thus not
forgotten so quickly by the Indians, as is often the case with
us.

The animals killed at a man's funeral are to accompany 764
him into the hereafter and enable him to maintain his posi-
tion there. His immediate relatives must not eat of this meat,
which is all given to the guests, who cook it and feast on it.

Different in character is the sacrifice of some creature, a [751]
black sheep or a brown cow, which the piache recommends [782]
when he has dreamed that someone is in danger of being [787]
murdered. Here the animal is being killed in place of the
threatened man, the goat or cow acting as substitute so that
the human can escape his fate. Presumably, what used to
happen was that the person threatened had to go out and
kill some wild animal, a deer for example. The custom of
slaughtering cattle at a funeral originates from the change in [178]
the Indians' way of life that resulted from their making
cattle-rearing their main occupation. Earlier the dead person
was given other grave-goods to enable him to manage in
the life hereafter, including ornaments and that sort of
thing. In the pre-Columbian era quantities of polished stone
beads and rattles were placed in the graves. Then, when for-
tunes began to be reckoned in cattle and horses, it was
obvious that the dead person must have cattle to accompany
him. To the Guajiro, as to the general run of Indians, there 761
is no such thing as natural death. Were it not for the 776
dangerous world of the spirits and evil enchanters people

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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When mi-
grating from one locality to another the *Goajiro* generally dismantle their houses and take them along, piling the poles and thatch on the backs of burros. Sometimes, however, they leave them for their own or someone else's use in the future.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Goajiro dress has changed little since the time of Nicolás de la Rosa (18th century). Men normally wear only a breechcloth, a necklace, and a head band with feather attached (pl. 72, *top*); but when traveling, paying visits, or receiving company they wear a large loincloth with many folds, a mantle (nowadays of bright colors), and an immense sash, in which they carry their arrows. A knitted string bag is hung from the waistband. In towns trousers and shirts are worn. The women wear a cotton dress, sometimes made like a simple sack with holes cut for the head and arms. The puna—long strings of beads passing over both shoulders, crossing each other on the breast and back and held in place by a sash or belt of beads (the sirapo)—is placed on a female child a few months after birth and gradually augmented according to the parents' wealth and the child's age. Black beads are generally used for the sirapo, colored ones for the puna. A married woman wears the puna until her first confinement. After her seclusion at puberty, a robe, sometimes containing 8 or 10 yards of embroidered material, is also worn by a *Goajiro* woman, but the loosely folded cloth which was her sole covering before puberty is still worn beneath it. Women, unlike men, are modest and avoid being seen naked.

Some young girls have as many as 100 turns of beads around their waists, as well as many around their wrists and ankles. Red coral is preferred, but most beads are made from seeds or coconut shell and are cut out by means of a hollow metal reamer twirled rapidly between the palms. The perforated shell may then be used as a colander. Glass and porcelain beads and earrings are also worn. The most prized ornaments are the tumas—polished and perforated stone ornaments found in some of the old graves. On dress occasions necklaces of beads and gold ornaments are worn. These, found in *Tairona* graves, are fashioned in the form of tiny animals, frogs, turtles, etc.

The men, except the medicine men, wear their hair short, kept back by a ring or crown made of plaited straw, or of wool with a tassel behind. Often the two are combined and adorned with a couple of feathers in front; or the whole may be made of feathers. For protection against mosquitos and sun both sexes paint their skin with powders made from rotten wood, a black stain made from a wild nut, and another color extracted from leaves and mixed with fat. After puberty women cut their hair short, keeping the shorn tresses in a bag hung from the roof; henceforth they never let it grow beyond the neck. They make designs on

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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minus an amount considered equivalent for the sexual right he had exercised. If a woman dies in her first childbirth the husband may demand the full return of the bride price (Simons, 1885, p. 792, however, states that the wife's relatives demand compensation from the husband). Adultery entails divorce with full return of the bride price. It rarely occurs, however, as the wife will be treated badly by her own relatives. At his death a man's wives are inherited by his brother, and next by his sister's sons; the women may avoid this by making a payment equivalent to their bride price. If he is of the Catholic faith his children may claim to be his legal heirs, which leads to conflict with the maternal nephews. (See Social Organization, p. 374.)

The influence of women in political affairs is sometimes noticeable. There are cases of female chiefs, and women are respected enough so as to be able to intervene and stop brawls.

Death.—Funerals are accompanied by festivities which last days or even weeks, according to the wealth of the family. There are some differences in the funeral ceremonies which are apparently associated with the particular sibs. These funeral feasts afford the best opportunity for display of wealth, and more than 1,000 head of livestock may be butchered. Every mourner who comes to the feast contributes animals for slaughter and continues to do so as long as he cares to remain. After the mourning period, marked by weeping and lamenting interspersed with drinking and feasting, the corpse, which has lain in a hammock slung from the rafters, is sewn up in hides by the women (men may not touch a dead body) and carried to the cemetery of the tribe. For a year or so, the body may be temporarily consigned to a shallow grave marked by a pile of stones. Food and drink are often placed in the grave, and, if the deceased had been a warrior, his bows and arrows are put in. A year or two later the bones are exhumed and reburied in a large urn. The exhumation is generally done at night and is accompanied by a feast. The remains are carried in a funeral procession to the dead person's birthplace, where they are buried in the family's own cemetery. The funeral urn is placed in a vertical position with the narrow neck of the jar protruding above ground to permit the free entry and exit of the spirit and to allow the remains of other members of the family to be added from time to time. A cactus hedge surrounds the cemetery, and in wet weather half a calabash is placed over the opening of each jar to keep out the rain. Whenever two relatives of a recently deceased person meet, they bow to the ground, shouting and groaning, for several minutes. (For a slightly different account of the burial of a rich man, see Simons, 1885, p. 792.)

If a person is stricken with smallpox the whole tribe moves away, only the family of the sick person remaining. When the death occurs they bury the body below the floor and burn the hut over the grave.

S:Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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In weapons the Goajiro uses the old-fashioned bow and arrow, along with the latest breech-loading rifle. He never strolls ten yards from the [illegible] without his arrows stuck in his sash and the inseparable bow in his hand. Arrows are of three classes: bolts for killing birds and [illegible], bots, having a ball or plum of hard wood for a head neatly covered with wax; arrows proper, for killing game and war, armed with long heads made from old knives filed and worked into shape; and thirdly the terrible poisoned reps, armed: these are an ordinary arrow-shaft, with two inches of the long weapon of the sting-ray (pesquent) heavily fastened to the end, well covered with poison. To prevent accidents, each head is covered by a cane sheath. The poison is prepared [illegible] from animal matter—toads, snakes, and other reptiles allowed to putrefy and boiled down. When newly done the poison is said to be weak, the same when too old, so the arrows have to be re-dipped at stated intervals (about nine months). Death advances from June to twelve days afterwards, a sort of blood-poisoning, and is invariably certain if the rep-barb has not been got out (a most difficult operation) and the wound well cauterized with a red-hot nail. The Guisses of Twiglobe are reputed the best makers, and enjoy a sort of monopoly. A bundle of twenty-four arrows is sold by them for a dress cut of cotton (eight yards). Some of the arrows are feathered; the shafts are made from cane, reeds, and also wild wood. As to firearms the Indian prefers the old "Chaves" or "Tower" flintlock (percussion) to the Remington rifle, on account of the uncertainty of getting cartridges. The American flintlock (percussion caps) is also much liked.

The principal industries among the Goajiro are collecting [illegible] dye-stuffs, and salt, and breeding horses, mules, donkeys, cattle, and goats, with the accompanying sale of hides. Their animals are celebrated in the neighbouring provinces for being docile, having been all brought up as it were by hand, for the Indian spares neither time nor trouble on his flocks.

With regard to the language, a small grammar was published in 1879 by Rafael Celedon. Unfortunately it was printed in Paris, while the author was in America, and is replete with errors in consequence. The language is a much richer one than is generally supposed, and taken as a whole has a euphonious, pleasing effect on the ear, much more so than the neighbouring Arhuacos. I have no space here to dwell upon its beauties, but cannot finish the subject without giving the following three examples of much-used words:—

Jaliaiga, a house.	Ia, a cap (a-cap).	Tera, a headdress.
Ruliaiga, my house.	[illegible], my cap.	Ritipera, my headdress.
Puliaiga, your house.	[illegible], your cap.	Piripera, your headdress.
Siliaiga, his house.	[illegible], his cap.	Siripera, his headdress.
Suliaiga, her house.	[illegible], her cap.	Siripera, her headdress.

7:Bollnder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

inherit. They hold him in great respect. A man's chief heir 614
is thus his eldest nephew and he takes particular care of him. [604]
During his lifetime a well-to-do man will give his sons [423]
enough cattle to ensure that they will not be left destitute
when he dies. Each clan has its name and its symbol: the [431]
jaguar, turtle-snake, king vulture, dog, etc., but this has no
connection with totemism or magic. The Indians think no
more of their name's meaning than we do, when people
have animal names. They often joke about them.

A number of the clans are large and powerful, others
small and weak, sometimes entirely dependent on one of
the big clans. Those born into a big clan are fortunate, for
they have power behind them and can count on support
and help if they are insulted, threatened or robbed, for the
members of a clan stick together whatever happens, united
by the bond of blood. The same blood flows in all their
veins. The Indians imagine that the human grows from a [843]
drop of the mother's blood, and that the foetus feeds on
the new vital fluid—for they know that menstruation
ceases during pregnancy.

A man does not possess the right to dispose of his blood [752]
or his life. They both belong to the clan. If he hurts himself
so that blood flows he must pay damages to his clan for
shedding their blood. Suicide is also punishable, though [762]
not at all unusual. After an unsuccessful attempt at suicide,
the clan will claim damages, even if no blood has been
shed. An Indian wanting to take his own life hangs himself.
Such importance is attached to the shedding of blood, that, 683
if someone strikes another and makes his nose bleed, this is 614
regarded as an aggravating circumstance and increases the
compensation the victim demands. His whole clan will
consider itself insulted. In fact, one can really say that an
Indian only has the usufruct of his life and blood.

It is the same with the land. The land in the peninsula is 423
owned by the clans, each of which has its own defined terri- 614
tory. The cultivable areas are not large and lie round the
few water-courses that are not dry during most of the year.
These plantations are traditionally exploited by certain
families in each clan and are inherited by the eldest nephews.

/153 cont./

him with a series of magic remedies and medicinal plants which have been fully described in the article /154/ previously cited. Also at the present time it is not uncommon for them to call in the services of a white doctor, either in Uribia, the capital of the peninsula, or in the near-by cities of Venezuela, such as Maracaibo, or in the neighboring Colombian department of Magdalena.

But their culture possesses a traditional institution that answers these requirements: the shaman, whose essential activity has been fully treated in the work which we cited at the beginning of this chapter and to which we refer the reader. This institution, perhaps the most powerful in Guajiro culture, has been losing value for various reasons already studied in the article we have cited, but it still occupies an outstanding place within the social and cultural whole, to the point that when an Indian is gravely ill, his relatives think immediately of the shaman as the most advisable means of curing the sick man, as this functionary (the shaman) possesses considerable magic powers due to his having been selected by the benevolent spirits to be their intermediary in their frequent contacts with the community. For this reason, to obtain the aid of the shaman is to have in one's favor the friendship and co-operation of the well-wishing spirits who can save the patient from death, because for the Guajiro, illness is caused by the action of pernicious spirits who want to cause harm and to avenge themselves.

The first necessary condition for the shaman to take charge of the cure is the gift to him of a piece of jewelry, an ornament of gold, generally a necklace, /the value of/ which should be in relation to the family status of the patient as well as the standing of the shaman. A second condition is the tacit submission to the shaman's demands and instructions.

The shaman, once he has decided to take charge of the cure of the patient, goes to his house and submits the sick man to the customary ritual. His practices, which last several

171 [19 cont.]
755 invocations of the spirits and in the metamorphosis of the shaman."
755 (16) [Cited in French.] The shaman moves his torso in gyra-

16. Ibid., I, 218.

tion. When he is in trance and effecting a cure which requires the invocation of the spirit, no noise must be made as this will cause the spirit to become frightened and to flee; and being left without his protector spirit, the shaman will suffer violent fits and fall to the ground in severe convulsions. The shaman always carries a piece of manilla in these cases; he chews it and becomes intoxicated with the juice, which induces him to sing with greater verve. The juice of the manilla also serves to spray the body of the patient as well as the walls and all around the house to frighten away the malignant spirit. This custom of the magic use of tobacco is also very common in America; not to overexpand the subject we limit ourselves to giving a simple example cited by Pauly with reference to the Aracana Indians of Bolivia: "They use tobacco dust mixed with coca to cure their sick and ward off the evil spirits, chewing it and spitting the juice on the body of the sick person. They also spit it at the heavens to calm the storms and at the river when it is in flood." (17)

[112] [113]

17. Pauly, Antonio. Ensayo de Etnografía Americana. Viajes y Exploraciones [Essay on American Ethnology. Voyages and Explorations], VI, 126.

755 The treatment really begins with a chant of invocation to the spirits. While the ceremony is performed the shaman continually chews tobacco and he rubs the juice formed by the saliva and the juice of the plant over the body of the patient; and immediately after this, he energetically sucks several consecutive times at the affected part of the body of the sick man to draw
[753] out [20] the malignancy. (The sickness that the native has, no matter what may be its special characteristics or from whence it may have arisen, is derived from the malevolent action of the

[20 cont.]

755 wanuri spirits of the dead, who have arrows similar to those used
[753] by the Indians for hunting, which are shot at individuals to cause
them sickness and pain.) The chant of the shaman is suspended
only while he is sucking the affected parts of the sick person's
body; then he immediately continues it again and returns to the
spitting, the rubbing, and the sucking of the painful areas. The
755 sick person should be confined to his home, and furthermore his
758 bed should be enclosed by curtains in the manner of a second
room within the main one. None may enter this place without
the express consent of the shaman. However, the witch sometimes permits the presence of a relative of the sick person, generally the sister or the wife, who can act as nurse, especially during the moments when the shaman is resting. When he renews his curative acts, they must withdraw again.

755 The songs which the shaman intones tell how his spirit is
753 searching for the soul of the sick man which the spirit of sick-
[758] ness and death has carried away to unknown regions which are known only to it and to the spirit of the shaman. Often the sick person's spirit does not let itself be caught by the shaman, or it can happen that his soul is imprisoned, held by act and wish of the wanuri, which can cause the shaman a great deal of work. When through the intervention of his protector spirit he succeeds in recovering the spirit of the patient, he must pay the
755 wanuri that held it prisoner a ransom for its liberation. This
758 spirit will then ask through the mouth of the shaman for whatever gifts it may fancy. The shaman on his part transmits the opposing spirit's demands to the sick man's relatives. These demands take the form of requests for animals -- cattle, goats, sheep, etc., -- of a certain color and special markings, ornaments of certain sizes and shapes, cloth, food and, at times, things very difficult to find. The sick man's relatives hurry to look everywhere for the requested items, and once found they present them to the shaman and place them, if they are animals, near him where he is "shamanizing." Other objects, such as necklaces, cloth, etc., are placed in his hands. If the orders
756 are not immediately complied with and in accordance with the
755 slightest detail, the shaman suffers very severe fits and attacks and has to withdraw from assisting the patient. This is because,

[91 cont.]

753 955 756 756 If the shaman's illness and the announcement of his death are provoked by the displeasure of his protector spirit, there generally is no possibility of calling in another shaman to carry out the ceremonies of curing. The illness of the shaman now thus being his alone is an illness of the protector spirit. It is thus different from all other illnesses known to the natives. The shaman himself cannot help; he does not know how to apply the remedies he may have used in similar cases. He only, and this on few occasions, applies hot water to his chest. At other times the spirit may have pity on him and may come and recommend some special remedy to him, indicating at the same time where he can obtain it. The sick shaman then takes the remedy, and his sickness is immediately alleviated.

756 756 On the death of a shaman it is obligatory to hold a wake for at least three consecutive days, because the attacks which shamans have ("trance of ecstasy") are so frequent and on occasion prolonged for a considerable time, that there is the possibility that he may not be really dead. The natives, then, do not wish to give a shaman burial until they are convinced of his death. There is also the belief that when such persons die they do not follow the same cycle as other mortals, since their bodies do not become hard and stiff but remain soft and lax, as if they were only sleeping. At the conclusion of these three obligatory days of the wake, they carry him away for burial. They wash the body and fumes his shroud as they do for others. But his crown, his maracas, and all his clothes are first broken and torn and later buried in a special place in the woods, or are thrown away in a lonely place. They must not place these objects with him in his grave [92] because the spirit of the dead shaman would return, very angry with the persons who had done such a thing, and would punish their disrespect in some form or another.

756 756 955 757 The dead shaman's spirit wanders everywhere like all other spirits. It goes to the place where his body lived, to places well known to it, but it is always accompanied by its protector spirit, from which it will never become separated. Both the protector spirit and its passage may descend on a new shaman in order to assist him. This is probably the explanation of the possession of

[35 cont.]

*756 their protection to him. When he is performing the ceremonial
775 indispensable for freeing the body and soul of a patient from the clutches of the wanurú, he represents nothing but the role of intermediary between two worlds and especially between two classes of spirits -- that of his protector who wishes to save the sick person and that of others now dead who desire above all
[753] that the evil they have caused the person of the sick man should continue until it ends with his death, so that in this way they can avenge an offense received, or simply satisfy some capricious wish of their own, as beings capable -- because of their position as inhabitants of another world, a position superior to everything we can imagine in this mortal universe -- of doing any harm they wish.

755 This position of intermediary is clearly shown in the cere-
*756 mony of curing. The communication must be made through definite material objects which take on in their turn the character of untouchables: the maraca, the crown, the tamals which contain a representation of goat dung, and the tobacco or manilla, objects which cannot be used by others but only by shamans during their moments of trance or invocation; the solitude to which the curer submits himself during his invocations, with only his patient present, for fear that the protector spirit might disappear and refuse to give aid in the cure which the shaman is trying to effect; his protector spirit's demands for certain objects to satisfy the voracity of harmful spirits or its own, demands which must be complied with to the letter; the ritual chants which relate the different moments of agreement between the harmful spirits and that of the shaman; the sacrifice of an animal determined by the spirit -- male goat, sheep, etc. -- as recompense for the spirit's favors; and lastly, the expressed prohibition that rests on the shaman not to eat or use the [36] animals or objects that he receives in payment for his cures. All these are facts which clearly indicate that the shaman is no more than an intermediary or an earthly representative of the spirits of good, or even of evil, and above all of the dead shamans who wish to continue exerting their beneficial influence on the group to which they belonged in life.

771 This function of communication with the spirits, annexed
*782 to, and inseparable from, the personality of the medicine man,
787

[41 cont.]

764 1. The first of these types refers to the custom established
962 among them of sacrificing, during the wake of any member of the community, a number of animals belonging to the dead man (cows, bulls, goats, sheep), the meat of which is divided among those attending the wake along with the corresponding drink, which in these days is rum but in times past was chicha.

The reason given for the sacrificing of animals during a
[767] wake in answer to the question is that this is done in deference to the guests and especially to those whom we could call "professional mourners," who spend all day and all night moaning over the corpse. But on observing certain practices and particularly certain taboos regarding the meat of these sacrificed animals, one has to think rather of the ritual character of the sacrifice.

It is a fact that the relatives -- sons, daughters, nephews
262 [and nieces, sobrinos], brothers [and sisters, hermanos] etc. --
764 of the deceased cannot eat the meat of animals sacrificed during
963 the wake or during the later ceremony of secondary burial, as this,
962 according to their belief, would be equivalent to eating their dead kinsman's flesh. This taboo, imposed on the deceased's relatives, serves to prove to us -- so far as it is possible to deduce -- the ritual aspect of the sacrifice of the dead man's livestock, stock which on being slaughtered takes on the same untouchable or magical quality, which the individual takes on when he disappears from the world of the living and enters the universe of the dead. [42] To put this more plainly, the animals sacrificed are contaminated by their dead owner.

The untouchable quality of the animal sacrificed at the
[765] wake or in the ceremony that accompanies the second burial is supported by the following fact. The belief exists in La
[843] Guajira that if during pregnancy the mother or the father of the
955 future child is present at the exhuming of a corpse, the child is born sickly, suffers from permanent diarrhea and night sweats,
955 and gets more and more pale and progressively thinner. Its
765 illness continues to get worse, and none of the familiar remedies have the desired effect. The parents then resort to the following system of curing (a system which with some variations is also common among the people of the town of Samaniego). They wait until there is an exhumation ceremony, and then

[51 cont.]

911 fear, or admiration. The primitive has not at this stage reached
913 the discernment necessary to establish the logical relation be-
111 tween phenomena and their real causes, but establishes a magic relationship that in the majority of cases does not correspond to any concrete or objective reality.

753 This manner of thinking and of feeling is especially reflected in the facts related to the individual himself and his organic reactions and, essentially, in the variations to which his organism is susceptible in the biological or pathological sense. To the primitive sicknesses are not ills caused by pathogenic germs (we say this in the general sense as there are some exceptions) or by internal or external disorders but are the result of the harmful actions of some being — animal, human, mineral, or vegetable — who is the sick man's potential enemy or one whom he has injured in some way or another, especially in violating the social ritual arrangements which at first were related almost exclusively to the totem and which then gradually evolved toward diverse forms of magic which lead him to a real investigatory curiosity.

This curiosity is not limited, as might be expected, to the simple act of knowing what phenomenon or what individual spirit might have caused the sickness, but sets out to understand the whole matter in order to put into [52] practice a method of cure — it does not matter of what kind — which will bring one back to the state of health, to normality, and remove him from contact with the dangerous world of the spirits.

753 For this reason, in the following pages we shall find our-
755 selves confronted with this phenomenon: if the causes of the sick-
755 ness are magic or, in more general terms, supernatural, the methods of curing applied must be of the same type. The world of the spirits is considered to be superior to the normal world of the living, because it is unknown or partially so. The struggle then, face to face, of individual against spirit will be unequal because the latter — the spirit — is aided by supernatural forces with which the living are unacquainted. For this reason it is indispensable that shamans should be called in — the intermediaries between man and spirit, or that he employ, when

[59 cont.]

lacking this support, certain practices of a magic character which place him – always respecting due proportions – on a plane of equality with the spirit or at least give him the possibility of warding off its harmful effects from him or his fellows. In the methods of healing, as will be seen as we progress in this chapter, the individual makes use, either directly or indirectly through an intermediary – the medicine man in this case, of the benevolent powers of the instrument causing the sickness, or else those of another spirit – under whatsoever materialization – as strong or stronger than the original cause of the sickness, in order to banish the illness.

The value of the Guajiro shaman, or medicine man, as a cure, as we were able to observe in Chapter II, lies in the superiority conceded to him through his constant communication with the world of the spirits, which places him, so to speak, on a plane of equality with them. Nevertheless, in the aspect of Guajiro medicine four different factors intervene, which we can define in general as follows:

1) Medicine practiced directly by the shaman through his communication with benevolent spirits.

2) Medicine by divination, dependent or independent of the shaman, which creates another social group, not so clearly defined: that of the diviner.

3) Medicine which might be called household, independent of the shaman and of the diviner, which is applied through pragmatic knowledge of the curative value of certain plants, or through the observation of particular customs related to taboo, which as we shall see later, are of a preventative type.

4) Medicine practiced by foreigners. This last factor must have its origin in ethnographic history, and it appears to us quite difficult to clarify. It deals with the medical intervention of curers from the [58] Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, whom the Guajiro consult in certain cases. These inhabitants of the Sierra belong to native groups included by Professor Rivet in the large Chibcha linguistic family (38). Our supposition of contacts between

38. Rivet, Paul. Conferencias dictadas en el Instituto Etnológico Nacional

[54 cont.]

787 But what is most interesting is that each person in La Guajira can learn the signs that determine divination according to the different methods that make this art of prophecy possible, and make use of them in order to help anyone who may ask his aid or to satisfy his own curiosity about many things he desires to know. The women are especially greatly addicted to divinatory arts [55] to find out from a distance what their absent husbands are doing or what may happen to them when they are far from home. The process is as follows: First the tobacco is lit, then a special prayer is recited asking that what is occurring, or is going to happen, be revealed. Then the woman starts to suck on the tobacco and to observe most carefully every change in the tobacco once it begins to burn. For example, if it emits sparks this means that the person about whom the divinatory enquiry is being made is going to receive money; if it opens in the middle it means that the husband is ill; and he is gravely ill if the ash goes black. Other characteristic signs show when the husband has taken another woman and when he is with her.

This circumstance, that any ordinary person can learn the known methods of foretelling the future, is one which interests us at the moment because it appertains to the aspect of medicine we are investigating. These diviners, usually women, are the ones who, in these cases, decide what kind of illness [755 is attacking the patient — a child — and how it was contracted, 753] (generally by direct contamination through the mother during her pregnancy from an animal that had touched food eaten by her). By the same token, they decide what curing methods must be followed to free the patient from the illness from which he suffers.

To clarify this point we quote several pertinent examples taken from our field notes.

753 It is said in Nazaret, and it is a belief extensively ac-
825 cepted all over the peninsula, that a bird called soche, which is accustomed to withdraw to the Sierra de Macuira during its hours of sleep, is harmful to the native inhabitants when it flies over their homes, as it is a carrier of bronchitis, which it spills on to the roofs of their houses, from whence the children of the home pick up the contagion and die.

G [55 cont.]
755 When the child at birth, or a few days afterward, is afflicted with stomach-ache and other characteristic symptoms determined by divination, the cause is that the mother during her pregnancy had imprudently eaten a watermelon which previously had been tasted by a fox. This fact having been proved by the art and talent of the diviner, she proceeds to carry out the cure of the infant, which consists of searching out a fox, killing and quartering it, separating the bones from the flesh and burning them and reducing them to powder. The powder resulting from this calcination is used to anoint around the child's anal sphincter after an evacuation. A part of the meat of the dead animal is roasted and is given [56] to the sick child. If both remedies are applied at the opportune moment, the child will rapidly recover - at least this is the Guajiro belief.

G . It might be thought that in this case it would be logical
753 for the affected person to be the mother herself, as it was she
854 who ate the contaminated fruit, but one must bear in mind that to the primitive, the infant, as with us, is a relatively defenseless being. For this reason he requires greater protection, because evil things, due to his weak defenses, will readily make a prey of his small body. The evil things in this case are represented by the wicked spirits whose object is to spread sickness. To uphold our statement it is sufficient to quote the case of the
W Witoto Indians, inhabitants of the Amazonian selva, with their
846 social institution called the covada [couvade] and their general custom of covering their children's bodies with curly vegetable fibers to disguise them and give them the appearance of small monkeys. Let us see what couvade is: "The one most concerned with this affair" — the birth of the new child — "is the husband because it is he who has to bear the rigors of the strict diet involved. In practice, once natus est homo and the essential obstetrical duties are carried out, the Indian mother hands over the fruit of her womb to the husband. He takes charge of the infant and, acting as if he were the mother, takes it with him to his hammock where he stays for eight days, keeping to a diet which might well be adopted by the most fastidious lady. But before he does this he first of all puts on mourning, that is, he paints himself

[57 cont.]

W 854 291 a wooly substance from another tree which is very similar to the balso. So dressed, the infant Indian, lifted onto the bare shoulders of its mother or clinging to her knees, appears in reality very like a small monkey. With only this savage dress, these Indians are quite happy." ... (40)

40. Anon. Op. cit., 2d, I, 37.

W 854 The missionary is right when he compares these children to small monkeys. The idea of dressing the child in so peculiar a costume is not just to protect him from the vagaries of the climate, or to dress him with greater or lesser aesthetic taste, but to safeguard him from evil spirits by means of this disguise, which constitutes a veritable transformation of his physical personality. The child on being dressed up in this extraordinary covering is really changed into another being, so that the evils he might attract to himself lose their effectiveness since the spirits are deceived by the substitution that has been made.

G 755 A method of curing very similar to that we have just described is the one used when a newborn child shows signs of intestinal trouble and diarrhea, evacuating something like spittle. The woman who is acting as diviner discovers by her art that the sickness attacking the infant is due to its mother G [753] having allowed a duck to eat part of her food. For this reason the child passes its fecal matter in a way similar to that of a duck. How does one proceed, then, to restore the infant to health? The feathers around the anus of the duck are plucked out, burned, and the ashes are reduced to powder. As soon as the infant's bowels have moved, his mother must clean him carefully and then apply the powder of the ashes of the feathers around his anal sphincter. If the diviner's diagnosis has been correct, the child should recover quickly on the application of the prescribed remedy. [58]

G [843] 753 755 If during her pregnancy the mother should eat fruit which has been previously pecked at by any kind of bird, the child on being born will have stomach trouble and his excrement will be similar to that of the bird. The Indian women who are

[58 cont.]

755 expert in these sicknesses and who devote themselves to applying the remedies and divining the causes of such illnesses indicate by what bird the fruit which the mother ate was contaminated. Once the origin of the sickness has been determined, they proceed to carry out the method of cure which entails hunting and capturing the bird responsible, which, once killed, is roasted, and the meat fed to the child. A sancocho [stew] is also prepared, using portions of the bird, a good part of which is fed to the child. With this medicine the infant should be quickly cured. If this does not effect a cure, the divination has been incorrectly made, and it was not that kind of bird that pecked at the fruit eaten by the mother during her pregnancy. The whole process must therefore be done over again to discover with absolute certainty what animal caused the child's sickness.

843 If a pregnant woman should eat the meat of a hen that has been killed by a sparrow hawk, the child will be born sickly, his 753 excretions will be green, and his crying will be like the cry of a hawk. When they do not know the origin of the sickness, they 755 apply home remedies or those of any local curer [curandero]. If [757] these do not bring about the desired effect, then they must turn to divination. The diviner will decide that the mother ate the flesh of a chicken that had been killed by a sparrow hawk. The curing method will follow a similar process to that previously noted: a hawk is found and killed; a leg of the creature is taken, and the bone is well cleaned and allowed to dry. When it is sufficiently dry it is boiled, and the child's body bathed with the resulting infusion.

262 The meat of such a hen — contaminated by the hawk 825 which had eaten some of it — is also harmful to children in 842 general, boys and girls, and also adults. Every time it is eaten 881 it causes sterility. For this reason the magic taboo on this meat is lifted only for the old and the very aged who have already lost their procreative powers and in consequence have nothing to fear in this respect.

766 Household medicine. This system of medicine, which, as we have said, is independent of shamans and diviners, is based above all on the practice of certain magic practices directly

[58 cont.]

755 associated with some prohibitions of a taboo nature or with established social customs, the origin and in part even significance of which is unknown. But what attracts our attention in this aspect of Guajiro medical [58] practice is preventative rather than curative nature. To demonstrate this, we quote some examples:

● 753 755 843 During the period of pregnancy, neither the father nor the mother should be present at the exhumation of the dead, a ceremony which the Indians hold to comply with the rites of the secondary burial. If this injunction is disobeyed, the infant about to be born will, at birth or a few days later, have a sickly appearance and will be afflicted with constant diarrhea and night sweats, and will be characterized by a very pronounced paleness and extreme thinness.

755 If this occurs, if through carelessness the parents witness the exhumation of a corpse during the mother's pregnancy and her child is born sickly, they will not try to blame the child's illness on any other cause than that just stated. In accordance with this decision, they will proceed to apply the curing method appropriate for such an emergency, which, as we noted in the previous chapter, "Magic and Sacrifice," is as follows: (a) They wait until there is a fiesta of a ceremonial nature for the exhumation of human remains and then place the infant inside the recently opened body of the animal that has been sacrificed for the ceremony. (b) If the infant cannot be taken to the place where the ceremony is being held, a bone of the sacrificed animal is taken, left to dry, and cooked, and the infant is bathed in this water. (c) If there is no possibility of a ceremony of the type described being held in the near future, a hole is made in the sand, and the child is buried therein up to its neck and is then covered with the loose earth.

843 845 761 [77] Neither should the husband of a pregnant woman under any circumstances dig a grave or assist in the construction of a vault (an element of acculturation) destined for the primary or secondary burial of any person. If he does his wife will suffer the consequences of this disrespect in her delivery, which will not be normal: prolonged for several days, very painful, and with serious consequences for the mother and for the coming child.

[59 cont.]

893 A pregnant woman should never be present at or watch a
845 burial, for if she does so, she will have a difficult childbirth: the infant's arrival will be delayed in a manner both painful and difficult for the mother.

855 Anyone who may have touched the corpse of a person
758 whose death has not been natural -- who has been murdered,
784 for example -- is prohibited from approaching the side of one who is sick, because this individual will die because of his presence. This prohibition is also extended to those who have directly assisted in the exhumation of human remains. Furthermore, both of these persons are strictly forbidden to come near
[755] children [60] or places where they may be, because their presence, contaminated by the nature of the dead, will cause the children to fall ill.

893 Serpents also have magic influence on pregnant women.
825 In this case it is not an influence destined to injure the unborn child but is directed against the mother herself, who feels in various ways in her own flesh the malignant action of the reptile. For instance, if a woman during her term of pregnancy sees a hunting snake [culebra cazadora] and remains looking at it for some time, her child will be born stupid. The explanation that the Indians give for this very generally accepted belief is that as this snake gives the impression of being stupid, because it does not attack people as other snakes do and does them no harm but confines itself to hunting young birds for food, it transmits this quality to the infant. A mother who encounters such a reptile should pretend not to have seen it and automatically look elsewhere.

If during this same period the mother-to-be should see
825 any kind of snake (other than a hunting snake) she will suffer a
893 miscarriage or some kind of painful mishap related to the de-
845 livery. To avoid these possible ills, the woman should try to step over the snake. If in spite of this difficulties in childbirth occur, then they resort to a curing method which consists in finding a similar snake, killing it, opening it up carefully, and localizing in the interior of its intestines the water that it has drunk, collecting this and taking it to the sick woman, so that after she has drunk it, her labor will be hastened and will then occur without any serious complications.

[65 cont.]

and very carefully wash it [in water]. Giving the woman this water to drink will permit her to deliver the child immediately.

If a Goajiro father has to get off on a long journey on horseback, leaving behind his newborn son, he must comply with another custom of a magic nature, which requires him to wrap the cinch of his horse around the child for a few minutes. If he fails to do this, the child will be very ill and complain painfully during the time his father is absent. An equivalent form under the same circumstances is the father's customarily placing his feet on the newborn baby's chest for a brief moment. If this obligation is not complied with, either through forgetfulness or all will on the part of the father, the mother, or some close relative of the child, must find the father's old sandals and place them on the child's chest for a few moments in order to obtain the effect desired, which the ritual action if performed by the father would have accomplished.

We venture to attempt an explanation of the last two phenomena as follows: The object that is sought in the fulfillment of these two traditional customs is to drive away from the child the presence of the wanurú or the evil spirit of sickness. The pressure exerced by the father's foot or, lacking this, [66] by the father's old sandals, symbolizes his presence in the child precisely in the place where the spirits in order to attain their evil designs often lodge in the child's body, i.e., its chest, as we shall have occasion to see in the following chapter. This symbolic presence of the father prevents the spirits from approaching near the child to work it harm. Lastly, the custom of wrapping the cinch of [the harness of] the horse on which the father will be traveling around the body of the child is intimately linked with the belief of these natives that the horse has the power to frighten away the wanurú, or spirit of sickness, with its snorting; more simply this same protection is achieved by placing a horse's skull in a place near the houses. (Cf. "Amulets, Fetishes, Talismans." Also, in this case there is a substitution of the magic formula (using the cinch instead of the horse), a substitution that has exactly similar effects and the action of which could be based on one of the laws of magic established by Sir J. G. Frazer

753 [73] In the Guajiro mentality sickness, as we were able to see
751 in the corresponding sections ("Medicine and Sickness" and "Life Cycle of the Shaman"), is not something provoked by natural causes but is the consequence of the malevolent action of some special being, above all, of a spirit. So a series of beliefs, magic preventatives, have been established in order to avoid or ward off the hostile action of these spirits on the individual, as we were able to note in the chapter "Sickness and Medicine." We also saw in the matter relating to magic and sickness how certain animals, plants, and objects could be agents by contamination or participation in the cause and development of
[775] sickness. But it is particularly the spirit of the dead, offended and malevolent, that causes major disasters among the Guajiro, as is shown by their beliefs and their own preventative systems.

We can get aid from linguistics to clarify this concept.
192 The word that the Guajiro uses for illness in general is wanurú,
753 and the same word is the one that is used for the spirit of the
775 dead — the devil, according to all writers and even to the na-
[797] tives themselves, due to the effects of religious acculturation provoked by the Capuchin fathers. Still further, if we break
[196] down the word we find that it is formed of three special particles, wa, num ru, which separately correspond to three different concepts: Wa is derived from the first person plural of the personal pronoun wayú, which means "we": nu, or simply n, is nothing more than the general contraction of the third person singular of the personal pronoun niś, "he," and rú is a relative particle derived from surú or hurú (s or h according to which dialectal zone the word is taken from), which signifies "inside," "inside of," or "within." In view of the idiomatic composition of the Guajiro dialect, we can with all safety translate the word wanurú as follows: "he, inside of us." The linguistic construction therefore corresponds to a social reality: sickness, wanurú, is nothing more than that: the spirit of the dead that has entered an individual in order to cause him a particular illness for some disrespect or other that he has shown toward the spirit, or simply just because it is a malignant and vindictive spirit.

171 The relation sickness — death — spirit, which will later be
753 the object of a special study on our part, can be proved through
775 linguistics in many of the aboriginal Colombian and even American
*756

[73 cont.]

171 groups, as far as we have been able to discover personally or by
0753 bibliographical inquiry. To give no more than a small sample of
775 this, let us see [74] two quotations which corroborate our previ-
*756 ous statement, but for clarity before doing this we have to recall
a little about the place of the magician, sorcerer, medicine man,
or shaman in aboriginal communities as an intermediary between
two worlds, or as the sole means of communication with the
spirits through which he successfully obtains his magic effects.
This clarification is necessary because on many occasions the
word used for sickness or death might be confused with the word
used for shaman, or medicine man, for this very condition.

171 For example, Mother Laura, referring to the Katío [Catio]
*756 Indians (51) says: "Among the many peculiarities which study

51. The Katío Indians belong linguistically and culturally to the Chokó group of the Karib [Carib] linguistic family (Rivet, op. cit.). They lived and still live in a great part of the northeast of Antioquia department in the republic of Colombia.

of the customs, usages, and beliefs of the Catío tribe reveals, the most noticeable is jaibanism.

"The etymology of the word jaibanf is as follows: jai = sickness, pana = gathering (derived from capanf, flock or herd). Consequently, this word may be translated: a collection or gathering of sicknesses. The general acceptance is "doctor." (52)

52. Montoya, Laura (Rev. Mother). Nociones sobre usos y costumbres de los Catíos en el departamento de Antioquia [Notes on Usages and Customs of the Catío Indians in the Department of Antioquia], p. 148.

This word jaibanf to which Mother Laura refers corresponds to what ethnographically we might denominate medicine man as

[81 cont.]

158 individual is not capable of distinguishing between the merely
775 fictitious, the imaginary and the real. To him, the image so
787 faithfully rebuilt in his imagination is as real as the living image of the deceased. The explanation of the phenomenon, then, according to his mentality, is that the dead man has appeared before him for some reason or other.

775 This fact is complicated in addition by the belief that every dead person "retraces his steps," that is, he treads again all the paths he traveled during his life; he returns to places where he had been at different times; this is why he is "felt" very often. Many times the individual feels the presence of the dead, even if he does not see it. This Guajiro belief is [171] also found to be very prevalent in all Colombian folklore. The 536 phenomenon that the Colombian people call "retracing his steps" corresponds exactly to the Guajiro version which we have just transcribed. Of course, according to popular legends, the dead "retrace their steps" when they are dying or a few moments or even days before their death. To hear strange noises [787] without apparent logical explanation, to see shadows, etc., are for the people evident signs that one of their relatives or friends, or even some person who in the past has lived in these parts, is dying or will die from one moment to the next. For the same reason they avoid walking alone along certain places when they know that someone who has lived there is close to death's door.

Degrees of danger in spirits. The Guajiro murderer suffers
682 a double punishment; first, the claim for compensation payment
775 for blood presented by the dead man's relatives, which involves his own death if he does not pay the sum agreed on; and second, the constant presence of the dead man's spirit, which never leaves him. For this reason, the murderer cannot enter a home where there are small children because the spirit of the dead man follows him, will climb over them, squeeze them, and make them [753] cry. If the children are sick, the murderer's presence is even more dangerous because the spirit will rapidly cause their death. If they are well they usually become ill. [82]

The death of a fellow being becomes a tremendous obsession with the Guajiro; the murderer is convinced that the [753] dead man's spirit follows him everywhere. When he is ill he has

[95 cont.]

682 nightmares and dreams, possibly in the delirium of fever, so
775 that the spirit creeps around him and painfully crushes his chest.
753 It pursues him insistently, which provokes a grave crisis in ill-
ness. The spirit then takes advantage of his weak state to aggra-
vate his sickness. Self-confession is one of the most important
social consequences of this state of mind as, due to the obsession
682 with the presence of the spirit, every time a murderer has been
626 able to conceal the secret of the murder and in consequence has
so far escaped the compensation payment for blood, he loses his
equanimity during sickness and will then talk freely about his
crime. In the delirium of fever, haunted by the anguish caused
by the supposed weight of the spirit of the murdered man on his
chest, he raves about all the details of his crime. This confes-
sion, according to his belief, does bring him some relief as in a
certain manner it admits the dead man's vengeance and in con-
sequence it gives some peace to the criminal as well as rest to
the offended spirit.

775 The spirits of those who have died violent deaths fall, so
to speak, within a class of more highly dangerous spirits than
those that die from natural causes. They represent, we should
say, the middle point between these latter spirits and those of
[768] suicides. This is certain to such a point that the house in which
a native has been killed is immediately vacated, because his
spirit will live in that house and it will only leave it on occasions
when it goes to torment the murderer. A Guajiro Indian will
never pass by the place between sunset and dawn because he is
convinced that every detail of the scene of the tragedy is con-
tinually being repeated in that place ; the insults are heard again,
the shots or whir of arrows, the sighs and groans of agony, just
as were heard on the day of the tragedy. In addition the spirit
appears in the shape of a flame that pursues whoever may be
near the house; or it may also appear in the form of any animal
whatsoever, a bird, for example.

But the highest degree of danger occurs when the spirit of
the murdered Indian is face to face with his murderer. This is a
wounded spirit and full of desire for vengeance to such a point
that the family of the murderer, after having fulfilled the

[97 cont.]

152 greater protection than the adult as, owing to his limited defensive capacity, illnesses can readily take possession of his body. We made reference in that section to the malevolent action of certain animals as well as the influence of the dead, the contamination exerted by their spirits on conception and on small children. And now we return to refer especially to this last aspect. We also saw how the harmful effects of animals centered especially on unborn infants due to carelessness on the part of pregnant mothers or of the husbands, and this is repeated equally with regard to funerals.

[154] When the grave destined for a dead person is opened, small children who go to the funeral, relatives of the deceased, must pass in file over it with the object that death will be delayed and will not overcome them while very young.

153 When speaking of sacrifice (cf. Chapter III) as well as 153 when speaking of medicine among the Guajiro Indians in its magic aspect, we quoted the general belief in La Guajira, which [156] is known also as an aspect of folklore in various parts of Colombia, among them Santander and Norte, that if during pregnancy, the father or the mother of the child to be born has been present at the exhumation of any human remains, the child will be born sickly, will suffer from diarrhea, night sweating, paleness, and loss of weight. The characteristic of something touched by death which the corpse has makes it contagious and, so to speak, contaminates the mother of the infant, who because of his weakness is incapable of resisting its influence. If in this case one considers the folklore aspect, the explanation which is given is that the cold of death has affected the child through the person of its mother or its father in the presence of the corpse. The explanation in the case of Guajiro appears to 155 us to be somewhat more complicated, as we had occassion to show above, although the curing processes tend in reallity to extract the cold of death from the body of the child affter it is born. The method of curing considered infallible by them is to bury the child in the still warm carcass of an animaal sacrificed [88] during a wake, and only when there is no ssuch possibility do they make use of the substitute, the bone, or of burying

[88 cont.]

755 the child in the warm sand, covering it to the base of its head. There is a decided magic intervention, the effect of which we 782 do not know on the part of the sacrificed animal which, as we 825 have said, shares the contaminating quality of its dead owner.

Other beliefs which confirm what has been stated are the 843 following: The husband of a pregnant woman should never, for 845 any motive whatsoever, dig a grave or assist in the construction of a vault for either a primary or secondary burial ceremony, because in such a case his wife's delivery will not be normal; it will be prolonged with danger both to the mother and the child.

Neither should the mother-to-be watch a burial being placed in a vault because the previously mentioned phenomenon will be repeated: She will have a difficult delivery, through delay in the birth and pain.

783 Anyone who has touched a man whose death was not due 753 to natural causes must not come near a sick person because if 764 he does the sick man will quickly die. This also applies to those who have helped in an exhumation or taken part in any of the ceremonies called for by the secondary burial. Neither should such a person go near small children because these will, according to Guajiro belief, automatically begin to cry and twist about, the victims of some sickness.

In general terms, the individual who approaches a corpse, who touches it, or who participates directly in the different ceremonies relating to it becomes contaminated. But he does not suffer the consequences of this contamination in his own person, unless it be a pregnant woman; he takes on the role of transmitting agent. He becomes an intermediary, if we can so call him, between the spirit and children, sick people, or pregnant women, which are the three classes of people preferred by the spirits of the dead on whom to practice their malevolent contaminations. In all three cases the weakness of the contaminated person is evident: the sick person, the child in the womb unable to defend itself, and the newborn also incapable of defending itself against the spirit as it shows in contrast to the other members of the community, that is, the adults on whom it depends for its

[88 cont.]

753 subsistence and in general for every aspect of its life.

The relation spirit-sickness-death, which we have referred to in previous sections, is corroborated by this class of beings exposed to the harmful influence of the spirits almost in the same sense as that in which science regards sickness, i.e., the greater the weakness the greater the possibility of contamination from pathogenic germs. In short, [89] death occurs more frequently among old people and children than among adults. It is only that pathogenic germs, or the various causes of sickness among the Guajiro, are reduced, due to their mentality and in the majority of cases, to one cause only, wanurú, the spirit of sickness and death.

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VI

Magic Charms
(Fetishes, Amulets, and Talismans)

789 As these three terms, fetish, amulet, and talisman generally lend themselves to confusion, we wish to clarify the meaning of each one before we proceed further with the subject.

Amulet "indicates an object that possesses the magic, passive quality of defending the wearer from malignant influences..." (56)

56. Castiglioni. Op. cit., VI, 87.

Fetish derives from the Portuguese feitiço, corresponding to the Latin word facticius ("made by hand"), and at first was used to describe Christian amulets, but was used by navigators in the fifteenth century to describe the primitively carved wood and stone which were worshiped as bearers of magic forces by the Negroes of West Africa. The fetish "is an efficacious charm whose supposed action is guided by the wish of its owner." (57)

57. Born. Op. cit., 2-3.

[111 cont.]

787 825 Someone must know about these happenings and will communicate them at the proper time. From this they derive their belief in the announcement of coming events, which they interpret by associations related to certain animals in certain circumstances.

For example, the bird which we call the woodpecker announces to the wayfarer by its song that in the place that he is going to a misfortune will occur, there will be a drunken brawl, or simply that evil spirits live there.

We have already seen the malevolent action of the nocturnal bird which appears frequently in Nazaret and sleeps in the [153] Sierra de Jarara. The Indians say that it flies over the houses during the night and in its droppings spreads the germs of bronchitis which are absorbed by children who contract the illness and die.

There is also a bird known in the peninsula named cucarachero ["cockroach bird"] – different from the one in the interior of the same name – which wanders over the roofs of houses searching for beetles, scorpions, and small lizards, etc. It makes its nest in trees near houses and frequently sings [112] when it is brooding or raising its young. It is known in La Guajira by the name of waimpirai. This bird and the one called uteté announce by their song when visitors will be coming to the house. The belief exists that these two birds hurry those who are on a journey and counsel them to be speedy so that no misfortune may befall them en route.

Another bird, the one popularly known by the name of alcaraván [bittern] and in Guajiro by that of karré, likes to walk about near the native houses and to go inside them. If at nightfall it should be going about in the vicinity of the houses, the Indians believe it announces the death of someone in the family. The natives' fear of this bird becomes acute when it is not content to move around the house or go inside, but goes into the cooking area and approaches the hearth, because in this case death will very soon carry off one of the members of that home. The creature suffers the consequences of the natives' fear since they drive it from the house with stones and blows.

[143 cont.]

seems to be true, in a certain way, for those who are imbued with Christian religious practices, because when they refer to our God, to Jesus Christ, they call him Maretwa. But at the bottom of their minds, in our opinion, there is some distinction which is precisely what we shall try to explain.

When we spoke of the shaman, we referred extensively to his protector spirits, the real healers of sickness, of whom the shaman is no more than an intermediary. Naturally, we also spoke, in that chapter and in the one relating to sickness, of the evil spirits, the malignant ones, the cause of the trouble, known by the generic name of wanurú, and we explained how the first are, in general, the spirits of dead shamans who have disappeared but continue to exercise their functions for the benefit of the community, while the wanurú are also spirits of dead people who satisfy their personal vengeances, revenge themselves for disrespect shown them in their status after death, or are simply dangerous because of the circumstances of their death, as in the case of suicides. [144]

In addition to the spirits of sickness and death, there is another named yo-ro-jú, difficult to describe and whose functions are difficult to delineate. We only know that he is magnificently malevolent and that it is he, the complete opposite of Maretwa (God) that has been named "demon" or "devil" by missionaries, writers, etc.

Regarding the previous statement, we have several quotations that confirm it: "Yoluhú is the demon in the simple Guajiro theogony. As with god, it is scarcely a concept, a word that represents the forces of destruction and, at the same time, of power, since it is even used by the shaman when he is foretelling the future. "What does the devil say (Jamúsenelk Yoluju)?" is the question the diviner asks. The Guajiro demon is not, therefore, like the Christian devil, the opposite of God, because in addition to wickedness and destruction it also embraces the concept of power and divination." (75)

75. Hernández de Alba. Op. cit., 50.

[164 cont.]

"It means that for the Guajiro there may exist two devils, one called Yanají or Yolugá and the other the Guamará. The Yanají, or devil properly speaking, is the most evil that exists and the most frightful. He is always evil and exercises his actions on man, on humanity, but he acts mainly not through himself but through another and minor devil, which is Guamará.

"The Guamará is more involved in worldly affairs; he is the enemy of the body as well as the soul. He is charged with producing sicknesses in people, in animals, even in plants. The Guamará is also a spirit." (76)

76. Barranquilla. Op. cit., II, 67.

As we see the confusion is great, and it is not all due to the writings of the authors above quoted but also to the natives themselves, as we shall see below.

What may be deduced at present is the establishment of two categories of spirits, one for those of good, the other for those of evil, categories based on their greater or lower capacity to exercise benign or malignant influences respectively. But if we examine a little more carefully the series of facts observed by us in our journey in 1947, we are able to note some further differences which will enable us to explain somewhat better the problem that appertains to the ideas of good and evil in the native's mind. These differences arise from the presence of beings which have character, which are disposed to exercise good or evil on the individual or on the community in general, that is, benign or evil spirits that personify [165] good and evil and that preside over actions socially acceptable or reprehensible.

• • •

Mareiwa. In our opinion, Mareiwa is above all the propitiatory spirit of the rains. This statement is based on the following facts:

1. The Dance of the Kid, as we saw in the previous chapter, is dedicated to him and takes place when the summer rains appear.

[147 cont.]

775 and plants either individually, or collectively with the appearance of epidemics; spiritually by inspiring reprehensible actions such as murder, which brings social misfortunes in its wake. In general, all the transgressions of the Guajiro social law — rage, suicide, infidelity, etc. — are inspired by this spirit.

2. They have permanent sites of habitation, especially in unoccupied houses.

3. They are grouped into special categories dependent on the circumstances of their death, which influences their manner of life in the next world.

4. They make their appearance by adopting special [776] bodies, that is, they make themselves visible. In this they differ fundamentally from the spirits of good, like Maraiwa, who manifests himself in no bodily form. In this connection [148] we have the following native belief: If during the night 775 or in the late hours of the afternoon, a sizeable, nocturnal white 825 moth is found in the bedroom, it must not be mistreated or killed. It must be treated with consideration because it is nothing but the spirit of some ancestor — wanurú — who has come on a visit. If it becomes very troublesome and keeps one awake by its fluttering, it must be got out of the room very carefully. [782] If it should be killed, the spirit of the dead incarnated in it would appear in dreams and exclaim: "Why did you kill me? I like you and for that reason I came to visit your home. You have done me harm." And most certainly the spirit would take vengeance in some bad way or another on the person who had violated the rules of hospitality due the spirits of the dead.

775 Yorujá. The concept of Yorujá is more difficult to clarify. He seems to be the same as the wanurú for the following reasons:

1. The natives when they refer to him give one to understand that he is the spirit of the dead.

2. As with the wanurú, he has his sites of fixed habitation, especially in cemeteries, in the crevices of Cabo de la Vela, or hidden in the boughs of trees in the lonely woods of Emejuy in Lower La Guajira.

[753] 3. Also, as with the wanurú, he is the cause of both physical and spiritual harm to the natives and to the community in general.

7:Bellinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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must be no intimate association with women, not even with a wife! 756 757

The spirit has not merely accepted the novice as a piache, [833] but has entered into him, possessed him and will accompany him during all his magical seances. As a person a piache is of no importance, but when the mighty spirit fills him he becomes the equal of the real spirits. He cures the sick [755] exclusively by supernatural means, with the help of the spirits. Of real medicine he knows nothing. According to the Indians' ideas there are no natural causes of ill- [153] ness and death, which are ascribed entirely to dangerous spirits.

When a piache is summoned to cure a sick person, he must be given a gold necklace or some other valuable gift. He brings with him two maraca rattles, the usual magical instrument of the South American Indians, and a stool shaped like an animal. If necessary, he can sit on some other stool. One of his magical instruments is small pellets made by someone with a great knowledge of herbs and formed like goat's excrement, which are intended to attract the spirits.

While the piache is in his trance everyone must remain silent, otherwise the spirit may take fright and leave the piache's body, at which he will fall to the ground in convulsions and be ill. The piache chews tobacco all the time, and with the resultant magical saliva he smears his patient's body and often the walls and roof of the hut as well. He [755] sings a song, invoking the spirit and sucks the parts of his patient's body that hurt, thereby drawing out the cause of the illness: poisoned spirit arrows that have been shot at the sick person's body.

Usually the piache is alone with his patient, but sometimes he will allow a near relative to be present and help. The songs the piache sings are about how his own spirit is seeking everywhere for the patient's. The demon of the illness has gone off with it and holds it prisoner. When the demon is found, it is forced to release the patient's spirit against a ransom. For this the piache demands cattle, goats or sheep with special markings or ornaments, cloaks, etc.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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accuse an animal of spreading the disease. A certain bird is considered dangerous, spreading, as it flies over the hut, bronchitis and coughs, which in the first place attack the children. A child's illness is often ascribed to something that happened to the mother during pregnancy. If a child gets a pain in its stomach, the wise woman may say that this is because a spirit ate some of the mother's food before the child was born. To deal with this, duck feathers are burned and the child's behind smeared with ash. In other circumstances it is because a fox has nosed at something the mother subsequently ate. In that case a fox has to be killed and the child given some of its grilled meat, at the same time as the child's behind is rubbed with burned fox-bone. The child will get quite better—if the old woman is right and it was a fox. These women are quacks even in the Indians' eyes, and yet they turn to them first.

If an animal is sick, the piache himself is at once sent for. The cattle are driven into an enclosure and the piache dances round and among them, wearing his head-dress, torso bare, and brandishing his maraca, singing song-spells and spitting tobacco juice upon the animals. After some days of this, the treatment is concluded with a chichamaya dance.

The Guajiro, of course, believe in dreams. During sleep the spirit frees itself and learns things of which it knows nothing while the individual is awake. Because of this it is considered risky to neglect warnings or things of which one has dreamed.

A piache attaches special importance to his dream-experiences and knows how to interpret them. If he dreams that a snake bites someone, it means that that person will be struck by a poisoned arrow. If he sees fire in his dream, that indicates fever, while violent rain denotes the death of some rich Indian. Blood in a dream also means death, and an animal being butchered means that a person of the same age or sex will die. If the piache dreams that an enemy intends to kill a specific individual, he hastens to visit the person to help him. An animal of a certain colour is killed and the threatened individual smeared with its blood—

[66 cont.]
751 according to which "things which have once been in contact with
834 each other continue to act on each other at a distance after the physical contact has been severed." (45) [Cited in Spanish.]

45. Frazer. La Rama Dorada [The Golden Bough], III, 27.

751 There is another medical preventative, also of a magic
843 nature, taken to avoid infant mortality in Guajiro marriages after the death of the first-born child. This preventative obliges
[766] them to bury the body in a certain manner. It also imposes upon the mother a further seclusion, such as she underwent on reaching puberty (ceremony of initiation), and entails her taking certain medicines extracted from vegetable roots. If all these prescriptions are not fully complied with, her future children will die successively as soon as they are born.

844 Once the child is born, the placenta must be thrown a long way away from the house and completely lost to sight. If
[777] it is buried it will bring bad luck to the child, who in consequence of such an imprudence will live a weakling and suffer greatly until his death.

853 When only two or three days after the mother has given
827 birth, her breasts badly swell with severe pains and a lack of
755 milk, her husband must place his foot on her naked breast, pressing lightly on it, with which treatment the woman will recover. When a mother loses her milk after a long period of breast feeding and is no longer able to nourish her child, she must be struck on her shoulder and her breasts a number of times with the branches of a plant which is found mainly in the neighborhood of [67] Puerto Estrella and which on being cut emits a white liquid.

826 The Guajiro takes great care of any of his hair which has
754 been cut off, as he is afraid that it can be used to do him harm. This fear is based on the belief that if anyone can obtain possession of a lock of hair, whatever harm he may do to this will react directly on its owner; if that hair, for example, is thrown on the fire, its original owner will suffer a similar fate:

[67 cont.]

826 754 he will die consumed by flames. Likewise, if a lock of human hair is buried with a small quantity of dog excrement, the person who carries out this act of witchcraft can cause any harm he wishes to the owner of the hair.

648 757 Medicine practiced by foreigners. To ensure that his child will be sound and fit and show greater resistance to sickness, the Guajiro father makes use of the medicine of the Arhuaco, who like the other natives we know connect this art directly with magic. It is well to take note, before pursuing this description, that the Arhuaco are held to be excellent doctors by all their neighbors, not only by the Indians but also by mestizos and mulattos, and even by Whites. The fame of these curers is such that sick people from the neighboring cities of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta and even from Maracaibo have themselves carried to them to be cured of their illnesses, or, as a last resort, send them some of their personal articles of underclothing by which the Arhuaco curer determines the sickness from which the individual is suffering and sends the necessary medicines.

The Guajiro have not escaped this influence. Their geographical nearness facilitates communication with the Arhuaco, but we do not know whether this interchange of relations was already established before the Conquest or if it is due to the external influence of the colonists who have settled on the slopes of the Sierra or in regions close to them, who in their turn have transmitted the legend of the fame of the Arhuaco as doctors to the Indians of La Guajira.

757 751 278 843 The fact is that generally, shortly before the birth of a child or when some opportunity presents itself, the father goes to the Arhuaco, and from one of them who knows the preventative or curative value of plants he obtains several of these in order to doctor his child or prevent its sicknesses. Among these herbs are the vira-vira, quina dulce ["sweet quina], the frailejón, and a number of others. These herbs are shredded and put into a bottle containing rum and to this mixture is added two kinds of drops, also of plant juices, which have been carefully [68] "whispered" or "muttered" over by the Arhuaco doctor. These drops, in addition to the plants to which we have previously

[96 cont.]

832 673 and is made foolish and boastful of the difficult position she is placed in.

This charm, capable of such mischief according to the belief of the natives, is used especially when a man wishes to cause some woman harm or to mock either her or her relatives.

754 832 578 Fortunately for women in general they have a way to scoff at, or revenge themselves on, the men who have been false and whose love they no longer want – only revenge. For such cases they buy a charm from the old Indian women who know of these things, a charm which they place among the clothing of the man on whom they wish to effect a malevolent action. Then they obtain an old sandal belonging to their victim and burn it. It is most important that the sandal should be old so 826 828 that the sweat of the man in question, as part of his personality, should have soaked into it.

With these two simple things, the Indian women affirm, the man loses his senses, he goes about as if stupefied, neglects his person, is a failure and a brutish person thereafter. So sure are they of this that they say that a mad Indian living in Nazaret is in that condition because of a charm like that we have just described after he had been one of the most elegant and well dressed of Indians.

832 Another love charm is used not to regain a man's love that has been lost but to retain affection that is desired; and as it is the woman's property – for evil against the man – this aims at making the man unable to take another woman. This charm, like others, is obtained from the old Indian women of the Sierra de Jarara, and it is made of carefully ground herbs to which they add achiote, an excellent substance for charms. The mixture is wrapped in a rag, or it is kept in a little wool bag.

The effect of love charms can be diverted to other purposes. For example, when a woman wants her husband to make her a special present she goes to her charm, picks it up, shakes it well, and looks firmly at it, at the same time asking for the desired object. The charm works, and the woman obtains what she wished for.

Necklaces of small perforated discs of coconut shell are transformed into love charms when the women experts in this

[99 cont.]

751 the charm. He has two aims in view, to render himself immune
726 from harm from his enemies' weapons, and to acquire courage
579 and coolness in the coming fight. This type of charm is called ranfa in Guajiro.

The evil eye. This is one of the beliefs which seems to us to
754 have been acquired by the Guajiro Indians through acculturation,
[177] as we have not found it in any purely native group but, on the contrary, have found it very widely spread in all parts of Colombia, especially among the mestizos. We have personally en-
[171] countered it in the departments of Cauca, Valle del Cauca, Tolima, Antioquia, Santander, and Magdalena. Without being exclusive to Negro or Negroid groups, it is among them that this belief is found with the greatest intensity and frequency.

175 The presence of Negroes in La Guajira is not due only to
563 racial mixing with the groups of mulattos of the coast but was initiated in the centuries of the Colony as can be seen from these notes taken from Father Julián: "Two evident and palpable reasons came to me: practical reasons which because of my zeal for the welfare of the Guajiro Nation and for the Monarchy I now express. The first is their provision and use of [100] firearms through their continual trade with foreigners; secondly, these same foreigners have brought in Negroes and Negresses, and these
[567] have mixed with the Indian men and women who have bought and kept them as slaves. The result is that not only is the number of people in La Guajira increased but so also is the number of terrible races of Mestizos, Mulattos, Zambos, etc., who united with the Guajiro will make this nation even more formidable and everyday more difficult to conquer." (59)

59. Julián, Antonio. La Perla de la América [The Pearl of America], 2nd, XIV, 195.

754 Referring to this popular Santander belief, Juan de Dios Arias affirms: "In our territory, for example, there is a very general belief that certain persons have the evil eye, and if they should look fixedly and with evil intention at a child, in the course of a few days the latter will be covered with pimples and sore places which are difficult to cure. This evil influence is

[100 cont.]

754 also effective on birds, which die in a short time when they have the evil eye put on them. To protect the children they are [751] made to wear rings or bracelets made of jet beads, buzzard [chulo] bones, guache [a certain serpent] teeth, or male and female coral stones. They also avert the evil eye by singing three hymns over the sufferer.

"We also find this superstition in Spain. The physician 171 Rodríguez López, referring to Galician superstitions, writes: 754 'Here, where the belief in the evil eye is so strongly held, it 751 is exceptional for a mother not to hang round her child's neck certain relics, herbs, horns, or other objects of all shapes and sizes, or at other times to sew them on to their children's clothes, or tie them to their wrists to protect them from the contagious effects of the evil eye.'" (60)

60. Arias, Juan de Dios. Supersticiones Populares [Popular Superstitions], pp. 265-266.

Besides this, in the study made by the Licentiate Panesso Robledo on Antiochian folklore we find the following:

"Not only country people but also city dwellers wear opals, nearly all imitation, to protect themselves from evil actions, and on their children's wrists they tie black beads, called jet but rarely genuine, to keep them safe from the evil eye, a universal superstition whose effects if they really occur are to be imputed to the phenomena of auto-suggestion or hypnotism." (61)

61. Panesso R., Antonio. Del Folklore Antioqueño [Antioquian Folklore], p. 25.

751 Leaving Colombian folklore and limiting ourselves to that 754 of La Guajira, we find there that jet is the best charm to protect 823 one from the evil eye, [101] which especially affects children. 855 This evil effect is not obtained if the person on whom it is practiced carries jet on his person, since it has the property of counteracting the evil. According to the belief, when the evil eye has been cast upon a person carrying a piece of jet, this

751 [101 cont.]
823 breaks, thus counteracting the evil. In other words, the magic
855 action of the eyes is deviated toward the jet, which directly re-
754 ceives the effect, so liberating its owner from it.

For the same purpose they also use a mineral called salta piedra ["jumping stone"], which is hung by a string from children's wrists. It is yellow and shining.

Pieces of coral, which the women use in their necklaces,
[777] bracelets, and anklets as ornaments and bringers of happiness, health, and good fortune, are suspended from children's wrists to forestall the evil eye and some other sicknesses. The mestizos who live in La Guajira wear it attached to their waists by means of a cord.

751 It is also very common to find, as a preventative of this
754 evil, "oxeye" seeds hung by a small cotton string from some
824 part of the body.

Also coconut shell in the shape of a little hand is frequently seen, a shape which is probably more effective made in jet.

754 The evil eye, according to native belief, is exercised by certain people who have a special power in their eyes which causes sickness in those they look at if these are weak, such as children and sick persons, but this harmful action is involuntary in the majority of cases, though some do knowingly use their power and put it into practice with the manifest intention of causing evil. The effects of these "eyes" also extends to plants and animals.

The sickness shows itself in the form of stomach troubles, diarrhea, vomiting, fever, and by general eruptions on the skin. Animals also sicken and die, and plants cease to develop naturally and in the end dry up.

751 Method of warding off the wanurú. Near native habita-
825 tions the owners place horses' skulls, which they say serve to drive off sickness both in children and adults, as they have the effect of frightening away the wanurú. We believe that this attitude is closely allied to another native belief which convinces them that the neighing of horses frightens the spirits that
[484] wander on the roads at night. For this reason, when the Indians travel at night, as we saw personally, the horsemen always [102]

[158 cont.]

262 meat of animals sacrificed during the wake of a deceased member of the family. The murderer's self-denial of all solid food in his daily diet is another proof of the intervention of magic in the aspect of the Guajiro's nourishment. The ceremonies of propitiation for rain and the ripening of the harvests are other palpable demonstrations of the intervention of magic in this way.

[789]

c) And, finally, in relation to aggression, we see the very marked influence of magic, particularly in the charms which are used to cause injury to certain people: for example, those made of a young woman's hair, the blood of a hummingbird, the tail of a dog, and achiote to make a girl fall in love with a man who later intends to betray her; or the one used by women who, having bought a talisman from a woman expert in those matters, place it in the clothes of a man whom they wish to harm after acquiring an old sandal of his and burning it, so as to cause him bodily and mental injury. Furthermore, magic forewarns and allows an individual to foresee the acts of aggression of which he or a clan or a family group is going to be the victim by the interpretation of the shaman's dream or that of a private person, as was seen in the section "Magic and dreams" in Chapter VIII. The effect of magic on the regimen for individual security and collective stability tends to be that of saving the person or the group, as the case may be, from acts of aggression on the part of potential enemies, such acts being foreseen through magic means properly interpreted.

754 789 182 787 789

Names of Plants and Animals

Plants:

104 achiote (Bixa orellana)
192 ahuyama [squash] (Cucurbita máxima)
824 artemisia (f. Synantherae or Compositae)
indigo (f. Leguminosae)
cardon (Pilocereus atroviridis)
mahogany cedar (fam. Cedrilaceae, Sp. Mahogoni of Linnaeus)
lupine (Abrus precatorius) [Indian licorice]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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CHAPTER 4

Towards a Mirage

OUR donkey caravan tripped along between the sand dunes at a gentle trot. The sun poured what the Indians call its molten gold over us in fierce waves. The donkeys were slow, but our riding-mules were fresh and even tried a trick or two, throwing our photographer, who was no expert, into a cactus bush. That was a pity, for the spikes were as long as knitting needles and unpleasantly hard and sharp. The Indians laughed heartlessly. It was perhaps the only amusing thing that happened to them on the whole trip. 821 522

We had no idea what our men were called. As I have already mentioned, the Indians' first names are secret. They always say: 'I have no name' or 'Call me what you like'. Your name is part of your personality. You cannot surrender it to strangers. If you know another's name, you can acquire a certain hold over him, just as you can harm him, if you had some of his hairs or nail-clippings with which to work magic. The family name, that of the clan, is naturally public. White people usually give Spanish names to the Indians with whom they have to deal, and there are plenty of Juans and Josés in the peninsula now. Usually, however, you give a nickname to the Indians you have temporarily in your service, just as they give their employers nicknames. We discovered that they had christened our photographer 'The Red One'. He was not red-headed at all, but very fair, and because of that, his face was always highly coloured in the heat. I could not get out of them what they called my wife and me. I suppose they thought that we would be offended or regard it as insubordination. They had been 551 [754] [123]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

881 invitation. Again cattle are butchered, and there is drinking
584 and dancing and horse-racing. Numbers of men come to see if they would like to put themselves forward as suitors. The more eminent guests are received in the house itself, and the girl is now present. Her shorn hair has grown and been trimmed to a page-boy cut, and she wears her best clothes
[754 and new ornaments. She hides her hair clippings carefully
826] in a bag, for she does not want to risk anyone getting hold of them and using them to acquire power over her by the arts of magic. Later, she will secretly bury them under a
[789 cow pat. That will help to increase her herds. The droppings
514] of various animals play a great part in the magic of the Guajiro, and it would seem that there is negro influence here as well.

881 The girl has now been born again—she is a new person, a woman. She knows all that an adult woman needs to know and can do everything that a wife and mother should be able to do. Pale and lovely, she steps out into life once more and inquisitive young men swarm round her. The rich give a big feast, the poor provide simpler fare, but it is always a great occasion.

[582] A Guajiro man will never marry a girl before she has undergone this period of confinement, which means that people seldom marry too early. It is said that in the old days
[595 rich old men with several wives sometimes bought little
831] poor girls as concubines, believing that that would enhance their virility.

The girl's long segregation is intended to protect her from the supernatural dangers that are thought to threaten her, especially during this sensitive period of transition from childhood to womanhood. The girl can also be dangerous to others through being exposed to attack by spirits. It is only practical that during this period she should practise handicrafts.

262 Going back to the house, we found the women at the fires, which there were protected by special small cactus
[354] screens. There was no need to have them under a roof at that time of the year, only to shelter them from the wind. The pots stood over the fire supported on three stones.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

778 Francisco and I had several talks about the love cóntra.
839 He pointed out that it was important for the man or woman wishing to use such a talisman to powder certain parts of his or her body with red schiste powder. He gave me detailed instructions which I wrote down, as Francisco thought, in order to instruct Gladtvet, so that he should be ready, if he discovered a suitable object.

The women have love charms as well as the men. With a really effective one a woman can make sure of her husband's love for ever, or win back the love she has lost. When she intends to use such means, she must keep indoors and diet
[784] for four days and nights, not expose herself to the sun nor see another woman's face, and she must avoid all milk and anything roasted. She must bath indoors and powder herself. There is a talisman which the wise women of the Jarará Hills manufacture, a stuff of herbs wrapped in a piece of cloth, which prevents a husband from taking another woman.

778 Sometimes a woman will make a man fall in love with her
839 as an act of revenge. To do this she must get hold of one of his old sandals or something he has worn. This she burns
784 and resultant cóntra is introduced into the man's clothes or belongings. This often ends in the man becoming mad. A man can also avenge himself by making a girl fall in love with him, if he can manage to get some of her hair clippings. For that reason women hide these most carefully all their lives.

An Indian, when greatly attracted by a girl, will often
778 make the greatest sacrifices and undergo all sorts of diffi-
839 culties to get her. Having succeeded, he will often go off quite soon with his herds to some other part of the peninsula. After that he is not heard of again, and his wife is left to support herself as best she can. That shows that she had attracted him by means of a cóntra which had been very effective, but that she had then been incautious enough to let it go from her, or it may have lost its power.

There are cóntras for other things than love, e.g., for luck in hunting and in war, to acquire wealth and reputation and to protect oneself against certain spirts or dangers.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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On two occasions I went out with some hunters who had 778
hunting cóntras. Two had talismans for hares; these were 224
small pellets fastened to the leather shield that protects the 789
arm against the bow string. The pellets were shaped like rabbit's excrement and contained a herb the leaves of which resembled rabbit's ears and which the so-called rabbits were fond of! Another man had a deer cóntra prepared from a creeper. It resembled deer's droppings.

The hunters were quite convinced that the cóntra would give them good hunting, and that by its power their game would be unable to escape them. Thus those cóntra were doubly effective. On neither occasion, however, did we get anything, much to the consternation of the hunters. I think they assumed that my presence had prevented the charms working, and they were astounded when I bought them.

Of other talismans there was one intended to help its 778
owner win races. This consisted of some rattling fruits to 789
tie beside the horse's ear. There was a cóntra for warriors called *ranía*, which gave its bearer courage and made him invulnerable. Another, which was very expensive, was said to give the possessor luck in business and gradually make him rich. Having become rich, he could then purchase the most expensive charm of all, that which would bring him respect and power. This latter was strictly personal: an outsider could be harmed by seeing it, especially a thief, and it was not effective except in the hands of its rightful owner. It was contained inside several small bags, one within the other, and what was inside the inmost one was known only to the piache who prepared it. In the talisman that brought wealth there were supposed to be links of gold, the power of which lay in the spells spoken over them. Similarly pearls and little figures made of coconut over which the wise women had spoken spells served as amulets. [754]
Amongst other things they protect the wearer against the [1717
evil eye, belief in which the Indians had evidently adopted 532]
from the Spanish–Moorish superstitions of their conquerors. You can find too the small carved hands that are so typically Moorish, and the most powerful means of averting the evil eye. Yet another is more in the negro style. The skulls of

/13 cont./

862 At the stage when the child is too young to feed himself, it is usually the mother who feeds him or one of the relatives (aunt, grandmother, or siblings). Also, he may be helped by female servants entrusted to look after him, who coach him so that he may learn to feed himself.

827 853 755 If, after the delivery and before the milk appears, the woman should have inflamed and painful breasts, the husband must place his bare foot on them for a short time in order to make the swelling disappear. When the milk is delayed, they beat the shoulders of the mother with a herb which has the property of producing a milky substance in abundance. Quick and safe results are also obtained by using an infusion of vira-vira.

• • •

853 The Guajiro mother may be obliged to ask for assistance in the natural feeding of her child: a) when, after delivery, for some pathological reason she cannot feed him because her milk has dried up; b) because she has previously lost several children of a very early age due to gastroenteritis, which is attributed to nutritive deficiency in her milk or to something in it which makes it unhealthy; c) when she has had twins, and she feels unable to feed both children; d) when the mother's milk suddenly begins to become scarce while the child is very small.

In such circumstances she looks for a wet nurse, not because she refuses to feed the child since, as far as we were able to find out, the mother wants to do it herself and considers her maternity frustrated when circumstances force her to find another mother to substitute for her, but because necessity drives her to do so in order to save the child from starvation and death. Apart from the /14/ loving care and the pleasure she feels in fulfilling this function, there are various reasons which induce her to feed her child naturally: Scarcity of milk in a poor mother involves a hardship in rearing the child as she does not always have goat's milk (the best milk in their opinion) available, and

/151 cont./

566 mission, which is to buy bond servants and slaves, educate them, and then return their lost freedom.

Center of forced bond service and centers of sale. The Sierra de Jarara is the region where bond service most commonly originates, because of the obligatory loss of personal freedom that results when not able to fulfill a pending obligation or pay a debt, or when a poor native, during the summer (which because of geophysical conditions is more severe here than in the rest of the peninsula), is forced by hunger to steal animals. The injured party is paid by taking away from the thief, who has no other means of paying damages, a boy or girl, usually his maternal nephew or niece.

On the other hand, the major sale center and the true distribution market for bond servants is Maicao, because of its being in Lower La Guajira which is another of the Guajira regions which suffers most cruelly from long summers and in which women do not have the economic resources which those of Upper La Guajira have, such as supplying /traders with/ woven articles, but have to live without /productive/ employment /of any sort/, and in consequence without means of supporting themselves and their families. For these reasons mothers are forced to sell both their unmarried daughters as bond servants and their younger children. The fact of Maicao's being on the only commercial route between Venezuela and Colombia is also a contributing factor. /152/

/153/ IX

SICKNESS AND DEATH

755 "...in the aspect of Guajiro medical treatment there are four different factors which we can define in principle as follows:

1. Medicine exercised directly by the shaman through his communication with benevolent spirits.

/153 cont.

755 2. Medicine through divination, dependent or independent of the shaman and which creates another social position not very well defined: that of diviner.

3. Medicine which we might call home treatment, independent both of the shaman and the diviner, which is applied through the pragmatic knowledge of the curative properties of plants, by observation of certain customs related to taboo and which, as we shall see later, are of the preventative type.

4. Medicine as practiced by foreigners. This last factor must have had its origin in historic ethnography, and it seems to us to be difficult to classify. It deals with the medical intervention of the curanderos /curers/ of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, to whom, on certain occasions, the Guajiro Indians go for treatment...(1)."

1. Cf. Pineda Giraldo, Roberto: Aspectos de la magia en la Guajira, IV - 52 and 53 in Revista del Instituto Etnológico Nacional, VI, III, No. 1. Bogotá, 1950.

[75] For these reasons when a Guajiro child becomes sick, if his relatives are well-to-do they send for a woman diviner to determine the causes of the illness and to prescribe the corresponding curative system. When the patient is an adult and his illness shows no serious symptoms, they call in the herbalists (women who know the curative properties of certain plants), or they use their personal knowledge, that is, what we call "home" cures. If it is a matter of a serious chronic illness, they will most certainly use the services of a curandero of the Arhuaco /Cagaba/ tribe (Indians of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta), whom the relatives of the sick man go to see, or the latter himself if it is possible. This curandero supplies

/153 cont./

755 him with a series of magic remedies and medicinal plants which have been fully described in the article /154/ previously cited. Also at the present time it is not uncommon for them to call in the services of a white doctor, either in Uribia, the capital of the peninsula, or in the near-by cities of Venezuela, such as Maracaibo, or in the neighboring Colombian department of Magdalena.

But their culture possesses a traditional institution that 756 answers these requirements: the shaman, whose essential 755 activity has been fully treated in the work which we cited at 177 the beginning of this chapter and to which we refer the reader. This institution, perhaps the most powerful in Guajiro culture, has been losing value for various reasons already studied in the article we have cited, but it still occupies an outstanding place within the social and cultural whole, to the point that when an Indian is gravely ill, his relatives think immediately of the shaman as the most advisable means of curing the sick man, as this functionary (the shaman) possesses considerable magic powers due to his having been selected by the benevolent spirits to be their intermediary in their frequent contacts with the community. For this reason, to obtain the aid of the shaman is to have in one's favor the friendship and co-operation of the well-wishing spirits who can save the patient from death, [763] because for the Guajiro, illness is caused by the action of pernicious spirits who want to cause harm and to avenge themselves.

The first necessary condition for the shaman to take charge 755 of the cure is the gift to him of a piece of jewelry, an orna- [431] ment of gold, generally a necklace, /the value of/ which should be in relation to the family status of the patient as well as the standing of the shaman. A second condition is the tacit submission to the shaman's demands and instructions.

The shaman, once he has decided to take charge of the cure of the patient, goes to his house and submits the sick man to the customary ritual. His practices, which last several

/154 cont./

755 days and can even be drawn out for months, are a mixture of incantations and invocations, accompanied by canticles; massages with spittle mixed with chewed tobacco; sucking of the painful parts of the sick man's body; the application of his empirical knowledge of the medicinal use of plants; and the propitiation of the spirits of sickness and of death -- wanurú -- by means of gifts which the patient or his relatives supply in order to obtain the victorious return of the patient's spirit to his body and with this his definite cure. As soon as he has secured this objective, the shaman calls for the celebration of a feast. /155/

If on arriving to give his services, the shaman can see, by some magic process which he explains, that there is no hope for the sick man, he will withdraw. For the patient there is no other possibility open but to wait for death -- which usually occurs shortly after.

It is also up to the shaman to decide what sacrifices should 755 be offered to propitiate the adverse spirits when these are pre- 782 paring a harmful incident for a Guajiro. Generally, this harmful incident implicitly involves the death of the individual who, with the sacrifices and propitiations recommended by the shaman, will counteract the action, canceling it. If the recommendation is not followed, the prediction will be fulfilled. Guajiro tradition narrates among many cases the following: An old female shaman foretold a Pushaina (1)

1. Pushaina: name of a Guajiro clan.

individual that he would die at the hands of a member of his own clan and that a series of bloody events would occur as a consequence of his death. To avoid these happenings she told him he would have to make a sacrifice of several animals and bathe himself with their blood. The suggestion was not followed, and every one of the calamities occurred just as the shaman had forecast.

/155 cont./

755 Any person who dreams of a future happening and the ways of avoiding it can predict in place of the shaman. During our stay in Uribia a chicha-maya dance took place, and a series of propitiatory sacrifices were made which were repeated for three nights. The mother of a Guajiro dreamt that her son would be killed by the husband of a woman with whom he was maintaining illicit relations.

It can happen that the shaman practices his curative system and his efforts do not have the hoped-for result. When death occurs, the shaman withdraws after returning the presents that his spirit had demanded, if his treatment was ineffective. In many cases, however, he keeps them for himself when he 764 can find an excuse to justify his failure. As soon as the relatives learn of the death of the sick man, they rapidly cover him and leave him in peace for about half an hour, so that his spirit before going to the place where he will live henceforth may "retrace his steps," that is to say, may roam about among the places familiar to him and say good-by to his friends and relatives. During these moments the persons visited by him feel his presence, which is manifested in some manner and lets them understand by various means the object of his visit. When this time has passed, his whole body is bathed with water and soap; mostly his closest relatives take part in this operation, men and women, in the maternal line and after them the affinal relatives (wife, sons-in-law, and /156/ daughters-in-law). After being bathed the corpse is carefully dried, and if it is a woman her face is covered with paint of the color and kind which she preferred when living because, as she is going visiting according to their belief, she should comply with this precept of etiquette since, if not, she might feel ashamed on meeting her friends and relatives. The paint is also intended to protect her from the action of the sun's rays on the long trip she has to make. They adorn her with all the jewelry she possessed. If she had a large number of earrings, for example, all of them must be

[17 cont.]

*758 787 carrying out his function as community curer, and witch so that he will be able to act with certainty in curing illnesses, in the propitiation of the rainfall indispensable for good harvests, as well as in his tasks of keeping away pestilences and epidemics which could decimate the people under his care.

As has been seen in the section treating the period of training, this is limited first of all to transmitting to the new shaman the most successful way of insuring that the spirit can reach him. His science in no manner implies that he possess knowledge relating to the medicinal value of plants, of animals, etc., but it does imply that the process of apprenticeship, or better said his science, [18] is based on the successful invocation of the spirit, which has the true wisdom, which is the only curer in reality, the all-powerful able to propitiate rain and cast out pestilences and epidemics and whose science is manifested through the medium of the medicine man whenever the spirit wishes to carry out its designs. The shaman by himself and for himself is worthless. He is an ordinary man, subject as are others to the evil influences of the spirits of sickness and death. His fundamental value rests in the absorption into himself of a powerful spirit which places him on a footing of equality with the spirits of the other world, and in many cases even on a superior one, when it enables him frequently to emerge triumphant in the cure of sickness.

*756 •755 One has to emphasize in the personality of the Guajiro shaman the fact that he has almost exclusively the function of making contact with the supernatural world, and it is by this means that he endeavors to effect the cure of his patients. He is partially or totally ignorant of medicine based on herbs, animals, parts of animals, or any other type of cure other than that exercised directly by the protector spirits that use him as their intermediary.

As will be seen in the corresponding chapters, the majority of child cures are effected by female diviners with the indicated methods, which are based on what is called participative or contaminant magic. Also, the herbs actually very few — which [278 847] are used to cause abortion, to restrict the growth of the fetus,

[18 cont.]
*756 to bring on lactation, to gain weight, etc., are partly public
● 755 knowledge and partly privately known by a few families who tra-
[308 847] ditionally preserve the secret of their use for their personal benefit.

By what has been previously stated we see how the ceremony of healing is a perpetual invocation of the spirit, a continual fear that it might withdraw its aid for whatever motive, and a perennial anxiety to satisfy its slightest wish in order to obtain the success sought. To give evidence for this we shall see how the Guajiro shaman effects a cure when he has been called in to handle one.

First of all, before he initiates such activities, he demands
[431] a gift. For this reason whenever a native needs the services of the shaman for magico-medical attention for some relative, he goes to present himself to the shaman with a gold necklace or some other valuable present.

Each time the shaman goes to cure a sick person he takes
171 with him two maracas. This custom is rather widespread in
*756 South America, where the magic power of the maraca appears
755 to be extraordinary and is commonly accepted, although with some variations from tribe to tribe whether in the [19] quality of its different parts, in the artifacts adornment, in the manner of using it, etc. To corroborate this it is sufficient to quote Professor Métraux again, who says, in reference to the apprentice shaman: "During his initiation the novice learns to make use of the accessories indispensable to the magic art. The most important of all, that which in some manner symbolizes the profession is the maraca or rattle made from a calabash containing some seeds or pebbles and provided with a handle." (15) [Cited in French.]

15. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 217.

[352] The medicine man accommodates himself in a seat especially reserved for such occasions and carved in wood in the form of an animal, but if such an artifact is lacking, he will use any convenient seat. The custom of using a seat of this type is also found in the Guianas. "The wooden seat is an equally indispensable accessory for the shaman of the Guianas. It is often carved in the form of a jaguar, an animal that plays an important part in the

171 [19 cont.]
invocations of the spirits and in the metamorphosis of the shaman."
#756 (16) [Cited in French.] The shaman moves his torso in gyra-
755

16. Ibid., I, 218.

tion. When he is in trance and effecting a cure which requires the invocation of the spirit, no noise must be made as this will cause the spirit to become frightened and to flee; and being left without his protector spirit, the shaman will suffer violent fits and fall to the ground in severe convulsions. The shaman [276] always carries a piece of manilla in these cases; he chews it and becomes intoxicated with the juice, which induces him to sing with greater verve. The juice of the manilla also serves to spray [824] the body of the patient as well as the walls and all around the house to frighten away the malignant spirit. This custom of the magic use of tobacco is also very common in America; not to overexpand the subject we limit ourselves to giving a simple example cited by Pauly with reference to the Araona Indians of Bolivia: "They use tobacco dust mixed with coca to cure their sick and ward off the evil spirits, chewing it and spitting the juice on the body of the sick person. They also spit it at the heavens to calm the storms and at the river when it is in flood." (17)

[113]

17. Pauly, Antonio. Ensayo de Etnografía Americana. Viajes y Exploraciones [Essay on American Ethnology. Voyages and Explorations], VI, 128.

755 The treatment really begins with a chant of invocation to the spirits. While the ceremony is performed the shaman continually chews tobacco and he rubs the juice formed by the saliva and the juice of the plant over the body of the patient; and immediately after this, he energetically sucks several consecutive times at the affected parts of the body of the sick man to draw [753] out [20] the malignancy. (The sickness that the native has, no matter what may be its special characteristics or from whence it may have arisen, is derived from the malevolent action of the

[20 cont.]

755 wanurú spirits of the dead, who have arrows similar to those used
[753] by the Indians for hunting, which are shot at individuals to cause
them sickness and pain.) The chant of the shaman is suspended
only while he is sucking the affected parts of the sick person's
body; then he immediately continues it again and returns to the
spitting, the rubbing, and the sucking of the painful areas. The
755 sick person should be confined to his home, and furthermore his
758 bed should be enclosed by curtains in the manner of a second
room within the main one. None may enter this place without
the express consent of the shaman. However, the witch some-
times permits the presence of a relative of the sick person, gen-
erally the sister or the wife, who can act as nurse, especially
during the moments when the shaman is resting. When he renews
his curative acts, they must withdraw again.

755 The songs which the shaman intones tell how his spirit is
753 searching for the soul of the sick man which the spirit of sick-
ness and death has carried away to unknown regions which are
[533] known only to it and to the spirit of the shaman. Often the
sick person's spirit does not let itself be caught by the shaman,
or it can happen that his soul is imprisoned, held by act and
wish of the wanurú, which can cause the shaman a great deal of
work. When through the intervention of his protector spirit he
succeeds in recovering the spirit of the patient, he must pay the
755 wanurú that held it prisoner a ransom for its liberation. This
782 spirit will then ask through the mouth of the shaman for whatever
gifts it may fancy. The shaman on his part transmits the op-
pressing spirit's demands to the sick man's relatives. These de-
mands take the form of requests for animals — cattle, goats,
sheep, etc., — of a certain color and special markings; orna-
ments of certain sizes and shapes; cloth, food and, at times,
things very difficult to find. The sick man's relatives hurry
to look everywhere for the requested items, and once found they
present them to the shaman and place them, if they are animals,
near him where he is "shamanizing." Other objects, such as
necklaces, cloth, etc., are placed in his hands. If the orders
*756 are not immediately complied with and in accordance with the
755 slightest detail, the shaman suffers very severe fits and attacks
and has to withdraw from assisting the patient. This is because,

[20 cont.]

*1756 as he B only the spirit's intermediary in the matter of the
1755 negotiation between it and the patient and his relatives to free the sick man from its influence, the shaman must respond to all the demands that the spirit has made. If the sick man is cured, the shaman keeps all the gifts that were requested through him by the spirit that caused the sickness and those that his protector [21] spirit claimed for its part in the cure. If the treatment is not successful, it is usual for all gifts to be returned to the patient's relatives, although sometimes this is not done and the shaman takes possession of them, stating that they are sacred, that they belong to the spirits that intervened in the attempt at curing the sick man although this has not been successful.

Shamans state that when they are practicing their curing ceremonies, while they are endeavoring to wrest the patient's soul from its prison, they are carefully observing the sick man to determine whether his cure is possible or not. If it is obvious that it is not, they declare him past hope, after being well assured that the individual cannot be saved and after making sure that everything has been done to effect his cure. They also state that it is quite common when they are engaged in the exercise
*1756 of their functions for their spirits to chat freely with them, at
1775 which times they refer to events which are about to happen and
1787 to their own destiny in the other life, in other words, what the shaman will be doing as a spirit once he ultimately dies. It is common to hear a spirit say, while conversing with the shaman in trance, "When you die you will know a country where there are many towns you know not of, crossed by wide, blue rivers."

Before proceeding further we consider it of interest to call attention to these latter words which the shaman claims he hears from his protector spirit, as they represent, in a certain way, the idea of a special heaven for these curers, a notion of life beyond the tomb which we shall see in greater detail later and, above all, the image of that new life; towns...crossed by wide, blue rivers, an ideal as logical as any when one takes into account the geographical situation of La Guajira, a land in which rivers and ravines, or even minor arroyos, are practically unknown due to the winds that dominate the peninsula.

[21cont.]

755 When the patient shows signs of improving, a fiesta is or-
796 ganized consisting of chicha-maya dances and feasting. For this
event they prepare in advance all that will be offered to the
participants; chicha made from chewed corn, plain or sweetened
with panela according to the economic situation of the sick man's
family. The dance lasts one or more days and nights, as ordered
[534] by the shaman, the only musical instrument used being the drum.
In order to end the fiesta, two or three steers and several goats
and sheep are killed if the hosts are rich. At four or five o'clock
in the morning, according to the shaman's wishes, the sick per-
[515] son is taken from his bed, and the curer himself bathes him with
soap and water, after which he is again carried indoors and is
permitted to stay up, but not to leave his dwelling. Slowly he
resumes normal living and the everyday diet. If the patient
should have a relapse, [22] the treatment is repeated. The
process of these cures may last up to two months, according to
the patient's condition.

No one is actually invited to the fiesta which is organized
[574] by order of the shaman when he has succeeded in curing a
patient. When people find out that such a fiesta is about to be
given from the characteristic beating of the drum, they ap-
proach without being invited and take part, joining in dancing
[273] the chich-amaya. The women are offered a bowl of chicha made
from chewed corn to take to their homes to drink there with their
families. Men are given rum or chicha. The women wear with
291 great pride their long ample robes, which cover them to the
755 ankles, their waireñas, or leather sandals with toe pieces made
796 of knitted wool and adorned with large tassels of the same ma-
556 terial, and a pañuelo around their heads, the corners of which
hang down their backs. If they are wealthy enough, they com-
plete their personal adornment with anklets and bracelets of
coral and necklaces of gold or tuma. The men also wear their
finest robes, which, hanging from one of their shoulders, cover
the upper part of their bodies. This is complemented by a
wide sash used to support the loincloth [guayuco], wider than
the one commonly used, that is, than that used in their daily
755 work. If animals are sacrificed — which depends on the wealth
796

●755 [22 cont.]
796 of the patient or of his family — then those attending are presented with a good portion of meat.

*756 Shamanistic treatment of animals. When pestilence breaks out among a Guajiro Indian's animals, he has no other
231 known recourse to repel it than to seek the services of a shaman.
755 As he already knows in a way the accustomed ceremonial in such cases, he prepares days beforehand a sufficient quantity of corn chicha, which is used in the chicha-maya dances, and he invites a large group of women to come to the dance. He then calls in the shaman, who, once arrived on the scene, has all the animals collected and enclosed in a large corral. While this operation is being carried out, the shaman begins to prepare himself for the ceremony, inviting his protector spirit to cast out the pestilence, and dressing himself (or better said, undressing himself) in a neighboring hut as is customary for the ceremony of the cure of human beings, keeping on his loincloth if he is a man and her dress if a woman. He then places a crown of wool on his head and readies the maraca, which he keeps in his hand during the entire event. Following this, he enters the place where the animals are, goes in among them, and turns himself around in circles about them, continually shaking the maraca and spitting on their bodies the juice from the manilla he is continually chewing. During all this time, he intones his ritual invocatory chants, [23] which are different from those used for the cure of humans, and he never stops shaking the maraca. This operation generally lasts for several days and is only suspended for those moments when the shaman rests. When he considers that the evil spirits which have caused the pestilence have been successfully driven off, he suspends his activities and orders for the fiesta to begin, which is started by the sacrifice of an animal, the distribution of chicha to those present, and the dance. The animals are driven to the fields while numerous gunshots are
[77] fired (in older times arrows were shot off). These are intended
[789] to complete the work of the shaman in driving off the evil spirits of the disease.

*756 Shamans' dreams. When a shaman dreams of a long trip
787 through unknown territory, it is an evident sign that he is due to
[761] die. When the dream is over, he attempts through "shamanizing"

[23 cont.]

*756 787 to divine his future by means of a firebrand, and sees that it does not burn or blaze. His spirit has abandoned him and no longer comes at his call. Finally, the spirit descends to him and says, "This has happened to you because you did not obey me on such-and-such an occasion."

Up to now there are two clear examples of the relation between unknown lands and death in the case of the shaman. Let us recall the talks held between the shaman and his protector spirit during the ceremony for curing a sick person, in which the protector spirit describes to him a marvelous country crossed by wide, blue rivers as a dwelling place to enter after death. Now this same representation reappears in his dream, which implies a vision of the world beyond the tomb to which he will shortly go.

● [755] If during a curing ceremony he should dream that at some time during the dance which he has demanded for the total rehabilitation of the sick man he sees a group of rich Indian women arrive mounted on horses, bringing with them in a pitcher a small quantity of water or rum with which they bathe the sick person and then blow on him at midnight, this means that the sick man in question will recover completely and will not have a relapse.

751 *756 787 At other times the shaman may dream that someone is going to be killed. To avert the danger he goes to the relatives of the person dreamed of to order them to perform a sacrifice or ceremony such as the following. They must bring a heifer of a certain color, slaughter it at dawn, and bathe in its blood the Indian on whom the tragedy is to fall according to the dream. To end the ceremony they must hold a chicha-maya dance. The Indian referred to must follow strictly the orders of the shaman [24] otherwise, there is no doubt that a tragedy will befall him, so the natives affirm. (Cf. "Magic and Sacrifice.")

There is a story, for example, of a female shaman who dreamed that she should "shamanize" an Indian woman with rum and hold a chicha-maya dance, or otherwise death would rapidly overtake her. The woman of the dream did not obey the orders of the shaman, and a few days later she had a quarrel with her [762] husband, who struck her, and, broken-hearted over her husband's action, she hung herself from a tree at midnight.

[27 cont.]
*756 turpirawa, muchirawai, males; and anapaura, uríwatana, waré-
775 ké-narú, waiwána, and parárijuna, females.
776 The common spirit of sickness and death, wanurú, in its malignant sense, can be possessed by a shaman, but its possession
[755] implies dangers as because of it the shaman can become insane, foolish, or paralytic. It is such an aggressive, haughty, and hateful spirit that, when it turns against a shaman, does so so vindictively that he is compelled to ask all the other spirits to aid him against the jirairay or wanarú.

But shamans do not know the origin of the spirits in the majority of cases. They do not know from where they come, only that they come from an unknown place, dressed like aríjuna (civilizados). They are wanurú that assist them in the struggle against sickness, which is also called wanurú. The personal spirit of the shaman, as we have said, does not intervene directly in the healing. It is those other spirits, the ones that have taken possession of him ever since he was initiated into the magic arts, which do so. His personal spirit does not have a special name, nor does the personal spirit of any of the Indians. Only on the shaman's death does his spirit take the common name wanurú and a special one if he has been a very outstanding curer.

In general terms, two other classes of spirits exist: that of the shaman himself, of which we have already spoken, and that of the diviner. These two spirits, however, can be absorbed by one person, but this absorption requires two special preparations, one for each activity. The more common procedure is for the shaman to be a diviner also, as this will help him considerably in carrying out his functions, for, on being [28] called to accomplish a cure, he can by means of his prophetic art consult with the firebrand or the tobacco (Cf. "Magic and Medicine") and find out if the sick person in question will recover. In accordance with the results of his findings, he will or will not try to cure him.

114 Referring to prophecy, Uricoechea in his introduction to
787 Celedón's Guajiro Grammar refutes — we do not know on what authority — the statement of Ensign de la Rosa when the latter states that the Indians divine by means of tobacco, and says:

[30 cont.]

*756 for his services as a curer; the flesh of animals sacrificed during
262 anyone's wake or during the ceremony of the second burial, especially if it is the remains of a shaman which are to be exhumed; ordinary food during the days on which he is carrying out his profession when he should limit himself to a small portion of corn mazamorro [cooked crushed corn] and water. Hence, the cattle
[422] he receives at his spirit's request in exchange for his cures are used in an indirect manner, being kept for breeding purposes.

171 We also find that the food taboo among shamans is characteristic among the Cashinawa Indians, according to the text
262 published by Capistrano de Abreu and cited by Métraux. According
*756 to them the souls (spirits) say to the initiate: "I have innoculated you with the magic substance. Do not, therefore, eat carelessly any sort of nourishment or you will lose your magic power (feitiço). Eat sparingly. Drink soup, eat cooked bananas and fish. Eat nothing but that!"

They say: "When you do not eat [sic]. Do not eat the tapir, do not eat the deer, do not eat the peccary, do not eat jaguar, do not eat nambú, do not eat the jaeau, do not eat the cujubin, do not eat the coati, do not eat the guariba, do not eat the monkey. These are the foods that you may not eat. If you do eat them [31] we will kill you, say the spirits. Among vegetables do not eat sweet potatoes, sweet manioc, or the innames." (25) [Cited in French.]

25. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 204.

*756 So far as the other objects that the shaman receives as pay-
422 ment for his work, neither may he use these directly. He simply keeps them, or he gives them to his children [hijos] as he does
[428] with the cattle. These objects, if they are not handed over while he is alive, will be divided up after his death among his heirs in accordance with Guajiro customary law....

*756 Death of a shaman. When a shaman becomes ill he has to
765 call in a colleague to practice on him all the ceremonies and rites indispensable for fending off the illness, since curers have the power to cure others but are not able to cure themselves.

[31 cont.]

753 If the shaman's illness and the announcement of his death
●755 are provoked by the displeasure of his protector spirit, there
*756 generally is no possibility of calling in another shaman to carry
776 out the ceremonies of curing. The illness of the shaman more than being his alone is an illness of the protector spirit; it is thus different from all other illnesses known to the natives. The shaman himself cannot help; he does not know how to apply the remedies he may have used in similar cases. He only, and this on few occasions, applies hot water to his chest. At other times the spirit may have pity on him and may come and recommend some special remedy to him, indicating at the same time where he can obtain it. The sick shaman then takes the remedy, and his sickness is immediately alleviated.

*756 On the death of a shaman it is obligatory to hold a wake
766 for at least three consecutive days, because the attacks which shamans have ("states of ecstasy") are so frequent and on occasion prolonged for a considerable time, that there is the possibility that he may not be really dead. The natives, then, do not wish to give a shaman burial until they are convinced of his death. There is also the belief that when such persons die they do not follow the same cycle as other mortals, since their bodies do not become hard and stiff but remain soft and lax, as if they were only sleeping. At the conclusion of these three obligatory days of the wake, they carry him away for burial. They wash the body and fasten his shroud as they do for others. But his crown, his maraca, and all his clothes are first broken and torn and later buried in a special place in the woods, or are thrown away in a lonely place. They must not place these objects with him in his grave [32] because the spirit of the dead shaman would return, very angry with the persons who had done such a thing, and would punish their disrespect in some form or another.

*756 The dead shaman's spirit wanders everywhere like all other
775 spirits, it goes to the place where his body lived, to places well
787 known to it, but it is always accompanied by its protector spirit, from which it will never become separated. Both the protector spirit and its protege may descend on a new shaman in order to assist him. This is probably the explanation of the possession of

[35 cont.]

*756 775 their protection to him. When he is performing the ceremonial indispensable for freeing the body and soul of a patient from the clutches of the wanurú, he represents nothing but the role of intermediary between two worlds and especially between two classes of spirits — that of his protector who wishes to save the sick person and that of others now dead who desire above all [753] that the evil they have caused the person of the sick man should continue until it ends with his death, so that in this way they can avenge an offense received, or simply satisfy some capricious wish of their own, as beings capable — because of their position as inhabitants of another world, a position superior to everything we can imagine in this mortal universe — of doing any harm they wish.

● 755 *756 This position of intermediary is clearly shown in the ceremony of curing. The communication must be made through definite material objects which take on in their turn the character of untouchables: the maraca, the crown, the tassels which contain a representation of goat dung, and the tobacco or manilla, objects which cannot be used by others but only by shamans during their moments of trance or invocation; the solitude to which the curer submits himself during his invocations, with only his patient present, for fear that the protector spirit might disappear and refuse to give aid in the cure which the shaman is trying to effect; his protector spirit's demands for certain objects to satisfy the voracity of harmful spirits or its own, demands which must be complied with to the letter; the ritual chants which relate the different moments of agreement between the harmful spirits and that of the shaman; the sacrifice of an animal determined by the spirit — male goat, sheep, etc. — as recompense for the spirit's favors; and lastly, the expressed prohibition that rests on the shaman not to eat or use the [36] animals or objects that he receives in payment for his cures. All these are facts which clearly indicate that the shaman is no more than an intermediary or an earthly representative of the spirits of good, or even of evil, and above all of the dead shamans who wish to continue exerting their beneficial influence on the group to which they belonged in life.

171 *756 787 This function of communication with the spirits, annexed to, and inseparable from, the personality of the medicine man,

[41 cont.]

764 1. The first of these types refers to the custom established
782 among them of sacrificing, during the wake of any member of the community, a number of animals belonging to the dead man (cows, bulls, goats, sheep), the meat of which is divided among those attending the wake along with the corresponding drink, which in these days is rum but in times past was chicha.

The reason given for the sacrificing of animals during a
[767] wake in answer to the question is that this is done in deference to the guests and especially to those whom we could call "professional mourners," who spend all day and all night moaning over the corpse. But on observing certain practices and particularly certain taboos regarding the meat of these sacrificed animals, one has to think rather of the ritual character of the sacrifice.

It is a fact that the relatives — sons, daughters, nephews
262 [and nieces, sabrinos], brothers [and sisters, hermanos] etc. —
764 of the deceased cannot eat the meat of animals sacrificed during
783 the wake or during the later ceremony of secondary burial, as this,
782 according to their belief, would be equivalent to eating their dead kinsman's flesh. This taboo, imposed on the deceased's relatives, serves to prove to us — so far as it is possible to deduce — the ritual aspect of the sacrifice of the dead man's livestock, stock which on being slaughtered takes on the same untouchable or magical quality, which the individual takes on when he disappears from the world of the living and enters the universe of the dead. [42] To put this more plainly, the animals sacrificed are contaminated by their dead owner.

The untouchable quality of the animal sacrificed at the
[765] wake or in the ceremony that accompanies the second burial is supported by the following fact. The belief exists in La
[843 Guajira that if during pregnancy the mother or the father of the
753] future child is present at the exhuming of a corpse, the child is born sickly, suffers from permanent diarrhea and night sweats,
755 and gets more and more pale and progressively thinner. Its
765 illness continues to get worse, and none of the familiar remedies have the desired effect. The parents then resort to the following system of curing (a system which with some variations is also common among the people of the town of Santander). They wait until there is an exhumation ceremony, and then

[42 cont.]

755 765 they put the child inside one of the animals sacrificed for the occasion, taking care that the body of the animal is still warm, with the object that the child enter in the warmth.

If they cannot take the sick child to the place where the ritual ceremony is to be performed, the parents take a bone of the sacrificed animal, let it dry, and later cook it in a large quantity of water, with which they subsequently bathe the body of the child. The successful effect should be attained at the first bath or after several successive ones.

755 There is another system of curing this sickness, which the Guajiro call "the chill of the tomb." The presence of the parents at the wake has infected the unborn child with the coldness of the tomb which the dead man is about to occupy. For this reason, the important thing is to drive out the cold, for which they resort to the substitute (when there is no possibility of an exhumation ceremony in the near future) of digging a hole in the earth, approximately the size of the child, placing him in it and then covering him up to the neck with the displaced earth.

755 764 978 In any case, as can be seen, the second method is no more than a substitute for the required and definitive remedy. In the first case there are two magic associations: the participation, passive and involuntary, of the dead man in the transmission of the sickness; and the other, more active, of the cure through the sacrificed animal, which, as we noted, participates in the taboo by virtue of the sacrifice. If it were simply a matter of the cold-hot association, that is, if the idea were to drive the cold out of the sick child's body, the most practical and rapid way would be the third, that is, to put the child's body in an excavated hole and cover it with the displaced earth, so that heating by the sun may bring about the desired effect, particularly if one takes into account the high temperatures that are reached during [43] the day in the semidesert of La Guajira. But there is something more; there is the magic character of the ceremony of the sacrifice — which is undoubtedly diminishing through the effects of acculturation — but of which there remains at least the idea of utilizing the magic power of the sacrificed animal, or part

[43 cont.]

755 of the same – the bone which is left to dry and then cooked –
764 which also participates in its power, because in the primitive
778 mentality the part is accepted as the whole, or at least shares in the power of the whole, even at a distance.

556 Another meaning that the sacrifice of animals has is that
436 related to the status of the individual in his other life. One of
437 the points of reference of status in La Guajira is wealth, which is nearly always equivalent to the possession of a larger or lesser number of heads of livestock. Livestock represents, in certain aspects, Guajiro currency, since interchanges, blood payments, etc., are always based on a definite number of heads of livestock, besides of course necklaces of tuma, gold, etc.

556 Naturally, if an individual occupies a certain social posi-
764 tion in life, it is logical that when he goes to the other life, to
775 the world of the dead, he occupies an identical position or tries to better the one he had in life. This, then, is one of the reasons why certain of his possessions are placed near or in his tomb, and to complete his "equipment" for the next world, a number of animals are sacrificed, the higher his position in society the greater the number, so that these may give him the desired social position in the world of the spirits.

764 The association, then, is easy to establish: If the individ-
775 ual in dying passes to a new life similar to the one he led on
825 earth, then the animal, a living being with a soul like the man, on dying must also pass on to occupy a place in the other world. This, of course, is only our own supposition. But we find no other explanation of the Guajiro statement that the animals should be sacrificed so that they can accompany their owner to the other world and give him an advantageous position among the other spirits.

764 The sacrifice implies above all an act of magic. The fact
784 that the dead man's close relatives must not eat the meat of the
778 sacrificed animals, because it would be like eating the flesh of their relative himself, establishes the relation between the owner and his property in the sense that the latter shares his personality. And as the dead man is sacred, or at least taboo, that is, sacred in the sense of being untouchable, so also are the things that he owned; the animals – which are [44] to accompany

[51 cont.]

771 fear, or admiration. The primitive has not at this stage reached
813 the discernment necessary to establish the logical relation be-
181 tween phenomena and their real causes, but establishes a magic relationship that in the majority of cases does not correspond to any concrete or objective reality.

753 This manner of thinking and of feeling is especially reflected in the facts related to the individual himself and his organic reactions and, essentially, in the variations to which his organism is susceptible in the biological or pathological sense. To the primitive sicknesses are not ills caused by pathogenic germs (we say this in the general sense as there are some exceptions) or by internal or external disorders but are the result of the harmful actions of some being — animal, human, mineral, or vegetable — who is the sick man's potential enemy or one whom he has injured in some way or another, especially in violating the social ritual arrangements which at first were related almost exclusively to the totem and which then gradually evolved toward diverse forms of magic which lead him to a real investigatory curiosity.

This curiosity is not limited, as might be expected, to the simple act of knowing what phenomenon or what individual spirit might have caused the sickness, but sets out to understand the whole matter in order to put into [52] practice a method of cure — it does not matter of what kind — which will bring one back to the state of health, to normality, and remove him from contact with the dangerous world of the spirits.

753 For this reason, in the following pages we shall find our-
●755 selves confronted with this phenomenon: if the causes of the sick-
*756 ness are magic or, in more general terms, supernatural, the methods of curing applied must be of the same type. The world of the spirits is considered to be superior to the normal world of the living, because it is unknown or partially so. The struggle then, face to face, of individual against spirit will be unequal because the latter — the spirit — is aided by supernatural forces with which the living are unacquainted. For this reason it is indispensable that shamans should be called in — the intermediaries between man and spirit, or that he employ, when

[52 cont.]

753 lacking this support, certain practices of a magic character
●755 which place him – always respecting due proportions – on a
*756 plane of equality with the spirit or at least give him the possibility of warding off its harmful effects from him or his fellows. In the methods of healing, as will be seen as we progress in this chapter, the individual makes use, either directly or indirectly through an intermediary – the medicine man in this case, of the benevolent powers of the instrument causing the sickness, or else those of another spirit – under whatsoever materialization – as strong or stronger than the original cause of the sickness, in order to banish the illness.

755 The value of the Guajiro shaman, or medicine man, as
*756 a curer, as we were able to observe in Chapter II, lies in the superiority conceded to him through his constant communication with the world of the spirits, which places him, so to speak, on a plane of equality with them. Nevertheless, in the aspect of Guajiro medicine four different factors intervene, which we can define in general as follows:

1) Medicine practiced directly by the shaman through his communication with benevolent spirits.

2) Medicine by divination, dependent or independent of the shaman, which creates another social group, not so clearly defined: that of the diviner.

757 3) Medicine which might be called household, independent of the shaman and of the diviner, which is applied through pragmatic knowledge of the curative value of certain plants, or through the observation of particular customs related to taboo, which as we shall see later, are of a preventative type.

174 4) Medicine practiced by foreigners. This last factor must
648 have its origins in ethnographic history, and it appears to us
*756 quite difficult to clarify. It deals with the medical intervention of curers from the [53] Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, whom the Guajiro consult in certain cases. These inhabitants of the Sierra belong to native groups included by Professor Rivet in the large Chibcha linguistic family (38). Our supposition of contacts between

38. Rivet, Paul. Conferencias dictadas en el Instituto Etnológico Nacional

[54]

*756 787 The shaman also has this power of divination at times, and he, as well as the others, can foretell deaths and other events that will happen. The shaman by reason of his known inherent powers inspires more faith in his prophesies, especially as these practically never fail to be fulfilled.

*756 791 One of the functions of a diviner who divines by means of tobacco, for example, is to decide at a gathering of shamans to which he is expressly summoned whether a certain individual shows definite symptoms that he will become the host of a spirit of the same class as their own. This diviner generally is not a graduate shaman but is a man or woman of great experience in this type of "science." The diviner places the tobacco or manilla, in his mouth and a burning firebrand in his right hand, which he moves up and down while he discourses; he watches it fixedly and gives his verdict in accordance with the variations he notes in the burning stick. This verdict is considered final.

● 755 *756 787 Shamans in some cases learn the art of divination by the use of a glowing brand to find out, in the event of their being called to cure a sick man, whether they should take the case or not. For the test they take a firebrand; they call on the spirit to come to their aid. They remain with the brand in hand, without blowing on it, and carefully observe the different changes which occur in it through the action of the flame, and from these changes they deduce what will happen. If the firebrand goes out while they are watching it, it means that the sick man is going to die, and hence his presence will not be required.

787 The ceremony of divination by means of fire must be carried out at night never by day. There are diviners who make use of a burning reed or cane for this ceremony. They hold it in the hand and do not take their eyes off it, paying close attention to the changes in the flame, if any, in the blazing up or dying down of the ember, and any other variations they may see. According to all these details, they decide on what divinatory acts are called for and what should be used to locate lost objects or stolen animals. The diviner endeavors to trace the process of the actual robbery in the flame and after that the route the lost object took until he discovers its whereabouts, so that he can state where it is and who was the thief.

[54 cont.]

787 But what is most interesting is that each person in La Guajira can learn the signs that determine divination according to the different methods that make this art of prophecy possible, and make use of them in order to help anyone who may ask his aid or to satisfy his own curiosity about many things he desires to know. The women are especially greatly addicted to divinatory arts [55] to find out from a distance what their absent husbands are doing or what may happen to them when they are far from home. The process is as follows: First the tobacco is lit, then a special prayer is recited asking that what is occurring, or is going to happen, be revealed. Then the woman starts to suck on the tobacco and to observe most carefully every change in the tobacco once it begins to burn. For example, if it emits sparks this means that the person about whom the divinatory enquiry is being made is going to receive money; if it opens in the middle it means that the husband is ill; and he is gravely ill if the ash goes black. Other characteristic signs show when the husband has taken another woman and when he is with her.

This circumstance, that any ordinary person can learn the known methods of foretelling the future, is one which interests us at the moment because it appertains to the aspect of medicine we are investigating. These diviners, usually women, are the ones who, in these cases, decide what kind of illness [755 is attacking the patient — a child — and how it was contracted, 753] (generally by direct contamination through the mother during her pregnancy from an animal that had touched food eaten by her). By the same token, they decide what curing methods must be followed to free the patient from the illness from which he suffers.

To clarify this point we quote several pertinent examples taken from our field notes.

753 825 It is said in Nazaret, and it is a belief extensively accepted all over the peninsula, that a bird called soche, which is accustomed to withdraw to the Sierra de Macuira during its hours of sleep, is harmful to the native inhabitants when it flies over their homes, as it is a carrier of bronchitis, which it spills on to the roofs of their houses, from whence the children of the home pick up the contagion and die.

G [55 cont.]

755 When the child at birth, or a few days afterward, is afflicted with stomach-ache and other characteristic symptoms determined by divination, the cause is that the mother during her pregnancy had imprudently eaten a watermelon which previously had been tasted by a fox. This fact having been proved by the art and talent of the diviner, she proceeds to carry out the cure of the infant, which consists of searching out a fox, killing and quartering it, separating the bones from the flesh and burning them and reducing them to powder. The powder resulting from this calcination is used to anoint around the child's anal sphincter after an evacuation. A part of the meat of the dead animal is roasted and is given [56] to the sick child. If both remedies are applied at the opportune moment, the child will rapidly recover - at least this is the Guajiro belief.

G It might be thought that in this case it would be logical
753 for the affected person to be the mother herself, as it was she
854 who ate the contaminated fruit, but one must bear in mind that to the primitive, the infant, as with us, is a relatively defenseless being. For this reason he requires greater protection, because evil things, due to his weak defenses, will readily make a prey of his small body. The evil things in this case are represented by the wicked spirits whose object is to spread sickness. To uphold our statement it is sufficient to quote the case of the
W Witoto Indians, inhabitants of the Amazonian selva, with their
846 social institution called the covada [couvade] and their general custom of covering their children's bodies with curly vegetable fibers to disguise them and give them the appearance of small monkeys. Let us see what couvade is: "The one most concerned with this affair" — the birth of the new child — "is the husband because it is he who has to bear the rigors of the strict diet involved. In practice, once natus est homo and the essential obstetrical duties are carried out, the Indian mother hands over the fruit of her womb to the husband. He takes charge of the infant and, acting as if he were the mother, takes it with him to his hammock where he stays for eight days, keeping to a diet which might well be adopted by the most fastidious lady. But before he does this he first of all puts on mourning, that is, he paints himself

[57 cont.]

W 854 291 a wooly substance from another tree which is very similar to the balso. So dressed, the infant Indian, lifted onto the bare shoulders of its mother or clinging to her knees, appears in reality very like a small monkey. With only this savage dress, these Indians are quite happy." ... (40)

40. Anon. Op. cit., 2d, I, 37.

W 854 The missionary is right when he compares these children to small monkeys. The idea of dressing the child in so peculiar a costume is not just to protect him from the vagaries of the climate, or to dress him with greater or lesser aesthetic taste, but to safeguard him from evil spirits by means of this disguise, which constitutes a veritable transformation of his physical personality. The child on being dressed up in this extraordinary covering is really changed into another being, so that the evils he might attract to himself lose their effectiveness since the spirits are deceived by the substitution that has been made.

G 755 A method of curing very similar to that we have just described is the one used when a newborn child shows signs of intestinal trouble and diarrhea, evacuating something like spittle. The woman who is acting as diviner discovers by her art that the sickness attacking the infant is due to its mother G [753] having allowed a duck to eat part of her food. For this reason the child passes its fecal matter in a way similar to that of a duck. How does one proceed, then, to restore the infant to health? The feathers around the anus of the duck are plucked out, burned, and the ashes are reduced to powder. As soon as the infant's bowels have moved, his mother must clean him carefully and then apply the powder of the ashes of the feathers around his anal sphincter. If the diviner's diagnosis has been correct, the child should recover quickly on the application of the prescribed remedy. [58]

G [843 753 755 If during her pregnancy the mother should eat fruit which has been previously pecked at by any kind of bird, the child on being born will have stomach trouble and his excrement will be similar to that of the bird. The Indian women who are

[58 cont.]

755 expert in these sicknesses and who devote themselves to applying the remedies and divining the causes of such illnesses indicate by what bird the fruit which the mother ate was contaminated. Once the origin of the sickness has been determined, they proceed to carry out the method of cure which entails hunting and capturing the bird responsible, which, once killed, is roasted, and the meat fed to the child. A sancocho [stew] is also prepared, using portions of the bird, a good part of which is fed to the child. With this medicine the infant should be quickly cured. If this does not effect a cure, the divination has been incorrectly made, and it was not that kind of bird that pecked at the fruit eaten by the mother during her pregnancy. The whole process must therefore be done over again to discover with absolute certainty what animal caused the child's sickness.

843 If a pregnant woman should eat the meat of a hen that has
753 been killed by a sparrow hawk, the child will be born sickly, his excretions will be green, and his crying will be like the cry of a hawk. When they do not know the origin of the sickness, they
755 apply home remedies or those of any local curer [curandero]. If
[757] these do not bring about the desired effect, then they must turn to divination. The diviner will decide that the mother ate the flesh of a chicken that had been killed by a sparrow hawk. The curing method will follow a similar process to that previously noted: a hawk is found and killed; a leg of the creature is taken, and the bone is well cleaned and allowed to dry. When it is sufficiently dry it is boiled, and the child's body bathed with the resulting infusion.

262 The meat of such a hen — contaminated by the hawk
825 which had eaten some of it — is also harmful to children in
842 general, boys and girls, and also adults. Every time it is eaten
888 it causes sterility. For this reason the magic taboo on this meat is lifted only for the old and the very aged who have already lost their procreative powers and in consequence have nothing to fear in this respect.

756 Household medicine. This system of medicine, which, as we have said, is independent of shamans and diviners, is based above all on the practice of certain magic practices directly

[58 cont.]

755 associated with some prohibitions of a taboo nature or with established social customs, the origin and in part even significance of which is unknown. But what attracts our attention in this aspect of Guajiro medical [59] practice is preventative rather than curative nature. To demonstrate this, we quote some examples:

753 755 843 During the period of pregnancy, neither the father nor the mother should be present at the exhumation of the dead, a ceremony which the Indians hold to comply with the rites of the secondary burial. If this injunction is disobeyed, the infant about to be born will, at birth or a few days later, have a sickly appearance and will be afflicted with constant diarrhea and night sweats, and will be characterized by a very pronounced paleness and extreme thinness.

755 If this occurs, if through carelessness the parents witness the exhumation of a corpse during the mother's pregnancy and her child is born sickly, they will not try to blame the child's illness on any other cause than that just stated. In accordance with this decision, they will proceed to apply the curing method appropriate for such an emergency, which, as we noted in the previous chapter, "Magic and Sacrifice," is as follows: (a) They wait until there is a fiesta of a ceremonial nature for the exhumation of human remains and then place the infant inside the recently opened body of the animal that has been sacrificed for the ceremony. (b) If the infant cannot be taken to the place where the ceremony is being held, a bone of the sacrificed animal is taken, left to dry, and cooked, and the infant is bathed in this water. (c) If there is no possibility of a ceremony of the type described being held in the near future, a hole is made in the sand, and the child is buried therein up to its neck and is then covered with the loose earth.

843 845 764 [77] Neither should the husband of a pregnant woman under any circumstances dig a grave or assist in the construction of a vault (an element of acculturation) destined for the primary or secondary burial of any person. If he does his wife will suffer the consequences of this disrespect in her delivery, which will not be normal: prolonged for several days, very painful, and with serious consequences for the mother and for the coming child.

[59 cont.]

843 A pregnant woman should never be present at or watch a
845 burial, for if she does so, she will have a difficult childbirth: the infant's arrival will be delayed in a manner both painful and difficult for the mother.

755 Anyone who may have touched the corpse of a person
758 whose death has not been natural – who has been murdered,
784 for example – is prohibited from approaching the side of one who is sick, because this individual will die because of his presence. This prohibition is also extended to those who have directly assisted in the exhumation of human remains. Furthermore, both of these persons are strictly forbidden to come near
[753] children [60] or places where they may be, because their presence, contaminated by the nature of the dead, will cause the children to fall ill.

843 Serpents also have magic influence on pregnant women.
825 In this case it is not an influence destined to injure the unborn child but is directed against the mother herself, who feels in various ways in her own flesh the malignant action of the reptile. For instance, if a woman during her term of pregnancy sees a hunting snake [culebra cazadora] and remains looking at it for some time, her child will be born stupid. The explanation that the Indians give for this very generally accepted belief is that as this snake gives the impression of being stupid, because it does not attack people as other snakes do and does them no harm but confines itself to hunting young birds for food, it transmits this quality to the infant. A mother who encounters such a reptile should pretend not to have seen it and automatically look elsewhere.

If during this same period the mother-to-be should see
825 any kind of snake (other than a hunting snake) she will suffer a
843 miscarriage or some kind of painful mishap related to the de-
845 livery. To avoid these possible ills, the woman should try to step over the snake. If in spite of this difficulties in childbirth occur, then they resort to a curing method which consists in finding a similar snake, killing it, opening it up carefully, and localizing in the interior of its intestines the water that it has drunk, collecting this and taking it to the sick woman, so that after she has drunk it, her labor will be hastened and will then occur without any serious complications.

[66 cont.]
751 according to which "things which have once been in contact with each other continue to act on each other at a distance after the physical contact has been severed." (45) [Cited in Spanish.]

45. Frazer. La Rama Dorada [The Golden Bough], III, 27.

751 There is another medical preventative, also of a magic
843 nature, taken to avoid infant mortality in Guajiro marriages after the death of the first-born child. This preventative obliges
[766] them to bury the body in a certain manner. It also imposes upon the mother a further seclusion, such as she underwent on reaching puberty (ceremony of initiation), and entails her taking certain medicines extracted from vegetable roots. If all these prescriptions are not fully complied with, her future children will die successively as soon as they are born.

844 Once the child is born, the placenta must be thrown a long way away from the house and completely lost to sight. If
[777] it is buried it will bring bad luck to the child, who in consequence of such an imprudence will live a weakling and suffer greatly until his death.

853 When only two or three days after the mother has given
827 birth, her breasts badly swell with severe pains and a lack of
755 milk, her husband must place his foot on her naked breast, pressing lightly on it, with which treatment the woman will recover. When a mother loses her milk after a long period of breast feeding and is no longer able to nourish her child, she must be struck on her shoulder and her breasts a number of times with the branches of a plant which is found mainly in the neighborhood of [67] Puerto Estrella and which on being cut emits a white liquid.

826 The Guajiro takes great care of any of his hair which has
754 been cut off, as he is afraid that it can be used to do him harm. This fear is based on the belief that if anyone can obtain possession of a lock of hair, whatever harm he may do to this will react directly on its owner; if that hair, for example, is thrown on the fire, its original owner will suffer a similar fate:

[68 cont.]

774 of the soul is uniform, so also the effects of all things are magically related to one another." (46)

46. Born. Fetiche, Amuleto, Talisman [Fetish, Amulet, Talisman], p. 3.

This polydemonism of which Dr. Born writes, or spiritism as we have called it, can be seen more clearly in the life of the Guajiro communities in the chapter which deals with the [764] aspect of funerals. All the ceremonial relating to the dead is filled with this belief [69] in the universal soul and in the survival of a personal soul after death.

755 In the chapter we are dealing with we see it also clearly established, especially in the curative methods followed by the shaman, or medicine man, who seeks the assistance of his protector spirit or spirits to find out the kind of illness the sick man is suffering from and the manner of eradicating it from his body, as well as in certain aspects of household remedies consisting of preventative methods. In no way different are the 764 taboo prohibitions related to the dead, the burials and exhuma- 783 tions in general, animals sacrificed in funeral ceremonial, and 784 persons who have been in contact, directly or indirectly, with the dead by assisting in the burial or exhumation of human remains, in digging graves, in imprudently gazing on the placing of a burial in the grave, etc., all of which contaminate with the essence of the dead, who by his very nature, by the act of having passed to a higher life situated on a plane of superior potentialities to that which he has left, is converted into something dangerous, sacred or impure, as the case may be, and for this reason contaminating.

This contaminating action of the dead also appears in the 751 aspect of medicine since they endeavor to avoid possible harm 775 to children before birth and therefore to pregnant women or those in actual childbirth, because, as we have already seen these are the most likely victims of the malevolent action of spirits. Children especially receive such influences through their parents when they are in the mother's womb and have such poor means of self-defense.

[69 cont.]
of self-defense. If we take into account the high infant mortality among the Guajiro population, which reaches a very high rate (32.97%) according to the data collected by the investigators Virginia de Pineda Giraldo and María Rosa de Recasens, whose findings were published in the Boletín de Anqueología (47), we

47. Pineda Giraldo Roberto. "Informe preliminar sobre aspectos sociales y económicos de la Guajira [Preliminary Report on Social and Economic Aspects of La Guajira]."

can even better explain the series of prohibitions, of patterns established to protect the future mothers and unborn children from the malevolent influence of the spirits, whether of humans, animals, etc.

On the other hand, we can deduce from this study the following points: 1) Medicine practiced by shamans, intermediaries between the two worlds, is carried out almost exclusively on adults, for whom they prescribe the curative methods they deem essential in accord with the patient's illness. 2) On the other hand, curing by [70] divination, which we have called household curing, using a common term, has its field of action among newborn babies and mothers-to-be. 3) In this last type we encounter an extremely interesting fact, the ambivalence of certain animals, represented by their double capacity to cause illness and at the same time to cure it. 4) In the application of household preventative medicine, magic called sympathetic is frequently practiced. 5) In one of the accounts we find the occurrence of the magic action of a plant. This deals with the plant used to make the mammary glands secrete their milk after a mother had lost it and the child still requires to be breast fed. As the plant is able to produce milk, the mother by contact with it will inevitably be able to do the same, according to native belief. This aspect has been fully treated by Castiglione in one of the chapters of his work Encantamiento y Magia [Enchantment and Magic]. We wish to quote only a few paragraphs which will better clarify

[70 cont.]

278 the magico-curative value of the plant under discussion: "Some-
757 times," says Castiglione, "as has been said, this popularity" (that of medicinal plants) "is derived from real therapeutic qualities as, for example, the use of quina roots, which is prescribed by scientific medicine; its power to cure intermittent fevers was well known among the peoples of pre-Columbian America. In
278 many other cases the virtues of these plants depend on their ap-
755 pearance, on the similarity of their roots, their flowers, or their fruit to certain characteristics of sicknesses or to some organ of the body." (48) Somewhat earlier, in referring to this second

48. Castiglioni, Op. cit., VI, 82.

category of plants, he tells us: "The second category embraces innumerable substances which by themselves, speaking objectively, cannot in any way have any effect, either favorable or unfavorable, but whose value stems exclusively and directly from the ideas they provoke in the minds of the people concerned." (49).

49. Castiglioni, Op. cit., VI, 81.

The influence of magic in medicine is borne out, finally, by the custom of visiting the Arhuaco doctors, in whom they see powerful magicians who possess the secret of praying to a powerful spirit to impregnate their remedies with its essence. It is this aspect which attracts the Guajiro, not the plants in themselves but the spirit, the demon if we may call it so, that is present in the drops which have been prayed over by the Arhuaco curer.

[71] V

Magic and Funerals

811 With the Guajiro Indians, as with the majority of primitive peoples, the complex ceremonial relating to death accounts for a great part of their activities, their manner of acting, thinking, and

[87 cont.]

858 greater protection than the adult as, owing to his limited defensive capacity, illnesses can readily take possession of his body. We made reference in that section to the malevolent action of certain animals as well as the influence of the dead, the contamination exercised by their spirits on conception and on small children. And now we return to refer especially to this last aspect. We also saw how the harmful effects of animals centered especially on unborn infants due to carelessness on the part of pregnant mothers or of the husbands, and this is repeated equally with regard to funerals.

[764] When the grave destined for a dead person is opened, small children who go to the funeral, relatives of the deceased, must pass in file over it with the object that death will be delayed and will not overcome them while very young.

843 When speaking of sacrifice (cf. Chapter III) as well as
853 when speaking of medicine among the Guajiro Indians in its magic aspect, we quoted the general belief in La Guajira, which
[171] is known also as an aspect of folklore in various parts of Colombia, among them Santander and Nariño, that if during pregnancy, the father or the mother of the child to be born has been present at the exhumation of any human remains, the child will be born sickly, will suffer from diarrhea, night sweating, paleness, and loss of weight. The characteristic of something touched by death which the corpse has makes it contagious and, so to speak, contaminates the mother of the infant, who because of his weakness is incapable of resisting its influence. If in this case one considers the folklore aspect, the explanation which is given is that the cold of death has affected the child through the person of its mother or its father in the presence of the corpse. The explanation in the case of Guajiro appears to
755 us to be somewhat more complicated, as we had occasion to show above, although the curing processes tend in reality to extract the cold of death from the body of the child after it is born. The method of curing considered infallible by them is to bury the child in the still warm carcass of an animal sacrificed [88] during a wake, and only when there is no such possibility do they make use of the substitute, the bone, or of burying

[88 cont.]

755 the child in the warm sand, covering it to the base of its head. There is a decided magic intervention, the effect of which we 782 do not know on the part of the sacrificed animal which, as we 825 have said, shares the contaminating quality of its dead owner.

Other beliefs which confirm what has been stated are the 843 following: The husband of a pregnant woman should never, for 845 any motive whatsoever, dig a grave or assist in the construction of a vault for either a primary or secondary burial ceremony, because in such a case his wife's delivery will not be normal; it will be prolonged with danger both to the mother and the child.

Neither should the mother-to-be watch a burial being placed in a vault because the previously mentioned phenomenon will be repeated: She will have a difficult delivery, through delay in the birth and pain.

783 Anyone who has touched a man whose death was not due 753 to natural causes must not come near a sick person because if 764 he does the sick man will quickly die. This also applies to those who have helped in an exhumation or taken part in any of the ceremonies called for by the secondary burial. Neither should such a person go near small children because these will, according to Guajiro belief, automatically begin to cry and twist about, the victims of some sickness.

In general terms, the individual who approaches a corpse, who touches it, or who participates directly in the different ceremonies relating to it becomes contaminated. But he does not suffer the consequences of this contamination in his own person, unless it be a pregnant woman; he takes on the role of transmitting agent. He becomes an intermediary, if we can so call him, between the spirit and children, sick people, or pregnant women, which are the three classes of people preferred by the spirits of the dead on whom to practice their malevolent contaminations. In all three cases the weakness of the contaminated person is evident: the sick person, the child in the womb unable to defend itself, and the newborn also incapable of defending itself against the spirit as it shows in contrast to the other members of the community, that is, the adults on whom it depends for its

[106 cont.]

782 424 789 Magic prayers. As a matter of interest we transcribe below without any comment the following statement we recorded: there are a few special prayers only known to certain natives, the verbal formula of which they sell at times to whoever may need it, on the understanding that these prayers will be used in all good faith and belief in their magic power, prayers that serve to cure whatever plagues may occur, and frequently do occur, in the cotton fields.

538 789 755 Magic charms in the oral literature. From the stories we were able to collect among the Guajiro natives relating to their daily life, there is one that has a clear connection with magic charms. It is the one which refers to the struggle of the Indian Kurĩta-Páta, of Jarara, with some Kusina Indians who had come to rob him of his livestock. In this struggle the Jarara Indian was wounded in the thigh, and his cure was effected through a dream in which it was communicated to him that he should swallow a charm (a tuma, "a precious stone") and leave his wife to exchange her for a slave. Kurĩta-Páta obeyed these injunctions and was cured.

We have then a new magic charm which has a medicinal function and which must be added to those we have already noted throughout this chapter. Its magic action is combined with a social act of great importance within the Guajiro community: that of a man leaving his own wife and replacing her with a slave, descending thereby in the social scale, as there is [567] a great difference in status between a free woman and a common slave or bond servant. A new magic object, the tuma, appears as the possessor of supernatural powers capable of warding off those evils that can overpower an individual.

789 Summary and classification. 1) What we have called magic charms [contras mágicas] in this chapter include three classes of known magic objects: fetishes, amulets, and talismans. [107]

2) All these possess in greater or lesser degree a magic power capable of working either good or evil.

3) Their action in the majority of cases can be controlled and directed by their owners, especially in the case of doing ill

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[87] reprisals from their opponents. One of our informants, a married woman without children, told us that on one occasion she dreamed she was going to have a male child. A short time afterward, her group, the Uriyú, became involved in a fight with the Epieyú, who were much stronger; several members of her group were killed, others sought asylum in the Capuchin convent, and the majority emigrated to Venezuela in order to avoid greater disasters.

When the action of a dream represents the sacrifice of a steer, and the dreamer is accompanied by a person of a different clan, the interpretation given is that the dreamer will perish at the hands of one of the family group that appeared in the dream with him. During our stay in Nazaret we attended the funeral ceremony of a woman who was found dead one morning, seemingly hanged from a forked pole in the interior of her home. It was soon established that she had been murdered by her husband, who had brutally beaten her and who, to avoid punishment for his crime, had fixed her body to appear as if she had hung herself. One of the relatives of the dead woman stated after the occurrence that some days before the woman had had a dream similar to what we have just described.

Furthermore, to dream of convalescing from any kind of sickness indicates that the dreamer will suffer [118] from the [55] sickness dreamed of. To avoid this, he must arrange an exorcism, which consists of the celebration of the fiesta that would be given when a sick man has recovered from such an illness and has become convalescent, that is, a chicha-maya dance at which, at the expense of the man who would have suffered the sickness, chicha and meat are partaken of by all who attned.

With respect to the foretelling of interclan wars, which appears to be an obsession among the Guajiro Indians, in addition to what we have noted above, we have an indicator dream, when the dreamer sees a great flood of water washing away everything in its path, devastating everything that comes within its reach, and carrying the dreamer away with it. He, however, is able to save himself from drowning in the flood by grasping some plants growing on the bank or a log floating in the stream.

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The medicine men liked to have a good drink before a seance

A piache, *or wise woman, curing a boy by burning him with a red-hot arrow head*

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7;Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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must be no intimate association with women, not even with a wife! 756 787

The spirit has not merely accepted the novice as a piache, [833] but has entered into him, possessed him and will accompany him during all his magical seances. As a person a piache is of no importance, but when the mighty spirit fills him he becomes the equal of the real spirits. He cures the sick [755] exclusively by supernatural means, with the help of the spirits. Of real medicine he knows nothing. According to the Indians' ideas there are no natural causes of ill- [753] ness and death, which are ascribed entirely to dangerous spirits.

When a piache is summoned to cure a sick person, he must be given a gold necklace or some other valuable gift. He brings with him two maraca rattles, the usual magical instrument of the South American Indians, and a stool shaped like an animal. If necessary, he can sit on some other stool. One of his magical instruments is small pellets made by someone with a great knowledge of herbs and formed like goat's excrement, which are intended to attract the spirits.

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7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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If an animal is sick, the piache himself is at once sent for. [231]
The cattle are driven into an enclosure and the piache dances round and among them, wearing his head-dress, torso bare, and brandishing his maraca, singing song-spells and spitting tobacco juice upon the animals. After some days of this, the treatment is concluded with a chichamaya dance.

The Guajiro, of course, believe in dreams. During sleep 756
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nothing while the individual is awake. Because of this it is considered risky to neglect warnings or things of which one has dreamed.

A piache attaches special importance to his dream-experiences and knows how to interpret them. If he dreams that a snake bites someone, it means that that person will be struck by a poisoned arrow. If he sees fire in his dream, that indicates fever, while violent rain denotes the death of some rich Indian. Blood in a dream also means death, and an animal being butchered means that a person of the same age or sex will die. If the piache dreams that an enemy intends to kill a specific individual, he hastens to visit the person to help him. An animal of a certain colour is killed and the threatened individual smeared with its blood—

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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over the novice as he (or she) lies in the hammock twisting and groaning as his spirit takes possession of him, imparting knowledge and power. 756

In attempting to cure, a shaman often causes greater injuries to the patient; permanent blindness may result from his effort to cure eye injuries with caustic powders or to remove foreign substances with horsehairs or cactus spines. Tuberculosis is treated by inducing expectoration and prescribing a meaty diet. Dysentery is cured with herbal medicines. Well-chewed tobacco or tobacco-laden spittle rubbed over a painful area is a common method of therapy. If the medicine man effects a cure, which he frequently does, he is rewarded with gifts of cattle, rum, etc. No attempt is made to treat smallpox, the victim often being abandoned to his fate. 755

Some practitioners who are not exactly shamans divine by burning a bundle at the end of a stick or by examining the bottom of a bottle, i.e., by crystal gazing (Hernández de Alba, 1936, p. 42). 791 787

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755 him with a series of magic remedies and medicinal plants which have been fully described in the article /154/ previously cited. Also at the present time it is not uncommon for them to call in the services of a white doctor, either in Uribia, the capital of the peninsula, or in the near-by cities of Venezuela, such as Maracaibo, or in the neighboring Colombian department of Magdalena.

But their culture possesses a traditional institution that
756 answers these requirements: the shaman, whose essential
755 activity has been fully treated in the work which we cited at
177 the beginning of this chapter and to which we refer the reader. This institution, perhaps the most powerful in Guajiro culture, has been losing value for various reasons already studied in the article we have cited, but it still occupies an outstanding place within the social and cultural whole, to the point that when an Indian is gravely ill, his relatives think immediately of the shaman as the most advisable means of curing the sick man, as this functionary (the shaman) possesses considerable magic powers due to his having been selected by the benevolent spirits to be their intermediary in their frequent contacts with the community. For this reason, to obtain the aid of the shaman is to have in one's favor the friendship and co-operation of the well-wishing spirits who can save the patient from death,
[763] because for the Guajiro, illness is caused by the action of pernicious spirits who want to cause harm and to avenge themselves.

755 The first necessary condition for the shaman to take charge of the cure is the gift to him of a piece of jewelry, an orna-
[431] ment of gold, generally a necklace, /the value of/ which should be in relation to the family status of the patient as well as the standing of the shaman. A second condition is the tacit submission to the shaman's demands and instructions.

The shaman, once he has decided to take charge of the cure of the patient, goes to his house and submits the sick man to the customary ritual. His practices, which last several

2: Pineda Giraldo SC13 Goajiro SC13

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[For information about shamans see category 116, pp. 9-23, 24-47, 54, 58-62, 77-78, 81, 84-85, 119, 127-128, 172]

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[Facing p. 113]

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CHAPTER 10

Conjuration of Spirits

How does one become a piache? Not of one's own volition. Those worthy are chosen by the spirits and receive their summons in a supernatural way. The wanuru spirit itself visits the chosen one, who may be a boy or a girl. Women are often sorcerers in Guajira. One of them gave us this account of how she received her summons.

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First she saw in front of her eyes a fall of shooting-stars, a rain of gold; then everything went dark and she sank to the ground. The first warning usually comes like that. Some days later she had violent attacks of shivering, cold sweats and vomiting. As she lay in her hammock more dead than alive, she heard a voice say: 'Eat manilla or you will die.' (Manilla is a kind of chewing tobacco which the Indians now obtain from white traders, but in default they have recourse to tobacco leaves. The spirit always orders the person to chew manilla.)

The woman's relations hastened to get some manilla and at the same time sent for a piache, who would have to decide whether the girl really had received a call or not.

Another woman told us that her first symptom was thoroughly prosaic: constipation. During the night she dreamed that the spirit came and led her by the hand to a big plantation. She awoke trembling, but then heard a voice ordering her to eat manilla. By chewing tobacco she recovered completely. Her mother, who was herself a piache, at once began instructing her in her profession.

After the summons comes the apprenticeship. The magical tobacco seems of great significance for the medicine man or woman to be, and even for the fully trained. The

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756 medicine men of South America make great use of tobacco, and at first it was mostly reserved for them. The chewing of 787 tobacco can cause an intoxication, through which a magi- 276 cian can put himself into a state of ecstasy. Of course, the nicotine has a violent effect on the children whom the spirit orders to eat manilla, and it is not easy to say whether the symptoms accompanying the summons are due to abuse of tobacco or to other infirmity. It is said that those called to be piache always fall ill. The Indians are fully convinced that dreams have significance for their actions. While asleep they receive instructions which they seldom dare fail to carry out. The youth or girl who is summoned receives his or her revelation either in dreams or while in a hysterical state. The Indians consider them to be possessed by the spirit, and the piache for whom they send then has to decide whether the spirit really has visited the boy or girl, or not. If it is not possible to fetch a piache immediately, they will sometimes have to make do with a sooth-sayer, an *outschi*, who though not a proper medicine man, at least can 'smoke tobacco', that is to say, can foretell future happenings, find strayed animals, etc. They are often well patronized. The outschi swings a firebrand in the air while puffing at a cigar—magical tobacco again!—and the trails of smoke tell him what he wishes to know. He can merely confirm that there has been a true revelation, that the spirit visited the young person and entered into him or her. A sooth-sayer can go no further than that, but that gives the parents the comforting assurance that the piache, who has to be summoned in any event, will not come in vain. The piache has no objection to a sooth-sayer making a diagnosis.

The attacks from which the candidate suffers both at his selection and when he becomes fully qualified, lead to a [766] trancelike state. It is characteristic that a dead piache may not be buried until after three days and nights, so that it is quite certain that he is dead and not just that his soul happens to be away. A cataleptic state and hallucinations are characteristic of future and practising medicine men alike.

There is no avoiding the call to be a piache once it has

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been confirmed by sooth-sayer and piache. The person selected must learn the profession and practise it. Otherwise, certain death awaits him, for the spirit will not suffer his decisions to be neglected. 756 787 276

Often parents cannot afford to send for a piache, for those who convey the request have to give him a necklace of gold beads. This may mean that the novice's family has to ask well-to-do relatives to pay the fee. When he arrives, the piache examines the candidate and stuffs some manilla into his or her mouth. When he sees that it is beginning to take effect, he intones a monotonous song. As soon as he stops, the novice must proclaim his desire to become a piache and have it granted. He is selected by the spirit, but he does not yet know anything. The apprenticeship then begins. [602]

The piache shuts himself into a suitable hut together with the novice, and there they must stay, hidden from the world, for a month or more. The apprentice is not supposed to be seen by anyone during this time. No one may go in and interrupt the seance. The piache sits on his stool of light wood shaped like an animal. He wears a head-dress made of wool and places a similar one on the novice's head. He then begins singing songs, swinging rattles and making all the gestures, movements and conjurations that he uses to call upon and move the spirits. His instruction continues day after day, sometimes by night as well. He has to keep to a certain diet. Roast maize in particular is usually prescribed. Now and again spirits appear and talk with the novice, encouraging him, not least by expounding how great are the advantages of being a piache, and how rich the presents he receives. 756 [352] [262]

One day the spirit announces that the first period of instruction is over and the novice ready for examination. This is an intermediary examination, for the instruction is not complete. So far it has only included spells and magical songs, and the novice has no knowledge of herbs and poisons. (Knowledge of medicinal herbs is common to all by family tradition.) The songs, gestures and spells have been repeated till the novice knows them all perfectly. [824]

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756 During this period of confinement the novice is always having to chew tobacco, and it is during periods of nicotine-
[776] intoxication that the spirits appear to him. After his first examination the novice is given a diadem and a rattle, *maraa*, as symbols of his new dignity.

The novice's family must now arrange a dance and sacri-
[535] fice sheep or goats. A chichamaya is performed during one or two days and nights. Those taking part are ceremoniously painted. The animals are slaughtered and offered to the spirits who partake of them during the night. After that the dancers can eat. No one, however, may touch the meat till
[782] it has lain, wrapped in leaves, at the spirits' disposition and thereafter been dedicated by the piache, who spits tobacco juice upon it and pronounces spells over it.

The apprenticeship, of course, is not over, and again the novice is shut away from the world. Now comes a period of instruction in the art of chewing tobacco, that is to say, how, where and when that is to be done and what are correct ways to summon spirits, cure illness, make rain, protect cattle, halt epidemics and much more that the medicine man may be called upon to do. The instructing piache transfers his spirit to the apprentice, and exhorts the former not to start by trying to cure adults, but to practise on children. The spirit also forbids erotic association.

After a few months the apprentice will be ready to qualify. Large quantities of maize beer are then prepared and invitations sent out.

756 While the guests are drinking and dancing the novice
787 sits, still isolated, practising. The spirit comes and orders him or her to send for a beast of certain colour and with specific markings, which is to be sacrificed to the spirit. When that has been done, and it must be done, the spirit demands some necklaces of gold beads—any number up to ten—which have to be hung up in the novice's hut. As soon as these have been collected with the help of relatives—often as a loan—the spirit pronounces himself satisfied and informs them that the novice's apprenticeship is over. He or
[833] she can now begin to practise. But, the spirit adds, there

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756 787 If cattle, these are tethered beside the hut where the seance is being held; if ornaments they are handed to the piache.

If the piache does not receive what he demands—or rather what the spirit demands—attacks compel him to stop treatment. If the patient recovers, the piache retains the gifts on behalf of the spirit; but if the patient dies, then he is not supposed to get anything. Sometimes, however, he apparently keeps his fee on various pretexts—threats that the spirit might be angry, etc.

The piache observes his patient closely during treatment. An experienced medicine man will perhaps see that the patient has scarcely any hope of recovery and will pronounce him doomed.

During these seances the spirits often speak with the piache about the life to come. They tell him that in another existence he will come to a land with many villages that he [775] has never seen before, in a countryside well watered by blue rivers—a glorious prospect from the Guajiro point of view. It seems that the spirits are here speaking of the piaches' special heaven. Ordinary Indians, perhaps, have to be content with a less well-watered paradise. If the patient recovers, the piache orders a chichamaya dance. The maize beer for this is prepared either by chewing or by adding raw sugar, [534] *panela*. Those taking part stream in as soon as the drum, the only instrument, begins to sound. Nobody is invited; people just come as they wish. In the houses of the well-to-do they will be regaled with beef, one or more cattle being slaughtered for this. All will be in their finery. The dance will last one day or more, as the piache orders. The piache then washes his patient, who must still keep indoors.

756 When a child falls ill, the parents will often consult some neighbour who dabbles in fortune-telling to find out what the cause is. It will be cheaper to let her try, than at once to call in a professional sooth-sayer or a piache. The old woman will often burn the child with a red-hot needle or arrow-head, which in certain abnormal mental states, perhaps could provide a beneficial shock. The woman will often

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accuse an animal of spreading the disease. A certain bird is 756
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756 787 that prevents his own from being shed—and after this a chichamaya dance is arranged.

781 787 It is not only through dreams that future events can be foretold. There are special sooth-sayers: we have already mentioned the outschi, who deal in prophecy without being piaches. Many real piaches also deal in prognostication, but that is not really their province. The Indians believe in the piache, more than in the ordinary sooth-sayer. 'The piache is always right', they say.

In divination the sooth-sayer also uses a firebrand that he swings through the air, or a lighted cigarette or, sometimes, a knife-edge along which he stares. Whatever the method, the sooth-sayer's spirit has to free itself and go roaming. Let us say that he is to track down a stolen cow. The freed spirit follows its path till it finds it and can say whither it has been taken. As I said, a piache will not treat a patient if he is sure that he is incurable. He often finds out about this by using a firebrand. If it goes out, there is no hope. Sooth-sayers most carefully study the different shapes assumed by the coals, which, to the initiated, are significant.

As with us, there are many amateurs, especially elder women, who try to foretell the future or discover what others are about. Suppose such a woman wants to know where her husband, who is on a journey, is and how he is [276] faring. She takes a cigar of the primitive kind they use there, lights it and pronounces an incantation, asking to be shown what she wishes to know. If the ash turns black, her husband has fallen seriously ill, if the red part splutters it means that he will get gold, that is money. Other signs will reveal that he has associated with some other woman. That can involve the husband in considerable trouble when he returns.

756 776 Medicine men have a number of guardian or assistant spirits who advise them, but who also require remuneration for their services. They also warn the medicine men against enemies. Every piache has seven or eight such spirits, each of which is invoked with a special song. The rain demon, Mareiwa, is called in song under the name Fumayule, while

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the demon of illness and death, Wanuru, is called Jirarai 756
Wanuru is the name of all the spirits of the dead which are 776
many, thus we are obviously dealing here with groups of spirits; and where Wanuru acts as guardian or assistant spirits, they no doubt represent the souls of dead medicine men.

One piache, known as a clever rain-maker, told us that 756
when he needed advice over rain-making, he used to go to 776
the burial place to talk with his dead brother's spirit, the 789
brother having been cleverer at it than he. When a piache has to make rain, he seats himself on his stool as for other functions, chews tobacco, shakes his maraca and rhythmically moves his torso and head. He then begins to sing in a high voice, calling upon the spirits and demanding that they bring rain, for people need it, if they are not to die of hunger. Now and again he emerges and dances round the huts, driving away the spirits that are preventing the rain from coming.

The Indians often first try to make rain without the 789
piache's help, by drumming at night or by firing guns and 821
arrows at the clouds. The drumming imitates thunder and can thus, according to the laws of magic, cause storms. The shooting drives away the spirits that are preventing the cloud from dispensing its rain. This is also what they do at eclipses of the sun, when all burst into tears and shoot at the sky to drive away the evil spirit that is preventing the sun from shining. A piache's own spirit does not interfere in his magic-making, for which he uses none but auxiliary spirits. It is not till after his death that a piache's spirit can [775] become active and help some other piache.

The piache has to submit to certain restrictions on diet 756
and love-life. He or she must never have extra-marital 834
intercourse and even marital intercourse must be restricted. A female piache must never spend the night with her husband, but merely pay him fleeting visits that should be as short as possible; she must never allow herself to be caressed by him, and must lie quite still and indifferent during [833] coition. If this is not done, her guardian spirit will be jealous and angry, and may cause trouble. And, preferably, she 756 842

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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756 842 ought not to have children. The spirits can show her various magical tricks to avoid this, but if she should become pregnant, she can count on the spirit's help in labour. Not even the male piache is allowed to partake of [831] love more than fleetingly, almost casually. There must be no real affection involved.

756 [841] A woman piache cannot practice during menstruation. No piache may eat meat from animals he has received in payment for his services. These, like other gifts, he does not enjoy, but he can give them to his sons. Nor is he allowed to eat meat from animals sacrificed at funerals or such feasts. While invoking or conjuring spirits he should restrict his diet to maize gruel.

A piache can cure all, but not himself. Sometimes, perhaps, a sympathetic spirit may give him a little advice, which will always help; but if he falls seriously ill, he summons a [766 768] colleague, who performs the usual sorcery. When a piache dies, his rattle, diadem and other attributes are chopped up and buried in some remote and secret place. The dead [775] piache's soul roams like those of all mortals and often clings to the burial place, but it is never alone, being always in company with its guardian spirit. Both can later help a new piache.

The medicine man is thus called to his profession by revelation and no attention is paid to sex, social position or age. Women have been magicians in Guajira from of old, as is shown by their myths. The piache belongs to two worlds: those of man and of the spirits. He has not chosen to belong to them and must continue in both. He is the intermediary between these two worlds, but nowadays his influence is dwindling. As civilization penetrates the peninsula, the part he plays is becoming less and less important.

756 173 The first really great piache was Umaralá, of whom the Indians relate the following:

In the olden days there were plenty of piaches who took big fees, but did little. Umaralá made his cures with secret remedies and with songs accompanied on his maraca rattle. He lost his mother early, but was adopted as her own by his maternal aunt, who also considered all her possessions his.

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She was a piache and she loved him dearly. He lived with her in the Jarará district, and he used to go with her when her profession took her on journeys, when he listened attentively to her incantations and songs. 756 173

One day Umaralá became very ill, and not only he. An epidemic spread all over Guajira, and raged worst in the Jarará Hills. He grew better at first under his aunt's cure, but then he had a relapse and grew worse and worse. He lost the power of speech, sometimes consciousness as well, and had convulsions, while his aunt perseveringly performed her magic in the hope of preventing his death. Wondering, he listened to the conversations his aunt had with a spirit during the incantations. The spirit answered her appeals with reproaches, and it was no less a spirit than Jirarai. Distinctly the lad heard him say:

'Either you or your boy shall die.'

The aunt realized that the situation was critical and now—unfortunately not before—she called upon Jumajule, one of the good spirits who used to help her. Unhappily Jumajule could do nothing. He was not able to drive the first spirit she had invoked from her presence. That left the aunt no choice but to deliver herself to Jirarai in order to save her dear foster-son. She laid her maraca on the boy's chest and fell down, dead.

Umaralá rose at once and, weeping, took her in his arms. With him wept the only slave to have survived the epidemic. Together they then wrapped the body in an ox-hide and took it to one of the clan's burial places, where their near relatives lay. Disillusioned and depressed by his dear aunt's death and the ravages of the epidemic among his people, Umaralá withdrew from the world, dwelling in a cabin near where his aunt lay buried and living on what wild roots and fruits he could gather. Occasionally he visited his faithful slave, whose services he had not required since his aunt's death. Each evening he went to the burial place and lit a votive fire on his aunt's grave. One evening the old woman appeared to him, looking just as she had when alive, and said to him:

'Go back to Jarará, fetch my maraca and my head-dress,

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756 173 visit the sick and treat them as I did. Only thus will you find the right way. And you must change your name. Hereafter you shall be called Umaralá.' (Before that he had been called Paurala.)

Umaralá obeyed her command. He began invoking the spirits and healing the sick and soon was renowned all over Guajira for his prowess. Once the mother of a rich family fell sick. They consulted several piaches, none of whom could cure her. In the end they decided to visit Umaralá in the Jarará Hills. Two days and two nights the emissaries had to travel till they came to the famous piache's house. There they found an old man busy spinning yarn of agave fibres. He asked them what they sought, and they replied that they had been sent to find the piache Umaralá and to ask him to look at a woman who had been very ill for a long time.

'We are to give him a necklace of gold beads so that he will not refuse to come and a splendid riding mule for the journey.'

'I am Umaralá,' the old man said, 'and I do not need a riding-mule, nor will I accept your necklace until I have seen and cured the sick woman. Do you ride on, I shall follow immediately. As soon as you get back home, tell them from me that everyone must leave the house where the sick woman lies and that she must be alone all night.'

The messengers returned with this message. The woman was just as ill as ever. Umaralá's instructions were carried out and the patient left by herself. At midnight the sound of horse's hooves was heard. Someone galloped up to the ill woman's house and then came the sound of singing and the rattle of a maraca. Towards morning the sound of horse's hooves was heard again. It grew fainter and fainter. The next day the woman was quite recovered and she lived on for many years.

One morning when the slave came to his master's hut he found him ready to ride off on a splendid mule. He was carefully dressed and had his maraca hanging at his saddle. The slave asked where he was going and his master replied

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that he was waiting for two men with whom he was going on a long journey. One of these was from Macuira and the other from Parashi. At that instant two horsemen appeared. Umaralá took farewell of his slave and told him that they would not meet again in this world, only in the next, and he enjoined the slave to tell no one of what he had seen or should see, otherwise he would die. The slave was left alone in the hut, sorrowful and wondering. He saw the riders disappear in the direction of the burial place that Umaralá so often visited. The slave then followed. He heard the death-lament, but saw no one. That was Umaralá bewailing his aunt with his friends. The slave returned home and soon became very ill. He told what he had heard and seen and died immediately afterwards.

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The slave had noticed that the man from Parashi who had accompanied Umaralá, was dressed in deerskin. This man lived in a little hut and had the power to transform himself into a deer. Several Indians had seen and recognized him. He used to make and sell hammocks and other articles made of bast.

The man from Macuira who had been with Umaralá devoted himself to curing diseases. He used herbs and roots for some and cured others by burning the patient with a red-hot iron point. He was also a sooth-sayer and could make rain. His name was Jururiana.

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Once there was a dreadful drought that made many people leave Macuira and go to the savannas. Famine came to the hills. Now people knew that Jururiana could make rain and when he came to a place called Chamaro they flocked round him. In the end, in order to compel him to make rain, they tied him to a post in the sun and told him that they would not loose him until he had brought rain. This he did. After two hours, there was a big shower. The chief Juanito Epiayú was a very good friend of Jururiana and often summoned him when there was a drought, arranging dancing with much drinking and races. Jururiana then made rain.

This rain-maker vanished, none could say how. Another pretended to be Jururiana rejuvenated, but the chief sent for

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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him and found that he could not make rain at all, but was an impostor, so he was driven away with blows and was glad to escape with his life.

Even in the days when the reputation of the piache stood high, the Guajiro would not infrequently seek the help of the famous medicine men of Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, the so-called *mamds*, in whom many Creoles believed. A Guajiro who could manage to do so would take a sick person there or an article of clothing or some ornament that the invalid had worn. The medicine men of the mountain Indians would use this to diagnose the disease, and the messenger would return with a herbal medicine. The health-bringing plants were broken up and preserved in spirits. People liked to acquire such medicine especially before a child was born; it was then poured into the infant's bath water and the mother drank a gulp of it. The effect of it depended on the magical power of the plants.

The Guajiro themselves used certain plants as medicine. Sometimes these really were effective, but often it was just a question of sorcery. A plant with much milky sap, for example, was laid on a mother's breast if her milk failed. The powers possessed by the mountain Indians of Sierra Nevada were attributed to the circumstance that they possessed the secret of invoking specially powerful spirits, whose essence also permeated the herbal medicines people got from them. The effect of the herbs thus came from the spirits residing in them. Intoxicating drinks acted through the spirits liberated in the process of fermentation; that was a common belief among the Indians.

The Guajiro believed in omens and portents. Various animals foretold misfortune or death. A wild cat wailing round the house at night, a bat that persisted in following one through the darkness, in certain circumstances also a snake beside the house, all portended trouble or sorrow. The Indians paid special attention to the behaviour of a number of birds and interpreted this as indicating the approach of visitors, the imminence of something unpleasant, etc. When they thought they had observed such a

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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726 on equal terms. He then approached the enemy from the left while making quick movements, jumps, and turns, with his legs apart and his knees bent. More recently, according to Ernst (1887 c), war is not declared, attempts being made to take the enemy by surprise.

[797] Wars last indefinitely, sometimes being broken by a peace brought about by an influential "civilizado" or the Capuchin monks, the latter sometimes paying the retribution demanded out of their own pockets.

579 Some tribes, such as the *Cosina* of Serranía Cosina (actually a conglomeration of outcastes rather than a sib), make their living almost entirely by robbery and pillage, destroying houses, stealing cattle, and killing or enslaving their enemies.

LIFE CYCLE

843 **Birth and childhood.**—During pregnancy a woman continues to do her heavy work up to the very hour of delivery. At childbirth, the shaman

844 pronounces various spells over the patient and applies poultices made of

[756] dried flowers, roots, etc. A large, heavy stone placed over the womb and vigorous massaging bring about the birth. If the placenta is not soon expelled, the woman drinks a medicine concocted by the medicine man. As soon as the child is safely delivered the father serves rum and chicha

[484] to all his relatives. If the pains of childbirth appear when the sib is on the march, the woman mounts and rides ahead so that when the sib catches up the event is practically over. The husband cuts the cord with his machete and cauterizes its ends with a glowing ember. The woman

[854] then continues on the march with the child in a sling on her back. When the permanent camp is reached she washes herself and the child.

851 Baptism is a Christian ceremony which the *Goajiro* have adopted, and

551 most of the Indians are called by Spanish names, as their real names may

177 not be mentioned. Teknonymy is practiced; a parent is addressed by its child's name plus a prefix, nushi or sushi for the father, ni or si for the mother. Thus, a father may be called Nushijuan after a son or Sushijuana after a daughter.

857 At 6 or 7, girls learn to grind salt, pick cotton, and tend the smaller

868 animals; the boys imitate their fathers.

855 Parents are said to show little affection for their children, sometimes

[435] selling them at Sinamaica. They receive $10 or $15 for a child of 8 or 9 years. The purchaser becomes the child's guardian, teaches him the Catholic faith, and keeps him until he is 17 years old. These children

[736 rarely return home. Abandoned children are taken to the San Antonio

797] orphanage, where the girls continue to wear their *Goajiro* dress, but the boys are put into jackets and pants.

881 **Girls' puberty.**—At her first menstruation a girl is isolated in a small dark hut and stripped of all her ornaments. She lies in a hammock, sometimes hoisted near the roof. For the first 2 days she drinks no

The *Goajiro* believe that after death the deceased in ethereal form 775
wander about the country, their favorite meeting place being in the vicinity of Bahía Honda in the extreme north of the peninsula. There is some evidence that the Indians look forward to a happier existence after death. From this belief in the afterlife stems the practice of mutilating the body of a slain enemy, for once his body is broken and scattered it is not possible to reassemble his soul, and the slayer is protected from a vengeance-seeking spirit.

The dead are highly respected or feared; consequently, it is a serious 769 551
offense to mention a dead person by name.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Games.—The *Goajiro* have various athletic sports, such as horse racing, 526
wrestling, and archery. Contestants shoot at a skin ball or a fruit tossed into the air or at targets; they are very accurate up to 125 yards. Tournaments are held in which the contestants pair off, the victor of each round winning an arrow and continuing to compete.

Feasts and dances.—The *Goajiro* are fond of feasts and hold them 574
whenever opportunity offers—at funerals, when they have received their 756
pay for loading salt, at baptisms, or when a person completes his training as a medicine man. Weston (1937) describes a festival held on the last-mentioned occasion. For 2 days the big drum was sounded by relays of players, spreading the news. The dance, practiced beforehand, took place in a circle some 25 feet (7.5 m.) in diameter around which some 200 Indians gathered. A man, nude except for his waist cloth and head band 282
with ornamental plume, with his face painted red in a crisscross pattern, 535
danced backward from a girl dressed in a voluminous robe and wearing a large red handkerchief on her head. The girl attempted to overtake and head off the man, who retreated before her in a circle with a peculiar double step, almost a hop and a skip. As one pair tired another took its place, the dance continuing indefinitely.

Musical instruments.—*Goajiro* musical instruments are few. A 534
calabash filled with stones or peas serves as a rattle for dance accompaniment. The clarinet is about 2 feet (0.6 m.) long, made of telescoped (?) sections of reed with a bell consisting of calabash and a vibrating reed in the mouthpiece. It is side blown. The large drum is carved from a hollow section of tree, 15 inches (38 cm.) in diameter and 24 inches (60 cm.) long, and has both ends covered with sheepskin. It is slung from the rafters, a branch, or from the player's neck. Singing among the *Goajiro* is virtually nonexistent.

Narcotics and stimulants.—To make chicha beer, maize may be mas- 273
ticated by the women and spat into a large earthenware bowl, with water and crude sugar added. After 3 days it is strained and drunk. By another

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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273 method the maize is finely pulverized by hammering on a flat stone, instead of being masticated. Beer is drunk in large quantities, as is rum received by trade.

276 Both sexes commonly smoke long narrow cigarettes, which the women make of bundles of 8 or 10 leaves. Formerly, at least in the western portion of the country, the *Goajiro* chewed coca (hayo) with lime, which stained their teeth black. Coca is still grown, but there is no mention of this custom in recent times.

RELIGION

776 *Goajiro* religion is imperfectly known. Mareigua (Maleiwa) seems to have been the Creator and Culture Hero. He caused the first *Goajiro* to emerge from the ground and taught the tribe how to produce fire with a drill. He saved them during the flood by raising the Cerro Pororo where they had taken refuge and by driving the jaguars away. As a Supreme Being he shows some moral preoccupation, in the past having punished those who lived in incest. He sends rain and all the good things which the *Goajiro* expect from nature (Hernández de Alba, 1936, p. 44).

Yoluha (Yorja) has been thought to signify the god of thunder, lightning, and drought, but the term probably does not designate a single deity but bad spirits or ghosts in general. These are feared at night when
776 the sky is clouded; to prevent their inroads the *Goajiro* stretch a thin cord
789 between two poles reaching above the roof. They attach to this cord, at regular intervals, fishhooks which serve to entangle the Yoluha and make their stay unpleasant. Sometimes when sounds coming from the bush are thought to have been made by spirits, the Indians light embers and throw stones at them.

787 The *Goajiro* give considerable importance to dreams. A dream may
438 cause the desertion of a camp, a war, or a consultation with a shaman. The *Goajiro* carry charms which they buy from shamans.

SHAMANISM

756 *Goajiro* shamans (piache) are of both sexes. Aside from their long hair shamans differ little in external appearance from ordinary persons, but their power is reputed to be considerable and people avoid offending them. They are said to cause the heart of a person to stop beating unless they are paid enough.

A shaman keeps his cures secret and divulges them only to a successor, who undergoes a long period of training and who pays his instructor a certain number of cattle. When the training is complete, there is a public initiation with dancing and drinking, at which the novice is seized by fits as demonstration of his new power. The instructor chants spells

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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over the novice as he (or she) lies in the hammock twisting and groaning 756
as his spirit takes possession of him, imparting knowledge and power.

In attempting to cure, a shaman often causes greater injuries to the 755
patient; permanent blindness may result from his effort to cure eye injuries with caustic powders or to remove foreign substances with horsehairs or cactus spines. Tuberculosis is treated by inducing expectoration and prescribing a meaty diet. Dysentery is cured with herbal medicines. Well-chewed tobacco or tobacco-laden spittle rubbed over a painful area is a common method of therapy. If the medicine man effects a cure, which he frequently does, he is rewarded with gifts of cattle, rum, etc. No attempt is made to treat smallpox, the victim often being abandoned to his fate.

Some practitioners who are not exactly shamans divine by burning 791
a bundle at the end of a stick or by examining the bottom of a bottle, 787
i.e., by crystal gazing (Hernández de Alba, 1936, p. 42).

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SV8 177 Furthermore, doing away with marriage by payment destroys with it the family backing which, in the economic sense, means as much to the woman, the man, and the children as to the maternal relatives through the system of payments, repayments, and compensations that are consequent on it. Above all, the woman loses the social and economic backing of her group, and the man the guarantee of her fidelity.

The woman who has migrated and has taken to this way of life while outside her native land, or who has accepted it in her own homeland, usually will not return to the country, or if she does it is only to live there while she spends the money she has earned, to return later and resume her trade. Today prostitution is a menace to all La Guajira. Young Indians who have not been able to obtain a wife or simply anyone who wants sexual satisfaction will find it with a Guajiro woman by means of a casual payment, [164] and with prostitution has come a new scourge for the Guajiro: venereal diseases, brought and spread by those who have acquired it in their relations with the civilizados. Ignorance on the part of the prostitute of hygienic precepts which would free her from these ills has resulted in the disease increasing dangerously. [757] Moreover, there exists in the peninsula no clinic where the native can go for treatment, and there is only one doctor and a poorly equipped hospital in Uribia. Hence, prostitution has aided, and still aids, not only social bankruptcy by the wreck of the institution of the family but also physical degeneration by the unrestricted spreading of venereal diseases among the youth of the country.

583 Outfit and dowry of the woman. When a Guajiro woman is bought the family gives her the inheritance, in livestock, which is hers by right. These gifts go to her in accordance with her social standing and with the amount of the marriage payment, because this establishes the prestige of the maternal relatives. They know that a man who has paid dearly for his wife expects that she has not cost so much just for the sake of the marital satisfactions she may give him, or for her known high social status, but that in her price there will be included an inheritance handed over to the bride for life and at this time. He could not

[52 cont.]

753 lacking this support, certain practices of a magic character
755 which place him — always respecting due proportions — on a
*756 plane of equality with the spirit or at least give him the possibility of warding off its harmful effects from him or his fellows. In the methods of healing, as will be seen as we progress in this chapter, the individual makes use, either directly or indirectly through an intermediary — the medicine man in this case, of the benevolent powers of the instrument causing the sickness, or else those of another spirit — under whatsoever materialization — as strong or stronger than the original cause of the sickness, in order to banish the illness.

755 The value of the Guajiro shaman, or medicine man, as
*756 a curer, as we were able to observe in Chapter II, lies in the superiority conceded to him through his constant communication with the world of the spirits, which places him, so to speak, on a plane of equality with them. Nevertheless, in the aspect of Guajiro medicine four different factors intervene, which we can define in general as follows:

1) Medicine practiced directly by the shaman through his communication with benevolent spirits.

2) Medicine by divination, dependent or independent of the shaman, which creates another social group, not so clearly defined: that of the diviner.

3) Medicine which might be called household, independent
● 757 of the shaman and of the diviner, which is applied through pragmatic knowledge of the curative value of certain plants, or through the observation of particular customs related to taboo, which as we shall see later, are of a preventative type.

174 4) Medicine practiced by foreigners. This last factor must have its origins in ethnographic history, and it appears to us
648 quite difficult to clarify. It deals with the medical intervention
*756 of curers from the [53] Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, whom the Guajiro consult in certain cases. These inhabitants of the Sierra belong to native groups included by Professor Rivet in the large Chibcha linguistic family (38). Our supposition of contacts between

38. Rivet, Paul. Conferencias dictadas en el Instituto Etnológico Nacional

[58 cont.]

755 expert in these sicknesses and who devote themselves to applying the remedies and divining the causes of such illnesses indicate by what bird the fruit which the mother ate was contaminated. Once the origin of the sickness has been determined, they proceed to carry out the method of cure which entails hunting and capturing the bird responsible, which, once killed, is roasted, and the meat fed to the child. A sancocho [stew] is also prepared, using portions of the bird, a good part of which is fed to the child. With this medicine the infant should be quickly cured. If this does not effect a cure, the divination has been incorrectly made, and it was not that kind of bird that pecked at the fruit eaten by the mother during her pregnancy. The whole process must therefore be done over again to discover with absolute certainty what animal caused the child's sickness.

843 If a pregnant woman should eat the meat of a hen that has
753 been killed by a sparrow hawk, the child will be born sickly, his excretions will be green, and his crying will be like the cry of a hawk. When they do not know the origin of the sickness, they
755 apply home remedies or those of any local curer [curandero]. If
[757] these do not bring about the desired effect, then they must turn to divination. The diviner will decide that the mother ate the flesh of a chicken that had been killed by a sparrow hawk. The curing method will follow a similar process to that previously noted: a hawk is found and killed; a leg of the creature is taken, and the bone is well cleaned and allowed to dry. When it is sufficiently dry it is boiled, and the child's body bathed with the resulting infusion.

262 The meat of such a hen — contaminated by the hawk
825 which had eaten some of it — is also harmful to children in
842 general, boys and girls, and also adults. Every time it is eaten
880 it causes sterility. For this reason the magic taboo on this meat is lifted only for the old and the very aged who have already lost their procreative powers and in consequence have nothing to fear in this respect.

756 Household medicine. This system of medicine, which, as we have said, is independent of shamans and diviners, is based above all on the practice of certain magic practices directly

[67 cont.]

826 he will die consumed by flames. Likewise, if a lock of human
754 hair is buried with a small quantity of dog excrement, the person who carries out this act of witchcraft can cause any harm he wishes to the owner of the hair.

648 Medicine practiced by foreigners. To ensure that his child
757 will be sound and fit and show greater resistance to sickness, the Guajiro father makes use of the medicine of the Arhuaco, who like the other natives we know connect this art directly with magic. It is well to take note, before pursuing this description, that the Arhuaco are held to be excellent doctors by all their neighbors, not only by the Indians but also by mestizos and mulattos, and even by Whites. The fame of these curers is such that sick people from the neighboring cities of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta and even from Maracaibo have themselves carried to them to be cured of their illnesses, or, as a last resort, send them some of their personal articles of underclothing by which the Arhuaco curer determines the sickness from which the individual is suffering and sends the necessary medicines.

The Guajiro have not escaped this influence. Their geographical nearness facilitates communication with the Arhuaco, but we do not know whether this interchange of relations was already established before the Conquest or if it is due to the external influence of the colonists who have settled on the slopes of the Sierra or in regions close to them, who in their turn have transmitted the legend of the fame of the Arhuaco as doctors to the Indians of La Guajira.

757 The fact is that generally, shortly before the birth of a
751 child or when some opportunity presents itself, the father goes
278 to the Arhuaco, and from one of them who knows the preventa-
843 tive or curative value of plants he obtains several of these in order to doctor his child or prevent its sicknesses. Among these herbs are the vira-vira, quina dulce ["sweet quina], the frailejón, and a number of others. These herbs are shredded and put into a bottle containing rum and to this mixture is added two kinds of drops, also of plant juices, which have been carefully [68] "whispered" or "muttered" over by the Arhuaco doctor. These drops, in addition to the plants to which we have previously

[68 cont.]

757 referred, are what contain the curative properties because of their
751 magic force. These medicines are applied in the following
278 manner: The infusion of herbs with rum and the drops "whis-
843 pered over" are added to previously boiled water, and the child is bathed at birth with this mixture. When the mother feels the pains of approaching childbirth, she also takes a glass of this mixture and repeats this a few moments after the child is born, which helps her to get rid of the placenta.

* * *

75 Thus far the notes that we have concerning the magico-preventative or curative medical methods of the Indians of La Guajira [sic]. These show first, how medicine, like birth, sickness, and death, is subject to a series of cultural patterns, the result of the individual's relations, magic or spiritualistic (so far as the spirit of the dead is concerned), with his environ-
774 ment. The latter are to be understood in their widest meaning, since as Doctor W. Born says:

> "Primitive man's intellectual world is not really limited to sorcery since there are too many enigmas facing young humanity such as birth and death, dreams and sickness. To explain these, primitive man appeals to various supernatural forces. From experiences in the world of dreams, he derived the belief in a soul as a clear explanation of the consciousness of "ego," which is opposed to the destiny of death. The power of the soul to free itself from its body (as dreams seemed to indicate) accepted, it was natural that he should accept the possibility of the existence of independent and active souls in nature. This state renders feasible not only a polydemonism but also the notion of a material soul. Polydemonism admits that a demon, a sort of soul, lives in everything in nature, while the substance of the soul is an invisible energy which emanates from objects. As the substance

[69 cont.]

of self-defense. If we take into account the high infant mortality among the Guajiro population, which reaches a very high rate (32.97%) according to the data collected by the investigators Virginia de Pineda Giraldo and María Rosa de Recasens, whose findings were published in the Boletín de Anqueología (47), we

47. Pineda Giraldo Roberto. "Informe preliminar sobre aspectos sociales y económicos de la Guajira [Preliminary Report on Social and Economic Aspects of La Guajira]."

can even better explain the series of prohibitions, of patterns established to protect the future mothers and unborn children from the malevolent influence of the spirits, whether of humans, animals, etc.

On the other hand, we can deduce from this study the following points: 1) Medicine practiced by shamans, intermediaries between the two worlds, is carried out almost exclusively on adults, for whom they prescribe the curative methods they deem essential in accord with the patient's illness. 2) On the other hand, curing by [70] divination, which we have called household curing, using a common term, has its field of action among newborn babies and mothers-to-be. 3) In this last type we encounter an extremely interesting fact, the ambivalence of certain animals, represented by their double capacity to cause illness and at the same time to cure it. 4) In the application of household preventative medicine, magic called sympathetic is frequently practiced. 5) In one of the accounts we find the occurrence of the magic action of a plant. This deals with the plant used to make the mammary glands secrete their milk after a mother had lost it and the child still requires to be breast fed. As the plant is able to produce milk, the mother by contact with it will inevitably be able to do the same, according to native belief. This aspect has been fully treated by Castiglione in one of the chapters of his work Encantamiento y Magia [Enchantment and Magic]. We wish to quote only a few paragraphs which will better clarify

[70 cont.]

278 the magico-curative value of the plant under discussion: "Some-
757 times," says Castiglione, "as has been said, this popularity"
(that of medicinal plants) "is derived from real therapeutic qualities as, for example, the use of quina roots, which is prescribed by scientific medicine; its power to cure intermittent fevers was well known among the peoples of pre-Columbian America. In
278 many other cases the virtues of these plants depend on their ap-
755 pearance, on the similarity of their roots, their flowers, or their fruit to certain characteristics of sicknesses or to some organ of the body." (48) Somewhat earlier, in referring to this second

48. Castiglioni, Op. cit., VI, 82.

category of plants, he tells us: "The second category embraces innumerable substances which by themselves, speaking objectively, cannot in any way have any effect, either favorable or unfavorable, but whose value stems exclusively and directly from the ideas they provoke in the minds of the people concerned." (49).

49. Castiglioni, Op. cit., VI, 81.

The influence of magic in medicine is borne out, finally, by the custom of visiting the Arhuaco doctors, in whom they see powerful magicians who possess the secret of praying to a powerful spirit to impregnate their remedies with its essence. It is this aspect which attracts the Guajiro, not the plants in themselves but the spirit, the demon if we may call it so, that is present in the drops which have been prayed over by the Arhuaco curer.

[71] V

Magic and Funerals

811 With the Guajiro Indians, as with the majority of primitive peoples, the complex ceremonial relating to death accounts for a great part of their activities, their manner of acting, thinking, and

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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him and found that he could not make rain at all, but was an impostor, so he was driven away with blows and was glad to escape with his life.

Even in the days when the reputation of the piache stood high, the Guajiro would not infrequently seek the help of the famous medicine men of Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, the so-called *mamds*, in whom many Creoles believed. A Guajiro who could manage to do so would take a sick person there or an article of clothing or some ornament that the invalid had worn. The medicine men of the mountain Indians would use this to diagnose the disease, and the messenger would return with a herbal medicine. The health-bringing plants were broken up and preserved in spirits. People liked to acquire such medicine especially before a child was born; it was then poured into the infant's bath water and the mother drank a gulp of it. The effect of it depended on the magical power of the plants.

The Guajiro themselves used certain plants as medicine. Sometimes these really were effective, but often it was just a question of sorcery. A plant with much milky sap, for example, was laid on a mother's breast if her milk failed. The powers possessed by the mountain Indians of Sierra Nevada were attributed to the circumstance that they possessed the secret of invoking specially powerful spirits, whose essence also permeated the herbal medicines people got from them. The effect of the herbs thus came from the spirits residing in them. Intoxicating drinks acted through the spirits liberated in the process of fermentation; that was a common belief among the Indians.

The Guajiro believed in omens and portents. Various animals foretold misfortune or death. A wild cat wailing round the house at night, a bat that persisted in following one through the darkness, in certain circumstances also a snake beside the house, all portended trouble or sorrow. The Indians paid special attention to the behaviour of a number of birds and interpreted this as indicating the approach of visitors, the imminence of something unpleasant, etc. When they thought they had observed such a

[20 cont.]

755 wanurú spirits of the dead, who have arrows similar to those used
[753] by the Indians for hunting, which are shot at individuals to cause
them sickness and pain.) The chant of the shaman is suspended
only while he is sucking the affected parts of the sick person's
body; then he immediately continues it again and returns to the
spitting, the rubbing, and the sucking of the painful areas. The
755 sick person should be confined to his home, and furthermore his
758 bed should be enclosed by curtains in the manner of a second
room within the main one. None may enter this place without
the express consent of the shaman. However, the witch sometimes permits the presence of a relative of the sick person, generally the sister or the wife, who can act as nurse, especially during the moments when the shaman is resting. When he renews his curative acts, they must withdraw again.

755 The songs which the shaman intones tell how his spirit is
753 searching for the soul of the sick man which the spirit of sick-
[533] ness and death has carried away to unknown regions which are
known only to it and to the spirit of the shaman. Often the
sick person's spirit does not let itself be caught by the shaman,
or it can happen that his soul is imprisoned, held by act and
wish of the wanurú, which can cause the shaman a great deal of
work. When through the intervention of his protector spirit he
succeeds in recovering the spirit of the patient, he must pay the
755 wanurú that held it prisoner a ransom for its liberation. This
762 spirit will then ask through the mouth of the shaman for whatever
gifts it may fancy. The shaman on his part transmits the oppressing spirit's demands to the sick man's relatives. These demands take the form of requests for animals — cattle, goats, sheep, etc., — of a certain color and special markings; ornaments of certain sizes and shapes; cloth, food and, at times, things very difficult to find. The sick man's relatives hurry to look everywhere for the requested items, and once found they present them to the shaman and place them, if they are animals, near him where he is "shamanizing." Other objects, such as
*756 necklaces, cloth, etc., are placed in his hands. If the orders
755 are not immediately complied with and in accordance with the
slightest detail, the shaman suffers very severe fits and attacks
and has to withdraw from assisting the patient. This is because,

[59 cont.]

843 A pregnant woman should never be present at or watch a
845 burial, for if she does so, she will have a difficult childbirth: the infant's arrival will be delayed in a manner both painful and difficult for the mother.

755 Anyone who may have touched the corpse of a person
●758 whose death has not been natural — who has been murdered,
764 for example — is prohibited from approaching the side of one who is sick, because this individual will die because of his presence. This prohibition is also extended to those who have directly assisted in the exhumation of human remains. Furthermore, both of these persons are strictly forbidden to come near
[753] children [60] or places where they may be, because their presence, contaminated by the nature of the dead, will cause the children to fall ill.

843 Serpents also have magic influence on pregnant women.
825 In this case it is not an influence destined to injure the unborn child but is directed against the mother herself, who feels in various ways in her own flesh the malignant action of the reptile. For instance, if a woman during her term of pregnancy sees a hunting snake [culebra cazadora] and remains looking at it for some time, her child will be born stupid. The explanation that the Indians give for this very generally accepted belief is that as this snake gives the impression of being stupid, because it does not attack people as other snakes do and does them no harm but confines itself to hunting young birds for food, it transmits this quality to the infant. A mother who encounters such a reptile should pretend not to have seen it and automatically look elsewhere.

If during this same period the mother-to-be should see
825 any kind of snake (other than a hunting snake) she will suffer a
843 miscarriage or some kind of painful mishap related to the de-
845 livery. To avoid these possible ills, the woman should try to step over the snake. If in spite of this difficulties in childbirth occur, then they resort to a curing method which consists in finding a similar snake, killing it, opening it up carefully, and localizing in the interior of its intestines the water that it has drunk, collecting this and taking it to the sick woman, so that after she has drunk it, her labor will be hastened and will then occur without any serious complications.

755 [22 cont.]
796 of the patient or of his family — then those attending are presented with a good portion of meat.

*756 Shamanistic treatment of animals. When pestilence
231 breaks out among a Guajiro Indian's animals, he has no other known recourse to repel it than to seek the services of a shaman.
755 As he already knows in a way the accustomed ceremonial in such cases, he prepares days beforehand a sufficient quantity of corn chicha, which is used in the chicha-maya dances, and he invites a large group of women to come to the dance. He then calls in the shaman, who, once arrived on the scene, has all the animals collected and enclosed in a large corral. While this operation is being carried out, the shaman begins to prepare himself for the ceremony, inviting his protector spirit to cast out the pestilence, and dressing himself (or better said, undressing himself) in a neighboring hut as is customary for the ceremony of the cure of human beings, keeping on his loincloth if he is a man and her dress if a woman. He then places a crown of wool on his head and readies the maraca, which he keeps in his hand during the entire event. Following this, he enters the place where the animals are, goes in among them, and turns himself around in circles about them, continually shaking the maraca and spitting on their bodies the juice from the manilla he is continually chewing. During all this time, he intones his ritual invocatory chants, [23] which are different from those used for the cure of humans, and he never stops shaking the maraca. This operation generally lasts for several days and is only suspended for those moments when the shaman rests. When he considers that the evil spirits which have caused the pestilence have been successfully driven off, he suspends his activities and orders for the fiesta to begin, which is started by the sacrifice of an animal, the distribution of chicha to those present, and the dance. The animals are driven to the fields while numerous gunshots are
[77] fired (in older times arrows were shot off). These are intended
[784] to complete the work of the shaman in driving off the evil spirits of the disease.

*756 Shamans' dreams. When a shaman dreams of a long trip
787 through unknown territory, it is an evident sign that he is due to
[761] die. When the dream is over, he attempts through "shamanizing"

[48 cont.]

682 murderer's family after the crime were extremely cruel, as was to be expected given the Guajiro social organization. Their homes were burned down, their sources of water supply demol-
[567] ished, three men and four women were killed, and their children enslaved.

782 The interesting part of the subject we are now dealing with
751 lies in the sacrifice of animals. These apparently serve as
761 substitutes for the individuals whose sentence has been revealed in a dream. They take their place and are sacrificed in their stead. As a death has taken place, the evil spirit which had enslaved the future criminal in order to carry out its determination to harm him is now mollified by this act of propitiation. Moreover, as the animal (the black male goat in this case) shares the qualities of its owner by reason of such ownership, a part of the personality of the person sentenced to be punished in the dream is also sacrificed. The individual thus suffers two processes, death in part through the sacrifice of the animal and participation in the sacrifice by bathing in its blood.

171 Possible vestiges of this native belief still persist in
761 Colombian folklore in some parts of the departments of Antioquia,
825 Boyacá, Nariño, and Santander. There the people hold the be-
538 lief that when a domestic animal dies, especially if it is an animal that has been much loved by the people of the house, it is a sign that some member of the household had been about to die. The sentence of death which lay on that person, according to the explanation given in all cases, was transferred to the animal by a special concession from God, [49] thus avoiding a greater calamity to the family. In Nariño this belief, according to information from the Licentiate Chaves, appears in popular oral literature. There is in reality a story which tells of a recently married couple who felt or knew (we cannot say how) that they would die very shortly. To avoid this, the wife dedicated herself to breeding cuyes (curíes) [conejillo de Indias, a mammal of the order of rodents], which one by one died off; then she hastened to breed chickens, which also successively died; she then devoted herself to dogs, which also died. With the successive deaths of the animals, they were able to elude their own fate and lived happily together for a long time, free

171 [49 cont.]
538 from the menace of death that had weighed on them, and later
761 they were able to raise their domestic animals with greater
825 success than up to then.

000 Propitiation of the shaman's protector spirit. The sacrifice of animals as propitiation or thanksgiving offering to the spirit or spirits that have taken over the protection of the shaman is fully explained in the previous chapter, for which reason we abstain from making further reference to it.

782 Conclusions. We have the following facts regarding the
174 place of such sacrifices within Guajiro social organization: (a) Sacrifice of animals, of two kinds: one of a ritual funeral character and the other as a prevention of the fulfillment of dreams. (b) Human sacrifice, which may now be considered to have disappeared due to various circumstances which have already been described. (c) The first two exist at times in their original form, and at other times as mere survivals disguised in social rather than ritualistic forms, as happens for example in the sacrifice of animals during the secondary burial or the wake in the ceremony of the first burial. (d) But in any case the three show a distinct magic nature. (e) With respect to the sacrifice of animals we may suppose that in ancient times the animal sacrificed must have been a wild one from the forest obtained by hunting, as the Guajiro Indians, the same as all Colombian Indians and American Indians in general, were completely without, or almost without, any domestic animals, which were acquired only after the Conquest when the colonizing Spaniards imported them from the [Iberian] Peninsula to set up their ranches; (f) Based on this same socio-economic fact, we may presuppose quite an appreciable change in the content and form of certain types of ceremony, because the passing from one economy to another, particularly when it is so radical as [50] that of the
782 Guajiro, who changed his character of nomad hunter to that of herdsman and stock grazer, implies a very appreciable transformation in the general social organization. (g) In the sacrifice of children, and in that of animals in order to ward off the evils foreseen in dreams, we have to admit the contaminating effect of spilled blood — a very important taboo in La Guajira — which increases the malevolent effect of the magic

[71 cont.]

811 feeling. Not being able to understand the logical processes of life with its principal phenomena of birth, development, growth, old age, and death, the Indian looks for an explanation that agrees, at least in appearance, with his beliefs, with his limited capacity for knowledge, and he steadfastly adheres to the traditions received in cultural inheritance, traditions which all have a subjective flavor and in which the supernatural, the purely metaphysical — even within the physical phenomenon itself — dominates the intellectual and sensible panorama. If at first he 811 attributed the phenomenon of birth to the supernatural action, 844 far off in space, of an animal, a plant, or other object which in course of time became his totem in his mythical ancestor made divine, later his mental explorations try to find a new explanation; his totem for different causes having now lost its value and only remaining with him as a vague memory, he tries to find, let us say, a new explanation which agrees better with the reality surrounding him. Hence we find him affirming, like the Guajiro, that birth is due to the union of the masculine semen with the menstrual blood, which produces the fetus. The association, even if not exact, is not extraordinarily far from the truth in as much as the association of both these factors brings about an apparent conjunction of the same in order to accomplish the complicated processes of fertility and birth.

761 But, in the explanation of the phenomenon of death, it is 177 the realms of the unknown which continue to exert a major influence on the minds of primitives and, in the present case, on the minds of the Guajiro in particular. It is true that the constant influence of missionaries, colonists, traders and stock breeders, teachers and soldiers has started to change the state of things, inculcating in the Indian another class of beliefs which are not always coincident with reality, for the simple reason that three different races live together in our country, [72] and all are equally fanatical in their beliefs: the Negro with his fetishism and fantastic mythology; the Indian also with his mythology and his subjection to the spirits of the dead; and the Spaniard, as fanatic as the rest or as renegade. But it is also true that in the Indian's personality there still remains strongly impressed his primitive beliefs, his traditions accumulated over thousands of years, which

[72 cont.]

761 have been transformed step by step through the evolutionary
777 process of thought as it fulfills its stupendous labor towards perfection.

761 Death is not a real death to the Guajiro. Accustomed as
775 he is to interpret sleep as a separation, a liberation of the spirit, the universal soul, from the framework of the body (Cf. "Sickness and Medicine"), death to him is nothing more than a greater and definite liberation of the spirit to go from this world to another — to that of the spirits — unknown and phantomlike but as real to his imagination as his own existence. For this same reason and because of the fear infused in the primitive by these disembodied spirits — which have left their material body and are capable of taking on new and unknown forms, capable of transporting themselves to a distance, capable in fact of deeds unachievable by mortal man — the Indians believe it to be indispensable for their tranquillity to practice a series of ceremonies, rites, to maintain a fixed and constant attitude toward the dead, because these spirits by the physical fact of the separation of the soul from the body possess special potentialities which confer on them the power to harm the living whenever their person has been offended by the violation of any of the norms established in the ceremonial for the dead.

We also have to take into account the fact that for the primitive a dead person is not only absolutely a sacred being — and as such untouchable — but he is also considered a potential enemy. Freud recognizes this when he states: "We know already that the dead are powerful sovereigns; possibly it would surprise us to find out now that they are also considered enemies." (50)

50. Freud. Totem y Tabú [Totem & Taboo], II, 75.

This duality, which we have shown in the previous paragraph, corroborated by the quotation from Professor Freud, will be seen more fully as we progress in this study and consider the different categories of danger that are attributed to the spirits of the dead in accord with the circumstances of their death or the disrespect with which they were treated. [73]

[155 cont.]

182 individual or of the dead, in the aspect which we have called
626 "Omens and Augural Birds," in the behavior followed by individ-
789 uals who wish to call up a breeze during a windless calm at sea or to send away eclipses and lightning which, according to their belief, are malevolent.

* * *

789 A very interesting aspect of magic is its use for and against
595 some of the cultural institutions and their institutionalized patterns; for example, the use of love charms and the compliance with certain norms after the period of seclusion accompanying the ceremonies at the time of a young woman's initiation. Her aim is to fight against polygamy, with a view either to obtaining predominance over other wives or, better, to prevent the man who has acquired her for his wife from acquiring more women with whom she would have to share his life. Possibly due to the influence of acculturation, there is a tendency toward monogamy on the part of the women. The men, however, tend toward polygamy for prestige, since for it they must have a good economical position, as the price of women is high, increasingly so the greater their social position.

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[156] Another institution that we see directly affected by
751 magic is this same initiation of young women. We saw how
771 the death of a first-born child required a series of ceremonies
881 to prevent future children dying at birth, one after the other, and we stated that one of the principal ceremonies consisted in the observance of certain norms which bring to mind very clearly the initiation of the young mother. Their idea would seem to be that one of the causes of the death of the first-born was the deficient carrying out of the magic-biological-social ceremonial to which the girl must submit to prepare for her life as an adult.

[761]

Also the norms relating to the dead and the belief in a
764 life beyond the grave rest almost exclusively on magic, and
775 through it their prestige and their functioning are kept up. Magic
771 is also the cause of the fear and respect which relatives and friends
626 show to their dead, and it is magic which also promotes all the ceremonial rites that are celebrated in this connection.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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several days afterwards, but have to be fed. They also have 767
to keep to a diet for a while, a precaution that, like the
cloaks they are wrapped in while digging up the bones, is to
protect them against spirits.

In the old days the house in which a person died was 768
abandoned. Nowadays that is only done if the person has
been murdered.

I have come across this after-funeral among several 765
Indian tribes farther south, in particular the Motilon in the 171
Andes, neighbours of the Guajiro, and the Indians of the
Llanos plains around the Orinoco. It seems a peculiar
custom to us, but it is a sort of memorial ceremony, a feast
of remembrance devoted to the dead person, who is thus not
forgotten so quickly by the Indians, as is often the case with
us.

The animals killed at a man's funeral are to accompany 764
him into the hereafter and enable him to maintain his posi-
tion there. His immediate relatives must not eat of this meat,
which is all given to the guests, who cook it and feast on it.

Different in character is the sacrifice of some creature, a [751]
black sheep or a brown cow, which the piache recommends [782]
when he has dreamed that someone is in danger of being [787]
murdered. Here the animal is being killed in place of the
threatened man, the goat or cow acting as substitute so that
the human can escape his fate. Presumably, what used to
happen was that the person threatened had to go out and
kill some wild animal, a deer for example. The custom of
slaughtering cattle at a funeral originates from the change in [178]
the Indians' way of life that resulted from their making
cattle-rearing their main occupation. Earlier the dead person
was given other grave-goods to enable him to manage in
the life hereafter, including ornaments and that sort of
thing. In the pre-Columbian era quantities of polished stone
beads and tuma were placed in the graves. Then, when for-
tunes began to be reckoned in cattle and horses, it was
obvious that the dead person must have cattle to accompany
him. To the Guajiro, as to the general run of Indians, there 761
is no such thing as natural death. Were it not for the 776
dangerous world of the spirits and evil enchanters people

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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761 would be able to live to all intents and purposes for ever.
776 The Guajiro word for illness, *wanuru*, is the same as that for the spirit of death, and actually means 'he within us'. As so often happens, they make no distinction between the spirits of the dead and other spirits.

775 The spirits of suicides are especially feared. As a safety measure the rope and tree used are burned, since death still
762 clings to them and is infectious. Round the scene of the suicide the dead man's ghost wanders head down, sometimes pursuing passers-by in the shape of a flame. Everybody avoids such places. It sometimes happens that Indians, both children and grown-ups, say that they have met dead relatives in human guise, but dumb. Such encounters bring misfortune. If a Guajiro Indian moves outside the peninsula, he will after death rest on the burial place of his fathers. After death he has a long journey ahead of him, and if he is to reach the realm of the dead he ought to start out from the burial place of his own people. Besides, and this perhaps is the most important point of all, the ritual prescribed in Guajira has to be observed.

775 The spirit of a murdered person follows his slayer everywhere and attacks him if he falls ill or becomes weak, appear-
682 ing in the hallucinations of fever. Its presence also constitutes a danger to the murderer's children. It can also appear in the form of a flame or of an animal, for example a bird. As I have already said, the house in which someone has been murdered is abandoned immediately, for the angry spirit of the dead man can appear there at any time.

To protect himself the slayer must submit to severe restrictions, which are prescribed by his maternal aunts and the elder women and which he follows in his own interest. He hides in the wilds, has nothing but maize gruel and water. He ought not to speak or have anything to do with anyone, and must be ever ready with weapons in his hand. An enemy may appear. The slayer cuts off his hair, wears a very short black cloak and must sleep on the ground with his face downwards and hidden, never on his back, otherwise the spirit of the man he killed could sit on his chest. It is best if he can sleep little and seldom, and have a dog with

/31 cont./

865 693 Nevertheless, there are cases where the elder brother attempts to impose his authority and oblige a younger brother to obey his orders, building up his part. From ten years of age onward the relation between brothers and sisters becomes rougher and occasionally quarrelsome, but after passing puberty and initiation, when the girl has become a woman and the boy an adult, their relationship takes on a definite shape, to be reflected in the future friendship between the two and in the ties that will exist between the brothers and the children of the sisters, over whom they will exercise their authority and protection.

We have already described one of the aggressive acts between brothers on the part of the older toward the younger, in the theft of food behind the back of the mother or whoever represents authority /in the home/. There is another form of aggression which the younger child adopts in order to get what he wants from his elders and from his siblings: He throws himself on the ground, where he rolls and kicks, screaming and crying inconsolably. His mother punishes him to stop him from giving way to his bad temper, considering his action harmful because when big he might continue with his rages and while in that mood cause grave injury to his people and to himself. For in reality when the Guajiro becomes furious, he goes completely 152 out of his mind and commits deeds he would not dream of doing 865 in his proper senses. If he cannot get his way he becomes so angry /32/ that often he will hang himself, doing this in such a [762] rage that he loses his instinct of self-preservation and even when he is half dead will insist on finishing himself off, so throwing the responsibility of his death onto the person who caused his bad temper. If his mother is unable to control these exhibitions of childish rage, it will continue with him during his youth and as a man will become increasingly worse, often causing him to leave home in the excess of his fury and giving rise to suicide when he is thwarted or opposed.

864 6. Delinquent acts that may appear among children about 835 ten years old are the sexual relations between girls and their brothers when the latter are busy with their pastoral tasks and

/33 cont./

861 what was used for his punishment, such as the nettles or the bag. Terrified by these, he will obey the commands of his elders.

On giving an order or forbidding a child to do something, they may threaten him various times beforehand in order to ensure obedience. /34/

When the boy or girl is approaching puberty or has passed it, the verbal reprimand or scolding is the more common. This [762] nagging disapproval may be repeated to a point where the boy or girl in desperation will leave home or even commit suicide. Another way to enforce obedience from a young child or to get him to sleep is to frighten him, when he is very small, telling him that the cocón (1) will take him or that some old drunk will

1. Degeneration of the word coco, used in Colombia to frighten children in expressions such as: "The coco will take you" and "There comes the coco," etc.

carry him off. The small child is frightened and obeys, but when he is older he loses his fears and the threats are no longer of any use.

The mother, the aunts, and the grandmothers take the [602] principal part in applying punishments; also the maternal uncles. [689] The father's part is limited in this respect as his children are not considered to belong to his clan (cf. kinship) so that should he go too far and draw blood from the boy or should the boy kill himself or become ill through his fault, the mother would claim compensation payment from her husband. Nevertheless, this is reciprocal, for if the son commits suicide because of the punishment inflicted by the mother, it is the father who then presents the corresponding claim for compensation payment.

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861 Another very usual reaction is that of learning each day to dissemble and show astuteness in avoiding punishment. When he sees the attention of his mother or his elders is distracted, he will do what has been forbidden: go to visit at a neighboring house, steal food, climb trees, etc. Later he will lie barefacedly to avoid the possible punishment.

861 When a boy is very frequently punished, which does happen in some homes where the mother is continually beating the chil-
593 dren, the child becomes sullen and withdrawn; he stays away from home, passing most of his time out and about or in the neighbors' houses, endeavoring to avoid the presence of his parents. We have heard of a mother who asked her eldest son, who was in Venezuela, for money as she needed it urgently. His answer was: "I have no mother. She was a tyrant to me and to my brothers, and I plan to bring them here with me so she will not be able to beat them for nothing. I will send her no money as she was always so wicked and cruel she does not deserve it." When the mother learned of this reply, her reaction was to
[762] cruelly beat all her younger children as a warning to them not to do what their elder brother had done. The husband reprehended her for her cruelty, and she ended by hanging herself. There are several similar cases which show the later resentment of some sons against their parents for the harshness of their treatment during their childhood. A boy can bear a permanent grudge, and as soon as he feels strong enough to oppose his will to that of his mother or his elders in general, he becomes stubborn and
[762] stands up to them. On occasion, if opposed in his deepest feelings and blind with fury because of some punishment inflicted, he will hang himself, by which deed the consequences of his
[689] death fall on the originator of the punishment, as the other parent will put in a claim for compensation payment, alleging that the boy was so exasperated it drove him to /36/ to take his own life. This law of obligatory payment tends to limit the application as well as the violence of the punishment, although, in spite of it children are cruelly treated in many homes.

/192 cont./

682 when a shot hits a person during hunting, or when a shot is fired accidentally at the moment the owner or someone else is cleaning a gun and in this way kills another, etc. Included in these cases we must note one that occurs very frequently when a man lends a gun. If an accident occurs which results in the death of a third person, that is, a homicide, the owner of the gun must help the man who caused the accident to pay for the death. If it is used to commit suicide, again it is the owner of the gun who must pay. For this reason the material objects that a person uses for [682] killing himself are punished. As the general custom is to hang oneself, the beam and the rope are burned at such a time; and if the act was done inside a dwelling, it is also burned, although in this case for another reason connected now with magic. In summary, then, we can say that homicide is considered as such without any excuses for those who commit it, directly or indirectly.

• • •

682 762 Suicide brings punishment on the person who has provoked it, directly or indirectly. Very frequently young men commit suicide when their father, mother, or other relatives reprimand them or do not satisfy some whim. And girls do the same when they are sold in marriage by their uterine relatives without taking their wishes into account.

In this case those who gave cause for the suicide are held responsible. If it was the mother or some relative of hers, the father of the suicide demands compensation payment, or if the reverse -- if it was the father -- the mother with her relatives do the same. /193/

If a man should commit suicide because of unrequited love, when for example he asks to buy a girl and her relatives will not let him have her as his wife or she refuses his amorous attentions and in consequence he commits suicide, the claim for compensation payment for his death is made against the maternal relatives of the girl or against whoever refused to let him buy her.

/193 cont./

As the most important function of a wife is to take care of her husband, particularly his health, she must answer for it to his maternal relatives, if for some reason he commits suicide; she is considered guilty of his death, as well as guilty of not having been at his side to prevent it. We have information of men who committed suicide while they were drunk and their wives were absent for some very well-justified reason, and the husbands' maternal relatives made the wives responsible for their deaths because they said that it was their first and most important duty to avoid these tragedies by watching their husbands every moment while they were drunk.

If ill-treatment by the husband or other act for which he is responsible provokes his wife's suicide, her relatives present a claim for compensation payment against him as guilty of her death.

Anyone who by a slight, a joke, or an offense drives someone else to commit suicide is made responsible for the death and for this reason must pay for the criminal act.

Attempted suicide is also punished; the maternal relatives demand from the person who made the attempt an adequate indemnity for having broken a law, because he has no right to spill his own blood, the bond common to the other members, nor to dispose of his life, which belongs to the consanguineous group, nor to cause the group the pain of his death.

Guajiro law considers the uterine relatives of the expectant mother responsible for the life of the child about to be born, and if the child dies they are made responsible and must pay the husband, if the cause of the death was a wrong movement made by the mother during the delivery, or noncompliance with the midwife's instructions, etc. But if the child is the first child, who must be born in the home of the expectant mother's maternal relatives, and the father has not taken her there and the woman does not receive adequate attention and the baby dies, the blame is placed on the husband, who must pay for the death of his son to his wife's maternal relatives.

If a child dies while the father is absent, and the mother has not complied with her obligation to give him immediate news

[23 cont.]

*756 to divine his future by means of a firebrand, and sees that it
787 does not burn or blaze. His spirit has abandoned him and no longer comes at his call. Finally, the spirit descends to him and says, "This has happened to you because you did not obey me on such-and-such an occasion."

Up to now there are two clear examples of the relation between unknown lands and death in the case of the shaman. Let us recall the talks held between the shaman and his protector spirit during the ceremony for curing a sick person, in which the protector spirit describes to him a marvelous country crossed by wide, blue rivers as a dwelling place to enter after death. Now this same representation reappears in his dream, which implies a vision of the world beyond the tomb to which he will shortly go.

[755] If during a curing ceremony he should dream that at some time during the dance which he has demanded for the total rehabilitation of the sick man he sees a group of rich Indian women arrive mounted on horses, bringing with them in a pitcher a small quantity of water or rum with which they bathe the sick person and then blow on him at midnight, this means that the sick man in question will recover completely and will not have a relapse.

751 At other times the shaman may dream that someone is
*756 going to be killed. To avert the danger he goes to the relatives
787 of the person dreamed of to order them to perform a sacrifice or ceremony such as the following. They must bring a heifer of a certain color, slaughter it at dawn, and bathe in its blood the Indian on whom the tragedy is to fall according to the dream. To end the ceremony they must hold a chicha-maya dance. The Indian referred to must follow strictly the orders of the shaman [24] otherwise, there is no doubt that a tragedy will befall him, so the natives affirm. (Cf. "Magic and Sacrifice.")

There is a story, for example, of a female shaman who dreamed that she should "shamanize" an Indian woman with rum and hold a chicha-maya dance, or otherwise death would rapidly overtake her. The woman of the dream did not obey the orders of the shaman, and a few days later she had a quarrel with her [762] husband, who struck her, and, broken-hearted over her husband's action, she hung herself from a tree at midnight.

[76 cont.]

* * *

775 We can say that in La Guajira among the spirits of the dead there are categories determined by capacity to work evil. Spirits in general are indifferent as long as the established norms regarding their treatment are not violated, such as the fulfillment of the post-mortem ceremonial, avoidance of the use of [762] their names, etc. But when the spirit is that of a suicide, then his standing as an author of evil grows, as the fact of his having violated the established social order places him automatically at the margin of the community; he is a social outcast even in the world of the dead, and his spirit does not wander around as the others do but face downward and at ground level; for this reason he is considered an enemy of the community.

773 A Guajiro legend regarding Katétamána Hill relates that 823 in remote times there was a majayura ("a young woman") who 762 had sexual relations with her father and became pregnant. According to the legend, on finding herself in this condition, she was so ashamed that she wanted to wipe out her social sin by hanging herself, which she did. Mareiwa, the god of the Guajiro, told her that as punishment for her offense he would change her into a hill. For this reason, say the Indians, Katétamána Hill has the shape of a hanged woman. Ever since, concludes the story, Indians frequently hang themselves when any adverse event disturbs their lives.

762 As the legend transcribed above will indicate, an Indian 775 commits suicide when he cannot carry out some act which is at variance with the established patterns of his family circle or of society in general. Since he cannot be punished for the violation when alive, he must pay the penalty after his death. It is his spirit which receives and feels the consequences of the social sin he has committed. For this reason the general belief to which we have already alluded exists that the spirit of the suicide always wanders face downward and at ground level in the regions of the dead. [77]

762 But if the punishment of the suicide cannot be inflicted on 768 the individual himself while alive, it can, on the other hand, be 672

[77 cont.]

762 inflicted on the objects which were the principal active agents
768 in carrying out his fatal determination. As the form of suicide
672 that is practiced in La Guajira is almost exclusively that of hanging, they proceed to burn the branch on which the individual hanged himself and the rope which he used, because, they say, these were the direct causes of his death.

With respect to the punishment carried out on the objects
682 (inanimate to us) which served for the carrying out of suicide,
672 several suggestions may be made. In one case, the "compensation payment for blood" may be recalled, the established customary law of this community by means of which whatever spilling of blood that may be caused in any person, voluntary or involuntary, directly or indirectly, has to be paid for in accord-
[698] ance with a valuation decreed by the so-called "arbitrators," or "palabras," who are nothing more than intermediaries named by the family groups affected to settle the affair peacefully. This payment is considerable when the blood spilling ends in the victim's death. Should the murderer refuse to pay the sum ar-
682 ranged for (whether in livestock, necklaces, precious stones,
628 etc.), then the members of the victim's family group take vengeance on him personally and kill him. All this naturally ends in war to the death, or putchi, between the two extended family groups, an occurrence which is extremely frequent in La
682 Guajira. Hence as "compensation payment for blood" cannot
762 be claimed, from these objects (the tree and the rope), they are
672 punished in default by destruction by fire. This hypothesis is reinforced, if we remember that to the Guajiro Indian, as well as
[774] to most primitives, objects — which to us are not alive — are
[778] able to exercise both good and bad influences on the individual (Cf. "Sickness and Medicine" and "Amulets, Fetishes, Talismans"), because they possess a spirit — a kind of mana, or immaterial force, which surrounds and animates everything.

Another suggestion that could be made with respect to the
762 destruction of the objects used by a suicide is the following: As
783 these articles were in direct contact with the dead man, and particularly with a corpse as dangerous as a suicide is, it is necessary that they be destroyed so that the contamination

[77 cont.]
762 783 should not be transmitted to the persons who for any circumstance may approach or touch them.

The wickedness of the spirit of the suicide, in any event, 762 is seen to be reaffirmed by another Guajiro belief, which is that 769 of not daring to pass at [78] night by the place where an Indian 775 may have hanged himself because his spirit wanders continually around the place, and being malignant it will certainly pursue and chase after one in the form of a great flame or some other shape.

775 As we proceed to set down the present data relating to the participation of the dead in the lives of the Guajiro community, we shall refer to those related to the spirits of suicides with the idea of obtaining greater objectivity in our statements.

Presence and life of the dead. The spirit of the dead, known usually by the name wanurú and at other times as yoruja, on being separated from its body wanders about the world. Although it no longer has any tangible relationship with terrestial things, it is still dangerous. Usually it takes refuge in lonely and isolated places such as in some cemeteries, in the crevices formed by sea erosion in Cabo de la Vela, or in the solitudes of the Emejuy forest. But it appears that in addition to these places frequented by the spirits of the dead, there is one undetermined special place far away from La Guajira. It is customary when a 764 woman has died to cover her face with paipai (a paint for the 775 face) before wrapping her in her shroud and placing her in her coffin ready for burial. The explanation for this is that she is going on a long journey, a very long journey, and the sun to which she will be exposed will be very strong and harmful to her face. For this reason, according to Guajiro custom, they must try to protect the skin of her face from the sun's action by the use of this face paint. Also she is going to pay a visit, and it is indispensable that a woman should have her face painted when visiting friends or relatives (55).

751 55. The Guajiro woman, every time she is exposed to the sun's rays, protects her face with paipai powder (color of burnt sienna)

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
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could not have paid the price in the first place, and besides B's family would have little to fear from them. 554 628

The father and maternal uncle of the slain man take the initiative in seeking payment which goes to the mother's family. 672 682

If A and B had been workmen or retainers of C, a cacique, and A's family could not have paid the price of composition, then C would have paid B's family and in compensation would have enslaved A and his family. Payment for killing a peon is 10 asses, 50 to 100 sheep, and 10 steers. [466] [567]

Case IV: A was working for B. In the course of the work through no fault of B, A was hurt. B paid A's family for the injury. A's family took care of A. 466 672 685

Case V: A and B were working for C. Through accident B hurt A. B's family had to settle the injury with A's family. Had A been hurt in the course of the work without B acting as the instrument, then C, the employer, would have had to pay.

This case is similar to the one described by Simons. If A lends a horse to B and B is hurt through the instrumentality of the horse, A has to pay. If A gives rum to B and B injures C, A is held responsible.

Case VI: A wants to marry B. B or B's family reject his suit. A goes to B's rancho at night and commits suicide there B's family has to pay A's family for the death of A, B being considered as the direct instrument that caused A's death. 672 682 702

Case VII: A injures or kills B, caught *in flagrante delicto* with A's wife. A has to pay B's family a price minus an amount considered fair value for the sexual privilege that B exercised on A's wife. 672 682 684

These illustrations point to the absolute nature of Guajiro law. No extenuating circumstances are allowed to enter into settlement of cases of battery or other trespass on the rights of an individual. The case is different in so far as public sympathy and moral censure or approbation are concerned. Furthermore, society as a whole takes no action in righting wrongs. The family of the injured person must seek composition, and if it is not powerful enough to demand a high price it has to be satisfied with a smaller one. Conversely, there is 672 628 [626]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

inherit. They hold him in great respect. A man's chief heir 614
is thus his eldest nephew and he takes particular care of him. [604]
During his lifetime a well-to-do man will give his sons [428]
enough cattle to ensure that they will not be left destitute
when he dies. Each clan has its name and its symbol: the [431]
jaguar, rattle-snake, king vulture, dog, etc., but this has no
connection with totemism or magic. The Indians think no
more of their name's meaning than we do, when people
have animal names. They often joke about them.

A number of the clans are large and powerful, others
small and weak, sometimes entirely dependent on one of
the big clans. Those born into a big clan are fortunate, for
they have power behind them and can count on support
and help if they are insulted, threatened or robbed, for the
members of a clan stick together whatever happens, united
by the bond of blood. The same blood flows in all their
veins. The Indians imagine that the human grows from a
drop of the mother's blood, and that the foetus feeds on [843]
the new vital fluid—for they know that menstruation
ceases during pregnancy.

A man does not possess the right to dispose of his blood [752]
or his life. They both belong to the clan. If he hurts himself
so that blood flows he must pay damages to his clan for
shedding their blood. Suicide is also punishable, though [762]
not at all unusual. After an unsuccessful attempt at suicide,
the clan will claim damages, even if no blood has been
shed. An Indian wanting to take his own life hangs himself.
Such importance is attached to the shedding of blood, that, 683
if someone strikes another and makes his nose bleed, this is
regarded as an aggravating circumstance and increases the 614
compensation the victim demands. His whole clan will
consider itself insulted. In fact, one can really say that an
Indian only has the usufruct of his life and blood.

It is the same with the land. The land in the peninsula is 423
owned by the clans, each of which has its own defined terri- 614
tory. The cultivable areas are not large and lie round the
few water-courses that are not dry during most of the year.
These plantations are traditionally exploited by certain
families in each clan and are inherited by the eldest nephews.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

585 Mauana said that while she is in confinement a girl will
[281] have been taught, among other things, the attentions custom requires her to show her husband.

When he arrives home, she hastens to hang up his ham-
593 mock and offer him something to drink. She at once prepares a meal, if one is not yet ready. The master of the house has
[264] his own crockery, from which he alone eats, and his wife must see that he has his favourite dishes and that they are properly cooked. If he has returned from a journey or from hunting, she must see that he has water to wash in and a clean guayuco. Once he has taken his place in the hammock, she sits on the ground and tells him the day's events. If he falls asleep, she sits in silence.

When the husband's friends or other people come to see
[574] him, the wife's place is again on the ground beside his hammock. She does not butt in upon the men's conversation, but knows how to be amusing if she is spoken to. She must see that each guest has a hammock to rest in and offer everyone refreshments. Men are proud to have such a hostess for a wife.

[574] In the husband's absence a wife must receive visitors courteously, but observe caution, if they are men. She will hang a hammock under a roofed shelter close to the house, but will not let the visitor inside. She will then offer him refreshments and sit down beside his hammock with some handwork.

It goes without saying that she must take good care of her husband's belongings and property, for he is often forced to be away with his herds. She must also take care of her
[278] husband himself, when he is drunk, as he not infrequently is. When fights occur at feasts, the women, as we know,
[574] throw themselves between the men to avoid bloodshed. A wife is responsible for her husband, when he is drunk. If she has not bothered to keep an eye on him and he is beaten or killed, the fault is hers. Or he may take his own life
[762] while intoxicated—suicide for mere trifles is not unusual—and then too she can be held responsible, if she has not intervened. If he hurts her or destroys any of her things while he is drunk, she knows that he will make rich amends

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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761 would be able to live to all intents and purposes for ever.
776 The Guajiro word for illness, *wanuru*, is the same as that for the spirit of death, and actually means 'he within us'. As so often happens, they make no distinction between the spirits of the dead and other spirits.

775 The spirits of suicides are especially feared. As a safety measure the rope and tree used are burned, since death still
762 clings to them and is infectious. Round the scene of the suicide the dead man's ghost wanders head down, sometimes pursuing passers-by in the shape of a flame. Everybody avoids such places. It sometimes happens that Indians, both children and grown-ups, say that they have met dead relatives in human guise, but dumb. Such encounters bring misfortune. If a Guajiro Indian moves outside the peninsula, he will after death rest on the burial place of his fathers. After death he has a long journey ahead of him, and if he is to reach the realm of the dead he ought to start out from the burial place of his own people. Besides, and this perhaps is the most important point of all, the ritual prescribed in Guajira has to be observed.

775 The spirit of a murdered person follows his slayer everywhere and attacks him if he falls ill or becomes weak, appear-
682 ing in the hallucinations of fever. Its presence also constitutes a danger to the murderer's children. It can also appear in the form of a flame or of an animal, for example a bird. As I have already said, the house in which someone has been murdered is abandoned immediately, for the angry spirit of the dead man can appear there at any time.

To protect himself the slayer must submit to severe restrictions, which are prescribed by his maternal aunts and the elder women and which he follows in his own interest. He hides in the wilds, has nothing but maize gruel and water. He ought not to speak or have anything to do with anyone, and must be ever ready with weapons in his hand. An enemy may appear. The slayer cuts off his hair, wears a very short black cloak and must sleep on the ground with his face downwards and hidden, never on his back, otherwise the spirit of the man he killed could sit on his chest. It is best if he can sleep little and seldom, and have a dog with

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

the other. Many other cases indicate the absolute nature of *Goajiro* law 672
and the refusal to recognize extenuating circumstances.

Murder is a very serious crime, and the victim's family immediately 682
demands blood money to the amount of 200 or more cattle. For failure 628
to pay, a member of the murderer's sib of the same rank as the victim must forfeit his life. If payment is not forthcoming retaliatory raids are made. As the defenders generally lose more people than the attackers, the feud may continue indefinitely until all the members of one sib will consider themselves at war with the members of the other, thereby spreading the war throughout the peninsula. If a feud should develop between the sib of the husband and that of the wife, the latter, with her children, will return to her own group until the trouble is over.

A person who has received a deadly insult from another is baited and 683
chided until he takes revenge by killing the offender, in proof of which he removes the victim's viscera and takes them home. This act also prevents the victim's soul from bothering him. If unable to accomplish this he may commit suicide. Suicide is also sometimes a means of venge- 762
ance, a person feeling that he will suffer less than those who caused him to commit the act. Thus a wife who is not allowed enough freedom may hang herself.

Next to murder, one of the most serious offenses is to mention a per- 689
son's true name (given at birth?) or to mention a person's name after his death. This has caused many tribal conflicts.

The value of the compensation demanded in disputes varies directly 681
with the social rank of the offended party. In some cases a repeated 565
offender may be killed by his own sib members. Sometimes, rather than 728
to continue the warfare, hostile sibs may confer under the auspices of an outsider, such as a Capuchin monk, and draw up peace terms. In personal quarrels or minor brawls women often step in and enforce peace.

WARFARE

Wars between the *Goajiro* and outsiders are rare, but any White man 721
may be held liable for the offense done by another, as all Whites are thought 609
to belong to the same sib. Sometimes the few civilized people living in the peninsula take vengeance on the Indians, which leads to further reprisals by the latter.

At the time of De la Rosa, war was declared by sending to the other 721
tribe an ambassador who, in a public speech, asked indemnities for damage previously done. If these were not conceded war was declared, but a brief truce was observed in order that preparations might be made. In battle each group of opposing warriors formed a semicircle and tried to surround and destroy the other. In individual encounters a *Goajiro* rode 726
out on a horse, but, upon seeing the enemy, he dismounted and shot his own horse with an arrow to show his confidence and willingness to fight

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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CHAPTER 9

A Wake

One day we received an invitation to a rancho owned by well-to-do people. We knew them, but had not been there before. The messenger bade us welcome and told us that the old man there had gone. Francisco crossed himself and said that an old man, an uncle, had died and that there was to be a funeral feast. What the dead man's name was could not be mentioned. We wanted to witness a burial, so we accepted gratefully and set off at once with camera and guns—Francisco having told us that one fired off guns at the feast. 764

There were a lot of people already there when we arrived. Members of the family were often informed when illness took a dangerous turn and so arrived while the patient was still alive. On this occasion they had already laid the dead man out. He had been washed: his best ornaments had been put on him and he had been wrapped in the cloths which the women weave specially for this purpose. After death a woman is painted to make her as lovely as possible, but not a man. The dead person is always left alone for a while, so that his soul can go round a last time and take farewell of the place. Having been shrouded, the old man had been laid in the fresh hide of a newly slaughtered bullock and placed in a hammock strung between two poles under a temporary roof covered with grass. [763] [775]

Numbers of people were standing round the dead man's last resting place, while his closest relatives sat in hammocks strung between other poles. All kept their faces covered, either by pulling their cloaks up over them or by draping clothes over their heads. Some were merely clasping their

/36 cont./

884 Toward the prepubertal age the boy begins to show his reaction to family punishments and controls, a liberating phase which culminates after puberty with the handing over of his animals when he marries, or before if his pastoral ability allows his taking full charge of them. Then, with his economic independence assured, he is freed from the discipline of the small family. He wants to figure as an adult and take an active part in the life of the community. For the male there is a difficulty as regards the coming of age because they have no initiation rite so that the time of his independence is subject to his economic circumstances and is in consequence elastic. On the other hand, in the case of women the biological phenomenon of menstruation marks the end of their childhood and their transformation to womanhood with all its privileges, rights, and duties.

• • •

861 The mother and the persons charged with the care and training of the child not only make use of punishment to obtain his obedience and submission to traditional norms of conduct but also have recourse to other kinds of stimuli which we might call positive. For example, when the boy tends to cry overmuch and is cowardly when faced by some slight problem, he is told: "Don't cry so much. Are you a girl that you go about crying so much? We should send you to take part in a wake /veloriar/ (1)."

[764]
[152]

1. Veloriar is used to indicate attendance and participation in the wake for a dead person, during which those present weep mournfully over the corpse.

If the crying is caused by an injury which the mother had foreseen, she says to him: "I told you so; you alone are to blame; no one did you any harm so you need not cry as it is all

/38 cont./

769 of their ancestors or to sympathize with their humilations, share
in their hatreds and common sorrows, as well as to learn to per-
867 form this practice and repeat and transmit it when they form
their own homes.

Furthermore, the presence and participation of the children
764 in the ceremonies which are performed at the death of a relative
769 are meant to teach them through experience each one of these
867 ceremonies. Thus he learns and has engraved on him the feel-
ing of mutual support that exists between related members of
a group, such as the financial help that must be forthcoming,
when it is a case of a poor relative, in order to be able to
sacrifice animals and to see to the necessary amount of liquor
and hospitality customary on such occasions, and the shrouding
of the corpse, the etiquette that life beyond the grave demands
from the wife, the relatives who intervene in these activities
and their behavior (such as their weeping at the foot of the
corpse), fasting and abstinence from meat: in fact every one of
the established cultural patterns obligatory at these times, and
it is an apprenticeship which the child receives through ex-
planation and personal observation.

The child also shares in the family life during the days
immediately after the burial; in the offerings that are taken to
the dead one when it is feared, by magical indications, that his
life beyond the grave is not normal for lack of something that
he needs; in the periodical visits made to the grave and in the
bonfires that for several nights are lit to illuminate the path of
the dead.

Later he joins in the ceremony of exhumation. He knows
769 his part and that of his immediate relatives and, as in the
571 previous cases, each one /39/ of the traditional norms. But
867 the most important thing about all these activities is not to
learn to carry them out correctly, but to establish the sense of
solidarity with the dead one, with the family, and with the society
in which he lives. With the dead, by fulfilling an obligation
of consanguinity in order to assure him -- even by coercion of

/155 cont./

755 Any person who dreams of a future happening and the ways of avoiding it can predict in place of the shaman. During our stay in Uribia a chicha-maya dance took place, and a series of propitiatory sacrifices were made which were repeated for three nights. The mother of a Guajiro dreamt that her son would be killed by the husband of a woman with whom he was maintaining illicit relations.

It can happen that the shaman practices his curative system and his efforts do not have the hoped-for result. When death occurs, the shaman withdraws after returning the presents that his spirit had demanded, if his treatment was ineffective. In many cases, however, he keeps them for himself when he 764 can find an excuse to justify his failure. As soon as the relatives learn of the death of the sick man, they rapidly cover him and leave him in peace for about half an hour, so that his spirit before going to the place where he will live henceforth may "retrace his steps," that is to say, may roam about among the places familiar to him and say good-by to his friends and relatives. During these moments the persons visited by him feel his presence, which is manifested in some manner and lets them understand by various means the object of his visit. When this time has passed, his whole body is bathed with water and soap; mostly his closest relatives take part in this operation, men and women, in the maternal line and after them the affinal relatives (wife, sons-in-law, and /156/ daughters-in-law). After being bathed the corpse is carefully dried, and if it is a woman her face is covered with paint of the color and kind which she preferred when living because, as she is going visiting according to their belief, she should comply with this precept of etiquette since, if not, she might feel ashamed on meeting her friends and relatives. The paint is also intended to protect her from the action of the sun's rays on the long trip she has to make. They adorn her with all the jewelry she possessed. If she had a large number of earrings, for example, all of them must be

/156 cont./

764 fixed in her ears suspended in a chain, starting with those of her greatest preference; all her necklaces, bracelets, anklets, and rings must be placed on the corresponding part of her body. If the deceased is a man, they also put on his jewelry, as his spirit 764 will need them in the other life to maintain his status beyond the grave. If he belonged to the rich class, he is shrouded in the 554 following manner: First, they cover his head with a special cloth woven by his wives; the bottom of the cloth covers his face, and the ends are fixed behind his head. Over this is placed a second cloth which reaches down to the belt and pins the arms laterally along the body. A third cloth covers the legs, and a fourth may be added to wrap the whole body, but the use of this latter has been gradually disappearing. Thus enshrouded, he is put in the enramada /bough-covered shelter/ within the coffin [173] -- modern custom -- or enveloped in a still fresh hide and placed in a hammock. Then the lamentations begin.

The custom exists of sending to all the absent consanguineous 764 relatives, the most intimate friends, and in general all acquaintances, word of the death or of the patient's being near death, as the illness is made known from the first moment, especially [203] 554 to close relatives. If they are important people, runners are sent as soon as the sick man worsens, so that at the time of his death, the house is already full of people. As those who arrive to show their sympathy are so many and they appreciate how impossible it is for the master and mistress of the house to offer them all adequate hospitality, the visitors arrive with their hammocks, water in large pitchers, food, etc., which they bring on their burros.

The messenger sent with the news, especially when he 764 carries it to a consanguineous relative of the deceased, knows 551 that he must not pronounce the dead man's name, as this would [207] gravely offend his relatives. For that reason he usually says: "That relative of yours who lived in such-and-such a place, who did such-and-such an important thing, has died." Furthermore, none of those attending /the funeral ceremonies/ will pronounce

/156 cont./

764 551 the name of the dead man in front of anyone, again for fear of offending his relatives, /157/ who, although they may not be present, might be informed by someone looking for payment for talebearing.

764 152 [178] One by one as the persons notified arrive, they express their sympathy. The form of doing so is as follows: The /dead man's/ kinsmen are seated on the ground, or nowadays more generally in the interior of the house (the new customs require the female relatives to remain inside the house seated on the floor, with their faces covered with a large cloth black like the robe they wear). When the outsider arrives he sits down beside them. Then begins the lamentation of the mourner, who mourns with his head bent forward, covered, as is his face. He cries for a more or less prolonged time, interspersing his weeping with short phrases which refer to his sorrow and his loss. He ends his lament, which is taken up by the visitor, and once he has finished they give the traditional Guajiro salutation, initiated by the mourner. They all begin to cry again in chorus, which they suspend to recount the process of the man's death in all its details.

Around the corpse are slung a series of hammocks at graded heights, which are occupied by the closest women relatives as they take turns in the weeping or by a newly arrived one, who, after expressing her sorrow to the family, must weep near the corpse, bending forward over the coffin and placing a hand on it, a magic action which will help her to dream of the deceased. In this position, the visitor, whether outsider or consanguineous relative, weeps in that tone and manner cltaracteristic of the culture, which rather than weeping is like an intoned, melancholy complaint. The Guajiro men weep in a different manner, giving shouts of despair at intervals, without any definite timing. They do this standing up, bending over the coffin and covering their faces with a cloth, a hat, or a hand. On asking some outsiders, participants at a wake, how they were able to cry so intensely and realistically, they explained

/157 cont./

764 152 that it was not really for the dead man that they kept vigil, because many times he might be unknown to them, but for the evocation before the corpse of the total sufferings of their group and their personal sorrows.

While visitors and part of the maternal and closest paternal relatives take their places around the deceased in order to take their turn in keeping up continual wailing, the remaining relatives of the dead man comply with the norms of hospitality and courtesy customary on such occasions, which are to receive the sympathy of those who arrive, to serve drink to the men, and to constantly maintain the funeral spirit. The maternal relatives must attend to the distribution of the /158/ livestock of the dead man, a part of which it is customary to give to the visitors who come to offer their condolences.

764 554 A wake can and should be prolonged as long as the livestock of the deceased lasts, and in the event that these are too few to maintain the prestige of the status of the dead man's consanguineous relatives, recourse must be had to contributions from the latter. From their point of view, the veritable economic-social status of the dead man is shown by the slaughter and distribution of animals which is made at this moment; also, this has its effect on his life beyond the grave, as the livestock slaughtered and the funeral outfit form the basis of the deceased's status in his other life.

In La Guajira the deaths of some of the most outstanding clan chiefs are long remembered. It is recounted, for example, that the wake of the cacique José Dolores lasted two and a half months until the animals he owned were completely slaughtered and distributed among those who came to show their sympathy. The whole /population of the/ peninsula was mobilized to accompany his kinsmen. They say that no less than 30,000 bolivars (Venezuelan money) were spent on eau de cologne to overcome the putrefaction and the bad odors given off by the corpse during such a long time in the hot climate.

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764 554 The distribution of animals and drink is made according to the standing of the visitor. Those of high class should be given cattle, mules, or horses (already mature), and rum or brandy in abundance; the poor, goats and sheep, and drink in lesser quantity and quality. In some cases a piece of meat is distributed among them so that they can eat during the funeral gathering.

It is customary to retain a reserve of animals for the second burial, which in a certain way is a repetition of the first.

When the personal property of the dead man is not sufficient to maintain adequately the status of the clan group, his consanguineous relatives, headed and directed by the family head, start a collection which is obligatory in nature to gather together livestock and drink in order to sustain the prestige of the collectivity and that of the dead man in particular. This collection is repeated for the second burial.

764 Once all the livestock of the deceased has been distributed, the family orders the burial. If the death occurred outside the lands of his consanguineous relatives where the clan cemetery [492] is located, he is carried there, tied on a horse. All those attending the wake accompany the corpse, on horseback or on foot, drinking incessantly during the whole procession. The grave has been opened previously by a very close and dear relative of the dead man, usually /159/ a nephew, his sister's son, who feels honored with this responsibility. If he should [493] refuse to do it, it would imply the greatest offense to his group, but we found no such case of refusal to comply with this honorable duty. (The influence of the mission in Upper La Guajira has caused the Indians there to place the body in a crude coffin of wood of the pionillo, a leguminous tree which is very abundant in the region. In Lower La Guajira the body is wrapped in the fresh skin of one of the slaughtered animals, one or two /sic/, which preserves it from putrefaction for a longer time.)

In front of the open grave the funeral procession halts while the children related to the deceased, and later the adults, walk over it, with the idea that this will delay /the return of/ death.

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764 The corpse is lowered into the grave with ropes, with the greatest care taken not to bang it or lower it roughly to the bottom of the grave. This would mean an offense to the dead man, who in some way would show his annoyance at this lack of care, which is in itself an insult; and the relatives would feel considerably offended at the want of respect shown to one who was of their blood and at a time so important to the Guajiro as that of burying a kinsman. It represents, to his way of thinking, an insult almost as great as to refuse to dig his grave, to speak ill of a dead relative, or to pronounce his name.

764 783 The same individual who digs the grave covers it with the excavated earth, doing his work with extreme care. Then he goes to his home where he is submitted for some time to a purification ceremonial. The people who formed the procession return to their homes, after shooting off their firearms while the burial is in progress with the idea of frightening off all evil spirits. In times past they shot arrows repeatedly. Upon return the relatives also go through a purification ceremony, and generally, gathered together, they slaughter an animal for themselves from among those which had not been presented nor had belonged to the deceased.

764 For the dead man they place a supply of food and drink in the grave (his favorite food), and if while alive he liked to get drunk, they place an abundance of liquor. His most valued personal utensils, especially his chamber pot, an indication [SN 994] that the owner was of high status, are placed on his grave, as are his cups and dishes, which also give prestige to the dead man.

765 During a more or less lengthy period his closest relatives go frequently to visit his grave, taking with them food which they eat over it, after weeping there for a long time and asking the dead person to join them. On the eighth day after his death it is mandatory /160/ to make such a visit, later, at the end of each lunar month after the occurrence of the death. These visits are made with more frequency when the relatives believe

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614 7. Work. Labor is obligatory and communal for carrying
961 out work necessary for the general well-being of the group.
476 In the case of labor on property held by a single individual, aid is voluntarily lent by all the others, including men who may not belong to the same clan. The aid is reciprocated by the return of identical service when it may be requested.

614 8. Location of the dwelling. We have already spoken about the location of the home of the new family cell (Cf. Marriage residence in the chapter on Marriage).

614 9. The clan cemetery. Every clan group has a cemetery
764 on its own land, built by the co-operative work of its members. In it all the members of the clan should be buried; if it is not possible to do so at the time of the first burial, it is mandatory that the ashes /sic/ at least be taken there. With the individualization of property, the small families have constructed private niches situated in sites near the family house to be used as the temporary resting place of the remains of their closest relatives.

614 10. Group feeling. The consanguineous tie between all
571 the members of the same clan group had brought about a natural feeling of group unity. This feeling included a series of mutual duties and a number of rights they all could enjoy. The principal and most outstanding of the first was that of presenting a solid front in the face of any breaking down of the regimen for social stability when they felt injured by an offense or when one of the members had broken some cultural pattern, an act for which the whole clan had to bear responsibility. To get satisfaction and to give it as a total collectivity was their essential duty, as it was also to keep in force their prestige and status through adequate compliance of each of those functions which put the clan to the test.

The disintegration of the clan unit into more or less large family cells broken down the group feeling and transfered it to the family as an independent unit. /page 178 is blank/

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423 764 The cemetery is also very closely related to land rights because every individual hopes to die on his own land, that is, in the place where his elders live and his ancestors lived: on clan territory; and he also hopes to be buried in the communal cemetery. These wishes and hopes of every Guajiro are what elicit long journeys with corpses relatives who died on alien land to give them burial in the cemetery of their ancestors. For this each clan owns a cemetery in certain places of its territory where /217/ the bodies of the deceased members or their bones after the celebration of the ceremony of the second burial may be buried. But in recent times many families who have outstanding social and economic position in the social collectivity have constructed private cemeteries or mausoleums in the vicinity of their family lands for their exclusive use. /page 218 is blank/

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XV

LAWS OF INHERITANCE

428 178 In the present state of the Guajiro culture it is extremely difficult to make a basic study of the laws of inheritance because with the process of acculturation taking place in the community, there has been introduced a series of new practices which, combined with the primitive and traditional forms, make the present system a structure difficult to mark off and to subject to fixed norms. We will confine ourselves to giving a few indications of what constitutes what we might call the code of inheritance, but we must make clear that the information we give is by no means complete, and it is possible that certain statements made may have to be rectified later. In general, we can affirm that they constitute the law for that section of the Guajiro community with which we have been in contact. With this in mind we continue our study.

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*756 With respect to the hysterical attacks so characteristic of shamans, there exists considerable confirmation of this in a fact which is connected with the death of these curers. Custom demands that when one of them dies, it is essential that their wake be kept for three consecutive days and nights, because as these attacks occur frequently and at times last for a considerable time, there is a fear that the shaman may not be really dead and that consequently he may be buried alive if the mourners do not wait for a reasonable time to see if he recovers.

*756 3) A magic plant, tobacco, is involved in the making of a new shaman in two ways: (a) The aspiring shaman must chew it for several consecutive days in order to enter into a state of ecstasy and so provoke the absorption of the spirit by his person. One must remember that at the moment the initiate has an attack, a piece of tobacco or manilla is put into his mouth. When [827] he recovers consciousness, he belches loudly because of the action of the tobacco, and these belches are considered to be canticles of praise and gratitude to the spirit which desires to reside in him. The establishment of relations between the spirit and the medicine-man aspirant by means of a magic plant, such as the tobacco we [171] have referred to, is found also among the Conibo: "The apprentice shaman of the Conibo of the Ucayali receives his medical science from a spirit. To enter into communication with the latter, the shaman drinks a decoction of tobacco and smokes as much as he can in a hermetically sealed hut." (8) [Cited in French.]

8. Métraux. Op. cit., 204.

*756 (b) The diviner must see in the different changes in the embers of the tobacco whether the individual whose future he foretells after an attack of illumination will become a true shaman or not. His verdict is final.

4) Dreams, or at least hallucinations, are decisive factors in the determination of the quality of shaman.

*756 5) The vocation of shaman cannot be renounced. Better said, it does not depend upon the individual himself; once the symptoms have appeared and the diviner has given a favorable

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764 782 1. The first of these types refers to the custom established among them of sacrificing, during the wake of any member of the community, a number of animals belonging to the dead man (cows, bulls, goats, sheep), the meat of which is divided among those attending the wake along with the corresponding drink, which in these days is rum but in times past was chicha.

[767] The reason given for the sacrificing of animals during a wake in answer to the question is that this is done in deference to the guests and especially to those whom we could call "professional mourners," who spend all day and all night moaning over the corpse. But on observing certain practices and particularly certain taboos regarding the meat of these sacrificed animals, one has to think rather of the ritual character of the sacrifice.

262 764 783 782 It is a fact that the relatives — sons, daughters, nephews [and nieces, sabrinos], brothers [and sisters, hermanos] etc. — of the deceased cannot eat the meat of animals sacrificed during the wake or during the later ceremony of secondary burial, as this, according to their belief, would be equivalent to eating their dead kinsman's flesh. This taboo, imposed on the deceased's relatives, serves to prove to us — so far as it is possible to deduce — the ritual aspect of the sacrifice of the dead man's livestock, stock which on being slaughtered takes on the same untouchable or magical quality, which the individual takes on when he disappears from the world of the living and enters the universe of the dead. [42] To put this more plainly, the animals sacrificed are contaminated by their dead owner.

[765] The untouchable quality of the animal sacrificed at the wake or in the ceremony that accompanies the second burial is supported by the following fact. The belief exists in La [843] Guajira that if during pregnancy the mother or the father of the [753] future child is present at the exhuming of a corpse, the child is born sickly, suffers from permanent diarrhea and night sweats, 755 and gets more and more pale and progressively thinner. Its 765 illness continues to get worse, and none of the familiar remedies have the desired effect. The parents then resort to the following system of curing (a system which with some variations is also common among the people of the town of Santander). They wait until there is an exhumation ceremony, and then

[42 cont.]

755 765 they put the child inside one of the animals sacrificed for the occasion, taking care that the body of the animal is still warm, with the object that the child enter in the warmth.

If they cannot take the sick child to the place where the ritual ceremony is to be performed, the parents take a bone of the sacrificed animal, let it dry, and later cook it in a large quantity of water, with which they subsequently bathe the body of the child. The successful effect should be attained at the first bath or after several successive ones.

755 There is another system of curing this sickness, which the Guajiro call "the chill of the tomb." The presence of the parents at the wake has infected the unborn child with the coldness of the tomb which the dead man is about to occupy. For this reason, the important thing is to drive out the cold, for which they resort to the substitute (when there is no possibility of an exhumation ceremony in the near future) of digging a hole in the earth, approximately the size of the child, placing him in it and then covering him up to the neck with the displaced earth.

755 764 978 In any case, as can be seen, the second method is no more than a substitute for the required and definitive remedy. In the first case there are two magic associations: the participation, passive and involuntary, of the dead man in the transmission of the sickness; and the other, more active, of the cure through the sacrificed animal, which, as we noted, participates in the taboo by virtue of the sacrifice. If it were simply a matter of the cold-hot association, that is, if the idea were to drive the cold out of the sick child's body, the most practical and rapid way would be the third, that is, to put the child's body in an excavated hole and cover it with the displaced earth, so that heating by the sun may bring about the desired effect, particularly if one takes into account the high temperatures that are reached during [43] the day in the semidesert of La Guajira. But there is something more: there is the magic character of the ceremony of the sacrifice -- which is undoubtedly diminishing through the effects of acculturation -- but of which there remains at least the idea of utilizing the magic power of the sacrificed animal, or part

[43 cont.]

of the same – the bone which is left to dry and then cooked – which also participates in its power, because in the primitive mentality the part is accepted as the whole, or at least shares in the power of the whole, even at a distance.

Another meaning that the sacrifice of animals has is that related to the status of the individual in his other life. One of the points of reference of status in La Guajira is wealth, which is nearly always equivalent to the possession of a larger or lesser number of heads of livestock. Livestock represents, in certain aspects, Guajiro currency, since interchanges, blood payments, etc., are always based on a definite number of heads of livestock, besides of course necklaces of tuma, gold, etc.

Naturally, if an individual occupies a certain social position in life, it is logical that when he goes to the other life, to the world of the dead, he occupies an identical position or tries to better the one he had in life. This, then, is one of the reasons why certain of his possessions are placed near or in his tomb, and to complete his "equipment" for the next world, a number of animals are sacrificed, the higher his position in society the greater the number, so that these may give him the desired social position in the world of the spirits.

The association, then, is easy to establish: If the individual in dying passes to a new life similar to the one he led on earth, then the animal, a living being with a soul like the man, on dying must also pass on to occupy a place in the other world. This, of course, is only our own supposition. But we find no other explanation of the Guajiro statement that the animals should be sacrificed so that they can accompany their owner to the other world and give him an advantageous position among the other spirits.

The sacrifice implies above all an act of magic. The fact that the dead man's close relatives must not eat the meat of the sacrificed animals, because it would be like eating the flesh of their relative himself, establishes the relation between the owner and his property in the sense that the latter shares his personality. And as the dead man is sacred, or at least taboo, that is, sacred in the sense of being untouchable, so also are the things that he owned; the animals – which are [44] to accompany

[44 cont.]
him on his journey and which remain his only possessions, since the rest will be distributed among his heirs — take on the quality of untouchables.

2. The poisoned arrow. The second sacrifice about which we gathered information has a greater importance than the previous one for two reasons: first, because it is the sacrifice of a human being, and second, because it is linked to a series of ceremonies set in motion to obtain a certain end, the deadly power of the imára, or poisoned arrow, or better said, the magic arrow.

This sacrifice, so far as we could observe, is no longer practiced in La Guajira. According to the information gathered, it was practiced exclusively by the Kusina Indians, inhabitants of the sierra of that name. They were bellicose Indians, warriors, robbers, and animal stealers, who kept the other communities of the peninsula in an incessant state of tension by their attacks and evil-doings. We think it interesting to point out here that these Indians, commonly known as Cocina, according to all the information obtained did not constitute in themselves a separate cultural group. Their language was the same as that of the other Guajiro; their customs were relatively the same, and their physical type identical. Everything seems to indicate that they were no more than social outcasts, all those who, for crimes committed and not paid for in accordance with established laws, had found it necessary to unite themselves into societies outside the law. The question is not entirely clear, and it will be difficult to make it so because Kusina Indians are no longer found in La Guajira.

Bows and arrows stood out among the arms used by the Guajiro. (We say "stood" out because now they chiefly use rifles of foreign make). One of these arrows, which they call poisoned, bears the name of imára. The shaft of this arrow is made of a thin piece of wood taken from the tree called parára and measures approximately 80 centimeters in length. At the upper end of this sharpened shaft is placed poison of a ray or the bone of a poisonous serpent. This imára is what the Kusina Indians used as a last resort in their battles with Whites or with

[58 cont.]

755 associated with some prohibitions of a taboo nature or with established social customs, the origin and in part even significance of which is unknown. But what attracts our attention in this aspect of Guajiro medical [59] practice is preventative rather than curative nature. To demonstrate this, we quote some examples:

753 755 843 During the period of pregnancy, neither the father nor the mother should be present at the exhumation of the dead, a ceremony which the Indians hold to comply with the rites of the secondary burial. If this injunction is disobeyed, the infant about to be born will, at birth or a few days later, have a sickly appearance and will be afflicted with constant diarrhea and night sweats, and will be characterized by a very pronounced paleness and extreme thinness.

755 If this occurs, if through carelessness the parents witness the exhumation of a corpse during the mother's pregnancy and her child is born sickly, they will not try to blame the child's illness on any other cause than that just stated. In accordance with this decision, they will proceed to apply the curing method appropriate for such an emergency, which, as we noted in the previous chapter, "Magic and Sacrifice," is as follows: (a) They wait until there is a fiesta of a ceremonial nature for the exhumation of human remains and then place the infant inside the recently opened body of the animal that has been sacrificed for the ceremony. (b) If the infant cannot be taken to the place where the ceremony is being held, a bone of the sacrificed animal is taken, left to dry, and cooked, and the infant is bathed in this water. (c) If there is no possibility of a ceremony of the type described being held in the near future, a hole is made in the sand, and the child is buried therein up to its neck and is then covered with the loose earth.

843 845 [77] Neither should the husband of a pregnant woman under any circumstances dig a grave or assist in the construction of a vault (an element of acculturation) destined for the primary or secondary burial of any person. If he does his wife will suffer the consequences of this disrespect in her delivery, which will not be normal: prolonged for several days, very painful, and with serious consequences for the mother and for the coming child.

[68 cont.]

774 of the soul is uniform, so also the effects of all things are magically related to one another." (46)

46. Born. Fetiche, Amuleto, Talisman [Fetish, Amulet, Talisman], p. 3.

This polydemonism of which Dr. Born writes, or spiritism as we have called it, can be seen more clearly in the life of the Guajiro communities in the chapter which deals with the aspect of funerals. All the ceremonial relating to the dead is [764] filled with this belief [69] in the universal soul and in the survival of a personal soul after death.

755 In the chapter we are dealing with we see it also clearly established, especially in the curative methods followed by the shaman, or medicine man, who seeks the assistance of his protector spirit or spirits to find out the kind of illness the sick man is suffering from and the manner of eradicating it from his body, as well as in certain aspects of household remedies consisting of prevenative methods. In no way different are the 764 taboo prohibitions related to the dead, the burials and exhuma- 783 tions in general, animals sacrificed in funeral ceremonial, and 784 persons who have been in contact, directly or indirectly, with the dead by assisting in the burial or exhumation of human remains, in digging graves, in imprudently gazing on the placing of a burial in the grave, etc., all of which contaminate with the essence of the dead, who by his very nature, by the act of having passed to a higher life situated on a plane of superior potentialities to that which he has left, is converted into something dangerous, sacred or impure, as the case may be, and for this reason contaminating.

This contaminating action of the dead also appears in the 751 aspect of medicine since they endeavor to avoid possible harm 775 to children before birth and therefore to pregnant women or those in actual childbirth, because, as we have already seen these are the most likely victims of the malevolent action of spirits. Children especially receive such influences through their parents when they are in the mother's womb and have such poor means of self-defense.

[77 cont.]

762 783 should not be transmitted to the persons who for any circumstance may approach or touch them.

The wickedness of the spirit of the suicide, in any event, 762 is seen to be reaffirmed by another Guajiro belief, which is that 769 of not daring to pass at [78] night by the place where an Indian 775 may have hanged himself because his spirit wanders continually around the place, and being malignant it will certainly pursue and chase after one in the form of a great flame or some other shape.

775 As we proceed to set down the present data relating to the participation of the dead in the lives of the Guajiro community, we shall refer to those related to the spirits of suicides with the idea of obtaining greater objectivity in our statements.

Presence and life of the dead. The spirit of the dead, known usually by the name wanuré and at other times as yoruja, on being separated from its body wanders about the world. Although it no longer has any tangible relationship with terrestial things, it is still dangerous. Usually it takes refuge in lonely and isolated places such as in some cemeteries, in the crevices formed by sea erosion in Cabo de la Vela, or in the solitudes of the Emejuy forest. But it appears that in addition to these places frequented by the spirits of the dead, there is one undetermined special place far away from La Guajira. It is customary when a 764 woman has died to cover her face with paipai (a paint for the 775 face) before wrapping her in her shroud and placing her in her coffin ready for burial. The explanation for this is that she is going on a long journey, a very long journey, and the sun to which she will be exposed will be very strong and harmful to her face. For this reason, according to Guajiro custom, they must try to protect the skin of her face from the sun's action by the use of this face paint. Also she is going to pay a visit, and it is indispensable that a woman should have her face painted when visiting friends or relatives (55).

751 55. The Guajiro woman, every time she is exposed to the sun's rays, protects her face with paipai powder (color of burnt sienna)

[78 cont.]

751 or another powder, achiote, mixed with tallow or other animal grease of some kind, which prevents the severe sunburn which the strong desert sun can cause.

764 The following facts give clearer and more convincing
765 proof of the reality of the dead as beings who pass to another life, to a certain point a material one. When a person dies the relatives usually place by his side at the moment of burial a small portion of chicha in a gourd; they also put in some meat and rum, as indispensable nourishment which he will require during the long journey he has to make. After the burial they place on his grave one of the objects of his personal ownership which had been used by him to satisfy his primary necessities. These objects [78] can be: a night glass (influence of acculturation through civilizado elements) if he is a rich Indian; the jug he used to drink from, or the plate he used for meals. In the case of a woman, in addition to these objects they place a special one, something which she greatly liked and worked with during her life -- for example, her spindle. Furthermore, after having buried the dead person, they light small fires for several nights so that the spirit can find the way it has to travel in its passage to the other world and will not be inconvenienced by losing its way, an inconvenience which might lead to trouble for its relatives.

On the other hand, when the Guajiro Indian has emigrated from his country for various reasons, especially in times of extreme summers when poverty becomes felt in an alarming way, and falls ill on foreign soil, his great concern is the need to return to his native land as soon as possible in order to die there and be buried in the cemetery where the remains of the ancestors of his family group lie. This concern, which could be interpreted romantically as a sentimental one, a simple manifestation of homesickness, has another explanation, more sociological and conscious, related to life beyond the tomb. This is that the Guajiro, whatever his social or family condition may be, is convinced that after his death he will have to travel a long way

[79 cont.]

764 before arriving at the abode of the spirits, a route that would be
765 most difficult, practically impossible, to follow if he had to set off from some place that was not the special cemetery of his group; and above all he fears that all the indispensable ceremonies required for the success of his post-mortem travels may not be complied with.

766 These facts show us their belief in the active influence, the continuity of life of the individual after his physical death in a spiritual form. It is precisely this belief in life beyond the grave which shapes, directs, and controls the activities in the life of the Guajiro in innumerable circumstances, as we have previously noted. To corroborate this, we single out some of this behavior which is directly connected with the spirit of the dead.

Return of the dead. One of the stories we obtained during the expedition to La Guajira was recounted by the same informant who supplied the data about the sacrifice of children in the making of magic arrows; she stated that when she was a little girl she went one morning with her sister, also small like herself, to look for some [80] burros that had been lost. They searched all through the day without finding them and at last decided to take the road back home. It was already late when the children turned their steps toward their home, from which they had traveled a considerable distance. The sun was already setting when in a small stream bordering on the forest they saw their grandmother, who had died some time previously. According to the story, the old lady was bathing and was accompanied by a boy. The girls, in order to find out if it really was their dead grandmother, asked her several questions to which she did not reply, an evident sign that it was her spirit that had recovered
768 its bodily form. (One can infer from this part of the story a
767 characteristic of the spirits of the dead, which is their inability to communicate directly with living people by speech; these communications only occur in the Indian's dreams when his spirit, also freed from his body, can take advantage of this condition.) The girls returned home and asked why they had seen their grandmother if she was dead. The reply they got was

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766 head downward, and then they cover it with a piece of another clay olla, new, usually with a base. The urn is buried in the [824] woods at the foot of a special tree called in Guajiro huruwá ("within us," etymologically), with the idea that the other children that are born will not continue dying. No special ceremony accompanies the burial of the child, which must be carried out by the maternal uncle, since neither the father nor the mother may be present because it is believed that if they should be all their other children would also die as they were born.

765 When the first-born dies, and the work of its burial has been complied with, the mother is put through the following 766 procedure: She is hung in a hammock for three days in a closed room (it is really a small house made especially for the purpose). After three days have passed, she is unslung from the hammock, but she has to continue in seclusion for a further five [834] months (five lunar months), and the husband is prohibited from visiting her, with the idea of avoiding sexual contact. After this seclusion the husband may return, and they resume normal married life. During the time she is in the hammock, the [262] woman is not allowed to receive any food except a medicine called hawapi, which serves for fattening. This medicine is a [278] mixture of scraped roots dissolved in cold water [86] and is drunk after being strained. The wife receives this medicine from her mother, who acts as her nurse.

In other words, the mother, by reason of the death of her [821] first-born, has to repeat the complete cycle of seclusion as at the initiation of young women when they reach puberty. The ceremonial is the same, seclusion, taking of fattening medicine, sexual exclusion of the man, and in general all contact or relations with him, etc.

764 If in spite of these precautions the next child should also die, the previous cycle is not followed, but the baby is buried with all due ceremony. A fiesta is arranged for the burial, a wake is held with the usual distribution of liquor, and animals which the maternal and paternal grandparents supply are sacrificed. The mother undergoes a new special treatment but without those of seclusion.

[87 cont.]

858 greater protection than the adult as, owing to his limited defensive capacity, illnesses can readily take possession of his body. We made reference in that section to the malevolent action of certain animals as well as the influence of the dead, the contamination exercised by their spirits on conception and on small children. And now we return to refer especially to this last aspect. We also saw how the harmful effects of animals centered especially on unborn infants due to carelessness on the part of pregnant mothers or of the husbands, and this is repeated equally with regard to funerals.

[744] When the grave destined for a dead person is opened, small children who go to the funeral, relatives of the deceased, must pass in file over it with the object that death will be delayed and will not overcome them while very young.

843 853 When speaking of sacrifice (cf. Chapter III) as well as when speaking of medicine among the Guajiro Indians in its magic aspect, we quoted the general belief in La Guajira, which [171] is known also as an aspect of folklore in various parts of Colombia, among them Santander and Nariño, that if during pregnancy, the father or the mother of the child to be born has been present at the exhumation of any human remains, the child will be born sickly, will suffer from diarrhea, night sweating, paleness, and loss of weight. The characteristic of something touched by death which the corpse has makes it contagious and, so to speak, contaminates the mother of the infant, who because of his weakness is incapable of resisting its influence. If in this case one considers the folklore aspect, the explanation which is given is that the cold of death has affected the child through the person of its mother or its father in the presence of the corpse. The explanation in the case of Guajiro appears to 755 us to be somewhat more complicated, as we had occasion to show above, although the curing processes tend in reality to extract the cold of death from the body of the child after it is born. The method of curing considered infallible by them is to bury the child in the still warm carcass of an animal sacrificed [88] during a wake, and only when there is no such possibility do they make use of the substitute, the bone, or of burying

[88 cont.]

755 the child in the warm sand, covering it to the base of its head. There is a decided magic intervention, the effect of which we do not know on the part of the sacrificed animal which, as we have said, shares the contaminating quality of its dead owner.

Other beliefs which confirm what has been stated are the following: The husband of a pregnant woman should never, for any motive whatsoever, dig a grave or assist in the construction of a vault for either a primary or secondary burial ceremony, because in such a case his wife's delivery will not be normal; it will be prolonged with danger both to the mother and the child.

Neither should the mother-to-be watch a burial being placed in a vault because the previously mentioned phenomenon will be repeated: She will have a difficult delivery, through delay in the birth and pain.

Anyone who has touched a man whose death was not due to natural causes must not come near a sick person because if he does the sick man will quickly die. This also applies to those who have helped in an exhumation or taken part in any of the ceremonies called for by the secondary burial. Neither should such a person go near small children because these will, according to Guajiro belief, automatically begin to cry and twist about, the victims of some sickness.

In general terms, the individual who approaches a corpse, who touches it, or who participates directly in the different ceremonies relating to it becomes contaminated. But he does not suffer the consequences of this contamination in his own person, unless it be a pregnant woman; he takes on the role of transmitting agent. He becomes an intermediary, if we can so call him, between the spirit and children, sick people, or pregnant women, which are the three classes of people preferred by the spirits of the dead on whom to practice their malevolent contaminations. In all three cases the weakness of the contaminated person is evident: the sick person, the child in the womb unable to defend itself, and the newborn also incapable of defending itself against the spirit as it shows in contrast to the other members of the community, that is, the adults on whom it depends for its

[88 cont.]

753 subsistence and in general for every aspect of its life.

•764 The relation spirit-sickness-death, which we have re-
783 ferred to in previous sections, is corroborated by this class of beings exposed to the harmful influence of the spirits almost in the same sense as that in which science regards sickness, i.e., the greater the weakness the greater the possibility of contamination from pathogenic germs. In short, [89] death occurs more frequently among old people and children than among adults. It is only that pathogenic germs, or the various causes of sickness among the Guajiro, are reduced, due to their mentality and in the majority of cases, to one cause only, wanurú, the spirit of sickness and death.

[p. 90 is blank]

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VI

Magic Charms
(Fetishes, Amulets, and Talismans)

789 As these three terms, fetish, amulet, and talisman generally lend themselves to confusion, we wish to clarify the meaning of each one before we proceed further with the subject.

Amulet "indicates an object that possesses the magic, passive quality of defending the wearer from malignant influences..." (56)

56. Castiglioni. Op. cit., VI, 87.

Fetish derives from the Portuguese feitiço, corresponding to the Latin word factícius ("made by hand"), and at first was used to describe Christian amulets, but was used by navigators in the fifteenth century to describe the primitively carved wood and stone which were worshiped as beacons of magic forces by the Negroes of West Africa. The fetish "is an efficacious charm whose supposed action is guided by the wish of its owner." (57)

57. Rom. Op. cit., 2-3.

[116 cont.]

787 If someone dreams that a certain person is dead, and he sees him in that state, it is because he will be seeing a steer killed in the near future; and vice versa if in the dream he is present during the sacrifice of a steer it means that a certain person, who is then identified by the interpreter of the dream, is going to be killed by violence.

If in a dream one sees a person who lives at a distance, it foretells that within a short time he will be seen; and vice versa if the person in the dream lives in the vicinity of the dreamer, it indicates that that person will not be seen for a long time, or never; in other words, he is soon going to die.

If someone dreams that he cares greatly for a certain person, and he sees himself making demonstrations of affection toward him, that person will no longer care for him, he will forget the dreamer [117] and completely ignore him. On the other hand, if the dreamer appears to be very disdainful of an individual and shows his feelings of dislike for him, it means that the person is going to care for him passionately.

When in a dream a person is going to be murdered, this means that someone of his group will die, not the person dreamed of but some other.

If in a dream he has the sensation (nightmare) that he is falling from the hammock in which he is sleeping, that is a sure sign that when he is dead those who are carrying his body to the cemetery will let it fall and crash to the bottom of the
[764] [559] grave, when the social norm stipulates that the body of a dead person should be lowered carefully and slowly to its final resting place. Such an occurrence signifies that the heaven of the body held the dead man in little esteem.

A woman who dreams that she has, or that she will have, a daughter is convinced that this means that her honor is going to be defamed, that she will be involved in vile gossip and slander; people will say that men have abused her, and when they see her with a man they will say that he is one of the many with whom she has had illicit relations. But when she dreams that the child she will bear will be male, this is a sure sign of a potchi and that her family will be involved in an interclan war and will suffer

[155 cont.]

182 individual or of the dead, in the aspect which we have called
626 "Omens and Augural Birds," in the behavior followed by individ-
789 uals who wish to call up a breeze during a windless calm at sea or to send away eclipses and lightning which, according to their belief, are malevolent.

• • •

789 A very interesting aspect of magic is its use for and against
595 some of the cultural institutions and their institutionalized patterns; for example, the use of love charms and the compliance with certain norms after the period of seclusion accompanying the ceremonies at the time of a young woman's initiation. Her aim is to fight against polygamy, with a view either to obtaining predominance over other wives or, better, to prevent the man who has acquired her for his wife from acquiring more women with whom she would have to share his life. Possibly due to the influence of acculturation, there is a tendency toward monogamy on the part of the women. The men, however, tend toward polygamy for prestige, since for it they must have a good economical position, as the price of women is high, increasingly so the greater their social position.

[177] [654]

[156] Another institution that we see directly affected by
751 magic is this same initiation of young women. We saw how
771 the death of a first-born child required a series of ceremonies
881 to prevent future children dying at birth, one after the other, and we stated that one of the principal ceremonies consisted in the observance of certain norms which bring to mind very clearly the initiation of the young mother. Their idea would seem to be that one of the causes of the death of the first-born was the deficient carrying out of the magic-biological-social ceremonial to which the girl must submit to prepare for her life as an adult.

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Also the norms relating to the dead and the belief in a
764 life beyond the grave rest almost exclusively on magic, and
775 through it their prestige and their functioning are kept up. Magic
771 is also the cause of the fear and respect which relatives and friends
626 show to their dead, and it is magic which also promotes all the ceremonial rites that are celebrated in this connection.

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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weaving, making drums, hammocks, mats, &c., sewing, and all the little knick-knacks Indians love so well.

The confinement is not so isolated as it seems, generally several of her female relations are round the door with the confined, who of course becomes rather stout, much blanched, almost white, and some exceedingly beautiful. Strangers and men are not excluded from peeping in through the door, always with an eye to matrimony, and she can be sold and liberated at once, though her husband if rich prefers leaving her to complete her term of schooling. On re-entering to society again, a special festival, akutia, is held with dancing, &c. An ox is killed, and the girl is dressed in the clothes she has made; her hair is cut and she resumes all her beads, necklaces, bracelets, and other ornaments.

Women are much respected by the Goajiros. In a quarrel or drunken brawl, women often save bloodshed by stepping in and tearing the weapons out of their husband's or brother's hand. Travelling with women is consequently perfectly safe, and in case of danger, if one undertakes to protect a stranger, he may rely upon coming out all right.

Matrimony is a mere case of barter. The girl is sold for a certain price, fixed by the father. This is paid by the intended husband, and divided by the father, who appropriates the best part for himself and his relations, the rest going to the wife's relations. As it is chiefly in cattle, these are killed and a kind of bridal festival held. There is no other ceremony. A wife is under obligation to support her husband, find him in food, clothes, &c. She does most of the trading, and a contract made with an Indian is worthless, should his better half object. An Indian cannot inflict bodily injury on his wife, for he becomes liable to her relations, and should she die during childbirth he has to repay the father what he gave for her. But if the wife is untrue (a rare occurrence) he demands from the father the price he paid for her, who if he cannot refund, helps him to recover from the seducer, plus tear or compensation from his mother-in-law. At the husband's death, the wife becomes a legacy to his brother, usually the youngest; if there are none, then his nephew inherits her. The daughter of a chief is worth, according to his wealth and power (i.e. the number of men he can dispose of in a fight) from 6 to 150 head of cattle (12*l.* to 300*l.*).

When a person dies, a grand drinking festival is given, that lasts as long as there is anything to drink—days, and even weeks, with the wealthy. These latter are buried twice, and have two festivals. A rich person is always buried in the ranche, and on the spot where he was born; being often carried for that purpose immense distances. A fire is lighted every night from sunset to sunrise in front of the grave, for the sole use of the dead. Immense piles of wood are gathered for this purpose, as the body is kept two years in the house. Then all the relations can meet on a certain day, and the second feast takes place, when the bones are carefully gathered, placed in a jar, and consigned to the

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dentary, a site chosen in some military arid spot, and surrounded by walls of mati. At the death of Salvador, a Pushaina from Arroyo Cardon, 120 fat cows were killed, and the hides did not pay for the liquor drunk. Two of the same family meeting for the first time after the death of a relation, must squat down on their heels in front of each other, and sob and weep, for at least a quarter of an hour, the louder the better.

The Indians are very punctilious in salutes. Calling at a rancho, visitors must wait until spoken to, if this is not done soon, it is evident they are not welcome, so ride away. The words used never seem to be the same. The most frequent are "Intishi-pia" (you have come), or "Eiguare pia" (so you have arrived). In eating and drinking the Indians are extremely cleanly. The principals all eat separately; receiving their allowance in an earthenware dish, pass, with a gourd spoon, pushing. The remains, with an addition, serve for the lower members of the family. Water is invariably given after, to wash the mouth and fingers. Even if a drink of milk is taken, a little water is tendered after. As to their hospitality, it has, I believe, been rather exaggerated. There is no doubt that the Goajiro is more hospitable than the Arhuacos of the Sierra Nevada, but then he is also far more cunning and diplomatic, and his hospitality is a mere question of self-interest. He will willingly give a sheep or a goat as a present, provided there is a chance of obtaining an ox in return. He is chivalresque in his donations. When he does give a sheep, it is a fat one, his best, and given whole, without reserve, skin and all. If eating, on the arrival of a stranger, he may offer food to him, but certainly will give if requested, as is the custom, always begging. One thing a guest may rely upon receiving in a rancho in a hammock, even if the owner has to sleep on the ground. Lastly, among curious customs, is that of parents assuming the names of their children with the prefix *uuki* or *ouki* if the father, and *ui* or *ui* if the mother. Thus the father of Juan would call himself "Nuukijuan," or if a daughter, "Suukijuana." The mother of Juan would be called "Nijuan," and if a daughter, "Nijuana."

The dress of the Goajiro is extremely simple, and probably similar to his savage heavery of three centuries ago, when Alfinger devastated the land, except that his own quiet blacks and browns—for he is growing in the art of dyeing—have given way to the gorgeous blues, reds, and yellows of European wool. His every day working costume is simply a strip of cloth from three inches wide upwards, called *cuisha*. When paying visits, receiving company, or travelling, he does his best—a large loincloth with many folds, and the home-woven mantle *ché*, with a magnificent *uuch*, *ché*. The mantle is managed with wonderful elegance, now letting it fall about him in voluptuous folds, or dropping it from his shoulders, and tucking it into his immense *uuch*, where his arrows are carried. The hair, which is jet black, thick, and cut short, is kept back in a very aquilinic style by a ring or crown,

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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those we had left, but just as simple. Inside were hammocks slung this way and that. Along the walls were carrying-nets filled with things, and earthenware vessels lay scattered about the floor of hard-trodden sand. Some of these vessels were grey, others reddish-brown, some had necks and handles. One was an obvious imitation of a Dutch liqueur jar. It was not far to Puerto Estrella, to which schooners from the Dutch islands came.

Most of the earthenware vessels had red decoration. Some, with wavering lines, were obviously the work of the oldest of the women, who was frail and almost blind; but there was no fault in the shape of the vessel. The woven cloths were hung up in a special shelter. The warp hung vertical and ran like an endless belt over an upper and a lower pole. Several related tribes, members of the Arauk family, use the same method. When the cloth is finished, it forms a ring, and is then cut up.

They were working on a man's belt or sash. The everyday belt was only a couple of inches wide, but sashes intended for more solemn occasions were some eighteen inches broad and very colourful. They used red, yellow, black and white yarn and the pattern was most interesting. Ceremonial cloaks are also woven for the men, just as colourful as the sashes, but, to my sorrow, I was never able to acquire a really fine specimen. They were simply too expensive. The rich chiefs collected them, but custom decreed that they must be wrapped in all their cloaks when they died, which meant that none were inherited. The men's everyday cloaks I have already described; they pulled them on and then twisted them so that their chest was bared. The women's dress was considerably more Spartan: it was a wide tunic, made like a sack with holes for the head and arms, and dyed black with divi-divi or brown with stuff from some other plant. Their loin-cloth only became visible when they were working in the shade or indoors and removed their tunics. It too was black or undyed. They themselves thought that there was no call to use a nice patterned cloth for underclothes. Little girls often had patterned loin-cloths, but then they did not wear tunics

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292 *A chickamaya in full swing*

291 *First burial. The dead person's bier is being carried out from its shelter*

The after-burial. A medicine man guarding the urns containing the dead person's bones

[facing p. 96]

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551 idea being that to speak the name renews the grief of the
683 dead person's relatives. An old man of the Uriana clan, who called himself Juan, died. Some time later some of his relatives were at an entertainment, at which too was a woman of the Jusuá clan with her little son. A Creole asked this woman what her little boy was called and without thinking, she replied: 'Juan'. The dead man's relatives then claimed damages because she had mentioned the dead man's name, and she had to pay them a bullock, even though it was a Spanish name. It was the reminder of their grief that had [564] to be compensated. It is also an offence to tread on an Indian's grave.

683 It is more expensive to strike a person than to insult him. One should not answer an insult with a blow, but a well-to-do Indian will not infrequently do so and gladly pay the damages. If an Indian strikes another without hurting him, he must pay nonetheless, because he has treated the other as a slave—it being only one's own slaves that one has the right to strike. If anyone tears a tunic, he must not only
685 replace it, but pay for the shame the other felt at going about in rags.

A thief, if caught, must repay several times the value of what he has stolen. Not infrequently he must pay with his life, especially if the person he has robbed is a powerful personage, as he usually is, and the thief belongs to a weak clan that cannot help his family to exact blood-money.

[567] A thief can be forced to pay by working for his victim. He
682 becomes a debtor-slave. Murder, manslaughter and being the cause of another's death are the most serious crimes. They do not have these actual categories. The penalty for manslaughter is very heavy; if agreement cannot be reached on it, it can sometimes lead to war, a war in which the enemy must either be exterminated or enslaved.

628 It is on such occasions that a purchi is held, at which you can see the groups of warriors drawn up facing each other, while a chief presides.

622 The chief is a mighty person and will have been chosen
628 for his excellent qualities, yet he is not a judge, but rather advocate and mediator. His role is as conciliator. He will

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A Goajiro man, dressed and painted as a woman. He lived with another man and performed all the tasks of the housewife

Little girl with gold beads around her neck and ankles

After-burial: woman weeping by the urn containing the dead man's bones

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765
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[FACING p. 112]

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CHAPTER 9

A Wake

One day we received an invitation to a rancho owned by well-to-do people. We knew them, but had not been there before. The messenger bade us welcome and told us that the old man there had gone. Francisco crossed himself and said that an old man, an uncle, had died and that there was to be a funeral feast. What the dead man's name was could not be mentioned. We wanted to witness a burial, so we accepted gratefully and set off at once with camera and guns—Francisco having told us that one fired off guns at the feast. 764

There were a lot of people already there when we arrived. Members of the family were often informed when illness took a dangerous turn and so arrived while the patient was still alive. On this occasion they had already laid the dead man out. He had been washed: his best ornaments had been put on him and he had been wrapped in the cloths which the women weave specially for this purpose. After death a woman is painted to make her as lovely as possible, but not a man. The dead person is always left alone for a while so that his soul can go round a last time and take farewell of the place. Having been shrouded, the old man had been laid in the fresh hide of a newly slaughtered bullock and placed in a hammock strung between two poles under a temporary roof covered with grass. [763] [765]

Numbers of people were standing round the dead man's last resting place, while his closest relatives sat in hammocks strung between other poles. All kept their faces covered, either by pulling their cloaks up over them or by draping clothes over their heads. Some were merely clasping their

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hands to their faces. From one and all rose the lugubrious, shrill lament that had to sound uninterruptedly as long as the dead man was above ground. (For some time after the funeral, the man's nearest relatives would begin the day with a song of lament.) After some time the wailers nearest to the bier began to make way for others, and then we too began lamenting, imitating the sound as best we could, as politeness required that every guest should.

One of the men now turned and pulled the cloak from his face. It was our host. He was very glad to see us and, above all, seemed to be flattered that my wife had come. He was already slightly under the weather, swaying a little on his feet, and in one hand he held an enamel chamberpot. He looked so comical that my wife had to hold her handkerchief over her mouth so that none should see what difficulty she was having in keeping a straight face. Our host thought she was very moved and at once ordered one of his fattest sheep to be given her to 'dry her tears', as it is called. He always called her majayura, maiden, remarking: 'She is far too young and lovely to be married.' This, of course, was meant as a compliment. He added that he knew very well what we usually ate. He knew that we were from the same part of the world as the monks and that these people lived on bread, sugar and potatoes. He had tasted them in Nazaret. But perhaps we also liked meat? We assured him that we did, and he promised us large pieces of beef and as much maize beer as we wished. Then he had to go and attend to his other guests.

Burials are big affairs. A good proportion of the dead person's livestock has to be slaughtered to accompany him into the hereafter. The guests feast on this meat, and afterwards each is given some to take home. We walked round to look at the many camps, some under cactus trees, others in the open. There were several hundred Indians assembled there. Everywhere sheep were being slaughtered, meat was being roasted and people were feasting. One old woman was stuffing congealed blood from a calabash with both hands. The whole place smelt of blood, maize beer and spirits. Here and there someone was galloping on a horse. Many of

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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the men were already quite drunk. Everyone was chattering, laughing and enjoying themselves. It was more like a fair than a funeral. The sun was in the zenith and there was no shade anywhere. Most of the men had removed their cloaks, only putting them on to go to the bier and lament; but the women kept their tunics on; there were no half-naked women to be seen there. Some of them had tunics of light bought material, and when the wind pressed the cloth against their bodies their forms stood out like reliefs and their skins shone through the thin material. Many of the men devoured them with their eyes, but the women's interest seemed riveted to the steaming boiled meat.

We met a thin and obviously poor Indian who expressed satisfaction at the number of funerals that had lately taken place. He had been attending them uninterruptedly for almost a month, had had meat every day and was beginning to put on weight. Yet he was not high in the social scale. Each person was entertained in accordance with his social rank.

There was not much sleep that night. Lamentation continued beside the bier all night, while sounds of singing, shouts and squabbling came from the Indian camp. We had been told that it would be a day or two before the dead man was buried. That is not done until all the cattle allotted for the funeral have been slaughtered. A number of beasts had been set aside to provide the meat the guests took away with them, and others were being saved for the subsequent funeral. We knew that in two years' time the dead man's bones would be dug up and another feast held.

In that climate a body should not remain above ground even two days, and yet the funerals of the rich lasted much longer. Thus they swathe the bodies of the rich in as many pieces of cloth as possible and in several cow-hides in an attempt to keep the stench from being too offensive. There was a lot of talk about the funeral of a rich chief, José Dolores, that had taken place some years before. How many cattle were slaughtered on that occasion is not known for certain—the monks said about three thousand—but it is known that the feast lasted two and a half months. The body

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was wrapped in forty-eight beautifully woven cloaks each worth the equivalent of £20-£25. Despite this the atmosphere was not pleasant and during the feast they sent to Venezuela for so much eau de cologne that it was said to have cost thirty thousand bolivares. What we were attending was thus quite a simple funeral, but it must have cost several hundred pounds.

On the third day the body, wrapped in hides, was placed on a horse and taken out to the burial place, where one of the closest male relatives had dug a grave—a great honour that. Everyone accompanied the body. The men drank copiously as they walked along. The dead man was laid in the grave, and some of the sand that had been dug out of it was carefully shovelled in; then they let down food and drink, including a large jar of spirits, and—to our amazement—the enamel pot followed. Indians who have had a lot to do with white people like to take such pots on their journeys, and apparently it was considered that one might be needed even on a man's last journey.

After this everyone fired their guns into the air, and those who did not have firearms shot arrows. That was done in the hope of driving away any malevolent spirits who might be trying to worm their way back. A large fire was lit on the grave. This would burn every night for some time to come, in order to light the soul on its journey.

Later, the dead man's relatives would go out now and again to lament and take food and drink, which latter they would invite the dead man to share with them. Then, after a couple of years, the man's bones would be dug up and the after-funeral celebrated. We attended several of these; this second ceremony is entrusted to a few female relatives, who, swathed in tunics from head to foot, take hold of the bones with bits of cloth. The skull and skeleton are cleaned and laid on a cloth, in which they are tied up and lowered into a jar and this is taken to the house of grief, where another, though shorter funeral feast is held. After that the jar is buried again.

Those who have dug up the bones and all who have touched a dead person, must not eat with their hands for

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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several days afterwards, but have to be fed. They also have 767
to keep to a diet for a while, a precaution that, like the cloaks they are wrapped in while digging up the bones, is to protect them against spirits.

In the old days the house in which a person died was 768
abandoned. Nowadays that is only done if the person has been murdered.

I have come across this after-funeral among several 765
Indian tribes farther south, in particular the Motilon in the 171
Andes, neighbours of the Guajiro, and the Indians of the Llanos plains around the Orinoco. It seems a peculiar custom to us, but it is a sort of memorial ceremony, a feast of remembrance devoted to the dead person, who is thus not forgotten so quickly by the Indians, as is often the case with us.

The animals killed at a man's funeral are to accompany 764
him into the hereafter and enable him to maintain his position there. His immediate relatives must not eat of this meat, which is all given to the guests, who cook it and feast on it.

Different in character is the sacrifice of some creature, a [751]
black sheep or a brown cow, which the piache recommends [782]
when he has dreamed that someone is in danger of being [787]
murdered. Here the animal is being killed in place of the threatened man, the goat or cow acting as substitute so that the human can escape his fate. Presumably, what used to happen was that the person threatened had to go out and kill some wild animal, a deer for example. The custom of slaughtering cattle at a funeral originates from the change in [178]
the Indians' way of life that resulted from their making cattle-rearing their main occupation. Earlier the dead person was given other grave-goods to enable him to manage in the life hereafter, including ornaments and that sort of thing. In the pre-Columbian era quantities of polished stone beads and tuma were placed in the graves. Then, when fortunes began to be reckoned in cattle and horses, it was obvious that the dead person must have cattle to accompany him. To the Guajiro, as to the general run of Indians, there 761
is no such thing as natural death. Were it not for the 776
dangerous world of the spirits and evil enchanters people

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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586 minus an amount considered equivalent for the sexual right he had exer-
[845] cised. If a woman dies in her first childbirth the husband may demand
583 the full return of the bride price (Simons, 1885, p. 792, however, states that the wife's relatives demand compensation from the husband).
586 Adultery entails divorce with full return of the bride price. It rarely
857 occurs, however, as the wife will be treated badly by her own relatives. At his death a man's wives are inherited by his brother, and next by his
587 sister's sons; the women may avoid this by making a payment equivalent
768 to their bride price. If he is of the Catholic faith his children may claim
184 to be his legal heirs, which leads to conflict with the maternal nephews. (See Social Organization, p. 374.)

562 The influence of women in political affairs is sometimes noticeable.
692 There are cases of female chiefs, and women are respected enough so as to be able to intervene and stop brawls.

764 **Death.**—Funerals are accompanied by festivities which last days or even
[658] weeks, according to the wealth of the family. There are some differences
[184] in the funeral ceremonies which are apparently associated with the particular sibs. These funeral feasts afford the best opportunity for display of wealth, and more than 1,000 head of livestock may be butchered. Every mourner who comes to the feast contributes animals for slaughter and continues to do so as long as he cares to remain. After the mourning period, marked by weeping and lamenting interspersed with drinking and feasting, the corpse, which has lain in a hammock slung from the rafters,
[787] is sewn up in hides by the women (men may not touch a dead body) and carried to the cemetery of the tribe. For a year or so, the body may be temporarily consigned to a shallow grave marked by a pile of stones. Food and drink are often placed in the grave, and, if the deceased had been a warrior, his bows and arrows are put in. A year or two later the bones
764 are exhumed and reburied in a large urn. The exhumation is generally
765 done at night and is accompanied by a feast. The remains are carried in a funeral procession to the dead person's birthplace, where they are buried in the family's own cemetery. The funeral urn is placed in a vertical position with the narrow neck of the jar protruding above ground to permit the free entry and exit of the spirit and to allow the remains of other members of the family to be added from time to time. A cactus hedge surrounds the cemetery, and in wet weather half a calabash is placed over the opening of each jar to keep out the rain. Whenever two relatives of a recently deceased person meet, they bow to the ground, shouting and groaning, for several minutes. (For a slightly different account of the burial of a rich man, see Simons, 1885, p. 792.)

761 If a person is stricken with smallpox the whole tribe moves away, only
766 the family of the sick person remaining. When the death occurs they bury the body below the floor and burn the hut over the grave.

/159 cont./

764 The corpse is lowered into the grave with ropes, with the greatest care taken not to bang it or lower it roughly to the bottom of the grave. This would mean an offense to the dead man, who in some way would show his annoyance at this lack of care, which is in itself an insult; and the relatives would feel considerably offended at the want of respect shown to one who was of their blood and at a time so important to the Goajiro as that of burying a kinsman. It represents, to his way of thinking, an insult almost as great as to refuse to dig his grave, to speak ill of a dead relative, or to pronounce his name.

764 The same individual who digs the grave covers it with the
783 excavated earth, doing his work with extreme care. Then he goes to his home where he is submitted for some time to a purification ceremonial. The people who formed the procession return to their homes, after shooting off their firearms while the burial is in progress with the idea of frightening off all evil spirits. In times past they shot arrows repeatedly. Upon return the relatives also go through a purification ceremony, and generally, gathered together, they slaughter an animal for themselves from among those which had not been presented nor had belonged to the deceased.

764 For the dead man they place a supply of food and drink in the grave (his favorite food), and if while alive he liked to get drunk, they place an abundance of liquor. His most valued
[594 personal utensils, especially his chamber pot, an indication
594] that the owner was of high status, are placed on his grave, as are his cups and dishes, which also give prestige to the dead man.

765 During a more or less lengthy period his closest relatives go frequently to visit his grave, taking with them food which they eat over it, after weeping there for a long time and asking the dead person to join them. On the eighth day after his death it is mandatory /160/ to make such a visit, later, at the end of each lunar month after the occurrence of the death. These visits are made with more frequency when the relatives believe

/180 cont./

that they have felt the spirit of the departed, which to them is an indication that they have not complied fully with the funeral ritual or that something was missing from the post-mortem rites or that he lacks some material necessities beyong the grave. For this reason they take him food and drink. Another practice is that any Goajiro -- man or woman -- who passes by the cemetery must enter, above all if he knows there has been a recent burial, and cry a little over the graves, recalling his own troubles and those of his clan. In the period immediately following the burial, the relatives of the dead person light bonfires in his honor during the night in order to illumine the road he must follow until he arrives at his future home, and so that his spirit will not continue to vander, like that of a murderer or a suicide, or become harmful. In Santander del Sur this custom existed in the distant past but nowadays the peasants limit themselves to placing a candle inside the sleeve of the deceased's shroud, so that he may light his path.

The Goajiro family remember their relative for a long time. Every morning before starting their day's work, they weep for him and the others of their clan group who have died (Cf. Chap. II, Cult of the dead).

When some time has passed after the burial of their relative (four or five months), two women return to his grave, almost secretly, his mother and his most beloved aunt, or his first wife. They reopen the grave until they find the body, raise it halfway up the grave, putting earth inside and then re-covering it. They say the object of this is to avoid the skeleton's being dispersed at such a depth when the exhumation takes place. These two women, after having carried out this labor, go through a special purification. About two years after death comes the time for exhumation, when all the relatives come together. They send out runners to announce the exhumation. All come to this ceremony in which the slaughter and distribution of animals and of drink is repeated; it takes place in the house of the deceased or in the cemetery itself,

/160 cont./

765 769 where an enramada /bough-covered shelter/ is erected if the house is too far away. The remains are put into an earthenware urn which is placed on a hammock around which they all congregate, also on hammocks, the female friends and relatives weeping over the dead man a second time. A new grave is dug in the clan cemetery, in which his remains are deposited. At the present time it is customary for each small family of means to have a common funerary urn /161/ in which the bone remains of all the immediate consanguineous members are accumulated.

The exhumation of the remains is a labor entrusted to the very close relatives of the dead man who were much attached to him. By this action they are offered a family honor which, like the digging of his grave, is never refused. These individuals, two in number, open up the grave; and one, his body totally covered with a robe and his hands wrapped in a cloth, scratches in the earth to find the bones. As the region is so dry the bodies are marvelously preserved. First of all he brings out the skull with much respect amid the silence of the others gathered around. He cleans it carefully, showing his affection for the deceased in each of these details, and then he passes it to his companion, together with the rest of the bones. This assistant is covered, especially his face, and his work consists in placing the remains in the urn destined beforehand for such a purpose. These two persons, once having [783] finished their operation, carefully purify themselves and for some time after follow a special diet.

In these exhumation ceremonies, the relatives of the [262] exhumed person submit to the same dietary proscription of not partaking of the meat of the slaughtered animals, and they receive the sympathy of their relatives and friends, who have come together again for this purpose.

768 A funeral custom still exists but has been weakened in some sectors that are more in contact with whites and the influence of the mission, and that is to abandon the house where the sick man died immediately after the body has been buried,

[41 cont.]

764 1. The first of these types refers to the custom established
782 among them of sacrificing, during the wake of any member of the community, a number of animals belonging to the dead man (cows, bulls, goats, sheep), the meat of which is divided among those attending the wake along with the corresponding drink, which in these days is rum but in times past was chicha.

The reason given for the sacrificing of animals during a
[767] wake in answer to the question is that this is done in deference to the guests and especially to those whom we could call "professional mourners," who spend all day and all night moaning over the corpse. But on observing certain practices and particularly certain taboos regarding the meat of these sacrificed animals, one has to think rather of the ritual character of the sacrifice.

It is a fact that the relatives — sons, daughters, nephews
262 [and nieces, sobrinos], brothers [and sisters, hermanos] etc. —
764 of the deceased cannot eat the meat of animals sacrificed during
763 the wake or during the later ceremony of secondary burial, as this,
782 according to their belief, would be equivalent to eating their dead kinsman's flesh. This taboo, imposed on the deceased's relatives, serves to prove to us — so far as it is possible to deduce — the ritual aspect of the sacrifice of the dead man's livestock, stock which on being slaughtered takes on the same untouchable or magical quality, which the individual takes on when he disappears from the world of the living and enters the universe of the dead. [42] To put this more plainly, the animals sacrificed are contaminated by their dead owner.

The untouchable quality of the animal sacrificed at the
[765] wake or in the ceremony that accompanies the second burial is supported by the following fact. The belief exists in La
[843 Guajira that if during pregnancy the mother or the father of the
753] future child is present at the exhuming of a corpse, the child is born sickly, suffers from permanent diarrhea and night sweats,
755 and gets more and more pale and progressively thinner. Its
765 illness continues to get worse, and none of the familiar remedies have the desired effect. The parents then resort to the following system of curing (a system which with some variations is also common among the people of the town of Santander). They wait until there is an exhumation ceremony, and then

[42 cont.]

755 765 they put the child inside one of the animals sacrificed for the occasion, taking care that the body of the animal is still warm, with the object that the child enter in the warmth.

If they cannot take the sick child to the place where the ritual ceremony is to be performed, the parents take a bone of the sacrificed animal, let it dry, and later cook it in a large quantity of water, with which they subsequently bathe the body of the child. The successful effect should be attained at the first bath or after several successive ones.

755 There is another system of curing this sickness, which the Guajiro call "the chill of the tomb." The presence of the parents at the wake has infected the unborn child with the coldness of the tomb which the dead man is about to occupy. For this reason, the important thing is to drive out the cold, for which they resort to the substitute (when there is no possibility of an exhumation ceremony in the near future) of digging a hole in the earth, approximately the size of the child, placing him in it and then covering him up to the neck with the displaced earth.

755 764 978 In any case, as can be seen, the second method is no more than a substitute for the required and definitive remedy. In the first case there are two magic associations: the participation, passive and involuntary, of the dead man in the transmission of the sickness; and the other, more active, of the cure through the sacrificed animal, which, as we noted, participates in the taboo by virtue of the sacrifice. If it were simply a matter of the cold-hot association, that is, if the idea were to drive the cold out of the sick child's body, the most practical and rapid way would be the third, that is, to put the child's body in an excavated hole and cover it with the displaced earth, so that heating by the sun may bring about the desired effect, particularly if one takes into account the high temperatures that are reached during [43] the day in the semidesert of La Guajira. But there is something more; there is the magic character of the ceremony of the sacrifice — which is undoubtedly diminishing through the effects of acculturation — but of which there remains at least the idea of utilizing the magic power of the sacrificed animal, or part

[85 cont.]

766 head downward, and then they cover it with a piece of another clay olla, new, usually with a base. The urn is buried in the [824] woods at the foot of a special tree called in Guajiro hunowá ("within us," etymologically), with the idea that the other children that are born will not continue dying. No special ceremony accompanies the burial of the child, which must be carried out by the maternal uncle, since neither the father nor the mother may be present because it is believed that if they should be all their other children would also die as they were born.

•765 766 When the first-born dies, and the work of its burial has been complied with, the mother is put through the following procedure: She is hung in a hammock for three days in a closed room (it is really a small house made especially for the purpose). After three days have passed, she is unslung from the hammock, but she has to continue in seclusion for a further five [834] months (five lunar months), and the husband is prohibited from visiting her, with the idea of avoiding sexual contact. After this seclusion the husband may return, and they resume normal married life. During the time she is in the hammock, the [262] woman is not allowed to receive any food except a medicine called hawapi, which serves for fattening. This medicine is a [278] mixture of scraped roots dissolved in cold water [86] and is drunk after being strained. The wife receives this medicine from her mother, who acts as her nurse.

In other words, the mother, by reason of the death of her [881] first-born, has to repeat the complete cycle of seclusion as at the initiation of young women when they reach puberty. The ceremonial is the same, seclusion, taking of fattening medicine, sexual exclusion of the man, and in general all contact or relations with him, etc.

764 If in spite of these precautions the next child should also die, the previous cycle is not followed, but the baby is buried with all due ceremony. A fiesta is arranged for the burial, a wake is held with the usual distribution of liquor, and animals which the maternal and paternal grandparents supply are sacrificed. The mother undergoes a new special treatment but without those of seclusion.

9: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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dentary, a site chosen in some military wild spot, and surrounded by walls of earth. At the death of Salvador, a Peninsular from Arroyo Cardon, 120 fat cows were killed, and the bides did not pay for the liquor drunk. Two of the same family meeting for the first time after the death of a relative, must squat down on their heels in front of each other, and sob and weep, for at least a quarter of an hour, the leader the latter.

The Indians are very punctilious in salutes. Calling at a rancho, visitors must wait until spoken to, if this is not done soon, it is evident they are not welcome, so ride away. The words used never seem to be the same. The most frequent are "Intishi-pia" (you have come), or "Eiguaro pia" (so you have arrived). In eating and drinking the Indians are extremely cleanly. The principals all eat separately; receiving their allowance in an earthenware dish, pani, with a gourd spoon, pushi. The remains, with an addition, serve for the lower members of the family. Water is invariably given after, to wash the mouth and fingers. Even if a drink of milk is taken, a little water is tendered after. As to their hospitality, it has, I believe, been rather exaggerated. There is no doubt that the Guajiro is more hospitable than the Arhuaco of the Sierra Nevada, but then he is also far more cunning and diplomatic, and his hospitality is a mere question of self-interest. He will willingly give a sheep or a goat as a present, provided there is a chance of obtaining an ox in return. He is chivalrous in his donations. When he does give a sheep, it is a fat one, his best, and given whole, without reserve, skin and all. If eating, on the arrival of a stranger, he may offer food to him, but certainly will give if requested, as is the custom, always begging. One thing a guest may rely upon receiving in a rancho is a hammock, even if the owner has to sleep on the ground. Lastly, among curious customs, is that of parents assuming the names of their children with the prefix uashi or asshi if the father, and ui or ai if the mother. Thus the father of Juan would call himself "Nashijuan," or if a daughter, "Stashijuana." The mother of Juan would be called "Nijuan," and if a daughter, "Nijuana."

The dress of the Guajiros is extremely simple, and probably similar to his savage luxury of three centuries ago, when Alfinger devastated the land, except that his own quiet blacks and browns—darker in consequence of the art of dyeing—have given way to the gorgeous blues, reds, and yellows of European wool. His every day working costume is simply a strip of cloth from three inches wide upwards, called *cairiba*. When paying visits, receiving company, or travelling, he does his best—a large loincloth with many folds, and the home-woven mantle *ché*, with a magnificent sash, *ché-ra*. The mantle is managed with wonderful elegance, now letting it fall about him in voluptuous folds, or dropping it from his shoulders, and tucking it into his immense sash, where his arrows are carried. The hair, which is jet black, thick, and cut short, is kept back in a very aglectic style by a ring or crown,

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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I have had to anticipate to tell how the secret of the arrows' effect was discovered. Let me now go back to where we were sitting on our stools talking with the Indians. It was late in the day and Francisco suggested that we should stay the night and go on at daybreak to another place where lived some prosperous Indians who had many materials and earthenware vessels. They had hammocks that we could borrow. It was a good suggestion and our hosts were more than agreeable. They wanted to vacate one of their huts, but we preferred to sleep in one of their open sheds. It was cool and, being tired, we fell asleep while the Indians were still sitting round the fire. 574

We were awakened by plaintive singing. It was still night. The Guajiro are excessively early risers. In the tropics you become accustomed to getting up at daybreak, but there on the peninsula everybody woke at three o'clock, when there were still a couple of hours of darkness left. Three o'clock was even a suitable visiting-hour. They liked to take advantage of the coolest part of the day, which was from three to six in the morning. The singing came from the big hut beside us. It was followed by a spoken rigmarole. The whole was as dreary as a funeral mass, and the voice was an old woman's. I discovered that it was a sort of pagan morning prayer for the children, used all over Guajira, in which an old woman recalled the memory of departed relations. If any of these had been killed and left unavenged, she would not neglect to remind the children of the fact and point out the guilty person. It ended with yet another wailing song. 765 511 513 765

What the old woman told them about their ancestors and injuries received was impressed upon the children's minds by hearing it repeated every morning in this way. Thus is a blood feud perpetuated from generation to generation. [628]

We made ourselves porridge and took our departure as day was breaking. Then we tramped on through the sand to the next rancheria. There only the women were at home, but as it is the women who make the things we wished to see, that suited us quite well. The huts were larger than 123 342

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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142
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516

A Guajiro man, dressed and painted as a woman. He lived with another man and performed all the tasks of the housewife

Little girl with gold beads treated her neck and ankles

After-burial: woman weeping by the urn containing the dead man's bones

764
765
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[FACING p. 112]

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764 hands to their faces. From one and all rose the lugubrious, shrill lament that had to sound uninterruptedly as long as the dead man was above ground. (For some time after the [765] funeral, the man's nearest relatives would begin the day with a song of lament.) After some time the wailers nearest to the bier began to make way for others, and then we too [576] began lamenting, imitating the sound as best we could, as politeness required that every guest should.

One of the men now turned and pulled the cloak from his face. It was our host. He was very glad to see us and, above all, seemed to be flattered that my wife had come. He was [273] already slightly under the weather, swaying a little on his [415] feet, and in one hand he held an enamel chamberpot. He looked so comical that my wife had to hold her handkerchief over her mouth so that none should see what difficulty she [431] was having in keeping a straight face. Our host thought she [609] was very moved and at once ordered one of his fattest sheep to be given her to 'dry her tears', as it is called. He always called her majayura, maiden, remarking: 'She is far too young and lovely to be married.' This, of course, was meant as a compliment. He added that he knew very well what we usually ate. He knew that we were from the same part of the world as the monks and that these people lived on bread, sugar and potatoes. He had tasted them in Nazaret. But perhaps we also liked meat? We assured him that we did, and he promised us large pieces of beef and as much maize beer as we wished. Then he had to go and attend to his other guests.

Burials are big affairs. A good proportion of the dead person's livestock has to be slaughtered to accompany him into the hereafter. The guests feast on this meat, and afterwards each is given some to take home. We walked round to look at the many camps, some under cactus trees, others in the open. There were several hundred Indians assembled [262] there. Everywhere sheep were being slaughtered, meat was being roasted and people were feasting. One old woman was stuffing congealed blood from a calabash with both hands. The whole place smelt of blood, maize beer and spirits. Here and there someone was galloping on a horse. Many of

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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766 was wrapped in forty-eight beautifully woven cloaks each worth the equivalent of £20-£25. Despite this the atmosphere was not pleasant and during the feast they sent to Venezuela for so much eau de cologne that it was said to have cost thirty thousand bolivares. What we were attending was thus quite a simple funeral, but it must have cost several hundred pounds.

764 On the third day the body, wrapped in hides, was placed on a horse and taken out to the burial place, where one of [554] the closest male relatives had dug a grave—a great honour that. Everyone accompanied the body. The men drank copiously as they walked along. The dead man was laid in the grave, and some of the sand that had been dug out of it was carefully shovelled in; then they let down food and drink, including a large jar of spirits, and—to our amazement—the enamel pot followed. Indians who have had a lot to do with white people like to take such pots on their journeys, and apparently it was considered that one might be needed even on a man's last journey.

After this everyone fired their guns into the air, and those [775] who did not have firearms shot arrows. That was done in the hope of driving away any malevolent spirits who might be trying to worm their way back. A large fire was lit on the grave. This would burn every night for some time to come, in order to light the soul on its journey.

765 Later, the dead man's relatives would go out now and again to lament and take food and drink, which latter they would invite the dead man to share with them. Then, after a couple of years, the man's bones would be dug up and the after-funeral celebrated. We attended several of these; 765 this second ceremony is entrusted to a few female relatives, 767 who, swathed in tunics from head to foot, take hold of the bones with bits of cloth. The skull and skeleton are cleaned and laid on a cloth, in which they are tied up and lowered into a jar and this is taken to the house of grief, where another, though shorter funeral feast is held. After that the jar is buried again.

767 Those who have dug up the bones and all who have touched a dead person, must not eat with their hands for

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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several days afterwards, but have to be fed. They also have 767
to keep to a diet for a while, a precaution that, like the
cloaks they are wrapped in while digging up the bones, is to
protect them against spirits.

In the old days the house in which a person died was 768
abandoned. Nowadays that is only done if the person has
been murdered.

I have come across this after-funeral among several 765 ●
Indian tribes farther south, in particular the Motilon in the 171
Andes, neighbours of the Guajiro, and the Indians of the
Llanos plains around the Orinoco. It seems a peculiar
custom to us, but it is a sort of memorial ceremony, a feast
of remembrance devoted to the dead person, who is thus not
forgotten so quickly by the Indians, as is often the case with
us.

The animals killed at a man's funeral are to accompany 764
him into the hereafter and enable him to maintain his posi-
tion there. His immediate relatives must not eat of this meat,
which is all given to the guests, who cook it and feast on it.

Different in character is the sacrifice of some creature, a [751]
black sheep or a brown cow, which the piache recommends [782]
when he has dreamed that someone is in danger of being [787]
murdered. Here the animal is being killed in place of the
threatened man, the goat or cow acting as substitute so that
the human can escape his fate. Presumably, what used to
happen was that the person threatened had to go out and
kill some wild animal, a deer for example. The custom of
slaughtering cattle at a funeral originates from the change in [778]
the Indians' way of life that resulted from their making
cattle-rearing their main occupation. Earlier the dead person
was given other grave-goods to enable him to manage in
the life hereafter, including ornaments and that sort of
thing. In the pre-Columbian era quantities of polished stone
beads and tuma were placed in the graves. Then, when for-
tunes began to be reckoned in cattle and horses, it was
obvious that the dead person must have cattle to accompany
him. To the Guajiro, as to the general run of Indians, there 761
is no such thing as natural death. Were it not for the 776
dangerous world of the spirits and evil enchanters people

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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him that can give the alarm. For a long time he has to refrain 775
from all association with his friends and keep away from
feasts. In the end, if agreement on compensation is not 682
reached with the dead man's family, he will have to leave the district for a period of years. This precaution is to protect the slayer from the spirit of the man he killed, which would look for him in his normal haunts and would not recognize him under the new conditions, but it is also a protection against the dead man's nearest relatives, who will thirst for vengeance as long as compensation has not been agreed and paid.

We mounted and rode away from our first burial feast. 775
On the fringe of the area stood six Indians armed, some with 765
guns, others with bows and arrows. Their task was to shoot 431
after all departing guests in order to scare off any dangerous spirits that might be intending to keep them company. Here, a deputy-host presented us with a live heifer. Every guest [554]
was to have a present of an animal according to his rank. We also had the meat that had been distributed that morning. It was considered quite all right either to eat it or to take it to eat on the way home. Several others were doing
as we and there was a long line of departing guests, the men [492]
on horseback, the women mostly on donkeys. We all kept together for quite a distance.

Spirits rose as the heat increased, for drink had been 765
handed out along with the meat, the Indians believing, as 565
did the Creoles, that spirits were the best protection against the dangers of the hot sun.

A young Indian rode up to us. He wore a cloak with a beautiful pattern and was mounted on a splendid mare, which showed that he was of well-to-do family. He was in a [678]
bad mood, however, having been forgotten in the distribution of parting gifts and had not been given even a sheep. For that reason he was highly incensed with his neglectful hosts, whom he obviously scarcely knew.

We rode past an old man on foot dragging a calf behind
him. The old man was obviously sober, but he kept mutter- [578]
ing imprecations to himself. He too had been forgotten.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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765 The old man, however, was familiar with the customs of olden days and had taken what they had forgotten to give him, calculating generously in his own favour. Strictly he was entitled to no more than a kid, if that, poor relation that he was; but he had appropriated one of his host's calves.

Our young Indian friend thought this an excellent idea, and as we happened to be riding past a herd of goats belonging to the house of mourning, he asked me to lend him my shot-gun, dismounted and shot two goats, which he then lashed on to his pack-animal. He paid no attention to the protests of the slave guarding the herd, who of course did not dare do anything to anyone so well dressed and so obviously a person of rank. He gruffly told the slave that he had the law on his side. This put the young Indian in a better humour, and he took a smiling leave of us.

765 We were invited to several other funeral feasts while we were in Guajira. Both the actual burial and the after-funeral were in the same style. Often they were quite gay affairs—especially the repeat performance, when the grief was not so intense even with the immediate relatives. Often fights resulted. On the way home from Mauana's dance we had met people on their way back from a funeral who were quarrelsome. It sometimes happens that a person attending a funeral is killed. He is then taken home and most of the guests accompany him to continue celebrating in that new house of sorrow.

The funeral ritual is observed strictly and in detail. Children must learn it early and therefore are allowed to go to such feasts.

On the more important events the medicine man gives advice and directions, so let us now turn to him.

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

586 minus an amount considered equivalent for the sexual right he had exer-
[845 cised. If a woman dies in her first childbirth the husband may demand
583] the full return of the bride price (Simons, 1885, p. 792, however, states
that the wife's relatives demand compensation from the husband).
586 Adultery entails divorce with full return of the bride price. It rarely
837 occurs, however, as the wife will be treated badly by her own relatives.
At his death a man's wives are inherited by his brother, and next by his
587 sister's sons; the women may avoid this by making a payment equivalent
768 to their bride price. If he is of the Catholic faith his children may claim
184 to be his legal heirs, which leads to conflict with the maternal nephews.
(See Social Organization, p. 374.)

562 The influence of women in political affairs is sometimes noticeable.
622 There are cases of female chiefs, and women are respected enough so as to be able to intervene and stop brawls.

764 **Death.**—Funerals are accompanied by festivities which last days or even
[558 weeks, according to the wealth of the family. There are some differences
184] in the funeral ceremonies which are apparently associated with the particular sibs. These funeral feasts afford the best opportunity for display of wealth, and more than 1,000 head of livestock may be butchered. Every mourner who comes to the feast contributes animals for slaughter and continues to do so as long as he cares to remain. After the mourning period, marked by weeping and lamenting interspersed with drinking and feasting, the corpse, which has lain in a hammock slung from the rafters,
[784] is sewn up in hides by the women (men may not touch a dead body) and carried to the cemetery of the tribe. For a year or so, the body may be temporarily consigned to a shallow grave marked by a pile of stones. Food and drink are often placed in the grave, and, if the deceased had been a warrior, his bows and arrows are put in. A year or two later the bones
764 are exhumed and reburied in a large urn. The exhumation is generally
765 done at night and is accompanied by a feast. The remains are carried in a funeral procession to the dead person's birthplace, where they are buried in the family's own cemetery. The funeral urn is placed in a vertical position with the narrow neck of the jar protruding above ground to permit the free entry and exit of the spirit and to allow the remains of other members of the family to be added from time to time. A cactus hedge surrounds the cemetery, and in wet weather half a calabash is placed over the opening of each jar to keep out the rain. Whenever two relatives of a recently deceased person meet, they bow to the ground, shouting and groaning, for several minutes. (For a slightly different account of the burial of a rich man, see Simons, 1885, p. 792.)

751 If a person is stricken with smallpox the whole tribe moves away, only
766 the family of the sick person remaining. When the death occurs they bury the body below the floor and burn the hut over the grave.

/8 cont./

851 431 [603] sheep, fowl. The maternal grandfather has a similar obligation, and he is expected to give as much as the other. It is customary for the most notable /connotado/ maternal uncle to show his affection and recognition of his nephew -- his veritable son -- by making him a special gift of heads of livestock. /9/

In addition, the female neighbors and friends of the mother come to visit her, and they do not fail to bring some present for the new infant, such as balls of thread to make his hammock, his swaddling clothes, etc.

With the livestock received at his birth the child starts his capital. His animals are cared for by his father, together with those belonging to the mother, or by the most outstanding maternal uncle who has shown most affection for his nephew activities until the boy becomes capable of looking after his own interests.

* * *

766 The death of the first-born child is an event of outstanding importance because of the consequences it may bring about. This is one of the reasons why the father is greatly concerned about the first pregnancy of his wife and why he endeavors to take her to the home of her relatives in order that her child may be born there, placing on them the responsibility he seeks to avoid. This is cause enough for later births not to be attended by the maternal relatives, and in the long run the woman may have to give birth alone through force of circumstances.

The wife and her relatives acknowledge responsibility for the first-born's death and not only for his death as such but also as it may bear upon the birth of future children. When the first-born dies he is placed in a clay pitcher head downward, covered with the base of a new clay jar, and buried in the woods, not in the clan cemetery but certainly in land belonging to his family, at the foot of a pole called huruwá, so that the other children to be born will not also die. All ceremonies usual at

/9 cont./

766 the time of other deaths are suppressed, and the eldest maternal uncle takes charge of the burial. Neither the father nor the mother may see the dead child nor assist at the burial, so as to avoid the death of future children.

The first-born having died and the burial requirements 766 having been complied with, the mother must submit, if she 881 wishes to prevent the death of her other children, to a special 845 treatment which is practically a repetition of the ceremonies and the regimen to which she was subjected at her initiation on reaching puberty. Apparently it is believed that she did not fully comply on that occasion with the customary rites and prescriptions meant to convert her into an adult woman with all the functions attached to that state. It is to this fault that the Guajiro appears to attribute the death of the first-born.

766 The mother is suspended for three days in a hammock near the ridgepole of the house. She remains there fasting, covered 881 with a cloth so as not to /10/ to be seen. Let down at the end of this interval, she takes some bija /achiote, or seeds of the annatto tree/ as her first food and thin corn mazamorra; a female uterine relative takes care of her, probably more strictly than during her seclusion at puberty, and she stays for five months in an outbuilding adjoining the household or in a room where she cannot be seen except by other women, speaks softly, submits to a nourishing diet, and is deprived of sexual contact with her husband. Also, the process of fattening with the root of hawapi is repeated as well as the use of herbs to delay the reappearance of menstruation. After this seclusion she returns to her husband's side and takes up her marital life.

766 If another child should have the same fate as the first, the usual burial ceremony takes place: a wake is organized, and animals are distributed as in the case of the death of an adult, the animals being supplied by the maternal and paternal grandparents. The tradition forms having been complied with, the dead child is buried in the cemetery of his ancestors. The mother is given special treatment by the professional herbalists,

/10 cont./

844 but seclusion is not repeated, as the death of children is now attributed to diverse causes, some magic and some natural. Once these causes are eliminated, the native believes he has solved the problem.

845 Birth of twins. The reasons the Guajiro cites to explain the birth of twins have a distinct magic character. Although it is not considered as a foreshadowing of lamentable happenings, it is recognized as a heavy burden, especially when the mother has insufficient means or when the number of children is already large. However, there is never any attempt whatever to end the life of twins when they arrive. They rear them in the best way possible following the same customary regimen used for other children and overcoming difficulties as much as possible.

The reasons the Guajiro gives to explain the birth of twins are the following: During the early months of pregnancy, and especially in the first month, the mother has suffered some very intense emotion on being startled by someone or on receiving some unexpected bad news, etc.; or also she may have mocked some other woman who had borne twins, or, worse still, having been able to assist the other woman and having been asked to help as a wet nurse (the mother being unable to feed her young ones), she refused.

853 Feeding and clothing the baby. The newborn child is not fed until three days after birth, when the milk appears in the mother's breasts, an appearance which varies but is generally within the term of three days. However, this custom is frequently not observed even /11/ on the first day due to insinuations of the family or the midwife when the child appears to be extremely hungry.

The child is not suckled at regular intervals, if by this is meant fixed hours which the mother or wet nurse must hold to. The mother feeds the child when he asks by crying or by demanding by word of mouth, according to his age, and also in order to comfort him when he is hurt or in pain, and when she wishes him to go off to sleep. Only a few mestizos, because

[31 cont.]

753 If the shaman's illness and the announcement of his death
755 are provoked by the displeasure of his protector spirit, there
*756 generally is no possibility of calling in another shaman to carry
776 out the ceremonies of curing. The illness of the shaman more than being his alone is an illness of the protector spirit; it is thus different from all other illnesses known to the natives. The shaman himself cannot help; he does not know how to apply the remedies he may have used in similar cases. He only, and this on few occasions, applies hot water to his chest. At other times the spirit may have pity on him and may come and recommend some special remedy to him, indicating at the same time where he can obtain it. The sick shaman then takes the remedy, and his sickness is immediately alleviated.

*756 On the death of a shaman it is obligatory to hold a wake
766 for at least three consecutive days, because the attacks which shamans have ("states of ecstasy") are so frequent and on occasion prolonged for a considerable time, that there is the possibility that he may not be really dead. The natives, then, do not wish to give a shaman burial until they are convinced of his death. There is also the belief that when such persons die they do not follow the same cycle as other mortals, since their bodies do not become hard and stiff but remain soft and lax, as if they were only sleeping. At the conclusion of these three obligatory days of the wake, they carry him away for burial. They wash the body and fasten his shroud as they do for others. But his crown, his maraca, and all his clothes are first broken and torn and later buried in a special place in the woods, or are thrown away in a lonely place. They must not place these objects with him in his grave [32] because the spirit of the dead shaman would return, very angry with the persons who had done such a thing, and would punish their disrespect in some form or another.

*756 The dead shaman's spirit wanders everywhere like all other
775 spirits, it goes to the place where his body lived, to places well
787 known to it, but it is always accompanied by its protector spirit, from which it will never become separated. Both the protector spirit and its protege may descend on a new shaman in order to assist him. This is probably the explanation of the possession of

[45 cont.]

782 quite high, which also gives us an idea of their value in the opinion of the Indians since they considered that the fact of their points being impregnated with the blood of the sacrificed child made them both more poisonous and more accurate.

766 The body of the boy, who had to be between four and six years old, was brought by the father to the hamlet after these magic operations were finished and was buried in the clan cemetery. The burial and the death of the child were secrets. Nobody must know about it. We could not discover if the secret nature of the ceremony was due to the fact that the community [682 might punish the murderer, the mother or maternal aunt, or 789] some member of the child's family on the maternal side, collecting the corresponding sum for his death in accord [46] with customary Guajiro law, or if the reason was that secrecy strengthened the malevolent qualities of the poison on the arrows. It is to be presumed that the latter hypothesis is the more acceptable, since the disappearance of the child and the sale of magic arrows by the father would point him out as the author of the sacrifice.

682 In any case we cannot overlook the aspects of blood in 683 the child sacrifice just mentioned. Spilling blood is one of the 826 crimes most severely punished. Blood, according to everything one can deduce, has great value for the natives, as it is considered an integral part of their human personality, even to confounding it, so to speak, with personality itself, as they do in the case of names. Hence, for the same reason, he who voluntarily or involuntarily sheds the blood of another person is stigmatized and becomes an outcast from society. He becomes unclean, and in consequence has to make the corresponding reparation which at the present time is complied with by paying to the offended party or to his family a determined [411] quantity of valuable objects or animals. For this same reason, arrows contaminated with the blood of the child sacrificed by his father have, or ought to have, according to the Guajiro mentality, an incalculable value due to their participation in 411 the sacrifice and spilling of blood, thanks to its presence on 935 their points. Moreover, if we take into account what the 775 dead man means to the Guajiro as a spirit capable of doing harm

[66 cont.]
751 according to which "things which have once been in contact with
854 each other continue to act on each other at a distance after the physical contact has been severed." (45) [Cited in Spanish.]

45. Frazer. La Rama Dorada [The Golden Bough], III, 27.

751 There is another medical preventative, also of a magic
843 nature, taken to avoid infant mortality in Guajiro marriages after the death of the first-born child. This preventative obliges
[766] them to bury the body in a certain manner. It also imposes upon the mother a further seclusion, such as she underwent on reaching puberty (ceremony of initiation), and entails her taking certain medicines extracted from vegetable roots. If all these prescriptions are not fully complied with, her future children will die successively as soon as they are born.

844 Once the child is born, the placenta must be thrown a long way away from the house and completely lost to sight. If
[777] it is buried it will bring bad luck to the child, who in consequence of such an imprudence will live a weakling and suffer greatly until his death.

853 When only two or three days after the mother has given
827 birth, her breasts badly swell with severe pains and a lack of
755 milk, her husband must place his foot on her naked breast, pressing lightly on it, with which treatment the woman will recover. When a mother loses her milk after a long period of breast feeding and is no longer able to nourish her child, she must be struck on her shoulder and her breasts a number of times with the branches of a plant which is found mainly in the neighborhood of [67] Puerto Estrella and which on being cut emits a white liquid.

826 The Guajiro takes great care of any of his hair which has
754 been cut off, as he is afraid that it can be used to do him harm. This fear is based on the belief that if anyone can obtain possession of a lock of hair, whatever harm he may do to this will react directly on its owner; if that hair, for example, is thrown on the fire, its original owner will suffer a similar fate:

[84 cont.]

682 family groups — that of the murderer and that of the victim —
775 is it considered necessary for the murderer to flee to distant parts to avoid the vengeance of his enemies falling on him. We have here, then, a repetition, different in form but essentially the same, of a disguise to avoid the presence of the spirits, [171] which the Witoto practice either in the father, the mother, or the child, with the object of protecting the child from the malevolent action of the spirits (Cf. "Sickness and Medicine").

787 Presence of the dead in dreams. The dead person can also reappear through the medium of dreams. He is then as real, as
769 alive, to the Indian as in his apparition during the day or night in a corporeal or other form, such as we have shown throughout this chapter. For this reason, when an Indian dreams of one of his dead relatives on any occasion, he believes that this relative is in need of something in his other world and requires [85] special help from his relatives. He therefore assembles the dead man's closest relatives, and they all go as soon as possible to the grave of the person who appeared in the dream and take a little food with them. After some time passed in lamentation over the tomb, they unwrap the meat expressly taken there for the occasion and seat themselves on the grave, prepared to eat, saying as they begin eating, "Come then, let us all eat together." To avoid the appearance of spirits through dreams, it is a general custom to visit the graves of the dead at times of full moon [luna clara], at night, and on the anniversary of the person's death.

The explanation of the spirit's appearance in a dream can be found very clearly expressed in the words we quote from Dr. Born and according to which "...from experiences in the world of dreams he derived the belief in the soul as a clear explanation of the consciousness of "ego," which is opposed to the destiny of death." According to this, in the dream communication is established between two spirits, between two souls, as Dr. Born says: that of the dead, already definitively free of its human wrapping; and that of the living, momentarily free of its body by the effects of the dream.

766 Burial and children. When the first-born of a Guajiro mar-
riage dies before other children are born, they place it in an urn

[85 cont.]

766 head downward, and then they cover it with a piece of another clay olla, new, usually with a base. The urn is buried in the [824] woods at the foot of a special tree called in Guajiro huruwá ("within us," etymologically), with the idea that the other children that are born will not continue dying. No special ceremony accompanies the burial of the child, which must be carried out by the maternal uncle, since neither the father nor the mother may be present because it is believed that if they should be all their other children would also die as they were born.

765 When the first-born dies, and the work of its burial has been complied with, the mother is put through the following 766 procedure: She is hung in a hammock for three days in a closed room (it is really a small house made especially for the purpose). After three days have passed, she is unslung from the hammock, but she has to continue in seclusion for a further five [834] months (five lunar months), and the husband is prohibited from visiting her, with the idea of avoiding sexual contact. After this seclusion the husband may return, and they resume normal married life. During the time she is in the hammock, the [262] woman is not allowed to receive any food except a medicine called hawapi, which serves for fattening. This medicine is a [278] mixture of scraped roots dissolved in cold water [86] and is drunk after being strained. The wife receives this medicine from her mother, who acts as her nurse.

In other words, the mother, by reason of the death of her [881] first-born, has to repeat the complete cycle of seclusion as at the initiation of young women when they reach puberty. The ceremonial is the same, seclusion, taking of fattening medicine, sexual exclusion of the man, and in general all contact or relations with him, etc.

764 If in spite of these precautions the next child should also die, the previous cycle is not followed, but the baby is buried with all due ceremony. A fiesta is arranged for the burial, a wake is held with the usual distribution of liquor, and animals which the maternal and paternal grandparents supply are sacrificed. The mother undergoes a new special treatment but without those of seclusion.

[86 cont.]

766 751 In these magic practices we can observe the following facts: 1) The burial of the first-born infant face downward in a funeral urn prevents succeeding children dying in the same way. If he is buried face upward, the future children will all unfailingly die. The spirit of the child is, then, like that of all other [775] dead adults, a spirit capable of doing harm, but its influence can be easily counteracted by varying the normal position of the head at the time of burial. 2) There is here the intervention of a special tree, the huruwá, the reason for which is at present unknown to us but which presupposes its possessing certain magic properties, as it is below this tree and no other that the body of the first-born must be buried. 3) The presence of the father or of the mother at the moment of burial would cause the death of their future children, which corroborates the above statement [775 842] that the spirit of the dead, even that of the newborn child, by its death makes its influence felt in the matter of conception, as we have seen in other cases. (Cf. "Magic and Sacrifice" and "Sickness and Medicine"). 4) The mother has to undergo or relive the ceremonial of the initiation rite as this, which is also directly connected with magic, prepares a woman for her life as such. If we make an analysis we can presume or reproduce the mental processes of the Indian in this case. If the initiation rite has as its special function the preparation of the woman for her place in society and in the family and if, in spite of it, the first-born — which implicates one of her principal functions: conception — dies, it must mean that the said rite was not carried out in all solemnity, all and each of its [87] fundamental parts were not complied with, and it is necessary to repeat them. The mother of a dead first-born is placed then in the condition of an adolescent.

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858 We said in one of the sections in the chapter "Sickness and Medicine" that the child is regarded by primitives as a being defenseless up to a certain point, and that for this reason he needs

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importance. Thus, while the child is on the way, he must not 843
hunt with firearms, but only with bow and arrow. If he [224]
goes on a journey of any length after the child has come into
the world, he must lay his saddle-girth round the babe or
put his foot on its chest before he leaves. If he forgets to
do that one can lay a pair of his old sandals on its breast.

If the first-born dies, it is feared that the others will do 766
the same. The baby is placed head down in an urn with a 844
lid and buried beneath a certain kind of tree. The mother
often has to undergo another period of confinement, it
being thought that all the rules had not been observed
during her real period of puberty, and that that had an un-
favourable effect on childbirth. If all the instructions are
not observed, there is danger that the other children will
also die.

My wife came back and told us that the child was born 844
and all had gone well. It was the third child. The woman had
lain on her back on the ground with legs straddled, and
they had strewn a thick layer of fine sand under her crotch,
so that the babe should land softly. An aunt of the woman's
helped her, and her husband was there and helped to lift
her and hold her during the final pains. The mother was
now to keep quiet for a few days and, above all, not expose
herself to the sun.

The old man explained that the rich let their women rest 846
for weeks after giving birth, living on maize gruel and [556]
light food, while poor mothers have to go out and work as
usual straight away. The child has the breast in the evening 853
when the mother goes to bed; at three in the morning when
everyone gets up, and occasionally during the day. In the
better families the child is weaned with the help of maize
gruel and goat's milk and a female slave takes charge of it,
the mother having so many other duties. There are even
some who keep wet-nurses, he said.

Then more men appeared and a woman who sat behind 854
my wife, just outside the circle. I distributed tobacco and
conversation became lively. My wife was surprised that
Indian babies were allowed to sit upright so early. She was
told that at first the mother supports it with her hand, and

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the men were already quite drunk. Everyone was chattering, 764
laughing and enjoying themselves. It was more like a fair than a funeral. The sun was in the zenith and there was no shade anywhere. Most of the men had removed their cloaks, only putting them on to go to the bier and lament; but the women kept their tunics on; there were no half-naked women to be seen there. Some of them had tunics of light bought material, and when the wind pressed the cloth against their bodies their forms stood out like reliefs and [832] their skins shone through the thin material. Many of the men devoured them with their eyes, but the women's interest seemed riveted to the steaming boiled meat.

We met a thin and obviously poor Indian who expressed satisfaction at the number of funerals that had lately taken place. He had been attending them uninterruptedly for almost a month, had had meat every day and was beginning to put on weight. Yet he was not high in the social scale. [554] Each person was entertained in accordance with his social rank.

There was not much sleep that night. Lamentation continued beside the bier all night, while sounds of singing, shouts and squabbling came from the Indian camp. We had been told that it would be a day or two before the dead man was buried. That is not done until all the cattle allotted for the funeral have been slaughtered. A number of beasts had been set aside to provide the meat the guests took away with them, and others were being saved for the subsequent funeral. We knew that in two years' time the dead man's bones would be dug up and another feast held.

In that climate a body should not remain above ground even two days, and yet the funerals of the rich lasted much longer. Thus they swathe the bodies of the rich in as many pieces of cloth as possible and in several cow-hides in an attempt to keep the stench from being too offensive. There 766
was a lot of talk about the funeral of a rich chief, José Dolores, that had taken place some years before. How many cattle were slaughtered on that occasion is not known for certain—the monks said about three thousand—but it is known that the feast lasted two and a half months. The body

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was wrapped in forty-eight beautifully woven cloaks each worth the equivalent of £20-£25. Despite this the atmosphere was not pleasant and during the feast they sent to Venezuela for so much eau de cologne that it was said to have cost thirty thousand bolivares. What we were attending was thus quite a simple funeral, but it must have cost several hundred pounds.

On the third day the body, wrapped in hides, was placed on a horse and taken out to the burial place, where one of the closest male relatives had dug a grave—a great honour that. Everyone accompanied the body. The men drank copiously as they walked along. The dead man was laid in the grave, and some of the sand that had been dug out of it was carefully shovelled in; then they let down food and drink, including a large jar of spirits, and—to our amazement—the enamel pot followed. Indians who have had a lot to do with white people like to take such pots on their journeys, and apparently it was considered that one might be needed even on a man's last journey.

After this everyone fired their guns into the air, and those who did not have firearms shot arrows. That was done in the hope of driving away any malevolent spirits who might be trying to worm their way back. A large fire was lit on the grave. This would burn every night for some time to come, in order to light the soul on its journey.

Later, the dead man's relatives would go out now and again to lament and take food and drink, which latter they would invite the dead man to share with them. Then, after a couple of years, the man's bones would be dug up and the after-funeral celebrated. We attended several of these; this second ceremony is entrusted to a few female relatives, who, swathed in tunics from head to foot, take hold of the bones with bits of cloth. The skull and skeleton are cleaned and laid on a cloth, in which they are tied up and lowered into a jar and this is taken to the house of grief, where another, though shorter funeral feast is held. After that the jar is buried again.

Those who have dug up the bones and all who have touched a dead person, must not eat with their hands for

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756 medicine men of South America make great use of tobacco,
757 and at first it was mostly reserved for them. The chewing of
276 tobacco can cause an intoxication, through which a magician can put himself into a state of ecstasy. Of course, the nicotine has a violent effect on the children whom the spirit orders to eat manilla, and it is not easy to say whether the symptoms accompanying the summons are due to abuse of tobacco or to other infirmity. It is said that those called to be piache always fall ill. The Indians are fully convinced that dreams have significance for their actions. While asleep they receive instructions which they seldom dare fail to carry out. The youth or girl who is summoned receives his or her revelation either in dreams or while in a hysterical state. The Indians consider them to be possessed by the spirit, and the piache for whom they send then has to decide whether the spirit really has visited the boy or girl, or not. If it is not possible to fetch a piache immediately, they will sometimes have to make do with a sooth-sayer, an *outchi*, who though not a proper medicine man, at least can 'smoke tobacco', that is to say, can foretell future happenings, find strayed animals, etc. They are often well patronized. The outschi swings a firebrand in the air while puffing at a cigar—magical tobacco again!—and the trails of smoke tell him what he wishes to know. He can merely confirm that there has been a true revelation, that the spirit visited the young person and entered into him or her. A sooth-sayer can go no further than that, but that gives the parents the comforting assurance that the piache, who has to be summoned in any event, will not come in vain. The piache has no objection to a sooth-sayer making a diagnosis.

The attacks from which the candidate suffers both at his selection and when he becomes fully qualified, lead to a trancelike state. It is characteristic that a dead piache may [764] not be buried until after three days and nights, so that it is quite certain that he is dead and not just that his soul happens to be away. A cataleptic state and hallucinations are characteristic of future and practising medicine men alike.

There is no avoiding the call to be a piache once it has

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756 ought not to have children. The spirits can show her
various magical tricks to avoid this, but if she should
842 become pregnant, she can count on the spirit's help in
labour. Not even the male piache is allowed to partake of
[831] love more than fleetingly, almost casually. There must be
no real affection involved.

756 A woman piache cannot practice during menstruation.
[841] No piache may eat meat from animals he has received in
payment for his services. These, like other gifts, he does not
enjoy, but he can give them to his sons. Nor is he allowed
to eat meat from animals sacrificed at funerals or such feasts.
While invoking or conjuring spirits he should restrict his
diet to maize gruel.

A piache can cure all, but not himself. Sometimes, perhaps, a sympathetic spirit may give him a little advice, which will always help; but if he falls seriously ill, he summons a
[766 colleague, who performs the usual sorcery. When a piache
768] dies, his rattle, diadem and other attributes are chopped up
and buried in some remote and secret place. The dead
[775] piache's soul roams like those of all mortals and often clings
to the burial place, but it is never alone, being always in
company with its guardian spirit. Both can later help a new
piache.

The medicine man is thus called to his profession by revelation and no attention is paid to sex, social position or age. Women have been magicians in Guajira from of old, as is shown by their myths. The piache belongs to two worlds: those of man and of the spirits. He has not chosen to belong to them and must continue in both. He is the intermediary between these two worlds, but nowadays his influence is dwindling. As civilization penetrates the peninsula, the part he plays is becoming less and less important.

756 The first really great piache was Umaralá, of whom the
173 Indians relate the following:

In the olden days there were plenty of piaches who took big fees, but did little. Umaralá made his cures with secret remedies and with songs accompanied on his maraca rattle. He lost his mother early, but was adopted as her own by his maternal aunt, who also considered all her possessions his.

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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586 minus an amount considered equivalent for the sexual right he had exer-
[845 cised. If a woman dies in her first childbirth the husband may demand
583 the full return of the bride price (Simons, 1885, p. 792, however, states
that the wife's relatives demand compensation from the husband).
586 Adultery entails divorce with full return of the bride price. It rarely
837 occurs, however, as the wife will be treated badly by her own relatives.
At his death a man's wives are inherited by his brother, and next by his
587 sister's sons; the women may avoid this by making a payment equivalent
768 to their bride price. If he is of the Catholic faith his children may claim
184 to be his legal heirs, which leads to conflict with the maternal nephews.
(See Social Organization, p. 374.)

562 The influence of women in political affairs is sometimes noticeable.
622 There are cases of female chiefs, and women are respected enough so as to be able to intervene and stop brawls.

764 **Death.**—Funerals are accompanied by festivities which last days or even
[554 weeks, according to the wealth of the family. There are some differences
[84 in the funeral ceremonies which are apparently associated with the particular sibs. These funeral feasts afford the best opportunity for display of wealth, and more than 1,000 head of livestock may be butchered. Every mourner who comes to the feast contributes animals for slaughter and continues to do so as long as he cares to remain. After the mourning period, marked by weeping and lamenting interspersed with drinking and feasting, the corpse, which has lain in a hammock slung from the rafters,
[787 is sewn up in hides by the women (men may not touch a dead body) and carried to the cemetery of the tribe. For a year or so, the body may be temporarily consigned to a shallow grave marked by a pile of stones. Food and drink are often placed in the grave, and, if the deceased had been
764 a warrior, his bows and arrows are put in. A year or two later the bones
765 are exhumed and reburied in a large urn. The exhumation is generally done at night and is accompanied by a feast. The remains are carried in a funeral procession to the dead person's birthplace, where they are buried in the family's own cemetery. The funeral urn is placed in a vertical position with the narrow neck of the jar protruding above ground to permit the free entry and exit of the spirit and to allow the remains of other members of the family to be added from time to time. A cactus hedge surrounds the cemetery, and in wet weather half a calabash is placed over the opening of each jar to keep out the rain. Whenever two relatives of a recently deceased person meet, they bow to the ground, shouting and groaning, for several minutes. (For a slightly different account of the burial of a rich man, see Simons, 1885, p. 792.)

751 If a person is stricken with smallpox the whole tribe moves away, only
766 the family of the sick person remaining. When the death occurs they bury the body below the floor and burn the hut over the grave.

[41 cont.]

764 782 1. The first of these types refers to the custom established among them of sacrificing, during the wake of any member of the community, a number of animals belonging to the dead man (cows, bulls, goats, sheep), the meat of which is divided among those attending the wake along with the corresponding drink, which in these days is rum but in times past was chicha.

[767] The reason given for the sacrificing of animals during a wake in answer to the question is that this is done in deference to the guests and especially to those whom we could call "professional mourners," who spend all day and all night moaning over the corpse. But on observing certain practices and particularly certain taboos regarding the meat of these sacrificed animals, one has to think rather of the ritual character of the sacrifice.

262 764 783 782 It is a fact that the relatives — sons, daughters, nephews [and nieces, sabrinos], brothers [and sisters, hermanos] etc. — of the deceased cannot eat the meat of animals sacrificed during the wake or during the later ceremony of secondary burial, as this, according to their belief, would be equivalent to eating their dead kinsman's flesh. This taboo, imposed on the deceased's relatives, serves to prove to us — so far as it is possible to deduce — the ritual aspect of the sacrifice of the dead man's livestock, stock which on being slaughtered takes on the same untouchable or magical quality, which the individual takes on when he disappears from the world of the living and enters the universe of the dead. [42] To put this more plainly, the animals sacrificed are contaminated by their dead owner.

[765] The untouchable quality of the animal sacrificed at the wake or in the ceremony that accompanies the second burial is supported by the following fact. The belief exists in La [843] Guajira that if during pregnancy the mother or the father of the [1153] future child is present at the exhuming of a corpse, the child is born sickly, suffers from permanent diarrhea and night sweats, 755 and gets more and more pale and progressively thinner. Its 765 illness continues to get worse, and none of the familiar remedies have the desired effect. The parents then resort to the following system of curing (a system which with some variations is also common among the people of the town of Santander). They wait until there is an exhumation ceremony, and then

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766 was wrapped in forty-eight beautifully woven cloaks each worth the equivalent of £20-£25. Despite this the atmosphere was not pleasant and during the feast they sent to Venezuela for so much eau de cologne that it was said to have cost thirty thousand bolivares. What we were attending was thus quite a simple funeral, but it must have cost several hundred pounds.

764 On the third day the body, wrapped in hides, was placed on a horse and taken out to the burial place, where one of [554] the closest male relatives had dug a grave—a great honour that. Everyone accompanied the body. The men drank copiously as they walked along. The dead man was laid in the grave, and some of the sand that had been dug out of it was carefully shovelled in; then they let down food and drink, including a large jar of spirits, and—to our amazement—the enamel pot followed. Indians who have had a lot to do with white people like to take such pots on their journeys, and apparently it was considered that one might be needed even on a man's last journey.

After this everyone fired their guns into the air, and those [775] who did not have firearms shot arrows. That was done in the hope of driving away any malevolent spirits who might be trying to worm their way back. A large fire was lit on the grave. This would burn every night for some time to come, in order to light the soul on its journey.

765 Later, the dead man's relatives would go out now and again to lament and take food and drink, which latter they would invite the dead man to share with them. Then, after a couple of years, the man's bones would be dug up and the after-funeral celebrated. We attended several of these; 765 this second ceremony is entrusted to a few female relatives, 767 who, swathed in tunics from head to foot, take hold of the bones with bits of cloth. The skull and skeleton are cleaned and laid on a cloth, in which they are tied up and lowered into a jar and this is taken to the house of grief, where another, though shorter funeral feast is held. After that the jar is buried again.

767 Those who have dug up the bones and all who have touched a dead person, must not eat with their hands for

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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several days afterwards, but have to be fed. They also have 767 ●
to keep to a diet for a while, a precaution that, like the
cloaks they are wrapped in while digging up the bones, is to
protect them against spirits.

In the old days the house in which a person died was 768
abandoned. Nowadays that is only done if the person has
been murdered.

I have come across this after-funeral among several 765
Indian tribes farther south, in particular the Motilon in the 171
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Llanos plains around the Orinoco. It seems a peculiar
custom to us, but it is a sort of memorial ceremony, a feast
of remembrance devoted to the dead person, who is thus not
forgotten so quickly by the Indians, as is often the case with
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him into the hereafter and enable him to maintain his posi-
tion there. His immediate relatives must not eat of this meat,
which is all given to the guests, who cook it and feast on it.

Different in character is the sacrifice of some creature, a [751]
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slaughtering cattle at a funeral originates from the change in [778]
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cattle-rearing their main occupation. Earlier the dead person
was given other grave-goods to enable him to manage in
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obvious that the dead person must have cattle to accompany
him. To the Guajiro, as to the general run of Indians, there 761
is no such thing as natural death. Were it not for the 776
dangerous world of the spirits and evil enchanters people

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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767
142
302
291

A professional mourner

Below: *The daily butchering*

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415

[Facing p. 128]

/160 cont./

765 where an enramada /bough-covered shelter/ is erected if the house is too far away. The remains are put into an earthen-
769 ware urn which is placed on a hammock around which they all congregate, also on hammocks, the female friends and relatives weeping over the dead man a second time. A new grave is dug in the clan cemetery, in which his remains are deposited. At the present time it is customary for each small family of means to have a common funerary urn /161/ in which the bone remains of all the immediate consanguineous members are accumulated.

The exhumation of the remains is a labor entrusted to the very close relatives of the dead man who were much attached to him. By this action they are offered a family honor which, like the digging of his grave, is never refused. These individuals, two in number, open up the grave; and one, his body totally covered with a robe and his hands wrapped in a cloth, scratches in the earth to find the bones. As the region is so dry the bodies are marvelously preserved. First of all he brings out the skull with much respect amid the silence of the others gathered around. He cleans it carefully, showing his affection for the deceased in each of these details, and then he passes it to his companion, together with the rest of the bones. This assistant is covered, especially his face, and his work consists in placing the remains in the urn destined before-
[783] hand for such a purpose. These two persons, once having finished their operation, carefully purify themselves and for some time after follow a special diet.

In these exhumation ceremonies, the relatives of the
[262] exhumed person submit to the same dietary proscription of not partaking of the meat of the slaughtered animals, and they receive the sympathy of their relatives and friends, who have come together again for this purpose.

268 A funeral custom still exists but has been weakened in some sectors that are more in contact with whites and the influence of the mission, and that is to abandon the house where the sick man died immediately after the body has been buried,

/161 cont./

768 or later on if it is impossible at that moment. Sometimes, if the person died tragically, the house is burned. The reason given for this custom is that the illness was produced by an evil spirit which from then onward takes up residence there, taking possession of the house and able to continue killing the rest of the occupants. At the present time this custom is generally reduced to abandoning the habitation that the dead man occupied. They believe that at night one can feel lamentations there and that the spirit of the dead person frequently returns to that place to show his unrest if his relatives have forgotten him in the special cult of the dead. The tragic character of the case is accentuated when the person died violently in that place, in which case the house is definitely abandoned, because the frequent repetition of the scene during the night would make it impossible to live there. When the death occurred as the result of /162/ illness, and the house is not abandoned, if another member of the family should die in [787] it of the same sickness, then it is absolutely necessary that they leave it, as to them it is a clear indication that the spirits of that sickness also reside in the house and sooner or later will kill off all its occupants. /163/

X

THE SMALL FAMILY

592 836 Nowadays the Guajiro man and woman have their first sexual experiences very early, more or less toward the age of ten, but formal marriage is later for the men than the women. Premarital sex relations are casual events. The man may continue them sometimes to a more advanced age, but these also are occasional and their consequences -- pregnancy -- may

[76 cont.]

* * *

775 We can say that in La Guajira among the spirits of the dead there are categories determined by capacity to work evil. Spirits in general are indifferent as long as the established norms regarding their treatment are not violated, such as the fulfillment of the post-mortem ceremonial, avoidance of the use of [762] their names, etc. But when the spirit is that of a suicide, then his standing as an author of evil grows, as the fact of his having violated the established social order places him automatically at the margin of the community; he is a social outcast even in the world of the dead, and his spirit does not wander around as the others do but face downward and at ground level; for this reason he is considered an enemy of the community.

773 823 762 A Guajiro legend regarding Katétamána Hill relates that in remote times there was a majayura ("a young woman") who had sexual relations with her father and became pregnant. According to the legend, on finding herself in this condition, she was so ashamed that she wanted to wipe out her social sin by hanging herself, which she did. Mareiwa, the god of the Guajiro, told her that as punishment for her offense he would change her into a hill. For this reason, say the Indians, Katétamána Hill has the shape of a hanged woman. Ever since, concludes the story, Indians frequently hang themselves when any adverse event disturbs their lives.

762 775 As the legend transcribed above will indicate, an Indian commits suicide when he cannot carry out some act which is at variance with the established patterns of his family circle or of society in general. Since he cannot be punished for the violation when alive, he must pay the penalty after his death. It is his spirit which receives and feels the consequences of the social sin he has committed. For this reason the general belief to which we have already alluded exists that the spirit of the suicide always wanders face downward and at ground level in the regions of the dead. [77]

762 768 672 But if the punishment of the suicide cannot be inflicted on the individual himself while alive, it can, on the other hand, be

[77 cont.]

762 inflicted on the objects which were the principal active agents
768 in carrying out his fatal determination. As the form of suicide
672 that is practiced in La Guajira is almost exclusively that of hanging, they proceed to burn the branch on which the individual hanged himself and the rope which he used, because, they say, these were the direct causes of his death.

With respect to the punishment carried out on the objects
682 (inanimate to us) which served for the carrying out of suicide,
672 several suggestions may be made. In one case, the "compensation payment for blood" may be recalled, the established customary law of this community by means of which whatever spilling of blood that may be caused in any person, voluntary or involuntary, directly or indirectly, has to be paid for in accord-
[698] ance with a valuation decreed by the so-called "arbitrators," or "palabras," who are nothing more than intermediaries named by the family groups affected to settle the affair peacefully. This payment is considerable when the blood spilling ends in the victim's death. Should the murderer refuse to pay the sum ar-
682 ranged for (whether in livestock, necklaces, precious stones,
628 etc.), then the members of the victim's family group take vengeance on him personally and kill him. All this naturally ends in war to the death, or putchi, between the two extended family groups, an occurrence which is extremely frequent in La
682 Guajira. Hence as "compensation payment for blood" cannot
762 be claimed, from these objects (the tree and the rope), they are
672 punished in default by destruction by fire. This hypothesis is reinforced, if we remember that to the Guajiro Indian, as well as
[774] to most primitives, objects — which to us are not alive — are
[778] able to exercise both good and bad influences on the individual (Cf. "Sickness and Medicine" and "Amulets, Fetishes, Talismans"), because they possess a spirit — a kind of mana, or immaterial force, which surrounds and animates everything.

Another suggestion that could be made with respect to the
762 destruction of the objects used by a suicide is the following: As
783 these articles were in direct contact with the dead man, and particularly with a corpse as dangerous as a suicide is, it is necessary that they be destroyed so that the contamination

[82 cont.]

682 nightmares and dreams, possibly in the delirium of fever, so
775 that the spirit creeps around him and painfully crushes his chest.
753 It pursues him insistently, which provokes a grave crisis in illness. The spirit then takes advantage of his weak state to aggravate his sickness. Self-confession is one of the most important social consequences of this state of mind as, due to the obsession
682 with the presence of the spirit, every time a murderer has been
626 able to conceal the secret of the murder and in consequence has so far escaped the compensation payment for blood, he loses his equanimity during sickness and will then talk freely about his crime. In the delirium of fever, haunted by the anguish caused by the supposed weight of the spirit of the murdered man on his chest, he raves about all the details of his crime. This confession, according to his belief, does bring him some relief as in a certain manner it admits the dead man's vengeance and in consequence it gives some peace to the criminal as well as rest to the offended spirit.

775 The spirits of those who have died violent deaths fall, so to speak, within a class of more highly dangerous spirits than those that die from natural causes. They represent, we should say, the middle point between these latter spirits and those of suicides. This is certain to such a point that the house in which
[768] a native has been killed is immediately vacated, because his spirit will live in that house and it will only leave it on occasions when it goes to torment the murderer. A Guajiro Indian will never pass by the place between sunset and dawn because he is convinced that every detail of the scene of the tragedy is continually being repeated in that place ; the insults are heard again, the shots or whir of arrows, the sighs and groans of agony, just as were heard on the day of the tragedy. In addition the spirit appears in the shape of a flame that pursues whoever may be near the house; or it may also appear in the form of any animal whatsoever, a bird, for example.

But the highest degree of danger occurs when the spirit of the murdered Indian is face to face with his murderer. This is a wounded spirit and full of desire for vengeance to such a point that the family of the murderer, after having fulfilled the

3: Wilbert E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 SC13 Goajiro SC13

Twenty six fundamental kinship terms by which the Goajiro designate their relatives were recorded. Most terms are applied to more than one relative so that the system is classificatory in type. Among the Goajiro, kinship terms are almost exclusively used in reference, while in addressing a person teknonyms are employed, e.g.; nïshi pïichí – father of pïichí (nï – prefix, 3rd pers. singl. masc.; (a)shi – father; pïichí – baciro). The term corresponds to a male person who is the father of a boy child. This practice of teknonymy presupposes the presence of personal names. Either sex can be given a name in remembrance of an event which occurred on their birthday, e.g., "the one of the full moon," "the one of the blossoms of that tree," "the one of the war between . . .," etc. More frequently, however, personal names differ from each other by sex. Boys are called after strong and wild animals, such as baciro (pïichí), tiger (karáira), pig (pïrïkï), wild cat (músï), while girls' names are ornamental and flattering, e.g., "brilliant one" (hɪróts̄ï), brownish one (muráachong), etc. 601 551

The teknonym employed to address a person is derived from the name of the eldest son, and in default of sons, from that of the eldest daughter. Personal names are used in addressing unmarried persons. It is a disgrace, however, for an adult not to have children. Grandparents may be called by a teknonym referring either to a son or to a grandchild. [842]

Kinship terms are never employed in the forms as listed above, but only with possessive prefixes, e.g., tashí – my father; pïshií – your father; nïshí – his father; sïshí – her father; washí – our father; hashí – your (pl.) father; nashí – their father. In the table, kinship terms are represented by their root forms. As a friendly gesture, people may address each other by general terms such as "brother," "sister," etc., or they may call any small child "son" or "grandchild." 601 [572] [576]

Of particular interest is the distinction the Goajiro make between "blood-relatives" and "flesh-relatives." Blood-relatives are all patrilineally related persons, whereas "flesh-relatives" are related to Ego through the mother's line. Kinship ties between flesh-relatives are considered to be stronger than those existing between blood-relatives. In practical life this would mean that Ego would have to help his maternal uncle in a fight against his own father. Among all kinsmen the maternal uncle possesses the greatest authority and his word counts most in all domestic affairs. Frequently, therefore, we find the extended family clustered around the homestead of the maternal uncle, which makes the Goajiro a matrilineal avunculocal society. Otherwise residence is matrilocal. Any one of the three arúur-relatives (maternal uncle), as listed in the table above, may replace the true maternal uncle in case of his death. But only his sister's children can be heirs of his possessions (including his wife or wives). 601 602 611 [604] [591] [768] [428]

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

881 [868] weaving, making dresses, hammocks, sashes, &c., sewing, and all the little knick-knacks Indians love so well.

The confinement is not so isolated as it seems, generally several of her female relations are round the door with the enclosed, who of course becomes rather stout, much blanched, almost white, and some exceedingly beautiful. Strangers and men are not excluded from peeping in through [584] the door, always with an eye to matrimony, and she can be sold and liberated at once, though her husband if rich prefers leaving her to complete her term of schooling. On re-entering to society again, a special festival, *akuitis*, is held with dancing, &c. An ox is killed, and the girl is dressed in the clothes she has made; her hair is cut and she resumes all her beads, necklaces, bracelets, and other ornaments.

562 Women are much respected by the Goajiros. In a quarrel or drunken brawl, women often save bloodshed by stepping in and tearing the weapons [579] out of their husband's or brother's hand. Travelling with women is consequently perfectly safe, and in case of danger, if one undertakes to protect a stranger, he may rely upon coming out all right.

583 Matrimony is a mere case of barter. The girl is sold for a certain price, fixed by the father. This is paid by the intended husband, and divided by the father, who appropriates the best part for himself and his relations, the rest going to the wife's relations. As it is chiefly in 585 cattle, these are killed and a kind of bridal festival held. There is no other ceremony. A wife is under obligation to support her husband, 593 find him in food, clothes, &c. She does most of the trading, and a [462] contract made with an Indian is worthless, should his better half object. An Indian cannot inflict bodily injury on his wife, for he becomes liable [583] to her relations, and should she die during childbirth he has to repay the father what he gave for her. But if the wife is untrue (a rare occur- [684] rence) he demands from the father the price he paid for her, who if he cannot refund, helps him to recover from the seducer, plus tear or compensation from his mother-in-law. At the husband's death, the 587 wife becomes a legacy to his brother, usually the youngest; if there are ● 769 none, then his nephew inherits her. The daughter of a chief is worth, according to his wealth and power (i. e. the number of men he can 583 dispose of in a fight) from 6 to 150 head of cattle (12*l.* to 300*l.*).

764 When a person dies, a grand drinking festival is given, that lasts as long as there is anything to drink—days, and even weeks, with the wealthy. These latter are buried twice, and have two festivals. A rich person is always buried in the rancho, and on the spot where he was born; being often carried for that purpose immense distances. A fire is lighted every night from sunset to sunrise in front of the grave, for the sole use of the dead. Immense piles of wood are gathered for this purpose, as the body is kept two years in the house. Then all the relations can meet on a certain day, and the second feast takes place, when the bones are carefully gathered, placed in a jar, and consigned to the

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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583 man cannot immediately pay any worthwhile part of the
614 bride-price. The young man may then abduct the girl with the tacit consent of her parents, and thereby postpone having to pay the bride-price. After some time, the girl's relatives will require payment, but meantime his family will have been trying to scrape together at least a first instalment.

Genuine abduction does occur occasionally, but only when the man knows that the girl's clan is weak and that her relatives will thus have difficulty in claiming their rights. He will take the girl as far away as possible. If he is caught, her relatives will try to demand a bride-price. Perhaps he is already tired of the girl by then and wants to return her. She is the clan's property and is not being returned un-
583 damaged, so the man must pay damages for seduction and,
565 if the girl is pregnant, also for childbirth.

In the lower classes that would dispose of the matter.
614 The baby would in any event be taken into the mother's
684 clan and have her name. In the upper classes a girl would be turned out if she had had such an accident and the considerable damages required had not been paid immediately. The clan's prestige cannot be allowed to suffer.

Indian girls never keep a seducer's name secret, but at once tell their family who he is.

Among the lower classes cases of wives eloping are said to occur. The man to whom they have gone can legalize the position by paying compensation to the husband. If the husband agrees to do a deal, he cannot ask as much as the bride-price he himself paid, for the girl is by then less valuable.

It follows from all this that a woman has not the right to
560 dispose of her own body. She belongs to her mother's
583 family until she marries, and her closest relatives must be compensated for any injury done her. Once the man has paid the bride-price she becomes his property. If she is
[768] widowed, she is inherited along with the rest of his effects by his nephews (sister's sons) and she has to purchase her freedom from them, paying a sum equivalent to the bride-price less what she is held to have lost in value since marriage.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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756 ought not to have children. The spirits can show her
842 various magical tricks to avoid this, but if she should become pregnant, she can count on the spirit's help in labour. Not even the male piache is allowed to partake of
[831] love more than fleetingly, almost casually. There must be no real affection involved.

756 A woman piache cannot practice during menstruation.
[841] No piache may eat meat from animals he has received in payment for his services. These, like other gifts, he does not enjoy, but he can give them to his sons. Nor is he allowed to eat meat from animals sacrificed at funerals or such feasts. While invoking or conjuring spirits he should restrict his diet to maize gruel.

A piache can cure all, but not himself. Sometimes, perhaps, a sympathetic spirit may give him a little advice, which will always help; but if he falls seriously ill, he summons a
[766 colleague, who performs the usual sorcery. When a piache
•768] dies, his rattle, diadem and other attributes are chopped up and buried in some remote and secret place. The dead
[775] piache's soul roams like those of all mortals and often clings to the burial place, but it is never alone, being always in company with its guardian spirit. Both can later help a new piache.

The medicine man is thus called to his profession by revelation and no attention is paid to sex, social position or age. Women have been magicians in Guajira from of old, as is shown by their myths. The piache belongs to two worlds: those of man and of the spirits. He has not chosen to belong to them and must continue in both. He is the intermediary between these two worlds, but nowadays his influence is dwindling. As civilization penetrates the peninsula, the part he plays is becoming less and less important.

756 The first really great piache was Umaralá, of whom the
173 Indians relate the following:

In the olden days there were plenty of piaches who took big fees, but did little. Umaralá made his cures with secret remedies and with songs accompanied on his maraca rattle. He lost his mother early, but was adopted as her own by his maternal aunt, who also considered all her possessions his.

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

586 minus an amount considered equivalent for the sexual right he had exer-
[845 cised. If a woman dies in her first childbirth the husband may demand
583] the full return of the bride price (Simons, 1885, p. 792, however, states
that the wife's relatives demand compensation from the husband).
586 Adultery entails divorce with full return of the bride price. It rarely
837 occurs, however, as the wife will be treated badly by her own relatives.
At his death a man's wives are inherited by his brother, and next by his
587 sister's sons; the women may avoid this by making a payment equivalent
768 to their bride price. If he is of the Catholic faith his children may claim
184 to be his legal heirs, which leads to conflict with the maternal nephews.
(See Social Organization, p. 374.)

562 The influence of women in political affairs is sometimes noticeable.
622 There are cases of female chiefs, and women are respected enough so as to be able to intervene and stop brawls.

764 **Death.**—Funerals are accompanied by festivities which last days or even
[55 weeks, according to the wealth of the family. There are some differences
184] in the funeral ceremonies which are apparently associated with the particular sibs. These funeral feasts afford the best opportunity for display of wealth, and more than 1,000 head of livestock may be butchered. Every mourner who comes to the feast contributes animals for slaughter and continues to do so as long as he cares to remain. After the mourning period, marked by weeping and lamenting interspersed with drinking and feasting, the corpse, which has lain in a hammock slung from the rafters,
[784 is sewn up in hides by the women (men may not touch a dead body)
and carried to the cemetery of the tribe. For a year or so, the body may be temporarily consigned to a shallow grave marked by a pile of stones. Food and drink are often placed in the grave, and, if the deceased had been a warrior, his bows and arrows are put in. A year or two later the bones
764 are exhumed and reburied in a large urn. The exhumation is generally
765 done at night and is accompanied by a feast. The remains are carried in a funeral procession to the dead person's birthplace, where they are buried in the family's own cemetery. The funeral urn is placed in a vertical position with the narrow neck of the jar protruding above ground to permit the free entry and exit of the spirit and to allow the remains of other members of the family to be added from time to time. A cactus hedge surrounds the cemetery, and in wet weather half a calabash is placed over the opening of each jar to keep out the rain. Whenever two relatives of a recently deceased person meet, they bow to the ground, shouting and groaning, for several minutes. (For a slightly different account of the burial of a rich man, see Simons, 1885, p. 792.)

751 If a person is stricken with smallpox the whole tribe moves away, only
766 the family of the sick person remaining. When the death occurs they bury the body below the floor and burn the hut over the grave.

/36 cont./

861 your fault; and as you would not listen to me, you can suffer the consequences." Or she consoles him by saying: "Don't cry, it doesn't really hurt; It is not worth crying about. Be a man." If the one hurt is a girl, the mother soothes her saying: "Why are you crying when you are braver than any man? You always behave with more pluck than they do."

Another way to get them to respect an order is to have recourse to stimulation by comparison. "Your brother -- or so-and-so -- obeys /37/ his mother promptly and helps her without being told what to do." Or she tells him, to encourage his efforts: "Why won't you be able to do such a thing if X... who is smaller than you already can do it?"

Obedience and submission are also achieved with presents. When the parents go to a village, they bring back for the son something he has wanted. They will also promise him some gift, trying to satisfy his taste or the particular liking of the child. "I will give you such-and-such a sweet cake"; "I will give you this"; "I will let you go to that place"; "I will let you play with your friend if you will do what I ask promptly and well."

• • •

• 769 The cult of the dead is fundamental in the social life of the Guajiro, and the child is instructed in it. This cult represents,
867 moreover, another bond of union among the living, by its reminder of a tie of common blood, which relates to a third person to whom mutual relationship is recognized; moreover, it makes common cause with the incidents of his life and death, evoking a strong sense of solidarity.

The cult of the dead expressly implies a series of obligations in which the child is instructed and compliance with which is directly associated with the maintenance of the status of the dead person's family group, obligations which this training tends to render unavoidable.

Probably the cornerstone of this instruction is the daily calling to mind of dead relatives, for at three o'clock in the morning,

/37 cont./

769 867 more or less, when the people who sleep in the house have not yet risen from bed, the woman of most authority in the home -- the mother, the grandmother, the maternal aunt, or the eldest sister -- begins to recall their departed ones by a long-drawn-out wail the same as is customary in the lamentations at the wake, and immediately following she starts sobbing and in a mournful tone recites an account of her sorrows for the death of her relatives. She says, for example: "Oh! We have no mother; it is sad she did not die of some sickness, but that they killed her . . . ," and she goes on describing her death with all the sorrowful details: the humiliations and troubles she had to put up with from another group, emphasizing especially this death has not been satisfied, that is to say, is without a just compensation payment, that those who killed her are living tranquilly; that the family blood was spilled by people who are still unpunished. She then relates the social dangers that threaten her family at the moment from other groups, their anxieties over the coming summer /the dry season/ which will further impoverish /38/ them and thus bring them less justice, but returning continually to the theme of the dead relative, going back even to the long past death of some other member of the family who often even her own mother had not known, associating in this way the family dead of different periods, referring again to his or her natural or violent death with all its details, trying in accordance with the Guajiro point of view to discover the person who, for whatever motive, is responsible for the deed, making the whole weight of responsibility fall on him or her as a relief to her sorrow.

Once this narration has ended, the sobbing is suspended for a few minutes, and then another of the women of the house returns to the same subject in identical form, until every adult woman in the house has unbosomed her sorrow, referring to the past with its bitterness and to the anxieties of the future, recalling the memory of their lost ones and the causes of their deaths. This daily repetition results in the children's not only learning the cult of the dead but also the past history and the fellowship of feeling of the family group. They learn to admire the virtues

/38 cont./

769 of their ancestors or to sympathize with their humilations, share
867 in their hatreds and common sorrows, as well as to learn to perform this practice and repeat and transmit it when they form their own homes.

764 Furthermore, the presence and participation of the children
769 in the ceremonies which are performed at the death of a relative
867 are meant to teach them through experience each one of these ceremonies. Thus he learns and has engraved on him the feeling of mutual support that exists between related members of a group, such as the financial help that must be forthcoming, when it is a case of a poor relative, in order to be able to sacrifice animals and to see to the necessary amount of liquor and hospitality customary on such occasions, and the shrouding of the corpse, the etiquette that life beyond the grave demands from the wife, the relatives who intervene in these activities and their behavior (such as their weeping at the foot of the corpse), fasting and abstinence from meat: in fact every one of the established cultural patterns obligatory at these times, and it is an apprenticeship which the child receives through explanation and personal observation.

The child also shares in the family life during the days immediately after the burial; in the offerings that are taken to the dead one when it is feared, by magical indications, that his life beyond the grave is not normal for lack of something that he needs; in the periodical visits made to the grave and in the bonfires that for several nights are lit to illuminate the path of the dead.

Later he joins in the ceremony of exhumation. He knows
769 his part and that of his immediate relatives and, as in the
571 previous cases, each one /39/ of the traditional norms. But
867 the most important thing about all these activities is not to learn to carry them out correctly, but to establish the sense of solidarity with the dead one, with the family, and with the society in which he lives. With the dead, by fulfilling an obligation of consanguinity in order to assure him -- even by coercion of

/39 cont./

769 his spirit -- a proper life in the future. With his family, by
571 mutual aid and solidarity in sorrow and in their joint economic
effort, and in the case of a violent death, by making common
867 cause in order to obtain effective justice and the negotiation
for the compensation payment, in order that the blood spilled
may be properly atoned for.

He also learns the extent of the injury to a dead relative, linked to the mention of his name, which may revive all the sorrows, feelings, and painful past of the group.

Regarding society, the child learns how he, personally, must behave and also what the behavior of his group must be, the rules that he should comply with so that his prestige be not diminished since such would involve the lowering of the prestige of his group and have its repercussions when they try to obtain justice after any friction. This is what causes the bonds of consanguinity to tighten more and more and manifest themselves in the generous gifts each individual member subscribes to help another at a time when the clan, as a group, is being appraised by outsiders; and it is this that the child must learn, really learn: proper cult practices for his ancestors at the moment of their death and later, corresponding to their social status and that of the consanguineous relatives.

* * *

604 The training of a child of the middle years is not connected to the localization of the family, because at this period he breaks away from the small family circle in order to live with his other relatives for long periods of time.

When the marriage is solemnized under the Guajiro rite and when that tradition is still followed, the young boy is initiated and instructed almost entirely by the maternal uncle of most importance or of highest standing in the family circle. So, once the little boy can get around alone from place to place, this uncle, who generally will have in his possession all the

/160 cont./

765 that they have felt the spirit of the departed, which to them is an indication that they have not complied fully with the funeral ritual or that something was missing from the post-mortem attire or that he lacks some material necessities beyong the grave. For this reason they take him food and drink. Another practice is that any Guajiro -- man or woman -- who passes by the cemetery must enter, above all if he knows there has been a recent burial, and cry a little over the graves, recalling his own troubles and those of his clan. In the period immediately following the burial, the relatives of the dead person light bonfires in his honor during the night in order to illumine the road he must follow until he arrives at his future home, and so that his spirit will not continue to wander, like that of a murderer or a suicide, or become harmful. In Santander del Sur this custom existed in the distant past but nowadays the peasants limit themselves to placing a candle inside the sleeve of the deceased's shroud, so that he may light his path.

765 The Guajiro family remember their relative for a long
769 time. Every sunrise before starting their day's work, they weep for him and the others of their clan group who have died (Cf. Chap. II, Cult of the dead).

When some time has passed after the burial of their relative (four or five months), two women return to his grave, almost secretly, his mother and his most beloved aunt, or his first wife. They reopen the grave until they find the body, raise it halfway up the grave, putting earth inside and then re-covering it. They say the object of this is to avoid the skeleton's being dispersed at such a depth when the exhumation
[793] takes place. These two women, after having carried out this labor, go through a special purification. About two years after death comes the time for exhumation, when all the relatives come together. They send out runners to announce the exhumation. All come to this ceremony in which the slaughter and distribution of animals and of drink is repeated; it takes place in the house of the deceased or in the cemetery itself,

/160 cont./

765 where an enramada /bough-covered shelter/ is erected if the
769 house is too far away. The remains are put into an earthenware urn which is placed on a hammock around which they all congregate, also on hammocks, the female friends and relatives weeping over the dead man a second time. A new grave is dug in the clan cemetery, in which his remains are deposited. At the present time it is customary for each small family of means to have a common funerary urn /161/ in which the bone remains of all the immediate consanguineous members are accumulated.

The exhumation of the remains is a labor entrusted to the very close relatives of the dead man who were much attached to him. By this action they are offered a family honor which, like the digging of his grave, is never refused. These individuals, two in number, open up the grave; and one, his body totally covered with a robe and his hands wrapped in a cloth, scratches in the earth to find the bones. As the region is so dry the bodies are marvelously preserved. First of all he brings out the skull with much respect amid the silence of the others gathered around. He cleans it carefully, showing his affection for the deceased in each of these details, and then he passes it to his companion, together with the rest of the bones. This assistant is covered, especially his face, and his work consists in placing the remains in the urn destined beforehand for such a purpose. These two persons, once having
[783] finished their operation, carefully purify themselves and for some time after follow a special diet.

In these exhumation ceremonies, the relatives of the
[262] exhumed person submit to the same dietary proscription of not partaking of the meat of the slaughtered animals, and they receive the sympathy of their relatives and friends, who have come together again for this purpose.

768 A funeral custom still exists but has been weakened in some sectors that are more in contact with whites and the influence of the mission, and that is to abandon the house where the sick man died immediately after the body has been buried,

/253 cont./

554 548 with respect to social questions as fundamental as marriage, there has been a change in the judgment of prostitution and concubinage, two ways by which a woman escapes from legal strictures, almost always because of necessity or the special circumstances in which her group is placed.

X

554 562 888 We should note here the important fact that the functions ascribed to the working Guajiro woman no longer count when she has passed through her adult change of life, that is to say, when she has passed the menopause. From this moment it appears that she enjoys absolute freedom within the community to do those things that are prohibited a woman before she reaches that condition, such as to become inebriated, to smoke, to indulge in sexual liberties; certain taboos now no longer refer to her, and the cultural patterns need not be so rigorously complied with; she is not obliged to become the wife of the heirs of the dead husband, etc. Her status again becomes effective with all its attached functions after her death, as we shall see.

XI

554 769 775 The active presence of an individual in Guajiro society is not lost at his death. In the concept that these natives have about death, clearly expressed in the study made by my husband to which we have /254/ made reference several times, every member of the community continues being a member of it and exercises influence over his fellow men after his death. His status in the afterlife is determined by the same conditions that he had during his earthly life: the acquiring of greater wealth and of prestige confers a higher status in the world of the spirits.

/254 cont./

554 His functions keep on being carried out by means of intermediaries, as happens in the case of the piache, since the
●769 shaman, or medicine man, is nothing more than an intermediary
775 between society and the world of the spirits; his illumination is determined by the action of famous dead shamans who are reincarnated, one might say, in the living one and determine many of the actions of the community, especially those with reference to Illness and to Death. In other words, the shaman in his life is not guided by his own personality but rather by that of the shamans who have deigned to come down to him to indicate the functions that he must comply with, the rules that he must observe, and, in short, all the indispensable acts of his profession. The spiritual direction of the group is thus in the hands of the dead, who continue to look after their group in a more effective manner than when they were alive.

The gradation of status which we have seen in Guajiro society in previous paragraphs is also followed in the world of the dead, in which murderers, for example, occupy their same condition of outlaws, as also do suicides; they do not wander about freely as the other spirits do but are condemned to crawl face downward along the ground. And, if while in life they were a threat to the regimen for personal security or collective stability, they are also so after dying; from this develops the series of preventive practices relative to these spirits.

XII

554 Status is susceptible to modifications both upward and downward. The causes of ascent are implicit in the conditions referred
558 to, which as they are reached one by one confer on the individual an increase in his prestige, or keep it maintained. Among the sources of descent we can enumerate the following as the principal ones: a) the scarcity of male members for some reason or other in the clan unit or in the small family

[50 cont.]

782 arrow in the first case and saves a person sentenced to death in a dream through the blood of a sacrificed animal in the second. (h) Furthermore, in the second case we find an apparent substitution of the personality of the individual, or better still, a partial sacrifice of the same on his handing over for sacrifice an animal owned by him. (i) In the sacrifice of animals of a ritual funerary character, we can distinguish the following effects obtained: First the propitiation of the dead man's spirit which, as may be seen in the chapter corresponding to "Magic and Funerals," 769 can be beneficial, neutral, or malicious. This depends on whether all the considerations due to his status are maintained or not, or if all or part of the taboos established in this respect in the course of the social life of the community are violated or not. Second, the confirmation of the belief of a life beyond the tomb as a reflection of the earthly life. The sacrifice, in the sense that the dead animal accompanies its owner into the next life and places him on the same social plane that he occupied in this one among his fellow spirits there, confirms such a belief in the almost material life beyond the grave. [51]

IV

Sickness and Medicine

771 If we take into account the essential characteristics of
813 primitive mentality, we should remember that their world is
181 what we might call metaphysical, since the objects that surround them do not have a real existence as they do not look at them with a truly objective discernment but allow their imagination to be deceived by the strange things around them so that these become supernatural beings, all animated, not in the physical sense of movement but in their capacity to do good or evil, or to intervene in any manner whatever in the lives of men, of other beings, and of the cosmos in general. All that relates to the surroundings of primitive people: rocks, plants, animals, natural phenomena ... , are active beings in the best sense of the word, capable of intervention and worthy of the Indian's respect,

[77 cont.]
762 783 should not be transmitted to the persons who for any circumstance may approach or touch them.

The wickedness of the spirit of the suicide, in any event, 762 is seen to be reaffirmed by another Guajiro belief, which is that 769 of not daring to pass at [78] night by the place where an Indian 775 may have hanged himself because his spirit wanders continually around the place, and being malignant it will certainly pursue and chase after one in the form of a great flame or some other shape.

775 As we proceed to set down the present data relating to the participation of the dead in the lives of the Guajiro community, we shall refer to those related to the spirits of suicides with the idea of obtaining greater objectivity in our statements.

Presence and life of the dead. The spirit of the dead, known usually by the name wanurú and at other times as yoruja, on being separated from its body wanders about the world. Although it no longer has any tangible relationship with terrestial things, it is still dangerous. Usually it takes refuge in lonely and isolated places such as in some cemeteries, in the crevices formed by sea erosion in Cabo de la Vela, or in the solitudes of the Emejuy forest. But it appears that in addition to these places frequented by the spirits of the dead, there is one undetermined special place far away from La Guajira. It is customary when a 764 woman has died to cover her face with paipai (a paint for the 775 face) before wrapping her in her shroud and placing her in her coffin ready for burial. The explanation for this is that she is going on a long journey, a very long journey, and the sun to which she will be exposed will be very strong and harmful to her face. For this reason, according to Guajiro custom, they must try to protect the skin of her face from the sun's action by the use of this face paint. Also she is going to pay a visit, and it is indispensable that a woman should have her face painted when visiting friends or relatives (55).

751 55. The Guajiro woman, every time she is exposed to the sun's rays, protects her face with paipai powder (color of burnt sienna)

[84 cont.]

682 family groups — that of the murderer and that of the victim —
775 is it considered necessary for the murderer to flee to distant parts to avoid the vengeance of his enemies falling on him. We have here, then, a repetition, different in form but essentially the same, of a disguise to avoid the presence of the spirits,
[171] which the Witoto practice either in the father, the mother, or the child, with the object of protecting the child from the malevolent action of the spirits (Cf. "Sickness and Medicine").

787 Presence of the dead in dreams. The dead person can also reappear through the medium of dreams. He is then as real, as
769 alive, to the Indian as in his apparition during the day or night in a corporeal or other form, such as we have shown throughout this chapter. For this reason, when an Indian dreams of one of his dead relatives on any occasion, he believes that this relative is in need of something in his other world and requires [85] special help from his relatives. He therefore assembles the dead man's closest relatives, and they all go as soon as possible to the grave of the person who appeared in the dream and take a little food with them. After some time passed in lamentation over the tomb, they unwrap the meat expressly taken there for the occasion and seat themselves on the grave, prepared to eat, saying as they begin eating, "Come then, let us all eat together." To avoid the appearance of spirits through dreams, it is a general custom to visit the graves of the dead at times of full moon [luna clara], at night, and on the anniversary of the person's death.

The explanation of the spirit's appearance in a dream can be found very clearly expressed in the words we quote from Dr. Born and according to which "... from experiences in the world of dreams he derived the belief in the soul as a clear explanation of the consciousness of "ego," which is opposed to the destiny of death." According to this, in the dream communication is established between two spirits, between two souls, as Dr. Born says: that of the dead, already definitively free of its human wrapping; and that of the living, momentarily free of its body by the effects of the dream.

766 Burial and children. When the first-born of a Guajiro marriage dies before other children are born, they place it in an urn

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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The *Goajiro* believe that after death the deceased in ethereal form 775
wander about the country, their favorite meeting place being in the vicinity of Bahía Honda in the extreme north of the peninsula. There is some evidence that the Indians look forward to a happier existence after death. From this belief in the afterlife stems the practice of mutilating the body of a slain enemy, for once his body is broken and scattered it is not possible to reassemble his soul, and the slayer is protected from a vengeance-seeking spirit.

The dead are highly respected or feared; consequently, it is a serious 769 551
offense to mention a dead person by name.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Games.—The *Goajiro* have various athletic sports, such as horse racing, 526
wrestling, and archery. Contestants shoot at a skin ball or a fruit tossed into the air or at targets; they are very accurate up to 125 yards. Tournaments are held in which the contestants pair off, the victor of each round winning an arrow and continuing to compete.

Feasts and dances.—The *Goajiro* are fond of feasts and hold them 574
whenever opportunity offers—at funerals, when they have received their 756
pay for loading salt, at baptisms, or when a person completes his training as a medicine man. Weston (1937) describes a festival held on the last-mentioned occasion. For 2 days the big drum was sounded by relays of players, spreading the news. The dance, practiced beforehand, took place in a circle some 25 feet (7.5 m.) in diameter around which some 200 Indians gathered. A man, nude except for his waist cloth and head band [292
with ornamental plume, with his face painted red in a crisscross pattern, 535]
danced backward from a girl dressed in a voluminous robe and wearing a large red handkerchief on her head. The girl attempted to overtake and head off the man, who retreated before her in a circle with a peculiar double step, almost a hop and a skip. As one pair tired another took its place, the dance continuing indefinitely.

Musical instruments.—*Goajiro* musical instruments are few. A 534
calabash filled with stones or peas serves as a rattle for dance accompaniment. The clarinet is about 2 feet (0.6 m.) long, made of telescoped (?) sections of reed with a bell consisting of calabash and a vibrating reed in the mouthpiece. It is side blown. The large drum is carved from a hollow section of tree, 15 inches (38 cm.) in diameter and 24 inches (60 cm.) long, and has both ends covered with sheepskin. It is slung from the rafters, a branch, or from the player's neck. Singing among the *Goajiro* is virtually nonexistent.

Narcotics and stimulants.—To make chicha beer, maize may be mas- 273
ticated by the women and spat into a large earthenware bowl, with water and crude sugar added. After 3 days it is strained and drunk. By another

[50 cont.]

782 arrow in the first case and saves a person sentenced to death in a dream through the blood of a sacrificed animal in the second. (h) Furthermore, in the second case we find an apparent substitution of the personality of the individual, or better still, a partial sacrifice of the same on his handing over for sacrifice an animal owned by him. (i) In the sacrifice of animals of a ritual funerary character, we can distinguish the following effects obtained: First the propitiation of the dead man's spirit which, as may be seen in the chapter corresponding to "Magic and Funerals," 769 can be beneficial, neutral, or malicious. This depends on whether all the considerations due to his status are maintained or not, or if all or part of the taboos established in this respect in the course of the social life of the community are violated or not. Second, the confirmation of the belief of a life beyond the tomb as a reflection of the earthly life. The sacrifice, in the sense that the dead animal accompanies its owner into the next life and places him on the same social plane that he occupied in this one among his fellow spirits there, confirms such a belief in the almost material life beyond the grave. [51]

IV

Sickness and Medicine

771 If we take into account the essential characteristics of
813 primitive mentality, we should remember that their world is
181 what we might call metaphysical, since the objects that surround them do not have a real existence as they do not look at them with a truly objective discernment but allow their imagination to be deceived by the strange things around them so that these become supernatural beings, all animated, not in the physical sense of movement but in their capacity to do good or evil, or to intervene in any manner whatever in the lives of men, of other beings, and of the cosmos in general. All that relates to the surroundings of primitive people: rocks, plants, animals, natural phenomena ... , are active beings in the best sense of the word, capable of intervention and worthy of the Indian's respect,

[51 cont.]

●711 fear, or admiration. The primitive has not at this stage reached
813 the discernment necessary to establish the logical relation be-
181 tween phenomena and their real causes, but establishes a magic relationship that in the majority of cases does not correspond to any concrete or objective reality.

753 This manner of thinking and of feeling is especially reflected in the facts related to the individual himself and his organic reactions and, essentially, in the variations to which his organism is susceptible in the biological or pathological sense. To the primitive sicknesses are not ills caused by pathogenic germs (we say this in the general sense as there are some exceptions) or by internal or external disorders but are the result of the harmful actions of some being — animal, human, mineral, or vegetable — who is the sick man's potential enemy or one whom he has injured in some way or another, especially in violating the social ritual arrangements which at first were related almost exclusively to the totem and which then gradually evolved toward diverse forms of magic which lead him to a real investigatory curiosity.

This curiosity is not limited, as might be expected, to the simple act of knowing what phenomenon or what individual spirit might have caused the sickness, but sets out to understand the whole matter in order to put into [52] practice a method of cure — it does not matter of what kind — which will bring one back to the state of health, to normality, and remove him from contact with the dangerous world of the spirits.

753 For this reason, in the following pages we shall find our-
755 selves confronted with this phenomenon: if the causes of the sick-
*756 ness are magic or, in more general terms, supernatural, the methods of curing applied must be of the same type. The world of the spirits is considered to be superior to the normal world of the living, because it is unknown or partially so. The struggle then, face to face, of individual against spirit will be unequal because the latter — the spirit — is aided by supernatural forces with which the living are unacquainted. For this reason it is indispensable that shamans should be called in — the intermediaries between man and spirit, or that he employ, when

536 [140 cont.]
796 moving along the ground. Headed by their leader they all continue to sing the song of the serpent, saying more or less the following: "I am the snake. I drag myself along the ground.
[539] I do harm to no one. But he who dares to step on me because I am on the ground gets his punishment. I bite him and wound him. At times I kill him. He has to stay in bed and suffer for a long time as a punishment for having trodden on me and for thinking that I am helpless because I drag myself along the ground...." This song is repeated several times. [141]

IX

Mareiwa and Wanurú

or

Notions of Good and Evil

771 Through all the preceding chapters we have tried to explain clearly what constitutes the magic life of the Guajiro, which is almost the same as saying his spiritual life, and in passing we have mentioned the presence and activities of beings with higher powers than ordinary mortals, able to do good or evil according to which being intervenes in each particular case. We have thus touched on two fundamental ideas: good and evil.

776 Our interest is now concentrated in trying to elucidate the
177 quality of these spirits, or supernatural beings. These can be very seriously confused owing particularly to the influence of acculturation and more specifically to the pressure exerted by missionaries in their prosletyzing function. So great is the misapplication of terms and concepts in this world of ideas that we might call the religious, that even the Guajiro mythology has been transformed by the use of terms which have a pejorative and
773 degrading effect on the Guajiro people (68).
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68. This statement is based on the legend which we obtained orally from

[141 cont.]

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an Indian of the Nazaret locality relating to Mareiwa and the origin of humanity, in which are presented the beginnings of the different groups of mankind: natives and foreigners. The legend states that Mareiwa created mankind and gathered them together, inviting them to a banquet. Those who complied with the forms of social etiquette (shaking hands respectfully, sitting in the right place, behaving with composure, eating according to civilized rules, using knives and forks, washing hands, etc., were turned into arijuna ("white," civilizado); those who misbehaved, who did not comply with these rituals of social etiquette, that is, those who showed they were Indians, were from that time classed as wayú ("Indians"). As can be seen, the Indian believes himself superior [sic] to the White because of these details of social etiquette, of which he is partially or totally ignorant. [142]

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The problem arises from the fact that those two notions of good and evil, represented by two classes of spirits, benign and malignant, have been changed for the Catholic or general Christian concepts of God and devil, concepts which the native, coming more and more in contact with the Christian type of civilization has gradually come to accept in the process of his conversion to new ideas.

197

This affirmation is corroborated by various citations, taken from the writings of Catholic or Protestant missionaries as well as from those of travelers or of ethnologists who have been involved in the same confusion. To demonstrate the point we transcribe several such cases.

[53]

Father de Carcagente referring to the church at Manaure says: "The Indians say to God 'Have pity upon us.' They know

[151] Conclusions

177 Magic shows itself to be one of the strongest institutions
771 of Guajiro culture despite the fact that, as we have shown
789 throughout this study, it is gradually losing its importance in proportion to the lowering of the shaman's prestige as the spiritual leader of the group. This is due to the already mentioned factors of prosletyzing and acculturation on a rising scale, brought about by the influence of a continually increasing number of civilizado elements in the peninsula, as well as by the consequences of the acculturation experienced by the members of the society. However, it is magic that still dominates many of the aspects of the native's daily life, not to say the greater part, and it is this that we are trying to synthesize and briefly explain in this chapter.

132 1. Economy. The Guajiro's life, as we saw in the Intro-
182 duction is strictly dependent on the tyrannically dominating cli-
771 mate, given the conditions of the peninsula where this commun-
789 ity lives, relying as they do on the seasonal fluctuations of rains to which they have adapted their system of agriculture and stock grazing, essential sources of their economy. As the people's livelihood directly depends on these, the Guajiro, lacking the higher techniques of irrigation and water conservation, puts his hope of survival in methods of magic, whether they be personal, collective, or directly exercised by the curer-magician of the community. These are no other than the exorcisms carried out by the latter to attract the rains in the long summers by invoking his protector spirits and especially Mareiwa, the personification of good and of rain; or the adoration and ceremonies in honor of the iguana carried out by private individuals with the same end in view; or, in short, all the methods of magic we have enumerated in connection with the natural phenomenon of rain.

Also in respect to the economy we must remember the
[241 presence of women when the sowing of crops is done, which
462] establishes a division of work by sex based on the magic association of the transmission of feminine fecundity to the seeds.

177 [152] Moreover, faced with the new phenomenon of stock
771 grazing, the native has adapted his magic methods to this, im-
789 posing the same or similar treatments used for the members of the

[155 cont.]
182 individual or of the dead, in the aspect which we have called
626 "Omens and Augural Birds," in the behavior followed by individ-
789 uals who wish to call up a breeze during a windless calm at sea or to send away eclipses and lightning which, according to their belief, are malevolent.

• • •

789 A very interesting aspect of magic is its use for and against
595 some of the cultural institutions and their institutionalized patterns; for example, the use of love charms and the compliance with certain norms after the period of seclusion accompanying the ceremonies at the time of a young woman's initiation. Her aim is to fight against polygamy, with a view either to obtaining predominance over other wives or, better, to prevent the man who has acquired her for his wife from acquiring more women with whom she would have to share his life. Possibly due to the influence of acculturation, there is a tendency toward monogamy on the part of the women. The men, however, tend toward polygamy for prestige, since for it they must have a good economical position, as the price of women is high, increasingly so the greater their social position.

[156] Another institution that we see directly affected by
751 magic is this same initiation of young women. We saw how
• 771 the death of a first-born child required a series of ceremonies
881 to prevent future children dying at birth, one after the other, and we stated that one of the principal ceremonies consisted in the observance of certain norms which bring to mind very clearly the initiation of the young mother. Their idea would seem to be that one of the causes of the death of the first-born was the deficient carrying out of the magic-biological-social ceremonial to which the girl must submit to prepare for her life as an adult.

764 Also the norms relating to the dead and the belief in a
775 life beyond the grave rest almost exclusively on magic, and
771 through it their prestige and their functioning are kept up. Magic
626 is also the cause of the fear and respect which relatives and friends show to their dead, and it is magic which also promotes all the ceremonial rites that are celebrated in this connection.

[156 cont.]

554 556 789 3. The individual. Another interesting social aspect related to magic is in connection with the status derived from wealth, expressed by the greater or lesser number of heads of stock owned by an individual. But apart from this strictly material aspect, magic has powers which when put into action assist the individual to acquire a coveted position or to improve one he already has, as is done, for example, in the cultural aspect of language, the mastery of which with the use of fine turns of speech can give to the speaker the highly esteemed and prestigeful position of arbitrator, or intermediary, in their interclan struggles, a position that is often confused with that of chief.

Within this field of magic activity we can cite as examples the following:

a) The sacrifice of animals, which not only gives prestige to the living but also establishes the status of the deceased in his life beyond the tomb.

b) The use of diverse charms such as those for love, for making one rich, for obtaining respect, prestige, and affection, etc.

c) The custom of an individual eating the leavings of food of individuals of special physical characteristics, especially those having qualities superior to his own, as for example, a white skin, a beard, etc., with the end of becoming more outstanding and improving his status.

d) As an indirect form of elevating status, we have the case of the Indian Kurira-Páta, who swallowed a charm and took a slave girl for wife in order to heal the wounds he received from the Kusina Indians. [157] The slave, because of a dream, passed to the category of wife, thus ascending the social scale.

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181 771 789 A great part of the Guajiro's personality is molded by this institution of his culture, and many of his reactions would be inexplicable without previous knowledge of the process of magic, the fields of its functioning, the ways of life it has created, the

[157 cont.]

181 mental outlook it originates — imbued, as we have affirmed,
771 with an animistic determinism — and the beliefs it implies in
789 the different angles of Guajiro human activity, as it will have been possible to observe throughout the length of the work we are presenting. So much is this so that the very basic impulses of the individual are seen in many circumstances to be influenced by magic.

a) To prove this in the sexual aspect it suffices for us to
834 cite again some facts already described and explained in previous chapters, such as the taboos imposed on the shamans, especially when they are women and according to which they should cohabit exclusively with their husbands, avoid caresses, motions, prolonged coitus, and pregnancy, and never exercise their functions during their menstrual periods. Besides this, it can be seen in the lifting of sexual taboos, or better said, the permitted violation of the norms which rule the community in this respect during the celebration of the Fiesta of the Kid, which reaches the point of allowing the consummation of the carnal act among the unmarried, an act absolutely prohibited in their society in normal times and which would provoke — as fully explained in the corresponding section — compensation payment and even interclan war with its tremendous consequences of persecution, annihilation, and slavery. It can also be observed in what we called the "proof of virginity," which permits a male to caress the bodies of young women who take part in the fiesta, an action prohibited, as in the previous case, in normal times.
[832] Among the charms we also found some that act in this way, and also significant is the act of rubbing bixa ointment on the genital organs and breasts to make them more effective in love-making.

b) In the matter of food we saw proofs of the influence
262 of magic, especially related to the life of the shaman, particularly when he is in one of his "illumination" trances or in a curing ceremony. This influence also shows itself in the shaman's initiation, in the initiation of [158] young women, in the magic contamination of food by some animals which can cause sickness in newborn children, and in the prohibition against eating the flesh of the hawk which produces sterility in young and old of both sexes. Also, it is found in relatives being forbidden to eat the

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

172 these tumas are all made from carnelian, jasper, or other reddish varieties of silica, and the stone, according to the Indians, is not to be found in the Goajira. While ascending Macuira, several places were pointed out to me, especially near the top, in which I was entreated to look for treasure "of the Arhuaco." They themselves, although coveting tumas above everything, are, curiously enough, afraid to look for them, not hesitating, [771] however, to appropriate any found by chance. This, combined with the fear of mentioning their dead, points to some sort of religion or belief in a superior Being. They evidently took possession by conquest, 174 driving the weaker "Arhuaco" out, and have managed to assert their rights to this day. It is rather an historical anomaly that such a small [161] tribe, which probably never exceeded 80,000, should have been able to conserve intact their absolute freedom, their manners and customs uncontaminated, in spite of the accessibility of their territory, surrounded as it is by the sea, and the continual commerce that has been going on for centuries.

Commencing with the topography of the country, the mountain 133 system attracts attention most—more so, as a remarkable error has been propagated, that the Goajira is one large fertile plain with only one or two isolated hills. At least one-half of the country is hilly. There are in fact two Goajiras; one known as the Lower Goajira is the broad level plain extending from the river Rancheria to a little beyond the Teta. The other, or Upper, Goajira is the hilly sterile region between the Teta and Punta Espada. The Upper Goajira is simply a volcanic eruption, a conglomeration of low hills, conspicuous from the many cone-shaped forms, and the parallel ridges in which they have been thrown up. These parallel lines run chiefly north-west by south-east, and are separated by two large plains, thus forming three distinct groups of hills running from sea to sea. The first and most important of the three is the easterly or Macuira range. This fine, bold, interesting mountain mass rises in front of Chimaro, about 12 miles from the sea-shore, and terminates at the most easterly point of the Goajira, forming the rocky headland known as the Punta Espada (Jurión). Due to its elevation and position, it serves as a species of cloud-trap detaining the lower clouds that drive in from seawards impelled by the easterly or trade winds, that blow here with great force most part of the year. This is the only spot in all the Goajira that can really be called fertile. I ascended the two highest points. The north or Macuira proper lies in front of Puerto Estrella, and is composed of several peaks ranging between 2400 and 2600 feet above sea-level. 133 241 None of them offer any difficulty in climbing, as the slopes are covered with gardens to within 500 feet of the top. The vegetation is similar [137] to that of the Sierra Nevada at 6000 feet, and the temperature was very low, showing at midday 65° Fahr. The highest point at the southern extremity in front of Punto Espada is Ara-ura. Owing to the low dense

/94 cont./

582 evident, a Catholic missionary married them according to the
588 Catholic ritual. This act seemed a crime to the natives: that a Guajiro woman should be legally married to her maternal uncle was impossible to understand. Rumors and a kind of social vacuum began to surround the pair, and even threats, to the point that, seeing life was becoming impossible for them among their own people, they abandoned all they possessed and migrated to a distance, where there would be no Guajiro who knew their story, in order that they might not have to put up with the social situation which their illegal conduct toward their traditions had provoked.

582 The pure Guajiro is the one who preserves in its most extreme form the principles of exogamy among the different family groups. Mestizo men, educated and influenced by the kinship principles followed by whites, reduce the wideness of the scope of this prohibition against the marriage of individuals within the same clan and marry /95/ female first cousins in the maternal line, defying the natural revulsion of the Indians who still consider such unions incestuous.

835 We must note again that it is not rare for girls before puberty to cohabit with their own brothers (in the Guajiro sense) and with their father, naturally without pregnancy as a consequence, but with the loss of their virginity. Guajiro mythology contains a
[173] story of a girl who, having become pregnant by her own father, overcome by her physical condition and the social ostracism which her action had provoked, hanged herself, thus establishing this type of suicide as a means of a woman's doing away with herself when her wishes are opposed, especially in cases where she is obliged to marry a man whom she dislikes or in circumstances similar to those in the story.

These incestuous sexual relations are frequent in nearly every part of La Guajira. They happen when little girls go from one settlement to another carrying a message or to the woods in search of the pack animals or of fruit, at the same time that the boys are there looking after the livestock. Usually these relations cannot be considered as a violation, as the girls consent willingly, a state

/167 cont./

592 has some authority over them because, if during his absence some carelessness on /168/ the part of the mother causes the death of one of them, he can collect a compensation payment from his wife's maternal relatives. But at the present time, among mestizos and especially among those who contract Catholic marriages, the father's authority is immediately felt in accordance with the custom of our culture. He represents the home and the children before the other individuals of the social totality as was previously done by the uncle.

This authority has reference not only to the home and to the compliance with certain norms of courtesy, such as those of hospitality for example, but also to the decisive events in family life, such as the marriage of a son, the compensation payment for an offense, the purchase of a daughter, etc. His will is consulted, and the wife obeys it, even against the personal insistence of her mother; in other words, the mother loses authority and responsibility with regard to her children, who now use the father's name and with this the new ascribed kin relationship. /169/

XI

THE CLAN

614 On studying clan organization we wish to present it as it apparently must have functioned in the past and to show the changes it has undergone up to the present. To this end, we make use of mythology to clarify happenings in the remote past.

614 A story from Upper La Guajira runs as follows: "Not far
773 from Nazaret there is a hill lying behind Itojoro. There
539 Mareiwa was born under an olive tree. There he was found as a tiny infant, and he kept growing and growing as rapidly as

539 /169 cont./
614 an Indian. He ate tuuma and wore a Guajiro robe. His mother
773 was an old woman. There she had her home. The father was one Saramai who, it is also said, was a god. As Mareiwa was born under an olive tree, the tree never loses its green leaves during any summer. And when there is a storm the Indians take shelter beneath its branches because lightning cannot penetrate there.

"Mareiwa ordered that there should be an Indian girl whom they called Borunka who was the mother of all the Guajiro Indians. Mareiwa gave her a husband by whom she became pregnant, but when the time of her delivery arrived she was not able to give birth. She had already suffered three days of labor pains without birth taking place. The cause was that her genital organ had teeth. Mareiwa extracted them, and later he took from the husband two ribs, the lower ones from each side of his body, to place in Borunka so that she could give birth to children without difficulty, though not without pain.

"Since there is always some loss of blood when there is a childbirth, Mareiwa called together all the little birds: the one called Sangre de Toro /Bull's Blood/ or pincwait he ordered to go and bathe at the spot where the birth had taken place. Also /he called/ the troupial, the icó with black wings and a red breast and crest, and the macaws. The woodpecker arrived late at the bath. Mareiwa said to him: 'You came late but I will anoint your crest,' and he painted it. For this reason, all these birds have red patches.

"Borunka had several children, and thus the Guajiro went on multiplying. When they became numerous, Mareiwa returned and distributed among them seeds of watermelon, corn, and melon, all of which the Guajiro eat to this day. Until this /170/ time the Guajiro had not sown seed, but had collected only the wild fruits of the forest. Mareiwa brought together all the troupials and woodcocks /zancalargas/. A flock of these he sent far away, very far away, and there they

/170 cont./

539 ate prickly pear and iguarayas. He also called a flock of
614 pigeons of the woods that brought cherries from Hepechi. Then
773 Mareiwa dispersed these little birds all over La Guajira, who with their excrements showered seeds, which germinated in the earth, covering it with plants which bore fruit and served as food for the Indians.

"To each male Indian Mareiwa gave a pair of animals: goats, burros, cows, horses, and pigs. Then he brought them all together with their animals at a place called Arachi, near Siapana, (to the S. W. of Nazaret), and on a stone he engraved the marks he gave to each group of Indians, sons of Borunka. And even today the marks on that stone can be seen.

"There he formed the Epiayú, Ipuana, Uriana, Sapuana, Jayariyú, Apshana, Sijuana, Urariyú, Epinayú, Jitnú, Soriyú, Pausayú, Uriyú, Woriyú, Urenanaka, Matpishana, Uyarayú, Wariruyú, Jusayú, Woruboruyú, etc. Mareiwa gave them these marks so that the livestock of one would not be confused with those of another.

"Each group has an animal which distinguishes it from the others: These animals (the present-day totems) according to the creation myth were to have become Indians, but they ate the livestock that Mareiwa had distributed to each group and he, then, to punish them left them in their primitive condition as a symbol of the group they had offended. Thus, the royal turkey buzzard for example ate a cow /res/ belonging to the Epiayú so for this reason it became the symbol of that group. The caricari ate an Ipuana animal and so remained with them. The Uriana have the jaguer /as totem/ because it did the same. The Sapuana group have the bittern; the Jayariyú, the dog; the Apshana, the buzzard; the Sijuana, the wasp; the Urariyú, the rattlesnake; the Jitnú, the fox; the Soriyú have the cataneja; the Pausayú, the bee; the Uyarayú, the stag /Venado Cauquero/, etc."

Another story relates: "... as there was nothing on the Earth, Mareiwa said: 'What shall I do so that there may be something and so that I may then return to Heaven?'

/170 cont./

539 614 773

"He then said to the birds, who were Indians at that time, 'Make your homes and your enramadas /bough-covered shelters/ as I am going to Heaven and I will return.' He went away then, and a few days later he was back again from Heaven. Heaven was then like the Earth today with similar trees and fruits. The birds, who were Indians, did not carry out the order of Mareiwa as they neither built houses nor enramadas. When he returned, Mareiwa found out that what they had built were nests in the trees. /171/ Mareiwa told them angrily: 'Turn into birds and be Indians no longer since you did not obey, and from this originated the different kinds of birds.

"After cursing the birds, Mareiwa took up a quantity of clay and began to make dolls like those that are made now at Jarara and various other kind. He sent for the cucarachero /in Colombia and Venezuela, a songbird which eats cockroaches. -- Ed./ to sing to the dolls while he was making them. The bird did so and in its song mentioned the color and kind of clay of which they were made. He later called for the woodpecker and said to him: 'Go and look for my grandfather,' and when he had come he ordered the bird: 'Name the clan of each one of these dolls.' He said: 'This is Apshana; this Epiayú: this Uriana, etc., etc., etc.' In payment for having named the clans so well, Mareiwa gave him a white necklace which he still wears. Finally, the bird said: 'The Ipuanas and Sapuanas will be allies in matters of putchi (war); the Epiayú with the Apshana.' 'Very good,' said Mareiwa.

"All the groups having been named, the clay dolls were converted into real men and women. Mareiwa then distributed the women and sites so that there should be no fighting afterward. Thus he said: 'You will live with your wife there; you here, etc.' Nowadays the men look for and take more women, but in those days Mareiwa gave each only one. These are latter-day customs. He put the Ipuana in Jarara, the Epinayú in Lower La Guajira, the Urariyú in the region of Nazaret, the Epiayú in the region of Puerto Estrella, and so on with all the rest who were distributed

/171 cont./

539 throughout La Guajira. Mareiwa spoke with them for the last
614 time to bid them farewell. Thus he spoke to them: 'That is
773 what I wanted, that you should live here. I am going away
now, but will continue to watch over you from Heaven.'"

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614 To better understand their mythology, it is essential to know the organization of La Guajira. Let us see this in brief.

The whole peninsula is divided among diverse groups having special characteristics, which have received in popular language the name of castas /"race," "breed"/. These castas are really clan groups whose most outstanding traits are the following:

1. Each one, as we were able to see in the preceding stories, has a totemic animal which serves to group together all the individuals belonging to the same clan. With respect to the totem animals we find the following:

Clan	Representative animal
Epiayú	Royal turkey buzzard /172/
Ipuana	Caricari
Uriana	Jaguar

Alfred Jhan[a] (1) adds for this same clan group the following

1. Alfred Jhan:[a] Los aborígenes del Occidente de Venezuela /The Natives of Western Venezuela/, p. 144.

totemic animals:

Uriana	Jaguar (Zone of Taroa and Bahía Honda)
"	Rabbit (Cruce coast of Maracaibo) /Las Cruces.--Ed./

[a] [225, should read Jahn. - Ann Lyst]

[36 cont.]

*756 828 attacks which are considered as an apparent death, a separation of the soul from the body of the shaman in order that he may obtain a better communication with the spirit. These attacks take place frequently in the ordinary life of the shaman and appear especially when he is interrupted in his state of ecstasy or of illumination, in his moments of spiritual conversation, and suggest, in a certain way, an elation, a way of escaping from the [37] earthly life to inhabit for a few moments the world of the dead, which is his real world to which he belongs through the express decision of his protector spirits.

●773 539 The shaman in oral literature: Our colleague Licentiate Chaves collected in La Guajira a series of stories which were published in the Boletín de Arqueología, one of which refers to the shaman Umaralá. This story tells us that in "former times there were bad shamans who collected much and did not cure." (33) The one who changed this situation was Umaralá, making

33. Chaves. Op. cit., 321.

use of certain secrets for cures, accompanied by chants and shaking of the maraca. He was initiated into the magic arts by his aunt, who was a good shaman. His initiation coincided precisely with a relapse from an illness which he had contracted during a period of pestilence in La Guajira. The symptoms described in the story are the following: "He lost his power of speech, suffered continuous attacks, lost consciousness." His aunt dedicated herself to his care, and he "heard the arguments that his aunt sustained in her chants with the spirit of the dead, who was none other than Jirairai, who however criticized all the old shaman's chants. He clearly heard the spirit say: "Either you die or your son dies." (34) The shaman invoked the help

34. Chaves. Op. cit., 321-322.

of a new spirit, but in the end she died in order to save her nephew.

The latter, together with his bond servant, buried his aunt and complied with all the ceremonies pertaining to the dead,

[37 cont.]

●773 until one night when he was weeping for his dead aunt, she ap-
539 peared to him and said: "Go, my son, to the region of Jarara, take my cape and my maraca, visit the sick, and "shamanize" them, and only thus will you find the true path. But first you must change your name ... to that of Umaralá." (We see here another sign of apparent death, the change of name.) "The vision disappeared, and Umaralá felt obliged to obey what he had heard. He visited the sick, "shamanized" them, and drove away their sicknesses, and his fame as a great doctor ran throughout all La Guajira." (35)

35. Chaves. Op. cit., 322.

The story goes on to tell the amazing cures accomplished by Umaralá and in general the story of his life as a shaman until the moment of his death.

+756 What interests us in this story is simply the proof in the oral legendary literature of La Guajira of what we have been
538 expounding throughout this chapter, that is, the symptomatology of the vocation of shaman represented by special sicknesses — usually of a hysterical [38] type — in which are involved the loss of speech and consciousness; delirium, possibly feverish, accompanied by visions and attacks; the initiation by an old shaman familiar with the tasks of curing; the presence of a protector spirit who has complete mastery over the pupil and dominates his will completely; the presence likewise of the magic objects of the shaman; the maraca and certain items of dress, etc.; the total lack of free will on the part of the individual about becoming a shaman, a profession which makes him strictly subject to the wishes of the spirits whom he must obey blindly. We have only to remember the words of his aunt to Umaralá and especially the words of the story, "Umaralá felt obliged to obey what he had heard ..."; the fact that the protector spirit is generally that of a dead shaman who continues to exercise his functions, his true functions of curing, through an intermediary: the living shaman. In other words, the shaman is really converted into a benefactor, or better still into a true

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775 We can say that in La Guajira among the spirits of the dead there are categories determined by capacity to work evil. Spirits in general are indifferent as long as the established norms regarding their treatment are not violated, such as the fulfillment of the post-mortem ceremonial, avoidance of the use of their names, etc. But when the spirit is that of a suicide, then [762] his standing as an author of evil grows, as the fact of his having violated the established social order places him automatically at the margin of the community; he is a social outcast even in the world of the dead, and his spirit does not wander around as the others do but face downward and at ground level; for this reason he is considered an enemy of the community.

773 A Guajiro legend regarding Katétamána Hill relates that 823 in remote times there was a majayura ("a young woman") who 762 had sexual relations with her father and became pregnant. According to the legend, on finding herself in this condition, she was so ashamed that she wanted to wipe out her social sin by hanging herself, which she did. Mareiwa, the god of the Guajiro, told her that as punishment for her offense he would change her into a hill. For this reason, say the Indians, Katétamána Hill has the shape of a hanged woman. Ever since, concludes the story, Indians frequently hang themselves when any adverse event disturbs their lives.

762 As the legend transcribed above will indicate, an Indian 775 commits suicide when he cannot carry out some act which is at variance with the established patterns of his family circle or of society in general. Since he cannot be punished for the violation when alive, he must pay the penalty after his death. It is his spirit which receives and feels the consequences of the social sin he has committed. For this reason the general belief to which we have already alluded exists that the spirit of the suicide always wanders face downward and at ground level in the regions of the dead. [77]

762 But if the punishment of the suicide cannot be inflicted on 768 the individual himself while alive, it can, on the other hand, be 672

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224 237 It is very interesting at this point to emphasize the fact that these hunting charms, in both cases, take the shape of the excrement of the animal that is to be hunted. We cannot allow to pass unnoticed this constantly recurring presence of excrement in the matter of magic. Let us recall the fact which we have frequently mentioned that for certain umbilical illnesses in children they apply excrement; that to call up their protector spirits the shaman use talismans that are shaped like goat excrement; and young Guajiro women bury their hair underneath patches of cow dung in order that they may be bought for wives at a good price.

These phenomena make us think of a very important function of excrement in the Indians' belief in magic, a function that [99] we know about only in its external aspects, but its application does not surprise us even though its explanation still appears obscure.

773 One has to remember that the guano of birds, according to Guajiro myths, was what favored the spread of seeds and populated the country with nourishing and useful plants for man and beast. One of our informants recounted this part of the Creation in the following manner: "Then Mareiwa brought together all the zancalargas (wading birds), troupials, and doves in a flock. He pointed out the far distance and told them to go in search, and there they ate of the iwaráya (fruit of the cardon) and prickly pear. He ordered them to bring the fruit of the cherry trees, and Mareiwa made it rain throughout all La Guajira. Each dove went about spreading his droppings, and where these fell there sprang up all the plants which both the wayú (Indian) and their animals could eat. So were propogated the cardon and cherry trees, and the earth was sown. . . ."

751 726 579 Charms for war. This charm has the virtue of giving its owner complete bodily immunity in the fights which frequently arise between the various family groups. For this reason, before getting ready for combat, when on the way and in fear of a surprise attack, or when he goes to present a claim for compensation payment in the case of the violent death of one of the members of his clan, the Indian will rub himself all over with

[137 cont.]

536 to, always making their peculiar call. In this way they pass over
796 the place where the hammock men are in position; they are arranged two by two in a semicircle, hands held right in left, forming quadrilaterals. The birds reach this point running at the greatest speed possible, when the hammock men stop them by surrounding them to prevent their escape. They struggle, but in the end the semicircle begins to close until it becomes a circle, and the birds are imprisoned inside. An Indian then comes to kill the birds. He does so by taking them one by one by the arm as if this were the wing and by pretending to wring their necks. Once all the birds are taken out from the net the scene ends.

8. Jaguars and dogs. This theatrical game is intended to
[825] show the fortitude and courage of the jaguar and its superiority over dogs. For this reason it requires much care in the selection of the Indians who will take part in it because they must struggle fiercely with each other, and it is essential that the team that
[773] plays the part of jaguars be the conquerors. This has caused us to believe in the mythical value of the jaguar, which actually appears in their legends related to Mareiwa as well as in clan nomenclature. The game consists in engaging in a severe struggle in which the jaguar always manages to overcome the dogs and dominate them through being stronger. The complete description can be summed up thus: The group of jaguars pretends to be settled in a tree; sometimes they actually are. The group representing the dogs arrives, following the scent and the trail until they come to the foot of the tree [138] in which the jaguars are all lurking. On finding them, the dogs bark furiously beneath the tree and provoke the jaguars until they jump down, and it is then that the terrible struggle takes place. When in the end a dog falls to the ground, the jaguar pretends to bite it to pieces, clawing its breast open and attacking its throat, where he starts to devour it. The dog whimpers painfully, goes into convulsions, and stays motionless, as if dead. The jaguar gets up satisfied as he has triumphed, and so ends the play.

9. Dogs and peccaries. Two groups are formed, each one
[533] composed of ten men arranged in line and captained, as is custom-
[526] ary, by a singer, who is the chief of the group. One group represents the peccaries, the other the dogs which are going to hunt them.

536 [140 cont.]
796 moving along the ground. Headed by their leader they all continue to sing the song of the serpent, saying more or less the following: "I am the snake. I drag myself along the ground.
[539] I do harm to no one. But he who dares to step on me because I am on the ground gets his punishment. I bite him and wound him. At times I kill him. He has to stay in bed and suffer for a long time as a punishment for having trodden on me and for thinking that I am helpless because I drag myself along the ground...." This song is repeated several times. [141]

IX

Mareiwa and Wanurú

or

Notions of Good and Evil

771 Through all the preceding chapters we have tried to explain clearly what constitutes the magic life of the Guajiro, which is almost the same as saying his spiritual life, and in passing we have mentioned the presence and activities of beings with higher powers than ordinary mortals, able to do good or evil according to which being intervenes in each particular case. We have thus touched on two fundamental ideas: good and evil.

776 Our interest is now concentrated in trying to elucidate the
177 quality of these spirits, or supernatural beings. These can be very seriously confused owing particularly to the influence of acculturation and more specifically to the pressure exerted by missionaries in their prosletyzing function. So great is the misapplication of terms and concepts in this world of ideas that we might call the religious, that even the Guajiro mythology has been transformed by the use of terms which have a pejorative and
773 degrading effect on the Guajiro people (68).
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68. This statement is based on the legend which we obtained orally from

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an Indian of the Nazaret locality relating to Mareiwa and the origin of humanity, in which are presented the beginnings of the different groups of mankind: natives and foreigners. The legend states that Mareiwa created mankind and gathered them together, inviting them to a banquet. Those who complied with the forms of social etiquette (shaking hands respectfully, sitting in the right place, behaving with composure, eating according to civilized rules, using knives and forks, washing hands, etc., were turned into arĩjuna ("white," civilizado); those who misbehaved, who did not comply with these rituals of social etiquette, that is, those who showed they were Indians, were from that time classed as wayũ ("Indians"). As can be seen, the Indian believes himself superior [sic] to the White because of these details of social etiquette, of which he is partially or totally ignorant. [142]

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The problem arises from the fact that those two notions of good and evil, represented by two classes of spirits, benign and malignant, have been changed for the Catholic or general Christian concepts of God and devil, concepts which the native, coming more and more in contact with the Christian type of civilization has gradually come to accept in the process of his conversion to new ideas.

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This affirmation is corroborated by various citations, taken from the writings of Catholic or Protestant missionaries as well as from those of travelers or of ethnologists who have been involved in the same confusion. To demonstrate the point we transcribe several such cases.

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Father de Carcagente referring to the church at Manaure says: "The Indians say to God 'Have pity upon us.' They know

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776 2. According to data collected in the field among the peo-
773 ple, the son of God (Mareiwa) exists. He was born from the union of the waves and the clouds in a place called Pulówi, in certain "sacred" lakes where human beings may not go, situated in the Sierra Nevada, where there are a number of both fresh- and salt-water lakes surrounded by medicinal plants. Mareiwa on occasion descends to these places, and it is at these times
[821] that heavy rainfall occurs in La Guajira, that is, during the seasons which in the peninsula are called autumn, spring, and winter. Then all the vegetation sprouts, and all the trees, pasture, and plants are green.

3. Another legend states that Mareiwa was born of a woman who became pregnant when, being in her monthly period, she was greatly frightened by the spectacle of a tremendous storm. Without having sexual relations with any mortal, she afterward gave birth in the same way as other women.

4. Guajiro legends relating to Mareiwa also assert that he was born under an olive tree (77) in some place in La Guajira.

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77. The olive tree we refer to in these paragraphs is not the same as that of temperate zones but is an autochthonous tree, whose similarity to the former justifies its name.

The importance of this legend stems from the peculiar character of the tree, which is the only one belonging to the Guajiro flora that escapes the effects of long summers and is always fresh and green, keeping its leaves and bearing fruit throughout the year.

787 5. In his propitiation of the rains when summer lasts too
776 long, the shaman invokes his protector spirits, spirits of good,
821 and especially Fumayule, the name by which curers [curanderos] know Mareiwa.

776 6. In the work and paragraphs already quoted from the
821 work of Professor Hernández de Alba, we find a new relation between Mareiwa and rain; he says: "Mareigua. Everything that is good for the Guajiro: rain, abundance... and He saved

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our hammocks to sleep. When I was a student, one of the stock questions asked by our professor of geography was: 'Why don't the Indians of Patagonia sleep in hammocks?' The correct answer was: 'The trees are too few and far between.' The Indians of Guajira took stakes with them which they drove into the hard ground when they made camp; but we could not give our animals such an extra burden and so had to sleep on the ground where there were ants and giant millipedes. Cactus bushes could suddenly come to life and a branch stretch towards one with spikes jutting, ready to sting, so good was their camouflage when sitting on a cactus.

We now met some very friendly Indians. As they sat by their fire they began telling myths and legends, and when they noticed that we were interested they continued. We learned that some blocks of stone that we would see the next morning and which had human shape, were really white people who had been petrified. They had died of thirst. Arijuna, the white ones, cannot stand thirst. The Indians can go three days without water, but the white man will endure only one. Therefore Mareiwa, the rain-spirit, said to the white people: 'You live for ever dying of thirst.'

We agreed with that.

We could hear the roar of surf. Calimaule, the old Bearded One, told us that the noise really came from wild cattle bellowing out there, having been hunted and finally driven out into the water where some were transformed into turtles, others into rocks.

'There are dangers, here,' the old man went on. There's a majayura, a maiden, lives in a cave in one rock, and lures men to their doom. No living person can enter the cave, but the siren—we can call her that—roams around in rich and beautiful clothes. (She shows similarities, like her Moorish counterpart, to our water- or wood-nymphs.) The majayura now and again emerges by day as well, shows herself to someone she likes, leads him astray and to her grotto, where she lets him taste of her mysteries. He is so enchanted by his experiences that he never returns. That

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is why many men have been found dead or have disappeared without trace. If anyone has managed to return having known all her mysteries, he says not a word, for to do so would mean certain death.

Majayura also drowns men. They see a white rock and approach it inquisitively. It seems to be not far away, yet it keeps withdrawing, enticing the men into the sea where they drown.

Then the Indians began to tell about the hills of the peninsula and how they came into being. There are many of them and the stories became involved, sometimes contradictory. Each area and perhaps each clan obviously had its own version. Let me here give only, and very briefly, the story of the brothers, the three most important tops: Jepitz, the woman's breast, that we could see blue in the distance; Ituhor away in Macuira that we had just left, and Camaichi at Cabo de la Vela. The Bearded One had a short version. He said:

'Once upon a time there were three brothers, Jepitz, Ituhor and Camaichi, who roamed Guajira. They stopped at different places which they never wished to leave and where they still are as hill tops. The first wanted to live by that beautifully shaped breast because he liked cactus figs so much; the second wanted to be at Ituhor because he loved toasted maize as his name shows, and the third wanted fish from the sea and stopped at Cabo de la Vela.'

One of the other Indians had a longer story about the three. Originally the brothers lived in western Guajira, near the river, where there was good grazing and maize could be grown. All three dreamed that they ought to go and roam. This worried them, because they were reluctant to leave their uncle for whom they had great respect and whose heirs they were. When they went to him and told him of their dream, he advised them to go, because dreams ought to be obeyed. So they went away and stayed for some time on the savannas of the central part of the peninsula. There Jepitz said to his brothers: 'Dear brothers, I have fallen in love with a girl here and shall stay with her for ever. Continue your journey.' The others went on and came

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to Cabo de la Vela. There Camaichi said one day: 'I am sorry to part from you, my brother, but I have fallen in love with the sea and shall stay here for ever. Do you continue your journey.' The third brother travelled on and came to the uttermost edge of the peninsula, and there he settled and lived for the rest of his days, delighted by the fertile soil. (That is where there is running water.)

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But when their lives were drawing to a close, they all dreamed the same dream at the same time. The great Mareiwa appeared to them and said: 'All must die and be transformed, but you shall be transformed into hill tops, as memorials to your love. You, Jepitz, for a woman; you, Camaichi, for the sea, and you, Ituhor, for the soil and its crops.'

Transformation into stone is a usual myth in the Andean civilizations and in nearby Sierra Nevada, and I thought it interesting to hear similar myths even here. Next came something that really made me prick my ears, for the old Bearded One now began to tell the story of the flood. The short tales he told were genuinely Indian.

In the olden days, he said, the sea was small and narrow like a lagoon. There lived a bird, a hen pelican, which laid an egg on the shore. Then came the first Indian. He was still young and dark-complexioned, being burned by the sun. He was curious when he saw the egg and asked the hen pelican what it was doing lying there. The pelican replied that the egg contained a secret that only she knew. The Indian had to be content with that and went to a dance. In the morning he again passed the egg, but then the pelican was not there. Seizing the chance, the Indian broke the egg to see what was inside. But the sea was enclosed in the egg and it at once spread all over the land so that only the tops of Jepitz and Ituhor rose above the water. The Indian and the pelican took refuge on Jepitz, and all the other animals on Ituhor. The pelican managed all right, because she could catch small fish by the shore. She was disgruntled, however, because her egg had been broken. She had shut the sea up there, so that she alone could enjoy the fish. The Indian found the space confined. He began peevishly throwing

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773 stones into the water. The stones grew into cliffs and the sea had to withdraw gradually and the land became as it is now.

That then was the Guajiro version of the story of the flood. We know that it is based on reality. Apart from the subsidences and raisings of the land that have taken place there during the various geological periods, the whole lowland is flooded almost every year during the period of the rains.

In the myths men associate with all sorts of animals and speak with them. According to the primitive conception animals are people too, though of different tribes and with different languages.

The old man continued with the tale of events after the flood.

The dance the Indian had visited continued. There bat, hen, cock, vulture, woodpecker and other creatures met, danced and had a good time—all except the pelican which still grieved over the sea it had lost. During this dance the hen fell in love with the bat. Everyone at the dance became hungry, but there was nothing to eat. Only the woodpecker was well-fed. When the Indian asked him where he had managed to find anything edible, he replied that he had a little plot where he had sown cactus and he harvested and ate its fruits.

After a while the woodpecker became hungry again and left the company. The Indian sneaked after him and found the plot which the woodpecker had hidden away, yet had boasted of because he was drunk with much maize beer. The Indian took his sling and with it strewed ripe fruits all over the peninsula, so that cactus should grow everywhere for the benefit of all. There were a number of fruits left and he took these back to feed the dancers.

Towards morning the dancers began to complain that they had nothing to rest in after the exertions of the dance. There were not even trees with branches on which the birds could perch. The Indian went off again to see if he could find anything suitable. He came across a lame old man who was sitting making hammocks of bast. The Indian wanted

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to buy them, but the old man refused to sell. The Indian pretended to go away, but hid behind a cactus to see where the old man got the bast from. So he saw that the old man did not have agaves from which he could make bast, but that he took the fibres from his nose. At that the Indian rushed up, wrenched off the man's nose and flung its contents to east and west, so as to sow agave for everybody. When he looked round, the old man had been transformed into a tree-stump. The Indian returned with all the hammocks and the dancers were able to rest.

Here the Indian played the part of the civilizer bringing the others various benefits, to the discomfort of those who wished to keep everything for themselves. The old man who turned into a tree-stump would seem to have been a plant-demon, the spirit of the agave.

That was not quite the end of the tale of the first Indian.

That night the Indian saw that the bat was sleeping with the hen in the same hammock and he became angry, thinking them an ill-assorted pair. The bat is an ugly animal and so that the hen should not see him by daylight, he used to get up very early, when the cock crew, and go off. The Indian discovered this and persuaded the cock not to crow the next morning till it was light. Then the bat overslept and all the animals saw him and the hen together and jeered at them. The hen refused to have anything more to do with him. The next night the bat returned to avenge himself and bit the hen so many times that she was on the point of bleeding to death. Ever since her movements have been ungainly and she cannot dance nearly as well as the vulture.

The birds decided to hold a competition: who could sing first in the morning. The cock crowed earliest—the others having overslept. The Indian praised him and gave him the prize. In gratitude the cock presented him with two feathers from his tail. The Indians wear such feathers in their browbands when they are on journeys. They are good, because the cock is up early and a very alert bird. Then they drank a lot of maize beer.

There was silence for a while, as the audience pondered this tale. Then another old man began speaking and all

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773 listened attentively, for he was very old and knew more than most.

'Arjuna, the white man, is made of earth and his wife of his rib, you say that yourselves. But we, *aya*, the Indians, originated differently. When the first spirit divided the earth among his descendants he gave Guajira to a daughter, but forgot that the sea washed over half the peninsula. When he noticed his mistake, he made the land raise itself out of the water, whereupon his daughter married Mensch, Time, he who has always existed. Their daughter married Para, the Sea, and by him she had two children, a boy Juyap, the Rain Season, and a girl, Igua, the Spring. And hear now what happened: Spring married the Trade Wind, Jepirech, and from them came the Guajiro. Therefore Juyap, the Rain Season, is the esteemed uncle of all Guajiro.'

We continued our journey. Nearer Venezuela we came to a regular park landscape with cactus trees. The lakes marked on our map had dried up entirely, as was to be expected at the height of the drought. We decided to make for a place called Paraguaipoa, where there was supposed to be a fort and a Venezuelan garrison. The animals were very tired and our progress slow. Then a grove of palms appeared in the distance, real coconut palms; it was fantastic! It was evidently Paraguaipoa. The sight of the waving green crests seemed to revive our animals, but the pack donkeys' heads still drooped. We left the caravan under command of Gladiver and rode on ahead towards the palms.

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171 231 422 around the world simultaneously with the domestic animals themselves.

614 212 231 422 177 614 212 773 The branding described was probably learned by the Indians from the Spaniards themselves, simultaneously with the adoption of the first European domestic animals, and has been retained since then. It is all the more surprising that the branding iron (hierro) appears in an old myth which for its part clearly states where the customary individual clan-signs came from. The following version (according to V. Gutiérrez, p. 168) is common in the northern part of the peninsula:

Not far from Nazareth (10) a hill rises behind Itojoro.

[797] [131] 10. This post lies only several kilometers south of Puerto Estrella and is actually a small Catholic mission station. Cf. Stutzer, pp. 131 ff., and Barranquilla, pp. 151 ff.

Here, under an oil tree, Mareiwa (11) came into the world.

776 114 11. That is the spelling of this mythological name that I felt to be correct, as did V. Gutiérrez (p. 168). Chaves (1946, p. 307) explains in the myth concerning "Las Serranías de la Guajira," among other things: "Mareigua [is] one of the principal deities of the Guajiro people, who with his supernatural power converts persons into hills, separates the

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sea from the land and the planting of trees and animals to benefit man" /translated from the Spanish/. The original figure of Mareiwa is probably that of a culture-hero. Chaves (1953, p. 183) makes the same assumption, but adds that this personality is "at the present time like God for many mestizos" /translated from the Spanish/. Jahn (p. 183) declares "that the Spanish have identified /Maleiwa/ with the true God or Supreme Being" /translated from the Spanish/. In Torrano (p. 188) one reads "Maréigua = God, Supreme Being" /translated from the Spanish/. Unfortunately even today it is still true that the "Goajiro religion is imperfectly known" /cited in English/ (Armstrong-Métraux, p. 382).

614 He was found as an infant, who grew rapidly like any Indian
812 child. He ate tuuma (12) and dressed like the Guajiro.
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12. It was identified for me as tuna, which is the fruit of the Opuntia (Indian fig) and very well-known in South America. Cf. Vegamian, p. 214.

The mother was an old woman; her hut stood in the north. The father, a certain Saramai, was also said to be a god.
[824] Because Mareiwa was born under an oil tree, this tree does
[825]

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614 not lose its green leaves, even in the dry season. The Indians
212 seek shelter under its branches during storms, because lightning
773 will not strike there.
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/538/ Mareiwa created an Indian woman named Borunka; she became the mother of all the Guajiro people (13).

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13. Chaves (1953, p. 181) reports another myth of the "Origen de los Guajiros," in which, however, the totem clans are not mentioned; therefore, no contradiction of the myth presented here can be brought forward from there.

He also gave her a companion, by whom she became pregnant. When the time of her delivery came, however, she felt incapable of giving birth. The pains lasted for three days without delivery. Her vagina was set with teeth. Mareiwa removed them. At the same time he took two ribs, the lowest one from each side, from her mate. He inserted them in Borunka so that she could later give birth without hindrance, though not without pain.

614 Since loss of blood was connected with delivery since
212 then, Mareiwa summoned all the birds. He commanded the
773 sangre de toro, or pincwait, to wash itself where the birth
825 took place. He gave the same order to the troupials (weaver
844 birds of the family Icteridae), as well as to the icó [Ishu, Phoenicotraupis rubra] with the black wings, whose breast feathers and head-tuft are red in color, and finally to the macaws. The woodpecker [Ceophloeus lineatus] arrived late for this bath. Mareiwa said to him, "You came late, to be sure, but I shall paint your tuft anyway," and he painted it red. Thus, the birds mentioned have red spots in their plumage.

614 Borunka bore several children, and the Guajiro pro-
212 ceeded to multiply. When there were many of them, Mareiwa
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614 returned to them. He distributed among them the seeds of
212 the watermelon (Citrullus vulgaris), maize (Zea), squash,
773 and all the other vegetables with which the Guajiro nourish
[212] themselves. Until that time no Guajiro had laid out a seeded field; before that anyone who wished to eat had reached for the fruit that grew by itself. Mareiwa gathered all the
614 zancalargas (thin-legged grallatores) and weaver birds; he
212 commanded a flock of them to go far away and feed on
773 iguarãyas (cereals) and the fruit of the Indian fig (Opuntia).
825 He likewise summoned a flock of rock pigeons; they brought hepechi cherries. Then he distributed the birds over all of Guajira. With their excrement they were to make the simultaneously eliminated seeds germinate; the latter were to grow and cover the whole land with a blanket of plants on which fruit would ripen and serve the people for food.

614 Mareiwa handed over to each native man a pair of goats,
212 donkeys, cattle, horses, and pigs. Then he assembled all
773 the people with their animals in the district of Arachi near
[231] Siapana. There, on a cliff, he engraved the symbols, one of which he intended to assign to each of the family groups, the children of Borunka. They are still visible today on that cliff.

Thus he established there the sign-patterns for the Epiayũ, Ipuana, Uriana, Sapuana, Jayariyũ, Apshana, Sĩjuana, Urariyũ, Epinayũ, Jitnũ, Soriyũ, Pausayũ, Uriyũ, Woriyũ, Urenanaka, Matpishana, Uyarayũ, Wariruyũ, Jusayũ, Woruboruyũ, and others. Mareiwa handed over these property
[422] marks to the people in order that the movable property of one group would not be mistaken for that of the others.

614 Each group has its animal-sign by means of which it
212 distinguishes its property from that of the other groups. This
773 happened for the following reason: these animals were to
825 have become Indians. But they ate the herds that Mareiwa
422 had assigned to each group. As punishment he left them in their animal state as symbols of the individual groups which

/538 cont./

614 had been insulted or harmed by them. Thus, the leader of
212 the black vultures /Coragyps atratus foetens/ had eaten a
773 head of cattle of the Epiayú, and he therefore remained the
825 symbol for this group. The caricari /Brazilian falcon/ de-
422 voured an animal of the Ipuana group. The Uriana people now have as their totem-animal the jaguar (Felis onca). The Sapuana group claims for itself the alcaraván /stone curlew/ (Burhinus bistriatus vocifer), the Jayariyú people the dog, the Apshana the kite, the Sijuana the wasp, the Urariyú the rattlesnake (Crotalus terrificius), the Jitnú people the fox (Canis azarae), the Soriyú people the cataneja (macaw, Ara), the Pausayú the black wasp, the Uyarayú the deer (Cervus alaphus), etc.

614 /539/ V. Gutiérrez (p. 170) then presents another myth.
773 This describes how the individual totem-clans were assigned their names and definite districts of residence after a fateful, tragic scene of disobedience of the creatures against their creator took place. This report, too, emphatically brings out the fact that Mareiwa personally, by his will and authority, introduced a totemistic way of life for the first living beings in Guajira. The myth has the dramatic conclusion: "For the last time Mareiwa spoke with them [the totem groups] in order to take his leave. He therefore addressed them: It was my will that you should live here! I am leaving now; I shall be watching you from heaven."

614 The individual totem-districts with the thirty-four clan
101 names are noted on the map (14).[1] The appropriate clan-

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14. The spelling and pronunciation of the clan designations favored here by and large resemble the Spanish sounds. Young Indians today feel a marked uncertainty in using the correct Spanish names for individual totem-animals; even in the pronunciation of the Guajiro designations

[1] [see p.9.—Analyst]

/540 cont./

614 The continued influencing through a series of generations,
614 even though nevertheless brief, by Spanish culture and the
177 spirit of modern times has finally also altered the primitive
178 judgment and feeling of these Indians and has strengthened in
them the pride to assert themselves now as "enlightened."
It therefore need not be surprising that today they laugh in
the face of a foreign visitor when the latter poses his questions
as though he himself regarded a blood descent of the clan
members from their totem animal as established and factual.
[123] The above-mentioned Cacique Briscol (15) even whispered

15. This pure-blooded, intelligent, and experienced Indian refers several times to the class of his Guajiro people in his well-written story.

disrespectfully in my ear: "You must not suppose that we
think of an animal when we present the totem as our ancestor.
Every ancestor was as human as we are; only at the very be-
ginning was he just like the totem that each clan has had
since then. Our forefathers respected their totem animal more
than we do today; they neither persecuted it nor ate its flesh.
Now the habits of our ancestors are disappearing among us,
one after another. There are now only sixteen independent
614 'castas'; their number was formerly double that." V. Gutiérrez
● 173 herself agreed with Briscol's interpretation when she presented
114 the introductory words to another myth, "The Distribution
/541/ of the Clan Districts" (p. 170): Mareiwa "then told
the birds they were Indians" /translated from the Spanish/.
Such words make it clear: the myth knows no distinction be-
tween totem animal and Indian in their mode of being and
acting! Therefore one does not get anywhere in the analysis
of myths with a knife-sharp dialectic lacking any imagination.
614 Thus, I may indeed, along with the reporters from former
times up to our day, regard the social division of the Guajiro
people as properly totemistic in style. Two years ago (1959),

/541 cont./

614 Crist (p. 485) wrote: "The Indians of the Guajira are divided into various clans or blood groups, castas, each with its distinguishing totem representing the animal with whose traits, according to legend, the clan was originally imbued" /cited in English/.

614 212 The thought complex that has solidified around the totem of our Indians — to mention it once more in conclusion — gets significant confirmation of its truely totemistic character by the visible symbol for each one of the three dozen of them. None of these totem signs — whether one calls them clan signs, symbols, monograms, emblems, property marks, or something else — is revealed as typically [286] Christian or Spanish in design. The Indian women of olden times wove them into their pieces of weaving, and, as has already been mentioned above (p. 10), the men put their clan-signs on other objects. According to the myth, the [173] original ancestor of a given clan was assigned it in an individual presentation by Mareiwa himself, and it has been retained down to the present day. /See the foreign text for the list of "Sources Mentioned," pp. 541-542./

/542/ Supplement:

114 614 As a consequence of a long stay in East Asia, which I concluded a short time ago, two pertinent articles first came to my attention when the article presented here was already in printing:

[113] Santa Cruz, Antonio, "Acquiring Status in Guajiro Society," Anthropological Quarterly, 33, 1960, pp. 115-127.

Wilbert, Johannes, "Identificación Etno-Lingüística de Tribus Indígenas del Occidente de Venezuela," Mem. Soc. de Ciencias Natur. La Salle, 21, 1961, pp. 5-14.

Both articles refer to the clan-division among the Guajiro described by me. The almost completed printing of my article, however, does not permit me to discuss them in detail; therefore this brief reference must suffice.

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757 referred, are what contain the curative properties because of their
751 magic force. These medicines are applied in the following
278 manner: The infusion of herbs with rum and the drops "whis-
843 pered over" are added to previously boiled water, and the child is bathed at birth with this mixture. When the mother feels the pains of approaching childbirth, she also takes a glass of this mixture and repeats this a few moments after the child is born, which helps her to get rid of the placenta.

• • •

75 Thus far the notes that we have concerning the magico-preventative or curative medical methods of the Indians of La Guajira [sic]. These show first, how medicine, like birth, sickness, and death, is subject to a series of cultural patterns, the result of the individual's relations, magic or spiritualistic (so far as the spirit of the dead is concerned), with his environ-
774 ment. The latter are to be understood in their widest meaning, since as Doctor W. Born says:

> "Primitive man's intellectual world is not really limited to sorcery since there are too many enigmas facing young humanity such as birth and death, dreams and sickness. To explain these, primitive man appeals to various supernatural forces. From experiences in the world of dreams, he derived the belief in a soul as a clear explanation of the consciousness of "ego," which is opposed to the destiny of death. The power of the soul to free itself from its body (as dreams seemed to indicate) accepted, it was natural that he should accept the possibility of the existence of independent and active souls in nature. This state renders feasible not only a polydemonism but also the notion of a material soul. Polydemonism admits that a demon, a sort of soul, lives in everything in nature, while the substance of the soul is an invisible energy which emanates from objects. As the substance

[68 cont.]

774 of the soul is uniform, so also the effects of all things are magically related to one another." (46)

46. Born. Fetiche, Amuleto, Talisman [Fetish, Amulet, Talisman], p. 3.

This polydemonism of which Dr. Born writes, or spiritism as we have called it, can be seen more clearly in the life of the Guajiro communities in the chapter which deals with the [764] aspect of funerals. All the ceremonial relating to the dead is filled with this belief [69] in the universal soul and in the survival of a personal soul after death.

755 In the chapter we are dealing with we see it also clearly established, especially in the curative methods followed by the shaman, or medicine man, who seeks the assistance of his protector spirit or spirits to find out the kind of illness the sick man is suffering from and the manner of eradicating it from his body, as well as in certain aspects of household remedies consisting of preventative methods. In no way different are the 764 taboo prohibitions related to the dead, the burials and exhuma- 783 tions in general, animals sacrificed in funeral ceremonial, and 784 persons who have been in contact, directly or indirectly, with the dead by assisting in the burial or exhumation of human remains, in digging graves, in imprudently gazing on the placing of a burial in the grave, etc., all of which contaminate with the essence of the dead, who by his very nature, by the act of having passed to a higher life situated on a plane of superior potentialities to that which he has left, is converted into something dangerous, sacred or impure, as the case may be, and for this reason contaminating.

This contaminating action of the dead also appears in the 751 aspect of medicine since they endeavor to avoid possible harm 775 to children before birth and therefore to pregnant women or those in actual childbirth, because, as we have already seen these are the most likely victims of the malevolent action of spirits. Children especially receive such influences through their parents when they are in the mother's womb and have such poor means of self-defense.

[77 cont.]

762 inflicted on the objects which were the principal active agents
768 in carrying out his fatal determination. As the form of suicide
672 that is practiced in La Guajira is almost exclusively that of hanging, they proceed to burn the branch on which the individual hanged himself and the rope which he used, because, they say, these were the direct causes of his death.

With respect to the punishment carried out on the objects
682 (inanimate to us) which served for the carrying out of suicide,
672 several suggestions may be made. In one case, the "compensation payment for blood" may be recalled, the established customary law of this community by means of which whatever spilling of blood that may be caused in any person, voluntary or involuntary, directly or indirectly, has to be paid for in accord-
[692] ance with a valuation decreed by the so-called "arbitrators," or "palabras," who are nothing more than intermediaries named by the family groups affected to settle the affair peacefully. This payment is considerable when the blood spilling ends in the victim's death. Should the murderer refuse to pay the sum ar-
682 ranged for (whether in livestock, necklaces, precious stones,
628 etc.), then the members of the victim's family group take vengeance on him personally and kill him. All this naturally ends in war to the death, or putchi, between the two extended family groups, an occurrence which is extremely frequent in La
682 Guajira. Hence as "compensation payment for blood" cannot
762 be claimed, from these objects (the tree and the rope), they are
672 punished in default by destruction by fire. This hypothesis is reinforced, if we remember that to the Guajiro Indian, as well as
[774] to most primitives, objects — which to us are not alive — are
[778] able to exercise both good and bad influences on the individual (Cf. "Sickness and Medicine" and "Amulets, Fetishes, Talismans"), because they possess a spirit — a kind of mana, or immaterial force, which surrounds and animates everything.

Another suggestion that could be made with respect to the
762 destruction of the objects used by a suicide is the following: As
783 these articles were in direct contact with the dead man, and particularly with a corpse as dangerous as a suicide is, it is necessary that they be destroyed so that the contamination

/253 cont./

554 with respect to social questions as fundamental as marriage,
548 there has been a change in the judgment of prostitution and concubinage, two ways by which a woman escapes from legal strictures, almost always because of necessity or the special circumstances in which her group is placed.

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554 We should note here the important fact that the functions
562 ascribed to the working Guajiro woman no longer count when
888 she has passed through her adult change of life, that is to say, when she has passed the menopause. From this moment it appears that she enjoys absolute freedom within the community to do those things that are prohibited a woman before she reaches that condition, such as to become inebriated, to smoke, to indulge in sexual liberties; certain taboos now no longer refer to her, and the cultural patterns need not be so rigorously complied with; she is not obliged to become the wife of the heirs of the dead husband, etc. Her status again becomes effective with all its attached functions after her death, as we shall see.

XI

554 The active presence of an individual in Guajiro society is
769 not lost at his death. In the concept that these natives have
775 about death, clearly expressed in the study made by my husband to which we have /254/ made reference several times, every member of the community continues being a member of it and exercises influence over his fellow men after his death. His status in the afterlife is determined by the same conditions that he had during his earthly life: the acquiring of greater wealth and of prestige confers a higher status in the world of the spirits.

/254 cont./

554 769 775 His functions keep on being carried out by means of intermediaries, as happens in the case of the piache, since the shaman, or medicine man, is nothing more than an intermediary between society and the world of the spirits; his illumination is determined by the action of famous dead shamans who are reincarnated, one might say, in the living one and determine many of the actions of the community, especially those with reference to Illness and to Death. In other words, the shaman in his life is not guided by his own personality but rather by that of the shamans who have deigned to come down to him to indicate the functions that he must comply with, the rules that he must observe, and, in short, all the indispensable acts of his profession. The spiritual direction of the group is thus in the hands of the dead, who continue to look after their group in a more effective manner than when they were alive.

The gradation of status which we have seen in Guajiro society in previous paragraphs is also followed in the world of the dead, in which murderers, for example, occupy their same condition of outlaws, as also do suicides; they do not wander about freely as the other spirits do but are condemned to crawl face downward along the ground. And, if while in life they were a threat to the regimen for personal security or collective stability, they are also so after dying; from this develops the series of preventive practices relative to these spirits.

XII

554 558 Status is susceptible to modifications both upward and downward. The causes of ascent are implicit in the conditions referred to, which as they are reached one by one confer on the individual an increase in his prestige, or keep it maintained. Among the sources of descent we can enumerate the following as the principal ones: a) the scarcity of male members for some reason or other in the clan unit or in the small family

[20 cont.]

*1756 as he B only the spirit's intermediary in the matter of the
1755 negotiation between it and the patient and his relatives to free the sick man from its influence, the shaman must respond to all the demands that the spirit has made. If the sick man is cured, the shaman keeps all the gifts that were requested through him by the spirit that caused the sickness and those that his protector [21] spirit claimed for its part in the cure. If the treatment is not successful, it is usual for all gifts to be returned to the patient's relatives, although sometimes this is not done and the shaman takes possession of them, stating that they are sacred, that they belong to the spirits that intervened in the attempt at curing the sick man although this has not been successful.

Shamans state that when they are practicing their curing ceremonies, while they are endeavoring to wrest the patient's soul from its prison, they are carefully observing the sick man to determine whether his cure is possible or not. If it is obvious that it is not, they declare him past hope, after being well assured that the individual cannot be saved and after making sure that everything has been done to effect his cure. They also state that it is quite common when they are engaged in the exercise
*1756 of their functions for their spirits to chat freely with them, at
1755 which times they refer to events which are about to happen and
1787 to their own destiny in the other life, in other words, what the shaman will be doing as a spirit once he ultimately dies. It is common to hear a spirit say, while conversing with the shaman in trance, "When you die you will know a country where there are many towns you know not of, crossed by wide, blue rivers."

Before proceeding further we consider it of interest to call attention to these latter words which the shaman claims he hears from his protector spirit, as they represent, in a certain way, the idea of a special heaven for these curers, a notion of life beyond the tomb which we shall see in greater detail later and, above all, the image of that new life; towns...crossed by wide, blue rivers, an ideal as logical as any when one takes into account the geographical situation of La Guajira, a land in which rivers and ravines, or even minor arroyos, are practically unknown due to the winds that dominate the peninsula.

*756 776 787

[25 cont.]

> universal god of the Guajiro Indians is none other than the protector divinity of rainfall and the propitiator of the harvests.

is invoked by a singular chant known by the name of fumayule, and wanurú, the spirit of sickness and of death by that of jirairay. The latter is the spirit that demands [26] offerings, the one that interposes himself in cases of sickness, impeding their cure, for it never wants to lose its hold on the sick person's soul it has imprisoned, so causing the illness. It is also the one which discusses with the shaman's protector spirits and the shaman himself the handing back of the patient's soul so that he can recover his lost health. We deem it necessary to make it clear that all the [775] spirits of the dead are named wanurú; for this reason their number is immense. The only difference that we have been able to establish between the wanurú and the shaman's protector spirits lies, in our opinion, in the fact that the latter are the spirits of shamans who have died but who wish to keep on carrying out their functions through others after death. Our statement is confirmed by Professor Métraux, who, quoting Tessman, affirms: "The Campa and Amahuaca medicine men claim to receive their knowledge from some shaman, living or dead. Either the soul makes the advances and visits its pupil in a dream, or the novice, intoxicated with ayahuasca, sends his other self among the spirits to receive teaching." (19) [Cited in French.]

171 *756 775 776

19. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 202.

And further along he states: "The auxiliary spirits can be of different kinds. Among the Taulipáng and the Roucouyenne [Rucuyen]" — according to Koch Grünberg — "they are the souls of former shamans, or spirits of plants or animals." And later: "The distinction between the two types of Bororo shamans is mainly based on the different origin of the spirits from which they derive their power. The shamans called bari are possessed by bope, ... which are either spirits of nature or souls of dead

[26 cont.]

1771 colleagues. On the other hand, the aroettawaraare are mediums
1775 chosen by the souls of ancestors and their main function is to
[776] serve as intermediaries between the world of the living and that
1756 of the dead," according to Colbacchini. (20) [Cited in French.]

20. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 211.

Hubert and Mauss, speaking of magic revelations by the dead among Australian tribes, state as follows: "The simplest manner in which the authors describe this revelation consists in stating that the parents' spirits are those that give magic power to their children. The precision is even greater when the author expressly states, as does Howitt, with respect to the Kulin on the Wimmera River that only young men who have seen their mother's spirit seated on her grave are capable of becoming wizards." (21) And specifically in one of the stories narrated

21. Hubert and Mauss. Op. cit.

to our colleague Chaves in La Guajira with relation to the shaman Umaralá, [27] we find the following statement: "Every afternoon Umaralá set out to walk to the cemetery to visit the grave of his aunt and to light fires to her memory — she having been a very wise shaman — but on one occasion he had a clear vision of his aunt for whom he was grieving, and she said to him: "Go, my son, to the region of Jarara, take my cloak and my maraca, visit the sick and "shamanize" them, and only thus will you find the true path." (22)

22. Chaves, Micíades. Mitos, legendas, etc. [Myths, Legends, etc.], p. 322.

1756 With respect to the number of each shaman's protector
1775 spirits, we can state that Josefina, one of our personal infor-
776 mants, had eight, three male and the rest female. The names by which these spirits were known were the following: benawa,

[27 cont.]
*756 turpirawa, muchirawai, males; and anapaura, urĩwatana, waré-
•775 ké-narú, waiwána, and parárijuna, females.
776 The common spirit of sickness and death, wanurú, in its malignant sense, can be possessed by a shaman, but its possession
[755] implies dangers as because of it the shaman can become insane, foolish, or paralytic. It is such an aggressive, haughty, and hateful spirit that, when it turns against a shaman, does so so vindictively that he is compelled to ask all the other spirits to aid him against the jirairay or wanarú.

But shamans do not know the origin of the spirits in the majority of cases. They do not know from where they come, only that they come from an unknown place, dressed like arĩjuna (civilizados). They are wanurú that assist them in the struggle against sickness, which is also called wanurú. The personal spirit of the shaman, as we have said, does not intervene directly in the healing. It is those other spirits, the ones that have taken possession of him ever since he was initiated into the magic arts, which do so. His personal spirit does not have a special name, nor does the personal spirit of any of the Indians. Only on the shaman's death does his spirit take the common name wanurú and a special one if he has been a very outstanding curer.

In general terms, two other classes of spirits exist: that of the shaman himself, of which we have already spoken, and that of the diviner. These two spirits, however, can be absorbed by one person, but this absorption requires two special preparations, one for each activity. The more common procedure is for the shaman to be a diviner also, as this will help him considerably in carrying out his functions, for, on being [28] called to accomplish a cure, he can by means of his prophetic art consult with the firebrand or the tobacco (Cf. "Magic and Medicine") and find out if the sick person in question will recover. In accordance with the results of his findings, he will or will not try to cure him.

114 Referring to prophecy, Uricoechea in his introduction to
787 Celedón's Guajiro Grammar refutes — we do not know on what authority — the statement of Ensign de la Rosa when the latter states that the Indians divine by means of tobacco, and says:

[28 cont.]

114 "Shamans still augur by the direction of smoke, not by smoking
787 tobacco as de la Rosa tells us, but by lighting a small faggot of firewood, tinder, or cotton." (23) But neither the one nor the

[113]

23. Celedón, Rafael. Gramática, Catecismo i Vocabulario de la lengua guajira. Introduccion. [Grammar, Catechism, and Vocabulary of the Guajiro Language. Introduction], p. 25.

other is totally mistaken since, as we have already seen and will note again later, the two systems, divination by means of the firebrand or by tobacco, are actually employed in La Guajira.

*756 With respect to the relations between the shaman and his
•775 protector spirits in general, Métraux affirms: "The relations
776 between the shaman and his familiar spirit have been fully analyzed by Barrere: 'Every piaye claims to have a genie, or rather a familiar demon, with which he has a close relationship, and by its intervention he carries out his wishes. This supposed genie is not always so submissive that it does not sometimes get away when it thinks it opportune, escaping to accomplish all the evil it can against the Indians, after which it will return to its abode. The main use of this genie is to assist the piayes either to chase out demons or to carry out some revenge, according to their will, and to kill whatever Indians they see fit, as their power extends equally to heal illnesses or to bring them on those on whom they wish to take revenge.'" (24) [Cited in French.]

24. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 212.

*756 Taboos of the shamans. Shamans are obliged to observe most strictly a series of taboos, related chiefly to sex, to nutrition in general, and to objects they receive in payment for curing sick persons or animals. We shall describe each one of these separately.

[31 cont.]

753 755 *756 776 If the shaman's illness and the announcement of his death are provoked by the displeasure of his protector spirit, there generally is no possibility of calling in another shaman to carry out the ceremonies of curing. The illness of the shaman more than being his alone is an illness of the protector spirit; it is thus different from all other illnesses known to the natives. The shaman himself cannot help; he does not know how to apply the remedies he may have used in similar cases. He only, and this on few occasions, applies hot water to his chest. At other times the spirit may have pity on him and may come and recommend some special remedy to him, indicating at the same time where he can obtain it. The sick shaman then takes the remedy, and his sickness is immediately alleviated.

*756 766 On the death of a shaman it is obligatory to hold a wake for at least three consecutive days, because the attacks which shamans have ("states of ecstasy") are so frequent and on occasion prolonged for a considerable time, that there is the possibility that he may not be really dead. The natives, then, do not wish to give a shaman burial until they are convinced of his death. There is also the belief that when such persons die they do not follow the same cycle as other mortals, since their bodies do not become hard and stiff but remain soft and lax, as if they were only sleeping. At the conclusion of these three obligatory days of the wake, they carry him away for burial. They wash the body and fasten his shroud as they do for others. But his crown, his maraca, and all his clothes are first broken and torn and later buried in a special place in the woods, or are thrown away in a lonely place. They must not place these objects with him in his grave [32] because the spirit of the dead shaman would return, very angry with the persons who had done such a thing, and would punish their disrespect in some form or another.

*756 *775 787 The dead shaman's spirit wanders everywhere like all other spirits, it goes to the place where his body lived, to places well known to it, but it is always accompanied by its protector spirit, from which it will never become separated. Both the protector spirit and its protege may descend on a new shaman in order to assist him. This is probably the explanation of the possession of

[35 cont.]

various spirits by one person. They are several spirits associated by this post-mortem relationship which act inseparably in their function as counselors.

It is also very probable that the protector spirits invoked by the shamans may not be anything other than the spirits of famous deceased shamans of times past to whom they turn for aid. In this case they would only have to make a change of name due to the taboo relating to the use of the name of dead persons, which we shall explain in the corresponding chapter.

* * *

Before continuing with our subject, we wish to make certain clarifying statements with respect to the presence of women in the science of magic in La Guajira and in general among primitive Americans. We have already seen that among the Guajiro Indians the only basic condition required to become a shaman is what we have called the "revelation," accompanied by the symptoms described earlier. The sex, age, or economic and social position of the person is not taken into account in any way. It is, as we have stated, only necessary to be of a hysterical nature. However, Métraux in his work which we have repeatedly quoted states:

"In tropical South America the profession of shaman appears to be as a general rule reserved for the masculine sex. One does find, however, among many writers reference to women shamans." (36) [Cited in French.] According to these authors

36. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 198.

quoted by Métraux, (Rochefort, Roth, Koch, Grünberg, and Ives d'Evreux), women shamans are to be found in the Antilles and among the Tupinamba, Taulipang, Arekuna [Arekena], and Macushi [Macusi].

With reference especially to women shamans in La Guajira, Métraux maintains the following, based on Petrullo's The Yaruros of the Capanaparo River: "Among the Arawak tribe of the Guajiro

[34 cont.]

*756 being a mortal, a man who came into the world like any other; second, his having been designated by the spirits of the dead, and especially by those of other dead shamans, as we have seen in one of the previous sections. We have said that his position is involuntary, because neither of his two natures as a human being or as a shaman has been chosen by him nor can he renounce them. The first requires no explanation, it would be paradoxical. The second we have already seen: the spirit, once having chosen the person in whom he is going to lodge, causes him to overcome — according to Guajiro belief — the first attacks (apparent death), an evident sign of his future function in society. The words of this protector from the other world to the future shaman tell us with complete clarity how impossible it is to renounce this vocation and, for the same reason, how involuntary his position is. "Eat manilla, because if you do not, you will die." It is an imperative, not a suggestion nor a call to the vocation. It is, from that moment, the neat expression of the absolute domination the individual must submit himself to in order to exercise the function of curer magician of his group, a domination that does not cease for a moment and which only disappears at his death, when his spirit, allied to that of the protector, decides to take possession of another person in order to subject that person to its will. [35]

Now we can understand better the role of manilla in acts of magic. "If you do not eat manilla you will be a dead man." The manilla is, in a way, a symbol of the shaman; it is what puts him in contact with the spirits. Without it he will not become a true curer. And without eating it, neither will he himself return to life. The apparent death which the attack which we call a hysterical fit represents will be converted into real death if he does not obey the spirit's order to eat manilla; that is, the individual will not be resuscitated. This also supports the thesis we have been expounding that the shaman is a man of two worlds, since he has really been in the world of spirits during his attack, or revelation.

*756 775 The shaman acts neither by himself nor for himself. All his activities and the performance of his functions are determined by and through the spirits which have deigned to dispense

[35 cont.]

*756 their protection to him. When he is performing the ceremonial
775 indispensable for freeing the body and soul of a patient from the clutches of the wanurú, he represents nothing but the role of intermediary between two worlds and especially between two classes of spirits — that of his protector who wishes to save the sick person and that of others now dead who desire above all
[753] that the evil they have caused the person of the sick man should continue until it ends with his death, so that in this way they can avenge an offense received, or simply satisfy some capricious wish of their own, as beings capable — because of their position as inhabitants of another world, a position superior to everything we can imagine in this mortal universe — of doing any harm they wish.

755 This position of intermediary is clearly shown in the cere-
*756 mony of curing. The communication must be made through definite material objects which take on in their turn the character of untouchables: the maraca, the crown, the tassels which contain a representation of goat dung, and the tobacco or manilla, objects which cannot be used by others but only by shamans during their moments of trance or invocation; the solitude to which the curer submits himself during his invocations, with only his patient present, for fear that the protector spirit might disappear and refuse to give aid in the cure which the shaman is trying to effect; his protector spirit's demands for certain objects to satisfy the voracity of harmful spirits or its own, demands which must be complied with to the letter; the ritual chants which relate the different moments of agreement between the harmful spirits and that of the shaman; the sacrifice of an animal determined by the spirit — male goat, sheep, etc. — as recompense for the spirit's favors; and lastly, the expressed prohibition that rests on the shaman not to eat or use the [36] animals or objects that he receives in payment for his cures. All these are facts which clearly indicate that the shaman is no more than an intermediary or an earthly representative of the spirits of good, or even of evil, and above all of the dead shamans who wish to continue exerting their beneficial influence on the group to which they belonged in life.

171 This function of communication with the spirits, annexed
*786 to, and inseparable from, the personality of the medicine man,
787

[43 cont.]

755 of the same – the bone which is left to dry and then cooked –
764 which also participates in its power, because in the primitive
778 mentality the part is accepted as the whole, or at least shares in the power of the whole, even at a distance.

Another meaning that the sacrifice of animals has is that
556 related to the status of the individual in his other life. One of
436 the points of reference of status in La Guajira is wealth, which
437 is nearly always equivalent to the possession of a larger or lesser number of heads of livestock. Livestock represents, in certain aspects, Guajiro currency, since interchanges, blood payments, etc., are always based on a definite number of heads of livestock, besides of course necklaces of tuma, gold, etc.

Naturally, if an individual occupies a certain social posi-
556 tion in life, it is logical that when he goes to the other life, to
764 the world of the dead, he occupies an identical position or tries
775 to better the one he had in life. This, then, is one of the reasons why certain of his possessions are placed near or in his tomb, and to complete his "equipment" for the next world, a number of animals are sacrificed, the higher his position in society the greater the number, so that these may give him the desired social position in the world of the spirits.

The association, then, is easy to establish: If the individ-
764 ual in dying passes to a new life similar to the one he led on
775 earth, then the animal, a living being with a soul like the man,
815 on dying must also pass on to occupy a place in the other world. This, of course, is only our own supposition. But we find no other explanation of the Guajiro statement that the animals should be sacrificed so that they can accompany their owner to the other world and give him an advantageous position among the other spirits.

764 The sacrifice implies above all an act of magic. The fact
784 that the dead man's close relatives must not eat the meat of the
778 sacrificed animals, because it would be like eating the flesh of their relative himself, establishes the relation between the owner and his property in the sense that the latter shares his personality. And as the dead man is sacred, or at least taboo, that is, sacred in the sense of being untouchable, so also are the things that he owned; the animals – which are [44] to accompany

[45 cont.]

782 quite high, which also gives us an idea of their value in the opinion of the Indians since they considered that the fact of their points being impregnated with the blood of the sacrificed child made them both more poisonous and more accurate.

766 The body of the boy, who had to be between four and six years old, was brought by the father to the hamlet after these magic operations were finished and was buried in the clan cemetery. The burial and the death of the child were secrets. Nobody must know about it. We could not discover if the secret nature of the ceremony was due to the fact that the community [682 might punish the murderer, the mother or maternal aunt, or 788] some member of the child's family on the maternal side, collecting the corresponding sum for his death in accord [46] with customary Guajiro law, or if the reason was that secrecy strengthened the malevolent qualities of the poison on the arrows. It is to be presumed that the latter hypothesis is the more acceptable, since the disappearance of the child and the sale of magic arrows by the father would point him out as the author of the sacrifice.

682 In any case we cannot overlook the aspects of blood in 683 the child sacrifice just mentioned. Spilling blood is one of the 826 crimes most severely punished. Blood, according to everything one can deduce, has great value for the natives, as it is considered an integral part of their human personality, even to *confounding it, so to speak, with personality itself*, as they do in the case of names. Hence, for the same reason, he who voluntarily or involuntarily sheds the blood of another person is stigmatized and becomes an outcast from society. He becomes unclean, and in consequence has to make the corresponding reparation which at the present time is complied with by paying to the offended party or to his family a determined [411] quantity of valuable objects or animals. For this same reason, arrows contaminated with the blood of the child sacrificed by his father have, or ought to have, according to the Guajiro mentality, an incalculable value due to their participation in 411 the sacrifice and spilling of blood, thanks to its presence on 435 their points. Moreover, if we take into account what the 775 dead man means to the Guajiro as a spirit capable of doing harm

[46 cont.]
411 when the respect due to his status is not shown (Cf. "Magic
435 and Funerals"), and particularly the spirit of those dead through
775 violence, we can better understand the high value they place on
the imśra, or magic arrow.

593 It will be well to explain again the position of the father
611 in relation to his son in La Guajira. The family in this society
follows matrilineal descent, and therefore the father is not
really considered as father to his sons but is to his nephews, his
sister's sons. The family ties between father and son are so
weak that they do not exist except in certain secondary aspects
of the family economic organization.

411 The use of the poisoned arrow among the Kusina Indians
539 is shown by the following fragment of a story told by the same
789 woman informant who supplied us with the data on which this
present study is based and which refers to the struggle between
a Guajiro Indian named Kurśra-pśta and some Kusina Indians
who arrived at his hamlet one night to steal his stock. The
section dealing with the magic arrow, translated literally from
the Guajiro text, is as follows: [47] "The Kusina shot (with a
rifle) at Kurśra-pśta, who came upon them from behind. They
wounded him in the thigh. 'Now, it isn't possible to do any-
thing,' said K.P. 'Let's kill him to end this once and for all,'
said the Kusina. K.P. lifted himself on to his sound knee.
He shot at them (with his rifle), killing one. Then the Kusina
said, 'Let's kill him with the imśra (poisoned arrow).'"

411 The fragment of this story corroborates the existence of
789 the magic arrow among the Kusina, and also, as previously
stated, the fact that the poisoned arrow,— magic arrow to us —
was the last recourse utilized by these Indians when their other
weapons did not produce the desired result.

The area of distribution of this cultural element, as we
have seen, was in the Sierra de Cocinas, and it was frequently
used in Jarara, where it was obtained by purchase or by barter
from the makers. This class of weapon used to be employed
in this latter region — Jarara — in times of war. Now it is no
longer used in either of the two areas mentioned for two reasons.
[197 First, the evangelizing action of the Capuchin fathers in the
179] Sierra de Jarara, who have, in the main, mitigated the warlike

[68 cont.]

774 of the soul is uniform, so also the effects of all things are magically related to one another." (46)

46. Born. Fetiche, Amuleto, Talisman [Fetsh, Amulet, Talisman], p. 3.

This polydemonism of which Dr. Born writes, or spiritism as we have called it, can be seen more clearly in the life of the Guajiro communities in the chapter which deals with the [764] aspect of funerals. All the ceremonial relating to the dead is filled with this belief [69] in the universal soul and in the survival of a personal soul after death.

755 In the chapter we are dealing with we see it also clearly established, especially in the curative methods followed by the shaman, or medicine man, who seeks the assistance of his protector spirit or spirits to find out the kind of illness the sick man is suffering from and the manner of eradicating it from his body, as well as in certain aspects of household remedies consisting of preventative methods. In no way different are the 764 783 taboo prohibitions related to the dead, the burials and exhuma- 784 tions in general, animals sacrificed in funeral ceremonial, and persons who have been in contact, directly or indirectly, with the dead by assisting in the burial or exhumation of human remains, in digging graves, in imprudently gazing on the placing of a burial in the grave, etc., all of which contaminate with the essence of the dead, who by his very nature, by the act of having passed to a higher life situated on a plane of superior potentialities to that which he has left, is converted into something dangerous, sacred or impure, as the case may be, and for this reason contaminating.

751 This contaminating action of the dead also appears in the aspect of medicine since they endeavor to avoid possible harm 775 to children before birth and therefore to pregnant women or those in actual childbirth, because, as we have already seen these are the most likely victims of the malevolent action of spirits. Children especially receive such influences through their parents when they are in the mother's womb and have such poor means of self-defense.

[69 cont.]

of self-defense. If we take into account the high infant mortality among the Guajiro population, which reaches a very high rate (32.97%) according to the data collected by the investigators Virginia de Pineda Giraldo and María Rosa de Recasens, whose findings were published in the Boletín de Anqueología (47), we

47. Pineda Giraldo Roberto. "Informe preliminar sobre aspectos sociales y económicos de la Guajira [Preliminary Report on Social and Economic Aspects of La Guajira]."

can even better explain the series of prohibitions, of patterns established to protect the future mothers and unborn children from the malevolent influence of the spirits, whether of humans, animals, etc.

On the other hand, we can deduce from this study the following points: 1) Medicine practiced by shamans, intermediaries between the two worlds, is carried out almost exclusively on adults, for whom they prescribe the curative methods they deem essential in accord with the patient's illness. 2) On the other hand, curing by [70] divination, which we have called household curing, using a common term, has its field of action among newborn babies and mothers-to-be. 3) In this last type we encounter an extremely interesting fact, the ambivalence of certain animals, represented by their double capacity to cause illness and at the same time to cure it. 4) In the application of household preventative medicine, magic called sympathetic is frequently practiced. 5) In one of the accounts we find the occurrence of the magic action of a plant. This deals with the plant used to make the mammary glands secrete their milk after a mother had lost it and the child still requires to be breast fed. As the plant is able to produce milk, the mother by contact with it will inevitably be able to do the same, according to native belief. This aspect has been fully treated by Castiglione in one of the chapters of his work Encantamiento y Magia [Enchantment and Magic]. We wish to quote only a few paragraphs which will better clarify

[72 cont.]

761 1977 have been transformed step by step through the evolutionary process of thought as it fulfills its stupendous labor towards perfection.

761 775 Death is not a real death to the Guajiro. Accustomed as he is to interpret sleep as a separation, a liberation of the spirit, the universal soul, from the framework of the body (Cf. "Sickness and Medicine"), death to him is nothing more than a greater and definite liberation of the spirit to go from this world to another — to that of the spirits — unknown and phantomlike but as real to his imagination as his own existence. For this same reason and because of the fear infused in the primitive by these disembodied spirits — which have left their material body and are capable of taking on new and unknown forms, capable of transporting themselves to a distance, capable in fact of deeds unachievable by mortal man — the Indians believe it to be indispensable for their tranquillity to practice a series of ceremonies, rites, to maintain a fixed and constant attitude toward the dead, because these spirits by the physical fact of the separation of the soul from the body possess special potentialities which confer on them the power to harm the living whenever their person has been offended by the violation of any of the norms established in the ceremonial for the dead.

We also have to take into account the fact that for the primitive a dead person is not only absolutely a sacred being — and as such untouchable — but he is also considered a potential enemy. Freud recognizes this when he states: "We know already that the dead are powerful sovereigns; possibly it would surprise us to find out now that they are also considered enemies." (50)

50. Freud. Totem y Tabú [Totem & Taboo], II, 75.

This duality, which we have shown in the previous paragraph, corroborated by the quotation from Professor Freud, will be seen more fully as we progress in this study and consider the different categories of danger that are attributed to the spirits of the dead in accord with the circumstances of their death or the disrespect with which they were treated. [73]

753 [73] In the Guajiro mentality sickness, as we were able to see
751 in the corresponding sections ("Medicine and Sickness" and "Life Cycle of the Shaman"), is not something provoked by natural causes but is the consequence of the malevolent action of some special being, above all, of a spirit. So a series of beliefs, magic preventatives, have been established in order to avoid or ward off the hostile action of these spirits on the individual, as we were able to note in the chapter "Sickness and Medicine." We also saw in the matter relating to magic and sickness how certain animals, plants, and objects could be agents by contamination or participation in the cause and development of
[775] sickness. But it is particularly the spirit of the dead, offended and malevolent, that causes major disasters among the Guajiro, as is shown by their beliefs and their own preventative systems.

We can get aid from linguistics to clarify this concept.
192 The word that the Guajiro uses for illness in general is wanurú,
753 and the same word is the one that is used for the spirit of the
775 dead – the devil, according to all writers and even to the na-
[797] tives themselves, due to the effects of religious acculturation provoked by the Capuchin fathers. Still further, if we break
[196] down the word we find that it is formed of three special particles, wa, num ru, which separately correspond to three different concepts: Wa is derived from the first person plural of the personal pronoun wayá, which means "we"; nu, or simply n, is nothing more than the general contraction of the third person singular of the personal pronoun niá, "he," and rú is a relative particle derived from surú or hurú (s or h according to which dialectal zone the word is taken from), which signifies "inside," "inside of," or "within." In view of the idiomatic composition of the Guajiro dialect, we can with all safety translate the word wanurú as follows: "he, inside of us." The linguistic construction therefore corresponds to a social reality: sickness, wanurú, is nothing more than that: the spirit of the dead that has entered an individual in order to cause him a particular illness for some disrespect or other that he has shown toward the spirit, or simply just because it is a malignant and vindictive spirit.

171 The relation sickness – death – spirit, which will later be
753 the object of a special study on our part, can be proved through
775 linguistics in many of the aboriginal Colombian and even American
756

[73 cont.]

171 groups, as far as we have been able to discover personally or by
753 bibliographical inquiry. To give no more than a small sample of
775 this, let us see [74] two quotations which corroborate our previ-
756 ous statement, but for clarity before doing this we have to recall
a little about the place of the magician, sorcerer, medicine man, or shaman in aboriginal communities as an intermediary between two worlds, or as the sole means of communication with the spirits through which he successfully obtains his magic effects. This clarification is necessary because on many occasions the word used for sickness or death might be confused with the word used for shaman, or medicine man, for this very condition.

171 For example, Mother Laura, referring to the Katío [Catio]
756 Indians (51) says: "Among the many peculiarities which study

51. The Katío Indians belong linguistically and culturally to the Chokó group of the Karib [Carib] linguistic family (Rivet, op. cit.). They lived and still live in a great part of the northeast of Antioquia department in the republic of Colombia.

of the customs, usages, and beliefs of the Catío tribe reveals, the most noticeable is jaibanism.

"The etymology of the word jaibaní is as follows: jai = sickness, pana = gathering (derived from capaní, flock or herd). Consequently, this word may be translated: a collection or gathering of sicknesses. The general acceptance is "doctor." (52)

52. Montoya, Laura (Rev. Mother). Nociones sobre usos y costumbres de los Catíos en el departamento de Antioquia [Notes on Usages and Customs of the Catío Indians in the Department of Antioquia], p. 148.

This word jaibaní to which Mother Laura refers corresponds to what ethnographically we might denominate medicine man as

[74 cont.]

171 756 he is the witch and curer of the tribe, as we learn from the Mother Superior's writings, a wizard whose supernatural powers place him at the peak of the social pyramid. This jaibaná is none other than an individual who has by himself and for himself absorbed the power of the spirits — of the dead — and who by this is able to carry out the same functions as they are capable of, that is, he can do evil or good as the fancy takes him. For this reason "when some illness suddenly attacks the Indians they say they are bewitched, and they point to the person from whom they have received the injury. They dream persistently of a certain jaibaná and that he observes them with a grim, severe look or that he lies in ambush for them armed with spears or guns, and from this they assume that the doctor of whom they dream is he who has bewitched them." (53) In this case it is

53. Ibid., p. 151.

therefore the jaibaná, ("collection of sicknesses," according to the etymology) who, taking advantage of his power both to absorb and dominate the spirits, goes about among the Indians causing them harm and also [75] curing them when sick people go to him in search of help. Again we meet with this duality which we have already pointed out regarding the spirits of the dead (friends — enemies) and which we showed in the previous chapter, "Sickness and Medicine," in regard to spirits in general, as well as animals.

171 776 797 775 Among the Chibcha Colombian Indians of the savannas of Cundinamarca, we also find a linguistic and conceptual correspondence between devil and death. In our opinion, among primitives there does not exist, or did not exist among the American aborigines before the Conquest, the concept of devil as such, but only of a spirit of evil which, although it may possess some similarity to the devil of our Catholic religion differs in many aspects from it. From all that we have been able to observe, the idea of the devil among the American primitives, introduced no doubt after the Conquest by Catholic missionaries, corresponds more to an entity, spiritual it is true and capable of

[75 cont.]

171 doing good or evil, but always a physical evil, not a spiritual
176 one as done by the devil as conceived in the Catholic religion.
177 Also, according to our observations, this same spirit of the primi-
175 tives is none other than the spirit of the dead, of their ancestors, inhabitants of the "other world," an unreal world that is not directly tangible, or at least not completely so, to the senses but real in the conception, in the faith and beliefs of the primitives. This last characteristic of the American aborigines' demonic spirits, confused with the dead, separates them formally and conceptually from the idea of the devil as understood in Catholicism.

171 Returning to the Chibcha tribe of the savannas, we find
175 that one of the words that their dialect uses to describe a dead
176 person is guajaia (we retain the author's spelling), and the word for "devil" is guaioque. We can attempt to split up the second word in the following way: guaia, que. This last particle that we have split off has the sense of "strong," "vigorous." Thus, by splitting up guaioque — translated as "devil" by the different writers on the Chibcha language of Cundinamarca — would really have the meaning of "powerful dead one." (54) We could

54. The linguistic notes have been taken from two works: El Idioma Chibcha o aborigen de Cundinamarca [The Chibcha or Aboriginal Language of Cundinamarca] by J. Acosta Ortegofi and Gramática, Vocabulario, Catecismo i Confesionario de la lengua Chibcha [Grammar, Vocabulary, Catechism, and Confessional of the Chibcha Language] by Ezequiel Uricoechea.

include many other quotations to corroborate our statement, but, as we have mentioned, we reserve [76] these for a separate work. We only wish to expound our general theory for the better understanding of this study. It is sufficient then for us once again to affirm that death, sickness, spirit (devil), and even medicine man are all concepts that belong to one and the same ideological circle, totally imbued with the spiritualistic content of magic related to the soul of the dead.

[76 cont.]

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775 We can say that in La Guajira among the spirits of the dead there are categories determined by capacity to work evil. Spirits in general are indifferent as long as the established norms regarding their treatment are not violated, such as the fulfillment of the post-mortem ceremonial, avoidance of the use of [762] their names, etc. But when the spirit is that of a suicide, then his standing as an author of evil grows, as the fact of his having violated the established social order places him automatically at the margin of the community; he is a social outcast even in the world of the dead, and his spirit does not wander around as the others do but face downward and at ground level; for this reason he is considered an enemy of the community.

773 823 762 A Guajiro legend regarding Katétamána Hill relates that in remote times there was a majayura ("a young woman") who had sexual relations with her father and became pregnant. According to the legend, on finding herself in this condition, she was so ashamed that she wanted to wipe out her social sin by hanging herself, which she did. Mareiwa, the god of the Guajiro, told her that as punishment for her offense he would change her into a hill. For this reason, say the Indians, Katétamána Hill has the shape of a hanged woman. Ever since, concludes the story, Indians frequently hang themselves when any adverse event disturbs their lives.

762 775 As the legend transcribed above will indicate, an Indian commits suicide when he cannot carry out some act which is at variance with the established patterns of his family circle or of society in general. Since he cannot be punished for the violation when alive, he must pay the penalty after his death. It is his spirit which receives and feels the consequences of the social sin he has committed. For this reason the general belief to which we have already alluded exists that the spirit of the suicide always wanders face downward and at ground level in the regions of the dead. [77]

762 768 672 But if the punishment of the suicide cannot be inflicted on the individual himself while alive, it can, on the other hand, be

[77 cont.]

762 783 should not be transmitted to the persons who for any circumstance may approach or touch them.

The wickedness of the spirit of the suicide, in any event, 762 is seen to be reaffirmed by another Guajiro belief, which is that 769 of not daring to pass at [78] night by the place where an Indian 775 may have hanged himself because his spirit wanders continually around the place, and being malignant it will certainly pursue and chase after one in the form of a great flame or some other shape.

775 As we proceed to set down the present data relating to the participation of the dead in the lives of the Guajiro community, we shall refer to those related to the spirits of suicides with the idea of obtaining greater objectivity in our statements.

Presence and life of the dead. The spirit of the dead, known usually by the name wanurú and at other times as yoruja, on being separated from its body wanders about the world. Although it no longer has any tangible relationship with terrestial things, it is still dangerous. Usually it takes refuge in lonely and isolated places such as in some cemeteries, in the crevices formed by sea erosion in Cabo de la Vela, or in the solitudes of the Emejuy forest. But it appears that in addition to these places frequented by the spirits of the dead, there is one undetermined special place far away from La Guajira. It is customary when a 764 woman has died to cover her face with paipai (a paint for the 775 face) before wrapping her in her shroud and placing her in her coffin ready for burial. The explanation for this is that she is going on a long journey, a very long journey, and the sun to which she will be exposed will be very strong and harmful to her face. For this reason, according to Guajiro custom, they must try to protect the skin of her face from the sun's action by the use of this face paint. Also she is going to pay a visit, and it is indispensable that a woman should have her face painted when visiting friends or relatives (55).

751 55. The Guajiro woman, every time she is exposed to the sun's rays, protects her face with paipai powder (color of burnt sienna)

[78 cont.]

751 or another powder, achiote, mixed with tallow or other animal grease of some kind, which prevents the severe sunburn which the strong desert sun can cause.

764 765 The following facts give clearer and more convincing proof of the reality of the dead as beings who pass to another life, to a certain point a material one. When a person dies the relatives usually place by his side at the moment of burial a small portion of chicha in a gourd; they also put in some meat and rum, as indispensable nourishment which he will require during the long journey he has to make. After the burial they place on his grave one of the objects of his personal ownership which had been used by him to satisfy his primary necessities. These objects [28] can be: a night glass (influence of acculturation through civilizado elements) if he is a rich Indian; the jug he used to drink from, or the plate he used for meals. In the case of a woman, in addition to these objects they place a special one, something which she greatly liked and worked with during her life – for example, her spindle. Furthermore, after having buried the dead person, they light small fires for several nights so that the spirit can find the way it has to travel in its passage to the other world and will not be inconvenienced by losing its way, an inconvenience which might lead to trouble for its relatives.

On the other hand, when the Guajiro Indian has emigrated from his country for various reasons, especially in times of extreme summers when poverty becomes felt in an alarming way, and falls ill on foreign soil, his great concern is the need to return to his native land as soon as possible in order to die there and be buried in the cemetery where the remains of the ancestors of his family group lie. This concern, which could be interpreted romantically as a sentimental one, a simple manifestation of homesickness, has another explanation, more sociological and conscious, related to life beyond the tomb. This is that the Guajiro, whatever his social or family condition may be, is convinced that after his death he will have to travel a long way

[79 cont.]

764 before arriving at the abode of the spirits, a route that would be
775 most difficult, practically impossible, to follow if he had to set off from some place that was not the special cemetery of his group; and above all he fears that all the indispensable ceremonies required for the success of his post-mortem travels may not be complied with.

775 These facts show us their belief in the active influence, the continuity of life of the individual after his physical death in a spiritual form. It is precisely this belief in life beyond the grave which shapes, directs, and controls the activities in the life of the Guajiro in innumerable circumstances, as we have previously noted. To corroborate this, we single out some of this behavior which is directly connected with the spirit of the dead.

Return of the dead. One of the stories we obtained during the expedition to La Guajira was recounted by the same informant who supplied the data about the sacrifice of children in the making of magic arrows; she stated that when she was a little girl she went one morning with her sister, also small like herself, to look for some [80] burros that had been lost. They searched all through the day without finding them and at last decided to take the road back home. It was already late when the children turned their steps toward their home, from which they had traveled a considerable distance. The sun was already setting when in a small stream bordering on the forest they saw their grandmother, who had died some time previously. According to the story, the old lady was bathing and was accompanied by a boy. The girls, in order to find out if it really was their dead grandmother, asked her several questions to which she did not reply, an evident sign that it was her spirit that had recovered
775 its bodily form. (One can infer from this part of the story a
787 characteristic of the spirits of the dead, which is their inability to communicate directly with living people by speech; these communications only occur in the Indian's dreams when his spirit, also freed from his body, can take advantage of this condition.) The girls returned home and asked why they had seen their grandmother if she was dead. The reply they got was

[80 cont.]
775 the following: "Because there are going to be more deaths in
787 the house."

In this story we can appreciate three very clear facts in relation to the dead: 1) that these can return to the bodily form they had when living ; 2) that their presence is an omen of coming misfortune as it announces the death of some member of the family, especially of the closest relatives; 3) that, as we have already noted, the spirit is incapable of communicating with the living by word of mouth.

158 The blind belief that the Guajiro have in the apparition
775 of the dead in bodily form is due, according to the investiga-
787 tions that we were able to make in part, to a psychological phenomenon: It is clearly seen in La Guajira, and the natives so recognize it, that people do not want to look at a dead person's face. This is owing to the fact that this face will be engraved very deeply on their memory, to the point that when the individual who has looked at it is traveling by road at night, or when it is getting dark, or when he is alone at night in his dwelling and worried, on opening his eyes he will clearly see the dead man in the form he had when alive. We therefore believe that what happens in this case is that the individual is obsessed with and has firmly strongly impressed on his mind the decomposing face of the dead person that, as we have said, stays strongly impressed on his memory through this same act. This observation of ours does not apply exclusively to Guajiro
[171] Indians or to other primitives. It is also very common among the town people of practically all the regions of Colombia which we have visited. The psychic phenomenon of obsession and then the almost perfect reconstruction of the image engraved on the memory is a common occurrence among them. But if [81] we add to this the Guajiro's collection of beliefs related to the dead and the fear of the apparition of spirits, which are always harbingers of misfortune (death, sickness, misfortune in general), we can understand how a person so obsessed reconstructs in his nervous state the previously impressed image and, in his imagination, gives it a body. The effects of fear are then translated into a seemingly real image of the dead person, and the

[81 cont.]

158 individual is not capable of distinguishing between the merely
775 fictitious, the imaginary and the real. To him, the image so
787 faithfully rebuilt in his imagination is as real as the living image of the deceased. The explanation of the phenomenon, then, according to his mentality, is that the dead man has appeared before him for some reason or other.

775 This fact is complicated in addition by the belief that every dead person "retraces his steps," that is, he treads again all the paths he traveled during his life; he returns to places where he had been at different times; this is why he is "felt" very often. Many times the individual feels the presence of the dead, even if he does not see it. This Guajiro belief is
[171 also found to be very prevalent in all Colombian folklore. The
536] phenomenon that the Colombian people call "retracing his steps" corresponds exactly to the Guajiro version which we have just transcribed. Of course, according to popular legends, the dead "retrace their steps" when they are dying or a few
[787] moments or even days before their death. To hear strange noises without apparent logical explanation, to see shadows, etc., are for the people evident signs that one of their relatives or friends, or even some person who in the past has lived in these parts, is dying or will die from one moment to the next. For the same reason they avoid walking alone along certain places when they know that someone who has lived there is close to death's door.

Degrees of danger in spirits. The Guajiro murderer suffers
682 a double punishment; first, the claim for compensation payment
775 for blood presented by the dead man's relatives, which involves his own death if he does not pay the sum agreed on; and second, the constant presence of the dead man's spirit, which never leaves him. For this reason, the murderer cannot enter a home where there are small children because the spirit of the dead man follows him, will climb over them, squeeze them, and make them
[753] cry. If the children are sick, the murderer's presence is even more dangerous because the spirit will rapidly cause their death. If they are well they usually become ill. [82]

The death of a fellow being becomes a tremendous obsession with the Guajiro; the murderer is convinced that the
[753] dead man's spirit follows him everywhere. When he is ill he has

[82 cont.]

682 nightmares and dreams, possibly in the delirium of fever, so
775 that the spirit creeps around him and painfully crushes his chest.
783 It pursues him insistently, which provokes a grave crisis in illness. The spirit then takes advantage of his weak state to aggravate his sickness. Self-confession is one of the most important social consequences of this state of mind as, due to the obsession
682 with the presence of the spirit, every time a murderer has been
626 able to conceal the secret of the murder and in consequence has so far escaped the compensation payment for blood, he loses his equanimity during sickness and will then talk freely about his crime. In the delirium of fever, haunted by the anguish caused by the supposed weight of the spirit of the murdered man on his chest, he raves about all the details of his crime. This confession, according to his belief, does bring him some relief as in a certain manner it admits the dead man's vengeance and in consequence it gives some peace to the criminal as well as rest to the offended spirit.

775 The spirits of those who have died violent deaths fall, so to speak, within a class of more highly dangerous spirits than those that die from natural causes. They represent, we should say, the middle point between these latter spirits and those of suicides. This is certain to such a point that the house in which [968] a native has been killed is immediately vacated, because his spirit will live in that house and it will only leave it on occasions when it goes to torment the murderer. A Guajiro Indian will never pass by the place between sunset and dawn because he is convinced that every detail of the scene of the tragedy is continually being repeated in that place ; the insults are heard again, the shots or whir of arrows, the sighs and groans of agony, just as were heard on the day of the tragedy. In addition the spirit appears in the shape of a flame that pursues whoever may be near the house; or it may also appear in the form of any animal whatsoever, a bird, for example.

But the highest degree of danger occurs when the spirit of the murdered Indian is face to face with his murderer. This is a wounded spirit and full of desire for vengeance to such a point that the family of the murderer, after having fulfilled the

[82 cont.]

formalities agreed upon with the victim's family, find that it imposes on them a sort of punishment, a rhythm of life totally different from that to which they were normally accustomed and which can be interpreted in two ways: (a) as a purification rite; (b) as a change of personality, in order to avoid the mortifying presence of the spirit face to face with the murderer. [83] To us the second interpretation appears clearer and more acceptable as we do not know of any other rites of purification in La Guajira which can show reason for the first assumption.

A repentant murderer, according to the statement collected by our colleague and expedition companion, Licenciate Milciades Chaves Ch., is punished by his own will as well as by the decision of his family through norms imposed by his uncles and aunts. He voluntarily submits to them so as not to commit a second time the same delict which constituted his own ruin and that of his family, who like himself are liable to become victims of the retaliation of the murdered man's relatives in revenge for his murder. This punishment is executed in the following way:

1) The murderer must spend five or six days hiding in the selva or some distant mountain.

2) He must take no solid food. He is only allowed to take hot drinks or very thin masamorra (corn chicha), and water.

3) He must not speak to anyone and must be on the alert all the time, with his rifle ready to defend himself from his enemies.

4) He must disguise himself: cut his hair, wear special belts and fringes, and wear a robe, black in color. (This robe is so small and short that it barely covers the top part of his body.)

5) In the forest he must sleep on the ground at night. Above all, he should not sleep face upward because the soul of his victim may climb into his mouth and press on his chest, even to the extent of killing him by asphyxia. He may only return to his home for a short time to rest in a hammock, but this must be so small that he cannot lie comfortably on it, and due to this inconvenience he is unable to sleep for long.

6) He must eat and sleep very little and be continually alert, having for his only companion a dog, whose senses will warn him of the approach of danger.

[83 cont.]
682 783 warn him of the approach of danger.

7) He must abstain from all business and renounce friendships for some years, avoid social gatherings, especially those of a festive or drinking type.

8) In the case that the two family groups — that of the murderer and that of his victim — do not come to an agreement he, the murderer, must leave the country of his own free will and go to some distant place.

If the murderer should not comply with the requisites indicated, he can be certain that the spirit of his victim will deliver him defenseless into [84] the hands of his enemies, who will immediately kill him to satisfy their vengeance.

We can clearly see two essential things that stand out from these facts: (a) that the murderer, by the social crime he has committed, places himself automatically in the condition of an outcast, one impure, or more correctly, a contaminated, dangerous being. For this reason he becomes an individual who [64] must be set apart from the community. (b) The murderer's family, at the same time that it provides him with the means for going away, carrying out one of its main functions, mutual assistance among its members, takes care that the outcast does not fall an easy prey to his victim's spirit. His retirement from his habitual haunts, from his acquaintances, and particularly 682 785 from his own relatives; his disguise by cutting his hair and wearing certain articles of clothing; his not sleeping in a hammock; his avoiding his face being seen (sleeping face down); his not mixing with friends in business and in social gatherings; and finally, his going away a long distance from his clan, all demonstrate clearly to us that what the murderer is endeavoring to do — consciously or unconsciously — is to effect a total change of personality, we should almost say that he tries to convert himself into another hypothetical person, unrecognizable especially to the spirit of the person he has killed, to avoid its discovering him and taking its revenge on his body.

The clearest demonstration that the change of personality is made to mislead the murdered man is the fact that only when it is found impossible to reach an agreement between the two

[84 cont.]

682 775 family groups — that of the murderer and that of the victim — is it considered necessary for the murderer to flee to distant parts to avoid the vengeance of his enemies falling on him. We have here, then, a repetition, different in form but essentially the same, of a disguise to avoid the presence of the spirits, [171] which the Witoto practice either in the father, the mother, or the child, with the object of protecting the child from the malevolent action of the spirits (Cf. "Sickness and Medicine").

787 769 Presence of the dead in dreams. The dead person can also reappear through the medium of dreams. He is then as real, as alive, to the Indian as in his apparition during the day or night in a corporeal or other form, such as we have shown throughout this chapter. For this reason, when an Indian dreams of one of his dead relatives on any occasion, he believes that this relative is in need of something in his other world and requires [85] special help from his relatives. He therefore assembles the dead man's closest relatives, and they all go as soon as possible to the grave of the person who appeared in the dream and take a little food with them. After some time passed in lamentation over the tomb, they unwrap the meat expressly taken there for the occasion and seat themselves on the grave, prepared to eat, saying as they begin eating, "Come then, let us all eat together." To avoid the appearance of spirits through dreams, it is a general custom to visit the graves of the dead at times of full moon [luna clara], at night, and on the anniversary of the person's death.

The explanation of the spirit's appearance in a dream can be found very clearly expressed in the words we quote from Dr. Born and according to which "...from experiences in the world of dreams he derived the belief in the soul as a clear explanation of the consciousness of "ego," which is opposed to the destiny of death." According to this, in the dream communication is established between two spirits, between two souls, as Dr. Born says: that of the dead, already definitively free of its human wrapping; and that of the living, momentarily free of its body by the effects of the dream.

766 Burial and children. When the first-born of a Guajiro marriage dies before other children are born, they place it in an urn

[86 cont.]

766 751 In these magic practices we can observe the following facts: 1) The burial of the first-born infant face downward in a funeral urn prevents succeeding children dying in the same way. If he is buried face upward, the future children will all unfailingly die. The spirit of the child is, then, like that of all other [775] dead adults, a spirit capable of doing harm, but its influence can be easily counteracted by varying the normal position of the head at the time of burial. 2) There is here the intervention of a special tree, the huruwá, the reason for which is at present unknown to us but which presupposes its possessing certain magic properties, as it is below this tree and no other that the body of the first-born must be buried. 3) The presence of the father or of the mother at the moment of burial would cause the death of their future children, which corroborates the above statement [775 842] that the spirit of the dead, even that of the newborn child, by its death makes its influence felt in the matter of conception, as we have seen in other cases. (Cf. "Magic and Sacrifice" and "Sickness and Medicine"). 4) The mother has to undergo or relive the ceremonial of the initiation rite as this, which is also directly connected with magic, prepares a woman for her life as such. If we make an analysis we can presume or reproduce the mental processes of the Indian in this case. If the initiation rite has as its special function the preparation of the woman for her place in society and in the family and if, in spite of it, the first-born — which implicates one of her principal functions: conception — dies, it must mean that the said rite was not carried out in all solemnity, all and each of its [87] fundamental parts were not complied with, and it is necessary to repeat them. The mother of a dead first-born is placed then in the condition of an adolescent.

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858 We said in one of the sections in the chapter "Sickness and Medicine" that the child is regarded by primitives as a being defenseless up to a certain point, and that for this reason he needs

[143 cont.]

seems to be true, in a certain way, for those who are imbued with Christian religious practices, because when they refer to our God, to Jesus Christ, they call him Mareiwa. But at the bottom of their minds, in our opinion, there is some distinction which is precisely what we shall try to explain.

When we spoke of the shaman, we referred extensively to his protector spirits, the real healers of sickness, of whom the shaman is no more than an intermediary. Naturally, we also spoke, in that chapter and in the one relating to sickness, of the evil spirits, the malignant ones, the cause of the trouble, known by the generic name of wanurú, and we explained how the first are, in general, the spirits of dead shamans who have disappeared but continue to exercise their functions for the benefit of the community, while the wanurú are also spirits of dead people who satisfy their personal vengeances, revenge themselves for disrespect shown them in their status after death, or are simply dangerous because of the circumstances of their death, as in the case of suicides. [144]

In addition to the spirits of sickness and death, there is another named yo-ru-já, difficult to describe and whose functions are difficult to delineate. We only know that he is magnificently malevolent and that it is he, the complete opposite of Mareiwa (God) that has been named "demon" or "devil" by missionaries, writers, etc.

Regarding the previous statement, we have several quotations that confirm it: "Yoluhá is the demon in the simple Guajiro theogony. As with god, it is scarcely a concept, a word that represents the forces of destruction and, at the same time, of power, since it is even used by the shaman when he is foretelling the future. "What does the devil say (Jamúsemeik Yolujá)?" is the question the diviner asks. The Guajiro demon is not, therefore, like the Christian devil, the opposite of God, because in addition to wickedness and destruction it also embraces the concept of power and divination." (75)

75. Hernández de Alba. Op. cit., 50.

[146 cont.]

174 192 776 821 If we accept the idea that the Guajiro are descended from the Arawak of the Guianas, with whom they are intimately connected both by their language and culture, there is nothing strange to be found in the formation of the name Mareiwa from mali, male (the l and the r do not exist in the Guajiro language), and fwa, words that are used to name stars and in consequence must be related to the general Arawak cosmogony. In any case, 776 821 the linguistic association of star-rain-god-divinity confirms the statement which we have made that Mareiwa [147] is none other than the propitiatory spirit of the rains, and by the same token, that of good harvests, of abundance, and of well-being.

132 182 776 The harsh geographical conditions of La Guajira and the technical incapacity of the native to dominate and put them in his service without incurring the great inconveniences which are above all occasioned by the climate, have caused this being (Mareiwa) to be raised to first position in the category of protector spirits of the community. [233 128] Also, the changes brought about in their economy during past centuries have contributed to this advance in status, because since the introduction of stock grazing, winter has become more and more indispensable for the maintenance of pasture, without which the stock would suffer serious losses. We have no data relating to the myths or 178 776 religion of these Indians at the time of the Conquest but what we have unearthed and the fact that there is a veritable confusion with respect to the origin and functions of Mareiwa point to the fact that, in a certain way, the Guajiro are living in a state of transition with regard to their divinities, we might almost say a moment of true creation of their gods which has not yet been definitively achieved, and for which contact with western civilization has created difficulties which by now are practically insurmountable.

775 Wanurú. As we referred extensively to the wanurú when we were speaking of sickness and the shaman, we shall add only a few details here and systematize the knowledge we have acquired about this matter up to now.

1. The wanurú can harm the Guajiro bodily and spiritually, bodily by means of such sicknesses as attack men, animals,

[147 cont.]

775 and plants either individually, or collectively with the appearance of epidemics; spiritually by inspiring reprehensible actions such as murder, which brings social misfortunes in its wake. In general, all the transgressions of the Guajiro social law — rage, suicide, infidelity, etc. — are inspired by this spirit.

2. They have permanent sites of habitation, especially in unoccupied houses.

3. They are grouped into special categories dependent on the circumstances of their death, which influences their manner of life in the next world.

4. They make their appearance by adopting special [774] bodies, that is, they make themselves visible. In this they differ fundamentally from the spirits of good, like Maraiwa, who manifests himself in no bodily form. In this connection [148] we have the following native belief: If during the night 775 or in the late hours of the afternoon, a sizeable, nocturnal white 825 moth is found in the bedroom, it must not be mistreated or killed. It must be treated with consideration because it is nothing but the spirit of some ancestor — wanurú — who has come on a visit. If it becomes very troublesome and keeps one awake by its fluttering, it must be got out of the room very carefully. [782] If it should be killed, the spirit of the dead incarnated in it would appear in dreams and exclaim: "Why did you kill me? I like you and for that reason I came to visit your home. You have done me harm." And most certainly the spirit would take vengeance in some bad way or another on the person who had violated the rules of hospitality due the spirit of the dead.

775 Yorujá. The concept of Yorujá is more difficult to clarify. He seems to be the same as the wanurú for the following reason:

1. The natives when they refer to him give one to understand that he is the spirit of the dead.

2. As with the wanurú, he has his sites of fixed habitation, especially in cemeteries, in the crevices of Cabo de la Vela, or hidden in the boughs of trees in the lonely woods of Emejuy in Lower La Guajira.

[783] 3. Also, as with the wanurú, he is the cause of both physical and spiritual harm to the natives and to the community in general.

[148 cont.]

4. Also like the wanurú, he takes on special forms of dress, such as that of a "king," an arijuna (civilizado), and an Indian. At times flames leap from his eyes and mouth (possibly acculturation from Catholic legends about the devil).

5. There are other beliefs that refer to him, such as the one that states that when during the night a woman should find a praying mantis [mantis religiosa] she should hurriedly throw some corncn seeds and salt on the fire in order that with the flame produced when these catch fire, the malignant spirit, or yurujú, who brings the mantis with him will be frightened away. Thereis a similarity in this belief to the one that prescribes placing horses' skulls around to frighten the wanurú away from the vicinity of habitations.

• • •

In summary we would say that the spirits of good are represented by Mareiwa and by a series of other protector spirits, especially those of shamans, which are no other than those of dead curers. Their standing or status depends on that which they had in life, the greater their prestige as curers in this world, [149] the more important will be their position in the next as benevolent spirits. The spirits of evil are represented by dead persons and are of different degrees of danger according to the characteristics of their death. It is presumable that those called yurujú, resembling the devil, the greatest incarnation of evil as an abstract idea, are spirits of the dead of a greater degree of wickedness, while the wanurú, connected almost exclusively with sickness, are spirits of dead persons of a lesser degree of evil.

Finally, the differences between the two categories of spirits — benevolent and malevolent — are of two classes: 1) of a quantitive character, according to their power to do good or evil respectively; 2) of a formal character, referring to the apparition of evil spirits in various bodily forms, and the absence of such forms for good spirits. [151] [Page 150 is blank.]

[155 cont.]
182 individual or of the dead, in the aspect which we have called
626 "Omens and Augural Birds," in the behavior followed by individ-
789 uals who wish to call up a breeze during a windless calm at sea or to send away eclipses and lightning which, according to their belief, are malevolent.

• • •

789 A very interesting aspect of magic is its use for and against
595 some of the cultural institutions and their institutionalized patterns; for example, the use of love charms and the compliance with certain norms after the period of seclusion accompanying the ceremonies at the time of a young woman's initiation. Her aim is to fight against polygamy, with a view either to obtaining predominance over other wives or, better, to prevent the man who has acquired her for his wife from acquiring more women with whom she would have to share his life. Possibly due to the influence of acculturation, there is a tendency toward monogamy on the part of the women. The men, however, tend toward polygamy for prestige, since for it they must have a good economical position, as the price of women is high, increasingly so the greater their social position.

[177]
[654]

[156] Another institution that we see directly affected by
751 magic is this same initiation of young women. We saw how
771 the death of a first-born child required a series of ceremonies
881 to prevent future children dying at birth, one after the other, and we stated that one of the principal ceremonies consisted in the observance of certain norms which bring to mind very clearly the initiation of the young mother. Their idea would seem to be that one of the causes of the death of the first-born was the deficient carrying out of the magic-biological-social ceremonial to which the girl must submit to prepare for her life as an adult.

[761]

Also the norms relating to the dead and the belief in a
764 life beyond the grave rest almost exclusively on magic, and
775 through it their prestige and their functioning are kept up. Magic
771 is also the cause of the fear and respect which relatives and friends
626 show to their dead, and it is magic which also promotes all the ceremonial rites that are celebrated in this connection.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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CHAPTER 9

A Wake

ONE day we received an invitation to a rancho owned by well-to-do people. We knew them, but had not been there before. The messenger bade us welcome and told us that the old man there had gone. Francisco crossed himself and said that an old man, an uncle, had died and that there was to be a funeral feast. What the dead man's name was could not be mentioned. We wanted to witness a burial, so we accepted gratefully and set off at once with camera and guns—Francisco having told us that one fired off guns at the feast.

There were a lot of people already there when we arrived. Members of the family were often informed when illness took a dangerous turn and so arrived while the patient was still alive. On this occcasion they had already laid the dead man out. He had been washed: his best ornaments had been put on him and he had been wrapped in the cloths which the women weave specially for this purpose. After death a woman is painted to make her as lovely as possible, but not a man. The dead person is always left alone for a while, so that his soul can go round a last time and take farewell of the place. Having been shrouded, the old man had been laid in the fresh hide of a newly slaughtered bullock and placed in a hammock strung between two poles under a temporary roof covered with grass.

Numbers of people were standing round the dead man's last resting place, while his closest relatives sat in hammocks strung between other poles. All kept their faces covered, either by pulling their cloaks up over them or by draping clothes over their heads. Some were merely clasping their

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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766 was wrapped in forty-eight beautifully woven cloaks each worth the equivalent of £20-£25. Despite this the atmosphere was not pleasant and during the feast they sent to Venezuela for so much eau de cologne that it was said to have cost thirty thousand bolivares. What we were attending was thus quite a simple funeral, but it must have cost several hundred pounds.

764 On the third day the body, wrapped in hides, was placed on a horse and taken out to the burial place, where one of [554] the closest male relatives had dug a grave—a great honour that. Everyone accompanied the body. The men drank copiously as they walked along. The dead man was laid in the grave, and some of the sand that had been dug out of it was carefully shovelled in; then they let down food and drink, including a large jar of spirits, and—to our amazement—the enamel pot followed. Indians who have had a lot to do with white people like to take such pots on their journeys, and apparently it was considered that one might be needed even on a man's last journey.

After this everyone fired their guns into the air, and those [555] who did not have firearms shot arrows. That was done in the hope of driving away any malevolent spirits who might be trying to worm their way back. A large fire was lit on the grave. This would burn every night for some time to come, in order to light the soul on its journey.

765 Later, the dead man's relatives would go out now and again to lament and take food and drink, which latter they would invite the dead man to share with them. Then, after a couple of years, the man's bones would be dug up and the after-funeral celebrated. We attended several of these;
765 this second ceremony is entrusted to a few female relatives,
767 who, swathed in tunics from head to foot, take hold of the bones with bits of cloth. The skull and skeleton are cleaned and laid on a cloth, in which they are tied up and lowered into a jar and this is taken to the house of grief, where another, though shorter funeral feast is held. After that the jar is buried again.

767 Those who have dug up the bones and all who have touched a dead person, must not eat with their hands for

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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would be able to live to all intents and purposes for ever. The Guajiro word for illness, [illegible], is the same as that for the spirit of death, and actually means 'he within us'. As so often happens, they make no distinction between the spirits of the dead and other spirits.

The spirits of suicides are especially feared. As a safety measure the rope and tree used are burned, since death still clings to them and is infectious. Round the scene of the suicide the dead man's ghost wanders head down, sometimes pursuing passers-by in the shape of a flame. Everybody avoids such places. It sometimes happens that Indians, both children and grown-ups, say that they have met dead relatives in human guise, but dumb. Such encounters bring misfortune. If a Guajiro Indian moves outside the peninsula, he will after death rest on the burial place of his fathers. After death he has a long journey ahead of him, and if he is to reach the realm of the dead he ought to start out from the burial place of his own people. Besides, and this perhaps is the most important point of all, the ritual prescribed in Guajira has to be observed.

The spirit of a murdered person follows his slayer everywhere and attacks him if he falls ill or becomes weak, appearing in the hallucinations of fever. Its presence also constitutes a danger to the murderer's children. It can also appear in the form of a flame or of an animal, for example a bird. As I have already said, the house in which someone has been murdered is abandoned immediately, for the angry spirit of the dead man can appear there at any time.

To protect himself the slayer must submit to severe restrictions, which are prescribed by his maternal aunts and the elder women and which he follows in his own interest. He hides in the wilds, has nothing but maize gruel and water. He ought not to speak or have anything to do with anyone, and must be ever ready with weapons in his hand. An enemy may appear. The slayer cuts off his hair, wears a very short black cloak and must sleep on the ground with his face downwards and hidden, never on his back, otherwise the spirit of the man he killed could sit on his chest. It is best if he can sleep little and seldom, and have a dog with

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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him that can give the alarm. For a long time he has to refrain 775 ●
from all association with his friends and keep away from 682
feasts. In the end, if agreement on compensation is not
reached with the dead man's family, he will have to leave
the district for a period of years. This precaution is to
protect the slayer from the spirit of the man he killed, which
would look for him in his normal haunts and would not
recognize him under the new conditions, but it is also a
protection against the dead man's nearest relatives, who will
thirst for vengeance as long as compensation has not been
agreed and paid.

We mounted and rode away from our first burial feast. 775
On the fringe of the area stood six Indians armed, some with 765
guns, others with bows and arrows. Their task was to shoot 431
after all departing guests in order to scare off any dangerous
spirits that might be intending to keep them company. Here,
a deputy-host presented us with a live heifer. Every guest [554]
was to have a present of an animal according to his rank.
We also had the meat that had been distributed that morn-
ing. It was considered quite all right either to eat it or to
take it to eat on the way home. Several others were doing
as we and there was a long line of departing guests, the men [492]
on horseback, the women mostly on donkeys. We all kept
together for quite a distance.

Spirits rose as the heat increased, for drink had been 765
handed out along with the meat, the Indians believing, as 565
did the Creoles, that spirits were the best protection against
the dangers of the hot sun.

A young Indian rode up to us. He wore a cloak with a
beautiful pattern and was mounted on a splendid mare,
which showed that he was of well-to-do family. He was in a
bad mood, however, having been forgotten in the distribu- [578]
tion of parting gifts and had not been given even a sheep.
For that reason he was highly incensed with his negligent
hosts, whom he obviously scarcely knew.

We rode past an old man on foot dragging a calf behind
him. The old man was obviously sober, but he kept mutter- 578
ing impressions to himself. He too had been forgotten.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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756 If cattle, these are tethered beside the hut where the
787 seance is being held; if ornaments they are handed to the pische.

If the pische does not receive what he demands—or rather what the spirit demands—attacks compel him to stop treatment. If the patient recovers, the pische retains the gifts on behalf of the spirit; but if the patient dies, then he is not supposed to get anything. Sometimes, however, he apparently keeps his fee on various pretexts—threats that the spirit might be angry, etc.

The pische observes his patient closely during treatment. An experienced medicine man will perhaps see that the patient has scarcely any hope of recovery and will pronounce him doomed.

During these seances the spirits often speak with the pische about the life to come. They tell him that in another existence he will come to a land with many villages that he
[178] has never seen before, in a countryside well watered by blue rivers—a glorious prospect from the Guajiro point of view. It seems that the spirits are here speaking of the pisches' special heaven. Ordinary Indians, perhaps, have to be content with a less well-watered paradise. If the patient recovers, the pische orders a chichamaya dance. The maize beer for this is prepared either by chewing or by adding raw sugar,
[534] *panela*. Those taking part stream in as soon as the drum, the only instrument, begins to sound. Nobody is invited; people just come as they wish. In the houses of the well-to-do they will be regaled with beef, one or more cattle being slaughtered for this. All will be in their finery. The dance will last one day or more, as the pische orders. The pische then washes his patient, who must still keep indoors.

756 When a child falls ill, the parents will often consult some neighbour who dabbles in fortune-telling to find out what the cause is. It will be cheaper to let her try, than at once to call in a professional sooth-sayer or a pische. The old woman will often burn the child with a red-hot needle or arrow-head, which in certain abnormal mental states, perhaps could provide a beneficial shock. The woman will often

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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the demon of illness and death, Wanuru, is called Jinarai 756
Wanuru is the name of all the spirits of the dead which are 776
many, thus we are obviously dealing here with groups of spirits; and where Wanuru acts as guardian or assistant spirits, they no doubt represent the souls of dead medicine men.

One piache, known as a clever rain-maker, told us that 756
when he needed advice over rain-making, he used to go to 776
the burial place to talk with his dead brother's spirit, the 789
brother having been cleverer at it than he. When a piache has to make rain, he seats himself on his stool as for other functions, chews tobacco, shakes his maraca and rhythmically moves his torso and head. He then begins to sing in a high voice, calling upon the spirits and demanding that they bring rain, for people need it, if they are not to die of hunger. Now and again he emerges and dances round the huts, driving away the spirits that are preventing the rain from coming.

The Indians often first try to make rain without the 789
piache's help, by drumming at night or by firing guns and 821
arrows at the clouds. The drumming imitates thunder and can thus, according to the laws of magic, cause storms. The shooting drives away the spirits that are preventing the cloud from dispensing its rain. This is also what they do at eclipses of the sun, when all burst into tears and shoot at the sky to drive away the evil spirit that is preventing the sun from shining. A piache's own spirit does not interfere in his magic-making, for which he uses none but auxiliary [775]
spirits. It is not till after his death that a piache's spirit can become active and help some other piache.

The piache has to submit to certain restrictions on diet 756
and love-life. He or she must never have extra-marital 934
intercourse and even marital intercourse must be restricted. A female piache must never spend the night with her husband, but merely pay him fleeting visits that should be as short as possible; she must never allow herself to be caressed by him, and must lie quite still and indifferent during [633]
coition. If this is not done, her guardian spirit will be jealous
and angry, and may cause trouble. And, preferably, she 751
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7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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756 ought not to have children. The spirits can show her
842 various magical tricks to avoid this, but if she should become pregnant, she can count on the spirit's help in labour. Not even the male piache is allowed to partake of
[831] love more than fleetingly, almost casually. There must be no real affection involved.

756 A woman piache cannot practice during menstruation.
[841] No piache may eat meat from animals he has received in payment for his services. These, like other gifts, he does not enjoy, but he can give them to his sons. Nor is he allowed to eat meat from animals sacrificed at funerals or such feasts. While invoking or conjuring spirits he should restrict his diet to maize gruel.

A piache can cure all, but not himself. Sometimes, perhaps, a sympathetic spirit may give him a little advice, which will always help; but if he falls seriously ill, he summons a
[766 colleague, who performs the usual sorcery. When a piache
768] dies, his rattle, diadem and other attributes are chopped up and buried in some remote and secret place. The dead
[775] piache's soul roams like those of all mortals and often clings to the burial place, but it is never alone, being always in company with its guardian spirit. Both can later help a new piache.

The medicine man is thus called to his profession by revelation and no attention is paid to sex, social position or age. Women have been magicians in Guajira from of old, as is shown by their myths. The piache belongs to two worlds: those of man and of the spirits. He has not chosen to belong to them and must continue in both. He is the intermediary between these two worlds, but nowadays his influence is dwindling. As civilization penetrates the peninsula, the part he plays is becoming less and less important.

756 The first really great piache was Umaralá, of whom the
173 Indians relate the following:

In the olden days there were plenty of piaches who took big fees, but did little. Umaralá made his cures with secret remedies and with songs accompanied on his maraca rattle. He lost his mother early, but was adopted as her own by his maternal aunt, who also considered all her possessions his.

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

The *Goajiro* believe that after death the deceased in ethereal form 775
wander about the country, their favorite meeting place being in the vicinity of Bahía Honda in the extreme north of the peninsula. There is some evidence that the Indians look forward to a happier existence after death. From this belief in the afterlife stems the practice of mutilating the body of a slain enemy, for once his body is broken and scattered it is not possible to reassemble his soul, and the slayer is protected from a vengeance-seeking spirit.

The dead are highly respected or feared; consequently, it is a serious 769
offense to mention a dead person by name. 551

SYNTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Games.—The *Goajiro* have various athletic sports, such as horse racing, 526
wrestling, and archery. Contestants shoot at a skin ball or a fruit tossed into the air or at targets; they are very accurate up to 125 yards. Tournaments are held in which the contestants pair off, the victor of each round winning an arrow and continuing to compete.

Feasts and dances.—The *Goajiro* are fond of feasts and hold them 576
whenever opportunity offers—at funerals, when they have received their 734
pay for loading salt, at baptisms, or when a person completes his training as a medicine man. Wenzel (1937) describes a festival held on the last-mentioned occasion. For 2 days the big drum was sounded by relays of players, spreading the news. The dance, practiced beforehand, took place in a circle some 25 feet (7.5 m.) in diameter around which some 200 Indians gathered. A man, nude except for his waist cloth and head band, 942
with ornamental plume, with his face painted red in a colorwise pattern, 551
danced backward from a girl dressed in a voluminous robe and wearing a large red handkerchief on her head. The girl attempted to overtake and lead off the man, who retreated before her in a circle with a peculiar double step, almost a hop and a skip. As one pair tired another took its place, the dance continuing indefinitely.

Musical instruments.—*Goajiro* musical instruments are few. A 539
calabash filled with stones or peas serves as a rattle for dance accompaniment. The clarinet is about 2 feet (0.6 m.) long, made of telescoped (?) sections of reed with a bell consisting of calabash and a vibrating reed in the mouthpiece. It is side blown. The large drum is carved from a hollow section of tree, 15 inches (38 cm.) in diameter and 24 inches (60 cm.) long, and has both ends covered with sharpskin. It is slung from the rafters, a branch, or from the player's neck. Singing among the *Goajiro* is virtually nonexistent.

Narcotics and stimulants.—To make chicha beer, maize may be sun- 773
dried by the women and spat into a large earthenware bowl, with water and crude sugar added. After 3 days it is strained and drunk. By another

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787 *756 It is not only the shamans' dreams which have the power of prediction among these Indians. Dreams of the Indians in general, whatever their social or economic position, are revelations of the future to which the others religiously pay attention. The Indians believe in these dreams with the same fervor with which they fear the dead and comply with every ceremony related to them. One may say without fear of error that the Guajiro believes that the individual, when he dreams, is in a superior position to when he is living his everyday waking life. His spirit has become detached from his body; it is free to roam, and for this reason it can get into communication with those other spirits which are able to transmit future events.

The great value of the shaman's dreams stems from the fact that they are commensurate not only with his personal spirit but also with his protector spirit which uses him as a medium to foretell the future and communicate the events that will develop in a future time, showing the shaman at the same time what means to employ to overcome those possible evil developments already revealed to him in his dreams.

● 776 *756 787 Protector spirits of the shamans. Every shaman has a set number of spirits that assist him in his magic practices and whose role is to counsel him while he is carrying out the functions of his office. For example, they tell him: "Suck there; give him such a herb; and as payment for my advice make me a gift of such-and-such value without loss of time." This matter of a gift, as we have already seen, is important because if it is not strictly complied with, the spirit leaves the shaman and will not come to his aid again. It is very difficult for him to regain its favor so that it will return and collaborate with him. If, however, the gift is made in full compliance with the spirit's wishes, it gives immediate and, in many cases, efficacious assistance with great pleasure. Besides all this, when the shaman has enemies he also receives advice from his spirits who tell him: " 'Shamanize' a great deal and every day because you have enemies and are in danger. Do it frequently so that the evil may disappear just as the rains do in summer."

Some shamans have as many as seven such spirits, and each one is called by a special cantiele. Mareiwa (18), for example,

18. This spirit, considered as the

[25 cont.]

> universal god of the Guajiro Indians is none other than the protector divinity of rainfall and the propitiator of the harvest.

is invoked by a singular chant known by the name of fumayule, and wanurú, the spirit of sickness and of death by that of jirairay. The latter is the spirit that demands [26] offerings, the one that interposes himself in cases of sickness, impeding their cure, for it never wants to lose its hold on the sick person's soul it has imprisoned, so causing the illness. It is also the one which discusses with the shaman's protector spirits and the shaman himself the handing back of the patient's soul so that he can recover his lost health. We deem it necessary to make it clear that all the spirits of the dead are named wanurú; for this reason their number is immense. The only difference that we have been able to establish between the wanurú and the shaman's protector spirits lies, in our opinion, in the fact that the latter are the spirits of shamans who have died but who wish to keep on carrying out their functions through others after death. Our statement is confirmed by Professor Métraux, who, quoting Tessman, affirms: "The Campa and Amahuaca medicine men claim to receive their knowledge from some shaman, living or dead. Either the soul makes the advances and visits its pupil in a dream, or the novice, intoxicated with ayahuasca, sends his other self among the spirits to receive teaching." (19) [Cited in French.]

19. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 203.

And further along he states: "The auxiliary spirits can be of different kinds. Among the Tsulipáng and the Roucouyenne [Rucuyen]" — according to Koch Grünberg — "they are the souls of former shamans, or spirits of plants or animals." And later: "The distinction between the two types of Bororo shamans is mainly based on the different origin of the spirits from which they derive their power. The shamans called bari are possessed by bope, ... which are either spirits of nature or souls of dead

[26 cont.]

colleagues. On the other hand, the arootawaraare are mediums chosen by the souls of ancestors and their main function is to serve as intermediaries between the world of the living and that of the dead," according to Colbacchini. (20) [Cited in French.]

20. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 211.

Hubert and Mauss, speaking of magic revelations by the dead among Australian tribes, state as follows: "The simplest manner in which the authors describe this revelation consists in stating that the parents' spirits are those that give magic power to their children. The precision is even greater when the author expressly states, as does Howitt, with respect to the Kulin on the Wimmera River that only young men who have seen their mother's spirit seated on her grave are capable of becoming wizards." (21) And specifically in one of the stories narrated

21. Hubert and Mauss. Op. cit.

to our colleague Chaves in La Guajira with relation to the shaman Umaralé, [27] we find the following statement: "Every afternoon Umaralé set out to walk to the cemetery to visit the grave of his aunt and to light fires to her memory -- she having been a very wise shaman -- but on one occasion he had a clear vision of his aunt for whom he was grieving, and she said to him: "Go, my son, to the region of Jarara, take my cloak and my maraca, visit the sick and "shamanize" them, and only then will you find the true path." (22)

22. Chaves, Micfades. Mitos, leyendas, etc. [Myths, Legends, etc.], p. 322.

With respect to the number of each shaman's protector spirits, we can state that Josefina, one of our personal informants, had eight, three male and the rest female. The names by which these spirits were known were the following: benawa,

[27 cont.]
*756 *mrpirawa*, *muchirawai*, males; and *anapaura*, *urfwatana*, *warf-*
775 *kê-nard*, *wahwêna*, and *parêrijuna*, females.
776 The common spirit of sickness and death, *wanurû*, in its malignant sense, can be possessed by a shaman, but its possession
[758] implies danger as because of it the shaman can become insane, foolish, or paralytic. It is such an aggressive, haughty, and hateful spirit that, when it turns against a shaman, does so so vindictively that he is compelled to ask all the other spirits to aid him against the *jinirey* or *wanurû*.

But shamans do not know the origin of the spirits in the majority of cases. They do not know from where they come, only that they come from an unknown place, dressed like *urfjuna* (civilizados). They are *wanurû* that assist them in the struggle against sickness, which is also called *wanurû*. The personal spirit of the shaman, as we have said, does not intervene directly in the healing. It is these other spirits, the ones that have taken possession of him ever since he was initiated into the magic arts, which do so. His personal spirit does not have a special name, nor does the personal spirit of any of the Indians. Only on the shaman's death does his spirit take the common name *wanurû* and a special one if he has been a very outstanding curer.

In general terms, two other classes of spirits exist: that of the shaman himself, of which we have already spoken, and that of the diviner. These two spirits, however, can be absorbed by one person, but this absorption requires two special preparations, one for each activity. The more common procedure is for the shaman to be a diviner also, as this will help him considerably in carrying out his functions, for, on being [28] called to accomplish a cure, he can by means of his prophetic art consult with the fireband or the tobacco (Cf. "Magic and Medicine") and find out if the sick person in question will recover. In accordance with the results of his findings, he will or will not try to cure him.

Referring to prophecy, Uricoechea in his introduction to
114 Celedón's *Guajiro Grammar* refutes -- we do not know on what
787 authority -- the statement of Ensign de la Rosa when the latter states that the Indians divine by means of tobacco, and says:

[28 cont.]

184 187 "Shamans still augur by the direction of smoke, not by smoking tobacco as de la Rosa tells us, but by lighting a small faggot of firewood, tinder, or cotton." (23) But neither the one nor the

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23. Celedón, Rafael. Gramática, Catecismo i Vocabulario de la lengua guajira. Introduccion. [Grammar, Catechism, and Vocabulary of the Guajiro Language. Introduction], p. 25.

other is totally mistaken since, as we have already seen and will note again later, the two systems, divination by means of the firebrand or by tobacco, are actually employed in La Guajira.

*185 185 *186 With respect to the relations between the shaman and his protector spirits in general, Métraux affirms: "The relations between the shaman and his familiar spirit have been fully analyzed by Ramere: 'Every piaye claims to have a genie, or rather a familiar demon, with which he has a close relationship, and by its intervention he carries out his wishes. This supposed genie is not always so submissive that it does not sometimes get away when it thinks it opportune, escaping to accomplish all the evil it can against the Indians, after which it will return to its abode. The main use of this genie is to assist the piayes either to chase out demons or to carry out some revenge, according to their will, and to kill whatever Indians they see fit, as their power extends equally to heal illnesses or to bring them on those on whom they wish to take revenge.'" (24) [Cited in French.]

24. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 212.

*186 Taboos of the shamans. Shamans are obliged to observe most strictly a series of taboos, related chiefly to sex, to nutrition in general, and to objects they receive in payment for curing sick persons or animals. We shall describe each one of these separately.

[28 cont.]

K756 834 833 Referring to the sexual aspect, we have the following facts: 1) a woman of licentious habits can never get to exercise the office of shaman; the spirit would never take up residence within her; 2) the unmarried woman who is initiated into the profession may have sexual relations only when she marries in accordance with established rites, but with certain limitations. [29] She may cohabit with her husband, and exclusively with him, in spite of the phrases used by the spirit at the time of initiation, "You may not sleep (cohabit) with your husband," but she must carry out the sexual act quickly and get up from the matrimonial hammock as soon as it is finished; for if not, they will see in the doorway of their habitation a shadow, in appearance like a civilizado, who will speak into her ear saying: "I do not like your sleeping with your husband because you do not belong to him. You are mine, you are my loved one." The woman therefore must perform coitus as hurriedly as if she were committing a crime.

K756 842 When a woman shaman marries, her spirit advises her as follows: "So that you may not have children, since you are always with your husband in spite of my prohibition, put skeins of wool on your wrists and on your ankles and around your waist like a sirapo [loincloth], and tie a piece of onion to the wool." The Indian woman who related this said that she had obeyed the spirit's instructions in every detail, and she had never had any more children. The spirit demanded a gold necklace from her as recompense for its counsel.

K756 834 ●776 787 Another female shaman with whom we had the opportunity to converse recounted the following to us: When she married, the spirit told her that it cared for her no longer. When she inquired the cause of this, the spirit replied that it was due to the fact that after having been with her husband, she had a smell of male goat, an odor which it did not like. The shaman explained to the spirit that she had married because her parents had sold her. The spirit was quite angered with her and had no wish to return to inspire her; it did not want her to marry because she belonged to it and not to anyone else. Finally it agreed to the formula that she might cohabit with her husband but must not linger over the sexual act.

[29 cont.]

*756 When the woman becomes pregnant, the spirit puts up with
533 the situation without getting angry, but it does not show any such
834 patience if she delays a length of time in the sexual act with her husband, or if she sleeps by his side throughout the night.

The female shaman's obligation, in the sexual aspect, goes to the length of forcing her to be but a passive entity during coitus, not permitting her body the slightest motion and also not permitting any endearments from her husband before the sexual act. When these dispositions are disobeyed, the shaman finds
[787] herself suffering during the night from especially terrifying and horrible dreams which fill her with fears and anxieties.

*756 The man who marries a shaman gets to understand his
693 wife's situation, and for this reason he is prudent in his actions: He does not demand anything but the strictly indispensable, and he is in accord with her in all matters related to her special state. [30]

*756 But in spite of all these prohibitions, the female shaman
776 who becomes pregnant receives aid from the spirit at the time
844 of giving birth. This assistance consists of an easy delivery of her baby and of counsel her spirit gives her on the simplest form of giving birth, the remedies she should take, etc.

*756 The shaman must not perform ceremonial acts of curing
841 when she is in her menstrual period because the patient will be-
843 come worse instead of improving. However, pregnancy does not present any obstacle to her activities, and she may accomplish cures during the entire period of gestation.

*756 In the case of a male shaman, the spirit permits him to be
834 with his wife, but for a very short time; he is also allowed, as
[595] are the rest of the Guajiro, to have several wives.

In summary, women shamans must cohabit exclusively with their husbands, avoiding all endearments, movements, the prolongation of coitus, and pregnancy. They may not exercise their functions during their menstrual periods. The male shaman also must be moderate in the sexual aspect and limit himself to his wife, or wives, as the case may be.

*756 The food taboo is limited to prohibiting the shaman from
262 eating the flesh of such animals as he has received in payment

[31 cont.]

753 If the shaman's illness and the announcement of his death
755 are provoked by the displeasure of his protector spirit, there
*756 generally is no possibility of calling in another shaman to carry
776 out the ceremonies of curing. The illness of the shaman more than being his alone is an illness of the protector spirit; it is thus different from all other illnesses known to the natives. The shaman himself cannot help; he does not know how to apply the remedies he may have used in similar cases. He only, and this on few occasions, applies hot water to his chest. At other times the spirit may have pity on him and may come and recommend some special remedy to him, indicating at the same time where he can obtain it. The sick shaman then takes the remedy, and his sickness is immediately alleviated.

*756 On the death of a shaman it is obligatory to hold a wake
766 for at least three consecutive days, because the attacks which shamans have ("states of ecstasy") are so frequent and on occasion prolonged for a considerable time, that there is the possibility that he may not be really dead. The natives, then, do not wish to give a shaman burial until they are convinced of his death. There is also the belief that when such persons die they do not follow the same cycle as other mortals, since their bodies do not become hard and stiff but remain soft and lax, as if they were only sleeping. At the conclusion of these three obligatory days of the wake, they carry him away for burial. They wash the body and fasten his shroud as they do for others. But his crown, his maraca, and all his clothes are first broken and torn and later buried in a special place in the woods, or are thrown away in a lonely place. They must not place these objects with him in his grave [32] because the spirit of the dead shaman would return, very angry with the persons who had done such a thing, and would punish their disrespect in some form or another.

*756 The dead shaman's spirit wanders everywhere like all other
775 spirits, it goes to the place where his body lived, to places well
787 known to it, but it is always accompanied by its protector spirit, from which it will never become separated. Both the protector spirit and its protege may descend on a new shaman in order to assist him. This is probably the explanation of the possession of

[53 cont.]

174 648 #756

[Lectures given at the National Ethnological Institute]. Bogotá, 1942.

the two groups at some period of their history, — we cannot say if before or after the Conquest, is based on the presence of certain material cultural techniques of the Arwako [Arhuaco] Indians in the Guajiro group.

Let us now analyze carefully and separately each one of these factors:

#756 Medicine practiced by the shaman. In chapter II of this study, we referred to the shaman's curative methods which are effected through their magic communication with the spirits. These spirits supply the instructions required for the ceremonies and processes that are to be practiced to effect the cures of illnesses caused by the wanurú which have a sick person in their power. We again refer the reader then to chapter II.

791 Medicine by divination. Before entering fully into this subject, we feel obliged to clarify somewhat the diviner's position in La Guajira and to learn something more, if only superficially, of the processes of divination.

There are certain men and women capable of seeing secret events that have occurred or foreseeing those that will occur. For this they employ different objects; some use a machete (an item of acculturation), and by closely studying its edge they divine, for example, what has happened at the site of a robbery and where the stolen objects will be found. Others make use of burning tobacco and others, finally, of a burning firebrand.

787 In this aspect of divination the world of the spirits plays as great a role as it does in general in all the themes of magic, [776] since the chain of events in the case of the divination of a robbery, for example, is that the spirit of the diviner disengages itself from his body and goes in search of the lost articles, following the track of the thief until it finds the hiding place and consequently the stolen goods, returning then to the body of the diviner to communicate the result to him so that he can, on his part, transmit the information to the party who has come to consult him. [54]

[74 cont.]

171 776 he is the witch and curer of the tribe, as we learn from the Mother Superior's writings, a wizard whose supernatural powers place him at the peak of the social pyramid. This jaibanf is none other than an individual who has by himself and for himself absorbed the power of the spirits -- of the dead -- and who by this is able to carry out the same functions as they are capable of, that is, he can do evil or good as the fancy takes him. For this reason "when some illness suddenly attacks the Indians they say they are bewitched, and they point to the person from whom they have received the injury. They dream persistently of a certain jaibanf and that he observes them with a grim, severe look or that he lies in ambush for them armed with spears or guns, and from this they assume that the doctor of whom they dream is he who has bewitched them." (53) In this case it is

53. Ibid., p. 151.

therefore the jaibanf, ("collection of sicknesses," according to the etymology) who, taking advantage of his power both to absorb and dominate the spirits, goes about among the Indians causing them harm and also [75] curing them when sick people go to him in search of help. Again we meet with this duality which we have already pointed out regarding the spirits of the dead (friends -- enemies) and which we showed in the previous chapter, "Sickness and Medicine," in regard to spirits in general, as well as animals.

171 776 797 775 Among the Chibcha Colombian Indians of the savannas of Cundinamarca, we also find a linguistic and conceptual correspondence between devil and death. In our opinion, among primitives there does not exist, or did not exist among the American aborigines before the Conquest, the concept of devil as such, but only of a spirit of evil which, although it may possess some similarity to the devil of our Catholic religion differs in many aspects from it. From all that we have been able to observe, the idea of the devil among the American primitives, introduced no doubt after the Conquest by Catholic missionaries, corresponds more to an entity, spiritual it is true and capable of

[78 cont.]

doing good or evil, but always a physical evil, not a spiritual one as done by the devil as conceived in the Catholic religion. Also, according to our observations, this same spirit of the primitives is none other than the spirit of the dead, of their ancestors, inhabitants of the "other world," an unreal world that is not directly tangible, or at least not completely so, to the senses but real in the conception, in the faith and beliefs of the primitives. This last characteristic of the American aborigines' demonic spirits, confused with the dead, separates them formally and conceptually from the idea of the devil as understood in Catholicism.

Returning to the Chibcha tribe of the savannas, we find that one of the words that their dialect uses to describe a dead person is guajaia (we retain the author's spelling), and the word for "devil" is guaiaque. We can attempt to split up the second word in the following way: guaia, que. This last particle that we have split off has the sense of "strong," "vigorous." Thus, by splitting up guaiaque — translated as "devil" by the different writers on the Chibcha language of Cundinamarca — would really have the meaning of "powerful dead one." (54) We could

54. The linguistic notes have been taken from two works: El Idioma Chibcha o aborigen de Cundinamarca [The Chibcha or Aboriginal Language of Cundinamarca] by J. Acosta Ortegón and Gramática, Vocabulario, Catecismo i Confesionario de la lengua Chibcha [Grammar, Vocabulary, Catechism, and Confessional of the Chibcha Language] by Ezequiel Uricoechea.

include many other quotations to corroborate our statement, but, as we have mentioned, we reserve [76] these for a separate work. We only wish to expound our general theory for the better understanding of this study. It is sufficient then for us once again to affirm that death, sickness, spirit (devil), and even medicine man are all concepts that belong to one and the same ideological circle, totally imbued with the spiritualistic content of magic related to the soul of the dead.

[104 cont.]

226 751 [177 184] Never again during our visit did we come across this type of magic object, which leads us to believe that it does not belong to the Guajiro cultural whole, but that it is due rather to the influence of the mulattoes of the coast who, as is well known, are extremely superstitious.

*756 778 Charms used to call spirits. The use of these charms, to which we have referred on other occasions, is limited to shamans. They use them to facilitate the arrival of their protector spirits when they are in a curing trance or are carrying out any of the functions related to their status. Up to the present we have not arrived at a satisfactory explanation of their influence on the spirits, but we might now bring together the few data we do have. One of the female shamans who served us as informant and who [776] came from the Sierra [de] Jarara possessed charms to attract her spirits. She explained to us that as those spirits are assistants, some to young shamans, some to old ones, the charms to facilitate the arrival of their spirits are also of two classes: for young shamans and the other for old ones.

The charm is made from the leaf of a plant called in Guajiro [824] morõno, which is found in abundance on Itojoro Hill. A woman expert in such articles makes them there [105] by grinding the leaves of the plant to a paste and shaping this into a rounded form which she keeps in a small bag of red thread. The larger ones are reserved for the older shamans, and the others, combined with some of the former, are for the younger.

778 789 The guará or guale. The guará or guale, difficult to find at present, is a kind of idol made from solid gold or silver and of [325] which only a few examples exist as they are no longer made. This small idol is an anthropomorphic representation in fetal position, [532] and it does not seem to be an autochthonous product of the Guajiro as they themselves assert that these idols come from their [173] distant ancestors, by which they mean the Arhuaco of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta.

This fetish is known sometimes by the name Mareiwa, a divinity or spirit similar to the idea of God but which appears to be nothing else than the spirit of Rain, as we shall see further ahead (cf. "Mareiwa and Wanurũ").

536 [140 cont.]
776 moving along the ground. Headed by their leader they all continue to sing the song of the serpent, saying more or less the following: "I am the snake. I drag myself along the ground.
[539] I do harm to no one. But he who dares to step on me because I am on the ground gets his punishment. I bite him and wound him. At times I kill him. He has to stay in bed and suffer for a long time as a punishment for having trodden on me and for thinking that I am helpless because I drag myself along the ground...." This song is repeated several times. [141]

IX

Mareiwa and Wanurú

or

Notions of Good and Evil

771 Through all the preceding chapters we have tried to explain clearly what constitutes the magic life of the Guajiro, which is almost the same as saying his spiritual life, and in passing we have mentioned the presence and activities of beings with higher powers than ordinary mortals, able to do good or evil according to which being intervenes in each particular case. We have thus touched on two fundamental ideas: good and evil.

• 776 Our interest is now concentrated in trying to elucidate the
177 quality of these spirits, or supernatural beings. These can be very seriously confused owing particularly to the influence of acculturation and more specifically to the pressure exerted by missionaries in their prosletyzing function. So great is the misapplication of terms and concepts in this world of ideas that we might call the religious, that even the Guajiro mythology has been transformed by the use of terms which have a pejorative and
773 degrading effect on the Guajiro people (68).
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68. This statement is based on the legend which we obtained orally from

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an Indian of the Nazaret locality relating to Mareiwa and the origin of humanity, in which are presented the beginnings of the different groups of mankind: natives and foreigners. The legend states that Mareiwa created mankind and gathered them together, inviting them to a banquet. Those who complied with the forms of social etiquette (shaking hands respectfully, sitting in the right place, behaving with composure, eating according to civilized rules, using knives and forks, washing hands, etc., were turned into arijuna ("white," civilizado); those who misbehaved, who did not comply with these rituals of social etiquette, that is, those who showed they were Indians, were from that time claimed as wayú ("Indians"). As can be seen, the Indian believes himself superior [sic] to the White because of these details of social etiquette, of which he is partially or totally ignorant. [142]

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The problem arises from the fact that those two notions of good and evil, represented by two classes of spirits, benign and malignant, have been changed for the Catholic or general Christian concepts of God and devil, concepts which the native, coming more and more in contact with the Christian type of civilization has gradually come to accept in the process of his conversion to new ideas.

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This affirmation is corroborated by various citations, taken from the writings of Catholic or Protestant missionaries as well as from those of travelers or of ethnologists who have been involved in the same confusion. To demonstrate the point we transcribe several such cases.

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Father de Carcagente referring to the church at Manaure says: "The Indians say to God 'Have pity upon us.' They know

[142 cont.]
what God can do for them," phrases which the Guajiro translates
[539] in this way: "Nuchdinaca guayú mumuin Maléigua 'Pumáiieje guayú.' Je natíjain au tu nfinjecta nau Maléigua." (69)

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69. Carcagente. Guía Goajiro [Guajiro Guide], pp. 18-19. The italics are ours.

The Protestant missionaries, on their part, published in Guajiro and in Spanish a version of the Gospel of Saint Mark throughout which the word "God" is represented in Guajiro by the word "Mareiwa" (70).

70. Mínuke: Cf. Bibliography.

Father José Agustín de Barranquilla, a Capuchin missionary who traveled widely through the greater part of Guajiro territory on an evangelistic mission and collected his impressions in a book, when speaking of the qualities and moral defects of the Guajiro, uses the following terms: "He is monotheist, that is, he believes in only one Supreme Being called Mareigua (God) ... he has something similar to the devil which he calls Yarují or Yolují..." (71)

71. Barranquilla. Así es la Guajira [This is La Guajira], II, 57.

And further along he adds: "The Guajiro is not like other Indians, idolatrous, because vestiges have never been found among all the Guajiro antiquities either of idols that they worshiped in times past or traditions that show at any time their connection with idolatry, except for certain insignificant talismans of a domestic and family nature which they considered could render them service. They never practiced any cult rendering homage to the sun, moon, or any other visible thing. The Guajiro attributes
776 everything good that occurs in this world to Merigua (God). Mareigua is always good, never evil. He it was that created the world and all visible things. He alone. He is invisible

[162 cont.]

although he sees everything.... Mareigua combines three main spirits and many subalterns more inferior to Him. [163] Some of these spirits are masculine, some feminine.... An Indian sees that his crop is drying up for lack of water, and far from imploring Heaven for rain, he beats his drum every night and at dawn as if he expected the sound to break up the clouds, or he fires his gun with a similar hope.... Should one of his relatives become ill, he calls in the shaman so that he can with his remedies, his maracas, his tobacco or manilla spirits, and the instructions of his spirits, cure the sick man; instead of appealing to God and asking him to bring his relative back to health." (72)

72. Ibid., II, 65-67.

Jorge Isaacs, the famous Colombian novelist, in the second half of the past century, made an excursion under government authority to study La Guajira and other regions of the country, and he wrote in the report he presented: "Mareigua is the name by which the Guajiro designate God, or better said, the unbegotten one, immaterial force, master of creation." (73)

73. Isaacs. Estudio del Lenguaje Guajiro [Study of the Guajiro Language], 303.

Finally, the ethnologist Professor Hernández de Alba, as a result of his expedition to the peninsula says: "Mareigua. All that is good for the Guajiro: rain, abundance, life, protection, the world in which he lives, all come from Mareigua, the one and only God, always good, never evil...." (74)

74. Hernández de Alba. Etnología Guajira [Guajiro Ethnology], 49-50.

The quotations which we have cited lead us to the belief by the Guajiro in an all-powerful god, unique and universal. This

[143 cont.]

seems to be true, in a certain way, for those who are imbued with Christian religious practices, because when they refer to our God, to Jesus Christ, they call him Mareiwa. But at the bottom of their minds, in our opinion, there is some distinction which is precisely what we shall try to explain.

When we spoke of the shaman, we referred extensively to his protector spirits, the real healers of sickness, of whom the shaman is no more than an intermediary. Naturally, we also spoke, in that chapter and in the one relating to sickness, of the evil spirits, the malignant ones, the cause of the trouble, known by the generic name of wanurú, and we explained how the first are, in general, the spirits of dead shamans who have disappeared but continue to exercise their functions for the benefit of the community, while the wanurú are also spirits of dead people who satisfy their personal vengeances, revenge themselves for disrespect shown them in their status after death, or are simply dangerous because of the circumstances of their death, as in the case of suicides. [144]

In addition to the spirits of sickness and death, there is another named yo-ru-jú, difficult to describe and whose functions are difficult to delineate. We only know that he is magnificently malevolent and that it is he, the complete opposite of Mareiwa (God) that has been named "demon" or "devil" by missionaries, writers, etc.

Regarding the previous statement, we have several quotations that confirm it: "Yoluhú is the demon in the simple Guajiro theogony. As with god, it is scarcely a concept, a word that represents the forces of destruction and, at the same time, of power, since it is even used by the shaman when he is foretelling the future. "What does the devil say (Jamúseneik Yolujú)?" is the question the diviner asks. The Guajiro demon is hot, therefore, like the Christian devil, the opposite of God, because in addition to wickedness and destruction it also embraces the concept of power and divination." (75)

75. Hernández de Alba. Op. cit., 50.

[144 cont.]

"It seems that for the Guajiro there may exist two devils, one called Yarujá or Yolugá and the other the Guanurú. The Yarujá, or devil properly speaking, is the most evil that exists and the most frightful. He is always evil and exercises his actions on man, on humanity, but he acts mainly not through himself but through another and minor devil, which is Guanurú.

"The Guanurú is more involved in worldly affairs; he is the enemy of the body as well as the soul. He is charged with producing sicknesses in people, in animals, even in plants. The Guanurú is also a spirit." (76)

76. Barranquilla. Op. cit., II, 67.

As we see the confusion is great, and it is not all due to the writings of the authors above quoted but also to the natives themselves, as we shall see below.

What may be deduced at present is the establishment of two categories of spirits, one for those of good, the other for those of evil, categories based on their greater or lesser capacity to exercise benign or malignant influences respectively. But if we examine a little more carefully the series of facts observed by us in our journey in 1947, we are able to note some further differences which will enable us to explain somewhat better the problem that appertains to the ideas of good and evil in the native's mind. These differences arise from the presence of beings which have characters, which are disposed to exercise good or evil on the individual or on the community in general, that is, benign or evil spirits that personify [145] good and evil and that preside over actions socially acceptable or reprehensible.

• • •

Mareiwa. In our opinion, Mareiwa is above all the propitiatory spirit of the rains. This statement is based on the following facts:

1. The Dance of the Kid, as we saw in the previous chapter, is dedicated to him and takes place when the summer rains appear.

[145 cont.]

776 773 2. According to data collected in the field among the people, the son of God (Mareiwa) exists. He was born from the union of the waves and the clouds in a place called Puldwi, in certain "sacred" lakes where human beings may not go, situated in the Sierra Nevada, where there are a number of both fresh- and salt-water lakes surrounded by medicinal plants. Mareiwa on occasion descends to these places, and it is at these times that heavy rainfall occurs in La Guajira, that is, during the seasons which in the peninsula are called autumn, spring, and winter. Then all the vegetation sprouts, and all the trees, pasture, and plants are green.

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3. Another legend states that Mareiwa was born of a woman who became pregnant when, being in her monthly period, she was greatly frightened by the spectacle of a tremendous storm. Without having sexual relations with any mortal, she afterward gave birth in the same way as other women.

4. Guajiro legends relating to Mareiwa also assert that he was born under an olive tree (77) in some place in La Guajira.

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77. The olive tree we refer to in these paragraphs is not the same as that of temperate zones but is an autochthonous tree, whose similarity to the former justifies its name.

The importance of this legend stems from the peculiar character of the tree, which is the only one belonging to the Guajiro flora that escapes the effects of long summers and is always fresh and green, keeping its leaves and bearing fruit throughout the year.

777 778 221 5. In his propitiation of the rains when summer lasts too long, the shaman invokes his protector spirits, spirits of good, and especially Fumayule, the name by which curers [curanderos] know Mareiwa.

776 221 6. In the work and paragraphs already quoted from the work of Professor Hernández de Alba, we find a new relation between Mareiwa and rain; he says: "Mareigua. Everything that is good for the Guajiro: rain, abundance... and He saved

[146] the people during the deluge on the high hill of Pavuo, which he made to grow higher as the waters rose." (78)

78. Hernández de Alba. Op. cit., 49-50.

1. When we spoke of natural phenomena in magic, we stated that a kind of veneration was very commonly paid by the natives to an iguana that lives in the crevices of rocks, especially in the cliffs of the coast; veneration that is manifested outwardly by fiestas and dances and is intended to influence the iguana not to put obstacles in the way of the rains, which are under his dominion. Up to this point the fact appears to have no connection with the subject which we are treating, but supported by linguistics, we shall clarify our point of view:

The Goajiro word for iguana is iwána, and it can be split up thus: iwa, "rain" (this is what the Indians call the rain that falls in summer, April); na, particle which seems to denote an abundance of something, as may be seen in these other examples: ipa-na-rú, a La Guajira place name which means "among many rocks" and corresponds in context to: a conical depression that holds rain water situated among many rocks; garrapatamana, another place name descriptive of its meaning, "a place where there are many animal ticks [garrabatas]. According to the above, iwána means an "abundance of rain."

Now, the word by which the constellation of the Seven Kids is called when in a certain position it coincides with the summer rains, is iwa, the same as "rain." Furthermore, from the name "Marelwa" we can separate the constant particle, iwa, "rain." Unfortunately, we could discover nothing that might correspond to the first particle, máre, in the vocabulary we collected, nor in others that have been published and which we had the opportunity to consult. But, on reviewing a dictionary of the Arawak language of the Guianas, with which the Guajiro dialect is closely linked, we find that mali is the name of a "certain star"; malidaite is "beginning of drought." "The name is derived from the star mali." (79)

79. Anonymous. Op. cit., 71.

[146 cont.]

179 If we accept the idea that the Guajiro are descended from
192 the Arawak of the Guianas, with whom they are intimately con-
176 nected both by their language and culture, there is nothing
121 strange to be found in the formation of the name Mareiwa from
mali, male (the l and the r do not exist in the Guajiro language),
and Iwa, words that are used to name man and in consequence
must be related to the general Arawak cosmogony. In any case,
176 the linguistic association of rain-god-divinity confirms the
60 statement which we have made that Mareiwa [147] is none other
than the propitiatory spirit of the rains, and by the same token,
that of good harvests, of abundance, and of well-being.

192 The harsh geographical conditions of La Guajira and the
192 technical incapacity of the native to dominate and put them
176 in his service without incurring the great inconveniences which
are above all occasioned by the climate, have caused this
being (Mareiwa) to be raised to first position in the category of
[148 protector spirits of the community. Also, the changes brought
180 about in their economy during past centuries have contributed to
this advance in status, because since the introduction of stock
grazing, winter has become more and more indispensable for
the maintenance of pasture, without which the stock would
suffer serious losses. We have no data relating to the myths or
178 religion of these Indians at the time of the Conquest but what
176 we have unearthed and the fact that there is a veritable confu-
sion with respect to the origin and functions of Mareiwa point
to the fact that, in a certain way, the Guajiro are living in a
state of transition with regard to their divinities, we might al-
most say a moment of true creation of their gods which has not
yet been definitively achieved, and for which contact with
western civilization has created difficulties which by now are
practically insurmountable.

175 Wanurú. As we referred extensively to the wanurú when
we were speaking of sickness and the shaman, we shall add only
a few details here and systematize the knowledge we have ac-
quired about this matter up to now.

1. The wanurú can harm the Guajiro bodily and spiritu-
ally, bodily by means of such sicknesses as attack men, animals,

[147 cont.]

775 and plants either individually, or collectively with the appearance of epidemics; spiritually by inspiring reprehensible actions such as murder, which brings social misfortunes in its wake. In general, all the transgressions of the Guajiro social law — rage, suicide, infidelity, etc. — are inspired by this spirit.

2. They have permanent sites of habitation, especially in unoccupied houses.

3. They are grouped into special categories dependent on the circumstances of their death, which influences their manner of life in the next world.

4. They make their appearance by adopting special [776] bodies, that is, they make themselves visible. In this they differ fundamentally from the spirits of good, like Maraiwa, who manifests himself in no bodily form. In this connection [148] we have the following native belief: If during the night 775 or in the late hours of the afternoon, a sizeable, nocturnal white 825 moth is found in the bedroom, it must not be mistreated or killed. It must be treated with consideration because it is nothing but the spirit of some ancestor — wanurú — who has come on a visit. If it becomes very troublesome and keeps one awake by its fluttering, it must be got out of the room very carefully. [787] If it should be killed, the spirit of the dead incarnated in it would appear in dreams and exclaim: "Why did you kill me? I like you and for that reason I came to visit your home. You have done me harm." And most certainly the spirit would take vengeance in some bad way or another on the person who had violated the rules of hospitality due the spirits of the dead.

775 Yorujá. The concept of Yorujá is more difficult to clarify. He seems to be the same as the wanurú for the following reasons:

1. The natives when they refer to him give one to understand that he is the spirit of the dead.

2. As with the wanurú, he has his sites of fixed habitation, especially in cemeteries, in the crevices of Cabo de la Vela, or hidden in the boughs of trees in the lonely woods of Emejuy in Lower La Guajira.

[753] 3. Also, as with the wanurú, he is the cause of both physical and spiritual harm to the natives and to the community in general.

[148 cont.]

775 4. Also like the wanurú, he takes on special forms of dress, such as that of a "king," an arijuna (civilizado), and an [77] Indian. At times flames leap from his eyes and mouth (possibly acculturation from Catholic legends about the devil).

5. There are other beliefs that refer to him, such as the [625] one that states that when during the night a woman should find a praying mantis [mantis religiosa] she should hurriedly throw some cotton seeds and salt on the fire in order that with the flame produced when these catch fire, the malignant spirit, or yorujá, who brings the mantis with him will be frightened away. There is a similarity in this belief to the one that prescribes placing horses' skulls around to frighten the wanurú away from the vicinity of habitations.

• • •

776 775 In summary we would say that the spirits of good are represented by Mareiwa and by a series of other protector spirits, especially those of shamans, which are no other than those of [554] dead curers. Their standing or status depends on that which they had in life, the greater their prestige as curers in this world, [149] the more important will be their position in the next as benevolent spirits. The spirits of evil are represented by dead persons and are of different degrees of danger according to the characteristics of their death. It is presumable that those called yorujá, resembling the devil, the greatest incarnation of evil as an abstract idea, are spirits of the dead of a greater degree of wickedness, while the wanurú, connected almost exclusively with sickness, are spirits of dead persons of a lesser degree of evil.

Finally, the differences between the two categories of spirits — benevolent and malevolent — are of two classes: 1) of a quantitive character, according to their power to do good or evil respectively; 2) of a formal character, referring to the apparition of evil spirits in various bodily forms, and the absence of such forms for good spirits. [151] [Page 150 is blank.]

[152 cont.]

177 community, especially in cases of illness and pestilences, as can
233 be seen in the section "Shamanistic treatment of animals" in
789 Chapter II. If, on one hand, stock grazing partly changed some of the social system related to magic, on the other hand, at the same time it has also felt the influence of this institution to the point of acquiring its own characteristics which differentiate it from other systems of stock grazing, which follow, in general, the lines laid down by the Spanish colonists. Magic is sui generis and plays its part today, as the oldest institution can, in Guajiro culture.

789 Moreover, not only in the collective sense but in the individual, the action of magic on the economy shows itself very clearly in the charm [contra] to make oneself rich, which we have described in detail in Chapter VI and which, as is logical within the Guajiro social dynamic, is connected to such important social matters as status, as we shall see later.

In the chapter which we have called "Magic as the Origin of the Theater in La Guajira," we may also see the effectiveness
776 of magic in the private economy, since the owner of a piece of cultivated land is the one who organizes at his own expense the dance and fiesta given to attract the blessing of the good spirits, of Mareiwa on the crops, which require sufficient rain and certain climatic conditions to ripen. So great is their confidence that they believe that the more solemn the ceremony of the Dance of the Kid, the more benefit will be received from the spirits they invoke and fete, and the greater the probability of success for the harvest.

2. Society. Guajiro society, as we have said, has trans-
182 ferred a great part of the responsibility for its survival and
619 stability to magic and has a tranquil confidence in it, convinced
789 of its effectiveness and holding firmly to an institutional determinism which only now is beginning to break down fundamentally. The cultural institution of magic represents to the individual Guajiro a system of life, thought, and belief which unites him to his group as much as does the consanguineous tie and the established clan system. Magic is the general and generalized institution, essentially independent of the characteristic social divisions

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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before, when the casimba had dried up and the cattle had roamed round the troughs bellowing till they collapsed and died. The horses, on the other hand, had given up the ghost without complaint. 312 731

The water was already turgid; before long it would be as thick as gruel. The water we had been given by the bishop was now finished, and we had to boil the water from the casimba, which had a beastly taste and did not quench our thirst because of the salt in it. The best water is that near the coast. 312

The cattle and horses were thin, but the men at the well looked strong and well-nourished, as did the women. But how would they look by the time October came with its rain? It was then only July. And suppose no rain came? Or only a few showers? That had happened before. The threat of it always hung over the Indians. If the rain god Juvap turned his face from them, they were lost. There were still patches of grass here and there, but it was dry and scorched. If need be the cattle could make do with cactus, despite the long spikes that could pierce a stout leather shoe with ease. Very, very carefully the cow lets one of the oval leaves slide into her mouth, almost sucking it in, so that the spikes are bent backwards; she then starts chewing as hard as she can. Often cows have more cactus stuck in their hides than they get inside them. Horses and mules, on the other hand, apparently do not like cactus and will not do more than nibble at it. It is too slow a business to eat it. The goats seemed able to find something to eat everywhere, and are themselves eaten sooner or later. Cattle are not often slaughtered, but goat is the daily fare. Live goats are also taken as provisions on journeys, being easily led on a rope. 132 312 231 [776]

We had halted only in order to let the animals drink and for the Indians to fill their water containers. The Gaffer needed a lot of water now—his thirst was unbounded—but the calabashes were in his wife's charge and she only allowed him an occasional gulp. Also he was having to walk, for she was tired and had mounted the donkey again. The Lad tried to enliven the company by imitating the donkeys when they

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In another game the dangerous spirit Yoruyá attacks 796
and kills Indian after Indian till he is set upon by them all 526
and killed; in yet another the Indians hide in a cloud made
of cloaks, when the spirit forces its way in, but it is captured [776]
by the cloud and vanquished.

Horse-racing is one of the Indians' greatest pleasures at [541]
their festivities, but they also indulge in it—without horses
—as a game in connection with the dances. Very amusing
and picturesque is a game in which they imitate hunting a
kind of bird that plunders the seed in their fields. The
Indians pretend to be trying to scare them and catch them
in nets. Here the seed is represented by some children, some
of the men are the birds, others the hunters who catch the
birds in their hammocks and then wring their necks!

Another game represents a fight between jaguars and
dogs. The strongest of the men are made the jaguars, for
these have to win. Then there is a snake game in which men
and women crawl along together, imitating the movements
of a snake and singing the snake song: 'I am the snake. I
creep along the ground. I do harm to none, but punish
those who try to trample me. Long must he suffer, who
tramps upon me because he thinks me defenceless since I
creep on the ground. He must suffer and die.' There are
endless variations; but a dance lasts so long that a little
variety is necessary.

Once the upper-class dance, the chichamaya, was over, [565]
Mauana's people gladly showed us all their games and
dances even though it was not the right time of year.

As we were riding home the next day we encountered 115
several companies of Indians returning from a burial-feast.
Among them was a young man in a beautifully woven
mantle, who joined up with us. He spoke good Spanish and
obviously belonged to the upper class. Francisco told him
about us, and he was eager that we should be his guests
that same day, since his rancho lay on our route. He said
that he had a few things that I might well find interesting
and he himself would like to see one of my pistols. (Fran-
cisco had evidently described how they smoked and made 273
a bang.) Some of the Indians accompanying us now became

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The skulls of
horses are placed round dwelling-places to repulse spirits, which are held to be very afraid of horses, whether alive or dead. When a caravan travels by night, the men with horses are in the lead, and the spirits flee at once. Once long ago the Indians themselves had an almost superstitious dread of horses; that was when for the first time they saw them used by their white conquerors.

It was said that some piaches had in their possession gold statuettes inherited from the 'ancients'. If that was so, they were presumably pre-Columbian objects found in some grave or kept for centuries by some succession of medicine men.

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several days afterwards, but have to be fed. They also have 767
to keep to a diet for a while, a precaution that, like the
cloaks they are wrapped in while digging up the bones, is to
protect them against spirits.

In the old days the house in which a person died was 768
abandoned. Nowadays that is only done if the person has
been murdered.

I have come across this after-funeral among several 765
Indian tribes farther south, in particular the Motilon in the 171
Andes, neighbours of the Guajiro, and the Indians of the
Llanos plains around the Orinoco. It seems a peculiar
custom to us, but it is a sort of memorial ceremony, a feast
of remembrance devoted to the dead person, who is thus not
forgotten so quickly by the Indians, as is often the case with
us.

The animals killed at a man's funeral are to accompany 764
him into the hereafter and enable him to maintain his posi-
tion there. His immediate relatives must not eat of this meat,
which is all given to the guests, who cook it and feast on it.

Different in character is the sacrifice of some creature, a [751]
black sheep or a brown cow, which the piache recommends [782]
when he has dreamed that someone is in danger of being [787]
murdered. Here the animal is being killed in place of the
threatened man, the goat or cow acting as substitute so that
the human can escape his fate. Presumably, what used to
happen was that the person threatened had to go out and
kill some wild animal, a deer for example. The custom of
slaughtering cattle at a funeral originates from the change in [178]
the Indians' way of life that resulted from their making
cattle-rearing their main occupation. Earlier the dead person
was given other grave-goods to enable him to manage in
the life hereafter, including ornaments and that sort of
thing. In the pre-Columbian era quantities of polished stone
beads and tuma were placed in the graves. Then, when for-
tunes began to be reckoned in cattle and horses, it was
obvious that the dead person must have cattle to accompany
him. To the Guajiro, as to the general run of Indians, there 761
is no such thing as natural death. Were it not for the 776
dangerous world of the spirits and evil enchanters people

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761 would be able to live to all intents and purposes for ever.
776 The Guajiro word for illness, *wanuru*, is the same as that for the spirit of death, and actually means 'he within us'. As so often happens, they make no distinction between the spirits of the dead and other spirits.

775 The spirits of suicides are especially feared. As a safety measure the rope and tree used are burned, since death still
762 clings to them and is infectious. Round the scene of the suicide the dead man's ghost wanders head down, sometimes pursuing passers-by in the shape of a flame. Everybody avoids such places. It sometimes happens that Indians, both children and grown-ups, say that they have met dead relatives in human guise, but dumb. Such encounters bring misfortune. If a Guajiro Indian moves outside the peninsula, he will after death rest on the burial place of his fathers. After death he has a long journey ahead of him, and if he is to reach the realm of the dead he ought to start out from the burial place of his own people. Besides, and this perhaps is the most important point of all, the ritual prescribed in Guajira has to be observed.

775 The spirit of a murdered person follows his slayer everywhere and attacks him if he falls ill or becomes weak, appear-
682 ing in the hallucinations of fever. Its presence also constitutes a danger to the murderer's children. It can also appear in the form of a flame or of an animal, for example a bird. As I have already said, the house in which someone has been murdered is abandoned immediately, for the angry spirit of the dead man can appear there at any time.

To protect himself the slayer must submit to severe restrictions, which are prescribed by his maternal aunts and the elder women and which he follows in his own interest. He hides in the wilds, has nothing but maize gruel and water. He ought not to speak or have anything to do with anyone, and must be ever ready with weapons in his hand. An enemy may appear. The slayer cuts off his hair, wears a very short black cloak and must sleep on the ground with his face downwards and hidden, never on his back, otherwise the spirit of the man he killed could sit on his chest. It is best if he can sleep little and seldom, and have a dog with

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756 787 that prevents his own from being shed—and after this a chichamaya dance is arranged.

791 787 It is not only through dreams that future events can be foretold. There are special sooth-sayers: we have already mentioned the outschi, who deal in prophecy without being piaches. Many real piaches also deal in prognostication, but that is not really their province. The Indians believe in the piache, more than in the ordinary sooth-sayer. 'The piache is always right', they say.

In divination the sooth-sayer also uses a firebrand that he swings through the air, or a lighted cigarette or, sometimes, a knife-edge along which he stares. Whatever the method, the sooth-sayer's spirit has to free itself and go roaming. Let us say that he is to track down a stolen cow. The freed spirit follows its path till it finds it and can say whither it has been taken. As I said, a piache will not treat a patient if he is sure that he is incurable. He often finds out about this by using a firebrand. If it goes out, there is no hope. Sooth-sayers most carefully study the different shapes assumed by the coals, which, to the initiated, are significant.

As with us, there are many amateurs, especially elder women, who try to foretell the future or discover what others are about. Suppose such a woman wants to know where her husband, who is on a journey, is and how he is [276] faring. She takes a cigar of the primitive kind they use there, lights it and pronounces an incantation, asking to be shown what she wishes to know. If the ash turns black, her husband has fallen seriously ill, if the red part splutters it means that he will get gold, that is money. Other signs will reveal that he has associated with some other woman. That can involve the husband in considerable trouble when he returns.

756 776 Medicine men have a number of guardian or assistant spirits who advise them, but who also require remuneration for their services. They also warn the medicine men against enemies. Every piache has seven or eight such spirits, each of which is invoked with a special song. The rain demon, Mareiwa, is called in song under the name Fumayule, while

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the demon of illness and death, Wanuru, is called Jirarai 756
Wanuru is the name of all the spirits of the dead which are 776
many, thus we are obviously dealing here with groups of spirits; and where Wanuru acts as guardian or assistant spirits, they no doubt represent the souls of dead medicine men.

One piache, known as a clever rain-maker, told us that 756
when he needed advice over rain-making, he used to go to 776
the burial place to talk with his dead brother's spirit, the brother having been cleverer at it than he. When a piache 789
has to make rain, he seats himself on his stool as for other functions, chews tobacco, shakes his maraca and rhythmically moves his torso and head. He then begins to sing in a high voice, calling upon the spirits and demanding that they bring rain, for people need it, if they are not to die of hunger. Now and again he emerges and dances round the huts, driving away the spirits that are preventing the rain from coming.

The Indians often first try to make rain without the 789
piache's help, by drumming at night or by firing guns and 821
arrows at the clouds. The drumming imitates thunder and can thus, according to the laws of magic, cause storms. The shooting drives away the spirits that are preventing the cloud from dispensing its rain. This is also what they do at eclipses of the sun, when all burst into tears and shoot at the sky to drive away the evil spirit that is preventing the sun from shining. A piache's own spirit does not interfere in his magic-making, for which he uses none but auxiliary spirits. It is not till after his death that a piache's spirit can [775] become active and help some other piache.

The piache has to submit to certain restrictions on diet 756
and love-life. He or she must never have extra-marital 834
intercourse and even marital intercourse must be restricted. A female piache must never spend the night with her husband, but merely pay him fleeting visits that should be as short as possible; she must never allow herself to be caressed by him, and must lie quite still and indifferent during [833] coition. If this is not done, her guardian spirit will be jealous and angry, and may cause trouble. And, preferably, she 756 842

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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273 method the maize is finely pulverized by hammering on a flat stone, instead of being masticated. Beer is drunk in large quantities, as is rum received by trade.

276 Both sexes commonly smoke long narrow cigarettes, which the women make of bundles of 8 or 10 leaves. Formerly, at least in the western portion of the country, the *Goajiro* chewed coca (hayo) with lime, which stained their teeth black. Coca is still grown, but there is no mention of this custom in recent times.

RELIGION

776 *Goajiro* religion is imperfectly known. Mareigua (Maleiwa) seems to have been the Creator and Culture Hero. He caused the first *Goajiro* to emerge from the ground and taught the tribe how to produce fire with a drill. He saved them during the flood by raising the Cerro Pororo where they had taken refuge and by driving the jaguars away. As a Supreme Being he shows some moral preoccupation, in the past having punished those who lived in incest. He sends rain and all the good things which the *Goajiro* expect from nature (Hernández de Alba, 1936, p. 44).

Yoluha (Yorja) has been thought to signify the god of thunder, lightning, and drought, but the term probably does not designate a single deity but bad spirits or ghosts in general. These are feared at night when
776 the sky is clouded; to prevent their inroads the *Goajiro* stretch a thin cord
789 between two poles reaching above the roof. They attach to this cord, at regular intervals, fishhooks which serve to entangle the Yoluha and make their stay unpleasant. Sometimes when sounds coming from the bush are thought to have been made by spirits, the Indians light embers and throw stones at them.

787 The *Goajiro* give considerable importance to dreams. A dream may
438 cause the desertion of a camp, a war, or a consultation with a shaman. The *Goajiro* carry charms which they buy from shamans.

SHAMANISM

756 *Goajiro* shamans (piache) are of both sexes. Aside from their long hair shamans differ little in external appearance from ordinary persons, but their power is reputed to be considerable and people avoid offending them. They are said to cause the heart of a person to stop beating unless they are paid enough.

A shaman keeps his cures secret and divulges them only to a successor, who undergoes a long period of training and who pays his instructor a certain number of cattle. When the training is complete, there is a public initiation with dancing and drinking, at which the novice is seized by fits as demonstration of his new power. The instructor chants spells

/537 cont./

171 231 422 around the world simultaneously with the domestic animals themselves.

614 212 231 422 177 614 212 773 The branding described was probably learned by the Indians from the Spaniards themselves, simultaneously with the adoption of the first European domestic animals, and has been retained since then. It is all the more surprising that the branding iron (hierro) appears in an old myth which for its part clearly states where the customary individual clan-signs came from. The following version (according to V. Gutiérrez, p. 168) is common in the northern part of the peninsula:

Not far from Nazareth (10) a hill rises behind Itojoro.

[797] [131] 10. This post lies only several kilometers south of Puerto Estrella and is actually a small Catholic mission station. Cf. Stutzer, pp. 131 ff., and Barranquilla, pp. 151 ff.

Here, under an oil tree, Mareiwa (11) came into the world.

● 776 114 11. That is the spelling of this mythological name that I felt to be correct, as did V. Gutiérrez (p. 168). Chaves (1946, p. 307) explains in the myth concerning "Las Serranías de la Guajira," among other things: "Mareigua [is] one of the principal deities of the Guajiro people, who with his supernatural power converts persons into hills, separates the

/537 cont./

776
114

sea from the land and the planting of trees and animals to benefit man" /translated from the Spanish/. The original figure of Mareiwa is probably that of a culture-hero. Chaves (1953, p. 183) makes the same assumption, but adds that this personality is "at the present time like God for many mestizos" /translated from the Spanish/. Jahn (p. 183) declares "that the Spanish have identified /Maleiwa/ with the true God or Supreme Being" /translated from the Spanish/. In Torrano (p. 188) one reads "Maréigua = God, Supreme Being" /translated from the Spanish/. Unfortunately even today it is still true that the "Goajiro religion is imperfectly known" /cited in English/ (Armstrong-Métraux, p. 382).

614 812 773 He was found as an infant, who grew rapidly like any Indian child. He ate tuuma (12) and dressed like the Guajiro.

[262]

12. It was identified for me as tuna, which is the fruit of the Opuntia (Indian fig) and very well-known in South America. Cf. Vegamian, p. 214.

The mother was an old woman; her hut stood in the north. The father, a certain Saramai, was also said to be a god. [824] [821] Because Mareiwa was born under an oil tree, this tree does

[66 cont.]
751 according to which "things which have once been in contact with
854 each other continue to act on each other at a distance after the physical contact has been severed." (45) [Cited in Spanish.]

45. Frazer. La Rama Dorada [The Golden Bough], III, 27.

751 There is another medical preventative, also of a magic
843 nature, taken to avoid infant mortality in Guajiro marriages after the death of the first-born child. This preventative obliges
[766] them to bury the body in a certain manner. It also imposes upon the mother a further seclusion, such as she underwent on reaching puberty (ceremony of initiation), and entails her taking certain medicines extracted from vegetable roots. If all these prescriptions are not fully complied with, her future children will die successively as soon as they are born.

844 Once the child is born, the placenta must be thrown a long way away from the house and completely lost to sight. If
[777] it is buried it will bring bad luck to the child, who in consequence of such an imprudence will live a weakling and suffer greatly until his death.

853 When only two or three days after the mother has given
827 birth, her breasts badly swell with severe pains and a lack of
755 milk, her husband must place his foot on her naked breast, pressing lightly on it, with which treatment the woman will recover. When a mother loses her milk after a long period of breast feeding and is no longer able to nourish her child, she must be struck on her shoulder and her breasts a number of times with the branches of a plant which is found mainly in the neighborhood of [67] Puerto Estrella and which on being cut emits a white liquid.

826 The Guajiro takes great care of any of his hair which has
754 been cut off, as he is afraid that it can be used to do him harm. This fear is based on the belief that if anyone can obtain possession of a lock of hair, whatever harm he may do to this will react directly on its owner; if that hair, for example, is thrown on the fire, its original owner will suffer a similar fate:

751 [101 cont.]
829 breaks, thus counteracting the evil. In other words, the magic
855 action of the eyes is deviated toward the jet, which directly re-
754 ceives the effect, so liberating its owner from it.

For the same purpose they also use a mineral called salta piedra ["jumping stone"], which is hung by a string from children's wrists. It is yellow and shining.

Pieces of coral, which the women use in their necklaces, [777] bracelets, and anklets as ornaments and bringers of happiness, health, and good fortune, are suspended from children's wrists to forestall the evil eye and some other sicknesses. The mestizos who live in La Guajira wear it attached to their waists by means of a cord.

751 It is also very common to find, as a preventative of this
754 evil, "oxeye" seeds hung by a small cotton string from some
824 part of the body.

Also coconut shell in the shape of a little hand is frequently seen, a shape which is probably more effective made in jet.

754 The evil eye, according to native belief, is exercised by certain people who have a special power in their eyes which causes sickness in those they look at if these are weak, such as children and sick persons, but this harmful action is involuntary in the majority of cases, though some do knowingly use their power and put it into practice with the manifest intention of causing evil. The effects of these "eyes" also extends to plants and animals.

The sickness shows itself in the form of stomach troubles, diarrhea, vomiting, fever, and by general eruptions on the skin. Animals also sicken and die, and plants cease to develop naturally and in the end dry up.

751 Method of warding off the wanurú. Near native habita-
825 tions the owners place horses' skulls, which they say serve to drive off sickness both in children and adults, as they have the effect of frightening away the wanurú. We believe that this attitude is closely allied to another native belief which convinces them that the neighing of horses frightens the spirits that [484] wander on the roads at night. For this reason, when the Indians travel at night, as we saw personally, the horsemen always [102]

751 [102]
826 head the party, and these insist that the rest of the caravan who
[184] are riding on burros or are on foot follow them closely.

If the wanurú fears the neighing of horses, it is also afraid in the presence of its skull. The important element in this belief is that its appearance must date from the Post-conquest period, since the natives did not have horses before that event. It is thus a belief acquired through acculturation. Our hypothesis is
171 that it was introduced by the Negroes, as similar beliefs are
175 found in the mining regions of Antioquia, as we can show by
751 quoting Tomas Carrasquilla in his work La Marquesa de Yolombó
826 [The Marchioness of Yolombó], the plot of which is unfolded in colonial times in these regions. He speaks of the popular belief in demonic monsters, especially by the Negro slaves who worked the mines, and refers particularly to a special being whom the simple people named the pate-tarro [pata de tarro, "can foot"], "a giant who had only one foot of flesh and bone. If it were not that this great scoundrel was scared to death by skulls of cows, there would not have remained alive a single pawpaw tree in these mountainous cultivated lands."

The similarity is obvious: A cow's skull keeps away evil spirits and averts their wickedness. The difference lies in something of minor importance — one is the skull of a cow, the other that of a horse. The beings against whom they direct their evil are different by reason of mere accommodation to the cultural atmosphere in which the belief is implanted.

•777 Charms for becoming rich. This charm is acquired, as are all others, by purchase from a Guajiro woman experienced in the matter. Almost always the owner of such a charm is a man who by means of its power has acquired considerable wealth, because his charm will not allow him to do any bad business; it counsels him on what operations he must accomplish, it points out to him the profits that he could obtain from certain financial operations, and, above all, it guarantees him success in whatever business he undertakes.

The charm is kept inside a small wool bag, and with it he keeps a gold bead and at times a gold necklace. The part of the charm that we might call nonmaterial is produced by the various

[102 cont.]
●777 prayers and special acts of magic with which the charm is endowed by its maker to give it its magic powers.

789 Charms to obtain respect, prestige, and affection. These charms, which are for male use exclusively, are much sought after by the local caciques and by the arbitrators in claims between two enemy groups. The popular native belief [103] assigns the possession of this type of charm to such men as have great influence over them, that is, their natural headmen or direct superiors, and they are convinced that the greater the personal influence or power of such a headman, so much greater is the magic power of the charm he possesses. Hence the efforts of every influential Indian to obtain a charm superior in such qualities to any that may be in the possession of his rivals.

The possession of one of these charms inspires respect in others who would never dare to conspire against its holder's life or character because the charm would protect him and would [435 556] cause grave danger to the offender. It must be remembered that the possession of this amulet implies a condition of considerable wealth as it is only obtainable at a very high price, a fact which definitively influences [the degree of] fear and respect due its owner, owing to the established social custom of relating the social status of an individual with his degree of wealth.

When the native owner of this magic charm has to leave home in connection with some difficult mission such as, for example, taking part in the negotiation of compensation payment or settling a payment between two groups who have become enemies for some reason or other, or when he has to mix with a considerable number of natives among whom he wishes to assure his personal prestige, or when he hopes to overcome some difficult situation, he locks himself in his room hidden from all outside onlookers, gets his charm, uncovers it, and, looking fixedly at it for a moment, he then lifts it momentarily in his hand and vehemently wishes that all the magic power of the charm will inspire and defend him in the adventure he is about to undertake. [262] He then replaces the charm and starts on the diet indicated for the charm to have its effect. He should not eat roast meat or roasted corn for a period of three days, or bathe, for should he do so he will become mad.

/49 cont./

291 855 (Guajiro sandals made at home) to protect their feet from the hot, sandy soil. They very rarely use a hat, and at a more advanced age, and at times it is replaced by a kióra /headband/, [292] but without feathers, as these are a special privilege of the adult to be used on feast days. They go about, then, generally bareheaded and exposed to the strong rays of the sun. Almost at the period of transition from childhood to puberty, [415] Guajiro boys begin to make use of small woven woolen pouches which are attached to the belt and which serve /50/ as a purse and a depository for charms /contras/ (in the case of adults), small objects for personal use, etc.

301 778 855 Boys do not use necklaces. Only, and with the sense of their being a protection rather than an ornament, they wear when they are small jet beads on their wrists, small pieces of coconut husk or coral, a piece of wood of medicinal value to prevent grippe, or some object of magic value, things they leave off using toward their fifth or sixth year.

291 855 With a girl the period of complete nakedness is shorter than with a boy, although there are regions in the peninsula where they may be older, owing to the poverty of the relatives, who are unable to supply them with clothes until they are past the average age for dressing. The girl is dressed in a garment which is practically a man's guayuco and which, later when an adult, she uses as an undergarment, like a pair of pants. It is a belt of white or striped cloth, doubled and placed between the legs, held at the ends to the waist by what is called a sirapo, a kind of wide, heavy belt made of glass beads or seed-glass beads of all colors. The girl's trunk remains naked until much later. During the prepubertal period, when the development of the mammary glands begins to be marked, she puts on a sort of blouse made with the technique for hammocks (horizontal threads held together by some cross threads), which is intended, as the girl is already beginning to be initiated into the art of weaving and consequently is in a stooping position much of the time, to keep her from becoming hump-backed; also for reasons of modesty and because this blouse, as

[42 cont.]

755 765 they put the child inside one of the animals sacrificed for the occasion, taking care that the body of the animal is still warm, with the object that the child enter in the warmth.

If they cannot take the sick child to the place where the ritual ceremony is to be performed, the parents take a bone of the sacrificed animal, let it dry, and later cook it in a large quantity of water, with which they subsequently bathe the body of the child. The succesful effect should be attained at the first bath or after several successive ones.

755 There is another system of curing this sickness, which the Guajiro call "the chill of the tomb." The presence of the parents at the wake has infected the unborn child with the coldness of the tomb which the dead man is about to occupy. For this reason, the important thing is to drive out the cold, for which they resort to the substitute (when there is no possibility of an exhumation ceremony in the near future) of digging a hole in the earth, approximately the size of the child, placing him in it and then covering him up to the neck with the displaced earth.

755 764 978 In any case, as can be seen, the second method is no more than a substitute for the required and definitive remedy. In the first case there are two magic associations: the participation, passive and involuntary, of the dead man in the transmission of the sickness; and the other, more active, of the cure through the sacrificed animal, which, as we noted, participates in the taboo by virtue of the sacrifice. If it were simply a matter of the cold-hot association, that is, if the idea were to drive the cold out of the sick child's body, the most practical and rapid way would be the third, that is, to put the child's body in an excavated hole and cover it with the displaced earth, so that heating by the sun may bring about the desired effect, particularly if one takes into account the high temperatures that are reached during [43] the day in the semidesert of La Guajira. But there is something more: there is the magic character of the ceremony of the sacrifice — which is undoubtedly diminishing through the effects of acculturation — but of which there remains at least the idea of utilizing the magic power of the sacrificed animal, or part

[43 cont.]

755 764 778 of the same — the bone which is left to dry and then cooked — which also participates in its power, because in the primitive mentality the part is accepted as the whole, or at least shares in the power of the whole, even at a distance.

556 436 437 Another meaning that the sacrifice of animals has is that related to the status of the individual in his other life. One of the points of reference of status in La Guajira is wealth, which is nearly always equivalent to the possession of a larger or lesser number of heads of livestock. Livestock represents, in certain aspects, Guajiro currency, since interchanges, blood payments, etc., are always based on a definite number of heads of livestock, besides of course necklaces of tuma, gold, etc.

556 764 775 Naturally, if an individual occupies a certain social position in life, it is logical that when he goes to the other life, to the world of the dead, he occupies an identical position or tries to better the one he had in life. This, then, is one of the reasons why certain of his possessions are placed near or in his tomb, and to complete his "equipment" for the next world, a number of animals are sacrificed, the higher his position in society the greater the number, so that these may give him the desired social position in the world of the spirits.

764 775 825 The association, then, is easy to establish: If the individual in dying passes to a new life similar to the one he led on earth, then the animal, a living being with a soul like the man, on dying must also pass on to occupy a place in the other world. This, of course, is only our own supposition. But we find no other explanation of the Guajiro statement that the animals should be sacrificed so that they can accompany their owner to the other world and give him an advantageous position among the other spirits.

764 784 778 The sacrifice implies above all an act of magic. The fact that the dead man's close relatives must not eat the meat of the sacrificed animals, because it would be like eating the flesh of their relative himself, establishes the relation between the owner and his property in the sense that the latter shares his personality. And as the dead man is sacred, or at least taboo, that is, sacred in the sense of being untouchable, so also are the things that he owned; the animals — which are [44] to accompany

[44 cont.]

764 784 778 him on his journey and which remain his only possessions, since the rest will be distributed among his heirs — take on the quality of untouchables.

782 789 2. The poisoned arrow. The second sacrifice about which we gathered information has a greater importance than the previous one for two reasons: first, because it is the sacrifice of a human being, and second, because it is linked to a series of ceremonies set in motion to obtain a certain end, the deadly power of the imára, or poisoned arrow, or better said, the magic arrow.

This sacrifice, so far as we could observe, is no longer 101 105 184 782 practiced in La Guajira. According to the information gathered, it was practiced exclusively by the Kusina Indians, inhabitants of the sierra of that name. They were bellicose Indians, warriors, robbers, and animal stealers, who kept the other communities of the peninsula in an incessant state of tension by their attacks and evil-doings. We think it interesting to point out here that these Indians, commonly known as Cocina, according to all the information obtained did not constitute in themselves a separate cultural group. Their language was the same as that of the other Guajiro; their customs were relatively the same, and their physical type identical. Everything seems to indicate that they were no more than social outcasts, all those who, for crimes committed and not paid for in accordance with established laws, had found it necessary to unite themselves into societies outside the law. The question is not entirely clear, and it will be difficult to make it so because Kusina Indians are no longer found in La Guajira.

411 Bows and arrows stood out among the arms used by the Guajiro, (We say "stood" out because now they chiefly use rifles of foreign make). One of these arrows, which they call poisoned, bears the name of imára. The shaft of this arrow is made of a thin piece of wood taken from the tree called parára and measures approximately 80 centimeters in length. At the upper end of this sharpened shaft is placed poison of a ray 411 or the bone of a poisonous serpent. This imára is what the Kusina 648 921 Indians used as a last resort in their battles with Whites or with

[44 cont.]

411 some of the Guajiro communities during their pillaging expedi-
648 tions.
721 The value of the arrow, considered to be infallible,
411 stemmed from the extremely important fact that its tip was
● 782 anointed with the blood of a sacrificed child. The arrow took
782 into itself, by magic contamination, the sacred and impure quality of the sacrificial ceremony performed on the child, [45] a quality of extreme value when one realizes that the child's own father performed the sacrifice.

782 The process is as follows: The Kusina, according to the story of our informant, an Indian woman from the Sierra de Jarara who had heard from her parents a great deal about the customs of these Indians, with whom the people of the Sierra had had dealings, were accustomed to take a male child from their own family. They carried him off to some distant hills situated in the interior of the Cocina sierra. They took him up a particular mountain, and on its summit under a pó (a special tree) they killed him. He was killed in this way: They blocked up his nostrils and squeezed his throat with their hands, that is, they strangled him, and with a pointed stone they struck his forehead several times continuously until blood flowed from it. This blood, which was exactly what they wished to obtain in the sacrifice, was not allowed to spill, but was gathered very carefully in a very clean utensil. In recent times the blood was collected in an empty tin such as those used for sardines or salmon, but it is to be supposed that in olden times a special ceramic container was used. Once the blood had been collected, they put it to boil in the same utensil in which it had been collected. Next they put it in another that in modern times was a glass container, although in former times it must have been of some other material, in order to preserve it. This utensil which contained the boiled blood of the boy was kept in the woods among stones
[593] which they collected for this purpose. The executioner, who was none other than the boy's father, had prepared beforehand a
[278] quantity of arrows tipped with the poison of a ray, which he later
[438] anointed with the blood and distributed among the rest of the Kusina natives or the Guajiro in general, in exchange for livestock. The price that had to be paid for one of these arrows was

[77 cont.]

762 inflicted on the objects which were the principal active agents
768 in carrying out his fatal determination. As the form of suicide
672 that is practiced in La Guajira is almost exclusively that of hanging, they proceed to burn the branch on which the individual hanged himself and the rope which he used, because, they say, these were the direct causes of his death.

With respect to the punishment carried out on the objects
682 (inanimate to us) which served for the carrying out of suicide,
672 several suggestions may be made. In one case, the "compensation payment for blood" may be recalled, the established customary law of this community by means of which whatever spilling of blood that may be caused in any person, voluntary or involuntary, directly or indirectly, has to be paid for in accord-
[698] ance with a valuation decreed by the so-called "arbitrators," or "palabras," who are nothing more than intermediaries named by the family groups affected to settle the affair peacefully. This payment is considerable when the blood spilling ends in the victim's death. Should the murderer refuse to pay the sum ar-
682 ranged for (whether in livestock, necklaces, precious stones,
628 etc.), then the members of the victim's family group take vengeance on him personally and kill him. All this naturally ends in war to the death, or putchi, between the two extended family groups, an occurrence which is extremely frequent in La
682 Guajira. Hence as "compensation payment for blood" cannot
762 be claimed, from these objects (the tree and the rope), they are
672 punished in default by destruction by fire. This hypothesis is reinforced, if we remember that to the Guajiro Indian, as well as
[794] to most primitives, objects — which to us are not alive — are
[798] able to exercise both good and bad influences on the individual (Cf. "Sickness and Medicine" and "Amulets, Fetishes, Talismans"), because they possess a spirit — a kind of mana, or immaterial force, which surrounds and animates everything.

Another suggestion that could be made with respect to the
762 destruction of the objects used by a suicide is the following: As
783 these articles were in direct contact with the dead man, and particularly with a corpse as dangerous as a suicide is, it is necessary that they be destroyed so that the contamination

[104 cont.]

226 751 Never again during our visit did we come across this type of magic object, which leads us to believe that it does not belong to the Guajiro cultural whole, but that it is due rather to the influence of the mulattoes of the coast who, as is well known, are extremely superstitious. [177 184]

*756 Charms used to call spirits. The use of these charms, to which we have referred on other occasions, is limited to shamans. 778 They use them to facilitate the arrival of their protector spirits when they are in a curing trance or are carrying out any of the functions related to their status. Up to the present we have not arrived at a satisfactory explanation of their influence on the spirits, but we might now bring together the few data we do have. One of the female shamans who served us as informant and who [776] came from the Sierra [de] Jarara possessed charms to attract her spirits. She explained to us that as those spirits are assistants, some to young shamans, some to old ones, the charms to facilitate the arrival of their spirits are also of two classes: for young shamans and the other for old ones.

The charm is made from the leaf of a plant called in Guajiro [824] morõno, which is found in abundance on Itojoro Hill. A woman expert in such articles makes them there [105] by grinding the leaves of the plant to a paste and shaping this into a rounded form which she keeps in a small bag of red thread. The larger ones are reserved for the older shamans, and the others, combined with some of the former, are for the younger.

778 789 The guará or guale. The guará or guale, difficult to find at present, is a kind of idol made from solid gold or silver and of [325] which only a few examples exist as they are no longer made. This small idol is an anthropomorphic representation in fetal position, [532] and it does not seem to be an autochthonous product of the Guajiro as they themselves assert that these idols come from their [173] distant ancestors, by which they mean the Arhuaco of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta.

This fetish is known sometimes by the name Mareiwa, a divinity or spirit similar to the idea of God but which appears to be nothing else than the spirit of Rain, as we shall see further ahead (cf. "Mareiwa and Wanurú").

[105 cont.]

178 [422] The owners of this idol — that no one is allowed to look at — keep it jealously guarded in a coffer, from which no one can withdraw it. With it they carry out on certain occasions some curious rituals such as carefully washing it and then exposing it to the sun's rays. When the summers are harsh and long, they bathe the idol, which they say makes it happy, and they then can ask it to send rain.

175 174 The small number of these little idols and the ignorance of the natives regarding their origin makes us believe that they are a foreign element, at least with regard to formal representation, which we consider to be the product of acculturation. The possibility that these objects have come from the ancient Arhuaco is also very remote, as we have found no trace in the literature dealing with this group of anything similar to such small idols.

175 325 [428] Moreover, objects of gold are so few that at present they are restricted to necklaces, which are highly esteemed and inherited through the maternal line. But it appears that previously there were other golden ornaments other than the necklaces, as Ensign José Nicolás de la Rosa affirms that on a certain occasion "all the population of Río de la Hacha went to war against them, and the struggle was so fierce and bloody that the Guajiro asked for a truce, offering never again to act so treacherously toward the subjects of the King of Spain, and as a sign of this intention and as compensation for the death of Tomás (Quintero), they delivered to his Majesty [106] a two-headed golden eagle, the jewel being deposited as a hostage to assure the keeping of the peace in the Royal Treasury." (62)

62. De la Rosa, José Nicolás. Floresta de la Santa Iglesia Catedral de Santa Marta [Treasures of the St. Marta Cathedral], 2d., IV, 213.

174 178 Up to now we have not been able to discover the historic value of the small idol called guará or guale, and we continue to incline toward our first opinion that it is a product of acculturation.

[119 cont.]

787 interpretations, will suffice to show that the life of these Indians is built around natural and supernatural phenomena impregnated with a magic factor, and that it is difficult to separate them.

789 826 Other magical acts. The belief exists among these natives that to eat another person's leavings of food implies the acquiring of his qualities. Thus, if one eats the leavings of someone having white hair, one's own hair will become white. Women are therefore very addicted to eating food left by white women when they visit them because they want to obtain a paler complexion. It is also quite common among the men to eat food left by those who are distinguished for their bravery because by this they may acquire some of their courage. This belief extends to everything that may have contact with the person's mouth or breath. Cigar and cigarette butts have this same virtue. They also believe that if an Indian smokes a cigarette butt that has been thrown away by a foreigner, he will acquire one of the qualities of that foreigner — his beard.

● 778 789 This gives us a clue to the existence of what some authors have called mana. It is nothing more than a memory which shows itself in the magic phenomena we have been describing. The idea is not clear but it may be presumed to have existed in former times. Mana is a force that transmits qualities; it is both energy and vitality, which in spite of being intangible impregnates everything it touches. It can be absorbed or acquired in different ways, and from this we derive the explanation which has been given for cannibalism in some primitive tribes. Its concomitant effect is that it has led the Guajiro to keep one of the aspects of this idea: that food, and in general all objects that have been in intimate contact with a person who has certain characteristics, superior in the eyes of the native since he wants them and would feel more complete with them, bring him that force, that singular essence, through magnetization — permit us the term for its graphicness — which it has acquired by touching the possessor of such qualities. [120]

The object, or the food, has robbed, so to speak, a little mana from the individual who was in intimate contact with it.

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273 quarrelsome, the parting drink of spirits having had its effect. One old man after much swaying in the saddle was finally thrown off by his jibbing mule. He landed in a prickly bush and became frantic. He wanted to see blood. Luckily his weapons were on his saddle, but he managed to remove one of his spurs and began stabbing with it at those who were trying to help him up. Francisco received a jab, but he and a couple of others managed to overpower the old ruffian, whom they bound and tied to his saddle. Then his wife led him and his mount away.

609 574 One by one the groups went off in their various directions. We came to the rancho of the young Indian, our new [361] friend. He had several big huts, built on the sand, where there was no greenery or shade. He explained that when the rains came, it did not become swampy there, as in most other places, but the water ran through the sand and you could [286] walk dry-shod. There were looms in several of the open huts. At one sat our host's young, light-complexioned wife, [832] who undoubtedly was a great beauty by Guajiro standards, and in another his aged mother with a wrinkled clever face.

[272] We were offered goat's milk as a refreshment. I was always amazed at the care with which these Indians collected the small quantities of milk the goats yielded, for each gave a mere squirt. We took a gulp of goat's milk in order to avoid having to drink spirits.

The women were in a great bustle, evidently getting a spread ready. The Guajiro are hospitable, and when strangers or friends come they must have the best the house can provide. If need be, the host gives up his own hammock and lies on the ground.

439 778 Our host had plenty of hammocks. After resting a while, my wife went inside to look at the weaving, while I produced one of the pistols I had bought at an auction and demonstrated it, shooting a couple of shots, the noise and smoke of which appeared highly satisfactory to our host. Hastily he drew me aside and whispered that he had something that ought to interest me. He had *smu* and was willing to part with this precious, sought-after article in exchange for my noisy pistol. After all I had a companion without a

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wife and he perhaps could do with it. I knew what unu was, but had never expected to be offered a secret magical object by an Indian who scarcely knew me. 439 778

Unu was one of the many *cóntra* or instruments of magic used by the Indians either to protect or help the possessor. Unu stimulated love. The Guajiro have not only their old Indian magic, but some of Spanish-Moorish and African negro origin. Where these cóntra are concerned, it would be most interesting, though difficult, to find out which were of red, black or white origin. They differ in character, but one and all can be lent or hired to a person of the same sex and can be used by that person with as much effect as when used by the owner himself. 778 [751 832]

A unu love magic was most difficult and expensive to acquire. The equivalent of £30 or £40 was the current price, while the owner will normally charge £10 or £15 if he hires it out. A cóntra must not be shown to any unauthorized person, as its power may then transfer itself to the person who happens to see it. 778 832 [435]

Love talismans were of different kinds. That considered to be of the best quality was a tiny pouch containing small pieces of what looked like the droppings of some sort of lizard. The magic stuffs of Guajira often imitate the excrement of various animals. Others consist of little stones in a glass bottle, or a decoction of herbs, which the person on whom the magic is to be worked has to take or wash in. One powerful and unfailing love specific is the hair clippings of the confined majayura girl, mixed with the blood of humming birds and other ingredients, but that can only be used on the girl in question. With her, however, it cannot fail.

The love magic the young Indian now said he would give me was one of those little pouches, thus very precious. He was willing to let it go because he liked my pistol so much. He had no further need of a love specific now that he had got himself a beautiful wife with its help—and, he might have added, thanks to a good supply of cattle. And if he ever wanted another cóntra, well, he knew where to get one. But he would not get any more wives. He was a

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778 Christian now and intended to have done with such things,
832 and the Father had said that it was better to turn to a saint. And, of course, I was asked to say nothing about the transaction—that was always done in such cases.

I, of course, was keen to do business.

[784] 'But remember now not to eat roast meat or maize, nothing that has been in direct contact with fire. Otherwise you may fare badly.'

One has to observe certain rules of diet and behaviour when using a cóntra, but not so long as it lies idle.

The little pouch with the love specific thus passed into my possession, and I gave it our photographer to keep in the pocket of his camera case, as I had done with other small objects.

After we returned to the mission I told Francisco of my acquisition. He did not seem at all surprised, so evidently he and the young Indian had been in touch before the offer was made. I also told Francisco that Gladtvet was looking after the talisman, and he nodded understandingly. Gladtvet had no wife with him and no doubt would like to captivate a nice young girl, if one came his way.

574 Our host, whom Francisco told me would one day be a
778 chief, asked us to stay the night. He was of course prepared
832 to place a slave at the disposal of the solitary white man as hospitality required, but, he added, the prettiest girl in the
[567] house was a debtor-slave, whom he could not order, so the white man would have to charm her, if he wished to have her. It would be a good opportunity to try the talisman I had just acquired. Francisco said afterwards that it would not have been a reliable test of the talisman's efficacy, since undoubtedly the girl would have been very easily conquered by a large silver coin. Altogether, he considered, it would have been more practical for me to have bought a slave for Gladtvet than that expensive love charm, since, as he pointed out, slaves were cheap now, at the height of the dry season, owing to the shortage of food.

It was no use trying to explain to Francisco that this magic talisman, like all the other things I had bought from the Indians, was to go into a museum. He would merely

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have got the impression that I intended to keep it in a safe place in order to exploit it commercially, that is to say, hire it out to applicants. He could never have understood what a museum was. 574 778 832

We declined our host's invitation as politely as we could. Gladtvet's interest in his female slaves—who now had their faces painted black into the bargain—was very lukewarm.

We were served a dish of goat's meat, from a goat that our friend had been given at the funeral. Unfortunately it was old and tough, and my wife had to leave almost her entire helping. That was not regarded impolite in Guajira. On the contrary our hostess looked delighted and hastily removing it and herself to a very short distance, set about engulfing it. One might have thought that she did not get enough to eat, but no Guajiro wife was underfed in a well-to-do household. Often they had more food than they wanted. Why, then, did she not leave the helping for her slaves? Because she wanted what had been left by the lightest-complexioned woman she had ever seen, since one can become fairer oneself by eating what such a being has touched. For that reason, my wife, as a gesture of politeness, often left some of her food when we ate in Indian houses, to the delight of the women of the household. What I left would have been of use only to the medicine man, and that because I was a learned man. 264 574 [789]

On our return to the mission, the monks gave us a large piece of beef, which we grilled. 778 832

'Ay, ay,' said Francisco after the feast, 'the photographer señor should not have eaten grilled meat. I forgot his cóntra.'

'His cóntra?'

'Yes, he has the cóntra now. He ought to have eaten something else. What will happen now?'

The next day Gladtvet had a pain in his stomach and Francisco became frightened. Francisco had been brought up at the mission and considered himself a good Catholic, but that did not prevent him believing in magic. However, our medicine chest relieved Gladtvet's pains more easily than Francisco expected.

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778 Francisco and I had several talks about the love cóntra.
832 He pointed out that it was important for the man or woman wishing to use such a talisman to powder certain parts of his or her body with red achiate powder. He gave me detailed instructions which I wrote down, as Francisco thought, in order to instruct Gladtvet, so that he should be ready, if he discovered a suitable object.

The women have love charms as well as the men. With a really effective one a woman can make sure of her husband's love for ever, or win back the love she has lost. When she intends to use such means, she must keep indoors and diet
[784] for four days and nights, not expose herself to the sun nor see another woman's face, and she must avoid all milk and anything roasted. She must bath indoors and powder herself. There is a talisman which the wise women of the Jarará Hills manufacture, a stuff of herbs wrapped in a piece of cloth, which prevents a husband from taking another woman.

778 Sometimes a woman will make a man fall in love with her
832 as an act of revenge. To do this she must get hold of one of
784 his old sandals or something he has worn. This she burns and resultant cóntra is introduced into the man's clothes or belongings. This often ends in the man becoming mad. A man can also avenge himself by making a girl fall in love with him, if he can manage to get some of her hair clippings. For that reason women hide these most carefully all their lives.

An Indian, when greatly attracted by a girl, will often
778 make the greatest sacrifices and undergo all sorts of diffi-
832 culties to get her. Having succeeded, he will often go off quite soon with his herds to some other part of the peninsula. After that he is not heard of again, and his wife is left to support herself as best she can. That shows that she had attracted him by means of a cóntra which had been very effective, but that she had then been incautious enough to let it go from her, or it may have lost its power.

There are cóntras for other things than love, e.g., for luck in hunting and in war, to acquire wealth and reputation and to protect oneself against certain spirts or dangers.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

On two occasions I went out with some hunters who had hunting cóntras. Two had talismans for hares; these were small pellets fastened to the leather shield that protects the arm against the bow string. The pellets were shaped like rabbit's excrement and contained a herb the leaves of which resembled rabbit's ears and which the so-called rabbits were fond of! Another man had a deer cóntra prepared from a creeper. It resembled deer's droppings. 778 224 789

The hunters were quite convinced that the cóntra would give them good hunting, and that by its power their game would be unable to escape them. Thus those cóntra were doubly effective. On neither occasion, however, did we get anything, much to the consternation of the hunters. I think they assumed that my presence had prevented the charms working, and they were astounded when I bought them.

Of other talismans there was one intended to help its owner win races. This consisted of some rattling fruits to tie beside the horse's ear. There was a cóntra for warriors called *rania*, which gave its bearer courage and made him invulnerable. Another, which was very expensive, was said to give the possessor luck in business and gradually make him rich. Having become rich, he could then purchase the most expensive charm of all, that which would bring him respect and power. This latter was strictly personal: an outsider could be harmed by seeing it, especially a thief, and it was not effective except in the hands of its rightful owner. It was contained inside several small bags, one within the other, and what was inside the inmost one was known only to the piache who prepared it. In the talisman that brought wealth there were supposed to be links of gold, the power of which lay in the spells spoken over them. Similarly pearls and little figures made of coconut over which the wise women had spoken spells served as amulets. Amongst other things they protect the wearer against the evil eye, belief in which the Indians had evidently adopted from the Spanish–Moorish superstitions of their conquerors. You can find too the small carved hands that are so typically Moorish, and the most powerful means of averting the evil eye. Yet another is more in the negro style. The skulls of 778 789 [754] [177 532]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

The skulls of
778 horses are placed round dwelling-places to repulse spirits,
789 which are held to be very afraid of horses, whether alive or
776 dead. When a caravan travels by night, the men with horses
825 are in the lead, and the spirits flee at once. Once long ago the Indians themselves had an almost superstitious dread of horses; that was when for the first time they saw them used by their white conquerors.

It was said that some piaches had in their possession gold statuettes inherited from the 'ancients'. If that was so, they were presumably pre-Columbian objects found in some grave or kept for centuries by some succession of medicine men.

9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
SC13 Goajiro SC13

reported several in the vicinity of the town of Riohacha in Colombia.

Residence is normally matrilocal, although, at present, there is a tendency towards neo-locality. The author has found no case of patrilocality either in the field or in the literature.

The names of the five more important clans in Guajiro society, and those with which we are concerned in this article are: Uriana, Epinayú, Pushaina, Guajariyú, and Epieyú. These designations have lost meaning in Guajiro and not even the oldest members questioned by the writer remember what they mean. The clans also have an animal or plant totem closely attached to food and hunting taboos. How deep this totemic aspect of the clan goes the writer does not know and the two references found in the literature, A. Ernst (1887) and A. Jahn (1927), simply mention the fact without going into details.

Today the clans have no distinct geographic distribution. Members of the different clans are found scattered more or less at random over the whole peninsula, and in both Colombia and Venezuela. This may be due perhaps to the extensive migrations of families within the region in their quest for water for themselves and their domestic animals. This necessity has also probably contributed to the gradual breakdown of the matrilocal residence. The earlier literature suggests that the clans may have had, at one time, certain regional characteristics. Juan de Castellanos cites that the Guajiros living near what is now the town of Riohacha all belonged to the Uriana clan. A. Ernst goes as far as showing a distribution map of the clans. A. Jahn and G. Hernandez de Alba draw their conclusion of geographic distribution for the clans based on the earlier sources but definitely state that today the clans present the scattered distribution the present writer found.

The Guajiro culture may be described in brief as pastoral, with a small-scale supplementary agriculture, especially in the southern part of the peninsula where water and more fertile lands are available. Domestic animals, cattle in particular, represent the foundation of wealth to the Guajiro. His economic position, and likewise his social status, is measured in the number of cattle, sheep, goats, asses and horses he owns. This pastoral complex permeates practically every aspect of the culture.

/154 cont./

755 days and can even be drawn out for months, are a mixture of incantations and invocations, accompanied by canticles; massages with spittle mixed with chewed tobacco; sucking of the painful parts of the sick man's body; the application of his empirical knowledge of the medicinal use of plants; and the propitiation of the spirits of sickness and of death -- wanurú -- by means of gifts which the patient or his relatives supply in order to obtain the victorious return of the patient's spirit to his body and with this his definite cure. As soon as he has secured this objective, the shaman calls for the celebration of a feast. /155/

If on arriving to give his services, the shaman can see, by some magic process which he explains, that there is no hope for the sick man, he will withdraw. For the patient there is no other possibility open but to wait for death -- which usually occurs shortly after.

It is also up to the shaman to decide what sacrifices should 755 be offered to propitiate the adverse spirits when these are pre- 782 paring a harmful incident for a Guajiro. Generally, this harmful incident implicitly involves the death of the individual who, with the sacrifices and propitiations recommended by the shaman, will counteract the action, canceling it. If the recommendation is not followed, the prediction will be fulfilled. Guajiro tradition narrates among many cases the following: An old female shaman foretold a Pushaina (1)

1. Pushaina: name of a Guajiro clan.

individual that he would die at the hands of a member of his own clan and that a series of bloody events would occur as a consequence of his death. To avoid these happenings she told him he would have to make a sacrifice of several animals and bathe himself with their blood. The suggestion was not followed, and every one of the calamities occurred just as the shaman had forecast.

[16 cont.]
*756 until dawn. For the dance they must kill sufficient goats for all
756 the dancers to eat, accompanying this food with roasted corn. The men and women who would be taking part in the dance ceremony should come painted with annatto [bija], the women could be single or married. Once the dance had finished, at dawn of the second night, the meat of the sacrificed animals was to be piled on a heap of leaves, and the old shaman would come to "shamanize" [piachar] (14) it, spitting her saliva impregnated

> 14. We have found it necessary to use the verb "shamanize" [piachar] to refer to the ceremonies which the shaman [piache] performs during his cures and other functions. Purists of the language will please forgive us.

with the manilla she was chewing on the meat; she would also "shamanize" the novice. Until this had been done the meat could not be eaten by the guests. Those present could then take the meat so prepared, but they must go in a direction when they walked away to eat it opposite to the direction taken by the shaman when she came to perform her ritual ceremonies over it.
[782] The consumption of this meat by the others would be done in honor of the spirits whom the shaman wanted to propitiate at this time.

Similarly, there is little difference between the external cult of the rite of passage of the second case and the previous one. Once the spirit announced that the initiate knew how to invoke it, a fiesta was organized at its request which lasted for three days. For this celebration they sacrificed 20 sheep and a steer, and they
[273] danced the chicha-maya. In addition, they made the already mentioned distribution of chicha and rum to the guests. During these three days of fiesta, the mother — the shaman in this case — continued to instruct the initiate in all matters relating to her future duties. At dawn on the third day the novice graduated.

*756 Final period of preparation: Let us continue with the first case. After the dance with all the accompanying ceremonial was

[16 cont.]

*756 over, the young shaman [17] was secluded for two months in her home. She dedicated this period to practicing chewing tobacco, and the act of invoking the spirits, the way of curing the sick, bringing rainfall, "shamanizing," animals, keeping pestilence away, etc. The maraca and the crown (kiara, in Guajiro) were made by her during this seclusion, although they could have been bought or ordered to be made by others. At the end of this two *756 months' seclusion, it was essential, in order to terminate the 787 young shaman's cycle of initiation into shamanism, to prepare 796 ten containers of corn chicha and to invite many Indians from different sections to be present at the true graduation of the initiate. That night, while the others danced and drank, the young shaman remained practicing her arts. It is common on these occasions for the spirit to approach the aspiring shaman and say, for example: "Go look for an animal of such-and-such characteristics (it describes the desired animal minutely in all its details) and kill it. If you disobey me you will faint, have an attack, and you will never become a shaman." The young initiate then passes on the order to her relatives, who must hasten to look for the animal described by the spirit and sacrifice it. When the celebration has ended, the spirit returns to tell the [301 young girl: "Hang up ten necklaces in your room so that I may 426] come down and help you." (These necklaces must be made of gold beads). The aspiring shaman acquires these necklaces with the help of her relatives and friends, even on loan, and hangs [782] them in her room so that she can "shamanize." The spirit, grateful for her ready obedience and for the offering, approaches her once again and says: "Now you will make a truly good [834] shaman." And it warns her: "Now you may not sleep (cohabit) with your husband."

*756 Exercising the profession. When all these rites and cere- 787 monies preparatory to entering the way of life of the shaman have been complied with, the person chosen, as his protector spirit affirms, may then dedicate himself to that calling. The spirit itself has conferred such power. Better still, it has descended into the novice; it has entered his body to accompany him in every professional act, to communicate the arts indispensable or

[20 cont.]

755 wanurú spirits of the dead, who have arrows similar to those used
[753] by the Indians for hunting, which are shot at individuals to cause
them sickness and pain.) The chant of the shaman is suspended
only while he is sucking the affected parts of the sick person's
body; then he immediately continues it again and returns to the
spitting, the rubbing, and the sucking of the painful areas. The
755 sick person should be confined to his home, and furthermore his
758 bed should be enclosed by curtains in the manner of a second
room within the main one. None may enter this place without
the express consent of the shaman. However, the witch sometimes permits the presence of a relative of the sick person, generally the sister or the wife, who can act as nurse, especially during the moments when the shaman is resting. When he renews his curative acts, they must withdraw again.

755 The songs which the shaman intones tell how his spirit is
753 searching for the soul of the sick man which the spirit of sick-
[533] ness and death has carried away to unknown regions which are
known only to it and to the spirit of the shaman. Often the
sick person's spirit does not let itself be caught by the shaman,
or it can happen that his soul is imprisoned, held by act and
wish of the wanurú, which can cause the shaman a great deal of
work. When through the intervention of his protector spirit he
succeeds in recovering the spirit of the patient, he must pay the
755 wanurú that held it prisoner a ransom for its liberation. This
782 spirit will then ask through the mouth of the shaman for whatever
gifts it may fancy. The shaman on his part transmits the oppressing spirit's demands to the sick man's relatives. These demands take the form of requests for animals — cattle, goats, sheep, etc., — of a certain color and special markings; ornaments of certain sizes and shapes; cloth, food and, at times, things very difficult to find. The sick man's relatives hurry to look everywhere for the requested items, and once found they present them to the shaman and place them, if they are animals, near him where he is "shamanizing." Other objects, such as necklaces, cloth, etc., are placed in his hands. If the orders
*756 are not immediately complied with and in accordance with the
755 slightest detail, the shaman suffers very severe fits and attacks
and has to withdraw from assisting the patient. This is because,

[39 cont.]

177 in the direction of civilization, which [40] powerfully attracts
*756 him. We can almost affirm that if the medical and hygienic services of La Guajira were intensified by the Colombian government, in the course of a few years the shaman would disappear as an institution in the peninsula, and the greater part of the aborigines' magic beliefs, especially with respect to sickness and death, would disappear from the collectivity and would remain only as folkloristic manifestations which recall his presence in times past.

*756 The decadence of this institution can be noted very easily if we look at what Uricoechea says in the introduction to the
558 work already cited: "They always had their shamans, or curers,
177 and diviners to consult and respect. The shamans had their schools in the woods, and they were legislators in addition to being doctors; furthermore, they were the priests and interpreters of observances and beliefs which they, in common with all the inhabitants of America, had." (37) Compare what is

37. Celedón, Rafael. Op. cit., Introduction, p. 20.

said in these paragraphs with all that we have stated, and you will note the enormous decrease in prestige that the shaman has suffered in La Guajira in the space of a few lustrums.

[41] III

Magic and Sacrifice

782 In Guajiro culture we can distinguish four types of sacrifices:

1. Those of a funeral ritual character.
2. Those of a harmful warlike character.
3. Those made to forestall the effects of dreams.
4. Those made to propitiate the protector spirit of the shamans.

[41 cont.]

764 1. The first of these types refers to the custom established
782 among them of sacrificing, during the wake of any member of the community, a number of animals belonging to the dead man (cows, bulls, goats, sheep), the meat of which is divided among those attending the wake along with the corresponding drink, which in these days is rum but in times past was chicha.

The reason given for the sacrificing of animals during a
[767] wake in answer to the question is that this is done in deference to the guests and especially to those whom we could call "professional mourners," who spend all day and all night moaning over the corpse. But on observing certain practices and particularly certain taboos regarding the meat of these sacrificed animals, one has to think rather of the ritual character of the sacrifice.

It is a fact that the relatives — sons, daughters, nephews
262 [and nieces, sabrinos], brothers [and sisters, hermanos] etc. —
764 of the deceased cannot eat the meat of animals sacrificed during
783 the wake or during the later ceremony of secondary burial, as this,
782 according to their belief, would be equivalent to eating their dead kinsman's flesh. This taboo, imposed on the deceased's relatives, serves to prove to us — so far as it is possible to deduce — the ritual aspect of the sacrifice of the dead man's livestock, stock which on being slaughtered takes on the same untouchable or magical quality, which the individual takes on when he disappears from the world of the living and enters the universe of the dead. [42] To put this more plainly, the animals sacrificed are contaminated by their dead owner.

The untouchable quality of the animal sacrificed at the
[765] wake or in the ceremony that accompanies the second burial is supported by the following fact. The belief exists in La
[843 Guajira that if during pregnancy the mother or the father of the
753] future child is present at the exhuming of a corpse, the child is born sickly, suffers from permanent diarrhea and night sweats,
755 and gets more and more pale and progressively thinner. Its
765 illness continues to get worse, and none of the familiar remedies have the desired effect. The parents then resort to the following system of curing (a system which with some variations is also common among the people of the town of Santander). They wait until there is an exhumation ceremony, and then

[44 cont.]

764 him on his journey and which remain his only possessions, since
784 the rest will be distributed among his heirs — take on the quality
778 of untouchables.

782 2. The poisoned arrow. The second sacrifice about which
789 we gathered information has a greater importance than the previous one for two reasons: first, because it is the sacrifice of a human being, and second, because it is linked to a series of ceremonies set in motion to obtain a certain end, the deadly power of the imára, or poisoned arrow, or better said, the magic arrow.

This sacrifice, so far as we could observe, is no longer
101 practiced in La Guajira. According to the information
105 gathered, it was practiced exclusively by the Kusina Indians,
184 inhabitants of the sierra of that name. They were bellicose
782 Indians, warriors, robbers, and animal stealers, who kept the other communities of the peninsula in an incessant state of tension by their attacks and evil-doings. We think it interesting to point out here that these Indians, commonly known as Cocina, according to all the information obtained did not constitute in themselves a separate cultural group. Their language was the same as that of the other Guajiro; their customs were relatively the same, and their physical type identical. Everything seems to indicate that they were no more than social outcasts, all those who, for crimes committed and not paid for in accordance with established laws, had found it necessary to unite themselves into societies outside the law. The question is not entirely clear, and it will be difficult to make it so because Kusina Indians are no longer found in La Guajira.

411 Bows and arrows stood out among the arms used by the Guajiro, (We say "stood" out because now they chiefly use rifles of foreign make). One of these arrows, which they call poisoned, bears the name of imára. The shaft of this arrow is made of a thin piece of wood taken from the tree called parára and measures approximately 80 centimeters in length. At the upper end of this sharpened shaft is placed poison of a ray
411 or the bone of a poisonous serpent. This imára is what the Kusina
648 Indians used as a last resort in their battles with Whites or with
921

[44 cont.]
411 some of the Guajiro communities during their pillaging expedi-
648 tions.
724 The value of the arrow, considered to be infallible,
stemmed from the extremely important fact that its tip was
411 anointed with the blood of a sacrificed child. The arrow took
728 into itself, by magic contamination, the sacred and impure
782 quality of the sacrificial ceremony performed on the child,
[45] a quality of extreme value when one realizes that the
child's own father performed the sacrifice.

The process is as follows: The Kusina, according to the
782 story of our informant, an Indian woman from the Sierra de Jarara
who had heard from her parents a great deal about the customs
of these Indians, with whom the people of the Sierra had had
dealings, were accustomed to take a male child from their own
family. They carried him off to some distant hills situated in
the interior of the Cocina sierra. They took him up a particular
mountain, and on its summit under a pó (a special tree) they
killed him. He was killed in this way: They blocked up his
nostrils and squeezed his throat with their hands, that is, they
strangled him, and with a pointed stone they struck his forehead
several times continuously until blood flowed from it. This
blood, which was exactly what they wished to obtain in the
sacrifice, was not allowed to spill, but was gathered very care-
fully in a very clean utensil. In recent times the blood was col-
lected in an empty tin such as those used for sardines or salmon,
but it is to be supposed that in olden times a special ceramic
container was used. Once the blood had been collected, they
put it to boil in the same utensil in which it had been collected.
Next they put it in another that in modern times was a glass con-
tainer, although in former times it must have been of some other
material, in order to preserve it. This utensil which contained
the boiled blood of the boy was kept in the woods among stones
[593] which they collected for this purpose. The executioner, who was
none other than the boy's father, had prepared beforehand a
[278] quantity of arrows tipped with the poison of a ray, which he later
[458] anointed with the blood and distributed among the rest of the
Kusina natives or the Guajiro in general, in exchange for live-
stock. The price that had to be paid for one of these arrows was

[45 cont.]

782 quite high, which also gives us an idea of their value in the opinion of the Indians since they considered that the fact of their points being impregnated with the blood of the sacrificed child made them both more poisonous and more accurate.

766 The body of the boy, who had to be between four and six years old, was brought by the father to the hamlet after these magic operations were finished and was buried in the clan cemetery. The burial and the death of the child were secrets. Nobody must know about it. We could not discover if the secret nature of the ceremony was due to the fact that the community [682 might punish the murderer, the mother or maternal aunt, or 789] some member of the child's family on the maternal side, collecting the corresponding sum for his death in accord [46] with customary Guajiro law, or if the reason was that secrecy strengthened the malevolent qualities of the poison on the arrows. It is to be presumed that the latter hypothesis is the more acceptable, since the disappearance of the child and the sale of magic arrows by the father would point him out as the author of the sacrifice.

682 In any case we cannot overlook the aspects of blood in 683 the child sacrifice just mentioned. Spilling blood is one of the 826 crimes most severely punished. Blood, according to everything one can deduce, has great value for the natives, as it is considered an integral part of their human personality, even to confounding it, so to speak, with personality itself, as they do in the case of names. Hence, for the same reason, he who voluntarily or involuntarily sheds the blood of another person is stigmatized and becomes an outcast from society. He becomes unclean, and in consequence has to make the corresponding reparation which at the present time is complied with by paying to the offended party or to his family a determined [411] quantity of valuable objects or animals. For this same reason, arrows contaminated with the blood of the child sacrificed by his father have, or ought to have, according to the Guajiro mentality, an incalculable value due to their participation in 411 the sacrifice and spilling of blood, thanks to its presence on 435 their points. Moreover, if we take into account what the 775 dead man means to the Guajiro as a spirit capable of doing harm

[48 cont.]

682 murderer's family after the crime were extremely cruel, as was to be expected given the Guajiro social organization. Their homes were burned down, their sources of water supply demol-
[567] ished, three men and four women were killed, and their children enslaved.

782 The interesting part of the subject we are now dealing with
751 lies in the sacrifice of animals. These apparently serve as
761 substitutes for the individuals whose sentence has been revealed in a dream. They take their place and are sacrificed in their stead. As a death has taken place, the evil spirit which had enslaved the future criminal in order to carry out its determination to harm him is now mollified by this act of propitiation. Moreover, as the animal (the black male goat in this case) shares the qualities of its owner by reason of such ownership, a part of the personality of the person sentenced to be punished in the dream is also sacrificed. The individual thus suffers two processes, death in part through the sacrifice of the animal and participation in the sacrifice by bathing in its blood.

171 Possible vestiges of this native belief still persist in
761 Colombian folklore in some parts of the departments of Antioquia,
825 Boyacá, Nariño, and Santander. There the people hold the be-
538 lief that when a domestic animal dies, especially if it is an animal that has been much loved by the people of the house, it is a sign that some member of the household had been about to die. The sentence of death which lay on that person, according to the explanation given in all cases, was transferred to the animal by a special concession from God, [49] thus avoiding a greater calamity to the family. In Nariño this belief, according to information from the Licentiate Chaves, appears in popular oral literature. There is in reality a story which tells of a recently married couple who felt or knew (we cannot say how) that they would die very shortly. To avoid this, the wife dedicated herself to breeding cuyes (curíes) [conejillo de Indias, a mammal of the order of rodents], which one by one died off; then she hastened to breed chickens, which also successively died; she then devoted herself to dogs, which also died. With the successive deaths of the animals, they were able to elude their own fate and lived happily together for a long time, free

171 [49 cont.]
538 from the menace of death that had weighed on them, and later
761 they were able to raise their domestic animals with greater
825 success than up to then.

000 Propitiation of the shaman's protector spirit. The sacrifice of animals as propitiation or thanksgiving offering to the spirit or spirits that have taken over the protection of the shaman is fully explained in the previous chapter, for which reason we abstain from making further reference to it.

782 Conclusions. We have the following facts regarding the
174 place of such sacrifices within Guajiro social organization: (a) Sacrifice of animals, of two kinds: one of a ritual funeral character and the other as a prevention of the fulfillment of dreams. (b) Human sacrifice, which may now be considered to have disappeared due to various circumstances which have already been described. (c) The first two exist at times in their original form, and at other times as mere survivals disguised in social rather than ritualistic forms, as happens for example in the sacrifice of animals during the secondary burial or the wake in the ceremony of the first burial. (d) But in any case the three show a distinct magic nature. (e) With respect to the sacrifice of animals we may suppose that in ancient times the animal sacrificed must have been a wild one from the forest obtained by hunting, as the Guajiro Indians, the same as all Colombian Indians and American Indians in general, were completely without, or almost without, any domestic animals, which were acquired only after the Conquest when the colonizing Spaniards imported them from the [Iberian] Peninsula to set up their ranches; (f) Based on this same socio-economic fact, we may presuppose quite an appreciable change in the content and form of certain types of ceremony, because the passing from one economy to another, particularly when it is so radical as [50] that of the
782 Guajiro, who changed his character of nomad hunter to that of herdsman and stock grazer, implies a very appreciable transformation in the general social organization. (g) In the sacrifice of children, and in that of animals in order to ward off the evils foreseen in dreams, we have to admit the contaminating effect of spilled blood — a very important taboo in La Guajira — which increases the malevolent effect of the magic

[50 cont.]

782 arrow in the first case and saves a person sentenced to death in a dream through the blood of a sacrificed animal in the second. (h) Furthermore, in the second case we find an apparent substitution of the personality of the individual, or better still, a partial sacrifice of the same on his handing over for sacrifice an animal owned by him. (i) In the sacrifice of animals of a ritual funerary character, we can distinguish the following effects obtained: First the propitiation of the dead man's spirit which, as may be seen in the chapter corresponding to "Magic and Funerals," 769 can be beneficial, neutral, or malicious. This depends on whether all the considerations due to his status are maintained or not, or if all or part of the taboos established in this respect in the course of the social life of the community are violated or not. Second, the confirmation of the belief of a life beyond the tomb as a reflection of the earthly life. The sacrifice, in the sense that the dead animal accompanies its owner into the next life and places him on the same social plane that he occupied in this one among his fellow spirits there, confirms such a belief in the almost material life beyond the grave. [51]

IV

Sickness and Medicine

771 If we take into account the essential characteristics of
813 primitive mentality, we should remember that their world is
181 what we might call metaphysical, since the objects that surround them do not have a real existence as they do not look at them with a truly objective discernment but allow their imagination to be deceived by the strange things around them so that these become supernatural beings, all animated, not in the physical sense of movement but in their capacity to do good or evil, or to intervene in any manner whatever in the lives of men, of other beings, and of the cosmos in general. All that relates to the surroundings of primitive people: rocks, plants, animals, natural phenomena ... , are active beings in the best sense of the word, capable of intervention and worthy of the Indian's respect,

[88 cont.]

755 the child in the warm sand, covering it to the base of its head. There is a decided magic intervention, the effect of which we do not know on the part of the sacrificed animal which, as we have said, shares the contaminating quality of its dead owner.

Other beliefs which confirm what has been stated are the following: The husband of a pregnant woman should never, for any motive whatsoever, dig a grave or assist in the construction of a vault for either a primary or secondary burial ceremony, because in such a case his wife's delivery will not be normal; it will be prolonged with danger both to the mother and the child.

Neither should the mother-to-be watch a burial being placed in a vault because the previously mentioned phenomenon will be repeated: She will have a difficult delivery, through delay in the birth and pain.

Anyone who has touched a man whose death was not due to natural causes must not come near a sick person because if he does the sick man will quickly die. This also applies to those who have helped in an exhumation or taken part in any of the ceremonies called for by the secondary burial. Neither should such a person go near small children because these will, according to Guajiro belief, automatically begin to cry and twist about, the victims of some sickness.

In general terms, the individual who approaches a corpse, who touches it, or who participates directly in the different ceremonies relating to it becomes contaminated. But he does not suffer the consequences of this contamination in his own person, unless it be a pregnant woman; he takes on the role of transmitting agent. He becomes an intermediary, if we can so call him, between the spirit and children, sick people, or pregnant women, which are the three classes of people preferred by the spirits of the dead on whom to practice their malevolent contaminations. In all three cases the weakness of the contaminated person is evident: the sick person, the child in the womb unable to defend itself, and the newborn also incapable of defending itself against the spirit as it shows in contrast to the other members of the community, that is, the adults on whom it depends for its

[106 cont.]

782 424 789 Magic prayers. As a matter of interest we transcribe below without any comment the following statement we recorded: there are a few special prayers only known to certain natives, the verbal formula of which they sell at times to whoever may need it, on the understanding that these prayers will be used in all good faith and belief in their magic power, prayers that serve to cure whatever plagues may occur, and frequently do occur, in the cotton fields.

538 789 755 Magic charms in the oral literature. From the stories we were able to collect among the Guajiro natives relating to their daily life, there is one that has a clear connection with magic charms. It is the one which refers to the struggle of the Indian Kurĩta-Páta, of Jarara, with some Kusina Indians who had come to rob him of his livestock. In this struggle the Jarara Indian was wounded in the thigh, and his cure was effected through a dream in which it was communicated to him that he should swallow a charm (a tuma, "a precious stone") and leave his wife to exchange her for a slave. Kurĩta-Páta obeyed these injunctions and was cured.

We have then a new magic charm which has a medicinal function and which must be added to those we have already noted throughout this chapter. Its magic action is combined with a social act of great importance within the Guajiro community: that of a man leaving his own wife and replacing her with a slave, descending thereby in the social scale, as there is [567] a great difference in status between a free woman and a common slave or bond servant. A new magic object, the tuma, appears as the possessor of supernatural powers capable of warding off those evils that can overpower an individual.

789 Summary and classification. 1) What we have called magic charms [contras mágicas] in this chapter include three classes of known magic objects: fetishes, amulets, and talismans. [107]

2) All these possess in greater or lesser degree a magic power capable of working either good or evil.

3) Their action in the majority of cases can be controlled and directed by their owners, especially in the case of doing ill

[152 cont.]

182 brought about by the family and clan organization; it embraces
789 all the community without distinction and influences and de-
[619] termines it in many of its aspects. [153]

For this reason magic is bound up closely with their regimen for personal security and collective stability in three ways: 1) because it establishes a series of preventative norms aimed at defending the individual and the community from possible evils provoked by the concurrence of natural or supernatural, physical or psychic phenomena; 2) because it possesses adequate methods of treating the evils, which the individuals of the community, by transgressing the cultural patterns, bring upon themselves, thus affecting them in their persons or interests; 3) because it instills the belief in the community that any infraction of the established norms can provoke abnormal happenings which work against their stability.

182 We would say, then, that in the first place the shaman
+756 with his methods of magic is an institution created to maintain, defend, and even restore the regimen of stability to the community and its members as will be seen by the short enumeration of the following facts.

a) Medication for illness to restore the health of the patients.

b) Propitiation of the rains, indispensable for agriculture, the growth and conservation of pastures (the essential factor for stock grazing), and the maintenance of fresh water in the wells and water holes, as much for the use of the members of the community as for the sustenance of the stock.

c) Warding off pestilences and epidemics, both in humans and in animals, directed first to the saving of life among the individuals of the community and second to the defense of their interests represented by the stock — the support of their economy and of their existence.

d) Prevention of the effects of dreams, which within Guajiro mental mechanics correspond to actual realities as revelations of the future, anticipatory announcements of things that are going to happen within the community and which will affect one or
[782] more persons in their social group. This is one of the origins, as we have seen, for the animal sacrifices which have so much importance in the daily lives of these Indians.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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so. One writer says that an old woman from those hills claimed to know how the arrows were poisoned. Otherwise, she said, only the Cusina knew the secret. That seems most doubtful, for the Cusina brigands are neither a class nor a clan which might possess special secrets, but merely a collection of outlawed criminals. There were many indications that they made considerable use of poisoned arrows and that they were firmly convinced of their efficacy. Even if death had been inflicted already by other means, they usually shot their victims with poisoned arrows as well, as an additional safeguard against their escaping. The Cusina and Cojoro Hills belong to the same complex.

The old woman in the Cojoro Hills said that the secret in the Cusina's way of preparing the arrows was a human sacrifice. A small boy was taken to a lonely place, where he was killed and some of his blood taken. This was later cooked and the arrows dipped in it. The old woman's account made this ritual murder even more gruesome, in that it made the boy's father the executioner. Of course, in Guajira a father has quite a different relationship to his children to that we know, being scarcely accounted in the same family, yet even from the Indian point of view, that must seem cruel. It would be different if the child were one who had been captured in war or bought as a slave.

There is no confirmation of the old woman's statement and it may well have been invented. There are many legends about these poisoned arrows. The woman's account does not mean that the arrows were poisoned by means of the sacrifice, merely that their strength was increased. Blood is always a magical element. If such rites really took place, that would surely point to an African influence brought by runaway negro slaves. The old woman's story, however, scarcely explains how the poison contained tetanus germs. Simmons, the traveller to whom she gave that account of what happened, also said that the poisoned arrows, *imard*, were sold by the Cusina, who asked eight *varas*, or ten yards, of cotton cloth for twenty-four. How these tetanus arrows were made remains a mystery that, perhaps, may never be solved.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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several days afterwards, but have to be fed. They also have 767
to keep to a diet for a while, a precaution that, like the
cloaks they are wrapped in while digging up the bones, is to
protect them against spirits.

In the old days the house in which a person died was 768
abandoned. Nowadays that is only done if the person has
been murdered.

I have come across this after-funeral among several 765
Indian tribes farther south, in particular the Motilon in the 171
Andes, neighbours of the Guajiro, and the Indians of the
Llanos plains around the Orinoco. It seems a peculiar
custom to us, but it is a sort of memorial ceremony, a feast
of remembrance devoted to the dead person, who is thus not
forgotten so quickly by the Indians, as is often the case with
us.

The animals killed at a man's funeral are to accompany 764
him into the hereafter and enable him to maintain his posi-
tion there. His immediate relatives must not eat of this meat,
which is all given to the guests, who cook it and feast on it.

Different in character is the sacrifice of some creature, a [751]
black sheep or a brown cow, which the piache recommends [782]
when he has dreamed that someone is in danger of being [787]
murdered. Here the animal is being killed in place of the
threatened man, the goat or cow acting as substitute so that
the human can escape his fate. Presumably, what used to
happen was that the person threatened had to go out and
kill some wild animal, a deer for example. The custom of
slaughtering cattle at a funeral originates from the change in [178]
the Indians' way of life that resulted from their making
cattle-rearing their main occupation. Earlier the dead person
was given other grave-goods to enable him to manage in
the life hereafter, including ornaments and that sort of
thing. In the pre-Columbian era quantities of polished stone
beads and tuma were placed in the graves. Then, when for-
tunes began to be reckoned in cattle and horses, it was
obvious that the dead person must have cattle to accompany
him. To the Guajiro, as to the general run of Indians, there 761
is no such thing as natural death. Were it not for the 776
dangerous world of the spirits and evil enchanters people

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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756 During this period of confinement the novice is always having to chew tobacco, and it is during periods of nicotine-
[776] intoxication that the spirits appear to him. After his first examination the novice is given a diadem and a rattle, *maraca*, as symbols of his new dignity.

The novice's family must now arrange a dance and sacri-
[535] fice sheep or goats. A chichamaya is performed during one or two days and nights. Those taking part are ceremoniously painted. The animals are slaughtered and offered to the spirits who partake of them during the night. After that the dancers can eat. No one, however, may touch the meat till
[782] it has lain, wrapped in leaves, at the spirits' disposition and thereafter been dedicated by the piache, who spits tobacco juice upon it and pronounces spells over it.

The apprenticeship, of course, is not over, and again the novice is shut away from the world. Now comes a period of instruction in the art of chewing tobacco, that is to say, how, where and when that is to be done and what are correct ways to summon spirits, cure illness, make rain, protect cattle, halt epidemics and much more that the medicine man may be called upon to do. The instructing piache transfers his spirit to the apprentice, and exhorts the former not to start by trying to cure adults, but to practise on children. The spirit also forbids erotic association.

After a few months the apprentice will be ready to qualify. Large quantities of maize beer are then prepared and invitations sent out.

756 While the guests are drinking and dancing the novice
787 sits, still isolated, practising. The spirit comes and orders him or her to send for a beast of certain colour and with specific markings, which is to be sacrificed to the spirit. When that has been done, and it must be done, the spirit demands some necklaces of gold beads—any number up to ten—which have to be hung up in the novice's hut. As soon as these have been collected with the help of relatives—often as a loan—the spirit pronounces himself satisfied and informs them that the novice's apprenticeship is over. He or
[833] she can now begin to practise. But, the spirit adds, there

/159 cont./

764 The corpse is lowered into the grave with ropes, with the greatest care taken not to bang it or lower it roughly to the bottom of the grave. This would mean an offense to the dead man, who in some way would show his annoyance at this lack of care, which is in itself an insult; and the relatives would feel considerably offended at the want of respect shown to one who was of their blood and at a time so important to the Guajiro as that of burying a kinsman. It represents, to his way of thinking, an insult almost as great as to refuse to dig his grave, to speak ill of a dead relative, or to pronounce his name.

764 783 The same individual who digs the grave covers it with the excavated earth, doing his work with extreme care. Then he goes to his home where he is submitted for some time to a purification ceremonial. The people who formed the procession return to their homes, after shooting off their firearms while the burial is in progress with the idea of frightening off all evil spirits. In times past they shot arrows repeatedly. Upon return the relatives also go through a purification ceremony, and generally, gathered together, they slaughter an animal for themselves from among those which had not been presented nor had belonged to the deceased.

764 For the dead man they place a supply of food and drink in the grave (his favorite food), and if while alive he liked to get drunk, they place an abundance of liquor. His most valued [514 554] personal utensils, especially his chamber pot, an indication that the owner was of high status, are placed on his grave, as are his cups and dishes, which also give prestige to the dead man.

765 During a more or less lengthy period his closest relatives go frequently to visit his grave, taking with them food which they eat over it, after weeping there for a long time and asking the dead person to join them. On the eighth day after his death it is mandatory /160/ to make such a visit, later, at the end of each lunar month after the occurrence of the death. These visits are made with more frequency when the relatives believe

/160 cont./

765 that they have felt the spirit of the departed, which to them is an indication that they have not complied fully with the funeral ritual or that something was missing from the post-mortem attire or that he lacks some material necessities beyong the grave. For this reason they take him food and drink. Another practice is that any Guajiro -- man or woman -- who passes by the cemetery must enter, above all if he knows there has been a recent burial, and cry a little over the graves, recalling his own troubles and those of his clan. In the period immediately following the burial, the relatives of the dead person light bonfires in his honor during the night in order to illumine the road he must follow until he arrives at his future home, and so that his spirit will not continue to wander, like that of a murderer or a suicide, or become harmful. In Santander del Sur this custom existed in the distant past but nowadays the peasants limit themselves to placing a candle inside the sleeve of the deceased's shroud, so that he may light his path.

765 The Guajiro family remember their relative for a long time. Every sunrise before starting their day's work, they
769 weep for him and the others of their clan group who have died (Cf. Chap. II, Cult of the dead).

When some time has passed after the burial of their relative (four or five months), two women return to his grave, almost secretly, his mother and his most beloved aunt, or his first wife. They reopen the grave until they find the body, raise it halfway up the grave, putting earth inside and then re-covering it. They say the object of this is to avoid the skeleton's being dispersed at such a depth when the exhumation takes place. These two women, after having carried out this
[783] labor, go through a special purification. About two years after death comes the time for exhumation, when all the relatives come together. They send out runners to announce the exhumation. All come to this ceremony in which the slaughter and distribution of animals and of drink is repeated; it takes place in the house of the deceased or in the cemetery itself,

/160 cont./

765 where an enramada /bough-covered shelter/ is erected if the house is too far away. The remains are put into an earthen-
769 ware urn which is placed on a hammock around which they all congregate, also on hammocks, the female friends and relatives weeping over the dead man a second time. A new grave is dug in the clan cemetery, in which his remains are deposited. At the present time it is customary for each small family of means to have a common funerary urn /161/ in which the bone remains of all the immediate consanguineous members are accumulated.

The exhumation of the remains is a labor entrusted to the very close relatives of the dead man who were much attached to him. By this action they are offered a family honor which, like the digging of his grave, is never refused. These individuals, two in number, open up the grave; and one, his body totally covered with a robe and his hands wrapped in a cloth, scratches in the earth to find the bones. As the region is so dry the bodies are marvelously preserved. First of all he brings out the skull with much respect amid the silence of the others gathered around. He cleans it carefully, showing his affection for the deceased in each of these details, and then he passes it to his companion, together with the rest of the bones. This assistant is covered, especially his face, and his work consists in placing the remains in the urn destined before-
[783] hand for such a purpose. These two persons, once having finished their operation, carefully purify themselves and for some time after follow a special diet.

In these exhumation ceremonies, the relatives of the
[262] exhumed person submit to the same dietary proscription of not partaking of the meat of the slaughtered animals, and they receive the sympathy of their relatives and friends, who have come together again for this purpose.

768 A funeral custom still exists but has been weakened in some sectors that are more in contact with whites and the influence of the mission, and that is to abandon the house where the sick man died immediately after the body has been buried,

[33 cont.]

114 We do not wish to question Professor Métraux's statement
117 about the influence of White contact in relation to medicine-
562 women in the other groups cited by him, as we are not objec-
*756 tively acquainted with them. But with regard to the Guajiro, we have to make the clarification that in the descriptions collected by us in the field, it is precisely the woman who really initiates magic, or better said shamanism, among the Indians, when she obliges her nephew to follow her own career. This aspect can be better understood when the reader comes to the section of this chapter entitled "The shaman in oral literature." [174] The fact that women appear as shamans in oral literature demonstrates the antiquity of the institution, as this literature faithfully preserves the most remote traditions of the group.

*756 The shaman, man of two worlds. All that we have seen in connection with the life cycle of the Guajiro shaman makes us think that he is what we have called him in the subtitle that heads these paragraphs: a man of two worlds — the world of the living and the world of the spirits of the dead. [34]

*756 The communication which he establishes after all the
554 preparatory ceremonies with one or several protector spirits who lavish on him every kind of counsel and instruction and even protect him against evil in all its manifestations: illness, enemies, public calamities, etc., make of him a man distinct from all the rest. His status is superior to that of other mortals because in his hands he has power over both good and evil. It is this duality that binds with his science a man who is both sacred and human, a being respected by all but feared at the same time, a good man, able to cure illnesses, but also a malignant being, liable to let loose the fury of the spirits beyond the grave. He is respected, loved, feared, and even, we might dare to say, profoundly hated.

● [783] What predominates in him above all is the characteristic of impurity due to contamination from death. Sacred and impure become confounded in him; he is sacred because he is untouchable, and he is untouchable because of his participation with death through his protector spirits.

*756 His dual position as inhabitant of two worlds, involuntary it is true, depends on two fundamentally simple facts: first, his

[41 cont.]

764 1. The first of these types refers to the custom established
782 among them of sacrificing, during the wake of any member of the community, a number of animals belonging to the dead man (cows, bulls, goats, sheep), the meat of which is divided among those attending the wake along with the corresponding drink, which in these days is rum but in times past was chicha.

The reason given for the sacrificing of animals during a
[767] wake in answer to the question is that this is done in deference to the guests and especially to those whom we could call "professional mourners," who spend all day and all night moaning over the corpse. But on observing certain practices and particularly certain taboos regarding the meat of these sacrificed animals, one has to think rather of the ritual character of the sacrifice.

It is a fact that the relatives — sons, daughters, nephews
262 [and nieces, sabrinos], brothers [and sisters, hermanos] etc. —
764 of the deceased cannot eat the meat of animals sacrificed during
●783 the wake or during the later ceremony of secondary burial, as this,
782 according to their belief, would be equivalent to eating their dead kinsman's flesh. This taboo, imposed on the deceased's relatives, serves to prove to us — so far as it is possible to deduce — the ritual aspect of the sacrifice of the dead man's livestock, stock which on being slaughtered takes on the same untouchable or magical quality, which the individual takes on when he disappears from the world of the living and enters the universe of the dead. [42] To put this more plainly, the animals sacrificed are contaminated by their dead owner.

The untouchable quality of the animal sacrificed at the
[765] wake or in the ceremony that accompanies the second burial is supported by the following fact. The belief exists in La
[843 Guajira that if during pregnancy the mother or the father of the
753] future child is present at the exhuming of a corpse, the child is born sickly, suffers from permanent diarrhea and night sweats,
755 and gets more and more pale and progressively thinner. Its
765 illness continues to get worse, and none of the familiar remedies have the desired effect. The parents then resort to the following system of curing (a system which with some variations is also common among the people of the town of Santander). They wait until there is an exhumation ceremony, and then

[68 cont.]

774 of the soul is uniform, so also the effects of all things are magically related to one another." (46)

46. Born. Fetiche, Amuleto, Talisman [Fetish, Amulet, Talisman], p. 3.

This polydemonism of which Dr. Born writes, or spiritism as we have called it, can be seen more clearly in the life of the Guajiro communities in the chapter which deals with the [764] aspect of funerals. All the ceremonial relating to the dead is filled with this belief [69] in the universal soul and in the survival of a personal soul after death.

755 In the chapter we are dealing with we see it also clearly established, especially in the curative methods followed by the shaman, or medicine man, who seeks the assistance of his protector spirit or spirits to find out the kind of illness the sick man is suffering from and the manner of eradicating it from his body, as well as in certain aspects of household remedies consisting of preventative methods. In no way different are the 764 taboo prohibitions related to the dead, the burials and exhuma- 783 tions in general, animals sacrificed in funeral ceremonial, and 784 persons who have been in contact, directly or indirectly, with the dead by assisting in the burial or exhumation of human remains, in digging graves, in imprudently gazing on the placing of a burial in the grave, etc., all of which contaminate with the essence of the dead, who by his very nature, by the act of having passed to a higher life situated on a plane of superior potentialities to that which he has left, is converted into something dangerous, sacred or impure, as the case may be, and for this reason contaminating.

This contaminating action of the dead also appears in the 751 aspect of medicine since they endeavor to avoid possible harm 775 to children before birth and therefore to pregnant women or those in actual childbirth, because, as we have already seen these are the most likely victims of the malevolent action of spirits. Children especially receive such influences through their parents when they are in the mother's womb and have such poor means of self-defense.

[77 cont.]

762 inflicted on the objects which were the principal active agents
768 in carrying out his fatal determination. As the form of suicide
672 that is practiced in La Guajira is almost exclusively that of hanging, they proceed to burn the branch on which the individual hanged himself and the rope which he used, because, they say, these were the direct causes of his death.

With respect to the punishment carried out on the objects
682 (inanimate to us) which served for the carrying out of suicide,
672 several suggestions may be made. In one case, the "compensation payment for blood" may be recalled, the established customary law of this community by means of which whatever spilling of blood that may be caused in any person, voluntary or involuntary, directly or indirectly, has to be paid for in accord-
[692] ance with a valuation decreed by the so-called "arbitrators," or "palabras," who are nothing more than intermediaries named by the family groups affected to settle the affair peacefully. This payment is considerable when the blood spilling ends in the victim's death. Should the murderer refuse to pay the sum ar-
682 ranged for (whether in livestock, necklaces, precious stones,
628 etc.), then the members of the victim's family group take vengeance on him personally and kill him. All this naturally ends in war to the death, or putchi, between the two extended family groups, an occurrence which is extremely frequent in La
682 Guajira. Hence as "compensation payment for blood" cannot
762 be claimed, from these objects (the tree and the rope), they are
672 punished in default by destruction by fire. This hypothesis is reinforced, if we remember that to the Guajiro Indian, as well as
[774] to most primitives, objects — which to us are not alive — are
[778] able to exercise both good and bad influences on the individual (Cf. "Sickness and Medicine" and "Amulets, Fetishes, Talismans"), because they possess a spirit — a kind of mana, or immaterial force, which surrounds and animates everything.

Another suggestion that could be made with respect to the
762 destruction of the objects used by a suicide is the following: As
783 these articles were in direct contact with the dead man, and particularly with a corpse as dangerous as a suicide is, it is necessary that they be destroyed so that the contamination

762 [77 cont.]
783 should not be transmitted to the persons who for any circumstance may approach or touch them.

The wickedness of the spirit of the suicide, in any event,
762 is seen to be reaffirmed by another Guajiro belief, which is that
769 of not daring to pass at [78] night by the place where an Indian
775 may have hanged himself because his spirit wanders continually around the place, and being malignant it will certainly pursue and chase after one in the form of a great flame or some other shape.

775 As we proceed to set down the present data relating to the participation of the dead in the lives of the Guajiro community, we shall refer to those related to the spirits of suicides with the idea of obtaining greater objectivity in our statements.

Presence and life of the dead. The spirit of the dead, known usually by the name wanurú and at other times as yoruja, on being separated from its body wanders about the world. Although it no longer has any tangible relationship with terrestial things, it is still dangerous. Usually it takes refuge in lonely and isolated places such as in some cemeteries, in the crevices formed by sea erosion in Cabo de la Vela, or in the solitudes of the Emejuy forest. But it appears that in addition to these places frequented by the spirits of the dead, there is one undetermined special place far away from La Guajira. It is customary when a
764 woman has died to cover her face with paipai (a paint for the
775 face) before wrapping her in her shroud and placing her in her coffin ready for burial. The explanation for this is that she is going on a long journey, a very long journey, and the sun to which she will be exposed will be very strong and harmful to her face. For this reason, according to Guajiro custom, they must try to protect the skin of her face from the sun's action by the use of this face paint. Also she is going to pay a visit, and it is indispensable that a woman should have her face painted when visiting friends or relatives (55).

751 55. The Guajiro woman, every time she is exposed to the sun's rays, protects her face with paipai powder (color of burnt sienna)

[82 cont.]

775 formalities agreed upon with the victim's family, find that it imposes on them a sort of punishment, a rhythm of life totally different from that to which they were normally accustomed and which can be interpreted in two ways: (a) as a purification rite; (b) as a change of personality, in order to avoid the mortifying presence of the spirit face to face with the murderer. [83] To us the second interpretation appears clearer and more acceptable as we do not know of any other rites of purification in La Guajira which can show reason for the first assumption.

682 783 A repentant murderer, according to the statement collected by our colleague and expedition companion, Licentiate Milciades Chaves Ch., is punished by his own will as well as by the decision of his family through norms imposed by his uncles and aunts. He voluntarily submits to them so as not to commit a second time the same delict which constituted his own ruin and that of his family, who like himself are liable to become victims of the retaliation of the murdered man's relatives in revenge for the murder. This punishment is executed in the following way:

1) The murderer must spend five or six days hiding in the selva or some distant mountain.

[262] 2) He must take no solid food. He is only allowed to take hot drinks or very thin mazamorro (corn chicha), and water.

3) He must not speak to anyone and must be on the alert all the time, with his rifle ready to defend himself from his enemies.

4) He must disguise himself: cut his hair, wear special belts and fringes, and wear a robe, black in color. (This robe is so small and short that it barely covers the top part of his body.)

[513] 5) In the forest he must sleep on the ground at night. Above all, he should not sleep face upward because the soul of [975] his victim may climb into his mouth and press on his chest, even to the extent of killing him by asphyxia. He may only return to his home for a short time to rest in a hammock, but this must be so small that he cannot lie comfortably on it, and due to this inconvenience he is unable to sleep for long.

6) He must eat and sleep very little and be continually [231] alert, having for his only companion a dog, whose senses will warn him of the approach of danger

682 783 [83 cont.]
warn him of the approach of danger.

7) He must abstain from all business and renounce friendships for some years, avoid social gatherings, especially those of a festive or drinking type.

8) In the case that the two family groups — that of the murderer and that of his victim — do not come to an agreement he, the murderer, must leave the country of his own free will and go to some distant place.

If the murderer should not comply with the requisites indicated, he can be certain that the spirit of his victim will deliver him defenseless into [84] the hands of his enemies, who will immediately kill him to satisfy their vengeance.

We can clearly see two essential things that stand out from these facts: (a) that the murderer, by the social crime he has committed, places himself automatically in the condition of an outcast, one impure, or more correctly, a contaminated, dangerous being. For this reason he becomes an individual who [614] must be set apart from the community. (b) The murderer's family, at the same time that it provides him with the means for going away, carrying out one of its main functions, mutual assistance among its members, takes care that the outcast does not fall an easy prey to his victim's spirit. His retirement from his habitual haunts, from his acquaintances, and particularly 682 785 from his own relatives; his disguise by cutting his hair and wearing certain articles of clothing; his not sleeping in a hammock; his avoiding his face being seen (sleeping face down); his not mixing with friends in business and in social gatherings; and finally, his going away a long distance from his clan, all demonstrate clearly to us that what the murderer is endeavoring to do — consciously or unconsciously — is to effect a total change of personality, we should almost say that he tries to convert himself into another hypothetical person, unrecognizable especially to the spirit of the person he has killed, to avoid its discovering him and taking its revenge on his body.

The clearest demonstration that the change of personality is made to mislead the murdered man is the fact that only when it is found impossible to reach an agreement between the two

[88 cont.]

755 the child in the warm sand, covering it to the base of its head. There is a decided magic intervention, the effect of which we 782 do not know on the part of the sacrificed animal which, as we 825 have said, shares the contaminating quality of its dead owner.

Other beliefs which confirm what has been stated are the 843 following: The husband of a pregnant woman should never, for 845 any motive whatsoever, dig a grave or assist in the construction of a vault for either a primary or secondary burial ceremony, because in such a case his wife's delivery will not be normal; it will be prolonged with danger both to the mother and the child.

Neither should the mother-to-be watch a burial being placed in a vault because the previously mentioned phenomenon will be repeated: She will have a difficult delivery, through delay in the birth and pain.

783 Anyone who has touched a man whose death was not due 753 to natural causes must not come near a sick person because if 764 he does the sick man will quickly die: This also applies to those who have helped in an exhumation or taken part in any of the ceremonies called for by the secondary burial. Neither should such a person go near small children because these will, according to Guajiro belief, automatically begin to cry and twist about, the victims of some sickness.

In general terms, the individual who approaches a corpse, who touches it, or who participates directly in the different ceremonies relating to it becomes contaminated. But he does not suffer the consequences of this contamination in his own person, unless it be a pregnant woman; he takes on the role of transmitting agent. He becomes an intermediary, if we can so call him, between the spirit and children, sick people, or pregnant women, which are the three classes of people preferred by the spirits of the dead on whom to practice their malevolent contaminations. In all three cases the weakness of the contaminated person is evident: the sick person, the child in the womb unable to defend itself, and the newborn also incapable of defending itself against the spirit as it shows in contrast to the other members of the community, that is, the adults on whom it depends for its

[88 cont.]

753 subsistence and in general for every aspect of its life.

764 The relation spirit-sickness-death, which we have re-
783 ferred to in previous sections, is corroborated by this class of beings exposed to the harmful influence of the spirits almost in the same sense as that in which science regards sickness, i.e., the greater the weakness the greater the possibility of contamination from pathogenic germs. In short, [89] death occurs more frequently among old people and children than among adults. It is only that pathogenic germs, or the various causes of sickness among the Guajiro, are reduced, due to their mentality and in the majority of cases, to one cause only, wanurú, the spirit of sickness and death.

[p. 90 is blank]

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[91] VI

Magic Charms
(Fetishes, Amulets, and Talismans)

789 As these three terms, fetish, amulet, and talisman generally lend themselves to confusion, we wish to clarify the meaning of each one before we proceed further with the subject.

Amulet "indicates an object that possesses the magic, passive quality of defending the wearer from malignant influences..." (56)

56. Castiglioni. Op. cit., VI, 87.

Fetish derives from the Portuguese feitiço, corresponding to the Latin word facticius ("made by hand"), and at first was used to describe Christian amulets, but was used by navigators in the fifteenth century to describe the primitively carved wood and stone which were worshiped as bearers of magic forces by the Negroes of West Africa. The fetish "is an efficacious charm whose supposed action is guided by the wish of its owner." (57)

57. Born. Op. cit., 2-3.

1:Gutierrez de Pineda--6 E-5 (1947) 1950 SC13 Goajiro SC13

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1. Pineda Giraldo, Roberto.
Aspectos de la magia en la Guajira
/Aspects of Magic in La Guajira/,
Revista del Instituto Etnológico
Nac., Vol. III, No. 1, 1947.
Bogotá, 1950.

843 For example, the mother must not eat food that has been tasted
734 by an animal, for if she does her child will develop stomach trouble and will perform its natural functions in the manner of that animal; neither the man nor the woman should watch a snake in its hole nor should the man kill it, because if he does the mother's labor will be long and difficult. The mother-to-be should never attend a primary or secondary burial nor the man dig a grave, as this also may bring on a long and difficult delivery in addition to the child's suffering serious illness, etc.

843 During the period of pregnancy, the husband avoids irritating his wife and satisfies her wishes or desires, because otherwise his child may be born, for example, with a marked expression of anxiety on his face. However much she should contradict him, he should not make use of his authority or beat her, in deference to her condition and also because such conduct would bring grave consequence, for should the wife lose her child through ill-treatment, the responsibility would fall on him and his assets, and he would have to make payment to his wife in compensation for the injury caused. However, there are Guajiro who beat their wives when they are with child, when they know them to be of such low social standing that their relatives will not have sufficient power to assert their rights.

The Guajiro believes that certain actions which influence the psyche of the pregnant woman will have a physical repercussion on the coming infant. This is one of the reasons why the husband takes care to safeguard his wife and please her, avoiding causing her annoyance, scolding her, or ill-treating her. However, among these beliefs there are some which serve to solve satisfactorily certain problems which may arise from the breaking

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843 They are normal although extremely small and undernourished. As the months pass, such an infant gradually recovers from the prenatal treatment and toward the end of the third year reaches normal size and acquires the usual physical characteristics of a child of ordinary type.

The Guajiro mother does not like to adopt this treatment, but she will make use of it when in previous cases she has had a difficult delivery. She is proud of the large size and robustness of her children, and it is a cause of pleasure to her when they are admired. It is more usual for her to employ another group [262] of practices, dietetic ones, such as those which advise abstaining from eating cheese, butter at meals, or fat meat, adding milk to corn mazamorra, and drinking large quantities of water daily before eating, during the entire pregnancy, in order to prevent the too active growth of the fetus and to have, as a result, a less difficult delivery.

The practices we have been describing are also recommended to keep the woman from developing to an exaggerated size which would hinder her movements both in carrying out her domestic duties and in the long distances she has to walk.

843 During the final months of pregnancy, she abstains from sexual relations, both by her own wish and that of her husband, ●784 in the belief that /7/ they would cause the child to be born [834] sickly and the delivery to be prolonged, possibilities which are their main concern and the avoidance of which justifies the practice of any treatment that prevents them. Also, during the final months of her pregnancy, the woman is prohibited, within practical limits, from lifting heavy things, carrying water from wells and loads of seeds, carting firewood, or loading burros. But only women of outstanding economic position who have female bond servants and slaves to carry out such chores are able to observe these precautions. It is not rare, therefore, to find that the Guajiro woman is obliged to do her daily work to the detriment of her condition, for after one of these exertions, a woman is liable to suffer an immediate miscarriage.

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881 will mean serious troubles for her family, since the noncompliance with social norms will bring the consequences of her illegal behavior on the family group. In addition she will be lacking in responsibility and will perform badly her role as sister, wife, and mother, just the functions for which she is preparing, and these two factors weigh very much in the life of the Guajiro woman as a member of society. The charms properly applied so that they transmit their power will assure her married happiness: She will not find herself exposed to the problems of polygamy, which imply lack of affection and ill-treatment from the man who buys her for his wife, and in this way she will have the longed-for predominance over him and over the co-wives, who in consequence will take a secondary place by the force of her personality.

Once inside the hammock she must not move nor change 881 her original position, because it is believed that /should she 784 do so/, on being brought down later, she will have one leg longer than the other. Neither may she scratch any part of her body because that will leave visible scars. This matter is very important as the ceremony of the seclusion transforms her physically from a girl to a woman, wholly bound to the canon of beauty held by her group, an aspect, which like the others will also greatly affect her adult life. One must also take into account that in La Guajira a physical defect has [826 a powerful influence on the individual and to mention it is 578] equivalent to an insult which will give rise to resentment on the part of the adult and could bring sinister consequences upon the offender.

Neither should the initiate spit on the floor, because by doing so her honor will be slandered in her unmarried life as well as later after marriage, as they would say of her, judging by appearances or through unfounded malevolence, that she had dealings with a man. They will say she is a "madcap" /cabeza-loco/, a nickname they give to a woman of easy virtue and which causes discord between men and women and which will deeply affect her legitimate hopes for marriage.

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881 While the girl is in the hammock, friends and relatives keep arriving in large numbers, announced by the family, es-
292 pecially when welcoming well-to-do people, and then they start preparations for the feast: preparation of beverages and slaughtering of animals. All the consanguineous relatives contribute their share and foregather to join in what is called the chichamaya dance, during which are passed around large quantities of rum for the men, chicha for the women, and meat for all the participants. The guests turn up dressed in their best dress-up clothes: the men with their wide festival belts, their finest robes, their headbands (kiára) with the crest of feathers, or lacking such, hats adorned with feathers. The women /wear/ robes of brilliant colors, plenty of jewelry, very long shawls which hang down their backs nearly to the ground, sandals with large, brightly colored tassels, and, above all, facial painting, [302] preferably red, very carefully applied. On these occasions they dance through the night, the following morning, and the afternoon, and in this latter part of the day they may hold horse races on which large bets are wagered.

881 When the prescribed number of days are over, during which the girl has not satisfied any of her body needs, not
784 having taken any food during that time, according to what they say, her relatives unsling the hammock in the early hours of dawn and the girl descends, faint with hunger. The first food she receives is a drink of bija /achiote/ dissolved in water. Presently, little by little, they add to her diet thin corn mazamorra without milk or salt, and later a little milk and meat. She must not, for example, eat any animal udder, be [262] cause by doing so she would age prematurely and her face would be lined with wrinkles, deep and numerous, like that food.

881 The girl is bathed with four earthen jugs of water which have been previously left exposed to the evening dew, as this
832 gives it a special quality for whitening, which is important for the high appreciation both men and women have for a

/55 cont./

881 Also, she has to acquire full knowledge of domestic duties: how to prepare special dishes as well as the ordinary ones; the norms of hospitality toward her friends and those of her husband, and toward him especially; what in her married life she is allowed to do; the consequences of her conduct in married life; /56/ the problems of polygamy and the way to face them; her role as administrator of the home; feminine life as such; the sexual act; notions on fertility, pregnancy, and prohibitons when in this condition; legal obligations that her husband should comply with; giving birth; diet, etc; her role within the family as intermediary-regulator of relations between her people on the one hand and the husband and his relatives on the other, her co-wives and the children of these if they live a life in common, etc. She likewise learns the past history of her group with all its eminent members and their deeds, its economic position, its status, etc., all of which will show her how to identify herself with them and acquire the affectionate contacts which the consanguineous tie imposes.

881 784 A special condition during her seclusion is the isolation of the girl from all the male members of the house and from those who come to visit. She is not allowed to see them or to be visited by them. No man is permitted to enter her room so that it is redundant to state that she is prohibited from all sexual relations. So much is this so that it has occurred (in areas where there is little or no contact with whites, where the poor Indian woman is at the mercy of the abuses of the rich) that girls during their seclusion have been violated by a powerful Indian, and her parents have terminated the seclusion and made the man pay (if they can muster enough backing) for the abuse committed but not for the possible pregnancy, as they do not believe that this will happen if the girl has been properly cared for. If a man should enter her temporary lodging, she is expected to hide herself and not look at him.

Lastly, she must observe the custom of speaking softly to the woman who is caring for her and to her female visitors, and of speaking little and not laughing stridently.

[43 cont.]

755 of the same – the bone which is left to dry and then cooked –
764 which also participates in its power, because in the primitive
778 mentality the part is accepted as the whole, or at least shares in the power of the whole, even at a distance.

556 Another meaning that the sacrifice of animals has is that related to the status of the individual in his other life. One of
436 the points of reference of status in La Guajira is wealth, which
437 is nearly always equivalent to the possession of a larger or lesser number of heads of livestock. Livestock represents, in certain aspects, Guajiro currency, since interchanges, blood payments, etc., are always based on a definite number of heads of livestock, besides of course necklaces of tuma, gold, etc.

556 Naturally, if an individual occupies a certain social position in life, it is logical that when he goes to the other life, to
764 the world of the dead, he occupies an identical position or tries
775 to better the one he had in life. This, then, is one of the reasons why certain of his possessions are placed near or in his tomb, and to complete his "equipment" for the next world, a number of animals are sacrificed, the higher his position in society the greater the number, so that these may give him the desired social position in the world of the spirits.

764 The association, then, is easy to establish: If the individ-
775 ual in dying passes to a new life similar to the one he led on earth, then the animal, a living being with a soul like the man,
825 on dying must also pass on to occupy a place in the other world. This, of course, is only our own supposition. But we find no other explanation of the Guajiro statement that the animals should be sacrificed so that they can accompany their owner to the other world and give him an advantageous position among the other spirits.

764 The sacrifice implies above all an act of magic. The fact
● 784 that the dead man's close relatives must not eat the meat of the
778 sacrificed animals, because it would be like eating the flesh of their relative himself, establishes the relation between the owner and his property in the sense that the latter shares his personality. And as the dead man is sacred, or at least taboo, that is, sacred in the sense of being untouchable, so also are the things that he owned; the animals – which are [44] to accompany

[44 cont.]

764 him on his journey and which remain his only possessions, since
784 the rest will be distributed among his heirs — take on the quality
778 of untouchables.

782 2. The poisoned arrow. The second sacrifice about which
789 we gathered information has a greater importance than the previous one for two reasons: first, because it is the sacrifice of a human being, and second, because it is linked to a series of ceremonies set in motion to obtain a certain end, the deadly power of the imára, or poisoned arrow, or better said, the magic arrow.

This sacrifice, so far as we could observe, is no longer
101 practiced in La Guajira. According to the information
105 gathered, it was practiced exclusively by the Kusina Indians,
184 inhabitants of the sierra of that name. They were bellicose
782 Indians, warriors, robbers, and animal stealers, who kept the other communities of the peninsula in an incessant state of tension by their attacks and evil-doings. We think it interesting to point out here that these Indians, commonly known as Cocina, according to all the information obtained did not constitute in themselves a separate cultural group. Their language was the same as that of the other Guajiro; their customs were relatively the same, and their physical type identical. Everything seems to indicate that they were no more than social outcasts, all those who, for crimes committed and not paid for in accordance with established laws, had found it necessary to unite themselves into societies outside the law. The question is not entirely clear, and it will be difficult to make it so because Kusina Indians are no longer found in La Guajira.

411 Bows and arrows stood out among the arms used by the Guajiro, (We say "stood" out because now they chiefly use rifles of foreign make). One of these arrows, which they call poisoned, bears the name of imára. The shaft of this arrow is made of a thin piece of wood taken from the tree called parára and measures approximately 80 centimeters in length. At the upper end of this sharpened shaft is placed poison of a ray
411 or the bone of a poisonous serpent. This imára is what the Kusina
648 Indians used as a last resort in their battles with Whites or with
921

[59 cont.]

843 845 A pregnant woman should never be present at or watch a burial, for if she does so, she will have a difficult childbirth: the infant's arrival will be delayed in a manner both painful and difficult for the mother.

755 758 784 Anyone who may have touched the corpse of a person whose death has not been natural — who has been murdered, for example — is prohibited from approaching the side of one who is sick, because this individual will die because of his presence. This prohibition is also extended to those who have directly assisted in the exhumation of human remains. Furthermore, both of these persons are strictly forbidden to come near [753] children [60] or places where they may be, because their presence, contaminated by the nature of the dead, will cause the children to fall ill.

843 825 Serpents also have magic influence on pregnant women. In this case it is not an influence destined to injure the unborn child but is directed against the mother herself, who feels in various ways in her own flesh the malignant action of the reptile. For instance, if a woman during her term of pregnancy sees a hunting snake [culebra cazadora] and remains looking at it for some time, her child will be born stupid. The explanation that the Indians give for this very generally accepted belief is that as this snake gives the impression of being stupid, because it does not attack people as other snakes do and does them no harm but confines itself to hunting young birds for food, it transmits this quality to the infant. A mother who encounters such a reptile should pretend not to have seen it and automatically look elsewhere.

825 843 845 If during this same period the mother-to-be should see any kind of snake (other than a hunting snake) she will suffer a miscarriage or some kind of painful mishap related to the delivery. To avoid these possible ills, the woman should try to step over the snake. If in spite of this difficulties in childbirth occur, then they resort to a curing method which consists in finding a similar snake, killing it, opening it up carefully, and localizing in the interior of its intestines the water that it has drunk, collecting this and taking it to the sick woman, so that after she has drunk it, her labor will be hastened and will then occur without any serious complications.

[68 cont.]

774 of the soul is uniform, so also the effects of all things are magically related to one another." (46)

46. Born. Fetiche, Amuleto, Talisman [Fetish, Amulet, Talisman], p. 3.

This polydemonism of which Dr. Born writes, or spiritism as we have called it, can be seen more clearly in the life of the Guajiro communities in the chapter which deals with the [764] aspect of funerals. All the ceremonial relating to the dead is filled with this belief [69] in the universal soul and in the survival of a personal soul after death.

755 In the chapter we are dealing with we see it also clearly established, especially in the curative methods followed by the shaman, or medicine man, who seeks the assistance of his protector spirit or spirits to find out the kind of illness the sick man is suffering from and the manner of eradicating it from his body, as well as in certain aspects of household remedies consisting of preventative methods. In no way different are the 764 taboo prohibitions related to the dead, the burials and exhuma- 783 tions in general, animals sacrificed in funeral ceremonial, and 784 persons who have been in contact, directly or indirectly, with the dead by assisting in the burial or exhumation of human remains, in digging graves, in imprudently gazing on the placing of a burial in the grave, etc., all of which contaminate with the essence of the dead, who by his very nature, by the act of having passed to a higher life situated on a plane of superior potentialities to that which he has left, is converted into something dangerous, sacred or impure, as the case may be, and for this reason contaminating.

This contaminating action of the dead also appears in the 751 aspect of medicine since they endeavor to avoid possible harm 775 to children before birth and therefore to pregnant women or those in actual childbirth, because, as we have already seen these are the most likely victims of the malevolent action of spirits. Children especially receive such influences through their parents when they are in the mother's womb and have such poor means of self-defense.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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778 Christian now and intended to have done with such things,
832 and the Father had said that it was better to turn to a saint. And, of course, I was asked to say nothing about the transaction—that was always done in such cases.

I, of course, was keen to do business.

[784] 'But remember now not to eat roast meat or maize, nothing that has been in direct contact with fire. Otherwise you may fare badly.'

One has to observe certain rules of diet and behaviour when using a cóntra, but not so long as it lies idle.

The little pouch with the love specific thus passed into my possession, and I gave it our photographer to keep in the pocket of his camera case, as I had done with other small objects.

After we returned to the mission I told Francisco of my acquisition. He did not seem at all surprised, so evidently he and the young Indian had been in touch before the offer was made. I also told Francisco that Gladtvet was looking after the talisman, and he nodded understandingly. Gladtvet had no wife with him and no doubt would like to captivate a nice young girl, if one came his way.

574 Our host, whom Francisco told me would one day be a
778 chief, asked us to stay the night. He was of course prepared
832 to place a slave at the disposal of the solitary white man as hospitality required, but, he added, the prettiest girl in the
[567] house was a debtor-slave, whom he could not order, so the white man would have to charm her, if he wished to have her. It would be a good opportunity to try the talisman I had just acquired. Francisco said afterwards that it would not have been a reliable test of the talisman's efficacy, since undoubtedly the girl would have been very easily conquered by a large silver coin. Altogether, he considered, it would have been more practical for me to have bought a slave for Gladtvet than that expensive love charm, since, as he pointed out, slaves were cheap now, at the height of the dry season, owing to the shortage of food.

It was no use trying to explain to Francisco that this magic talisman, like all the other things I had bought from the Indians, was to go into a museum. He would merely

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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778 Francisco and I had several talks about the love cóntra.
832 He pointed out that it was important for the man or woman wishing to use such a talisman to powder certain parts of his or her body with red achiate powder. He gave me detailed instructions which I wrote down, as Francisco thought, in order to instruct Gladtvet, so that he should be ready, if he discovered a suitable object.

The women have love charms as well as the men. With a really effective one a woman can make sure of her husband's love for ever, or win back the love she has lost. When she intends to use such means, she must keep indoors and diet
[784] for four days and nights, not expose herself to the sun nor see another woman's face, and she must avoid all milk and anything roasted. She must bath indoors and powder herself. There is a talisman which the wise women of the Jarará Hills manufacture, a stuff of herbs wrapped in a piece of cloth, which prevents a husband from taking another woman.

778 Sometimes a woman will make a man fall in love with her
832 as an act of revenge. To do this she must get hold of one of
754 his old sandals or something he has worn. This she burns and resultant cóntra is introduced into the man's clothes or belongings. This often ends in the man becoming mad. A man can also avenge himself by making a girl fall in love with him, if he can manage to get some of her hair clippings. For that reason women hide these most carefully all their lives.

An Indian, when greatly attracted by a girl, will often
778 make the greatest sacrifices and undergo all sorts of diffi-
832 culties to get her. Having succeeded, he will often go off quite soon with his herds to some other part of the peninsula. After that he is not heard of again, and his wife is left to support herself as best she can. That shows that she had attracted him by means of a cóntra which had been very effective, but that she had then been incautious enough to let it go from her, or it may have lost its power.

There are cóntras for other things than love, e.g., for luck in hunting and in war, to acquire wealth and reputation and to protect oneself against certain spirts or dangers.

8;Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

586 minus an amount considered equivalent for the sexual right he had exer-
[845 cised. If a woman dies in her first childbirth the husband may demand
583 the full return of the bride price (Simons, 1885, p. 792, however, states that the wife's relatives demand compensation from the husband).
586 Adultery entails divorce with full return of the bride price. It rarely
837 occurs, however, as the wife will be treated badly by her own relatives. At his death a man's wives are inherited by his brother, and next by his
587 sister's sons; the women may avoid this by making a payment equivalent
768 to their bride price. If he is of the Catholic faith his children may claim
184 to be his legal heirs, which leads to conflict with the maternal nephews. (See Social Organization, p. 374.)

562 The influence of women in political affairs is sometimes noticeable.
622 There are cases of female chiefs, and women are respected enough so as to be able to intervene and stop brawls.

764 **Death.**—Funerals are accompanied by festivities which last days or even
[858 weeks, according to the wealth of the family. There are some differences
88 in the funeral ceremonies which are apparently associated with the particular sibs. These funeral feasts afford the best opportunity for display of wealth, and more than 1,000 head of livestock may be butchered. Every mourner who comes to the feast contributes animals for slaughter and continues to do so as long as he cares to remain. After the mourning period, marked by weeping and lamenting interspersed with drinking and feasting, the corpse, which has lain in a hammock slung from the rafters,
[788 is sewn up in hides by the women (men may not touch a dead body) and carried to the cemetery of the tribe. For a year or so, the body may be temporarily consigned to a shallow grave marked by a pile of stones. Food and drink are often placed in the grave, and, if the deceased had been a warrior, his bows and arrows are put in. A year or two later the bones
764 are exhumed and reburied in a large urn. The exhumation is generally
765 done at night and is accompanied by a feast. The remains are carried in a funeral procession to the dead person's birthplace, where they are buried in the family's own cemetery. The funeral urn is placed in a vertical position with the narrow neck of the jar protruding above ground to permit the free entry and exit of the spirit and to allow the remains of other members of the family to be added from time to time. A cactus hedge surrounds the cemetery, and in wet weather half a calabash is placed over the opening of each jar to keep out the rain. Whenever two relatives of a recently deceased person meet, they bow to the ground, shouting and groaning, for several minutes. (For a slightly different account of the burial of a rich man, see Simons, 1885, p. 792.)

751 If a person is stricken with smallpox the whole tribe moves away, only
766 the family of the sick person remaining. When the death occurs they bury the body below the floor and burn the hut over the grave.

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[12 cont.]

[Shamanism Among the Indians of Tropical South America], I, p. 203.

Apinagé [Apinaye] shamans are designated "by the soul of some close relative who puts them in communication with the world of the spirits, from whom they obtain their medical science." (5)

5. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 203.

Hubert and Mauss, referring to this same matter, state the following: "Magic virtue is acquired by revelation in the majority of Australian tribes. Normally, this revelation is produced in the course of a dream or in an ecstatic or semiecstatic state. This revelation is generally the work of spirits, spirits of the dead, pure spirits, and probably very frequently the work of spirits less clearly classified, whose qualities are not defined and whose mythical figure floats between the shades of mankind, the animal, and the divinity of nature (6)." And with respect to revelation

6. Origen de los poderes mágicos en las sociedades australianas [Origin of Magic Powers in Australian Societies] by Hubert and Mauss, III, 235.

they tell us again: "It is possible and even probable that the theme of the revelation by the spirits of the dead is at least confounded in one and the same complex myth with the theme of the revelation by pure spirits." (7)

7. Ibid. [13]

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2) This spirit reveals its presence by means of a sudden illness, as we have just seen in previously mentioned incidents, or by other variable symptoms, but they are usually actual hysterical attacks, in which the spirit manifests itself by strong convulsions and by loss of consciousness to signify it has entered into possession of the person destined to become a shaman.

[123 cont.]

796 aspects: 1) it shows ability in theatrical representations; 2) dancing, such as we have described in previous paragraphs, accompanied by songs; 3) a very interesting sexual aspect, in which the cultural patterns which govern Guajiro society are [786] broken, permitting the possibility of a certain sexual freedom without the consequences attached to such in normal times. We will begin with this last aspect, leaving for later a discussion of what their songs, plays, or drama really are.

Sexual aspect. a) The man, when the moment for dancing 796 arrives, takes a partner who usually accompanies him on every 786 evening of the dance. When they end by liking each other, as a result of dancing together, the couples leave the dancing group and withdraw to the forest to satisfy their sexual desires.

In normal times in the community this act would lead to 684 outbreaks of fighting in which the clans of the two participants 628 would clash. The man would be summoned and would be under an obligation to pay a large sum for the harm done and a further sum for the dangers and pains of childbirth in case of pregnancy; or he would find himself obliged to buy the woman for wife in reparation for the fault he had committed. In case he failed to comply with one of these requirements, vengeance and war would follow. But none of this happens during this time of fiesta. 796 If a man who has been with a woman during these nights of 786 dancing (which can go on for three or four months) cares to take her as his wife, he must pay for her the price arranged with her relatives, but if he does not want to do this, his total obligation [431] is limited to a present of a robe. She on her part will give him a similar gift or simply a belt for his loincloth. Afterward they do not meet each other except on casual occasions.

Furthermore, if, owing to intimacies during the dance between unmarried couples, a child should be born, the father has [848] no responsibility toward it or to the girl's relatives. The child is accepted by the girl's family; it is not looked down on, and it participates under conditions of equality with the legitimate heirs in all the duties and rights of the other members of the family group.

[127 cont.]
314 representation of the re-creation of the universe, the resurgence of nature that changes and disappears, to reappear later.

796 In large part, this could explain the whole of the fiesta. In reality what in La Guajira is being celebrated under the name 821 of the Dance of the Kid is nothing but a true re-creation of the world of the natives of those barren plains. With the arrival of the rains the sea of sand is converted into a green world, the dry beds of the streams become powerful streams of water, the dry brushwood is transformed into green forest, anxiety over thirst disappears, fatigue from sun and desert is changed to rest, hunger to abundance, and worry to hope in the ripening of fruits and the disappearance of the specter of poverty which prowls the sierras and the plains. It is Mareiwa, their divinity, their good spirit, who has made his apparition over the lakes of the Sierra de Nevada, unleashing storms and hurricanes and bringing the promised rains to his creatures.

796 But, on the other hand, the sexual acts we have just shown to be present at this traditional fiesta of La Guajira should be 796 treated apart as they represent a transgression of the established rigid and severe cultural patterns that refer to carnal relations between men and women. As the general interpretation of the whole of the Guajiro community has not yet been finished, which could give us sufficient data to carry out necessary clarifications, we shall have to limit ourselves to noting certain outstanding facts.

836 Unmarried men and women in La Guajira, when looked at in its normal state, are subject to rigorous restrictions in their sex life. Sexual intercourse before marriage is not allowed to their women as the men want their spouses to be virgin. The [689] bachelor is limited in the satisfaction of his sexual impulses by the law of compensation payment, which forces him in the case of his having relations with an unmarried girl to pay a heavy indemnity by which is covered the harm done to the woman, the offense [128] to her relatives, and the possible pains and dangers of childbirth when pregnancy occurs. And if these impositions [628] are not complied with or if the Indian does not marry the girl, paying the price her relatives demand, revenge and declaration

[128 cont.]

836 [221] of war to the death will result between the clans affected.

One has to take into account the fact that a woman who [583] has been bought for wife is relatively valuable, and the native is not always in a position to accumulate the number of animals sufficient to pay for her, although it is considered an obligation on the part of his relatives to assist him when the time for his marriage arrives. As prostitution is so limited because of the [548] condition of inferiority in which it places the woman who traffics in sex, the situation of the unmarried male in this respect is difficult. We repeat again that we make this statement on the [178] basis of the facts of La Guajira social customs in normal times, and not on the basis of the present period when they are suffering from ever increasing problems of hunger, poverty, and acculturation, phenomena which are overthrowing all their traditional institutions.

Presenting the question in these terms, one can appreciate the trying position of the bachelor Guajiro native who is without slaves and without economic resources to enable him to buy a wife. He lives within a regimen of limitations and restrictions [834] which reach even to sexual taboos which can be divided into two classes: special cases, especially applicable to the sex life of shamans, as we have seen; and general cases, applicable to the whole community and which go to the extreme of provoking [195] curious euphemisms in the language when the word for the genital organ is phonetically similar to some other word, as in the case with the word for dog.

796 These restrictions must be considered in the totality of 786 the social norms, but this is not the moment to expound on them as they will be fully covered in this review as an interpretation of the whole of Guajiro society. However, we wish to point out their presence in the Dance of the Kid, or better said their absence, since, as we have said, these restrictions disappear, and there is complete sexual freedom which permits the minstrel to caress the young maids on the pretext of deciding their virginity or loss of it, a thing that in normal times would not be permitted, and to go to the extreme of countenancing carnal union without economic or social consequences, the only

[128 cont.]

796 requirement being the girl's consent; and she, in spite of the
786 loss of her virginity, in spite of her illegal maternity, does not descend in status nor bring into her community a new being inferior in standing in any way to the others. [129]

This in large part explains the large attendance of youths of both sexes at the ceremony of the Dance of the Kid, which pleases the patron who sponsors the rite because it gives a greater solemnity to the rite and in that way aids in the propitiation of the rains, and, in consequence, the harvests will be of good quality and more abundant.

d) A proof that these ceremonies break away from the
535 sexual order established in the community is the frequent rep-
524 resentation of the sexual act of animals combined with other
796 dramatizations which we shall study later. Here are some exam-
831 ples.

The hawksbill turtle. Participants arrange themselves in a long line, or chain, firmly clasping each others' waists. They symbolize in this manner the sexual act of the hawksbill turtle. This line belongs to one singer who says in his song that his turtles are performing their sexual act as they are in heat. Another band is also headed by its singer. Their role consists in trying to separate the turtles, by tugging, each one separately, at the chain made by the turtles. The turtle that is separated from its team is taken over as a trophy by the other team, but if this group is unable to pull them away it loses the match. The activity lasts until all the turtles of the chain have been separated from their team or until the opposite band that is attempting to do this declares itself beaten.

The kid. This game is played on a cleared field. A group
526 of Indians holding each other's hands form a circle, making be-
535 lieve it is a corral in which female goats are kept at night. Out-
831 side the corral are the male goats represented by other Indians
796 who, in full view of the animals enclosed, march round the corral and make successive attempts to enter. The Indians who represent the fence fend them off but finally one or two males are able to force their way in. Once inside, they imitate and copy all the attitudes of the male when aroused; they chase the females, pursue and smell them, and end by simulating the sexual act. At

[129 cont]

526 this moment the owner of the goats arrives to look over his flock,
535 and he states in his song that none of his animals are missing,
796 they are fat because pasture is fresh and abundant, and he an-
831 nounces that he is about to mark them. He starts by taking out
each female goat one by one and pretends to cut its ear, which
[422] is the way to mark such animals. He keeps up his song, referring
to what he is doing. "I have many goats and now I shall lack
neither meat nor milk; I am rich...."

e) We would add to the above the fact that Indian girls of
[554] the wealthy class do not take part in these gatherings, or they
796 do so on very rare occasions, as their prestige [130] would
786 diminish seriously in consequence of the opinion held of the fiesta
that only those girls go to it who want to get a husband readily
or to satisfy their sexual urges. Besides, it is the obligation of
each man to flirt with or treat with familiarity the girl who be-
comes his partner in the dance, and her obligation is to supply
him during the dance with roasted corn, bread, meat, chicha, etc.

Summarizing up to this point, we can state that the Dance of the Kid is a festival in which the Guajiro Indians seek to propitiate the rains at the same time that it celebrates their arrival and fecundity: fecundity in fruits; fecundity in animals, as dramatized in the ceremonies just described; and fecundity among men, in human beings, who are free from the restrictions which are imposed on them by the community in ordinary daily life to maintain social order.

• • •

536 Theatrical representations. "Drama is particularly difficult to classify because so often it gets mixed up with religion.... On the other hand, dramatic scenes can be executed for collective entertainment or as farces with no special pretentions, as for example in a Tahitian pantomime which represents the theft of a basket of food from a sleeping servant; although it can occur, on occasion, that these simple and uncertain experiments develop into real dramas." (65)

65. Lowie. Antropología Cultural [Cultural Anthropology], XI, 194-195.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

the first wife retains a privileged position. She will be of the best family and the highest in rank. She is the hostess.

One day, when I was standing talking with Mauana, he pointed to a couple walking past and said eagerly:

'You should picture those with your apparatus.'

I photographed the two, who to me appeared very ordinary. The woman had her cheeks and nose painted red. Mauana whispered to me that the woman was not a woman, but that they were two men living together. Later we came across several Indian men who did women's work and wore women's dress. This was not considered really right, but it was looked upon with indulgence. In the early days of discovery gold coins were found on the coast by Santa Marta which depicted 'shameful acts contrary to Nature'. Among the Guajiros' relatives in the West Indies there were chiefs who had whole harems of boys.

'We were talking of bride-price and buying women slaves,' said I, to revert to more normal things. 'What does a poor youth do, who possesses nothing?'

Everyone agreed that it was a pity about any such. The law had definite regulations for intercourse between man and woman, and any infringement involved a claim for damages. If anyone seduced a woman, he must pay considerable compensation to her relatives, however willing she may have been; but if he took her against her will, it costs him considerably more. A poor man cannot pay and therefore risks losing his life as a punishment. The Indians admitted that here and there on the border there was prostitution, but it was mostly mestizo women who lent themselves to that. In Guajira proper, there were no prostitutes. Both the chiefs and the monks told us that. Thus in the interior, a young man without means must live a life of abstinence. The time when the dances of the kid were performed would be his only opportunity of enjoying a woman's favours, provided he could find a willing partner. At this time the otherwise strict code is suspended and free love permitted.

Mauana had promised to arrange a dance, but of another kind. The dances of the kid are performed during the rainy

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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796 great ring and several of them were wiping their mouths in evident satisfaction—presumably having just been regaled with some drink.

796 The drum thundered a long time in vain before a young
535 Indian stepped into the ring, removed his cloak and sandals and began to walk round in a circle—a challenge to the members of the fair sex.

Almost at once a girl appeared in the ring; removed her sandals and held her tunic spread wide with her hands. The two then began dancing: he in front, she a few yards behind. Suddenly the man gave a shout and the tempo increased. Turning swiftly the girl came sweeping down towards the man who danced away, moving backwards. She must try to get close enough to tramp on his feet and make him fall, but she must not barge him. If she managed to make her partner fall, there was great jubilation, and then a new couple took the stage. Otherwise, the girl would probably challenge her partner to a few more turns, while he answered contemptuously:

'Fetch your little sister.' (Inferring that she would manage better.)

In this way a dance continues without interruption, couple following couple. It could go on for weeks.

The well-bred Indian considers the chichamaya the only suitable dance. The monks also approved of it, since it was perfectly decent, the two dancers remaining apart the whole
[117] time. The dance is not genuinely Indian, containing both Spanish and African features, but even in its present form it retains its religious-magical significance and is part of the ritual used in certain family ceremonies and on other important occasions.

796 The dance of the kid is a pure folk dance. It is really a
786 whole complex of games, dances and typical fertility rites. The good families do not allow their daughters to attend them. The law's strict sexual prohibition does not apply to those taking part in the dance of the kid, who enjoy an
[585 otherwise forbidden erotic licence. This is not approved of
184] by the well-to-do, who still hold by the rule that a bride should be a virgin, since it can have an effect on the bride-price.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

price. Thus the well-to-do send slaves or servants to the dances. 796 786

These dances also have a practical significance. They take place at the start of the rains when vegetation shoots up and help is needed in keeping weeds under. Those taking part in the dance must weed their host's ground during the day, as a return for their food and the dancing at night. They have to do something during the feast which lasts for weeks at a time. Naturally holding such a dance-feast is a costly business, but as a compensation the giver has work done for him. Therefore the feast moves from rancho to rancho, while there is work to be done. [474]

Actually all the dancers ought to be at home working during this time, for all plantations will become overgrown if they are neglected, but the young people are tempted by the feast, the dancing and love-making, and the opportunity to get free of the bonds of strict convention for a time. The fertility of the crops is promoted by different erotic performances, although the Indians no longer seem fully aware that this is their significance. These are typical magical fertility rites.

The actual dance of the kid is performed in different ways. Sometimes the couples are in lines one behind the other, the men holding the girl in front round the waist. First they all dance forwards, and then they turn. At each turn they change partners, the men singing: 'Lend me your partner for my travelling companion.' Another way of performing the dance is very like a long-dance in Sweden. Each group of dancers is led by a singer who always improvises his song, so that the words are always new. [535]

The dance begins at sunset and continues for several hours, after which the dancers all make off into the darkness, two by two, and spend the night with each other. Usually, a couple will stick together throughout the feast. Intercourse must be of the girl's own free will, but involves the man in no obligations, neither compensation for her lost virginity nor damages if a child should result. This is recognized by the girl's family, because it is a result of the freedom allowed during the dance of the kid. If, after the feast, a man wishes [833]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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796 to marry his partner, he must pay for her in the normal
786 way. Otherwise the young men and girls just give each other mementoes.

One of the games forming part of the dance of the kid is the so-called virginity test. The girls gather round a singer who improvises a variation of the theme: 'Let us see, pretty maid, if you have kept your innocence, if any man's hands have touched your body.' He then runs his hands over each girl in turn from the tip of her big toe, over her leg, knee, crotch, belly, chest and neck to the crown of her head, all the while trying to tickle her. Whoever neither laughs nor moves is declared a virgin and lauded by the singer. She goes and stands on one side, while those who cannot keep from laughing and so are not virgins, go to the other. Afterwards pretence presents are given to the 'virgins'.

796 When young people are gathered together as during the
842 dance of the kid festival, all sorts of dance-games and
524 pantomimes are performed. Some are connected with fertility rites, as those imitating the mating-play of turtles and goats. In the latter, the girl 'goats' are enclosed in a ring of men who try to prevent the male 'goats' from getting inside it. If any of the youths manage to leap in, they behave exactly like billy goats, pursuing the 'nannies', nosing at them and pretending to mount them. A number of the games have no erotic connection, but refer to all sorts of events in the lives of men and animals. Animals are imitated most faithfully.

796 One of the games depicts a meeting between the low-
524 landers and highlanders of Guajira. Each of the two sides has a singing leader. They exchange greetings and then each describes the situation in their homes: in the one plenty of rain, good harvests, plenty to eat and fat cattle; in the other drought, starvation and misery.

Those who are lucky with their climate then invite the others to their territory, and they all dance off in the same
[423] direction. The game is a reference to the fact that the low-
[231] landers have the right against payment to send their herds to upper Guajira at certain times of the year to graze.

/153 cont.

755 2. Medicine through divination, dependent or independent of the shaman and which creates another social position not very well defined: that of diviner.

3. Medicine which we might call home treatment, independent both of the shaman and the diviner, which is applied through the pragmatic knowledge of the curative properties of plants, by observation of certain customs related to taboo and which, as we shall see later, are of the preventative type.

4. Medicine as practiced by foreigners. This last factor must have had its origin in historic ethnography, and it seems to us to be difficult to classify. It deals with the medical intervention of the curanderos /curers/ of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, to whom, on certain occasions, the Guajiro Indians go for treatment...(1)."

1. Cf. Pineda Giraldo, Roberto: Aspectos de la magia en la Guajira, IV - 52 and 53 in Revista del Instituto Etnológico Nacional, VI, III, No. 1. Bogotá, 1950.

[757] For these reasons when a Guajiro child becomes sick, if his relatives are well-to-do they send for a woman diviner to determine the causes of the illness and to prescribe the corresponding curative system. When the patient is an adult and his illness shows no serious symptoms, they call in the herbalists (women who know the curative properties of certain plants), or they use their personal knowledge, that is, what we call "home" cures. If it is a matter of a serious chronic illness, they will most certainly use the services of a curandero of the Arhuaco /Cagaba/ tribe (Indians of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta), whom the relatives of the sick man go to see, or the latter himself if it is possible. This curandero supplies

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768 or later on if it is impossible at that moment. Sometimes, if the person died tragically, the house is burned. The reason given for this custom is that the illness was produced by an evil spirit which from then onward takes up residence there, taking possession of the house and able to continue killing the rest of the occupants. At the present time this custom is generally reduced to abandoning the habitation that the dead man occupied. They believe that at night one can feel lamentations there and that the spirit of the dead person frequently returns to that place to show his unrest if his relatives have forgotten him in the special cult of the dead. The tragic character of the case is accentuated when the person died violently in that place, in which case the house is definitely abandoned, because the frequent repetition of the scene during the night would make it impossible to live there. When the death occurred as the result of /162/ illness, and the house is not abandoned, if another member of the family should die in [787] it of the same sickness, then it is absolutely necessary that they leave it, as to them it is a clear indication that the spirits of that sickness also reside in the house and sooner or later will kill off all its occupants. /163/

X

THE SMALL FAMILY

592 Nowadays the Guajiro man and woman have their first
836 sexual experiences very early, more or less toward the age of ten, but formal marriage is later for the men than the women. Premarital sex relations are casual events. The man may continue them sometimes to a more advanced age, but these also are occasional and their consequences -- pregnancy -- may

/173 cont./

614 representative animal. It is not that they do not have one, but that in some regions there are no members of their group /present/, and the other people do not know them /that is, the totems/.

At the present time the association of a clan group with a particular totem animal does not imply that its members need offer sacrifices or keep taboos. The belief that they descend from it no longer prevails nor does the special prohibition that no harm is to be done to it or that it should not be killed. The idea that the genesis /of the group/ is to be found in the totem animal does not appear to have been present even in their remote past. The origins that we found in the native narratives do not include this idea. Nowadays, they laugh when one questions them about the animal of their casta; many confess proudly that they belong to the jaguar, to the bee, or to the rattlesnake. . . . They say they are brave, just like those animals, and that they always cause harm to whoever bothers them. Sometimes they will give an example of how the jaguar devours the other animals, and they believe it is the bravest of them all. It thus acquires the sense of a symbol that prompts them to be aggressive. However, there are others who feel troubled if they have to confess /the name of/ their totem animal as is the case of the clan group represented by the burro. The children refuse to do so and if they do name it say their animal is very ugly, that they do not like it, etc.

614 Where we found a strong manifestation of the survival of
287 the identification of the individual or the group with its totem animal is in the interpretation of dreams. In some cases, if a person dreams of one of these symbolic animals, it means that he is going to have something disagreeable happen to him at the hands of some members of the corresponding clan, that he will be visited by them, that a marriage alliance is forthcoming, that some relative of whom he has dreamed is going to upset social stability by wounding one of the clan symbolized by the

/173 cont./
614 animal, or the reverse, etc., according to the nature and the
787 particular details of the dream.

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614 2. We find the origin of clan marks also commemorated
422 in the preceding narratives. Every group of individuals with
304 the same name living in the same place had the problem of
/174/ distinguishing their animals from those near by or at a distance. Mareiwa did not want this situation to give rise to problems. Along with each group of animals, he gave the corresponding name and representative animal and the property mark, which he engraved on a stone. At the present time they still recognize the generic mark of each casta used to brand the animals and /mark/ the individuals belonging to it. Nevertheless, a variation of this original idea is to be found. Clan marks are degenerating into family marks, and in a process even further advanced we find individual marks, constituted sometimes by a special sign or by the owner's initials branded by a hot iron on some visible part of the body of the animal, or a special cut or nick in the ears of sheep or goats. Tattooing the clan mark on individuals is becoming more and more rare; it is more common in the lower than in the higher classes, and among the less acculturated than among those brought into contact with whites. Regional and family variations are found in the same clans. The clan mark persists in some localities but as an adornment, a "luxury," as they say when questioned. To this end they replace the totem by a schematic figure of the animal; and among the mestizos, by the intial of the name. The parts of the body where these marks are generally located are the upper part of the thigh on men, and the upper surface of the forearm on women.

614 Sometimes they still place the totem mark of the clan on
422 objects of domestic use, (gourds, pottery, bags). But this practice is not very common. At the present time, articles of

/196 cont./

685 a peculiar characteristic of the Guajiro Indian. They steal from the time they are children, since the scarcity of food in La Guajira makes the child steal food from his younger brother, from his relatives, and from outsiders; and he eats it immediately or takes it away and hides it in the woods to use when it is possible and convenient to his need.

This means that they are punished when they steal food from their own homes and praised when they steal it from outsiders. Even men frequently steal from the sown fields at night, and there is hardly a stock breeder who does not have to exercise scrupulous vigilance over his livestock day and night to avoid being the victim of thieves. At night the livestock must be shut up in well-fenced corrals, annexed to the houses, but even so they are frequently stolen. During the day the flocks are never allowed to pasture without someone looking after them. The Guajiro knows and can distinguish from others the tracks of his animals, which permits him to track them over long distances, helped by the sandy soil, until he finds where they are. The tracker follows the thief until he finds him, and if he discovers him with the stolen animal it is not unusual for him to kill him. If he knows who the thief is, he goes at once to this man's closest relatives, demanding indemnity, which they will certainly pay, because if they do not, the wronged man will take advantage of any opportunity to recuperate his loss and damages by his own hand.

[787] When they wish to know who the rustler is, they frequently have recourse to the diviner, who takes a cigarette, a wand, or a firebrand, according to his speciality, and lights it. In the wisps of smoke and in the way the flame consumes the burning article, he believes that he can find, after long observation, the thief and the place where the stolen thing can be found. /197/

When they recover an important object, the family that had lost it give a small feast in which an animal is slaughtered to [533] divide among attending friends; chicha and rum are drunk, and [535] a drum is beaten with the monotonous, prolonged rhythm to which they dance the chicha maya for several nights.

[8 cont.]

114 now present it embodied under this title Aspectos de la Magia en
121 la Guajira, a title which not only covers what has been known as magic to the Indian but also many of his mental and sentimental attitudes, the classification of which would be difficult in any other way. [9] [Maps of La Guajira Comisaría on p. 9. Page 10 is blank.]

[11] II

Life Cycle of the Guajiro Shaman

*756 Symptomatology. A woman shaman [piache], referring to
787 the bodily symptoms which presented themselves as an indication of her calling, mentioned the following: She began to see before her eyes a kind of little star which fell upon her in the manner of a golden rain, the first sign, according to her, of her person being possessed by a spirit. Her sight became clouded, and she fell to the ground in a faint; she remained stretched out there for some time. Then she very slowly regained consciousness. After this first attack of possession, she felt quite well for two or three days, after which she woke up one morning with a sensation of intense cold such as one feels at the beginning of an attack of malaria; she also broke out in a sticky sweat all over her body; then she was overcome, vomited blood, and remained unconscious until afternoon, lying like one dead in her hammock. She began to recover again, and the spirit came down to her, for she
[276 439] seemed to hear a voice that ordered her, "Eat manilla (2), for if

2. A tobacco paste imported by the natives from Rfohacha (Colombia) or from Maracaibo (Venezuela).

*756 you do not, you will die." On receiving this order, she immediately told her relatives to bring her manilla, and one of them went with a gold necklace of hers to look for an old woman shaman that she might come to see if our informant had a spirit and, if it were true,

[11 cont.]

*756 might dedicate herself to her teaching. The woman shaman called for the purpose recognized at once that our informant had the spirit appropriate to her calling and began the tutelage of the new curer [curandera].

Another woman shaman narrated the first symptoms of her vocation in this way. When she had reached the age of reason, [881] that is, about ten or eleven years of age (the time of the initiation for the change from girl to young woman: the beginning of puberty), she felt one day a need to perform a bodily function. She went into the woods to do this, but no matter how much she tried she was unable to do it. This situation repeated itself several times. At night she dreamed that a spirit descended and, [787] taking her by the hand, led her to a stream where there was a big field of plantain and ahuyama. At sunrise the next day [12] she woke up depressed and trembling. She heard a voice in her ear saying, "Eat manilla and macuira (3)." She frequently lost [226]

3. A plant with a leaf similar to that of tobacco.

consciousness and when she came to again was weak and trembling. When she ate what was ordered, the shivering and feeling of illness disappeared as if by enchantment, and she remained in perfect health. She was going to be a shaman. Her mother, who was already one, announced this fact and prepared to begin her training according to the rules.

*756 From the personal statements of these two shamans which 787 we have just reported and from other relative data that we have been able to obtain by word of mouth from other informants, we 171 can deduce the following: 1) The graduations to the rank of shaman (the illumination, we might better call it) are revelations of the wanurú ("spirit of death") which enters the body of certain persons chosen by it, that they may exercise the office of curer magicians. As a proof of the presence of the spirit in new shamans through manifestations of revelation, we may see among the Bororó tribe of Brazil, for example, how the spirit appears in the shape of a monkey or water hog (4), and among the

4. Métraux, Alfred. Le Chamanisme chez les indiens de l'Amérique du Sud Tropicale

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[12 cont.]

[Shamanism Among the Indians of Tropical South America], I, p. 203.

Apinagé [Apinaye] shamans are designated "by the soul of some close relative who puts them in communication with the world of the spirits, from whom they obtain their medical science." (5)

5. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 203.

Hubert and Mauss, referring to this same matter, state the following: "Magic virtue is acquired by revelation in the majority of Australian tribes. Normally, this revelation is produced in the course of a dream or in an ecstatic or semiecstatic state. This revelation is generally the work of spirits, spirits of the dead, pure spirits, and probably very frequently the work of spirits less clearly classified, whose qualities are not defined and whose mythical figure floats between the shades of mankind, the animal, and the divinity of nature (6)." And with respect to revelation

6. Origen de los poderes mágicos en las sociedades australianas [Origin of Magic Powers in Australian Societies] by Hubert and Mauss, III, 235.

they tell us again: "It is possible and even probable that the theme of the revelation by the spirits of the dead is at least confounded in one and the same complex myth with the theme of the revelation by pure spirits." (7)

7. Ibid. [13]

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2) This spirit reveals its presence by means of a sudden illness, as we have just seen in previously mentioned incidents, or by other variable symptoms, but they are usually actual hysterical attacks, in which the spirit manifests itself by strong convulsions and by loss of consciousness to signify it has entered into possession of the person destined to become a shaman.

[13 cont.]

*756 764 With respect to the hysterical attacks so characteristic of shamans, there exists considerable confirmation of this in a fact which is connected with the death of these curers. Custom demands that when one of them dies, it is essential that their wake be kept for three consecutive days and nights, because as these attacks oocur frequently and at times last for a considerable time, there is a fear that the shaman may not be really dead and that consequently he may be buried alive if the mourners do not wait for a reasonable time to see if he recovers.

*756 276 3) A magic plant, tobacco, is involved in the making of a new shaman in two ways: (a) The aspiring shaman must chew it for several consecutive days in order to enter into a state of ecstasy and so provoke the absorption of the spirit by his person. One must remember that at the moment the initiate has an attack, a piece of tobacco or manilla is put into his mouth. When [827] he recovers consciousness, he belches loudly because of the action of the tobacco, and these belches are considered to be canticles of praise and gratitude to the spirit which desires to reside in him. The establishment of relations between the spirit and the medicine-man aspirant by means of a magic plant, such as the tobacco we [171] have referred to, is found also among the Conibo: "The apprentice shaman of the Conibo of the Ucayali receives his medical science from a spirit. To enter into communication with the latter, the shaman drinks a decoction of tobacco and smokes as much as he can in a hermetically sealed hut." (8) [Cited in French.]

8. Métraux. Op. cit., 204.

*756 787 (b) The diviner must see in the different changes in the embers of the tobacco whether the individual whose future he foretells after an attack of illumination will become a true shaman or not. His verdict is final.

4) Dreams, or at least hallucinations, are decisive factors in the determination of the quality of shaman.

*756 5) The vocation of shaman cannot be renounced. Better said, it does not depend upon the individual himself; once the symptoms have appeared and the diviner has given a favorable

[16 cont.]

*756 over, the young shaman [17] was secluded for two months in her home. She dedicated this period to practicing chewing tobacco, and the act of invoking the spirits, the way of curing the sick, bringing rainfall, "shamanizing," animals, keeping pestilence away, etc. The maraca and the crown (kiara, in Guajiro) were made by her during this seclusion, although they could have been bought or ordered to be made by others. At the end of this two *756 months' seclusion, it was essential, in order to terminate the ●787 young shaman's cycle of initiation into shamanism, to prepare 796 ten containers of corn chicha and to invite many Indians from different sections to be present at the true graduation of the initiate. That night, while the others danced and drank, the young shaman remained practicing her arts. It is common on these occasions for the spirit to approach the aspiring shaman and say, for example: "Go look for an animal of such-and-such characteristics (it describes the desired animal minutely in all its details) and kill it. If you disobey me you will faint, have an attack, and you will never become a shaman." The young initiate then passes on the order to her relatives, who must hasten to look for the animal described by the spirit and sacrifice it. When the celebration has ended, the spirit returns to tell the [301 426] young girl: "Hang up ten necklaces in your room so that I may come down and help you." (These necklaces must be made of gold beads). The aspiring shaman acquires these necklaces with the help of her relatives and friends, even on loan, and hangs [782] them in her room so that she can "shamanize." The spirit, grateful for her ready obedience and for the offering, approaches her once again and says: "Now you will make a truly good [834] shaman." And it warns her: "Now you may not sleep (cohabit) with your husband."

*756 Exercising the profession. When all these rites and cere- 787 monies preparatory to entering the way of life of the shaman have been complied with, the person chosen, as his protector spirit affirms, may then dedicate himself to that calling. The spirit itself has conferred such power. Better still, it has descended into the novice; it has entered his body to accompany him in every professional act, to communicate the arts indispensable or

[17 cont.]

*756 787 carrying out his function as community curer, and witch so that he will be able to act with certainty in curing illnesses, in the propitiation of the rainfall indispensable for good harvests, as well as in his tasks of keeping away pestilences and epidemics which could decimate the people under his care.

As has been seen in the section treating the period of training, this is limited first of all to transmitting to the new shaman the most successful way of insuring that the spirit can reach him. His science in no manner implies that he possess knowledge relating to the medicinal value of plants, of animals, etc., but it does imply that the process of apprenticeship, or better said his science, [18] is based on the successful invocation of the spirit, which has the true wisdom, which is the only curer in reality, the all-powerful able to propitiate rain and cast out pestilences and epidemics and whose science is manifested through the medium of the medicine man whenever the spirit wishes to carry out its designs. The shaman by himself and for himself is worthless. He is an ordinary man, subject as are others to the evil influences of the spirits of sickness and death. His fundamental value rests in the absorption into himself of a powerful spirit which places him on a footing of equality with the spirits of the other world, and in many cases even on a superior one, when it enables him frequently to emerge triumphant in the cure of sickness.

*756 755 One has to emphasize in the personality of the Guajiro shaman the fact that he has almost exclusively the function of making contact with the supernatural world, and it is by this means that he endeavors to effect the cure of his patients. He is partially or totally ignorant of medicine based on herbs, animals, parts of animals, or any other type of cure other than that exercised directly by the protector spirits that use him as their intermediary.

As will be seen in the corresponding chapters, the majority of child cures are effected by female diviners with the indicated methods, which are based on what is called participative or contaminant magic. Also, the herbs actually very few — which [278 847] are used to cause abortion, to restrict the growth of the fetus,

[20 cont.]

*1756 as he is only the spirit's intermediary in the matter of the
1755 negotiation between it and the patient and his relatives to free the sick man from its influence, the shaman must respond to all the demands that the spirit has made. If the sick man is cured, the shaman keeps all the gifts that were requested through him by the spirit that caused the sickness and those that his protector [21] spirit claimed for its part in the cure. If the treatment is not successful, it is usual for all gifts to be returned to the patient's relatives, although sometimes this is not done and the shaman takes possession of them, stating that they are sacred, that they belong to the spirits that intervened in the attempt at curing the sick man although this has not been successful.

Shamans state that when they are practicing their curing ceremonies, while they are endeavoring to wrest the patient's soul from its prison, they are carefully observing the sick man to determine whether his cure is possible or not. If it is obvious that it is not, they declare him past hope, after being well assured that the individual cannot be saved and after making sure that everything has been done to effect his cure. They also state that it is quite common when they are engaged in the exercise
*1756 of their functions for their spirits to chat freely with them, at
1175 which times they refer to events which are about to happen and
1187 to their own destiny in the other life, in other words, what the shaman will be doing as a spirit once he ultimately dies. It is common to hear a spirit say, while conversing with the shamán in trance, "When you die you will know a country where there are many towns you know not of, crossed by wide, blue rivers."

Before proceeding further we consider it of interest to call attention to these latter words which the shaman claims he hears from his protector spirit, as they represent, in a certain way, the idea of a special heaven for these curers, a notion of life beyond the tomb which we shall see in greater detail later and, above all, the image of that new life; towns...crossed by wide, blue rivers, an ideal as logical as any when one takes into account the geographical situation of La Guajira, a land in which rivers and ravines, or even minor arroyos, are practically unknown due to the winds that dominate the peninsula.

755 [22 cont.]
756 of the patient or of his family — then those attending are presented with a good portion of meat.

756 Shamanistic treatment of animals. When pestilence
281 breaks out among a Guajiro Indian's animals, he has no other known recourse to repel it than to seek the services of a shaman.
755 As he already knows in a way the accustomed ceremonial in such cases, he prepares days beforehand a sufficient quantity of corn chicha, which is used in the chicha-maya dances, and he invites a large group of women to come to the dance. He then calls in the shaman, who, once arrived on the scene, has all the animals collected and enclosed in a large corral. While this operation is being carried out, the shaman begins to prepare himself for the ceremony, inviting his protector spirit to cast out the pestilence, and dressing himself (or better said, undressing himself) in a neighboring hut as is customary for the ceremony of the cure of human beings, keeping on his loincloth if he is a man and her dress if a woman. He then places a crown of wool on his head and readies the maraca, which he keeps in his hand during the entire event. Following this, he enters the place where the animals are, goes in among them, and turns himself around in circles about them, continually shaking the maraca and spitting on their bodies the juice from the manilla he is continually chewing. During all this time, he intones his ritual invocatory chants, [23] which are different from those used for the cure of humans, and he never stops shaking the maraca. This operation generally lasts for several days and is only suspended for those moments when the shaman rests. When he considers that the evil spirits which have caused the pestilence have been successfully driven off, he suspends his activities and orders for the fiesta to begin, which is started by the sacrifice of an animal, the distribution of chicha to those present, and the dance. The animals are driven to the fields while numerous gunshots are [77] fired (in older times arrows were shot off). These are intended [78] to complete the work of the shaman in driving off the evil spirits of the disease.

756 Shamans' dreams. When a shaman dreams of a long trip
757 through unknown territory, it is an evident sign that he is due to
[78] die. When the dream is over, he attempts through "shamanizing"

[23 cont.]

*756 787 to divine his future by means of a firebrand, and sees that it does not burn or blaze. His spirit has abandoned him and no longer comes at his call. Finally, the spirit descends to him and says, "This has happened to you because you did not obey me on such-and-such an occasion."

Up to now there are two clear examples of the relation between unknown lands and death in the case of the shaman. Let us recall the talks held between the shaman and his protector spirit during the ceremony for curing a sick person, in which the protector spirit describes to him a marvelous country crossed by wide, blue rivers as a dwelling place to enter after death. Now this same representation reappears in his dream, which implies a vision of the world beyond the tomb to which he will shortly go.

[755] If during a curing ceremony he should dream that at some time during the dance which he has demanded for the total rehabilitation of the sick man he sees a group of rich Indian women arrive mounted on horses, bringing with them in a pitcher a small quantity of water or rum with which they bathe the sick person and then blow on him at midnight, this means that the sick man in question will recover completely and will not have a relapse.

751 *756 787 At other times the shaman may dream that someone is going to be killed. To avert the danger he goes to the relatives of the person dreamed of to order them to perform a sacrifice or ceremony such as the following. They must bring a heifer of a certain color, slaughter it at dawn, and bathe in its blood the Indian on whom the tragedy is to fall according to the dream. To end the ceremony they must hold a chicha-maya dance. The Indian referred to must follow strictly the orders of the shaman [24] otherwise, there is no doubt that a tragedy will befall him, so the natives affirm. (Cf. "Magic and Sacrifice.")

There is a story, for example, of a female shaman who dreamed that she should "shamanize" an Indian woman with rum and hold a chicha-maya dance, or otherwise death would rapidly overtake her. The woman of the dream did not obey the orders of the shaman, and a few days later she had a quarrel with her husband, who struck her, and, broken-hearted over her husband's action, she hung herself from a tree at midnight.

[24 cont.]

*n5C 787

Shamans' dreams are interpreted by themselves in accordance with the elements that occur in them. We shall see how they do so.

If they dream that they see a burro tied to a post, turning continuously about it until it falls to the ground, it signifies that someone — the shaman will determine who — is going to die.

If in a dream they see a very swollen current of water, it implies that an interclan war will break out in the near future. If they dream of someone's death, this means that they are going to kill an animal, or it is simply the announcement of the death of the shaman himself. If, on the other hand, the dream refers to the death of an animal, it is a sign that some known person will be attacked by a serious sickness.

When the shaman dreams that a person has been bitten by a snake, that individual will be wounded by a poisoned arrow (imára), but, if during the dream some other person should kill the snake, it is a sign that both men involved in the action will have trouble and both will be wounded by poisoned arrows. If [614] in the dream two jaguars (representative animals of the Uriana clan) leap on someone, this person should be forewarned to be cautious in his relations with the Uriana, as the men of the Uriana clan are going to kill him.

Dreaming of fire is evidence of the presence of sickness accompanied by fevers; to dream of rain water in great abundance is a sure indication that in La Guajira, without stating exactly where, an important wake will be held in the near future, that is, that a wealthy Indian or Indian woman of good economic position is going to die. To see a male goat killed during a dream is to know that a boy is to be killed; to see a steer being sacrificed is to learn that an adult is to be killed. When the dream is about a small burro that is tied to a hitching post and circles around it and later falls down, this implies the death of a poor Indian. When the animal is a horse that makes the same circle, it implies the death of a wealthy Indian. To dream of blood always means a coming death in the group. [25]

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787 *756 It is not only the shamans' dreams which have the power of prediction among these Indians. Dreams of the Indians in general, whatever their social or economic position, are revelations of the future to which the others religiously pay attention. The Indians believe in these dreams with the same fervor with which they fear the dead and comply with every ceremony related to them. One may say without fear of error that the Guajiro believes that the individual, when he dreams, is in a superior position to when he is living his everyday waking life. His spirit has become detached from his body; it is free to roam, and for this reason it can get into communication with those other spirits which are able to transmit future events.

The great value of the shaman's dreams stems from the fact that they are commensurate not only with his personal spirit but also with his protector spirit which uses him as a medium to foretell the future and communicate the events that will develop in a future time, showing the shaman at the same time what means to employ to overcome those possible evil developments already revealed to him in his dreams.

776 *756 787 Protector spirits of the shamans. Every shaman has a set number of spirits that assist him in his magic practices and whose role is to counsel him while he is carrying out the functions of his office. For example, they tell him: "Suck there; give him such a herb; and as payment for my advice make me a gift of such-and-such value without loss of time." This matter of a gift, as we have already seen, is important because if it is not strictly complied with, the spirit leaves the shaman and will not come to his aid again. It is very difficult for him to regain its favor so that it will return and collaborate with him. If, however, the gift is made in full compliance with the spirit's wishes, it gives immediate and, in many cases, efficacious assistance with great pleasure. Besides all this, when the shaman has enemies he also receives advice from his spirits who tell him: " 'Shamanize' a great deal and every day because you have enemies and are in danger. Do it frequently so that the evil may disappear just as the rains do in summer."

Some shamans have as many as seven such spirits, and each one is called by a special canticle. Mareiwa (18), for example,

18. This spirit, considered as the

*756 776 787

[25 cont.]

universal god of the Guajiro Indians is none other than the protector divinity of rainfall and the propitiator of the harvests.

is invoked by a singular chant known by the name of fumayule, and wanurú, the spirit of sickness and of death by that of jirairay. The latter is the spirit that demands [26] offerings, the one that interposes himself in cases of sickness, impeding their cure, for it never wants to lose its hold on the sick person's soul it has imprisoned, so causing the illness. It is also the one which discusses with the shaman's protector spirits and the shaman himself the handing back of the patient's soul so that he can recover his lost health. We deem it necessary to make it clear that all the [775] spirits of the dead are named wanurú; for this reason their number is immense. The only difference that we have been able to establish between the wanurú and the shaman's protector spirits lies, in our opinion, in the fact that the latter are the spirits of 171 shamans who have died but who wish to keep on carrying out *756 their functions through others after death. Our statement is con- 775 firmed by Professor Métraux, who, quoting Tessman, affirms: 776 "The Campa and Amahuaca medicine men claim to receive their knowledge from some shaman, living or dead. Either the soul makes the advances and visits its pupil in a dream, or the novice, intoxicated with ayahuasca, sends his other self among the spirits to receive teaching." (19) [Cited in French.]

19. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 203.

And further along he states: "The auxiliary spirits can be of different kinds. Among the Taulipáng and the Roucouyenne [Rucuyen]" — according to Koch Grünberg — "they are the souls of former shamans, or spirits of plants or animals." And later: "The distinction between the two types of Bororo shamans is mainly based on the different origin of the spirits from which they derive their power. The shamans called bari are possessed by bope, ... which are either spirits of nature or souls of dead

[27 cont.]

*756 turpirawa, muchirawai, males; and anapaura, uríwatana, waré-
775 ké-narú, waiwána, and parárijuna, females.
776 The common spirit of sickness and death, wanurú, in its malignant sense, can be possessed by a shaman, but its possession
[755] implies dangers as because of it the shaman can become insane, foolish, or paralytic. It is such an aggressive, haughty, and hateful spirit that, when it turns against a shaman, does so so vindictively that he is compelled to ask all the other spirits to aid him against the jirairay or wanarú.

But shamans do not know the origin of the spirits in the majority of cases. They do not know from where they come, only that they come from an unknown place, dressed like arijuna (civilizados). They are wanurú that assist them in the struggle against sickness, which is also called wanurú. The personal spirit of the shaman, as we have said, does not intervene directly in the healing. It is those other spirits, the ones that have taken possession of him ever since he was initiated into the magic arts, which do so. His personal spirit does not have a special name, nor does the personal spirit of any of the Indians. Only on the shaman's death does his spirit take the common name wanurú and a special one if he has been a very outstanding curer.

In general terms, two other classes of spirits exist: that of the shaman himself, of which we have already spoken, and that of the diviner. These two spirits, however, can be absorbed by one person, but this absorption requires two special preparations, one for each activity. The more common procedure is for the shaman to be a diviner also, as this will help him considerably in carrying out his functions, for, on being [28] called to accomplish a cure, he can by means of his prophetic art consult with the firebrand or the tobacco (Cf. "Magic and Medicine") and find out if the sick person in question will recover. In accordance with the results of his findings, he will or will not try to cure him.

114 Referring to prophecy, Uricoechea in his introduction to
●787 Celedón's Guajiro Grammar refutes — we do not know on what authority — the statement of Ensign de la Rosa when the latter states that the Indians divine by means of tobacco, and says:

[28 cont.]

114 "Shamans still augur by the direction of smoke, not by smoking
787 tobacco as de la Rosa tells us, but by lighting a small faggot of firewood, tinder, or cotton." (23) But neither the one nor the

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23. Celedón, Rafael. Gramática, Catecismo i Vocabulario de la lengua guajira. Introduccion. [Grammar, Catechism, and Vocabulary of the Guajiro Language. Introduction], p. 25.

other is totally mistaken since, as we have already seen and will note again later, the two systems, divination by means of the firebrand or by tobacco, are actually employed in La Guajira.

*756 With respect to the relations between the shaman and his
775 protector spirits in general, Métraux affirms: "The relations
776 between the shaman and his familiar spirit have been fully analyzed by Barrere: 'Every piaye claims to have a genie, or rather a familiar demon, with which he has a close relationship, and by its intervention he carries out his wishes. This supposed genie is not always so submissive that it does not sometimes get away when it thinks it opportune, escaping to accomplish all the evil it can against the Indians, after which it will return to its abode. The main use of this genie is to assist the piayes either to chase out demons or to carry out some revenge, according to their will, and to kill whatever Indians they see fit, as their power extends equally to heal illnesses or to bring them on those on whom they wish to take revenge.'" (24) [Cited in French.]

24. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 212.

*756 Taboos of the shamans. Shamans are obliged to observe most strictly a series of taboos, related chiefly to sex, to nutrition in general, and to objects they receive in payment for curing sick persons or animals. We shall describe each one of these separately.

[28 cont.]

K756 834 833 Referring to the sexual aspect, we have the following facts: 1) a woman of licentious habits can never get to exercise the office of shaman; the spirit would never take up residence within her; 2) the unmarried woman who is initiated into the profession may have sexual relations only when she marries in accordance with established rites, but with certain limitations. [29] She may cohabit with her husband, and exclusively with him, in spite of the phrases used by the spirit at the time of initiation, "You may not sleep (cohabit) with your husband," but she must carry out the sexual act quickly and get up from the matrimonial hammock as soon as it is finished; for if not, they will see in the doorway of their habitation a shadow, in appearance like a civilizado, who will speak into her ear saying: "I do not like your sleeping with your husband because you do not belong to him. You are mine, you are my loved one." The woman therefore must perform coitus as hurriedly as if she were committing a crime.

K756 842 When a woman shaman marries, her spirit advises her as follows: "So that you may not have children, since you are always with your husband in spite of my prohibition, put skeins of wool on your wrists and on your ankles and around your waist like a sirapo [loincloth], and tie a piece of onion to the wool." The Indian woman who related this said that she had obeyed the spirit's instructions in every detail, and she had never had any more children. The spirit demanded a gold necklace from her as recompense for its counsel.

K756 834 776 767 Another female shaman with whom we had the opportunity to converse recounted the following to us: When she married, the spirit told her that it cared for her no longer. When she inquired the cause of this, the spirit replied that it was due to the fact that after having been with her husband, she had a smell of male goat, an odor which it did not like. The shaman explained to the spirit that she had married because her parents had sold her. The spirit was quite angered with her and had no wish to return to inspire her; it did not want her to marry because she belonged to it and not to anyone else. Finally it agreed to the formula that she might cohabit with her husband but must not linger over the sexual act.

[29 cont.]

*756 When the woman becomes pregnant, the spirit puts up with
833 the situation without getting angry, but it does not show any such
834 patience if she delays a length of time in the sexual act with her husband, or if she sleeps by his side throughout the night.

The female shaman's obligation, in the sexual aspect, goes to the length of forcing her to be but a passive entity during coitus, not permitting her body the slightest motion and also not permitting any endearments from her husband before the sexual act. When these dispositions are disobeyed, the shaman finds
[787] herself suffering during the night from especially terrifying and horrible dreams which fill her with fears and anxieties.

*756 The man who marries a shaman gets to understand his
693 wife's situation, and for this reason he is prudent in his actions: He does not demand anything but the strictly indispensable, and he is in accord with her in all matters related to her special state. [30]

*756 But in spite of all these prohibitions, the female shaman
776 who becomes pregnant receives aid from the spirit at the time
844 of giving birth. This assistance consists of an easy delivery of her baby and of counsel her spirit gives her on the simplest form of giving birth, the remedies she should take, etc.

*756 The shaman must not perform ceremonial acts of curing
841 when she is in her menstrual period because the patient will be-
843 come worse instead of improving. However, pregnancy does not present any obstacle to her activities, and she may accomplish cures during the entire period of gestation.

*756 In the case of a male shaman, the spirit permits him to be
834 with his wife, but for a very short time; he is also allowed, as
[595] are the rest of the Guajiro, to have several wives.

In summary, women shamans must cohabit exclusively with their husbands, avoiding all endearments, movements, the prolongation of coitus, and pregnancy. They may not exercise their functions during their menstrual periods. The male shaman also must be moderate in the sexual aspect and limit himself to his wife, or wives, as the case may be.

*756 The food taboo is limited to prohibiting the shaman from
262 eating the flesh of such animals as he has received in payment

[31 cont.]

753 755 *756 776 If the shaman's illness and the announcement of his death are provoked by the displeasure of his protector spirit, there generally is no possibility of calling in another shaman to carry out the ceremonies of curing. The illness of the shaman more than being his alone is an illness of the protector spirit; it is thus different from all other illnesses known to the natives. The shaman himself cannot help; he does not know how to apply the remedies he may have used in similar cases. He only, and this on few occasions, applies hot water to his chest. At other times the spirit may have pity on him and may come and recommend some special remedy to him, indicating at the same time where he can obtain it. The sick shaman then takes the remedy, and his sickness is immediately alleviated.

*756 766 On the death of a shaman it is obligatory to hold a wake for at least three consecutive days, because the attacks which shamans have ("states of ecstasy") are so frequent and on occasion prolonged for a considerable time, that there is the possibility that he may not be really dead. The natives, then, do not wish to give a shaman burial until they are convinced of his death. There is also the belief that when such persons die they do not follow the same cycle as other mortals, since their bodies do not become hard and stiff but remain soft and lax, as if they were only sleeping. At the conclusion of these three obligatory days of the wake, they carry him away for burial. They wash the body and fasten his shroud as they do for others. But his crown, his maraca, and all his clothes are first broken and torn and later buried in a special place in the woods, or are thrown away in a lonely place. They must not place these objects with him in his grave [32] because the spirit of the dead shaman would return, very angry with the persons who had done such a thing, and would punish their disrespect in some form or another.

*756 775 787 The dead shaman's spirit wanders everywhere like all other spirits, it goes to the place where his body lived, to places well known to it, but it is always accompanied by its protector spirit, from which it will never become separated. Both the protector spirit and its protege may descend on a new shaman in order to assist him. This is probably the explanation of the possession of

[32 cont.]

*756 various spirits by one person. They are several spirits associated
775 by this post-mortem relationship which act inseparably in their
787 function as counselors.

It is also very probable that the protector spirits invoked by the shamans may not be anything other than the spirits of famous deceased shamans of times past to whom they turn for aid. In this case they would only have to make a change of name due to the taboo relating to the use of the name of dead persons, which we shall explain in the corresponding chapter.

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114 Before continuing with our subject, we wish to make cer-
171 tain clarifying statements with respect to the presence of women
562 in the science of magic in La Guajira and in general among
*756 primitive Americans. We have already seen that among the Guajiro Indians the only basic condition required to become a shaman is what we have called the "revelation," accompanied by the symptoms described earlier. The sex, age, or economic and social position of the person is not taken into account in any way. It is, as we have stated, only necessary to be of a hysterical nature. However, Métraux in his work which we have repeatedly quoted states:

"In tropical South America the profession of shaman appears to be as a general rule reserved for the masculine sex. One does find, however, among many writers reference to women shamans." (26) [Cited in French.] According to these authors

26. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 198.

quoted by Métraux, (Rochefort, Roth, Koch Grünberg, and Ives d'Evreux), women shamans are to be found in the Antilles and among the Tupinamba, Taulipang, Arekuna [Arekena], and Macushi [Macusi].

With reference especially to women shamans in La Guajira, Métraux maintains the following, based on Petrullo's The Yaruros of the Capanaparo River: "Among the Arawak tribe of the Guajiro

[35 cont.]

756 their protection to him. When he is performing the ceremonial
775 indispensable for freeing the body and soul of a patient from the clutches of the wanurú, he represents nothing but the role of intermediary between two worlds and especially between two classes of spirits — that of his protector who wishes to save the sick person and that of others now dead who desire above all
[753] that the evil they have caused the person of the sick man should continue until it ends with his death, so that in this way they can avenge an offense received, or simply satisfy some capricious wish of their own, as beings capable — because of their position as inhabitants of another world, a position superior to everything we can imagine in this mortal universe — of doing any harm they wish.

755 This position of intermediary is clearly shown in the cere-
756 mony of curing. The communication must be made through definite material objects which take on in their turn the character of untouchables: the maraca, the crown, the tassels which contain a representation of goat dung, and the tobacco or manilla, objects which cannot be used by others but only by shamans during their moments of trance or invocation; the solitude to which the curer submits himself during his invocations, *with only his patient present, for fear* that the protector spirit might disappear and refuse to give aid in the cure which the shaman is trying to effect; his protector spirit's demands for certain objects to satisfy the voracity of harmful spirits or its own, demands which must be complied with to the letter; the ritual chants which relate the different moments of agreement between the harmful spirits and that of the shaman; the sacrifice of an animal determined by the spirit — male goat, sheep, etc. — as recompense for the spirit's favors; and lastly, the expressed prohibition that rests on the shaman not to eat or use the [36] animals or objects that he receives in payment for his cures. All these are facts which clearly indicate that the shaman is no more than an intermediary or an earthly representative of the spirits of good, or even of evil, and above all of the dead shamans who wish to continue exerting their beneficial influence on the group to which they belonged in life.

771 This function of communication with the spirits, annexed
772 to, and inseparable from, the personality of the medicine man,
787

[36 cont.]

171 is universal. It is, so to speak, the ultimate end of his mission
*756 in the community. Professor Pinto reaffirms it when, speaking
● 787 of the Tupinambá pagé, he writes as follows. "Another of the functions or callings of the pagé was to communicate with the spirits or with the devil.... Frequently, as Nóbrega gives us to understand, by means of the maraca ...." And further on: "Naturally, the power to communicate with the spirits raised the pagé to the category of xamã. The xamã in Herbert Kõnig's exact definition is characterized by his faculty of speaking with the spirits, especially, in his moments of trance or ecstasy. Or, as Robert H. Lowie explains, the xamã is a kind of "medium" who possesses the gift of relating himself with the supernatural and serving as its interpreter." (31) [Cited in French.]

[113]

31. Pinto Recife, Esteban. La extraña figura del Pagé Tupinambá [The Strange Figure of the Tupinambá Pagé], pp. 323-324.

171 Our contention regarding the involuntary nature of the pro-
*756 fession of shaman, and by the same token its irrenouncibility, is sustained by this report which Métraux has taken from Nimuendajú with reference to the Bororó: "The Bororó who is called upon to become a bari (medicine man) receives a mysterious order to deliver himself up in the bush, where the spirit will manifest itself to him in the form of a monkey or a water hog and will demand his submission. As a sign of acquiescence, he will give up his bow and arrows. His head will whirl; a thousand colors will dance before his eyes; he has become a bari." (32) [Cited in French.]

32. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 203.
Italics are ours.

*756 Apart from this domination to which the spirits subject the
828 shaman, converting him into a creature at the service of their wishes, there is another factor, perhaps more important in its external form than the previous ones and one that makes us think more of the double life of the shaman: This is his frequent attacks,

411 [47 cont.]
789 character of the inhabitants of Jarara; and second, the complete
[178 disappearance (according to all sources) of the Kusina Indians in
797 the last 20 to 25 years for various reasons. In other words, the arrows which may still exist but of which we could not obtain a sample are those preserved by the aged Indians of Jarara, purchased from the makers in times past.

Sacrifice to forestall the effects of dreams. In the Guajiro
787 mentality dreams are considered to be revelations of the future, coming from a benign spirit who seeks in this way to show his protection to a certain person. When the shaman himself has the revealing dreams then these acquire greater importance, as we have already seen. For the same reason, when one of these
*756 shamans has a special dream, he informs the interested party
787 and adds to it the necessary instructions or special ceremonies
951 that he should arrange in order to counteract the prognostication. If such ceremonies are not carried out or are not totally complied with, the dream will become converted to reality. The Guajiro has immense faith in dreams, particularly in those of shamans, and very few persons will leave themselves open to suffer the consequences of the nonfulfillment of the rituals indicated, as experience, according to them, has [48] shown that noncompliance with the indications of the shamans has resulted in many deaths and disasters when the events foretold have taken place.

As the aspect of dreams is treated in a special section, we will here only refer to the theme which interests us and which is related to sacrifices. In this respect we quote the narrative of one of our informants.

This occurred in Jarara. A woman shaman dreamed that a member of the Pushaina family clan was threatened with a fatal tragedy; he would die by the hand of one of his own family group. The shaman immediately informed him of it and ordered him, in order to avert the danger, to organize a fiesta of horse racing and, above all, to sacrifice a
682 black male goat and to bathe himself in its blood. The Indian did not want to carry out the shaman's instructions, and within a short time he was killed by a member of his own group of inferior economic standing. The reprisals taken against the

[53 cont.]

174 648 *756 [Lectures given at the National Ethnological Institute]. Bogotá, 1942.

the two groups at some period of their history, — we cannot say if before or after the Conquest, is based on the presence of certain material cultural techniques of the Arwako [Arhuaco] Indians in the Guajiro group.

Let us now analyze carefully and separately each one of these factors:

*756 Medicine practiced by the shaman. In chapter II of this study, we referred to the shaman's curative methods which are effected through their magic communication with the spirits. These spirits supply the instructions required for the ceremonies and processes that are to be practiced to effect the cures of illnesses caused by the wanurú which have a sick person in their power. We again refer the reader then to chapter II.

791 Medicine by divination. Before entering fully into this subject, we feel obliged to clarify somewhat the diviner's position in La Guajira and to learn something more, if only superficially, of the processes of divination.

There are certain men and women capable of seeing secret events that have occurred or foreseeing those that will occur. For this they employ different objects; some use a machete (an item of acculturation), and by closely studying its edge they divine, for example, what has happened at the site of a robbery and where the stolen objects will be found. Others make use of burning tobacco and others, finally, of a burning firebrand.

● 787 [796] In this aspect of divination the world of the spirits plays as great a role as it does in general in all the themes of magic, since the chain of events in the case of the divination of a robbery, for example, is that the spirit of the diviner disengages itself from his body and goes in search of the lost articles, following the track of the thief until it finds the hiding place and consequently the stolen goods, returning then to the body of the diviner to communicate the result to him so that he can, on his part, transmit the information to the party who has come to consult him. [54]

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*756 787 The shaman also has this power of divination at times, and he, as well as the others, can foretell deaths and other events that will happen. The shaman by reason of his known inherent powers inspires more faith in his prophesies, especially as these practically never fail to be fulfilled.

*756 791 One of the functions of a diviner who divines by means of tobacco, for example, is to decide at a gathering of shamans to which he is expressly summoned whether a certain individual shows definite symptoms that he will become the host of a spirit of the same class as their own. This diviner generally is not a graduate shaman but is a man or woman of great experience in this type of "science." The diviner places the tobacco or manilla, in his mouth and a burning firebrand in his right hand, which he moves up and down while he discourses; he watches it fixedly and gives his verdict in accordance with the variations he notes in the burning stick. This verdict is considered final.

755 *756 787 Shamans in some cases learn the art of divination by the use of a glowing brand to find out, in the event of their being called to cure a sick man, whether they should take the case or not. *For the test they take a firebrand;* they call on the spirit to come to their aid. They remain with the brand in hand, without blowing on it, and carefully observe the different changes which occur in it through the action of the flame, and from these changes they deduce what will happen. If the firebrand goes out while they are watching it, it means that the sick man is going to die, and hence his presence will not be required.

787 The ceremony of divination by means of fire must be carried out at night never by day. There are diviners who make use of a burning reed or cane for this ceremony. They hold it in the hand and do not take their eyes off it, paying close attention to the changes in the flame, if any, in the blazing up or dying down of the ember, and any other variations they may see. According to all these details, they decide on what divinatory acts are called for and what should be used to locate lost objects or stolen animals. The diviner endeavors to trace the process of the actual robbery in the flame and after that the route the lost object took until he discovers its whereabouts, so that he can state where it is and who was the thief.

[54 cont.]

787 But what is most interesting is that each person in La Guajira can learn the signs that determine divination according to the different methods that make this art of prophecy possible, and make use of them in order to help anyone who may ask his aid or to satisfy his own curiosity about many things he desires to know. The women are especially greatly addicted to divinatory arts [55] to find out from a distance what their absent husbands are doing or what may happen to them when they are far from home. The process is as follows: First the tobacco is lit, then a special prayer is recited asking that what is occurring, or is going to happen, be revealed. Then the woman starts to suck on the tobacco and to observe most carefully every change in the tobacco once it begins to burn. For example, if it emits sparks this means that the person about whom the divinatory enquiry is being made is going to receive money; if it opens in the middle it means that the husband is ill; and he is gravely ill if the ash goes black. Other characteristic signs show when the husband has taken another woman and when he is with her.

This circumstance, that any ordinary person can learn the known methods of foretelling the future, is one which interests us at the moment because it appertains to the aspect of medicine we are investigating. These diviners, usually women, are the ones who, in these cases, decide what kind of illness is attacking the patient — a child — and how it was contracted, (generally by direct contamination through the mother during her pregnancy from an animal that had touched food eaten by her). By the same token, they decide what curing methods must be followed to free the patient from the illness from which he suffers.

To clarify this point we quote several pertinent examples taken from our field notes.

753 825 It is said in Nazaret, and it is a belief extensively accepted all over the peninsula, that a bird called uche, which is accustomed to withdraw to the Sierra de Macuira during its hours of sleep, is harmful to the native inhabitants when it flies over their homes, as it is a carrier of bronchitis, which it spills on to the roofs of their houses, from whence the children of the home pick up the contagion and die.

[79 cont.]

764 before arriving at the abode of the spirits, a route that would be
775 most difficult, practically impossible, to follow if he had to set off from some place that was not the special cemetery of his group; and above all he fears that all the indispensable ceremonies required for the success of his post-mortem travels may not be complied with.

775 These facts show us their belief in the active influence, the continuity of life of the individual after his physical death in a spiritual form. It is precisely this belief in life beyond the grave which shapes, directs, and controls the activities in the life of the Guajiro in innumerable circumstances, as we have previously noted. To corroborate this, we single out some of this behavior which is directly connected with the spirit of the dead.

Return of the dead. One of the stories we obtained during the expedition to La Guajira was recounted by the same informant who supplied the data about the sacrifice of children in the making of magic arrows; she stated that when she was a little girl she went one morning with her sister, also small like herself, to look for some [80] burros that had been lost. They searched all through the day without finding them and at last decided to take the road back home. It was already late when the children turned their steps toward their home, from which they had traveled a considerable distance. The sun was already setting when in a small stream bordering on the forest they saw their grandmother, who had died some time previously. According to the story, the old lady was bathing and was accompanied by a boy. The girls, in order to find out if it really was their dead grandmother, asked her several questions to which she did not reply, an evident sign that it was her spirit that had recovered
775 its bodily form. (One can infer from this part of the story a
787 characteristic of the spirits of the dead, which is their inability to communicate directly with living people by speech; these communications only occur in the Indian's dreams when his spirit, also freed from his body, can take advantage of this condition.) The girls returned home and asked why they had seen their grandmother if she was dead. The reply they got was

[80 cont.]

775 787 the following: "Because there are going to be more deaths in the house."

In this story we can appreciate three very clear facts in relation to the dead: 1) that these can return to the bodily form they had when living ; 2) that their presence is an omen of coming misfortune as it announces the death of some member of the family, especially of the closest relatives; 3) that, as we have already noted, the spirit is incapable of communicating with the living by word of mouth.

158 775 787 The blind belief that the Guajiro have in the apparition of the dead in bodily form is due, according to the investigations that we were able to make in part, to a psychological phenomenon: It is clearly seen in La Guajira, and the natives so recognize it, that people do not want to look at a dead person's face. This is owing to the fact that this face will be engraved very deeply on their memory, to the point that when the individual who has looked at it is traveling by road at night, or when it is getting dark, or when he is alone at night in his dwelling and worried, on opening his eyes he will clearly see the dead man in the form he had when alive. We therefore believe that what happens in this case is that the individual is obsessed with and has firmly strongly impressed on his mind the decomposing face of the dead person that, as we have said, stays strongly impressed on his memory through this same act. This observation of ours does not apply exclusively to Guajiro [171] Indians or to other primitives. It is also very common among the town people of practically all the regions of Colombia which we have visited. The psychic phenomenon of obsession and then the almost perfect reconstruction of the image engraved on the memory is a common occurrence among them. But if [81] we add to this the Guajiro's collection of beliefs related to the dead and the fear of the apparition of spirits, which are always harbingers of misfortune (death, sickness, misfortune in general), we can understand how a person so obsessed reconstructs in his nervous state the previously impressed image and, in his imagination, gives it a body. The effects of fear are then translated into a seemingly real image of the dead person, and the

[81 cont.]

158 individual is not capable of distinguishing between the merely
775 fictitious, the imaginary and the real. To him, the image so
787 faithfully rebuilt in his imagination is as real as the living image of the deceased. The explanation of the phenomenon, then, according to his mentality, is that the dead man has appeared before him for some reason or other.

775 This fact is complicated in addition by the belief that every dead person "retraces his steps," that is, he treads again all the paths he traveled during his life; he returns to places where he had been at different times; this is why he is "felt" very often. Many times the individual feels the presence of the dead, even if he does not see it. This Guajiro belief is
[171 also found to be very prevalent in all Colombian folklore. The
538] phenomenon that the Colombian people call "retracing his steps" corresponds exactly to the Guajiro version which we have just transcribed. Of course, according to popular legends, the dead "retrace their steps" when they are dying or a few
[787] moments or even days before their death. To hear strange noises without apparent logical explanation, to see shadows, etc., are for the people evident signs that one of their relatives or friends, or even some person who in the past has lived in these parts, is dying or will die from one moment to the next. For the same reason they avoid walking alone along certain places when they know that someone who has lived there is close to death's door.

Degrees of danger in spirits. The Guajiro murderer suffers
682 a double punishment; first, the claim for compensation payment
775 for blood presented by the dead man's relatives, which involves his own death if he does not pay the sum agreed on; and second, the constant presence of the dead man's spirit, which never leaves him. For this reason, the murderer cannot enter a home where there are small children because the spirit of the dead man follows him, will climb over them, squeeze them, and make them
[753] cry. If the children are sick, the murderer's presence is even more dangerous because the spirit will rapidly cause their death. If they are well they usually become ill. [82]

The death of a fellow being becomes a tremendous obsession with the Guajiro; the murderer is convinced that the
[753] dead man's spirit follows him everywhere. When he is ill he has

[84 cont.]

682 family groups — that of the murderer and that of the victim —
775 is it considered necessary for the murderer to flee to distant parts to avoid the vengeance of his enemies falling on him. We have here, then, a repetition, different in form but essentially the same, of a disguise to avoid the presence of the spirits, [171] which the Witoto practice either in the father, the mother, or the child, with the object of protecting the child from the malevolent action of the spirits (Cf. "Sickness and Medicine").

● 787 Presence of the dead in dreams. The dead person can also
769 reappear through the medium of dreams. He is then as real, as alive, to the Indian as in his apparition during the day or night in a corporeal or other form, such as we have shown throughout this chapter. For this reason, when an Indian dreams of one of his dead relatives on any occasion, he believes that this relative is in need of something in his other world and requires [85] special help from his relatives. He therefore assembles the dead man's closest relatives, and they all go as soon as possible to the grave of the person who appeared in the dream and take a little food with them. After some time passed in lamentation over the tomb, they unwrap the meat expressly taken there for the occasion and seat themselves on the grave, prepared to eat, saying as they begin eating, "Come then, let us all eat together." To avoid the appearance of spirits through dreams, it is a general custom to visit the graves of the dead at times of full moon [luna clara], at night, and on the anniversary of the person's death.

The explanation of the spirit's appearance in a dream can be found very clearly expressed in the words we quote from Dr. Born and according to which "...from experiences in the world of dreams he derived the belief in the soul as a clear explanation of the consciousness of "ego," which is opposed to the destiny of death." According to this, in the dream communication is established between two spirits, between two souls, as Dr. Born says: that of the dead, already definitively free of its human wrapping; and that of the living, momentarily free of its body by the effects of the dream.

766 Burial and children. When the first-born of a Guajiro marriage dies before other children are born, they place it in an urn

[103 cont.]

787 This charm is personal and nontransferable. If a person who is not the legitimate owner should touch it, he has to submit to the diet just described or his punishment will be madness; his character will be changed, he will have fits of anger without apparent or justified cause, he will suffer from permanent nervousness, and his mind will be come deranged. However, he may look at the charm with the owner's permission without suffering any change in personality. It is useless to steal the charm as it will give no aid to the thief but will remain faithful to its original owner and will most likely cause harm to him who may have appropriated it illegally.

As do nearly all charms, it has its special covering and is kept together with achiote in three successive bags which have been knitted from wool by [104] the same Indian woman who inspired the charm with its magic power. As a matter of fact it is not known of what the charm is made because it cannot be completely uncovered.

787 What is the quality it possesses that makes it so valuable?
789 The native belief insists that when the owner sleeps it makes him dream what is going to happen to him down to the most insignificant detail. During his sleep it tells him who his hidden enemies are, what people wish to do him harm, where they will spy on him when he is traveling on the road, what difficulties he will encounter in the negotiation of an agreement, what words he should use, etc. The owner of the charm wakes up with a start, gets up immediately, quickly finds the charm, and taps it lightly, which averts all evil.

According to the Indians, the charm is like another person that is in every place where its owner is not; it knows the intentions of other people, deduces what is going to happen, and warns its master.

226 Charm for the sea. In Rfohacha one of the Indians who
751 assisted in fishing and the cartage of cargo to and from the ship at the wharf wore, hanging from his neck, a piece of bark of a tree the species of which we could not determine. When we asked him the reason for the charm, he explained that he wore it to safeguard himself from the waves of the sea, that is, to avoid being drowned if some day he should fall into the sea.

[109 cont.]

551 [C8K] say his name and not be a close relative must pay a sum decided upon [110] as reparation for this violation of the social norm. Usually they demand in payment the delivery of several head of livestock, necklaces, and other adornments. If the sum [C28] agreed upon by the arbitrators is not paid in due time, war may be provoked.

551 553 When a girl is born, the father gives her a name which may be the same as her mother's, that of her maternal grandmother, or, secondarily, that of a favorite aunt or cousin, or that of a much appreciated friend. But besides this name which is derived from family sentiment or a friendship of the father's, the girl will also have various capricious nicknames which do not necessarily correspond to natural qualities or defects in her psycho-physical personality or some special circumstance at her birth but can be any arbitrary name which may occur to her father, her mother, or her brothers [and sisters? hermanos] on the spur of the moment. So the girl may grow up with several nicknames, of which in the long run one will win out and be generally adopted.

But when the girl becomes a young woman, when her first menstruation appears and her complicated initiation ceremony is carried out, the changes she experiences in her biological functioning and her social standing also extend to the aspect of her name, and she will no longer wish to respond to the nickname by which she has been called ever since her infancy, but only to her new name, by which she will be known until her death.

551 From the above we note that in La Guajira a person's name is not used among the natives except in a very restricted sense, but on the other hand, the nickname which a person acquires when a child through the intervention of his parents or brothers [siblings? hermanos], is the true, the universal name, which may be used by all his countrymen up to the time of his death.

● 787 825 Omens. When a mountain cat [cougar] cries repeatedly throughout the night near the house and remains a long time prowling about, it implies the approaching death of an inmate of that house. The behavior of this animal can become maddening, as at times it will repeat its patrolling and mewing for several

[110 cont.]

787 nights and even can persist in this habit for years.

805 If on successive occasions a person should meet a bat when on the road, it is a sign that he will receive bad news on the way or on arriving at his destination, or that there will be a mishap at the place toward which he is traveling. Furthermore, if during the night he frequently hears a bat, death is approaching some person he knows.

In the chapter "Sickness and Medicine" we have already seen the relationship existing between snakes and pregnant women and a series of facts which place [111] ophidians in an exceptional position in Guajiro mentality, by virtue of the fear that this reptile inspires in the individual through the number of properties, usually malevolent, which are attributed to it. To this we must add the quality of animal omen, because if at dusk or during the night they see the trail of a snake without being able to capture it, the first person who sees the snake itself the following day will suffer the loss of a member of his family or some other misfortune. This happened, they say, to one of the girls in the Nazaret orphanage. One evening they found signs on the patio of the passing of a large snake. The girls looked diligently for it everywhere without being able to locate it, as they were convinced that if they did not find it that night, the first person to see it the following day would have trouble. As a matter of fact, the girls affirmed, the girl who encountered it suffered the loss of her grandmother within a short time.

But in this matter of what we have called omens, it is the birds that have the greatest influence. We could therefore speak of birds of good or bad omen in La Guajira. These birds announce future events according to the position they take up in certain circumstances, which the Guajiro interprets in his own way in accord with certain traditions and fixed rules, which their actions give us to understand. These do not constitute, so to speak, a rigid code, a pre-established and fixed law, but are rather to a certain extent products of chance and the native's imagination, who seeks in all the accompanying circumstances, logical or no, the explanation of any phenomenon. Whatever happens to him in his life is never without reason or cause.

[111 cont.]

787 825 Someone must know about these happenings and will communicate them at the proper time. From this they derive their belief in the announcement of coming events, which they interpret by associations related to certain animals in certain circumstances.

For example, the bird which we call the woodpecker announces to the wayfarer by its song that in the place that he is going to a misfortune will occur, there will be a drunken brawl, or simply that evil spirits live there.

We have already seen the malevolent action of the nocturnal bird which appears frequently in Nazaret and sleeps in the [753] Sierra de Jarara. The Indians say that it flies over the houses during the night and in its droppings spreads the germs of bronchitis which are absorbed by children who contract the illness and die.

There is also a bird known in the peninsula named cucarachero ["cockroach bird"] — different from the one in the interior of the same name — which wanders over the roofs of houses searching for beetles, scorpions, and small lizards, etc. It makes its nest in trees near houses and frequently sings [112] when it is brooding or raising its young. It is known in La Guajira by the name of waimpirai. This bird and the one called uteté announce by their song when visitors will be coming to the house. The belief exists that these two birds hurry those who are on a journey and counsel them to be speedy so that no misfortune may befall them en route.

Another bird, the one popularly known by the name of alcaraván [bittern] and in Guajiro by that of karré, likes to walk about near the native houses and to go inside them. If at nightfall it should be going about in the vicinity of the houses, the Indians believe it announces the death of someone in the family. The natives' fear of this bird becomes acute when it is not content to move around the house or go inside, but goes into the cooking area and approaches the hearth, because in this case death will very soon carry off one of the members of that home. The creature suffers the consequences of the natives' fear since they drive it from the house with stones and blows.

[112 cont.]

787 825 Another bird of bad augury is the red owl. If a person who is traveling by night along the road sees one and hears its hoot, this is a signal that a misfortune is about to happen at the spot the walker met the bird or that something will happen to upset him on the road.

If at nightfall the long-drawn out song of the waimpirai is heard, it is an indication that there will be a war between two important clans, or extended families. They say in La Guajira that on a certain occasion, after this omen had occurred, a struggle between two families broke out and 20 [797 628] members of the Uriyú clan had to take refuge in the convent of Nazaret, defeated by their adversaries who were hunting them down wishing to kill them.

When a hen cackles at daybreak there will surely be a death in the house, particularly when the cackling is repeated on three consecutive days.

312 132 133 Natural phenomena in magic. The most important natural phenomenon for the Guajiro is rain, the essential fount for his agriculture and stock grazing and the basis of his present-day economic organization. It is not strange that this is so because if for every community and for living beings in general water is an indispensable element and if many of the divinities and spirits of the primitive Americans center around it, for the Guajiro it is infinitely more essential if we take into consideration the geographical milieu in which he lives and to which we have referred, perhaps insistently, in this work as we consider it of vital importance (cf. "Introduction"). In the whole area there is no river or stream of importance. The soil has a maximum permeability and has to withstand high temperatures; [113] and as the Guajiro have no practical knowledge of the conservation and distribution of rain water, they always live dependent on the winter season for sowing their crops. For 789 this reason many acts of magic have this end in view, but as this aspect will be better understood in the chapter on "Mareiwa and Wanurú," or notions of good and evil, we will confine ourselves in this section to noting some magic acts related to rainfall and to other natural phenomena.

789 756 The intervention of the shaman, which we have lost sight of since the second chapter when we described at length his personality and attributes, returns again to participate in

[114 cont.]
787 phenomenon — organize, as in the case of the eclipses, noisy
821 groups who shout aloud, [115] begging the lightning to withdraw, to go to the sea and make the storms that frequently lash the coasts of Cabo de la Vela and Chichibacoa.

* * *

When the Guajiro is on the sea and, as frequently happens, his vessel becomes becalmed, he calls on the breeze to return by means of a long-drawn-out whistle, trying every pitch until he gets it to return.

* * *

821 Finally, if at dusk a considerably large, vividly red cloud
● 787 appears, the native believes that it announces that there will shortly be a war between two clan organizations.

787 Magic and dreams. The Guajiro Indian looks upon his
813 dreams as revelations of the future. His mentality does not conceive them as products of the past or as being associated with certain psycho-physiological phenomena, but as previews of his life, as a way of seeing future happenings, as revelations made by the spirits of strange things that will happen to the person dreaming or to those that appear in the dream. These dreams are not, therefore, private personal phenomena but social events, as what they contain affects the entire community or parts of it and determines many of their individual or collective acts, since the Guajiro is always strongly linked to this phenomenon as he is to all other magic; and in this respect he is a determinist. His life, his social and economic activities, his relations with his geographic surroundings, his illnesses, birth and death are determined by this play of magic interactions. It does not
813 matter that the phenomena are not always repeated in the same way or that on many occasions the events expected to occur as the consequence of a certain concatenation of magic causes do not take place or do so in a different or even contrary manner to that expected; the native does not waver in his belief in that invisible but active force. He continues to be attached to it, as

[115 cont.]

813 to a faith or a creed. And only the presence of distinct elements in his civilization and contact with other human groups more advanced and rational (in our sense) is undermining the power of this force which, in great part, constitutes, regulates, and governs his way of life.

121 787 In this study which we present we are not interested in dreams as events tied to the psychic life of the individual, nor are we going to try to interpret them. [116] This is part of another work which will be presented later by other investigators. The phenomenon as such interests us, especially the interpretation the native gives his dreams as revelations of future events, of forthcoming happenings related to his own life, to that of his fellow beings in particular, or to the community in general. In other words, the magic act that denotes, as Thorndike states, "a mental state," a way of feeling and thinking, a method of explaining effects whose causes are unknown. We will, therefore, simply describe a series of dreams and their meaning to the native, without comments except in cases where we consider it strictly necessary in order to clarify certain situations or special institutions to which they refer.

787 But before dealing with this matter, we shall first make a subdivision of dreams into two categories, in accordance with their content, which we may describe as the real and the symbolic. The first would appear to be the work of special spirits who reveal themselves through the medium of dreams to give their assistance and protection to an individual in an almost direct manner: These dreams are so clear, so explicit, that they require no interpretation. They are like a conversation between the individual and the spirit in which the latter tells the former all the things he must do; for example, the herbs that he must take to cure a certain illness from which he is suffering. On the other hand, the other dreams do not have this direct relation but are detached from active reality. Their interpretation — usually made by the shaman — demonstrates phenomena of a socially determined character which should be prevented or hastened. These dreams are those that give rise to the series of ceremonies or rites leading to a conjuration, as we saw in the corresponding chapter.

[116 cont.]

787 If someone dreams that a certain person is dead, and he sees him in that state, it is because he will be seeing a steer killed in the near future; and vice versa if in the dream he is present during the sacrifice of a steer it means that a certain person, who is then identified by the interpreter of the dream, is going to be killed by violence.

If in a dream one sees a person who lives at a distance, it fortells that within a short time he will be seen; and vice versa if the person in the dream lives in the vicinity of the dreamer, it indicates that that person will not be seen for a long time, or never; in other words, he is soon going to die.

If someone dreams that he cares greatly for a certain person, and he sees himself making demonstrations of affection toward him, that person will no longer care for him, he will forget the dreamer [117] and completely ignore him. On the other hand, if the dreamer appears to be very disdainful of an individual and shows his feelings of dislike for him, it means that the person is going to care for him passionately.

When in a dream a person is going to be murdered, this means that someone of his group will die, not the person dreamed of but some other.

If in a dream he has the sensation (nightmare) that he is falling from the hammock in which he is sleeping, that is a sure sign that when he is dead those who are carrying his body to the cemetery will let it fall and crash to the bottom of the grave, when the social norm stipulates that the body of a dead person should be lowered carefully and slowly to its final resting place. Such an occurrence signifies that the bearers of the body held the dead man in little esteem.

[764] [554]

A woman who dreams that she has, or that she will have, a daughter is convinced that this means that her honor is going to be defamed, that she will be involved in vile gossip and slander; people will say that men have abused her, and when they see her with a man they will say that he is one of the many with whom she has had illicit relations. But when she dreams that the child she will bear will be male, this is a sure sign of a putchi and that her family will be involved in an interclan war and will suffer

[117 cont.]

[787] reprisals from their opponents. One of our informants, a married woman without children, told us that on one occasion she dreamed she was going to have a male child. A short time afterward, her group, the Uriyú, became involved in a fight with the Epieyú, who were much stronger; several members of her group were killed, others sought asylum in the Capuchin convent, and the majority emigrated to Venezuela in order to avoid greater disasters.

When the action of a dream represents the sacrifice of a steer, and the dreamer is accompanied by a person of a different clan, the interpretation given is that the dreamer will perish at the hands of one of the family group that appeared in the dream with him. During our stay in Nazaret we attended the funeral ceremony of a woman who was found dead one morning, seemingly hanged from a forked pole in the interior of her home. It was soon established that she had been murdered by her husband, who had brutally beaten her and who, to avoid punishment for his crime, had fixed her body to appear as if she had hung herself. One of the relatives of the dead woman stated after the occurrence that some days before the woman had had a dream similar to what we have just described.

Furthermore, to dream of convalescing from any kind of sickness indicates that the dreamer will suffer [118] from the [788] sickness dreamed of. To avoid this, he must arrange an exorcism, which consists of the celebration of the fiesta that would be given when a sick man has recovered from such an illness and has become convalescent, that is, a chicha-maya dance at which, at the expense of the man who would have suffered the sickness, chicha and meat are partaken of by all who attend.

With respect to the foretelling of interclan wars, which appears to be an obsession among the Guajiro Indians, in addition to what we have noted above, we have an indicator dream, when the dreamer sees a great flood of water washing away everything in its path, devastating everything that comes within its reach, and carrying the dreamer away with it. He, however, is able to save himself from drowning in the flood by grasping some plants growing on the bank or a log floating in the stream.

[118 cont.]

•78] The meaning of this is that shortly there will be a terrible family war into which his own family will be drawn, but as he saved himself in the dream by catching hold of something, he has the conviction that he will likewise come through the war safe and sound.

[302] The Guajiro is usually guided by his own experience when making an excavation to find drinkable underground water for his own use or for his animals. But all too often when the spring of water appears after days of hard work, it has to be abandoned because the salinity is too high to permit the water to be used. It is traditional, however, that the Guajiro finds the best places for water through his dreams. The sleeper recognizes the place where he should excavate to find water, and with unshakable faith he puts into practice what he has dreamed. Naturally, by coincidence the dream at times comes true, but in the majority of cases this does not happen, yet this does not prevent the Guajiro from continuing to believe in his dreams.

If an Indian dreams that on walking abroad he meets a serpent which coils itself about some part of his body, it is a sign that he is, or is going to be, a very intelligent person with a facility for learning a language other than his own. If, on the other hand, in the dream he shows fear of the snake and runs away, that means he has no qualifications for learning and is mentally slow.

If he dreams of food in abundance, numerous troubles are approaching him.

If an individual dreams that after climbing a high hill, he finds himself on the summit, it is a symbol that he will live for many years and will die at an old age. [119]

If he dreams that he is tossed by a bull, it is a sign that in a short time he will have whooping cough.

Lastly, if a man is sound asleep, and he dreams that someone comes to the spot where he is lying and grips him firmly and thus wakes him up, the cause is none other than the presence of the wanurú, or the spirit of a dead person, that comes to visit him.

These examples of dreams, which do not cover the infinite variety that occur among the Guajiro nor their diverse

[119 cont.]

787 interpretations, will suffice to show that the life of these Indians is built around natural and supernatural phenomena impregnated with a magic factor, and that it is difficult to separate them.

789 Other magical acts. The belief exists among these na-
826 tives that to eat another person's leavings of food implies the acquiring of his qualities. Thus, if one eats the leavings of someone having white hair, one's own hair will become white. Women are therefore very addicted to eating food left by white women when they visit them because they want to obtain a paler complexion. It is also quite common among the men to eat food left by those who are distinguished for their bravery because by this they may acquire some of their courage. This belief extends to everything that may have contact with the person's mouth or breath. Cigar and cigarette butts have this same virtue. They also believe that if an Indian smokes a cigarette butt that has been thrown away by a foreigner, he will acquire one of the qualities of that foreigner -- his beard.

778 This gives us a clue to the existence of what some authors
789 have called mana. It is nothing more than a memory which shows itself in the magic phenomena we have been describing. The idea is not clear but it may be presumed to have existed in former times. Mana is a force that transmits qualities; it is both energy and vitality, which in spite of being intangible impregnates everything it touches. It can be absorbed or acquired in different ways, and from this we derive the explanation which has been given for cannibalism in some primitive tribes. Its concomitant effect is that it has led the Guajiro to keep one of the aspects of this idea: that food, and in general all objects that have been in intimate contact with a person who has certain characteristics, superior in the eyes of the native since he wants them and would feel more complete with them, bring him that force, that singular essence, through magnetization -- permit us the term for its graphicness -- which it has acquired by touching the possessor of such qualities. [120]

The object, or the food, has robbed, so to speak, a little mana from the individual who was in intimate contact with it.

• • •

[147 cont.]

775 and plague either individually, or collectively with the appearance of epidemics; spiritually by inspiring reprehensible actions such as murder, which brings social misfortunes in its wake. In general, all the transgressions of the Guajiro social law — rape, suicide, infidelity, etc. — are inspired by this spirit.

2. They have permanent sites of habitation, especially in unoccupied houses.

3. They are grouped into special categories dependent on the circumstances of their death, which influences their manner of life in the next world.

4. They make their appearance by adopting special [74] bodies, that is, they make themselves visible. In this they differ fundamentally from the spirits of good, like Maraiwa, who manifests himself in no bodily form. In this connection [148] we have the following native belief: If during the night 775 or in the late hours of the afternoon, a sizeable, nocturnal white 825 moth is found in the bedroom, it must not be mistreated or killed. It must be treated with consideration because it is nothing but the spirit of some ancestor — wanurú — who has come on a visit. If it becomes very troublesome and keeps one awake by its fluttering, it must be got out of the room very carefully. [78] If it should be killed, the spirit of the dead incarnated in it would appear in dreams and exclaim: "Why did you kill me? I like you and for that reason I came to visit your home. You have done me harm." And most certainly the spirit would take vengeance in some bad way or another on the person who had violated the rules of hospitality due the spirits of the dead.

775 Yoruji. The concept of Yoruji is more difficult to clarify. He seems to be the same as the wanurú for the following reasons:

1. The natives when they refer to him give one to understand that he is the spirit of the dead.

2. As with the wanurú, he has his sites of fixed habitation, especially in cemeteries, in the crevices of Cabo de la Vela, or hidden in the boughs of trees in the lonely woods of Emejuy in Lower La Guajira.

[85] 3. Also, as with the wanurú, he is the cause of both physical and spiritual harm to the natives and to the community in general.

[153 cont.]

182 *756 e) Defense of the community and the individual from the harmful influence of evil spirits, an influence which largely expresses itself in personal and communal illnesses.

554 *756 In exchange for all these services given by the shaman, the community offers him as payment, on one hand, their backing, respect, admiration, and even fear, and on the other hand, material goods which consolidate his status of privilege, such as necklaces, cloth, jewels in general, animals, and money.

• • •

182 741 [154] In accordance with the previously established division between magic and the foretelling of the future in Chapter IV, we should now state that the diviner, like the shaman, serves to maintain, defend, and restore the regimen for individual security and collective stability, an affirmation which we have based on the following functions which he performs:

a) Discovery through divination of the causes of illnesses, thus permitting the prescribing of adequate medication, with great probability of success for the patient, who is generally a child.

b) Also through divination the restoration of lost objects [685] and the discovery of the thief — factor in the breaking of the regimen for personal security — so that the thief may suffer the penalties with which society punishes those who violate the cultural norms concerning personal property.

• [787] c) Divination by which, when husbands are absent from home, their state of health can be ascertained and their wives can provide them with rapid and effective help.

d) Determination, in the last instance, of a novice's "vocation" or lack of "vocation" in the science of shamanism, a decision which is of great importance for the community in general, since on it depends whether the community has in its future magician a defender of its regimen for stability, a counselor and spiritual director, or, on the contrary, a charlatan on whom the protector spirits have not descended to illuminate him and who

182 [154 cont.]
791 is for this reason most probably a moral and material fraud.

We have to remember that there are two fundamental facts
756 with respect to divination: 1) that the shaman can be both
787 things, magician and diviner, which increases his position and prestige; and 2) that any individual can learn for his personal use and the good of others the methods of divination, which do not require, as they do in the case of the shaman, the illumination and constant presence of the protector spirits who exercise their domination over the individual in whom they dwell and whom they submit entirely to their will.

• • •

182 Ordinary magic, that is, that which does not depend on the shaman or the diviner, but is rooted in popular belief and
626 is like a code of preventative norms tending to avoid the breaking of institutionalized cultural patterns, is also a true regimen
789 for [155] stability. It clearly indicates that if this or that norm is violated, the individual will suffer the punishment in himself, in his offspring, or in his family group, such as, for example: a) nonattendance at burials, not assisting in the digging of graves, not looking on the lowering of bodies into the grave, etc., on the part of both parents when the woman is pregnant.

b) The prohibition against approaching children or sick people after having touched a corpse.

c) The precautions that a pregnant woman should take on meeting a snake.

d) The ceremony that should be practiced with the corpse of a first-born child.

e) The restriction imposed on a pregnant woman's husband regarding hunting with modern firearms.

f) Finally, the observation of all those norms whose violation may adversely affect the actual birth or the health of the newborn baby by causing the mother to be upset and ill before or during childbirth.

g) We may also see this action of magic in the use of different kinds of charms (fetishes, amulets, talismans), in the express prohibition of not pronouncing the personal name of an

[158 cont.]

262 meat of animals sacrificed during the wake of a deceased member of the family. The murderer's self-denial of all solid food in his daily diet is another proof of the intervention of magic in the aspect of the Guajiro's nourishment. The ceremonies of propitiation for rain and the ripening of the harvests are other palpable demonstrations of the intervention of magic in this way.

[289]

754 c) And, finally, in relation to aggression, we see the very marked influence of magic, particularly in the charms which are 789 used to cause injury to certain people: for example, those made of a young woman's hair, the blood of a hummingbird, the tail of a dog, and achiote to make a girl fall in love with a man who later intends to betray her; or the one used by women who, having bought a talisman from a woman expert in those matters, place it in the clothes of a man whom they wish to harm after acquiring an old sandal of his and burning it, so as to cause him 182 bodily and mental injury. Furthermore, magic forewarns and ●787 allows an individual to foresee the acts of aggression of which 789 he or a clan or a family group is going to be the victim by the interpretation of the shaman's dream or that of a private person, as was seen in the section "Magic and dreams" in Chapter VIII. The effect of magic on the regimen for individual security and collective stability tends to be that of saving the person or the group, as the case may be, from acts of aggression on the part of potential enemies, such acts being foreseen through magic means properly interpreted.

Names of Plants and Animals

Plants:

104 achiote (Bixa orellana)
192 abuyama [squash] (Cucurbita máxima)
824 artemisia (f. Synanthereae or Compositae)
indigo (f. Leguminosae)
cardon (Pilocereus atroviridis)
mahogany cedar (fam. Cedrilaceae, Sp. Mahogoni of Linnaeus)
lupine (Abrus precatorius) [Indian licorice]

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season, and it was then the dry season. The dance was the so-called chichimaya. This was arranged because Mauana had dreamed that he ought to spend several cattle and lots of maize beer on a performance of this kind. Otherwise dances are arranged in connection with a girl's being confined in her hut and on a number of other similar occasions. The medicine man, piache, often orders a dance when someone has fallen ill, when a casimba has run dry or when they want rain. They also dance when the herds are marked and castrated. Neighbours and relatives are invited to bring their young girls and these need never lack for partners, for the young men come of themselves, when they hear of it. It is not impolite to ask about the refreshments to be provided before accepting an invitation. The Indians prefer beef to goat's meat, and a beef-dance will be very well attended.

We reached Mauana's house a little too early. The maize beer was not quite ready. Maize beer, or chicha as it is now generally called by the Creoles, is simply a gruel made of ground maize, and it constitutes the Indians' daily fare, as it does in much of native South America. If this gruel is allowed to ferment, it becomes slightly alcoholic and the Guajiro then call it *ajar*. Fermentation is traditionally stimulated by the women chewing the maize, and this also is done in Guajira. The maize is sometimes mixed with manioc. The resultant brew, *Arhiwa*, the Indians consider pleasant and strengthening. The ordinary, slightly sour unchewed maize gruel appeals more to the European both as regards taste and hygiene.

Mauana had intended to regale us with spirits, but fortunately we managed to persuade him to give ordinary maize gruel instead.

Gradually people began to assemble, all in their finery. Mauana explained that it was only a small performance. He really did not have time for such things just then, but the promptings of dreams had to be followed.

In the dusk we all went down to the feast-place outside a couple of huts, where an area had been well swept. Round this the guests had now begun to assemble. They stood in a

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several days afterwards, but have to be fed. They also have to keep to a diet for a while, a precaution that, like the cloaks they are wrapped in while digging up the bones, is to protect them against spirits. 767

In the old days the house in which a person died was abandoned. Nowadays that is only done if the person has been murdered. 768

I have come across this after-funeral among several Indian tribes farther south, in particular the Motilon in the Andes, neighbours of the Guajiro, and the Indians of the Llanos plains around the Orinoco. It seems a peculiar custom to us, but it is a sort of memorial ceremony, a feast of remembrance devoted to the dead person, who is thus not forgotten so quickly by the Indians, as is often the case with us. 765 171

The animals killed at a man's funeral are to accompany him into the hereafter and enable him to maintain his position there. His immediate relatives must not eat of this meat, which is all given to the guests, who cook it and feast on it. 764

Different in character is the sacrifice of some creature, a black sheep or a brown cow, which the piache recommends when he has dreamed that someone is in danger of being murdered. Here the animal is being killed in place of the threatened man, the goat or cow acting as substitute so that the human can escape his fate. Presumably, what used to happen was that the person threatened had to go out and kill some wild animal, a deer for example. The custom of slaughtering cattle at a funeral originates from the change in the Indians' way of life that resulted from their making cattle-rearing their main occupation. Earlier the dead person was given other grave-goods to enable him to manage in the life hereafter, including ornaments and that sort of thing. In the pre-Columbian era quantities of polished stone beads and rums were placed in the graves. Then, when farmers began to be reckoned in cattle and horses, it was obvious that the dead person must have cattle to accompany him. To the Guajiro, as to the general run of Indians, there is no such thing as natural death. Were it not for the dangerous world of the spirits and evil enchanters people [751] [762] [763] [768] [769] 770

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CHAPTER 10

Conjuration of Spirits

How does one become a piache? Not of one's own volition. Those worthy are chosen by the spirits and receive their summons in a supernatural way. The wanuru spirit itself visits the chosen one, who may be a boy or a girl. Women are often sorcerers in Guajira. One of them gave us this account of how she received her summons.

First she saw in front of her eyes a fall of shooting-stars, a rain of gold; then everything went dark and she sank to the ground. The first warning usually comes like that. Some days later she had violent attacks of shivering, cold sweats and vomiting. As she lay in her hammock more dead than alive, she heard a voice say: 'Eat manilla or you will die.' (Manilla is a kind of chewing tobacco which the Indians now obtain from white traders, but in default they have recourse to tobacco leaves. The spirit always orders the person to chew manilla.)

The woman's relations hastened to get some manilla and at the same time sent for a piache, who would have to decide whether the girl really had received a call or not.

Another woman told us that her first symptom was thoroughly prosaic: constipation. During the night she dreamed that the spirit came and led her by the hand to a big plantation. She awoke trembling, but then heard a voice ordering her to eat manilla. By chewing tobacco she recovered completely. Her mother, who was herself a piache, at once began instructing her in her profession.

After the summons comes the apprenticeship. The magical tobacco seems of great significance for the medicine man or woman to be, and even for the fully trained. The

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756 medicine men of South America make great use of tobacco, and at first it was mostly reserved for them. The chewing of
●787 tobacco can cause an intoxication, through which a magi-
276 cian can put himself into a state of ecstasy. Of course, the nicotine has a violent effect on the children whom the spirit orders to eat manilla, and it is not easy to say whether the symptoms accompanying the summons are due to abuse of tobacco or to other infirmity. It is said that those called to be piache always fall ill. The Indians are fully convinced that dreams have significance for their actions. While asleep they receive instructions which they seldom dare fail to carry out. The youth or girl who is summoned receives his or her revelation either in dreams or while in a hysterical state. The Indians consider them to be possessed by the spirit, and the piache for whom they send then has to decide whether the spirit really has visited the boy or girl, or not. If it is not possible to fetch a piache immediately, they will sometimes have to make do with a sooth-sayer, an *eatschi*, who though not a proper medicine man, at least can 'smoke tobacco', that is to say, can foretell future happenings, find strayed animals, etc. They are often well patronized. The outschi swings a firebrand in the air while puffing at a cigar—magical tobacco again!—and the trails of smoke tell him what he wishes to know. He can merely confirm that there has been a true revelation, that the spirit visited the young person and entered into him or her. A sooth-sayer can go no further than that, but that gives the parents the comforting assurance that the piache, who has to be summoned in any event, will not come in vain. The piache has no objection to a sooth-sayer making a diagnosis.

The attacks from which the candidate suffers both at his selection and when he becomes fully qualified, lead to a
[766] trancelike state. It is characteristic that a dead piache may not be buried until after three days and nights, so that it is quite certain that he is dead and not just that his soul happens to be away. A cataleptic state and hallucinations are characteristic of future and practising medicine men alike.

There is no avoiding the call to be a piache once it has

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been confirmed by sooth-sayer and piache. The person selected must learn the profession and practise it. Otherwise, certain death awaits him, for the spirit will not suffer his decisions to be neglected. 756 787 276

Often parents cannot afford to send for a piache, for those who convey the request have to give him a necklace of gold beads. This may mean that the novice's family has to ask well-to-do relatives to pay the fee. When he arrives, the piache examines the candidate and stuffs some manilla into his or her mouth. When he sees that it is beginning to take effect, he intones a monotonous song. As soon as he stops, the novice must proclaim his desire to become a piache and have it granted. He is selected by the spirit, but he does not yet know anything. The apprenticeship then begins. [602]

The piache shuts himself into a suitable hut together with the novice, and there they must stay, hidden from the world, for a month or more. The apprentice is not supposed to be seen by anyone during this time. No one may go in and interrupt the seance. The piache sits on his stool of light wood shaped like an animal. He wears a head-dress made of wool and places a similar one on the novice's head. He then begins singing songs, swinging rattles and making all the gestures, movements and conjurations that he uses to call upon and move the spirits. His instruction continues day after day, sometimes by night as well. He has to keep to a certain diet. Roast maize in particular is usually prescribed. Now and again spirits appear and talk with the novice, encouraging him, not least by expounding how great are the advantages of being a piache, and how rich the presents he receives. 756 [352] [262]

One day the spirit announces that the first period of instruction is over and the novice ready for examination. This is an intermediary examination, for the instruction is not complete. So far it has only included spells and magical songs, and the novice has no knowledge of herbs and poisons. (Knowledge of medicinal herbs is common to all by family tradition.) The songs, gestures and spells have been repeated till the novice knows them all perfectly. [824]

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756 During this period of confinement the novice is always having to chew tobacco, and it is during periods of nicotine-
[576] intoxication that the spirits appear to him. After his first examination the novice is given a diadem and a rattle, *maraas*, as symbols of his new dignity.

The novice's family must now arrange a dance and sacri-
[535] fice sheep or goats. A chichamaya is performed during one or two days and nights. Those taking part are ceremoniously painted. The animals are slaughtered and offered to the spirits who partake of them during the night. After that the dancers can eat. No one, however, may touch the meat till
[782] it has lain, wrapped in leaves, at the spirits' disposition and thereafter been dedicated by the piache, who spits tobacco juice upon it and pronounces spells over it.

The apprenticeship, of course, is not over, and again the novice is shut away from the world. Now comes a period of instruction in the art of chewing tobacco, that is to say, how, where and when that is to be done and what are correct ways to summon spirits, cure illness, make rain, protect cattle, halt epidemics and much more that the medicine man may be called upon to do. The instructing piache transfers his spirit to the apprentice, and exhorts the former not to start by trying to cure adults, but to practise on children. The spirit also forbids erotic association.

After a few months the apprentice will be ready to qualify. Large quantities of maize beer are then prepared and invitations sent out.

756 While the guests are drinking and dancing the novice
787 sits, still isolated, practising. The spirit comes and orders him or her to send for a beast of certain colour and with specific markings, which is to be sacrificed to the spirit. When that has been done, and it must be done, the spirit demands some necklaces of gold beads—any number up to ten—which have to be hung up in the novice's hut. As soon as these have been collected with the help of relatives—often as a loan—the spirit pronounces himself satisfied and informs them that the novice's apprenticeship is over. He or
[535] she can now begin to practise. But, the spirit adds, there

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must be no intimate association with women, not even with a wife! 756 757 ●

The spirit has not merely accepted the novice as a piache, [833] but has entered into him, possessed him and will accompany him during all his magical seances. As a person a piache is of no importance, but when the mighty spirit fills him he becomes the equal of the real spirits. He cures the sick [755] exclusively by supernatural means, with the help of the spirits. Of real medicine he knows nothing. According to the Indians' ideas there are no natural causes of ill- [753] ness and death, which are ascribed entirely to dangerous spirits.

When a piache is summoned to cure a sick person, he must be given a gold necklace or some other valuable gift. He brings with him two maraca rattles, the usual magical instrument of the South American Indians, and a stool shaped like an animal. If necessary, he can sit on some other stool. One of his magical instruments is small pellets made by someone with a great knowledge of herbs and formed like goat's excrement, which are intended to attract the spirits.

While the piache is in his trance everyone must remain silent, otherwise the spirit may take fright and leave the piache's body, at which he will fall to the ground in convulsions and be ill. The piache chews tobacco all the time, and with the resultant magical saliva he smears his patient's body and often the walls and roof of the hut as well. He sings a song, invoking the spirit and sucks the parts of his [755] patient's body that hurt, thereby drawing out the cause of the illness: poisoned spirit arrows that have been shot at the sick person's body.

Usually the piache is alone with his patient, but sometimes he will allow a near relative to be present and help. The songs the piache sings are about how his own spirit is seeking everywhere for the patient's. The demon of the illness has gone off with it and holds it prisoner. When the demon is found, it is forced to release the patient's spirit against a ransom. For this the piache demands cattle, goats or sheep with special markings or ornaments, cloaks, etc.

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756 If cattle, these are tethered beside the hut where the
787 seance is being held; if ornaments they are handed to
the piache.

If the piache does not receive what he demands—or rather what the spirit demands—attacks compel him to stop treatment. If the patient recovers, the piache retains the gifts on behalf of the spirit; but if the patient dies, then he is not supposed to get anything. Sometimes, however, he apparently keeps his fee on various pretexts—threats that the spirit might be angry, etc.

The piache observes his patient closely during treatment. An experienced medicine man will perhaps see that the patient has scarcely any hope of recovery and will pronounce him doomed.

During these seances the spirits often speak with the piache about the life to come. They tell him that in another existence he will come to a land with many villages that he
[778] has never seen before, in a countryside well watered by blue rivers—a glorious prospect from the Guajiro point of view. It seems that the spirits are here speaking of the piaches' special heaven. Ordinary Indians, perhaps, have to be content with a less well-watered paradise. If the patient recovers, the piache orders a chichamaya dance. The maize beer for this is prepared either by chewing or by adding raw sugar,
[534] *pamla*. Those taking part stream in as soon as the drum, the only instrument, begins to sound. Nobody is invited; people just come as they wish. In the houses of the well-to-do they will be regaled with beef, one or more cattle being slaughtered for this. All will be in their finery. The dance will last one day or more, as the piache orders. The piache then washes his patient, who must still keep indoors.

756 When a child falls ill, the parents will often consult some neighbour who dabbles in fortune-telling to find out what the cause is. It will be cheaper to let her try, than at once to call in a professional sooth-sayer or a piache. The old woman will often burn the child with a red-hot needle or arrow-head, which in certain abnormal mental states, perhaps could provide a beneficial shock. The woman will often

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accuse an animal of spreading the disease. A certain bird is 754
considered dangerous, spreading, as it flies over the hut,
bronchitis and coughs, which in the first place attack the [753]
children. A child's illness is often ascribed to something
that happened to the mother during pregnancy. If a child
gets a pain in its stomach, the wise woman may say that this
is because a spirit ate some of the mother's food before the 755
child was born. To deal with this, duck feathers are burned
and the child's behind smeared with ash. In other circum-
stances it is because a fox has nosed at something the mother
subsequently ate. In that case a fox has to be killed and the
child given some of its grilled meat, at the same time as the
child's behind is rubbed with burned fox-bone. The child
will get quite better—if the old woman is right and it was a
fox. These women are quacks even in the Indians' eyes, and
yet they turn to them first.

If an animal is sick, the piache himself is at once sent for. [231]
The cattle are driven into an enclosure and the piache
dances round and among them, wearing his head-dress,
torso bare, and brandishing his maraca, singing song-spells
and spitting tobacco juice upon the animals. After some
days of this, the treatment is concluded with a chichamaya
dance.

The Guajiro, of course, believe in dreams. During sleep 756
the spirit frees itself and learns things of which it knows 787
nothing while the individual is awake. Because of this it is
considered risky to neglect warnings or things of which
one has dreamed.

A piache attaches special importance to his dream-experi-
ences and knows how to interpret them. If he dreams that
a snake bites someone, it means that that person will be
struck by a poisoned arrow. If he sees fire in his dream, that
indicates fever, while violent rain denotes the death of
some rich Indian. Blood in a dream also means death, and
an animal being butchered means that a person of the same
age or sex will die. If the piache dreams that an enemy
intends to kill a specific individual, he hastens to visit the
person to help him. An animal of a certain colour is killed
and the threatened individual smeared with its blood—

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that prevents his own from being shed—and after this a chichamaya dance is arranged.

It is not only through dreams that future events can be foretold. There are special sooth-sayers: we have already mentioned the outschi, who deal in prophecy without being piaches. Many real piaches also deal in prognostication, but that is not really their province. The Indians believe in the piache, more than in the ordinary sooth-sayer. 'The piache is always right', they say.

In divination the sooth-sayer also uses a firebrand that he swings through the air, or a lighted cigarette or, sometimes, a knife-edge along which he stares. Whatever the method, the sooth-sayer's spirit has to free itself and go roaming. Let us say that he is to track down a stolen cow. The freed spirit follows its path till it finds it and can say whither it has been taken. As I said, a piache will not treat a patient if he is sure that he is incurable. He often finds out about this by using a firebrand. If it goes out, there is no hope. Sooth-sayers most carefully study the different shapes assumed by the coals, which, to the initiated, are significant.

As with us, there are many amateurs, especially elder women, who try to foretell the future or discover what others are about. Suppose such a woman wants to know where her husband, who is on a journey, is and how he is [276] faring. She takes a cigar of the primitive kind they use there, lights it and pronounces an incantation, asking to be shown what she wishes to know. If the ash turns black, her husband has fallen seriously ill, if the red part splutters it means that he will get gold, that is money. Other signs will reveal that he has associated with some other woman. That can involve the husband in considerable trouble when he returns.

Medicine men have a number of guardian or assistant spirits who advise them, but who also require remuneration for their services. They also warn the medicine men against enemies. Every piache has seven or eight such spirits, each of which is invoked with a special song. The rain demon, Mareiwa, is called in song under the name Fumayule, while

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

him and found that he could not make rain at all, but was an impostor, so he was driven away with blows and was glad to escape with his life.

Even in the days when the reputation of the piache stood high, the Guajiro would not infrequently seek the help of the famous medicine men of Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, the so-called *mamás*, in whom many Creoles believed. A Guajiro who could manage to do so would take a sick person there or an article of clothing or some ornament that the invalid had worn. The medicine men of the mountain Indians would use this to diagnose the disease, and the messenger would return with a herbal medicine. The health-bringing plants were broken up and preserved in spirits. People liked to acquire such medicine especially before a child was born; it was then poured into the infant's bath water and the mother drank a gulp of it. The effect of it depended on the magical power of the plants.

The Guajiro themselves used certain plants as medicine. Sometimes these really were effective, but often it was just a question of sorcery. A plant with much milky sap, for example, was laid on a mother's breast if her milk failed. The powers possessed by the mountain Indians of Sierra Nevada were attributed to the circumstance that they possessed the secret of invoking specially powerful spirits, whose essence also permeated the herbal medicines people got from them. The effect of the herbs thus came from the spirits residing in them. Intoxicating drinks acted through the spirits liberated in the process of fermentation; that was a common belief among the Indians.

The Guajiro believed in omens and portents. Various animals foretold misfortune or death. A wild cat wailing round the house at night, a bat that persisted in following one through the darkness, in certain circumstances also a snake beside the house, all portended trouble or sorrow. The Indians paid special attention to the behaviour of a number of birds and interpreted this as indicating the approach of visitors, the imminence of something unpleasant, etc. When they thought they had observed such a

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

portent, they would usually summon a piache or a soothsayer in order to find out for certain.

Let us now leave medicine men, for it is time to go out on our travels again.

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Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

273 method the maize is finely pulverized by hammering on a flat stone, instead of being sun-dried. Beer is drunk in large quantities, as is rum received by trade.

276 Both sexes commonly smoke long narrow cigarettes, which the women make of bundles of 8 or 10 leaves. Formerly, at least in the western portion of the country, the *Goajiro* chewed coca (bayo) with lime, which stained their teeth black. Coca is still grown, but there is no mention of this custom in recent times.

RELIGION

776 *Goajiro* religion is imperfectly known. Mareigua (Maleiwa) seems to have been the Creator and Culture Hero. He caused the first *Goajiro* to emerge from the ground and taught the tribe how to produce fire with a drill. He saved them during the flood by raising the Cerro Pororo where they had taken refuge and by driving the jaguars away. As a Supreme Being he shows some moral preoccupation, in the past having punished those who lived in incest. He sends rain and all the good things which the *Goajiro* expect from nature (Hernández de Alba, 1936, p. 44).

Yoluha (Yorja) has been thought to signify the god of thunder, lightning, and drought, but the term probably does not designate a single deity but bad spirits or ghosts in general. These are feared at night when 776 the sky is clouded; to prevent their inroads the *Goajiro* stretch a thin cord 789 between two poles reaching above the roof. They attach to this cord, at regular intervals, fishhooks which serve to entangle the Yoluha and make their stay unpleasant. Sometimes when sounds coming from the bush are thought to have been made by spirits, the Indians light embers and throw stones at them.

● 787 The *Goajiro* give considerable importance to dreams. A dream may 438 cause the desertion of a camp, a war, or a consultation with a shaman. The *Goajiro* carry charms which they buy from shamans.

SHAMANISM

756 *Goajiro* shamans (piache) are of both sexes. Aside from their long hair shamans differ little in external appearance from ordinary persons, but their power is reputed to be considerable and people avoid offending them. They are said to cause the heart of a person to stop beating unless they are paid enough.

A shaman keeps his cures secret and divulges them only to a successor, who undergoes a long period of training and who pays his instructor a certain number of cattle. When the training is complete, there is a public initiation with dancing and drinking, at which the novice is seized by fits as demonstration of his new power. The instructor chants spells

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

over the novice as he (or she) lies in the hammock twisting and groaning as his spirit takes possession of him, imparting knowledge and power. 756

In attempting to cure, a shaman often causes greater injuries to the patient; permanent blindness may result from his effort to cure eye injuries with caustic powders or to remove foreign substances with horsehairs or cactus spines. Tuberculosis is treated by inducing expectoration and prescribing a meaty diet. Dysentery is cured with herbal medicines. Well-chewed tobacco or tobacco-laden spittle rubbed over a painful area is a common method of therapy. If the medicine man effects a cure, which he frequently does, he is rewarded with gifts of cattle, rum, etc. No attempt is made to treat smallpox, the victim often being abandoned to his fate. 755

Some practitioners who are not exactly shamans divine by burning a bundle at the end of a stick or by examining the bottom of a bottle, i.e., by crystal gazing (Hernández de Alba, 1936, p. 42). 771 787

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[281] As soon as the menses appear, the head of the girl is closely shaved. She is placed naked but wrapped in a robe /manta/ in a supine position in a hammock which is slung up close to the ridgepole inside the house. Beneath the hammock a cloth is strung so that the girl cannot be seen from below.

In this position and as immobile as possible, she remains for five days (some say for only three), without eating and complying with a series of rules which later will have importance in her adult life. For this reason these rules must be observed by her to the letter, and she must be closely watched and counseled by a kinswoman, generally a maternal aunt, who does not leave her by day or night while she is suspended above, reminding her of what she should do and prohibiting her from doing what is tabooed so that she may not suffer the consequences in her future life.

Before being placed in the hammock, the woman who is in charge of her gives her a herb drink to make her vomit a great deal, with the aim that the girl will hurl out, along with the food she took when she was not yet adult, all her infantile psychological characteristics, such as her mischievous and disobedient nature, her imagination, her way of thinking and believing, her /52/ irresponsibility, her incapacity for work, and, moreover, all those characteristic bodily mannerisms of a girl. Beyond this, the mother a kinswoman, or female friend who may have a potent love charm considered of great effectiveness, places it on her neck or, if it is for external application, rubs it on the genital organs, on the breasts, and all over the body as prescribed, because at this particular time it is effective and especially because it is the propitious moment to acquire powers of attracting the opposite sex, qualities she will have to have in adult life to obtain the married happiness for which she is now being prepared.

If these two prescriptions are not complied with or are carried out faultily, the girl, changed into an adult, will be lacking in judgment and common sense in her actions, which

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635 The punishments which the Guajiro establish to punish crimes against property are varied and very elastic in their application, since it depends on the standing and strength of those concerned.

We have seen how the first reaction when a thief is discovered is to kill him, in spite of the consequences it can bring. If they do not kill him at once, they follow a curious magic process aimed at the same end: to contrive the thief's death. "This is why when they recover a cow or an animal that had been stolen from them, or it reappears, they cut its hair and bury it up to its neck; the owners surround it and cry as if they were at a wake; they insult and curse the thief, reinforcing their actions with explosions of gunpowder, which they mix with ashes and the hair of the stolen animal. In this way they believe they will cause the death of the thief (1)."

1. Jahn, Alfred. Los Aborígenes del Occidente de Venezuela, page 187.

Guajiro law stipulates as indemnity for the theft of an object or an animal, double or sometimes three times the value of the stolen item. Generally it is double, to pay for what was stolen and indemnification for damages. But the application of the law exceeds this at times, particularly when it is made effective on unprotected groups, in which case it has on occasion gone as high as ten times the value of what was stolen and even the elimination of the thief's family, leaving them in abject misery because they took away all their herds, as happens in Jacara. In this region, which is dryer than the rest of the peninsula and consequently lacking in agricultural resources, the whole economic life is centered around stock raising, which provides food and in olden times helped to provide clothing. If the thief is punished by taking away his livestock, he is by that act reduced to the margin of the social collectivity, since he finds himself obliged to emigrate as he has no other means of livelihood. When he emigrates he abandons his lands, which his enemies take. These

[23 cont.]
of the patient or of his family – then those attending are presented with a good portion of meat.

Shamanistic treatment of animals. When pestilence breaks out among a Guajiro Indian's animals, he has no other known recourse to repel it than to seek the services of a shaman. As he already knows in a way the accustomed ceremonial in such cases, he prepares days beforehand a sufficient quantity of corn chicha, which is used in the chicha-maya dances, and he invites a large group of women to come to the dance. He then calls in the shaman, who, once arrived on the scene, has all the animals collected and enclosed in a large corral. While this operation is being carried out, the shaman begins to prepare himself for the ceremony, inviting his protector spirit to cast out the pestilence, and dressing himself (or better said, undressing himself) in a neighboring hut as is customary for the ceremony of the cure of human beings, keeping on his loincloth if he is a man and her dress if a woman. He then places a crown of wool on his head and readies the maraca, which he keeps in his hand during the entire event. Following this, he enters the place where the animals are, goes in among them, and turns himself around in circles about them, continually shaking the maraca and spitting on their bodies the juice from the manilla he is continually chewing. During all this time, he intones his ritual invocatory chants, [23] which are different from those used for the cure of humans, and he never stops shaking the maraca. This operation generally lasts for several days and is only suspended for those moments when the shaman rests. When he considers that the evil spirits which have caused the pestilence have been successfully driven off, he suspends his activities and orders for the fiesta to begin, which is started by the sacrifice of an animal, the distribution of chicha to those present, and the dance. The animals are driven to the fields while numerous gunshots are fired (in older times arrows were shot off). These are intended to complete the work of the shaman in driving off the evil spirits of the disease.

Shamans' dreams. When a shaman dreams of a long trip through unknown territory, it is an evident sign that he is due to die. When the dream is over, he attempts through "shamanizing"

[44 cont.]
764 him on his journey and which remain his only possessions, since
784 the rest will be distributed among his heirs — take on the quality
778 of untouchables.

782 2. The poisoned arrow. The second sacrifice about which
789 we gathered information has a greater importance than the previous one for two reasons: first, because it is the sacrifice of a human being, and second, because it is linked to a series of ceremonies set in motion to obtain a certain end, the deadly power of the imára, or poisoned arrow, or better said, the magic arrow.

This sacrifice, so far as we could observe, is no longer
101 practiced in La Guajira. According to the information
105 gathered, it was practiced exclusively by the Kusina Indians,
184 inhabitants of the sierra of that name. They were bellicose
782 Indians, warriors, robbers, and animal stealers, who kept the other communities of the peninsula in an incessant state of tension by their attacks and evil-doings. We think it interesting to point out here that these Indians, commonly known as Cocina, according to all the information obtained did not constitute in themselves a separate cultural group. Their language was the same as that of the other Guajiro; their customs were relatively the same, and their physical type identical. Everything seems to indicate that they were no more than social outcasts, all those who, for crimes committed and not paid for in accordance with established laws, had found it necessary to unite themselves into societies outside the law. The question is not entirely clear, and it will be difficult to make it so because Kusina Indians are no longer found in La Guajira.

411 Bows and arrows stood out among the arms used by the Guajiro, (We say "stood" out because now they chiefly use rifles of foreign make). One of these arrows, which they call poisoned, bears the name of imára. The shaft of this arrow is made of a thin piece of wood taken from the tree called parára and measures approximately 80 centimeters in length. At the upper end of this sharpened shaft is placed poison of a ray
411 or the bone of a poisonous serpent. This imára is what the Kusina
648 Indians used as a last resort in their battles with Whites or with
921

[45 cont.]

782 quite high, which also gives us an idea of their value in the opinion of the Indians since they considered that the fact of their points being impregnated with the blood of the sacrificed child made them both more poisonous and more accurate.

766 The body of the boy, who had to be between four and six years old, was brought by the father to the hamlet after these magic operations were finished and was buried in the clan cemetery. The burial and the death of the child were secrets. Nobody must know about it. We could not discover if the secret nature of the ceremony was due to the fact that the community [682 might punish the murderer, the mother or maternal aunt, or 787] some member of the child's family on the maternal side, collecting the corresponding sum for his death in accord [46] with customary Guajiro law, or if the reason was that secrecy strengthened the malevolent qualities of the poison on the arrows. It is to be presumed that the latter hypothesis is the more acceptable, since the disappearance of the child and the sale of magic arrows by the father would point him out as the author of the sacrifice.

682 In any case we cannot overlook the aspects of blood in 683 the child sacrifice just mentioned. Spilling blood is one of the 826 crimes most severely punished. Blood, according to everything one can deduce, has great value for the natives, as it is considered an integral part of their human personality, even to confounding it, so to speak, with personality itself, as they do in the case of names. Hence, for the same reason, he who voluntarily or involuntarily sheds the blood of another person is stigmatized and becomes an outcast from society. He becomes unclean, and in consequence has to make the corresponding reparation which at the present time is complied with by paying to the offended party or to his family a determined [411] quantity of valuable objects or animals. For this same reason, arrows contaminated with the blood of the child sacrificed by his father have, or ought to have, according to the Guajiro mentality, an incalculable value due to their participation in 411 the sacrifice and spilling of blood, thanks to its presence on 935 their points. Moreover, if we take into account what the 775 dead man means to the Guajiro as a spirit capable of doing harm

[46 cont.]

411 when the respect due to his status is not shown (Cf. "Magic
495 and Funerals"), and particularly the spirit of those dead through
775 violence, we can better understand the high value they place on the imára, or magic arrow.

593 It will be well to explain again the position of the father
611 in relation to his son in La Guajira. The family in this society follows matrilineal descent, and therefore the father is not really considered as father to his sons but is to his nephews, his sister's sons. The family ties between father and son are so weak that they do not exist except in certain secondary aspects of the family economic organization.

411 The use of the poisoned arrow among the Kusina Indians
539 is shown by the following fragment of a story told by the same woman informant who supplied us with the data on which this
789 present study is based and which refers to the struggle between a Guajiro Indian named Kurfra-pfta and some Kusina Indians who arrived at his hamlet one night to steal his stock. The section dealing with the magic arrow, translated literally from the Guajiro text, is as follows: [47] "The Kusina shot (with a rifle) at Kurfra-pfta, who came upon them from behind. They wounded him in the thigh. 'Now, it isn't possible to do anything,' said K.P. 'Let's kill him to end this once and for all,' said the Kusina. K.P. lifted himself on to his sound knee. He shot at them (with his rifle), killing one. Then the Kusina said, 'Let's kill him with the imára (poisoned arrow).'"

411 The fragment of this story corroborates the existence of
789 the magic arrow among the Kusina, and also, as previously stated, the fact that the poisoned arrow,— magic arrow to us — was the last recourse utilized by these Indians when their other weapons did not produce the desired result.

The area of distribution of this cultural element, as we have seen, was in the Sierra de Cocinas, and it was frequently used in Jarara, where it was obtained by purchase or by barter from the makers. This class of weapon used to be employed in this latter region — Jarara — in times of war. Now it is no longer used in either of the two areas mentioned for two reasons.
[797 First, the evangelizing action of the Capuchin fathers in the
778] Sierra de Jarara, who have, in the main, mitigated the warlike

[47 cont.]
character of the inhabitants of Jarara; and second, the complete disappearance (according to all sources) of the Kuina Indians in the last 20 to 25 years for various reasons. In other words, the arrows which may still exist but of which we could not obtain a sample are those preserved by the aged Indians of Jarara, purchased from the makers in times past.

Sacrifice to forestall the effects of dreams. In the Guajiro mentality dreams are considered to be revelations of the future, coming from a benign spirit who seeks in this way to show his protection to a certain person. When the shaman himself has the revealing dreams then these acquire greater importance, as we have already seen. For the same reason, when one of these shamans has a special dream, he informs the interested party and adds to it the necessary instructions or special ceremonies that he should arrange in order to counteract the prognostication. If such ceremonies are not carried out or are not totally complied with, the dream will become converted to reality. The Guajiro has immense faith in dreams, particularly in those of shamans, and very few persons will leave themselves open to suffer the consequences of the nonfulfillment of the rituals indicated, as experience, according to them, has [48] shown that noncompliance with the indications of the shamans has resulted in many deaths and disasters when the events foretold have taken place.

As the aspect of dreams is treated in a special section, we will here only refer to the theme which interests us and which is related to sacrifices. In this respect we quote the narrative of one of our informants.

This occurred in Jarara. A woman shaman dreamed that a member of the Pushaina family clan was threatened with a fatal tragedy: he would die by the hand of one of his own family group. The shaman immediately informed him of it and ordered him, in order to avert the danger, to organize a fiesta of horse racing and, above all, to sacrifice a black male goat and to bathe himself in its blood. The Indian did not want to carry out the shaman's instructions, and within a short time he was killed by a member of his own group of inferior economic standing. The reprisals taken against the

[89 cont.]

subsistence and in general for every aspect of its life.

The relation spirit-sickness-death, which we have referred to in previous sections, is corroborated by this class of beings exposed to the harmful influence of the spirits almost in the same sense as that in which science regards sickness, i.e., the greater the weakness the greater the possibility of contamination from pathogenic germs. In short, [90] death occurs more frequently among old people and children than among adults. It is only that pathogenic germs, or the various causes of sickness among the Goajiro, are reduced, due to their mentality and in the majority of cases, to one cause only, wanurd, the spirit of sickness and death.

[p. 90 in Wind]

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[91] VI

Magic Charms
(Fetishes, Amulets, and Talismans)

As these three terms, fetish, amulet, and talisman generally lend themselves to confusion, we wish to clarify the meaning of each one before we proceed further with the subject.

Amulet "indicates an object that possesses the magic, passive quality of defending the wearer from malignant influences..." (56)

56. Castiglioni. Op. cit., VI, 87.

Fetish derives from the Portuguese feitico, corresponding to the Latin word facticius ("made by hand"), and at first was used to describe Christian amulets, but was used by navigators in the fifteenth century to describe the primitively carved wood and stone which were worshiped as bearers of magic forces by the Negroes of West Africa. The fetish "is an efficacious charm whose supposed action is guided by the wish of its owner." (57)

57. Bom. Op. cit., 2-3.

[91 cont.]

But in our opinion this definition would be incomplete if we did not add that fetishism implies a special cult, a veneration on the part of the owner. The fetish becomes almost the material representation of a personal and protecting divinity.

The talisman, in turn, "exercises an active magic influence, given that it can give fortune or success to whoever carries it." (58)

58. Castiglioni. Op. cit., VI, 87.

The difference between the last two, which apparently could be confused with each other, is the following: The fetish is a magic article which is at the disposal of its owner, who can use it to obtain his personal good or to do harm to others. On the other hand, a talisman is independent of the will of its owner. Its function simply consists in providing him with "fortune or success."

[92] This clarification having been made, we proceed with our study of magic in the life of the Guajiro Indians.

The general term contras ["charms"] in La Guajira and in the greater part of Colombia covers those magic objects which can be included in the three categories we have just noted. These are not peculiar to any determined racial group but belong to the people, this being understood in its widest meaning. These charms are equally appreciated by an Indian, a Negro, a mestizo, or a White, and for this reason they are found in almost all the social and spatial spheres of Colombia.

But what is the most interesting as a social phenomenon is the symbiosis that has occurred. What is Negro, what is Spanish, and what is Indian are so closely linked, so perfectly amalgamated, that it is now little short of impossible to determine the origin of the different influences in many of the aspects of magic and of popular sorcery, to elucidate what has an African, an Amerindian, or a peninsular origin. All these ethnographic elements which at a historic moment formed an integral and essential part of the cultural basis of the different communities have been converted, thanks to the racial and cultural intermixing, into the elements of folklore of these new peoples that have arisen as a result of such crossing.

[92 cont.]

177 The previous statement is borne out to such a point that
789 even in native communities that are quite homogeneous, anthropologically speaking, as is La Guajira, it is difficult to learn which beliefs, which practices of magic or of sorcery, are autochthonous and which are acculturations due to contacts with the neighboring mestizos who, given the circumstances we have noted of being in the greater part mulattos, have a considerable collection of this type of beliefs and practices inherited largely from their Negro ancestors.

As it is totally impossible for us to make a list of the origin of all and each one of the autochthonous Guajiro beliefs, we shall have to confine ourselves to showing the similarities which they have in the whole of Colombian folklore. It is clear that this similarity will not always indicate acculturation, but only similarity due to the influence of other native groups that have disappeared but who once lived in Colombian territory, or exact beliefs which reached there from other continents and which can only be explained by the general evolutionary process of human mentality.

789 Characteristics of charms. 1. Some charms can be lent by
their owner to another person, if both the owner and [93] the
[426] borrower are of the same sex and if the charm is to be used by the borrower so that he may benefit by its virtues.

[262] 2. To make use of them, the individual during the period of action must submit himself to a special, very strict diet. The breaking of any one of the norms will cancel the effect and bring about serious prejudice to health, if not results contrary to what he had looked for and expected. The way to carry out this diet will be found described in the following section, "Application and Effects."

3. It is sufficient for a stranger to look at the magic object belonging to someone else for all its magic power to be transferred to him. For this reason it is an indispensable requisite to keep it safely from other people's sight and always to be wary of this type of violation.

438 4. It is very difficult to obtain a true charm because while
789 those who sell these are old women very practiced in this art,
673 many unscrupulous women often devote themselves to the trade

[93 cont.]
in charms, which usually have no magic value and are a complete fraud. These women are accustomed to putting in a small wool bag something that has the appearance of a charm and selling it as the legitimate article.

5. A love charm is worth about 300 Colombian pesos, and just the loan of it for a few days to a friend for him to get the desired results is paid for. Such a temporary loan is worth 100 Colombian pesos.

6. Besides the love charms which are strictly Guajiro, there are others that the so-called "Gocha" women sell. There are many of these women in Maracaibo and Zulia. Unfortunately, we could not obtain any special data about these makers of magic charms, of whom there are many on the eastern borders of La Guajira.

7. The charms serve equally for either sex; what varies is in general terms the effects of the charm.

8. Some personal objects, such as hair, sandals, etc., may form the basis of a love charm of great magic potential. This potential is above all due to the possession of a part of the personality of the person whom one wishes to harm.

9. Different love charms can be mixed together.

10. Charms may be acquired among civilizados. This kind of magic material is carefully kept in glass containers made especially for this purpose. [94]

Love charms. The Guajiro Indian, man or woman, knows and uses different charms to attract or repel love. They have them of different classes as regards form, preparation, and raw material. Some of them are the following:

a) One has the shape and general appearance of the excrement of the machorro, (a species of lizard). It has been stated that one of the magic objects used by the shaman is a small wool bag containing a paste prepared by a herbalist that is in the shape of goat excrement and is used to attract the spirits.

b) Another, which is kept inside a small glass receptacle, looks like a stone and is accompanied by some small pieces of coral.

c) Another is made in the following way: The root of a herb, very abundant on Itojoro Hill, is ground and [the paste]

[102 cont.]

777 prayers and special acts of magic with which the charm is endowed by its maker to give it its magic powers.

789 Charms to obtain respect, prestige, and affection. These charms, which are for male use exclusively, are much sought after by the local caciques and by the arbitrators in claims between two enemy groups. The popular native belief [103] assigns the possession of this type of charm to such men as have great influence over them, that is, their natural headmen or direct superiors, and they are convinced that the greater the personal influence or power of such a headman, so much greater is the magic power of the charm he possesses. Hence the efforts of every influential Indian to obtain a charm superior in such qualities to any that may be in the possession of his rivals.

The possession of one of these charms inspires respect in others who would never dare to conspire against its holder's life or character because the charm would protect him and would cause grave danger to the offender. It must be remembered that [435 556] the possession of this amulet implies a condition of considerable wealth as it is only obtainable at a very high price, a fact which definitively influences [the degree of] fear and respect due its owner, owing to the established social custom of relating the social status of an individual with his degree of wealth.

When the native owner of this magic charm has to leave home in connection with some difficult mission such as, for example, taking part in the negotiation of compensation payment or settling a payment between two groups who have become enemies for some reason or other, or when he has to mix with a considerable number of natives among whom he wishes to assure his personal prestige, or when he hopes to overcome some difficult situation, he locks himself in his room hidden from all outside onlookers, gets his charm, uncovers it, and, looking fixedly at it for a moment, he then lifts it momentarily in his hand and vehemently wishes that all the magic power of the charm will inspire and defend him in the adventure he is about to undertake. [262] He then replaces the charm and starts on the diet indicated for the charm to have its effect. He should not eat roast meat or roasted corn for a period of three days, or bathe, for should he do so he will become mad.

[103 cont.]

789 This charm is personal and nontransferable. If a person who is not the legitimate owner should touch it, he has to submit to the diet just described or his punishment will be madness; his character will be changed, he will have fits of anger without apparent or justified cause, he will suffer from permanent nervousness, and his mind will be come deranged. However, he may look at the charm with the owner's permission without suffering any change in personality. It is useless to steal the charm as it will give no aid to the thief but will remain faithful to its original owner and will most likely cause harm to him who may have appropriated it illegally.

As do nearly all charms, it has its special covering and is kept together with achiote in three successive bags which have been knitted from wool by [104] the same Indian woman who inspired the charm with its magic power. As a matter of fact it is not known of what the charm is made because it cannot be completely uncovered.

787 What is the quality it possesses that makes it so valuable?
789 The native belief insists that when the owner sleeps it makes him dream what is going to happen to him down to the most insignificant detail. During his sleep it tells him who his hidden enemies are, what people wish to do him harm, where they will spy on him when he is traveling on the road, what difficulties he will encounter in the negotiation of an agreement, what words he should use, etc. The owner of the charm wakes up with a start, gets up immediately, quickly finds the charm, and taps it lightly, which averts all evil.

According to the Indians, the charm is like another person that is in every place where its owner is not; it knows the intentions of other people, deduces what is going to happen, and warns its master.

226 Charm for the sea. In Ríohacha one of the Indians who
751 assisted in fishing and the cartage of cargo to and from the ship at the wharf wore, hanging from his neck, a piece of bark of a tree the species of which we could not determine. When we asked him the reason for the charm, he explained that he wore it to safeguard himself from the waves of the sea, that is, to avoid being drowned if some day he should fall into the sea.

[104 cont.]

226 751 Never again during our visit did we come across this type of magic object, which leads us to believe that it does not belong to the Guajiro cultural whole, but that it is due rather to [177] the influence of the mulattoes of the coast who, as is well known, 184] are extremely superstitious.

*756 Charms used to call spirits. The use of these charms, to which we have referred on other occasions, is limited to shamans. 778 They use them to facilitate the arrival of their protector spirits when they are in a curing trance or are carrying out any of the functions related to their status. Up to the present we have not arrived at a satisfactory explanation of their influence on the spirits, but we might now bring together the few data we do have. One of the female shamans who served us as informant and who [776] came from the Sierra [de] Jarara possessed charms to attract her spirits. She explained to us that as those spirits are assistants, some to young shamans, some to old ones, the charms to facilitate the arrival of their spirits are also of two classes: for young shamans and the other for old ones.

The charm is made from the leaf of a plant called in Guajiro [824] moröno, which is found in abundance on Itojoro Hill. A woman expert in such articles makes them there [105] by grinding the leaves of the plant to a paste and shaping this into a rounded form which she keeps in a small bag of red thread. The larger ones are reserved for the older shamans, and the others, combined with some of the former, are for the younger.

778 The guará or guale. The guará or guale, difficult to find at 789 present, is a kind of idol made from solid gold or silver and of [325] which only a few examples exist as they are no longer made. This [532] small idol is an anthropomorphic representation in fetal position, and it does not seem to be an autochthonous product of the Guajiro as they themselves assert that these idols come from their [173] distant ancestors, by which they mean the Arhuaco of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta.

This fetish is known sometimes by the name Mareiwa, a divinity or spirit similar to the idea of God but which appears to be nothing else than the spirit of Rain, as we shall see further ahead (cf. "Mareiwa and Wanurú").

[106 cont.]

782 424 789 Magic prayers. As a matter of interest we transcribe below without any comment the following statement we recorded: there are a few special prayers only known to certain natives, the verbal formula of which they sell at times to whoever may need it, on the understanding that these prayers will be used in all good faith and belief in their magic power, prayers that serve to cure whatever plagues may occur, and frequently do occur, in the cotton fields.

538 789 755 Magic charms in the oral literature. From the stories we were able to collect among the Guajiro natives relating to their daily life, there is one that has a clear connection with magic charms. It is the one which refers to the struggle of the Indian Kurĩta-Páta, of Jarara, with some Kusina Indians who had come to rob him of his livestock. In this struggle the Jarara Indian was wounded in the thigh, and his cure was effected through a dream in which it was communicated to him that he should swallow a charm (a tuma, "a precious stone") and leave his wife to exchange her for a slave. Kurĩta-Páta obeyed these injunctions and was cured.

We have then a new magic charm which has a medicinal function and which must be added to those we have already noted throughout this chapter. Its magic action is combined with a social act of great importance within the Guajiro community: that of a man leaving his own wife and replacing her with a slave, descending thereby in the social scale, as there is [567] a great difference in status between a free woman and a common slave or bond servant. A new magic object, the tuma, appears as the possessor of supernatural powers capable of warding off those evils that can overpower an individual.

789 Summary and classification. 1) What we have called magic charms [contras mágicas] in this chapter include three classes of known magic objects: fetishes, amulets, and talismans. [107]

2) All these possess in greater or lesser degree a magic power capable of working either good or evil.

3) Their action in the majority of cases can be controlled and directed by their owners, especially in the case of doing ill

[107 cont.]

789 to others, to those they wish to hurt.

4) But as a general rule these charms are designed to protect their owners from evil actions on the part of others; they are independent of their owners' will, and they demand a certain care and a special diet for their effect to be positive.

5) Objects that have become converted into magic charms can be used in two ways: to cause harm to a particular person or to bring happiness in some aspect of the normal spiritual life of the owner. It all depends on the special treatment given to the charm.

6) The Indians are convinced of the effectiveness of every kind of charm. Their existence and their value are so assured among them that it is difficult to find even one Indian who does not possess at least one charm, no matter of what type it may be.

7) The classification that can be made of these magic charms in accordance with the three essential types which we have specified at the beginning of this chapter is the following:

Amulets. 1) Those given to girls unhappy in their love affairs by their mothers or their aunts; 2) charms for war; 3) jet; 4) the salta piedra ["jumping stone"]; 5) coral; 6) oxeye seeds; 7) coconut shell in the shape of a small hand; 8) horse skull; 9) charm to acquire riches; 10) charm to acquire respect, prestige, and affection; 11) piece of wood hung round the neck to save one from the sea.

Fetishes. 1) Love charms to attract a husband permanently, reconquer his love if it has been lost, or to win it; 2) love charm to win women's love without falling in love; 3) those made by men with the hair cut from girls at the time of their first menstruation, hummingbird's blood, dog's tail, and achiote; 4) that used by women and accompanied by the burning of a sandal to revenge themselves on men; 5) that also used by women to retain a man's love or to prevent him taking another woman. [108]

Talismans. 1) The charm used by women at the time of their initiation — first menstruation; 2) those also used by women to induce their husbands to give them a certain present; 3) necklaces made of small disks of coconut shell; 4) women's hair interred in cow dung; 5) charms to aid in hunting deer and rabbits; 6) the guará or guale.

[112 cont.]

787 Another bird of bad augury is the red owl. If a person
825 who is traveling by night along the road sees one and hears its hoot, this is a signal that a misfortune is about to happen at the spot the walker met the bird or that something will happen to upset him on the road.

If at nightfall the long-drawn out song of the waimpirai is heard, it is an indication that there will be a war between two important clans, or extended families. They say in La Guajira that on a certain occasion, after this omen had occurred, a struggle between two families broke out and 20
[797 members of the Uriyú clan had to take refuge in the convent
628] of Nazaret, defeated by their adversaries who were hunting them down wishing to kill them.

When a hen cackles at daybreak there will surely be a death in the house, particularly when the cackling is repeated on three consecutive days.

312 Natural phenomena in magic. The most important natural
132 phenomenon for the Guajiro is rain, the essential fount for his
133 agriculture and stock grazing and the basis of his present-day economic organization. It is not strange that this is so because if for every community and for living beings in general water is an indispensable element and if many of the divinities and spirits of the primitive Americans center around it, for the Guajiro it is infinitely more essential if we take into consideration the geographical milieu in which he lives and to which we have referred, perhaps insistently, in this work as we consider it of vital importance (cf. "Introduction"). In the whole area there is no river or stream of importance. The soil has a maximum permeability and has to withstand high temperatures; [113] and as the Guajiro have no practical knowledge of the conservation and distribution of rain water, they always live dependent on the winter season for sowing their crops. For
● 789 this reason many acts of magic have this end in view, but as this aspect will be better understood in the chapter on "Mareiwa and Wanurú," or notions of good and evil, we will confine ourselves in this section to noting some magic acts related to rainfall and to other natural phenomena.

789 The intervention of the shaman, which we have lost
x 756 sight of since the second chapter when we described at length his personality and attributes, returns again to participate in

[113 cont.]

789 the propitiation of the rain, which is the culmination of the
*756 rituals of the Guajiro Indians.

When summer continues overlong and endangers the crops, animals, and the community in general, the shaman gets ready to call for and to attract rain. To effect this he dresses in the way we have seen him do when he cures sickness or casts out epidemics and begins to invoke up his protector spirits that they may aid him in his trance. He chews tobacco and rhythmically sways his torso and head while shaking his maraca. All these acts he carries out while seated on a wooden zoomorphic chair. He then commences to sing loudly to attract his spirits, and when he attains this he asks them to send rain. He tells them that men need it, that they are without food and without water in their wells, and they are near death through hunger and thirst, their animals are dying, and misery and desolation is overrunning their country. At certain moments the shaman goes out from the house where he is carrying out his ceremony and walks around it so as to attract the rain and scare away the evil spirits that are keeping it back. As a result of these ceremonies rain should fall.

789 But this is not the only method that the natives have at
178 their disposal to attract rain. The propitiation can be effected in a different way without the intervention of the shaman. This is happening now in all the acts of magic in this society, which we may describe as being in a state of disintegration in which the prestige of the shaman has lost importance, and ordinary people have taken over his science. We shall see below a series of methods the natives employ to attract rain without the shaman's intervention.

789 For example, a kind of adoration is very common which
821 the Indians pay to a certain iguana that is found in the crevices
825 of rocks, especially in the cliffs of the seacoast, an adoration that is shown in a series of fiestas and dances, the purpose of which is to obtain the favor of these reptiles, so that they may place no [114] obstacle in the way of the hoped-for rainfall but let it occur freely. We shall study this association iguana-rainfall more fully in the last chapter.

789 Other methods used by the Indians to attract rain during
821 summer are: beating their drums for many hours on consecutive

[114 cont.]

789 821 nights and repeating this at sunrise; or shooting their arrows — or a more modern procedure, their shotguns — toward the clouds to make them discharge their moisture. In the first case, it seems as if the drums endeavor to reproduce the sound of thunder during the storms that are usually associated with rain. The native believes that by creating one of the concomitant factors he will bring about the whole desired condition, that is, the production of the whole phenomenon; for him, thunder and rain are two equal and inseparable things, so by obtaining one he will automatically attain the other.

* * *

241 462 Men and women participate equally in sowing crops with a division of labor which corresponds to the combined magico-biological whole. The men have charge of preparing the soil and making the holes for the seed; the women do the planting and the covering up of the seed. They say that if the grain is planted by the woman, it will have a better chance of growing and developing, and the harvest will be more abundant. The woman is considered as a symbol of fecundity through accomplishing the gestation of the child, and that force she transmits to the seed at the moment she plants it.

* * *

789 821 During eclipses of the sun or moon the natives cry disconsolately because they fear that these heavenly bodies will not continue fulfilling their functions; in crying they implore them not to abandon them nor leave the world plunged in darkness. To oblige them to return to normal, the Indians shoot their rifles at them, and in the more remote areas of La Guajira they organize a great noisy shouting, crying and shooting their arrows at the sky, so that the new day will triumph.

* * *

When there is a great deal of lightning during the stormy season, the old Guajiro who still retain a great fear of this natural

[114 cont.]

789 phenomenon – organize, as in the case of the eclipses, noisy
821 groups who shout aloud, [115] begging the lightning to withdraw, to go to the sea and make the storms that frequently lash the coasts of Cabo de la Vela and Chichibacoa.

• • •

When the Guajiro is on the sea and, as frequently happens, his vessel becomes becalmed, he calls on the breeze to return by means of a long-drawn-out whistle, trying every pitch until he gets it to return.

• • •

821 Finally, if at dusk a considerably large, vividly red cloud
787 appears, the native believes that it announces that there will shortly be a war between two clan organizations.

787 Magic and dreams. The Guajiro Indian looks upon his dreams as revelations of the future. His mentality does not con-
813 ceive them as products of the past or as being associated with certain psycho-physiological phenomena, but as previews of his life, as a way of seeing future happenings, as revelations made by the spirits of strange things that will happen to the person dreaming or to those that appear in the dream. These dreams are not, therefore, private personal phenomena but social events, as what they contain affects the entire community or parts of it and determines many of their individual or collective acts, since the Guajiro is always strongly linked to this phenomenon as he is to all other magic; and in this respect he is a determinist. His life, his social and economic activities, his relations with his geographic surroundings, his illnesses, birth and death are determined by this play of magic interactions. It does not
813 matter that the phenomena are not always repeated in the same way or that on many occasions the events expected to occur as the consequence of a certain concatenation of magic causes do not take place or do so in a different or even contrary manner to that expected; the native does not waver in his belief in that invisible but active force. He continues to be attached to it, as

[119 cont.]

787 interpretations, will suffice to show that the life of these Indians is built around natural and supernatural phenomena impregnated with a magic factor, and that it is difficult to separate them.

789 826 Other magical acts. The belief exists among these natives that to eat another person's leavings of food implies the acquiring of his qualities. Thus, if one eats the leavings of someone having white hair, one's own hair will become white. Women are therefore very addicted to eating food left by white women when they visit them because they want to obtain a paler complexion. It is also quite common among the men to eat food left by those who are distinguished for their bravery because by this they may acquire some of their courage. This belief extends to everything that may have contact with the person's mouth or breath. Cigar and cigarette butts have this same virtue. They also believe that if an Indian smokes a cigarette butt that has been thrown away by a foreigner, he will acquire one of the qualities of that foreigner — his beard.

778 789 This gives us a clue to the existence of what some authors have called mana. It is nothing more than a memory which shows itself in the magic phenomena we have been describing. The idea is not clear but it may be presumed to have existed in former times. Mana is a force that transmits qualities; it is both energy and vitality, which in spite of being intangible impregnates everything it touches. It can be absorbed or acquired in different ways, and from this we derive the explanation which has been given for cannibalism in some primitive tribes. Its concomitant effect is that it has led the Guajiro to keep one of the aspects of this idea: that food, and in general all objects that have been in intimate contact with a person who has certain characteristics, superior in the eyes of the native since he wants them and would feel more complete with them, bring him that force, that singular essence, through magnetization — permit us the term for its graphicness — which it has acquired by touching the possessor of such qualities. [120]

The object, or the food, has robbed, so to speak, a little mana from the individual who was in intimate contact with it.

* * *

[142 cont.]

776 although he sees everything.... Mareigua combines three main spirits and many subaltern ones inferior to Him. [143] Some of these spirits are masculine, some feminine.... An Indian sees that his crop is drying up for lack of water, and far from imploring Heaven for rain, he beats his drum every night and at dawn as if he expected the sound to break up the clouds, or he fires his gun with a similar hope.... Should one of his relatives become ill, he calls in the shaman so that he can with his remedies, his maraca, his tobacco or manilla spittle, and the instructions of his spirits, cure the sick man; instead of appealing to God and asking him to bring his relative back to health." (72)

[821 789]

72. Ibid., II, 65-67.

Jorge Isaacs, the famous Colombian novelist, in the second half of the past century, made an excursion under government authority to study La Guajira and other regions of the country, and he wrote in the report he presented: "Mareigua is the name by which the Guajiro designate God, or better said, the unbegotten one, immaterial force, master of creation." (73)

73. Isaacs. Estudio del Lenguaje Guajiro [Study of the Guajiro Language], 303.

Finally, the ethnologist Professor Hernández de Alba, as a result of his expedition to the peninsula says: "Mareigua. All that is good for the Guajiro: rain, abundance, life, protection, the world in which he lives, all come from Mareigua, the one and only God, always good, never evil...." (74)

74. Hernández de Alba. Etnología Guajira [Guajiro Ethnology], 49-50.

[77 776 The quotations which we have cited lead us to the belief by the Guajiro in an all-powerful god, unique and universal. This

[145 cont.]

776 2. According to data collected in the field among the peo-
773 ple, the son of God (Mareiwa) exists. He was born from the union of the waves and the clouds in a place called Pulówi, in certain "sacred" lakes where human beings may not go, situated in the Sierra Nevada, where there are a number of both fresh- and salt-water lakes surrounded by medicinal plants. Mareiwa
[821] on occasion descends to these places, and it is at these times that heavy rainfall occurs in La Guajira, that is, during the seasons which in the peninsula are called autumn, spring, and winter. Then all the vegetation sprouts, and all the trees, pasture, and plants are green.

3. Another legend states that Mareiwa was born of a woman who became pregnant when, being in her monthly period, she was greatly frightened by the spectacle of a tremendous storm. Without having sexual relations with any mortal, she afterward gave birth in the same way as other women.

4. Guajiro legends relating to Mareiwa also assert that he was born under an olive tree (77) in some place in La Guajira.

[137]

77. The olive tree we refer to in these paragraphs is not the same as that of temperate zones but is an autochthonous tree, whose similarity to the former justifies its name.

The importance of this legend stems from the peculiar character of the tree, which is the only one belonging to the Guajiro flora that escapes the effects of long summers and is always fresh and green, keeping its leaves and bearing fruit throughout the year.

789 5. In his propitiation of the rains when summer lasts too
776 long, the shaman invokes his protector spirits, spirits of good,
821 and especially Fumayule, the name by which curers [curanderos] know Mareiwa.

776 6. In the work and paragraphs already quoted from the
821 work of Professor Hernández de Alba, we find a new relation between Mareiwa and rain; he says: "Mareigua. Everything that is good for the Guajiro: rain, abundance... and He saved

[151] Conclusions

177 Magic shows itself to be one of the strongest institutions
771 of Guajiro culture despite the fact that, as we have shown
throughout this study, it is gradually losing its importance in
789 proportion to the lowering of the shaman's prestige as the spiritual leader of the group. This is due to the already mentioned factors of prosletyzing and acculturation on a rising scale, brought about by the influence of a continually increasing number of civilizado elements in the peninsula, as well as by the consequences of the acculturation experienced by the members of the society. However, it is magic that still dominates many of the aspects of the native's daily life, not to say the greater part, and it is this that we are trying to synthesize and briefly explain in this chapter.

132 1. Economy. The Guajiro's life, as we saw in the Intro-
182 duction is strictly dependent on the tyrannically dominating cli-
771 mate, given the conditions of the peninsula where this commun-
789 ity lives, relying as they do on the seasonal fluctuations of rains to which they have adapted their system of agriculture and stock grazing, essential sources of their economy. As the people's livelihood directly depends on these, the Guajiro, lacking the higher techniques of irrigation and water conservation, puts his hope of survival in methods of magic, whether they be personal, collective, or directly exercised by the curer-magician of the community. These are no other than the exorcisms carried out by the latter to attract the rains in the long summers by invoking his protector spirits and especially Mareiwa, the personification of good and of rain; or the adoration and ceremonies in honor of the iguana carried out by private individuals with the same end in view; or, in short, all the methods of magic we have enumerated in connection with the natural phenomenon of rain.

[241 Also in respect to the economy we must remember the
462] presence of women when the sowing of crops is done, which establishes a division of work by sex based on the magic association of the transmission of feminine fecundity to the seeds.

177 [152] Moreover, faced with the new phenomenon of stock
235 grazing, the native has adapted his magic methods to this, im-
789 posing the same or similar treatments used for the members of the

[182 cont.]

177 community, especially in cases of illness and pestilences, as can be seen in the section "Shamanistic treatment of animals" in
233 Chapter II. If, on one hand, stock grazing partly changed some
789 of the social system related to magic, on the other hand, at the same time it has also felt the influence of this institution to the point of acquiring its own characteristics which differentiate it from other systems of stock grazing, which follow, in general, the lines laid down by the Spanish colonists. Magic is sui generis and plays its part today, as the oldest institution can, in Guajiro culture.

789 Moreover, not only in the collective sense but in the individual, the action of magic on the economy shows itself very clearly in the charm [contra] to make oneself rich, which we have described in detail in Chapter VI and which, as is logical within the Guajiro social dynamic, is connected to such important social matters as status, as we shall see later.

In the chapter which we have called "Magic as the Origin of the Theater in La Guajira," we may also see the effectiveness
[776] of magic in the private economy, since the owner of a piece of cultivated land is the one who organizes at his own expense the dance and fiesta given to attract the blessing of the good spirits, of Mareiwa on the crops, which require sufficient rain and certain climatic conditions to ripen. So great is their confidence that they believe that the more solemn the ceremony of the Dance of the Kid, the more benefit will be received from the spirits they invoke and fete, and the greater the probability of success for the harvest.

2. Society. Guajiro society, as we have said, has trans-
182 ferred a great part of the responsibility for its survival and
619 stability to magic and has a tranquil confidence in it, convinced
789 of its effectiveness and holding firmly to an institutional determinism which only now is beginning to break down fundamentally. The cultural institution of magic represents to the individual Guajiro a system of life, thought, and belief which unites him to his group as much as does the consanguineous tie and the established clan system. Magic is the general and generalized institution, essentially independent of the characteristic social divisions

[152 cont.]

182 brought about by the family and clan organization; it embraces
789 all the community without distinction and influences and de-
[619] termines it in many of its aspects. [153]

For this reason magic is bound up closely with their regimen for personal security and collective stability in three ways: 1) because it establishes a series of preventative norms aimed at defending the individual and the community from possible evils provoked by the concurrence of natural or supernatural, physical or psychic phenomena; 2) because it possesses adequate methods of treating the evils, which the individuals of the community, by transgressing the cultural patterns, bring upon themselves, thus affecting them in their persons or interests; 3) because it instills the belief in the community that any infraction of the established norms can provoke abnormal happenings which work against their stability.

182 We would say, then, that in the first place the shaman
+756 with his methods of magic is an institution created to maintain, defend, and even restore the regimen of stability to the community and its members as will be seen by the short enumeration of the following facts.

a) Medication for illness to restore the health of the patients.

b) Propitiation of the rains, indispensable for agriculture, the growth and conservation of pastures (the essential factor for stock grazing), and the maintenance of fresh water in the wells and water holes, as much for the use of the members of the community as for the sustenance of the stock.

c) Warding off pestilences and epidemics, both in humans and in animals, directed first to the saving of life among the individuals of the community and second to the defense of their interests represented by the stock — the support of their economy and of their existence.

d) Prevention of the effects of dreams, which within Guajiro mental mechanics correspond to actual realities as revelations of the future, anticipatory announcements of things that are going to happen within the community and which will affect one or
[782] more persons in their social group. This is one of the origins, as we have seen, for the animal sacrifices which have so much importance in the daily lives of these Indians.

182 [154 cont.]
791 is for this reason most probably a moral and material fraud.

We have to remember that there are two fundamental facts
*956 with respect to divination: 1) that the shaman can be both
787 things, magician and diviner, which increases his position and prestige; and 2) that any individual can learn for his personal use and the good of others the methods of divination, which do not require, as they do in the case of the shaman, the illumination and constant presence of the protector spirits who exercise their domination over the individual in whom they dwell and whom they submit entirely to their will.

• • •

182 Ordinary magic, that is, that which does not depend on the shaman or the diviner, but is rooted in popular belief and
626 is like a code of preventative norms tending to avoid the break-
789 ing of institutionalized cultural patterns, is also a true regimen for [155] stability. It clearly indicates that if this or that norm is violated, the individual will suffer the punishment in himself, in his offspring, or in his family group, such as, for example:
a) nonattendance at burials, not assisting in the digging of graves, not looking on the lowering of bodies into the grave, etc., on the part of both parents when the woman is pregnant.

b) The prohibition against approaching children or sick people after having touched a corpse.

c) The precautions that a pregnant woman should take on meeting a snake.

d) The ceremony that should be practiced with the corpse of a first-born child.

e) The restriction imposed on a pregnant woman's husband regarding hunting with modern firearms.

f) Finally, the observation of all those norms whose violation may adversely affect the actual birth or the health of the newborn baby by causing the mother to be upset and ill before or during childbirth.

g) We may also see this action of magic in the use of different kinds of charms (fetishes, amulets, talismans), in the express prohibition of not pronouncing the personal name of an

[155 cont.]

182 individual or of the dead, in the aspect which we have called
626 "Omens and Augural Birds," in the behavior followed by individ-
789 uals who wish to call up a breeze during a windless calm at sea or to send away eclipses and lightning which, according to their belief, are malevolent.

• • •

789 A very interesting aspect of magic is its use for and against
595 some of the cultural institutions and their institutionalized patterns; for example, the use of love charms and the compliance with certain norms after the period of seclusion accompanying the ceremonies at the time of a young woman's initiation. Her aim is to fight against polygamy, with a view either to obtaining predominance over other wives or, better, to prevent the man who has acquired her for his wife from acquiring more women with whom she would have to share his life. Possibly due to the influence of acculturation, there is a tendency toward monogamy on the part of the women. The men, however, tend toward polygamy for prestige, since for it they must have a good economical position, as the price of women is high, increasingly so the greater their social position.

[177] [654]

[156] Another institution that we see directly affected by
751 magic is this same initiation of young women. We saw how
771 the death of a first-born child required a series of ceremonies
881 to prevent future children dying at birth, one after the other, and we stated that one of the principal ceremonies consisted in the observance of certain norms which bring to mind very clearly the initiation of the young mother. Their idea would seem to be that one of the causes of the death of the first-born was the deficient carrying out of the magic-biological-social ceremonial to which the girl must submit to prepare for her life as an adult.

[761]

764 Also the norms relating to the dead and the belief in a
775 life beyond the grave rest almost exclusively on magic, and
771 through it their prestige and their functioning are kept up. Magic
626 is also the cause of the fear and respect which relatives and friends show to their dead, and it is magic which also promotes all the ceremonial rites that are celebrated in this connection.

[156 cont.]

554 556 789 3. The individual. Another interesting social aspect related to magic is in connection with the status derived from wealth, expressed by the greater or lesser number of heads of stock owned by an individual. But apart from this strictly material aspect, magic has powers which when put into action assist the individual to acquire a coveted position or to improve one he already has, as is done, for example, in the cultural aspect of language, the mastery of which with the use of fine turns of speech can give to the speaker the highly esteemed and prestigeful position of arbitrator, or intermediary, in their interclan struggles, a position that is often confused with that of chief.

Within this field of magic activity we can cite as examples the following:

a) The sacrifice of animals, which not only gives prestige to the living but also establishes the status of the deceased in his life beyond the tomb.

b) The use of diverse charms such as those for love, for making one rich, for obtaining respect, prestige, and affection, etc.

c) The custom of an individual eating the leavings of food of individuals of special physical characteristics, especially those having qualities superior to his own, as for example, a white skin, a beard, etc., with the end of becoming more outstanding and improving his status.

d) As an indirect form of elevating status, we have the case of the Indian Kurira-Páta, who swallowed a charm and took a slave girl for wife in order to heal the wounds he received from the Kusina Indians. [157] The slave, because of a dream, passed to the category of wife, thus ascending the social scale.

• • •

181 771 789 A great part of the Guajiro's personality is molded by this institution of his culture, and many of his reactions would be inexplicable without previous knowledge of the process of magic, the fields of its functioning, the ways of life it has created, the

[157 cont.]

181 mental outlook it originates — imbued, as we have affirmed, 771 with an animistic determinism — and the beliefs it implies in 788 the different angles of Guajiro human activity, as it will have been possible to observe throughout the length of the work we are presenting. So much is this so that the very basic impulses of the individual are seen in many circumstances to be influenced by magic.

a) To prove this in the sexual aspect it suffices for us to 834 cite again some facts already described and explained in previous chapters, such as the taboos imposed on the shamans, especially when they are women and according to which they should cohabit exclusively with their husbands, avoid caresses, motions, prolonged coitus, and pregnancy, and never exercise their functions during their menstrual periods. Besides this, it can be seen in the lifting of sexual taboos, or better said, the permitted violation of the norms which rule the community in this respect during the celebration of the Fiesta of the Kid, which reaches the point of allowing the consummation of the carnal act among the unmarried, an act absolutely prohibited in their society in normal times and which would provoke — as fully explained in the corresponding section — compensation payment and even interclan war with its tremendous consequences of persecution, annihilation, and slavery. It can also be observed in what we called the "proof of virginity," which permits a male to caress the bodies of young women who take part in the fiesta, an action prohibited, as in the previous case, in normal times. [832] Among the charms we also found some that act in this way, and also significant is the act of rubbing bixa ointment on the genital organs and breasts to make them more effective in love-making.

b) In the matter of food we saw proofs of the influence 262 of magic, especially related to the life of the shaman, particularly when he is in one of his "illumination" trances or in a curing ceremony. This influence also shows itself in the shaman's initiation, in the initiation of [158] young women, in the magic contamination of food by some animals which can cause sickness in newborn children, and in the prohibition against eating the flesh of the hawk which produces sterility in young and old of both sexes. Also, it is found in relatives being forbidden to eat the

[158 cont.]

262 meat of animals sacrificed during the wake of a deceased member of the family. The murderer's self-denial of all solid food in his daily diet is another proof of the intervention of magic in the aspect of the Guajiro's nourishment. The ceremonies of propitiation for rain and the ripening of the harvests are other palpable demonstrations of the intervention of magic in this way.

[789]

754 c) And, finally, in relation to aggression, we see the very marked influence of magic, particularly in the charms which are
789 used to cause injury to certain people: for example, those made of a young woman's hair, the blood of a hummingbird, the tail of a dog, and achiote to make a girl fall in love with a man who later intends to betray her; or the one used by women who, having bought a talisman from a woman expert in those matters, place it in the clothes of a man whom they wish to harm after acquiring an old sandal of his and burning it, so as to cause him
182 bodily and mental injury. Furthermore, magic forewarns and
787 allows an individual to foresee the acts of aggression of which
789 he or a clan or a family group is going to be the victim by the interpretation of the shaman's dream or that of a private person, as was seen in the section "Magic and dreams" in Chapter VIII. The effect of magic on the regimen for individual security and collective stability tends to be that of saving the person or the group, as the case may be, from acts of aggression on the part of potential enemies, such acts being foreseen through magic means properly interpreted.

Names of Plants and Animals

Plants:

104 achiote (Bixa orellana)
192 ahuyama [squash] (Cucurbita máxima)
824 artemisia (f. Synantherae or Compositae)
indigo (f. Leguminosae)
cardon (Pilocereus atroviridis)
mahogany cedar (fam. Cedrilaceae, Sp. Mahogoni of Linnaeus)
lupine (Abrus precatorius) [Indian licorice]

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until they reached marriageable age. Even when they were 291
little they wore belts of seed pearls which were added to
with the years, and other strings of beads were put round [301]
their shoulders and across their chests. A girl of eight or
ten might carry fifteen or twenty pounds weight of beads
and pearls. The string round the waist was made of black
beads, but those on the upper part of the body had to be of
different colours.

The rich used gold and coral. Necklaces of gold beads 301
were traditional, but every other bead had to be black and [556]
be either a seed-pearl or of glass. Poor girls used plaits of
cotton threads on their torsos instead of strings of beads.
All who could, wore sandals with pompoms to protect [271]
their feet against the thorns on the ground.

Women slaves and slave-workers were often not given 291
protective tunics by their masters and therefore went about 567
perpetually half-naked. Being unable to protect themselves
from the sun, they become darker skinned than the others.

The women's dress was thus colourless—unless they had 302
bought some coloured cloth from a white trader. To make
up for this, they painted their faces with patterns, mostly
using the violet dye of a fruit called *genipa*. The men [386]
painted themselves too, but restricted this to a few lines.
Only the women took real pains about painting themselves.
It was mainly their faces they painted, but on occasion their
arms and legs could also be covered with patterns. When on
a journey, the women painted their noses and cheeks all
over with black or red paint. This was not done for the [751]
sake of appearance, but to protect themselves against sun-
burn. We tried the method ourselves and found it excellent.
If one did not follow the Indians' example there, one easily
got badly burned. The Indians regard this protective effect [789]
as supernatural—all paint is magical and the pattern has
secret significance. The women showed my wife red and
brown powders that they had and advised her to try them.

All at once the women were in a hurry. They had 881
remembered that the men were due and hastened to the fires
and their pots. We roamed around and came across a small
hut, entirely closed, standing just behind the big houses.

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881 invitation. Again cattle are butchered, and there is drinking
584 and dancing and horse-racing. Numbers of men come to see if they would like to put themselves forward as suitors. The more eminent guests are received in the house itself, and the girl is now present. Her shorn hair has grown and been trimmed to a page-boy cut, and she wears her best clothes
[754 and new ornaments. She hides her hair clippings carefully
826] in a bag, for she does not want to risk anyone getting hold of them and using them to acquire power over her by the arts of magic. Later, she will secretly bury them under a
[789 cow pat. That will help to increase her herds. The droppings
514] of various animals play a great part in the magic of the Guajiro, and it would seem that there is negro influence here as well.

881 The girl has now been born again—she is a new person, a woman. She knows all that an adult woman needs to know and can do everything that a wife and mother should be able to do. Pale and lovely, she steps out into life once more and inquisitive young men swarm round her. The rich give a big feast, the poor provide simpler fare, but it is always a great occasion.

[582] A Guajiro man will never marry a girl before she has undergone this period of confinement, which means that people seldom marry too early. It is said that in the old days
[595 rich old men with several wives sometimes bought little
831] poor girls as concubines, believing that that would enhance their virility.

The girl's long segregation is intended to protect her from the supernatural dangers that are thought to threaten her, especially during this sensitive period of transition from childhood to womanhood. The girl can also be dangerous to others through being exposed to attack by spirits. It is only practical that during this period she should practise handicrafts.

252 Going back to the house, we found the women at the fires, which there were protected by special small cactus
[354] screens. There was no need to have them under a roof at that time of the year, only to shelter them from the wind. The pots stood over the fire supported on three stones.

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have got the impression that I intended to keep it in a safe 574
place in order to exploit it commercially, that is to say, hire 778
it out to applicants. He could never have understood what 832
a museum was.

We declined our host's invitation as politely as we could. Gladtvet's interest in his female slaves—who now had their faces painted black into the bargain—was very lukewarm.

We were served a dish of goat's meat, from a goat that 264
our friend had been given at the funeral. Unfortunately it 574
was old and tough, and my wife had to leave almost her entire helping. That was not regarded impolite in Guajira. On the contrary our hostess looked delighted and hastily removing it and herself to a very short distance, set about engulfing it. One might have thought that she did not get enough to eat, but no Guajiro wife was underfed in a well-to-do household. Often they had more food than they wanted. Why, then, did she not leave the helping for her slaves? Because she wanted what had been left by the [789] lightest-complexioned woman she had ever seen, since one can become fairer oneself by eating what such a being has touched. For that reason, my wife, as a gesture of politeness, often left some of her food when we ate in Indian houses, to the delight of the women of the household. What I left would have been of use only to the medicine man, and that because I was a learned man.

On our return to the mission, the monks gave us a large 778
piece of beef, which we grilled. 832

'Ay, ay,' said Francisco after the feast, 'the photographer señor should not have eaten grilled meat. I forgot his cóntra.'

'His cóntra?'

'Yes, he has the cóntra now. He ought to have eaten something else. What will happen now?'

The next day Gladtvet had a pain in his stomach and Francisco became frightened. Francisco had been brought up at the mission and considered himself a good Catholic, but that did not prevent him believing in magic. However, our medicine chest relieved Gladtvet's pains more easily than Francisco expected.

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On two occasions I went out with some hunters who had 778
hunting cóntras. Two had talismans for hares; these were 224
small pellets fastened to the leather shield that protects the 789
arm against the bow string. The pellets were shaped like rabbit's excrement and contained a herb the leaves of which resembled rabbit's ears and which the so-called rabbits were fond of! Another man had a deer cóntra prepared from a creeper. It resembled deer's droppings.

The hunters were quite convinced that the cóntra would give them good hunting, and that by its power their game would be unable to escape them. Thus those cóntra were doubly effective. On neither occasion, however, did we get anything, much to the consternation of the hunters. I think they assumed that my presence had prevented the charms working, and they were astounded when I bought them.

Of other talismans there was one intended to help its 778
owner win races. This consisted of some rattling fruits to 789
tie beside the horse's ear. There was a cóntra for warriors called *rania*, which gave its bearer courage and made him invulnerable. Another, which was very expensive, was said to give the possessor luck in business and gradually make him rich. Having become rich, he could then purchase the most expensive charm of all, that which would bring him respect and power. This latter was strictly personal: an outsider could be harmed by seeing it, especially a thief, and it was not effective except in the hands of its rightful owner. It was contained inside several small bags, one within the other, and what was inside the inmost one was known only to the piache who prepared it. In the talisman that brought wealth there were supposed to be links of gold, the power of which lay in the spells spoken over them. Similarly pearls and little figures made of coconut over which the wise women had spoken spells served as amulets. [754]
Amongst other things they protect the wearer against the [117]
evil eye, belief in which the Indians had evidently adopted [532]
from the Spanish–Moorish superstitions of their conquerors. You can find too the small carved hands that are so typically Moorish, and the most powerful means of averting the evil eye. Yet another is more in the negro style. The skulls of

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The skulls of
778 horses are placed round dwelling-places to repulse spirits,
789 which are held to be very afraid of horses, whether alive or
776 dead. When a caravan travels by night, the men with horses
825 are in the lead, and the spirits flee at once. Once long ago the Indians themselves had an almost superstitious dread of horses; that was when for the first time they saw them used by their white conquerors.

It was said that some piaches had in their possession gold statuettes inherited from the 'ancients'. If that was so, they were presumably pre-Columbian objects found in some grave or kept for centuries by some succession of medicine men.

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the demon of illness and death, Wanuru, is called Jirarai 756
Wanuru is the name of all the spirits of the dead which are 776
many, thus we are obviously dealing here with groups of spirits; and where Wanuru acts as guardian or assistant spirits, they no doubt represent the souls of dead medicine men.

One piache, known as a clever rain-maker, told us that 756
when he needed advice over rain-making, he used to go to 776
the burial place to talk with his dead brother's spirit, the 789
brother having been cleverer at it than he. When a piache has to make rain, he seats himself on his stool as for other functions, chews tobacco, shakes his maraca and rhythmically moves his torso and head. He then begins to sing in a high voice, calling upon the spirits and demanding that they bring rain, for people need it, if they are not to die of hunger. Now and again he emerges and dances round the huts, driving away the spirits that are preventing the rain from coming.

The Indians often first try to make rain without the 789
piache's help, by drumming at night or by firing guns and 821
arrows at the clouds. The drumming imitates thunder and can thus, according to the laws of magic, cause storms. The shooting drives away the spirits that are preventing the cloud from dispensing its rain. This is also what they do at eclipses of the sun, when all burst into tears and shoot at the sky to drive away the evil spirit that is preventing the sun from shining. A piache's own spirit does not interfere in his magic-making, for which he uses none but auxiliary spirits. It is not till after his death that a piache's spirit can [775] become active and help some other piache.

The piache has to submit to certain restrictions on diet 756
and love-life. He or she must never have extra-marital 834
intercourse and even marital intercourse must be restricted. A female piache must never spend the night with her husband, but merely pay him fleeting visits that should be as short as possible; she must never allow herself to be caressed by him, and must lie quite still and indifferent during [833] coition. If this is not done, her guardian spirit will be jealous and angry, and may cause trouble. And, preferably, she 756 842

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that he was waiting for two men with whom he was going on a long journey. One of these was from Macuira and the other from Parashi. At that instant two horsemen appeared. Umaralá took farewell of his slave and told him that they would not meet again in this world, only in the next, and he enjoined the slave to tell no one of what he had seen or should see, otherwise he would die. The slave was left alone in the hut, sorrowful and wondering. He saw the riders disappear in the direction of the burial place that Umaralá so often visited. The slave then followed. He heard the death-lament, but saw no one. That was Umaralá bewailing his aunt with his friends. The slave returned home and soon became very ill. He told what he had heard and seen and died immediately afterwards.

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The slave had noticed that the man from Parashi who had accompanied Umaralá, was dressed in deerskin. This man lived in a little hut and had the power to transform himself into a deer. Several Indians had seen and recognized him. He used to make and sell hammocks and other articles made of bast.

The man from Macuira who had been with Umaralá devoted himself to curing diseases. He used herbs and roots for some and cured others by burning the patient with a red-hot iron point. He was also a sooth-sayer and could make rain. His name was Jururiana.

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789

Once there was a dreadful drought that made many people leave Macuira and go to the savannas. Famine came to the hills. Now people knew that Jururiana could make rain and when he came to a place called Chamaro they flocked round him. In the end, in order to compel him to make rain, they tied him to a post in the sun and told him that they would not loose him until he had brought rain. This he did. After two hours, there was a big shower. The chief Juanito Epiayú was a very good friend of Jururiana and often summoned him when there was a drought, arranging dancing with much drinking and races. Jururiana then made rain.

This rain-maker vanished, none could say how. Another pretended to be Jururiana rejuvenated, but the chief sent for

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him and found that he could not make rain at all, but was an impostor, so he was driven away with blows and was glad to escape with his life.

Even in the days when the reputation of the piache stood high, the Guajiro would not infrequently seek the help of the famous medicine men of Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, the so-called *mamds*, in whom many Creoles believed. A Guajiro who could manage to do so would take a sick person there or an article of clothing or some ornament that the invalid had worn. The medicine men of the mountain Indians would use this to diagnose the disease, and the messenger would return with a herbal medicine. The health-bringing plants were broken up and preserved in spirits. People liked to acquire such medicine especially before a child was born; it was then poured into the infant's bath water and the mother drank a gulp of it. The effect of it depended on the magical power of the plants.

The Guajiro themselves used certain plants as medicine. Sometimes these really were effective, but often it was just a question of sorcery. A plant with much milky sap, for example, was laid on a mother's breast if her milk failed. The powers possessed by the mountain Indians of Sierra Nevada were attributed to the circumstance that they possessed the secret of invoking specially powerful spirits, whose essence also permeated the herbal medicines people got from them. The effect of the herbs thus came from the spirits residing in them. Intoxicating drinks acted through the spirits liberated in the process of fermentation; that was a common belief among the Indians.

The Guajiro believed in omens and portents. Various animals foretold misfortune or death. A wild cat wailing round the house at night, a bat that persisted in following one through the darkness, in certain circumstances also a snake beside the house, all portended trouble or sorrow. The Indians paid special attention to the behaviour of a number of birds and interpreted this as indicating the approach of visitors, the imminence of something unpleasant, etc. When they thought they had observed such a

273 method the maize is finely pulverized by hammering on a flat stone, instead of being masticated. Beer is drunk in large quantities, as is rum received by trade.

276 Both sexes commonly smoke long narrow cigarettes, which the women make of bundles of 8 or 10 leaves. Formerly, at least in the western portion of the country, the *Goajiro* chewed coca (hayo) with lime, which stained their teeth black. Coca is still grown, but there is no mention of this custom in recent times.

RELIGION

776 *Goajiro* religion is imperfectly known. Mareigua (Maleiwa) seems to have been the Creator and Culture Hero. He caused the first *Goajiro* to emerge from the ground and taught the tribe how to produce fire with a drill. He saved them during the flood by raising the Cerro Pororo where they had taken refuge and by driving the jaguars away. As a Supreme Being he shows some moral preoccupation, in the past having punished those who lived in incest. He sends rain and all the good things which the *Goajiro* expect from nature (Hernández de Alba, 1936, p. 44).

Yoluha (Yorja) has been thought to signify the god of thunder, lightning, and drought, but the term probably does not designate a single deity but bad spirits or ghosts in general. These are feared at night when
776 the sky is clouded; to prevent their inroads the *Goajiro* stretch a thin cord
789 between two poles reaching above the roof. They attach to this cord, at regular intervals, fishhooks which serve to entangle the Yoluha and make their stay unpleasant. Sometimes when sounds coming from the bush are thought to have been made by spirits, the Indians light embers and throw stones at them.

787 The *Goajiro* give considerable importance to dreams. A dream may
438 cause the desertion of a camp, a war, or a consultation with a shaman. The *Goajiro* carry charms which they buy from shamans.

SHAMANISM

756 *Goajiro* shamans (piache) are of both sexes. Aside from their long hair shamans differ little in external appearance from ordinary persons, but their power is reputed to be considerable and people avoid offending them. They are said to cause the heart of a person to stop beating unless they are paid enough.

A shaman keeps his cures secret and divulges them only to a successor, who undergoes a long period of training and who pays his instructor a certain number of cattle. When the training is complete, there is a public initiation with dancing and drinking, at which the novice is seized by fits as demonstration of his new power. The instructor chants spells

[53 cont.]

174 648 *756

[Lectures given at the National Ethnological Institute]. Bogotá, 1942.

the two groups at some period of their history, — we cannot say if before or after the Conquest, is based on the presence of certain material cultural techniques of the Arwako [Arhuaco] Indians in the Guajiro group.

Let us now analyze carefully and separately each one of these factors:

*756 Medicine practiced by the shaman. In chapter II of this study, we referred to the shaman's curative methods which are effected through their magic communication with the spirits. These spirits supply the instructions required for the ceremonies and processes that are to be practiced to effect the cures of illnesses caused by the wanurú which have a sick person in their power. We again refer the reader then to chapter II.

791 Medicine by divination. Before entering fully into this subject, we feel obliged to clarify somewhat the diviner's position in La Guajira and to learn something more, if only superficially, of the processes of divination.

There are certain men and women capable of seeing secret events that have occurred or foreseeing those that will occur. For this they employ different objects; some use a machete (an item of acculturation), and by closely studying its edge they divine, for example, what has happened at the site of a robbery and where the stolen objects will be found. Others make use of burning tobacco and others, finally, of a burning firebrand.

787 [796] In this aspect of divination the world of the spirits plays as great a role as it does in general in all the themes of magic, since the chain of events in the case of the divination of a robbery, for example, is that the spirit of the diviner disengages itself from his body and goes in search of the lost articles, following the track of the thief until it finds the hiding place and consequently the stolen goods, returning then to the body of the diviner to communicate the result to him so that he can, on his part, transmit the information to the party who has come to consult him. [54]

[54]

*756 787 The shaman also has this power of divination at times, and he, as well as the others, can foretell deaths and other events that will happen. The shaman by reason of his known inherent powers inspires more faith in his prophesies, especially as these practically never fail to be fulfilled.

*756 791 One of the functions of a diviner who divines by means of tobacco, for example, is to decide at a gathering of shamans to which he is expressly summoned whether a certain individual shows definite symptoms that he will become the host of a spirit of the same class as their own. This diviner generally is not a graduate shaman but is a man or woman of great experience in this type of "science." The diviner places the tobacco or manilla, in his mouth and a burning firebrand in his right hand, which he moves up and down while he discourses; he watches it fixedly and gives his verdict in accordance with the variations he notes in the burning stick. This verdict is considered final.

755 *756 787 Shamans in some cases learn the art of divination by the use of a glowing brand to find out, in the event of their being called to cure a sick man, whether they should take the case or not. For the test they take a firebrand; they call on the spirit to come to their aid. They remain with the brand in hand, without blowing on it, and carefully observe the different changes which occur in it through the action of the flame, and from these changes they deduce what will happen. If the firebrand goes out while they are watching it, it means that the sick man is going to die, and hence his presence will not be required.

787 The ceremony of divination by means of fire must be carried out at night never by day. There are diviners who make use of a burning reed or cane for this ceremony. They hold it in the hand and do not take their eyes off it, paying close attention to the changes in the flame, if any, in the blazing up or dying down of the ember, and any other variations they may see. According to all these details, they decide on what divinatory acts are called for and what should be used to locate lost objects or stolen animals. The diviner endeavors to trace the process of the actual robbery in the flame and after that the route the lost object took until he discovers its whereabouts, so that he can state where it is and who was the thief.

[93 cont.]
438 in charms, which usually have no magic value and are a com-
789 plete fraud. These women are accustomed to putting in a small
673 wool bag something that has the appearance of a charm and selling it as the legitimate article.

832 5. A love charm is worth about 300 Colombian pesos, and
435 just the loan of it for a few days to a friend for him to get the
426 desired results is paid for. Such a temporary loan is worth 100 Colombian pesos.

832 6. Besides the love charms which are strictly Guajiro,
[79] there are others that the so-called "Gocha" women sell. There are many of these women in Maracaibo and Zulia. Unfortunately, we could not obtain any special data about these makers of magic charms, of whom there are many on the eastern borders of La Guajira.

7. The charms serve equally for either sex; what varies is in general terms the effects of the charm.

8. Some personal objects, such as hair, sandals, etc., may form the basis of a love charm of great magic potential. This potential is above all due to the possession of a part of the personality of the person whom one wishes to harm.

9. Different love charms can be mixed together.

10. Charms may be acquired among civilizados. This kind of magic material is carefully kept in glass containers made especially for this purpose. [94]

Love charms. The Guajiro Indian, man or woman, knows and uses different charms to attract or repel love. They have them of different classes as regards form, preparation, and raw material. Some of them are the following:

a) One has the shape and general appearance of the excrement of the machorro, (a species of lizard). It has been stated that one of the magic objects used by the shaman is a small wool bag containing a paste prepared by a herbalist that is in the shape of goat excrement and is used to attract the spirits.

b) Another, which is kept inside a small glass receptacle, looks like a stone and is accompanied by some small pieces of coral.

c) Another is made in the following way: The root of a herb, very abundant on Itojoro Hill, is ground and [the paste]

[153 cont.]

182 *756 e) Defense of the community and the individual from the harmful influence of evil spirits, an influence which largely expresses itself in personal and communal illnesses.

554 *756 In exchange for all these services given by the shaman, the community offers him as payment, on one hand, their backing, respect, admiration, and even fear, and on the other hand, material goods which consolidate his status of privilege, such as necklaces, cloth, jewels in general, animals, and money.

* * *

182 741 [154] In accordance with the previously established division between magic and the foretelling of the future in Chapter IV, we should now state that the diviner, like the shaman, serves to maintain, defend, and restore the regimen for individual security and collective stability, an affirmation which we have based on the following functions which he performs:

a) Discovery through divination of the causes of illnesses, thus permitting the prescribing of adequate medication, with great probability of success for the patient, who is generally a child.

b) Also through divination the restoration of lost objects [685] and the discovery of the thief — factor in the breaking of the regimen for personal security — so that the thief may suffer the penalties with which society punishes those who violate the cultural norms concerning personal property.

[787] c) Divination by which, when husbands are absent from home, their state of health can be ascertained and their wives can provide them with rapid and effective help.

d) Determination, in the last instance, of a novice's "vocation" or lack of "vocation" in the science of shamanism, a decision which is of great importance for the community in general, since on it depends whether the community has in its future magician a defender of its regimen for stability, a counselor and spiritual director, or, on the contrary, a charlatan on whom the protector spirits have not descended to illuminate him and who

182 [154 cont.]
791 is for this reason most probably a moral and material fraud.

We have to remember that there are two fundamental facts
756 with respect to divination: 1) that the shaman can be both
787 things, magician and diviner, which increases his position and prestige; and 2) that any individual can learn for his personal use and the good of others the methods of divination, which do not require, as they do in the case of the shaman, the illumination and constant presence of the protector spirits who exercise their domination over the individual in whom they dwell and whom they submit entirely to their will.

* * *

182 Ordinary magic, that is, that which does not depend on the shaman or the diviner, but is rooted in popular belief and
626 is like a code of preventative norms tending to avoid the break-
789 ing of institutionalized cultural patterns, is also a true regimen for [155] stability. It clearly indicates that if this or that norm is violated, the individual will suffer the punishment in himself, in his offspring, or in his family group, such as, for example:
a) nonattendance at burials, not assisting in the digging of graves, not looking on the lowering of bodies into the grave, etc., on the part of both parents when the woman is pregnant.

b) The prohibition against approaching children or sick people after having touched a corpse.

c) The precautions that a pregnant woman should take on meeting a snake.

d) The ceremony that should be practiced with the corpse of a first-born child.

e) The restriction imposed on a pregnant woman's husband regarding hunting with modern firearms.

f) Finally, the observation of all those norms whose violation may adversely affect the actual birth or the health of the newborn baby by causing the mother to be upset and ill before or during childbirth.

g) We may also see this action of magic in the use of different kinds of charms (fetishes, amulets, talismans), in the express prohibition of not pronouncing the personal name of an

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756 787 that prevents his own from being shed—and after this a chichamaya dance is arranged.

791 787 It is not only through dreams that future events can be foretold. There are special sooth-sayers: we have already mentioned the outschi, who deal in prophecy without being piaches. Many real piaches also deal in prognostication, but that is not really their province. The Indians believe in the piache, more than in the ordinary sooth-sayer. 'The piache is always right', they say.

In divination the sooth-sayer also uses a firebrand that he swings through the air, or a lighted cigarette or, sometimes, a knife-edge along which he stares. Whatever the method, the sooth-sayer's spirit has to free itself and go roaming. Let us say that he is to track down a stolen cow. The freed spirit follows its path till it finds it and can say whither it has been taken. As I said, a piache will not treat a patient if he is sure that he is incurable. He often finds out about this by using a firebrand. If it goes out, there is no hope. Sooth-sayers most carefully study the different shapes assumed by the coals, which, to the initiated, are significant.

As with us, there are many amateurs, especially elder women, who try to foretell the future or discover what others are about. Suppose such a woman wants to know where her husband, who is on a journey, is and how he is [276] faring. She takes a cigar of the primitive kind they use there, lights it and pronounces an incantation, asking to be shown what she wishes to know. If the ash turns black, her husband has fallen seriously ill, if the red part splutters it means that he will get gold, that is money. Other signs will reveal that he has associated with some other woman. That can involve the husband in considerable trouble when he returns.

756 776 Medicine men have a number of guardian or assistant spirits who advise them, but who also require remuneration for their services. They also warn the medicine men against enemies. Every piache has seven or eight such spirits, each of which is invoked with a special song. The rain demon, Mareiwa, is called in song under the name Fumayule, while

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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that he was waiting for two men with whom he was going on a long journey. One of these was from Macuira and the other from Parashi. At that instant two horsemen appeared. Umaralá took farewell of his slave and told him that they would not meet again in this world, only in the next, and he enjoined the slave to tell no one of what he had seen or should see, otherwise he would die. The slave was left alone in the hut, sorrowful and wondering. He saw the riders disappear in the direction of the burial place that Umaralá so often visited. The slave then followed. He heard the death-lament, but saw no one. That was Umaralá bewailing his aunt with his friends. The slave returned home and soon became very ill. He told what he had heard and seen and died immediately afterwards.

The slave had noticed that the man from Parashi who had accompanied Umaralá, was dressed in deerskin. This man lived in a little hut and had the power to transform himself into a deer. Several Indians had seen and recognized him. He used to make and sell hammocks and other articles made of bast.

The man from Macuira who had been with Umaralá devoted himself to curing diseases. He used herbs and roots for some and cured others by burning the patient with a red-hot iron point. He was also a sooth-sayer and could make rain. His name was Jururiana.

Once there was a dreadful drought that made many people leave Macuira and go to the savannas. Famine came to the hills. Now people knew that Jururiana could make rain and when he came to a place called Chamaro they flocked round him. In the end, in order to compel him to make rain, they tied him to a post in the sun and told him that they would not loose him until he had brought rain. This he did. After two hours, there was a big shower. The chief Juanito Epiayú was a very good friend of Jururiana and often summoned him when there was a drought, arranging dancing with much drinking and races. Jururiana then made rain.

This rain-maker vanished, none could say how. Another pretended to be Jururiana rejuvenated, but the chief sent for

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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him and found that he could not make rain at all, but was an impostor, so he was driven away with blows and was glad to escape with his life.

Even in the days when the reputation of the piache stood high, the Guajiro would not infrequently seek the help of the famous medicine men of Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, the so-called *mamds*, in whom many Creoles believed. A Guajiro who could manage to do so would take a sick person there or an article of clothing or some ornament that the invalid had worn. The medicine men of the mountain Indians would use this to diagnose the disease, and the messenger would return with a herbal medicine. The health-bringing plants were broken up and preserved in spirits. People liked to acquire such medicine especially before a child was born; it was then poured into the infant's bath water and the mother drank a gulp of it. The effect of it depended on the magical power of the plants.

The Guajiro themselves used certain plants as medicine. Sometimes these really were effective, but often it was just a question of sorcery. A plant with much milky sap, for example, was laid on a mother's breast if her milk failed. The powers possessed by the mountain Indians of Sierra Nevada were attributed to the circumstance that they possessed the secret of invoking specially powerful spirits, whose essence also permeated the herbal medicines people got from them. The effect of the herbs thus came from the spirits residing in them. Intoxicating drinks acted through the spirits liberated in the process of fermentation; that was a common belief among the Indians.

The Guajiro believed in omens and portents. Various animals foretold misfortune or death. A wild cat wailing round the house at night, a bat that persisted in following one through the darkness, in certain circumstances also a snake beside the house, all portended trouble or sorrow. The Indians paid special attention to the behaviour of a number of birds and interpreted this as indicating the approach of visitors, the imminence of something unpleasant, etc. When they thought they had observed such a

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

over the novice as he (or she) lies in the hammock twisting and groaning 756
as his spirit takes possession of him, imparting knowledge and power.

In attempting to cure, a shaman often causes greater injuries to the 755
patient; permanent blindness may result from his effort to cure eye injuries with caustic powders or to remove foreign substances with horsehairs or cactus spines. Tuberculosis is treated by inducing expectoration and prescribing a meaty diet. Dysentery is cured with herbal medicines. Well-chewed tobacco or tobacco-laden spittle rubbed over a painful area is a common method of therapy. If the medicine man effects a cure, which he frequently does, he is rewarded with gifts of cattle, rum, etc. No attempt is made to treat smallpox, the victim often being abandoned to his fate.

Some practitioners who are not exactly shamans divine by burning 791
a bundle at the end of a stick or by examining the bottom of a bottle, 787
i.e., by crystal gazing (Hernández de Alba, 1936, p. 42).

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[15 cont.]

*756 been instructed. In another test her teacher called on her to take blood from a sacrificed ram so that she could perform the suitable rites. The initiate took in her hands the gourd vessel holding the blood, and the spirit then immediately descended into her. The apprentice began to tremble convulsively, and the spirit ordered her to throw the blood over the hut, which was done automatically by the girl who thus emerged triumphant in this test.

The training of the initiate in the second case does not differ from that of the first except in one detail. The mother of the future shaman — who also was one herself — took the girl between her legs and massaged her head and her body all over with her hands.

The period of training is decisive for the initiate shaman to learn how to make contact with the spirits, and through them with the world of the supernatural. In spite of the revelation and of the initiate being already possessed by the spirit in a certain way, it is essential that she learn what we might call the external cult, that is, the system of movements, invocations, canticles, handling of the maraca, chewing of tobacco, etc., in order to be able to propitiate the indispensable presence of the protector spirit or spirits. Métraux, referring to this aspect, says the following: "The second type of initiation does not differ from the [16] first except for the intervention of a master who not only instructs the pupil in the technique of the profession, but, above all, prepares him to enter into direct contact with the supernatural. Whether the initiation is effected by the intermediary of a spirit or of an instructor, no candidate for the title of shaman can practice it unless he is assured after a vision of the protection of one or numerous spirits." (13) [Cited in French.]

13. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 206.

*756 ● 796 Initiation fiesta. Let us go back to our first story: When the spirit ordered the instructor to suspend the lessons because the initiate was sufficiently trained to be a shaman, it also told her to instruct the girl's family to organize a chicha-maya dance, which would last all that night and the following day and night

[16 cont.]
*756 until dawn. For the dance they must kill sufficient goats for all
796 the dancers to eat, accompanying this food with roasted corn.
The men and women who would be taking part in the dance ceremony should come painted with annatto [bija], the women could be single or married. Once the dance had finished, at dawn of the second night, the meat of the sacrificed animals was to be piled on a heap of leaves, and the old shaman would come to "shamanize" [piachar] (14) it, spitting her saliva impregnated

14. We have found it necessary to use the verb "shamanize" [piachar] to refer to the ceremonies which the shaman [piache] performs during his cures and other functions. Purists of the language will please forgive us.

with the manilla she was chewing on the meat; she would also "shamanize" the novice. Until this had been done the meat could not be eaten by the guests. Those present could then take the meat so prepared, but they must go in a direction when they walked away to eat it opposite to the direction taken by the shaman when she came to perform her ritual ceremonies over it.
[782] The consumption of this meat by the others would be done in honor of the spirits whom the shaman wanted to propitiate at this time.

Similarly, there is little difference between the external cult of the rite of passage of the second case and the previous one. Once the spirit announced that the initiate knew how to invoke it, a fiesta was organized at its request which lasted for three days. For this celebration they sacrificed 20 sheep and a steer, and they
[273] danced the chicha-maya. In addition, they made the already mentioned distribution of chicha and rum to the guests. During these three days of fiesta, the mother — the shaman in this case — continued to instruct the initiate in all matters relating to her future duties. At dawn on the third day the novice graduated.

*756 Final period of preparation: Let us continue with the first case. After the dance with all the accompanying ceremonial was

[16 cont.]

*756 over, the young shaman [17] was secluded for two months in her home. She dedicated this period to practicing chewing tobacco, and the act of invoking the spirits, the way of curing the sick, bringing rainfall, "shamanizing," animals, keeping pestilence away, etc. The maraca and the crown (kiara, in Guajiro) were made by her during this seclusion, although they could have been bought or ordered to be made by others. At the end of this two *756 months' seclusion, it was essential, in order to terminate the 787 young shaman's cycle of initiation into shamanism, to prepare 796 ten containers of corn chicha and to invite many Indians from different sections to be present at the true graduation of the initiate. That night, while the others danced and drank, the young shaman remained practicing her arts. It is common on these occasions for the spirit to approach the aspiring shaman and say, for example: "Go look for an animal of such-and-such characteristics (it describes the desired animal minutely in all its details) and kill it. If you disobey me you will faint, have an attack, and you will never become a shaman." The young initiate then passes on the order to her relatives, who must hasten to look for the animal described by the spirit and sacrifice it. When the celebration has ended, the spirit returns to tell the [301 young girl: "Hang up ten necklaces in your room so that I may 426] come down and help you." (These necklaces must be made of gold beads). The aspiring shaman acquires these necklaces with the help of her relatives and friends, even on loan, and hangs [782] them in her room so that she can "shamanize." The spirit, grateful for her ready obedience and for the offering, approaches her once again and says: "Now you will make a truly good [834] shaman." And it warns her: "Now you may not sleep (cohabit) with your husband."

*756 Exercising the profession. When all these rites and cere- 787 monies preparatory to entering the way of life of the shaman have been complied with, the person chosen, as his protector spirit affirms, may then dedicate himself to that calling. The spirit itself has conferred such power. Better still, it has descended into the novice; it has entered his body to accompany him in every professional act, to communicate the arts indispensable or

[21cont.]

755 When the patient shows signs of improving, a fiesta is or-
796 ganized consisting of chicha-maya dances and feasting. For this event they prepare in advance all that will be offered to the participants; chicha made from chewed corn, plain or sweetened with panela according to the economic situation of the sick man's family. The dance lasts one or more days and nights, as ordered [534] by the shaman, the only musical instrument used being the drum. In order to end the fiesta, two or three steers and several goats and sheep are killed if the hosts are rich. At four or five o'clock in the morning, according to the shaman's wishes, the sick per-
[515] son is taken from his bed, and the curer himself bathes him with soap and water, after which he is again carried indoors and is permitted to stay up, but not to leave his dwelling. Slowly he resumes normal living and the everyday diet. If the patient should have a relapse, [22] the treatment is repeated. The process of these cures may last up to two months, according to the patient's condition.

No one is actually invited to the fiesta which is organized
[574] by order of the shaman when he has succeeded in curing a patient. When people find out that such a fiesta is about to be given from the characteristic beating of the drum, they approach without being invited and take part, joining in dancing
[273] the chich-amaya. The women are offered a bowl of chicha made from chewed corn to take to their homes to drink there with their families. Men are given rum or chicha. The women wear with
291 great pride their long ample robes, which cover them to the
755 ankles, their waireñas, or leather sandals with toe pieces made
796 of knitted wool and adorned with large tassels of the same ma-
556 terial, and a pañuelo around their heads, the corners of which hang down their backs. If they are wealthy enough, they complete their personal adornment with anklets and bracelets of coral and necklaces of gold or tuma. The men also wear their finest robes, which, hanging from one of their shoulders, cover the upper part of their bodies. This is complemented by a wide sash used to support the loincloth [guayuco], wider than
755 the one commonly used, that is, than that used in their daily
796 work. If animals are sacrificed — which depends on the wealth

755 [22 cont.]
796 of the patient or of his family — then those attending are presented with a good portion of meat.

*756 Shamanistic treatment of animals. When pestilence
231 breaks out among a Guajiro Indian's animals, he has no other known recourse to repel it than to seek the services of a shaman.
755 As he already knows in a way the accustomed ceremonial in such cases, he prepares days beforehand a sufficient quantity of corn chicha, which is used in the chicha-maya dances, and he invites a large group of women to come to the dance. He then calls in the shaman, who, once arrived on the scene, has all the animals collected and enclosed in a large corral. While this operation is being carried out, the shaman begins to prepare himself for the ceremony, inviting his protector spirit to cast out the pestilence, and dressing himself (or better said, undressing himself) in a neighboring hut as is customary for the ceremony of the cure of human beings, keeping on his loincloth if he is a man and her dress if a woman. He then places a crown of wool on his head and readies the maraca, which he keeps in his hand during the entire event. Following this, he enters the place where the animals are, goes in among them, and turns himself around in circles about them, continually shaking the maraca and spitting on their bodies the juice from the manilla he is continually chewing. During all this time, he intones his ritual invocatory chants, [23] which are different from those used for the cure of humans, and he never stops shaking the maraca. This operation generally lasts for several days and is only suspended for those moments when the shaman rests. When he considers that the evil spirits which have caused the pestilence have been successfully driven off, he suspends his activities and orders for the fiesta to begin, which is started by the sacrifice of an animal, the distribution of chicha to those present, and the dance. The animals are driven to the fields while numerous gunshots are
[77] fired (in older times arrows were shot off). These are intended
[784] to complete the work of the shaman in driving off the evil spirits of the disease.

*756 Shamans' dreams. When a shaman dreams of a long trip
787 through unknown territory, it is an evident sign that he is due to
[761] die. When the dream is over, he attempts through "shamanizing"

[121 cont.]

128 differentiation between magic and religion, and between play as such and drama. But these four things are so interlaced that it is not possible to take each one of these aspects separately for analysis or even for presentation. If the whole appears clear we shall be satisfied. Our intention in this study has been to present facts in the most objective manner possible without neglecting, obviously, to interpret at times when it has seemed necessary or when we have felt capable of doing so.

536 As we have said, whether what is presented in the Dance of the Kid is magic or religion, it is a matter that might lend itself to Byzantine discussions by which nothing of the subject would be cleared up. On the contrary, they would further confuse it and take away opportunities to make known one of the most interesting aspects of the spiritual life of the Guajiro, in which are broken many of their social traditions, or rather their everyday cultural patterns, and in which they have an opportunity to show their dexterity more than their capacity as actors, since it must not be thought that what we have described as theater is such in the true sense of the word but rather corresponds to the beginnings of that art, the beginning of representations, without finality in themselves but as propitiation of rain and good harvests, as integral parts of a complete ritual which includes dances, songs, and representations of natural scenes or incidents taken from mythology.

536 What has given us occasion to call this theater or, if one prefers, drama is the concurrence in the representation of scenes 796 of a small number of the participants at the Fiesta, or Dance, of the Kid and the presence of a great number of the other participants who fill the role of spectators. [122]

It also frequently occurs that each group that takes part in the play is headed by a minstrel, or singer, who narrates each event as it occurs; the language he employs is dramatic, and he uses the most attractive turns of speech. The verbal music is added to the drama though not in the form of massed choirs but is expressed by each of the leaders who guide the actions of the par-
[533] ticipants in the scene that is being represented. Unfortunately, these songs have not been traditionally preserved but are rather improvised for the occasion. Only the music has endured

[122 cont.]

536 796 unchanged, composed by some Indian, namely by an inhabitant from the Jarara district — which is the cradle of their poetry and their music, according to the statements of these same natives. They adapt the verbal part of the play to this music as the representation progresses.

The Dance of the Kid is celebrated when the rains arrive, when the ahuyamas, the watermelons, and the kidney beans are growing. It is practically a ceremonial rite by which they celebrate the beginning of the rains and the appearance of fruit. At this dance, which is celebrated at night and during consecutive weeks and even months, whoever wishes to do so joins in, since the invitation consists of the beat of the drum, a characteristic of these occasions.

535 796 There are two special dances which are performed in the following way: In the first, each Indian moves united with a female partner, in line one behind the other, and holding each other by the waist, they walk in the direction taken by the leading couple. The song which may go like this begins: "Lend me your partner so I may travel with her." They then make a turn. On doing this, the first Indian takes the partner of the second, and so on successively down the line. The dance continues with these turns and progresses forward until the first pair are reunited.

In the other dance each man takes a partner, an unmarried woman as a general rule. They take hold of hands, doing the same with the other couples that join in the dance. Once hands are grasped, they all walk in line but neither forward nor backward but to right and left. Then, hands still grasped, they run in circles, having the first in the line as the axis, until they fall to the ground impelled by the speed their racing around has given them; then they rise and start the dance over again.

796 The dance begins at about six in the afternoon and lasts until midnight. At this hour all the participants return to their homes but come back again on the following and every succeeding night until the cycle of the beginning of the rains, the collecting of the crops, or the ripening of the fruit has been fulfilled. [123]

The ceremony we have been describing has three special

[123 cont.]

•796 aspects: 1) it shows ability in theatrical representations; 2) dancing, such as we have described in previous paragraphs, accompanied by songs; 3) a very interesting sexual aspect, in which the cultural patterns which govern Guajiro society are [786] broken, permitting the possibility of a certain sexual freedom without the consequences attached to such in normal times. We will begin with this last aspect, leaving for later a discussion of what their songs, plays, or drama really are.

Sexual aspect. a) The man, when the moment for dancing 796 arrives, takes a partner who usually accompanies him on every 786 evening of the dance. When they end by liking each other, as a result of dancing together, the couples leave the dancing group and withdraw to the forest to satisfy their sexual desires.

In normal times in the community this act would lead to 684 outbreaks of fighting in which the clans of the two participants 628 would clash. The man would be summoned and would be under an obligation to pay a large sum for the harm done and a further sum for the dangers and pains of childbirth in case of pregnancy; or he would find himself obliged to buy the woman for wife in reparation for the fault he had committed. In case he failed to comply with one of these requirements, vengeance and war would follow. But none of this happens during this time of fiesta. 796 If a man who has been with a woman during these nights of 786 dancing (which can go on for three or four months) cares to take her as his wife, he must pay for her the price arranged with her relatives, but if he does not want to do this, his total obligation [431] is limited to a present of a robe. She on her part will give him a similar gift or simply a belt for his loincloth. Afterward they do not meet each other except on casual occasions.

Furthermore, if, owing to intimacies during the dance between unmarried couples, a child should be born, the father has [846] no responsibility toward it or to the girl's relatives. The child is accepted by the girl's family; it is not looked down on, and it participates under conditions of equality with the legitimate heirs in all the duties and rights of the other members of the family group.

[123 cont.]

●796 533 539 b) Of the songs which are sung in this ceremony of propitiation of rain, there are some of a simple, humorous character making fun of neighboring native groups, pointing out their defects, such as we transcribe below: [124]

I do not love the men of Ríohacha
Because they like to smoke tobacco;
I do not like the men of Nazaret,
Because they have a very sweet tooth.

But there are others of a typical erotic flavor, sung by the [831] men, which are nothing more than an invitation to love, the story of their manliness, of their value as males. We translate literally a fragment which we heard in Uribía:

Come to me, my sister.
Come to me, my woman.
I am a male.

Do not look at him
—At that youngster —
Walk straight and correctly.
Walk straight and correctly.
Walk straight and correctly.

I am here.
I am the male.
I bring with me my rifle
And my revolver.
I am a male.
You were very charming, my love.

Oh, that I may take an Indian girl!
I will pay for her
Because I am rich.

Many songs such as this are sung at the Dance of the Kid, but we were unable to take down the words because, as we have said, songs do not exist as such. They are not stereotyped and established with definite words and unchangeable form but are improvised, making use of every recourse, especially stories of past incidents, to which they adapt a well-known tune.

[124 cont.]

585 c) There is another very important fact in this sexual aspect of the fiesta that we are describing, which is what we might call proof of virginity. [125]

Virginity in woman is highly valued by the natives in spite of the fact that at the present time, due to economic ac- [836 178] culturative factors, it is increasingly difficult to find virgins among marriageable women, a state of affairs that the Indian male is well aware of. But it is always a matter of pride and something to be boasted of for a Guajiro man to find on his marriage night that his bride is a virgin. It is the custom, [583] furthermore, that if the man marries not knowing that his wife has lost her virginity and has the consequent disillusion on his wedding night, the bride's relatives have to return a part of the livestock which the man paid for her, especially the family neck- [578 273] lace. The Indian's concern about this matter, which remains hidden when he is in a normal state, comes to the surface during his drunken bouts, when he will sing about his wife, extolling her and boasting of having had a virgin in his marriage hammock, or insulting and degrading her in coarse improvisations when he considers that he has been defrauded.

524 This attitude toward sex on the part of the native, or better said this value he places on the virginity of his future wives, is 796 expressed in a sort of game which is played at the Dance of the 831 Kid. To play it, the girls gather in a group about a singer who sings such a song as this: "Let us see, my pretty miss, if you are [539] a virgin, if truly you have not run around too freely, if no young male has put his hands on your body." He then passes his hands over each girl's body, tickling her. He starts at her big toe and goes upward, touching her instep, calves, knees, thighs, genitals, hips, stomach, torso, breasts, armpits, and continues up her neck until he reaches the top of her head. The girl who remains quiet, indifferent, without laughing and without even a smile wins the test and is declared a virgin. The singer then sings again: "You are indeed a virgin, my lovely majayura....," and chants a veritable song of flattery and finishes by escorting her to a set place. He then continues with the rest of the girls gathered there, repeating the same routine. When a girl moves or laughs,

[125 cont.]

524 the singer says to her: "You are not a virgin, I would never
●796 have believed this of you, but it is true. A pity, my pretty
831 majayura, that you have not your virginity and that men have had their bodies over yours." He than places her in a place separate from the virgins. When he finishes doing this with all the girls in the group, he distributes prizes to the virgins, to
[431] those who have triumphed in the trial, and he eulogizes them again. The girls later return the presents which are only simulated gifts.

114 The French writer Roger Callois has interpreted these fiestas carried out from ancient to present times in a chapter called [126] "La transgresión sagrada. Teoría de la Fiesta" [The Sacred Sin. Theory of the Fiesta], and he says in this respect: "To their normal way of life, occupied with their daily work, peaceful, surrounded by a system of prudent prohibitions where the maxim quieta non movere maintains law and order in their world, there is opposed the effervescence of the fiesta. This, if only its external aspects are considered, shows identical reactions at every civilized level. It implies a great number of excited, noisy people. These conglomerations of masses greatly influence the starting of and the contagion of an exultation which spends itself in shouts and gestures and encourages the uncontrolled abandonment of all to the most irresponsible impulses. Even today when without doubt the now impoverished fiestas have very little effect on the greyish background of the monotonous everyday life of the people and appear to be sporadic, spread out, almost stagnated, there may still be distinguished in their celebrations some miserable vestiges of the collective abandonment which characterized these ancient riotous celebrations." And later he states: "In the so-called primitive civilizations the contrast is very much more clearly marked. The fiesta lasts several weeks, even several months, interrupted by intervals of rest of from four to five days. At times it required several years to gather together the quantity of comestibles and delicacies which would be not only consumed or despatched ostentatiously but also destroyed and wasted purely and simply because waste and destruction are forms of excess

[127 cont.]

714 representation of the re-creation of the universe, the resurgence of nature that changes and disappears, to reappear later.

796 In large part, this could explain the whole of the fiesta. In reality what in La Guajira is being celebrated under the name 821 of the Dance of the Kid is nothing but a true re-creation of the world of the natives of those barren plains. With the arrival of the rains the sea of sand is converted into a green world, the dry beds of the streams become powerful streams of water, the dry brushwood is transformed into green forest, anxiety over thirst disappears, fatigue from sun and desert is changed to rest, hunger to abundance, and worry to hope in the ripening of fruits and the disappearance of the specter of poverty which prowls the sierras and the plains. It is Mareiwa, their divinity, their good spirit, who has made his apparition over the lakes of the Sierra de Nevada, unleashing storms and hurricanes and bringing the promised rains to his creatures.

786 But, on the other hand, the sexual acts we have just shown to be present at this traditional fiesta of La Guajira should be 796 treated apart as they represent a transgression of the established rigid and severe cultural patterns that refer to carnal relations between men and women. As the general interpretation of the whole of the Guajiro community has not yet been finished, which could give us sufficient data to carry out necessary clarifications, we shall have to limit ourselves to noting certain outstanding facts.

836 Unmarried men and women in La Guajira, when looked at in its normal state, are subject to rigorous restrictions in their sex life. Sexual intercourse before marriage is not allowed to their women as the men want their spouses to be virgin. The [684] bachelor is limited in the satisfaction of his sexual impulses by the law of compensation payment, which forces him in the case of his having relations with an unmarried girl to pay a heavy indemnity by which is covered the harm done to the woman, the offense [128] to her relatives, and the possible pains and dangers of childbirth when pregnancy occurs. And if these impositions [628] are not complied with or if the Indian does not marry the girl, paying the price her relatives demand, revenge and declaration

[128 cont.]
836 [221] of war to the death will result between the clans affected.

One has to take into account the fact that a woman who [583] has been bought for wife is relatively valuable, and the native is not always in a position to accumulate the number of animals sufficient to pay for her, although it is considered an obligation on the part of his relatives to assist him when the time for his [548] marriage arrives. As prostitution is so limited because of the condition of inferiority in which it places the woman who traffics in sex, the situation of the unmarried male in this respect is difficult. We repeat again that we make this statement on the [178] basis of the facts of La Guajira social customs in normal times, and not on the basis of the present period when they are suffering from ever increasing problems of hunger, poverty, and acculturation, phenomena which are overthrowing all their traditional institutions.

Presenting the question in these terms, one can appreciate the trying position of the bachelor Guajiro native who is without slaves and without economic resources to enable him to buy a wife. He lives within a regimen of limitations and restrictions [834] which reach even to sexual taboos which can be divided into two classes: special cases, especially applicable to the sex life of shamans, as we have seen; and general cases, applicable to the whole community and which go to the extreme of provoking [195] curious euphemisms in the language when the word for the genital organ is phonetically similar to some other word, as in the case with the word for dog.

• 796 786 These restrictions must be considered in the totality of the social norms, but this is not the moment to expound on them as they will be fully covered in this review as an interpretation of the whole of Guajiro society. However, we wish to point out their presence in the Dance of the Kid, or better said their absence, since, as we have said, these restrictions disappear, and there is complete sexual freedom which permits the minstrel to caress the young maids on the pretext of deciding their virginity or loss of it, a thing that in normal times would not be permitted, and to go to the extreme of countenancing carnal union without economic or social consequences, the only

[128 cont.]

796 requirement being the girl's consent; and she, in spite of the
786 loss of her virginity, in spite of her illegal maternity, does not descend in status nor bring into her community a new being inferior in standing in any way to the others. [129]

This in large part explains the large attendance of youths of both sexes at the ceremony of the Dance of the Kid, which pleases the patron who sponsors the rite because it gives a greater solemnity to the rite and in that way aids in the propitiation of the rains, and, in consequence, the harvests will be of good quality and more abundant.

d) A proof that these ceremonies break away from the
535 sexual order established in the community is the frequent rep-
524 resentation of the sexual act of animals combined with other
796 dramatizations which we shall study later. Here are some exam-
831 ples.

The hawksbill turtle. Participants arrange themselves in a long line, or chain, firmly clasping each others' waists. They symbolize in this manner the sexual act of the hawksbill turtle. This line belongs to one singer who says in his song that his turtles are performing their sexual act as they are in heat. Another band is also headed by its singer. Their role consists in trying to separate the turtles, by tugging, each one separately, at the chain made by the turtles. The turtle that is separated from its team is taken over as a trophy by the other team, but if this group is unable to pull them away it loses the match. The activity lasts until all the turtles of the chain have been separated from their team or until the opposite band that is attempting to do this declares itself beaten.

The kid. This game is played on a cleared field. A group
526 of Indians holding each others' hands form a circle, making be-
535 lieve it is a corral in which female goats are kept at night. Out-
831 side the corral are the male goats represented by other Indians
796 who, in full view of the animals enclosed, march round the corral and make successive attempts to enter. The Indians who represent the fence fend them off but finally one or two males are able to force their way in. Once inside, they imitate and copy all the attitudes of the male when aroused; they chase the females, pursue and smell them, and end by simulating the sexual act. At

[129 cont.]

526 this moment the owner of the goats arrives to look over his flock,
535 and he states in his song that none of his animals are missing,
796 they are fat because pasture is fresh and abundant, and he an-
831 nounces that he is about to mark them. He starts by taking out
each female goat one by one and pretends to cut its ear, which
[422] is the way to mark such animals. He keeps up his song, referring
to what he is doing. "I have many goats and now I shall lack
neither meat nor milk; I am rich...."

e) We would add to the above the fact that Indian girls of
[554] the wealthy class do not take part in these gatherings, or they
796 do so on very rare occasions, as their prestige [130] would
786 diminish seriously in consequence of the opinion held of the fiesta
that only those girls go to it who want to get a husband readily
or to satisfy their sexual urges. Besides, it is the obligation of
each man to flirt with or treat with familiarity the girl who be-
comes his partner in the dance, and her obligation is to supply
him during the dance with roasted corn, bread, meat, chicha, etc.

Summarizing up to this point, we can state that the Dance of the Kid is a festival in which the Guajiro Indians seek to propitiate the rains at the same time that it celebrates their arrival and fecundity: fecundity in fruits; fecundity in animals, as dramatized in the ceremonies just described; and fecundity among men, in human beings, who are free from the restrictions which are imposed on them by the community in ordinary daily life to maintain social order.

* * *

536 Theatrical representations. "Drama is particularly difficult to classify because so often it gets mixed up with religion.... On the other hand, dramatic scenes can be executed for collective entertainment or as farces with no special pretentions, as for example in a Tahitian pantomime which represents the theft of a basket of food from a sleeping servant; although it can occur, on occasion, that these simple and uncertain experiments develop into real dramas." (65)

65. Lowie. Antropología Cultural [Cultural Anthropology], XI, 194-195.

[130 cont.]

536 Lowie's words, which we have just quoted, serve us well
796 for what we have wished to call theatrical representations in La Guajira, as these also are but simple farces in which they seek to represent some act in the life of the community, in their mythology, or from scenes from the natural life surrounding them, in the midst of the ceremonies that are organized to celebrate the arrival of the rains, the propitiation of these, and the ripening of the fruits [of the soil]. Naturally, as we stated at the beginning, this ceremony is an inseparable whole up to a certain point, a totality in which the most trivial diversions, such as these unimportant representations and some games, are mixed with outstandingly important actions such as the transgression of social patterns in the satisfaction of sexual impulses, which we have just described and analyzed and in which the organization norms are utterly discarded, tradition is broken, and they give free rein to wantonness and [131] pleasure. It is above all a rite. But as Lowie himself affirms: "It is frequent that these important rituals present dramatic elements, because of which it was sometimes believed that a ceremony was nothing more than a dramatized myth. Now we know that when myth and ritual are found associated, most frequently the former has been added later, whether or not it be more ancient.... In short, the ceremonial of primitives at times is something more than pomp, and it can raise itself to the height of a true theatrical representation." (66)

66. Lowie. Op. cit., XVII, 310.

796 It is curious, nevertheless, that in the celebration of this
801 fiesta dedicated to the propitiation of the rains, nothing related to the myths about them is to be found. Representations of fecundity abound in many of its aspects, as we have just seen in the description of the sexual aspect. But there is no representation related to the rains, at any rate none known to us, unless it be one where the devil and a cloud intervene, or the devil and smoke, as the word to designate the two concepts — cloud and smoke — is the same in Guajiro, sirûma. In this dramatization, which we shall describe later, the cloud triumphs over the devil. It could be interpreted as the triumph of the rains over the long

[131 cont.]

796 summer and over sicknesses, pestilences, and deaths which occur
821 as a consequence of it. But we have no work to sustain this affirmation. Also one must take into account the fact that the
[609] natives are not willing that strangers be present at their Fiesta of the Kid; and when they are, the play is much repressed in its natural expression and becomes a pale copy, artificial, almost we might say a special product for exportation. Missionaries
[797] have contributed greatly to this since they are opposed to the fiesta, considering it amoral or immoral because of the sexual freedom which is shown during its performance and the representation of natural scenes of the procreative life of animals. All the
[114 data that we have are not the product of our own personal observation
127] of the fiesta but are reports collected from different sources in diverse parts of La Guajira. They have, at the very least, the value of data verified several times over.

All this leads us to think that even though the Dance of the Kid is directly related to the rains since it always starts when the rains begin even though it is specially dedicated to Mareiwa, the divinity of the rains, as we shall prove in the coming chapter, even though its name [132] appears to be derived from the stellar constellation of the Seven Kids, iwa, whose association with rain we shall also note in the following chapter, it is primarily a ceremony dedicated to fecundity, fecundity of the soil shown by the sprouting of plant life brought about by the rains. Fecundity and rain are seen, then, as two inseparable factors, two terms in the same equation: life.

We spoke of the aspect of demonstration of ability in
526 theatrical representations when we delimited the areas of study of
796 the ceremonial of the Kid. In effect, according to narrations we have at our disposal about the representative games, which we shall describe in detail in the latter part of this chapter, at the end of each one, out of the two sides which have taken part in the development, one side is seen to triumph over the other due to its greater skill or ability in movement or to the physical strength of those taking part when it is a matter of representations of struggles, as we saw in the game of the hawksbill turtle, and as we shall see in the representation of scenes introducing animals,

526 [132 cont.]
796 men and animals, or men alone, as in the description of a putchi, or interclan war. This demonstration of skill and ability
535 in their plays is shown very clearly in the chicha-maya dance,
796 which will be fully detailed in the descriptive aspect of Guajiro culture shortly to be published. This dance, in general terms, is restricted to a veritable struggle between the man and the woman who are partners, a struggle in which the woman endeavors to overthrow the man.

536 However, in the plays of a mythical nature the scene is more limited and always ends in the same way. It is static in
796 the sense that its conclusion cannot be changed by the ability of the players but is determined by a prearranged plot, rigidly imposed for each occasion it is played. This we believe is what gives it its true mythical nature. It is part of the oral tradition of the group, and for this reason it cannot be subject to variations determined by the moment.

Having made these general statements about their theatrical plays, or dramas, we will now describe them one by one, showing first those that refer to social life, then those relative to the mythical aspect, and finally those in which animals only, or animals with men, appear.

1. Visit between Upper and Lower La Guajira. Two groups take part in this play, each composed of men and women. The first represents Upper La Guajira, the other, Lower La Guajira. The groups line up in two parallel rows [133] spaced a cuadra apart. The components of each group hold each other round the waist, face to face, with a small space between them. The
536 singer who heads the team of Indians that represents Upper La
539 Guajira begins by addressing the visitors from Lower Guajira,
796 "Ansh piá (Have you arrived?)." "Aaa (Yes)," replies the other. "Kasáchicki (What's new?)," asks the first singer. "Nohots (Nothing new)," replies his opposite number from the south country. Again he of the north asks, "How goes the winter? Have the expected rains finally arrived?" The other answers, "we are well content. The rains have come so our crops are in good condition. We have collected food in plenty, and there is still a quantity left to collect. The pastures, like the trees, are green again; our herds have water to satisfy their thirst in the wells and water

[133 cont.]

536 539 796

holes. They are fat and have increased. We are neither short of meat nor milk nor fruit...." He from the north then speaks, saying, "I, my friend, am full of woe. I suffer from anxiety, fearing hunger this coming winter. My herds died of thirst beside the dry wells. I have no other food than the fruit of the cardon and the prickly pear. I have to travel long and painful distances so that my hungry herds can find pasture and water. The summer is cruel. The sun burnt the seedlings and the grass." He of the south again intervenes, this time to invite his friend in these or similar words, "Seeing things are thus with you, my brother, why not come with us to our country, to Lower La Guajira. There you will find green pastures and overflowing water holes for your herds. Come with your wife and nephews [and nieces, sobrinos] because there will be food for you all. There the winter is good; we shall expect you."

Finally the one from Upper La Guajira says "Yes, I will go with you. I will leave here with my starving herds and with my people who are in dire need and poverty...." After this the two groups unite, embrace each other at the waist, and walk off together in the direction of Lower La Guajira. So ends the play.

2. Interclan war. As in the previous case, two teams are formed headed by their singing leaders, but this time women do not take part directly. The play starts when a player of one of the teams walks up to the other and pretends to kill one of its members. The latter acts as if he were wounded, twists and squirms on the ground, then dies. The assailant leaves him lying there and flees to his own group and hides himself. The singer then starts up his song, stating that the cause of the killing was jealousy because the victim was attempting to make love to the killer's wife, or he was the lucky rival in winning a girl they were both courting. The other team sees the death of their member and hastens [134] to pick him up. They make grand gestures of fury and demand vengeance, and the singer of this group expresses the rage of his clan; he threatens the opposite group whom he accuses in insulting language and ends by declaring his bitter enmity. Shortly afterward comes the scene of the compensation payment negotiations in which the arbitrator of the murdered man's clan visits the aggressor group to demand payment for the

[134 cont.]

536 offense received, asking for a very large sum, stating how pas-
539 sionately angry his clan is and warning them that if the sum de-
796 manded is not met war will be the inevitable consequence. The singer continues: "Pay for my nephew because you have spilled his blood and by that you have caused us great sorrow. I ask in a kindly manner that you do so unless you want to bring upon yourselves our hatred, if you do not want us to kill your nephews and despoil your people of their herds, to fill up your wells and burn down the homes of your relatives. If our just claim is not met we will carry off your women, your children and nephews and nieces as slaves. Pay!"

The aggressor band collects a number of children — who are to represent cattle — necklaces, etc., and hand these over to the contendors. But their singer states that it is too little, that his clan demands more. He orders the other clan to take back their offering and states that as they have not complied with the stipulations of their agreement that they must prepare to pay their debt with their own blood. War is declared. Each band concentrates on arming itself; they collect young cardons which they split in strips to serve as weapons.

The singer of the murdered man's clan again sings: "Get ready, my sons and nephews. We are about to attack our enemies, to collect for the blood of our brother as they have not paid us what they owe. But do not thoughtlessly expose yourselves. Be careful. Attack, but keep well protected behind trees and cardons. Take careful aim. Do not let yourselves be beaten, or we in future will be called cowards and will not be respected. No one then will pay us for our women, and we shall be despised by all. In all La Guajira they will know the story of our defeat, which will be converted into mockery and contempt."

The leader of the group to which the killer belongs sings: "My nephews, be prepared. Very soon these people will arrive to attack us, so be ready for war. Do not be neglectful even for one minute because they will arrive suddenly with the intention of burning our homes, of stealing our herds, destroying our sources of water, and taking our women and children for slaves. Fight and aim well. We shall destroy them."

[134 cont.]

536 539 796 After the leaders of each group have sung these harangues, which are characteristic of those delivered by the chiefs in war, the attack comes. Those who engage in the combat pretend to leave at dawn (all this the leader refers to in his song) in order to fall suddenly on their enemies. With the piles of cardons they shoot at each other. The defenders run away, leaving the field covered [135] with the dead. In the combat they will incite each other. On throwing the cardon they imitate the noise of the explosion and the whistle of the bullets when fired. Each one seeks shelter where he can find it and dodges blows. Those that are touched by thrown missiles fall, screaming that they are wounded, and pretend to die. The chiefs harangue their men: "Shoot well my nephews or else they will think we are cowards."

536 796 When all the projectiles are used up, each band gathers its bodies. The one with the most casualities has lost the battle. At this moment the women come on the scene to mourn the dead of their clan. They cover their faces with pañuelos and, kneeling over a corpse, they cry pitifully. Then they go to bury their dead, and so ends the representation of the putchi.

3. The devil and the Indians. In this dramatization a male Indian covers himself with a black robe, imitating the devil, or yorujá. The devil appears walking in the fields, and an Indian steps out to meet him. The devil with great expertness grips him by the nostrils with his thumb and first finger and throws him to the ground. The Indian is killed. This scene in which the devil always participates but each time with different Indians is repeated three times with the same result, until in the end all the Indians who act in the play unite against the devil and kill him. The devil disappears, but after a short interval he returns to the scene. A new struggle starts up, but this time the devil wins because he kills all the Indians, men and women, who take part in the fight. Later he withdraws and takes off the robe, thus ending the play.

4. The devil and the cloud. The Indians take off their robes and make a kind of tent with them into which they all go. This tent is meant to represent smoke or a cloud. Inside, the Indians

[135 cont.]

536 796 pretend to be eating and playing tranquilly. The devil, another Indian, taking advantage of the carelessness of the men who are occupied with their fun, and covered as always with his black robe, enters the cloud to do them evil. Immediately a fight starts up between the Indians and the devil. In the end the cloud traps the devil and emerges triumphant in the play.

5. The horse race. Horse racing is the sport or trial of 541 536 796 prowess most practiced in the ordinary life of the Guajiro. In this sport they try to bring to the fore the name of the horse and the skill of the jockey. In all the large fiestas a number of horse [538] races are always staged, and such is their enthusiasm for them that they are frequently mentioned in some stories told by the natives. [136]

During the Fiesta of the Kid two groups are formed which, 536 539 796 as in the previous cases, are under the direction of their respective leaders. Each group has assigned to it an equal number of men, representing so many race horses. The race course having been previously marked out with its starting point and finishing post, one of the singers begins by referring to the goodness of his horse, praising its speediness. The other replies in an identical tone, using eulogistic concepts regarding his animal. They soon arrange a match which they put into practice. One of them says: "There goes my roan horse; he is swifter than the clouds and the wind and braver than any other in La Guajira." The other sings: "This is my chestnut horse. I am sure that he will win because he is swifter than the deer." They start off their horses and run the race. Following them, race another pair, then another, until all the competitors have taken part.

The bees and the fruit thieves. There is a kind of small 825 241 536 796 bee in the peninsula which the Indians call wáya. These bees make their nests in trees or in hollow tree trunks. If a blow is struck near the hive, the bees swarm out, attacking and getting into the hair of anybody standing nearby. They get inside the intruders' clothes and swarm all over them, crawling over their bodies, buzzing angrily, bothering their enemies until they are in a state of desperation. The Indians have a habit of collecting 536 796 hives of these bees and placing them at the entrance to their fields, making use of the bees to defend their harvest from thieves.

[136 cont.]

536 In the scene two groups appear: one representing the bees in the
796 hive; the other, the thieves who want to steal the crops of the field. The bee group is placed at the entrance to the field, arranged in compact form to look like the hives. The robbers begin to arrive and try to enter the field to steal the ripe fruit, but in the attempt they brush against the hives. The bees swarm out, buzzing and attacking the thieves, who decamp pursued by the bees. These punish the men to the best of their ability and thus prevent the harvest being stolen.

7. Hunting the jirijir. The natives know a small bird
223 called jirijir that appears in La Guajira during harvest time and devours the products of the fields. The Indians hunt them assidu-
[262] ously in order to defend their crops as well as to use them for food, since they are fat and pleasant tasting. The method they use to catch them is as follows. This small bird generally always flies in a straight line, entering invariably at some determined point and leaving by another in a precise manner. The Indian takes advantage of this [137] observation; hence when he goes to his crops at the times these birds are settling, he provides himself with hammocks or large nets. He places his hammocks at the point where the birds will fly out and then waits their arrival. He frightens them and immediately with great rapidity covers their point of exit, and the birds are trapped in the net, falling into it by the hundreds.

536 This scene is represented in the ceremony that we are
796 describing. At the beginning, various Indians who will act as the hammocks, that is, as those who will attempt to trap the birds in their nets are found in a group apart. Some children are grouped in the middle of the space to represent the field, and a third band formed of adults will act as birds.

When everything is ready, the last group begins to move, and they approach making motions as if flying and making a peculiar noise, imitating the call of the jirijir. They fall on the group of children, that is, on the field. A new group, this time composed of women, intervene in the scene to frighten the birds with yells and noisy clapping of hands. The birds try to escape as a flock, following the straight line of flight they are accustomed

[137 cont.]

536 to, always making their peculiar call. In this way they pass over
796 the place where the hammock men are in position; they are arranged two by two in a semicircle, hands held right in left, forming quadrilaterals. The birds reach this point running at the greatest speed possible, when the hammock men stop them by surrounding them to prevent their escape. They struggle, but in the end the semicircle begins to close until it becomes a circle, and the birds are imprisoned inside. An Indian then comes to kill the birds. He does so by taking them one by one by the arm as if this were the wing and by pretending to wring their necks. Once all the birds are taken out from the net the scene ends.

8. Jaguars and dogs. This theatrical game is intended to
[825] show the fortitude and courage of the jaguar and its superiority over dogs. For this reason it requires much care in the selection of the Indians who will take part in it because they must struggle fiercely with each other, and it is essential that the team that
[773] plays the part of jaguars be the conquerors. This has caused us to believe in the mythical value of the jaguar, which actually appears in their legends related to Mareiwa as well as in clan nomenclature. The game consists in engaging in a severe struggle in which the jaguar always manages to overcome the dogs and dominate them through being stronger. The complete description can be summed up thus: The group of jaguars pretends to be settled in a tree; sometimes they actually are. The group representing the dogs arrives, following the scent and the trail until they come to the foot of the tree [138] in which the jaguars are all lurking. On finding them, the dogs bark furiously beneath the tree and provoke the jaguars until they jump down, and it is then that the terrible struggle takes place. When in the end a dog falls to the ground, the jaguar pretends to bite it to pieces, clawing its breast open and attacking its throat, where he starts to devour it. The dog whimpers painfully, goes into convulsions, and stays motionless, as if dead. The jaguar gets up satisfied as he has triumphed, and so ends the play.

9. Dogs and peccaries. Two groups are formed, each one
[533] composed of ten men arranged in line and captained, as is custom-
[526] ary, by a singer, who is the chief of the group. One group represents the peccaries, the other the dogs which are going to hunt them.

[138 cont.]

536 The play starts when the peccaries gather in a group, pretending
796 by their position and their movements that they are inside the
526 cave which is their refuge. The chief of the dog group begins to sing while these gather round him, and he harangues them to go in and kill the peccaries and not let themselves be beaten by them. The group of peccaries answer threateningly and hasten to defend themselves. The dogs approach their prey cautiously and single out one from among the group. A struggle starts between a dog and one of the peccaries, both fighting desperately for mastery, each player striving to grab his adversary by his loincloth to lift him in the air and throw him to the ground. The struggle is fierce and stubborn, because they usually select the most hardened fighters and well-muscled men to represent both the peccaries and the dogs. It continues until one of the combatants is floored by the other, in which case he admits defeat. The winner's group marks up one point. When the first pair have finished their match, a new one is started between two other Indians, and so on successively until all the representatives of the two groups have participated. In the development of the personal struggles between dog and peccary, each singer incites his man, exhorts him to greater efforts, etc. Finally, they add up the score of points obtained by each group, and the winner receives a prize, consisting generally of food.

10. The fox and the rabbit. Three personages take part in this act: one who acts as a fox, one as a rabbit, and a child who has the role of a watermelon [patilla]. The game consists in seeing which of the two animals, the fox or the rabbit, will get the watermelon they are fighting for. Both of them want to steal it. So each one of them seizes the child (who is twelve or thirteen years old) by an arm, and he who can pull him away from the other is considered the winner. [139]

To better understand this play, it is well to state that while in La Guajira we collected a story about the fox and the rabbit which is published in Revista de Folklore (67) in which there is also

67. Pineda Giraldo, Roberto. "La Chama, un mito guajiro" [The Chama, a Guajiro Myth],

526 [139 cont.]
536 shown a test of cunning between these two animals. In this tale,
796 the rabbit is the winner.

11. The man and the wild boar. One man takes the part of a wild boar, the other that of the man who stalks it. The hunter follows the boar, which runs swiftly away, dodging the hunter's arrows in its flight. In this trial of dexterity, the hunter will be the winner if in the end he wounds the boar with one of the arrows he shoots; or it will be the boar that triumphs if it is able to tire out its persecutor and dodge all the arrows shot at it.

12. The hunter, the dog, and the rabbit. This play is another trial of dexterity, as the end in view is to try the ability of each actor in the role assigned to him. It represents, in short, a hunting party, in which the man and the dog try to capture and kill the rabbit. The dog tries to catch it and tear it to pieces, while the man follows at a greater distance, throwing stones at it. If he manages to hit it, the rabbit acts as if killed, giving the victory to the huntsman. The result is the same if the dog is successful in catching his prey with his claws, but if the rabbit should evade both of them, showing greater ability and speed than the other two, he becomes the winner of the test.

536 13. The song of the serpent. We have left this section to
796 terminate our study of the theater in La Guajira because it presents characteristics different from all the other representations which we have described. It does not involve a demonstration of skill or force, nor does it require the intervention of contending groups in any way. In consequence there is no dialogue, but
[533] there is a monologue sung by the leader of the group followed by all the actors, in which the deeds of the serpent are recounted

As a clarifying note we refer our reader to the chapter "Sickness and Medicine," in which this reptile's magic power is clearly evident, especially in relation to pregnant women and all that surrounds them. We also would recall that, as in the case of
[614] the jaguar, the serpent [140] figures in the naming of the clans, at times in close association with the jaguar.

The act develops as follows: A line is formed of alternate men and women who take each other's hands. They run with short steps, undulating to copy the motion of a serpent when

536 [140 cont.]
796 moving along the ground. Headed by their leader they all continue to sing the song of the serpent, saying more or less the following: "I am the snake. I drag myself along the ground.
[539] I do harm to no one. But he who dares to step on me because I am on the ground gets his punishment. I bite him and wound him. At times I kill him. He has to stay in bed and suffer for a long time as a punishment for having trodden on me and for thinking that I am helpless because I drag myself along the ground...." This song is repeated several times. [141]

IX

Mareiwa and Wanurú

or

Notions of Good and Evil

771 Through all the preceding chapters we have tried to explain clearly what constitutes the magic life of the Guajiro, which is almost the same as saying his spiritual life, and in passing we have mentioned the presence and activities of beings with higher powers than ordinary mortals, able to do good or evil according to which being intervenes in each particular case. We have thus touched on two fundamental ideas: good and evil.

776 Our interest is now concentrated in trying to elucidate the
177 quality of these spirits, or supernatural beings. These can be very seriously confused owing particularly to the influence of acculturation and more specifically to the pressure exerted by missionaries in their prosletyzing function. So great is the misapplication of terms and concepts in this world of ideas that we might call the religious, that even the Guajiro mythology has been transformed by the use of terms which have a pejorative and
773 degrading effect on the Guajiro people (68).
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68. This statement is based on the legend which we obtained orally from

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A chichamaya *in full swing*

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First burial. The dead person's bier is being carried out from its shelter

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The after-burial. A medicine man guarding the urns containing the dead person's bones

[FACING p. 96]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

515 the first wife retains a privileged position. She will be of the best family and the highest in rank. She is the hostess.

One day, when I was standing talking with Mauana, he 838 pointed to a couple walking past and said eagerly:

'You should picture those with your apparatus.'

[882] I photographed the two, who to me appeared very ordinary. The woman had her cheeks and nose painted red. Mauana whispered to me that the woman was not a woman, but that they were two men living together. Later we came across several Indian men who did women's work and wore women's dress. This was not considered really right, but it was looked upon with indulgence. In the early days of discovery gold coins were found on the coast by Santa Marta which depicted 'shameful acts contrary to Nature'. Among the Guajiros' relatives in the West Indies there were chiefs who had whole harems of boys.

'We were talking of bride-price and buying women 684 slaves,' said I, to revert to more normal things. 'What does a poor youth do, who possesses nothing?'

Everyone agreed that it was a pity about any such. The [833] law had definite regulations for intercourse between man and woman, and any infringement involved a claim for damages. If anyone seduced a woman, he must pay considerable compensation to her relatives, however willing she may have been; but if he took her against her will, it costs him considerably more. A poor man cannot pay and therefore risks losing his life as a punishment. The Indians admitted that here and there on the border there was prosti- [548] tution, but it was mostly mestizo women who lent themselves to that. In Guajira proper, there were no prostitutes. Both the chiefs and the monks told us that. Thus in the interior, a young man without means must live a life of abstinence. The time when the dances of the kid were performed would be his only opportunity of enjoying a [786] woman's favours, provided he could find a willing partner. At this time the otherwise strict code is suspended and free love permitted.

796 Mauana had promised to arrange a dance, but of another kind. The dances of the kid are performed during the rainy

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season, and it was then the dry season. The dance was the so-called chichimaya. This was arranged because Mauana had dreamed that he ought to spend several cattle and lots of maize beer on a performance of this kind. Otherwise dances are arranged in connection with a girl's being confined in her hut and on a number of other similar occasions. The medicine man, piache, often orders a dance when someone has fallen ill, when a casimba has run dry or when they want rain. They also dance when the herds are marked and castrated. Neighbours and relatives are invited to bring their young girls and these need never lack for partners, for the young men come of themselves, when they hear of it. It is not impolite to ask about the refreshments to be provided before accepting an invitation. The Indians prefer beef to goat's meat, and a beef-dance will be very well attended.

We reached Mauana's house a little too early. The maize beer was not quite ready. Maize beer, or chicha as it is now generally called by the Creoles, is simply a gruel made of ground maize, and it constitutes the Indians' daily fare, as it does in much of native South America. If this gruel is allowed to ferment, it becomes slightly alcoholic and the Guajiro then call it *ujor*. Fermentation is traditionally stimulated by the women chewing the maize, and this also is done in Guajira. The maize is sometimes mixed with manioc. The resultant brew, *ishiruna*, the Indians consider pleasant and strengthening. The ordinary, slightly sour unchewed maize gruel appeals more to the European both as regards taste and hygiene.

Mauana had intended to regale us with spirits, but fortunately we managed to persuade him to give ordinary maize gruel instead.

Gradually people began to assemble, all in their finery. Mauana explained that it was only a small performance. He really did not have time for such things just then, but the promptings of dreams had to be followed.

In the dusk we all went down to the feast-place outside a couple of huts, where an area had been well swept. Round this the guests had now begun to assemble. They stood in a

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•796 great ring and several of them were wiping their mouths in evident satisfaction—presumably having just been regaled with some drink.

796 535 The drum thundered a long time in vain before a young Indian stepped into the ring, removed his cloak and sandals and began to walk round in a circle—a challenge to the members of the fair sex.

Almost at once a girl appeared in the ring; removed her sandals and held her tunic spread wide with her hands. The two then began dancing: he in front, she a few yards behind. Suddenly the man gave a shout and the tempo increased. Turning swiftly the girl came sweeping down towards the man who danced away, moving backwards. She must try to get close enough to tramp on his feet and make him fall, but she must not barge him. If she managed to make her partner fall, there was great jubilation, and then a new couple took the stage. Otherwise, the girl would probably challenge her partner to a few more turns, while he answered contemptuously:

'Fetch your little sister.' (Inferring that she would manage better.)

In this way a dance continues without interruption, couple following couple. It could go on for weeks.

The well-bred Indian considers the chichamaya the only suitable dance. The monks also approved of it, since it was perfectly decent, the two dancers remaining apart the whole [177] time. The dance is not genuinely Indian, containing both Spanish and African features, but even in its present form it retains its religious-magical significance and is part of the ritual used in certain family ceremonies and on other important occasions.

796 786 The dance of the kid is a pure folk dance. It is really a whole complex of games, dances and typical fertility rites. The good families do not allow their daughters to attend them. The law's strict sexual prohibition does not apply to those taking part in the dance of the kid, who enjoy an otherwise forbidden erotic licence. This is not approved of [585 184] by the well-to-do, who still hold by the rule that a bride should be a virgin, since it can have an effect on the bride-price.

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price. Thus the well-to-do send slaves or servants to the dances. 796 786

These dances also have a practical significance. They take place at the start of the rains when vegetation shoots up and help is needed in keeping weeds under. Those taking part in the dance must weed their host's ground during the day, as a return for their food and the dancing at night. They have to do something during the feast which lasts for weeks at a time. Naturally holding such a dance-feast is a costly business, but as a compensation the giver has work done for him. Therefore the feast moves from rancho to rancho, while there is work to be done. [474]

Actually all the dancers ought to be at home working during this time, for all plantations will become overgrown if they are neglected, but the young people are tempted by the feast, the dancing and love-making, and the opportunity to get free of the bonds of strict convention for a time. The fertility of the crops is promoted by different erotic performances, although the Indians no longer seem fully aware that this is their significance. These are typical magical fertility rites.

The actual dance of the kid is performed in different ways. Sometimes the couples are in lines one behind the other, the men holding the girl in front round the waist. First they all dance forwards, and then they turn. At each turn they change partners, the men singing: 'Lend me your partner for my travelling companion.' Another way of performing the dance is very like a long-dance in Sweden. Each group of dancers is led by a singer who always improvises his song, so that the words are always new. [535]

The dance begins at sunset and continues for several hours, after which the dancers all make off into the darkness, two by two, and spend the night with each other. Usually, a couple will stick together throughout the feast. Intercourse must be of the girl's own free will, but involves the man in no obligations, neither compensation for her lost virginity nor damages if a child should result. This is recognized by the girl's family, because it is a result of the freedom allowed during the dance of the kid. If, after the feast, a man wishes [833]

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796 to marry his partner, he must pay for her in the normal
786 way. Otherwise the young men and girls just give each other mementoes.

One of the games forming part of the dance of the kid is the so-called virginity test. The girls gather round a singer who improvises a variation of the theme: 'Let us see, pretty maid, if you have kept your innocence, if any man's hands have touched your body.' He then runs his hands over each girl in turn from the tip of her big toe, over her leg, knee, crotch, belly, chest and neck to the crown of her head, all the while trying to tickle her. Whoever neither laughs nor moves is declared a virgin and lauded by the singer. She goes and stands on one side, while those who cannot keep from laughing and so are not virgins, go to the other. Afterwards pretence presents are given to the 'virgins'.

796 When young people are gathered together as during the
842 dance of the kid festival, all sorts of dance-games and
524 pantomimes are performed. Some are connected with fertility rites, as those imitating the mating-play of turtles and goats. In the latter, the girl 'goats' are enclosed in a ring of men who try to prevent the male 'goats' from getting inside it. If any of the youths manage to leap in, they behave exactly like billy goats, pursuing the 'nannies', nosing at them and pretending to mount them. A number of the games have no erotic connection, but refer to all sorts of events in the lives of men and animals. Animals are imitated most faithfully.

796 One of the games depicts a meeting between the low-
524 landers and highlanders of Guajira. Each of the two sides has a singing leader. They exchange greetings and then each describes the situation in their homes: in the one plenty of rain, good harvests, plenty to eat and fat cattle; in the other drought, starvation and misery.

Those who are lucky with their climate then invite the others to their territory, and they all dance off in the same
[423] direction. The game is a reference to the fact that the low-
[231] landers have the right against payment to send their herds to upper Guajira at certain times of the year to graze.

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In another game the dangerous spirit Yoruyá attacks 796
and kills Indian after Indian till he is set upon by them all 526
and killed; in yet another the Indians hide in a cloud made
of cloaks, when the spirit forces its way in, but it is captured [776]
by the cloud and vanquished.

Horse-racing is one of the Indians' greatest pleasures at [541]
their festivities, but they also indulge in it—without horses
—as a game in connection with the dances. Very amusing
and picturesque is a game in which they imitate hunting a
kind of bird that plunders the seed in their fields. The
Indians pretend to be trying to scare them and catch them
in nets. Here the seed is represented by some children, some
of the men are the birds, others the hunters who catch the
birds in their hammocks and then wring their necks!

Another game represents a fight between jaguars and
dogs. The strongest of the men are made the jaguars, for
these have to win. Then there is a snake game in which men
and women crawl along together, imitating the movements
of a snake and singing the snake song: 'I am the snake. I
creep along the ground. I do harm to none, but punish
those who try to trample me. Long must he suffer, who
tramps upon me because he thinks me defenceless since I
creep on the ground. He must suffer and die.' There are
endless variations; but a dance lasts so long that a little
variety is necessary.

Once the upper-class dance, the chichamaya, was over, [565]
Mauana's people gladly showed us all their games and
dances even though it was not the right time of year.

As we were riding home the next day we encountered 115
several companies of Indians returning from a burial-feast.
Among them was a young man in a beautifully woven
mantle, who joined up with us. He spoke good Spanish and
obviously belonged to the upper class. Francisco told him
about us, and he was eager that we should be his guests
that same day, since his rancho lay on our route. He said
that he had a few things that I might well find interesting
and he himself would like to see one of my pistols. (Fran-
cisco had evidently described how they smoked and made 273
a bang.) Some of the Indians accompanying us now became

/3 cont./

562 co-operation, it is also true that their marriages demand heavy
[583] disbursements from everyone, not only in animals but in jewelry -- gold ornaments -- which a man's female relatives give him to be handed over to his future wife as a sign of the engagement. Also, the children of a man's marriage are not his in our sense of the word, so that in spite of the expense borne by the family, it does not become strengthened by the increase. All the children belong to the maternal family group according to Guajiro law.

[842] The wife concurs with her husband in hoping that her first child will be a son but thereafter hopes for a large family of girls, who will enrich and increase the family group to which they belong with children and marriage payments, for a woman
[511] in Guajiro society has no less importance than a man, as it is she who transmits relationship and, therefore, increases with her offspring the number of consanguineous relatives. In the woman rest the hopes of her relatives for indemnification for the care they gave her in her youth and the maintenance of her social rank, because, on being bought, the eldest daughter indemnifies her father and his family for the expenses they had in livestock and ornaments in buying her mother. The others, with their marriage payments, increase the maternal income and, to a certain extent, augment with this sum the economic backing for future children and for the support of the husband, and form a nest egg to help should any difficult situation of their own or of their family /4/ arise. Moreover, as women have lately been
[797] improving the technique of their handwork by the instruction they receive in the Capuchin mission, and these articles are readily sold in the markets of the interior as well as in the neighboring markets of Valledupar and Maracaibo, the woman really constitutes an important economic force that helps to overcome the precarious financial situation in the home, which is aggravated by the intensely hot summers which do not permit all-season agricultural activity and weaken the livestock. With the revenue so obtained she supports her husband, feeds and clothes herself, her children, and her close relatives.

/55 cont./

881 normally, and above all she will not be worn out by too frequent
278 childbearing, since all these remedies in the long run are made use of to avoid the woman's having these cares, so much so that in the case of the very poor girls sterilization or at least a very limited fecundity is hoped for, because they know that they and their offspring will be practically in the hands of the stronger groups who can easily enslave their sons and daughters and nephews and nieces by the arbitrary and exaggerated use of legal institutions.

Even if the girl enters the Capuchin mission and for this
881 reason does not go through with the initiation in her home, and
278 even if her parents, influenced by the missionaries, decide to
797 forego this custom or are prevented by poverty from holding it, she does not forget -- and her companions back her up -- to take the medicines prescribed even though she does not undergo the regimen of seclusion. During a long period of time -- which shows what value she herself sets on her novitiate -- every morning she takes the juice of herbs which she knows of or which are given to her, to avoid menstruation and to obtain the objectives mentioned above. (In order to clarify further of the significance with respect to maternity in the initiation of young women, we refer the reader to the section Death of the First-born, Chap. I, pp. 10 ff.)

The economic aspect which she must learn and which by
881 the perfection and acquisition of new techniques now plays a
286 very important part is that of weaving. The woman during her seclusion improves her knowledge of this trade, which she began to learn during her prepubertal period. This matter has so much importance that in cases where a girl has been abducted and her maternal relatives present their claim for compensation payment, the man can refuse to buy her, alleging she is not able to weave. Furthermore, the woman by weaving earns money for the support of the home which is in her care. She must also supply her kin, including her husband, with guayucos /loincloths/, saddle blankets /pellones/, and other woven necessities.

/174 cont./

614 422 personal property are marked with letters, especially such items as clay and gourd vessels and parts of the harness of riding animals and their hammocks /chinchorros and hamacas/.

614 551 3. Naming. According to mythology, every clan had its personal name given to it by Mareiwa directly or was inspired by him. It covers all the individuals belonging to the same clan and is the indication of blood relationship. Clan disintegration at the present time has made it necessary to add to this generic name the name of the locality and the name of the most outstanding family head (cacique).

At the present time a Guajiro individual feels that in spite of being linked to another by an identical name he is not a relative /of that person/, and he makes a distinction within the same clan of diverse groups with more or less prestige. However, at a time when attacked by another group, they may make /175/ common cause if their co-operation is needed. [197] Furthermore, the introduction of the Catholic marriage has given equal value to naming by using the paternal surname followed by the maternal surname, although in a stage of transition the second of these has greater value.

* * *

614 602 4. Consanguinity. Consanguinity plays an important role in the Guajiro concept of kinship, which embraces all individuals joined in a chain through common female ascendants, that is, uterine kinship. In this way they set aside the paternal branch, which may be found in opposition and enmity, because in the Guajiro mentality the father-son biological bond, although it exists, does not count in determining kinship. The common tie that embraces all the individuals of a clan is the mother's blood in the biological act and in the process of gestation. From this premise the Guajiro derives the importance of the spilling of blood through themselves or outsiders, because it represents the destruction of the kinship tie and of the vital element. This valuation is the outstanding concept in the regimen for social stability in the culture.

/176 cont./

178 In the second place, we observed a limitation in the exer-
602 cise of the clan's function. The concept of consanguineous kin-
614 ship between all its members has relaxed to the point that con-
sanguineous ties are considered to exist only among the closest relatives. An individual's kinsmen have become limited to his mother and her female ascendant, and to his mother's brothers and sisters together with their offspring. Some extend kinship to include relatives of the fourth degree of collaterality, and then to the brothers, sisters, and their descendants. By limiting the concept of kinship, all obligations attached to those no longer considered consanguineous are lost. Consequently, clan unity begins to disintegrate.

178 Another change in the concept of kinship has been intro-
duced by Catholic marriage. It implies the abolition of the
●797 uterine affiliation, the basis of clan organization. It introduces
602 the paternal branch into the kinship system and places it on a
614 superior plane since the father's name and not the mother's, as it was traditionally, comes first in the offspring. /According to the Spanish custom of compound surnames, one's father's surname comes first. --Ed./ Furthermore, it destroys the authority and predominance of the maternal uncle because that of the father replaces and surpasses it.

178 5. Exogamy. The Guajiro clan was essentially exogamous.
614 Acculturation has made marriage possible and legal between
582 members of the same clan. In other words, clan exogamy has disappeared, and only family exogamy is followed.

6. Location. With respect to clan settlement the myths
614 already quoted resolve the problem by assigning fixed regions to
423 each of the groups which Mareiwa created. These lands are
178 held in common by each clan, which also works them communally. The /177/ improvements introduced, such as roads, wells, and cemeteries, are made with the assistance of all the clan members who will make use of them. At the present time individual solution of the water problem has permitted the splitting up of the communal pasturage land. Furthermore, there is a strong trend toward the breaking up of agricultural land.

[39 cont.]

105 175 177 But the Conquest came. The Guajiro Indian kept his independence by means of wars and raids and maintained his personality intact as far as possible. His internal organization endured and continued manifesting itself without changes for a time; family organization, bond service, slavery, interclan wars, the laws of inheritance and compensation payment, all the social structure, including marriage, continued in the traditional forms. However, the theft of livestock from the neighboring Spanish ranches began, and the Guajiro Indians learned to master the art of stock grazing until they became converted into a group of herders with occasional agriculture, hunting, and fishing.

The situation was thus undergoing a change apparently gentle in the form it took, but violent in the results it produced on marriage, inheritance, the status of the clan as a collectivity and of the individual in particular, which we attribute to the cause just noted and also to the acculturation provoked by the ever increasing number of civilizado elements in the peninsula: missionaries, military men, employees, traders, and adventurers, who have managed to introduce, as we have said in the introduction, a number of customs from their places of origin, still small [in number] but which slowly are beginning to undermine the social organization of the natives.

177 +756 [747] All this has clashed with the strongest institution of primitive La Guajira, the shaman, who has had to withstand the challenge of the missionaries, who inculcate in the Indians' minds Catholic beliefs or Christian beliefs in general, absolutely opposed to the primary animism and the magic laws which determined, and still determine, in part the acts, lives, and deaths in general of all and each one of the members of the Guajiro community.

The new concept of wealth based on stock grazing, the presence of civilizado elements, the network of communications that now crosses the peninsula, the decisive action of the missionaries and schools have all combined to reduce the shaman to his minimum proportions. Of course, there still remain elements in the native which allow one to classify him as framed by a magic mentality, but external influences are carrying him

[46 cont.]

411 when the respect due to his status is not shown (Cf. "Magic
435 and Funerals"), and particularly the spirit of those dead through
775 violence, we can better understand the high value they place on the imára, or magic arrow.

593 It will be well to explain again the position of the father
611 in relation to his son in La Guajira. The family in this society follows matrilineal descent, and therefore the father is not really considered as father to his sons but is to his nephews, his sister's sons. The family ties between father and son are so weak that they do not exist except in certain secondary aspects of the family economic organization.

411 The use of the poisoned arrow among the Kusina Indians
539 is shown by the following fragment of a story told by the same
789 woman informant who supplied us with the data on which this present study is based and which refers to the struggle between a Guajiro Indian named Kurfra-páta and some Kusina Indians who arrived at his hamlet one night to steal his stock. The section dealing with the magic arrow, translated literally from the Guajiro text, is as follows: [47] "The Kusina shot (with a rifle) at Kurfra-páta, who came upon them from behind. They wounded him in the thigh. 'Now, it isn't possible to do anything,' said K.P. 'Let's kill him to end this once and for all,' said the Kusina. K.P. lifted himself on to his sound knee. He shot at them (with his rifle), killing one. Then the Kusina said, 'Let's kill him with the imára (poisoned arrow).'"

411 The fragment of this story corroborates the existence of
789 the magic arrow among the Kusina, and also, as previously stated, the fact that the poisoned arrow,— magic arrow to us — was the last recourse utilized by these Indians when their other weapons did not produce the desired result.

The area of distribution of this cultural element, as we have seen, was in the Sierra de Cocinas, and it was frequently used in Jarara, where it was obtained by purchase or by barter from the makers. This class of weapon used to be employed in this latter region — Jarara — in times of war. Now it is no longer used in either of the two areas mentioned for two reasons.
[797 First, the evangelizing action of the Capuchin fathers in the
778] Sierra de Jarara, who have, in the main, mitigated the warlike

[47 cont.]
character of the inhabitants of Jarara; and second, the complete disappearance (according to all sources) of the Kusina Indians in the last 20 to 25 years for various reasons. In other words, the arrows which may still exist but of which we could not obtain a sample are those preserved by the aged Indians of Jarara, purchased from the makers in times past.

Sacrifice to forestall the effects of dreams. In the Guajiro mentality dreams are considered to be revelations of the future, coming from a benign spirit who seeks in this way to show his protection to a certain person. When the shaman himself has the revealing dreams then these acquire greater importance, as we have already seen. For the same reason, when one of these shamans has a special dream, he informs the interested party and adds to it the necessary instructions or special ceremonies that he should arrange in order to counteract the prognostication. If such ceremonies are not carried out or are not totally complied with, the dream will become converted to reality. The Guajiro has immense faith in dreams, particularly in those of shamans, and very few persons will leave themselves open to suffer the consequences of the nonfulfillment of the rituals indicated, as experience, according to them, has [48] shown that noncompliance with the indications of the shamans has resulted in many deaths and disasters when the events foretold have taken place.

As the aspect of dreams is treated in a special section, we will here only refer to the theme which interests us and which is related to sacrifices. In this respect we quote the narrative of one of our informants.

This occurred in Jarara. A woman shaman dreamed that a member of the Pushaina family clan was threatened with a fatal tragedy; he would die by the hand of one of his own family group. The shaman immediately informed him of it and ordered him, in order to avert the danger, to organize a fiesta of horse racing and, above all, to sacrifice a black male goat and to bathe himself in its blood. The Indian did not want to carry out the shaman's instructions, and within a short time he was killed by a member of his own group of inferior economic standing. The reprisals taken against the

753 [73] In the Guajiro mentality sickness, as we were able to see
751 in the corresponding sections ("Medicine and Sickness" and "Life Cycle of the Shaman"), is not something provoked by natural causes but is the consequence of the malevolent action of some special being, above all, of a spirit. So a series of beliefs, magic preventatives, have been established in order to avoid or ward off the hostile action of these spirits on the individual, as we were able to note in the chapter "Sickness and Medicine." We also saw in the matter relating to magic and sickness how certain animals, plants, and objects could be agents by contamination or participation in the cause and development of
[775] sickness. But it is particularly the spirit of the dead, offended and malevolent, that causes major disasters among the Guajiro, as is shown by their beliefs and their own preventative systems.

We can get aid from linguistics to clarify this concept.
192 The word that the Guajiro uses for illness in general is wanurú,
753 and the same word is the one that is used for the spirit of the
775 dead — the devil, according to all writers and even to the na-
[797] tives themselves, due to the effects of religious acculturation provoked by the Capuchin fathers. Still further, if we break
[196] down the word we find that it is formed of three special particles, wa, num ru, which separately correspond to three different concepts: Wa is derived from the first person plural of the personal pronoun wayá, which means "we"; nu, or simply n, is nothing more than the general contraction of the third person singular of the personal pronoun niá, "he," and rú is a relative particle derived from surú or hurú (s or h according to which dialectal zone the word is taken from), which signifies "inside," "inside of," or "within." In view of the idiomatic composition of the Guajiro dialect, we can with all safety translate the word wanurú as follows: "he, inside of us." The linguistic construction therefore corresponds to a social reality: sickness, wanurú, is nothing more than that: the spirit of the dead that has entered an individual in order to cause him a particular illness for some disrespect or other that he has shown toward the spirit, or simply just because it is a malignant and vindictive spirit.

171 The relation sickness — death — spirit, which will later be
753 the object of a special study on our part, can be proved through
775 linguistics in many of the aboriginal Colombian and even American
*756

[74 cont.]

171 he is the witch and curer of the tribe, as we learn from the
*756 Mother Superior's writings, a wizard whose supernatural powers place him at the peak of the social pyramid. This jaibaná is none other than an individual who has by himself and for himself absorbed the power of the spirits — of the dead — and who by this is able to carry out the same functions as they are capable of, that is, he can do evil or good as the fancy takes him. For this reason "when some illness suddenly attacks the Indians they say they are bewitched, and they point to the person from whom they have received the injury. They dream persistently of a certain jaibaná and that he observes them with a grim, severe look or that he lies in ambush for them armed with spears or guns, and from this they assume that the doctor of whom they dream is he who has bewitched them." (53) In this case it is

53. Ibid., p. 151.

therefore the jaibaná, ("collection of sicknesses," according to the etymology) who, taking advantage of his power both to absorb and dominate the spirits, goes about among the Indians causing them harm and also [75] curing them when sick people go to him in search of help. Again we meet with this duality which we have already pointed out regarding the spirits of the dead (friends — enemies) and which we showed in the previous chapter, "Sickness and Medicine," in regard to spirits in general, as well as animals.

171 Among the Chibcha Colombian Indians of the savannas of
776 Cundinamarca, we also find a linguistic and conceptual corre-
777 spondence between devil and death. In our opinion, among
775 primitives there does not exist, or did not exist among the American aborigines before the Conquest, the concept of devil as such, but only of a spirit of evil which, although it may possess some similarity to the devil of our Catholic religion differs in many aspects from it. From all that we have been able to observe, the idea of the devil among the American primitives, introduced no doubt after the Conquest by Catholic missionaries, corresponds more to an entity, spiritual it is true and capable of

[75 cont.]

171 doing good or evil, but always a physical evil, not a spiritual
776 one as done by the devil as conceived in the Catholic religion.
●777 Also, according to our observations, this same spirit of the primi-
775 tives is none other than the spirit of the dead, of their ancestors, inhabitants of the "other world," an unreal world that is not directly tangible, or at least not completely so, to the senses but real in the conception, in the faith and beliefs of the primitives. This last characteristic of the American aborigines' demonic spirits, confused with the dead, separates them formally and conceptually from the idea of the devil as understood in Catholicism.

171 Returning to the Chibcha tribe of the savannas, we find
775 that one of the words that their dialect uses to describe a dead
776 person is guajaia (we retain the author's spelling), and the word for "devil" is guaioque. We can attempt to split up the second word in the following way: guaia, que. This last particle that we have split off has the sense of "strong," "vigorous." Thus, by splitting up guaioque — translated as "devil" by the different writers on the Chibcha language of Cundinamarca — would really have the meaning of "powerful dead one." (54) We could

54. The linguistic notes have been taken from two works: El Idioma Chibcha o aborigen de Cundinamarca [The Chibcha or Aboriginal Language of Cundinamarca] by J. Acosta Ortegon and Gramática, Vocabulario, Catecismo i Confesionario de la lengua Chibcha [Grammar, Vocabulary, Catechism, and Confessional of the Chibcha Language] by Ezequiel Uricoechea.

include many other quotations to corroborate our statement, but, as we have mentioned, we reserve [76] these for a separate work. We only wish to expound our general theory for the better understanding of this study. It is sufficient then for us once again to affirm that death, sickness, spirit (devil), and even medicine man are all concepts that belong to one and the same ideological circle, totally imbued with the spiritualistic content of magic related to the soul of the dead.

[109] VII

Other Aspects of Magic

551 689 The name in magic. "The prohibition against uttering a dead person's name generally is quite rigidly obeyed. Certain South American tribes consider that to pronounce the name of a dead person in the presence of his living relatives is to inflict on them a serious offense, and they apply to the offender a penalty no less rigorous than that assigned to a murder . . . ," says Freud (63), and the Guajiro is typical in this respect. Let us see

63. Freud. Totem y Tabú.

one by one the rituals followed with respect to the dead person's name when a death occurs in their community.

[553] It is imperative that every other person who bears the same name as the deceased should change it. This is done to avoid pronouncing that name in the presence of any of the dead man's relatives, because if this should happen the relatives are entitled to present a claim for compensation payment for the offense. The family considers that by mentioning the name of their deceased relative, the offender has renewed all the painful sorrow which they suffered at his death.

551 This change of names among those who are namesakes of a dead man is made for life and extends geographically over all the zone inhabited by the dead man's relatives and causes the same person at times to have different names. It is, at least, one of the reasons.

At the present time it is common among the natives for [177] every person to have three names: one Spanish, taken from the [197] list of saints and given him by the priest at his baptism; a family nickname, by which he is generally known and which almost always refers to a distinctive physical or spiritual quality; and a third, intimate name, a secret for the majority of people and only known by its owner and some members of his family.

The personal name of the individual should never be [689] pronounced by anyone but his close relatives. Whoever should

[112 cont.]

787 Another bird of bad augury is the red owl. If a person
825 who is traveling by night along the road sees one and hears its hoot, this is a signal that a misfortune is about to happen at the spot the walker met the bird or that something will happen to upset him on the road.

If at nightfall the long-drawn out song of the waimpirai is heard, it is an indication that there will be a war between two important clans, or extended families. They say in La Guajira that on a certain occasion, after this omen had occurred, a struggle between two families broke out and 20
[797 members of the Uriyú clan had to take refuge in the convent
628] of Nazaret, defeated by their adversaries who were hunting them down wishing to kill them.

When a hen cackles at daybreak there will surely be a death in the house, particularly when the cackling is repeated on three consecutive days.

312 Natural phenomena in magic. The most important natural
132 phenomenon for the Guajiro is rain, the essential fount for his
133 agriculture and stock grazing and the basis of his present-day economic organization. It is not strange that this is so because if for every community and for living beings in general water is an indispensable element and if many of the divinities and spirits of the primitive Americans center around it, for the Guajiro it is infinitely more essential if we take into consideration the geographical milieu in which he lives and to which we have referred, perhaps insistently, in this work as we consider it of vital importance (cf. "Introduction"). In the whole area there is no river or stream of importance. The soil has a maximum permeability and has to withstand high temperatures; [113] and as the Guajiro have no practical knowledge of the conservation and distribution of rain water, they always live dependent on the winter season for sowing their crops. For
789 this reason many acts of magic have this end in view, but as this aspect will be better understood in the chapter on "Mareiwa and Wanurú," or notions of good and evil, we will confine ourselves in this section to noting some magic acts related to rainfall and to other natural phenomena.

789 The intervention of the shaman, which we have lost
*756 sight of since the second chapter when we described at length his personality and attributes, returns again to participate in

[131 cont.]

796 summer and over sicknesses, pestilences, and deaths which occur
821 as a consequence of it. But we have no work to sustain this affirmation. Also one must take into account the fact that the
[609] natives are not willing that strangers be present at their Fiesta of the Kid; and when they are, the play is much repressed in its natural expression and becomes a pale copy, artificial, almost we might say a special product for exportation. Missionaries
[797] have contributed greatly to this since they are opposed to the fiesta, considering it amoral or immoral because of the sexual freedom which is shown during its performance and the representation of natural scenes of the procreative life of animals. All the
[114 data that we have are not the product of our own personal observation
127] of the fiesta but are reports collected from different sources in diverse parts of La Guajira. They have, at the very least, the value of data verified several times over.

All this leads us to think that even though the Dance of the Kid is directly related to the rains since it always starts when the rains begin even though it is specially dedicated to Mareiwa, the divinity of the rains, as we shall prove in the coming chapter, even though its name [132] appears to be derived from the stellar constellation of the Seven Kids, iwa, whose association with rain we shall also note in the following chapter, it is primarily a ceremony dedicated to fecundity, fecundity of the soil shown by the sprouting of plant life brought about by the rains. Fecundity and rain are seen, then, as two inseparable factors, two terms in the same equation: life.

526 We spoke of the aspect of demonstration of ability in
796 theatrical representations when we delimited the areas of study of the ceremonial of the Kid. In effect, according to narrations we have at our disposal about the representative games, which we shall describe in detail in the latter part of this chapter, at the end of each one, out of the two sides which have taken part in the development, one side is seen to triumph over the other due to its greater skill or ability in movement or to the physical strength of those taking part when it is a matter of representations of struggles, as we saw in the game of the hawksbill turtle, and as we shall see in the representation of scenes introducing animals,

[141 cont.]

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an Indian of the Nazaret locality relating to Mareiwa and the origin of humanity, in which are presented the beginnings of the different groups of mankind: natives and foreigners. The legend states that Mareiwa created mankind and gathered them together, inviting them to a banquet. Those who complied with the forms of social etiquette (shaking hands respectfully, sitting in the right place, behaving with composure, eating according to civilized rules, using knives and forks, washing hands, etc., were turned into arîjuna ("white," civilizado); those who misbehaved, who did not comply with these rituals of social etiquette, that is, those who showed they were Indians, were from that time classed as wayû ("Indians"). As can be seen, the Indian believes himself superior [sic] to the White because of these details of social etiquette, of which he is partially or totally ignorant. [142]

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The problem arises from the fact that those two notions of good and evil, represented by two classes of spirits, benign and malignant, have been changed for the Catholic or general Christian concepts of God and devil, concepts which the native, coming more and more in contact with the Christian type of civilization has gradually come to accept in the process of his conversion to new ideas.

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This affirmation is corroborated by various citations, taken from the writings of Catholic or Protestant missionaries as well as from those of travelers or of ethnologists who have been involved in the same confusion. To demonstrate the point we transcribe several such cases.

[53]

Father de Carcagente referring to the church at Manaure says: "The Indians say to God 'Have pity upon us.' They know

[142 cont.]

797 what God can do for them," phrases which the Guajiro translates [539] in this way: "Nuchúntaca guayú numuín Maléigua 'Pumúliaja guayú.' Je natújain au tu náinjecta nau Maléigua." (69)

[113]

69. Carcagente. Guía Goajiro [Guajiro Guide], pp. 18-19. The italics are ours.

The Protestant missionaries, on their part, published in Guajiro and in Spanish a version of the Gospel of Saint Mark throughout which the word "God" is represented in Guajiro by the word "Mareiwa" (70).

70. Máruko: Cf. Bibliography.

Father José Agustin de Barranquilla, a Capuchin missionary who traveled widely through the greater part of Guajiro territory on an evangelistic mission and collected his impressions in a book, when speaking of the qualities and moral defects of the Guajiro, uses the following terms: "He is monotheist, that is, he believes in only one Supreme Being called Mareigua (God) ... he has something similar to the devil which he calls Yarujá or Yolujá..." (71)

71. Barranquilla. Así es la Guajira [This is La Guajira], II, 57.

And further along he adds: "The Guajiro is not like other Indians, idolatrous, because vestiges have never been found among all the Guajiro antiquities either of idols that they worshiped in times past or traditions that show at any time their connection with idolatry, except for certain insignificant talismans of a domestic and family nature which they considered could render them service. They never practiced any cult rendering homage to the sun, moon, or any other visible thing. The Guajiro attributes 776 everything good that occurs in this world to Merigua (God). Mareigua is always good, never evil. He it was that created the world and all visible things. He alone. He is invisible

[143 cont.]

177 seems to be true, in a certain way, for those who are imbued with
776 Christian religious practices, because when they refer to our God, to Jesus Christ, they call him Mareiwa. But at the bottom of their minds, in our opinion, there is some distinction which is precisely what we shall try to explain.

753 When we spoke of the shaman, we referred extensively to
775 his protector spirits, the real healers of sickness, of whom the shaman is no more than an intermediary. Naturally, we also spoke, in that chapter and in the one relating to sickness, of the evil spirits, the malignant ones, the cause of the trouble, known by the generic name of wanurú, and we explained how the first are, in general, the spirits of dead shamans who have disappeared but continue to exercise their functions for the benefit of the community, while the wanurú are also spirits of dead people who satisfy their personal vengeances, revenge themselves for disrespect shown them in their status after death, or are simply dangerous because of the circumstances of their death, as in the case of suicides. [144]

776 In addition to the spirits of sickness and death, there is another named yo-ru-já, difficult to describe and whose functions are difficult to delineate. We only know that he is magnificently [177] malevolent and that it is he, the complete opposite of Mareiwa (God) that has been named "demon" or "devil" by missionaries, writers, etc.

Regarding the previous statement, we have several quotations that confirm it: "Yoluhá is the demon in the simple Guajiro theogony. As with god, it is scarcely a concept, a word that represents the forces of destruction and, at the same time, of power, since it is even used by the shaman when he is foretelling the future. "What does the devil say (Jamúseneik Yoluja)?" is the question the diviner asks. The Guajiro demon is not, therefore, like the Christian devil, the opposite of God, because in addition to wickedness and destruction it also embraces the concept of power and divination." (75)

75. Hernández de Alba. Op. cit., 50.

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not far from the mission station. Ituhor means 'roast corn' 133
and it does look like a dark golden brown giant corn-cob. [103]
Suddenly we were in a valley that was all green. We had to
rub our eyes. Not only grass grew there, but tall trees with [137]
fresh green leaves. The crests of coconut palms waved high
above them. We saw bananas, maize, and all sorts of fruit
trees. What a miracle! The cause of it was a little stream
that had water in it almost all the year round, though it
petered out in sand on its way to the sea. We enjoyed the
greenery, the smells and the bird song, and watched the
multi-coloured butterflies. The valley was not inhabited;
it was a field. After that we came to more white sand, where
everything was just as arid as before. 797

Nazaret lay in the middle of this sea of sand. Ahead of us
we saw some whitewashed buildings with grass roofs and
one larger building with a turret. A monk came walking
briskly to greet us, his white beard waving in the breeze.
This was Father Salvador, whom we knew from a trip we
had made farther south five years before. He had then been
stationed at the foot of the Andes and his flowing beard
had been brown. How old he had grown! The desert seemed
to have aged him by twenty years at least, we thought. Then
the other monks emerged and friendly nuns took charge of
my wife.

We had good, sweet water, decent food and black coffee.
The kindly fathers at once set about preparing a white-
washed hut for us. They wanted us to stay for some time,
make Nazaret our headquarters, from which we could go to
the Indian camps in the surrounding country, which we
would thus get to know. They would also find us good
guides.

Then our Indians arrived with our baggage. We paid 609
them and dismissed them. We could not help laughing when 673
Gaffer insisted that he could be of great use to us as a guide,
for he had neither been there before, nor even been able to
find his way there. His old wife had taken advantage of our
absence to appropriate a number of our things, including an
aluminium saucepan. This came to light because her pack
looked suspiciously bulky and had to be searched, to her

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CHAPTER 5

Slaves and Slave-dealers

WE had expected lush green valleys and thus the mission station lying on its terrace of sand was to some extent a disappointment. There was greenery in the area, as we knew from having passed it on the way, but it was quite far off and one had to wade laboriously through deep sand to reach it. 133

Those green valleys could be called oases. Nazaret, perhaps, was the one relatively peaceful place on the whole peninsula. The Indians respected the monks, who were kindly, understanding, civilized people. Nazaret was a fixed point and the only place where we could set up a headquarters from which to make excursions of varying length; otherwise we would have to travel and keep travelling all the time we were in Guajira. There were supplies of food there and drinking water. They had a rainwater cistern and also a casimba with clear water that never seemed to run dry. It had cost them a lot of labour and effort to erect the buildings there. All the materials had been brought by pack-donkey from Puerto Estrella, to which it was taken in schooners. Maize, sugar and other such provisions still had to be fetched the same way. They were not always able to get meat from the Indians. Once it was nearly three months before they could replenish their larder. They had great difficulty in protecting things from ants, which were as numerous there as everywhere in tropical South America, to say nothing of other noxious creatures. 797

The monks and nuns together looked after two hundred Indian children, and their support was not to be hazarded. The Capuchins always concentrate on the children, whom 797 736

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797 they take into boarding schools, so-called *orfelinatos*. It
736 was not difficult to get children for these schools there. Many poor families voluntarily hand their children over in hard times, when they cannot support them themselves. Others sell them for a quantity of maize. If the mission did not buy them, some well-to-do chief would, and they
[567] would become slaves. The monks did not always know whether a child offered them was stolen or not.

Well-to-do Indians also liked to send their children to Nazaret to learn Spanish and other useful things. These, however, often became more Indian than the Indians once they left the school. We met a few who refused to remember their Spanish and who appeared to be quite uninfluenced by the monks. This evident reaction against civilization was due, perhaps, to the strictly ordered life of the school.

The poor children had to stay there always. Some of them worked in a cotton plantation which the monks had started in order to help the mission's finances. There were already one or two married couples. They were not considered proper Indians, because the men wore trousers.

584 A Guajiro girl is normally not allowed to choose her husband. Her family does that. Thus, if the monks and
797 nuns decided which pupil was to marry which, it amounted to the same thing. The monks, of course, did not get a bride-price, nor did the bridegroom often receive his morning-gift that traditionally consists of ornaments and clothing.

797 Why had they built the mission station just at that spot, where it was so difficult to maintain it? The choice had been dictated mainly by the monks' desire to try and save children and others from being sold as slaves. Also there was water and it was near a harbour.

567 Do people really traffic in slaves in our day? Yes, slavery still exists. In Guajira, the traffic increases whenever there is a drought and times are bad. It has always gone through Castilletes on the south coast, which lies just where the frontier between Colombia and Venezuela reaches the sea. The slaves are sold to Venezuela, which is also more accessible for that part of the peninsula.

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567 614 833 which occasioned her becoming a slave-worker, and then pay a bride-price to her family. The girl becomes free and, of course, her child is born free.

567 Real slaves are those taken in war. Nowadays they seldom take men or boys prisoner, but prefer to kill them instead. Otherwise there is always a risk that eventually they will try to avenge themselves. Women and girls are 628 mostly spared and made slaves. Civil strife is common, and 648 the Macuira Hills were no more peaceful than other areas, but the Indians were reluctant to harm the monks, though on occasion even they became involved.

One day a violent feud broke out between two clans. The chief of one clan himself led the fighting and had determined that the enemy was to be utterly exterminated. The battle raged quite close to the mission. To be anywhere near the Indians when they are fighting is dangerous, for those with rifles are seldom able to shoot and stray bullets fly everywhere. Poisoned arrows are also in the air, but they are better aimed and do not travel so far.

628 One day the monks heard that this chief had captured a 727 couple of boys of the enemy clan and had ordered that they 797 should be burned alive. The boys were reported to have been tied to a tree, round which a large fire had been lit, 649 after which the chief's men had gone away, leaving the boys to their fate. Two of the monks set off at once for the tree. As they hurried along rain began to fall and they hoped that that might put the fire out and so save the boys' lives. When they arrived, however, one of the boys was already dead, having been suffocated by the smoke. The other was still alive and the monks carried him back with them, though they scarcely expected him to survive, for he was very badly burned. It seems pointless and cruel to kill little boys, but the Indians were afraid that, if they spared them, they would take vengeance later; thus, when they heard what had happened, they sent a message saying that the monks must hand the boy over.

The monks replied that the boy was dead. That was the only way of saving his life—if it could be saved. He died during the night, however, and was buried in the mission's

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garden. In the morning the Indians came and demanded the 628
body. The monks refused, not wishing to lend themselves 727
to violation of the dead, and said that they would only 797
treat with the chief. He, however, was not in the vicinity. 648
The Indians threatened to burn the mission station. Fortunately the chief arrived at this juncture, and told his braves that they must not use violence against the monks.

'Never to kill and just to rescue those condemned to death as you do, does not fit in with our laws,' he said to the monks. 'You Capuchins lack any sense of reality. But I shall do you no harm, since you never harm others.'

It sometimes happens that the victor instead of killing 567
his male prisoners will sell them as slaves to the white 439
men, preferably to places at some distance from the peninsula, such as the Dutch islands of Aruba and Curaçao, Zulia in Venezuela, or the Magdalena department of Colombia. The Indians deal in slaves among themselves; they also sell them to the white men and these, too, traffic in them among themselves.

Legally, a slave sold to a white person should become free, but in reality the owner of the *hacienda* treats him as a serf, branding his own mark on him, depriving him of his clan name and giving him his own. To sell a prisoner into slavery is not always to hear the last of him; for some have escaped from the Dutch islands, stowing away on boats, and on their return have exacted vengeance. It is not easy for hacienda slaves to escape. They are often hunted like animals.

There was a considerable sale of young girls to the whites, 548
a scandalous traffic. In Indian territory this was mainly in 567
the hands of quasi-chiefs, generally mestizos and other half-breeds with no right to the title, who cleverly saw how to exploit the Guajiro laws to earn a lot of money. The Guajiro customary law was never intended to apply to export.

The monks were the chief opponents of the slave-traffic. 567
They received a special grant from the government of 648
Colombia to enable them to purchase the freedom of slave children. The white men made no distinction between slave

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567 and slave-worker, whichever they bought, they treated
alike. In times of famine, so-called recruiting-agents, usually
648 half-breeds, appeared on the scene and bought up workers for the haciendas. Even those Creoles who were not directly engaged in this shameful traffic considered slavery a phenomenon about which there was nothing to be done. After all it was an ancient institution. Slave-workers with Creoles never became free, unless they could manage to escape, for the Creoles did not respect the Guajiro law according to which a slave-worker's servitude ceases when he has paid his debt. Those white people, mestizos or mulattos who had bought slave-workers saw to it that they never got away once they had put their clan mark to a contract, the purport of which they did not understand.

The central chain of hills, Sierra de Jarará, and Maicao in
567 the western low country, were usually accounted the centre
•797 of this slave traffic. If a poor man stole a bullock or a goat to feed himself and his family, he was often punished by being sold as a slave-worker—having nothing with which to pay the owner compensation.

The monks are needed there all right. They calculated that during the five years they had been working there, some
[563] three thousand slaves had been sold. In the old days the Guajiro also had negro slaves, as is apparent from Antonio Julian's description of the country written at the end of the eighteenth century. According to him, the Indians used to
[439] obtain firearms, spirits, wine and slaves in Rio Hacha, in exchange for their pearls. The pearl fishery was entirely in the Indians' hands. Elsewhere, negro slaves were bartered for pearls from boats lying off the coast. Antonio Julian expressed concern at the fact that with the addition of negroes and negresses not only would the Indians increase in numbers, but also that they would acquire an additional population of mulattos, mestizos and zambos, who would make common cause with them and make them 'even more terrible, insolent and difficult to conquer'.

When he visited the peninsula he was met by a chief who was attended by two negro slaves, splendidly got up, like lackeys, and that obviously impressed him greatly.

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The eldest monk at the station, Father Crispin, had a lot to tell us of the slave trade and of his travels on the peninsula. 567 797

The monks and nuns live in a state of constant nervous tension. That saps their strength, as does the constant anxiety about supplies, the heat and the monotonous diet: goat's meat, maize and dried fish.

'You age quickly here,' said Father Salvador, who was himself proof of that.

We attended mass in the primitive little church there. Father Salvador preached with true Spanish eloquence. He was said to have been an officer in a crack regiment, and sometimes when he gave orders to the Indian boys, you could see that that was so. There, in the dark little mud church, he preached a sermon that only a few understood, but a crowd of Indian children knelt and listened and some half-naked grown-ups watched inquisitively from the door, as did three heretics from the distant north. 797

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175 During the Colonial Period, the *Goajiro* were hostile toward the Span-
648 iards. After 1830, however, as a result of better treatment from the Whites, thanks in part to the efforts of Juan MacPherson, they become more friendly. Present authorities in the *Goajiro* region merely regulate frontier traffic.

797 The attempts by the Capuchin Fathers to alter their ways of life have
177 been unsuccessful. Except for the thin Catholic veneer, noticeable in baptismal rites and Spanish names, *Goajiro* social life seems to have been little affected by centuries of contact with Hispanic culture. Foreign influence is more apparent materially in iron implements, utensils, guns, textiles, and ornaments. All the domestic animals are of Spanish origin.

161 As a result of tuberculosis, smallpox, and venereal disease, the *Goajiro*
164 are gradually dying out, and the population estimates found in the literature have become smaller and smaller, the most recent indicating a scant 18,000.

PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

142 The *Goajiro* are usually described as aggressive and untrustworthy, of
[187] medium or small stature (cf. J. A. Mason, 1926, pp. 39, 52), copper colored, with jet-black hair, dark eyes rather obliquely set, a broad and blunt nose, and a large mouth (pl. 72, *bottom, right*). Within the tribes there are physical differences which seem to correspond with social status,
[565] the lower classes being smaller and more Indian in appearance, while those of higher rank are more often of a greater stature, with curlier hair and larger noses.

LANGUAGE

197 The *Goajiro* language belongs to the *Arawakan* family. There is, however, no good analysis of it. A grammar, "replete with errors" according to Simons, was published by Rafael Caledon in 1878. Various word lists have been published from time to time.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.**—The *Goajiro* have a poor opinion of agriculture, and only
[55] the poorer sibs practice it. The one fertile part of the peninsula is near Punta Espada. Here the land is well cultivated, and plantains, maguey, onions, coca, sugarcane, and grain are grown. Tobacco, bananas, maize, gourds, manioc, sweetpotatoes, millet, beans, and watermelons also are raised. Those who own cattle grow only small patches of quick-maturing corn for the purpose of making chicha beer.

22 **Hunting, fishing, and gathering.**—Hunting, fishing, and gathering occupy a minor place. Deer, armadillos, land tortoises, and rabbits are

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726 on equal terms. He then approached the enemy from the left while making quick movements, jumps, and turns, with his legs apart and his knees bent. More recently, according to Ernst (1887 c), war is not declared, attempts being made to take the enemy by surprise.

[747] Wars last indefinitely, sometimes being broken by a peace brought about by an influential "civilizado" or the Capuchin monks, the latter sometimes paying the retribution demanded out of their own pockets.
579 Some tribes, such as the *Cosina* of Serrania Cosina (actually a conglomeration of outcastes rather than a sib), make their living almost entirely by robbery and pillage, destroying houses, stealing cattle, and killing or enslaving their enemies.

LIFE CYCLE

843 **Birth and childhood.**—During pregnancy a woman continues to do her heavy work up to the very hour of delivery. At childbirth, the shaman
844 pronounces various spells over the patient and applies poultices made of
[156] dried flowers, roots, etc. A large, heavy stone placed over the womb and vigorous massaging bring about the birth. If the placenta is not soon expelled, the woman drinks a medicine concocted by the medicine man. As soon as the child is safely delivered the father serves rum and chicha
[484] to all his relatives. If the pains of childbirth appear when the sib is on the march, the woman mounts and rides ahead so that when the sib catches up the event is practically over. The husband cuts the cord with his machete and cauterizes its ends with a glowing ember. The woman
[854] then continues on the march with the child in a sling on her back. When the permanent camp is reached she washes herself and the child.

851 Baptism is a Christian ceremony which the *Goajiro* have adopted, and
551 most of the Indians are called by Spanish names, as their real names may
177 not be mentioned. Teknonymy is practiced; a parent is addressed by its child's name plus a prefix, nushi or sushi for the father, ni or si for the mother. Thus, a father may be called Nushijuan after a son or Sushijuana after a daughter.

857 At 6 or 7, girls learn to grind salt, pick cotton, and tend the smaller
868 animals; the boys imitate their fathers.

855 Parents are said to show little affection for their children, sometimes
[436] selling them at Sinamaica. They receive $10 or $15 for a child of 8 or 9 years. The purchaser becomes the child's guardian, teaches him the Catholic faith, and keeps him until he is 17 years old. These children
[736 rarely return home. Abandoned children are taken to the San Antonio
797] orphanage, where the girls continue to wear their *Goajiro* dress, but the boys are put into jackets and pants.

881 **Girls' puberty.**—At her first menstruation a girl is isolated in a small dark hut and stripped of all her ornaments. She lies in a hammock, sometimes hoisted near the roof. For the first 2 days she drinks no

/537 cont./

171 around the world simultaneously
231 with the domestic animals them-
422 selves.

614 The branding described was probably learned by the
212 Indians from the Spaniards themselves, simultaneously with
231 the adoption of the first European domestic animals, and
422 has been retained since then. It is all the more surprising
177 that the branding iron (hierro) appears in an old myth which
614 for its part clearly states where the customary individual
212 clan-signs came from. The following version (according to
773 V. Gutiérrez, p. 168) is common in the northern part of the
peninsula:

Not far from Nazareth (10) a hill rises behind Itojoro.

[797] [131] 10. This post lies only several kilometers south of Puerto Estrella and is actually a small Catholic mission station. Cf. Stutzer, pp. 131 ff., and Barranquilla, pp. 151 ff.

Here, under an oil tree, Mareiwa (11) came into the world.

776 11. That is the spelling of this
114 mythological name that I felt to be correct, as did V. Gutiérrez (p. 168). Chaves (1946, p. 307) explains in the myth concerning "Las Serranías de la Guajira," among other things: "Mareigua [is] one of the principal deities of the Guajiro people, who with his supernatural power converts persons into hills, separates the

/11 cont./

§53 of white education or medical prescription, try to regulate the feeding of their children, but they break the rule frequently, lengthening or shortening the interval in accordance with the appetite of the child and guiding themselves by the position of the sun.

The child has his first meal of the day approximately at three o'clock in the morning, the time that the Guajiro begins his daily work, the last meal at bedtime. At this latter meal the child nurses until, either satiated or sleeping, he lets go of his mother's breast. However, every Guajiro mother habitually feeds her child during the night if he wakes up and cries.

The mother feeds her child herself unless abnormal circumstances prevent this. If the milk completely satisfies the child in quantity and quality, the mother does not add other food, nor does she substitute it during the first six to eight months. From then onward she adds to his diet thin corn mazamorra with a little milk, preferably goat's milk, oat soup, milk, and, much later, cheese and meat. If the mother's milk begins to fail soon after the child's birth, she endeavors to supplement this lack by other suitable food such as sweetened mazamorra or simple dishes of rice meal, mixed with goat's milk, later this same milk alone, until she gradually weans her child to adult food, going through the process just outlined. She also tries to reserve her own milk to give to the child during the night and so avoid having to prepare food during the hours of rest. The first meal at dawn, however, may be a prepared one, as the Guajiro mother, as we have already stated, is an early riser in order to take advantage of the cooler hours of the day to do her work. Before weaning, if the mother's milk supply keeps up, the child learns to eat other foods such as cow's milk and goats milk, corn griddlecake, bread -- if it is to be had, mazamorra, and fruit such as the iguaraya, mamoncillo /honey berry/, olive, and mango. When the child begins to sit up, the mother holds him in her arms during mealtime and gives him bites of food. The child learns to want and ask for food. Thus once he is weaned,

[70 cont.]

278 the magico-curative value of the plant under discussion: "Some-
757 times," says Castiglione, "as has been said, this popularity" (that of medicinal plants) "is derived from real therapeutic qualities as, for example, the use of quina roots, which is prescribed by scientific medicine; its power to cure intermittent fevers was well known among the peoples of pre-Columbian America. In
278 many other cases the virtues of these plants depend on their ap-
755 pearance, on the similarity of their roots, their flowers, or their fruit to certain characteristics of sicknesses or to some organ of the body." (48) Somewhat earlier, in referring to this second

48. Castiglioni, Op. cit., VI, 82.

category of plants, he tells us: "The second category embraces innumerable substances which by themselves, speaking objectively, cannot in any way have any effect, either favorable or unfavorable, but whose value stems exclusively and directly from the ideas they provoke in the minds of the people concerned." (49).

49. Castiglioni, Op. cit., VI, 81.

The influence of magic in medicine is borne out, finally, by the custom of visiting the Arhuaco doctors, in whom they see powerful magicians who possess the secret of praying to a powerful spirit to impregnate their remedies with its essence. It is this aspect which attracts the Guajiro, not the plants in themselves but the spirit, the demon if we may call it so, that is present in the drops which have been prayed over by the Arhuaco curer.

[71] V

Magic and Funerals

811 With the Guajiro Indians, as with the majority of primitive peoples, the complex ceremonial relating to death accounts for a great part of their activities, their manner of acting, thinking, and

[71 cont.]

811 feeling. Not being able to understand the logical processes of life with its principal phenomena of birth, development, growth, old age, and death, the Indian looks for an explanation that agrees, at least in appearance, with his beliefs, with his limited capacity for knowledge, and he steadfastly adheres to the traditions received in cultural inheritance, traditions which all have a subjective flavor and in which the supernatural, the purely metaphysical — even within the physical phenomenon itself — dominates the intellectual and sensible panorama. If at first he attributed the phenomenon of birth to the supernatural action, far off in space, of an animal, a plant, or other object which in course of time became his totem in his mythical ancestor made divine, later his mental explorations try to find a new explanation; his totem for different causes having now lost its value and only remaining with him as a vague memory, he tries to find, let us say, a new explanation which agrees better with the reality surrounding him. Hence we find him affirming, like the Guajiro, that birth is due to the union of the masculine semen with the menstrual blood, which produces the fetus. The association, even if not exact, is not extraordinarily far from the truth in as much as the association of both these factors brings about an apparent conjunction of the same in order to accomplish the complicated processes of fertility and birth.

811 844

But, in the explanation of the phenomenon of death, it is the realms of the unknown which continue to exert a major influence on the minds of primitives and, in the present case, on the minds of the Guajiro in particular. It is true that the constant influence of missionaries, colonists, traders and stock breeders, teachers and soldiers has started to change the state of things, inculcating in the Indian another class of beliefs which are not always coincident with reality, for the simple reason that three different races live together in our country, [72] and all are equally fanatical in their beliefs: the Negro with his fetishism and fantastic mythology; the Indian also with his mythology and his subjection to the spirits of the dead; and the Spaniard, as fanatic as the rest or as renegade. But it is also true that in the Indian's personality there still remains strongly impressed his primitive beliefs, his traditions accumulated over thousands of years, which

761 177

[50 cont.]

arrow in the first case and saves a person sentenced to death in a dream through the blood of a sacrificed animal in the second. (h) Furthermore, in the second case we find an apparent substitution of the personality of the individual, or better still, a partial sacrifice of the same on his handing over for sacrifice an animal owned by him. (i) In the sacrifice of animals of a ritual funerary character, we can distinguish the following effects obtained: First the propitiation of the dead man's spirit which, as may be seen in the chapter corresponding to "Magic and Funerals," can be beneficial, neutral, or malicious. This depends on whether all the considerations due to his status are maintained or not, or if all or part of the taboos established in this respect in the course of the social life of the community are violated or not. Second, the confirmation of the belief of a life beyond the tomb as a reflection of the earthly life. The sacrifice, in the sense that the dead animal accompanies its owner into the next life and places him on the same social plane that he occupied in this one among his fellow spirits there, confirms such a belief in the almost material life beyond the grave. [51]

IV

Sickness and Medicine

If we take into account the essential characteristics of primitive mentality, we should remember that their world is what we might call metaphysical, since the objects that surround them do not have a real existence as they do not look at them with a truly objective discernment but allow their imagination to be deceived by the strange things around them so that these become supernatural beings, all animated, not in the physical sense of movement but in their capacity to do good or evil, or to intervene in any manner whatever in the lives of men, of other beings, and of the cosmos in general. All that relates to the surroundings of primitive people: rocks, plants, animals, natural phenomena . . . , are active beings in the best sense of the word, capable of intervention and worthy of the Indian's respect,

[51 cont.]

911 fear, or admiration. The primitive has not at this stage reached
813 the discernment necessary to establish the logical relation be-
181 tween phenomena and their real causes, but establishes a magic relationship that in the majority of cases does not correspond to any concrete or objective reality.

753 This manner of thinking and of feeling is especially reflected in the facts related to the individual himself and his organic reactions and, essentially, in the variations to which his organism is susceptible in the biological or pathological sense. To the primitive sicknesses are not ills caused by pathogenic germs (we say this in the general sense as there are some exceptions) or by internal or external disorders but are the result of the harmful actions of some being — animal, human, mineral, or vegetable — who is the sick man's potential enemy or one whom he has injured in some way or another, especially in violating the social ritual arrangements which at first were related almost exclusively to the totem and which then gradually evolved toward diverse forms of magic which lead him to a real investigatory curiosity.

This curiosity is not limited, as might be expected, to the simple act of knowing what phenomenon or what individual spirit might have caused the sickness, but sets out to understand the whole matter in order to put into [52] practice a method of cure — it does not matter of what kind — which will bring one back to the state of health, to normality, and remove him from contact with the dangerous world of the spirits.

753 For this reason, in the following pages we shall find our-
755 selves confronted with this phenomenon: if the causes of the sick-
758 ness are magic or, in more general terms, supernatural, the methods of curing applied must be of the same type. The world of the spirits is considered to be superior to the normal world of the living, because it is unknown or partially so. The struggle then, face to face, of individual against spirit will be unequal because the latter — the spirit — is aided by supernatural forces with which the living are unacquainted. For this reason it is indispensable that shamans should be called in — the intermediaries between man and spirit, or that he employ, when

[114 cont.]
789 phenomenon — organize, as in the case of the eclipses, noisy
821 groups who shout aloud, [115] begging the lightning to withdraw, to go to the sea and make the storms that frequently lash the coasts of Cabo de la Vela and Chichíbacoa.

* * *

When the Guajiro is on the sea and, as frequently happens, his vessel becomes becalmed, he calls on the breeze to return by means of a long-drawn-out whistle, trying every pitch until he gets it to return.

* * *

821 Finally, if at dusk a considerably large, vividly red cloud
787 appears, the native believes that it announces that there will shortly be a war between two clan organizations.

787 Magic and dreams. The Guajiro Indian looks upon his dreams as revelations of the future. His mentality does not con-
813 ceive them as products of the past or as being associated with certain psycho-physiological phenomena, but as previews of his life, as a way of seeing future happenings, as revelations made by the spirits of strange things that will happen to the person dreaming or to those that appear in the dream. These dreams are not, therefore, private personal phenomena but social events, as what they contain affects the entire community or parts of it and determines many of their individual or collective acts, since the Guajiro is always strongly linked to this phenomenon as he is to all other magic; and in this respect he is a determinist. His life, his social and economic activities, his relations with his geographic surroundings, his illnesses, birth and death are determined by this play of magic interactions. It does not
813 matter that the phenomena are not always repeated in the same way or that on many occasions the events expected to occur as the consequence of a certain concatenation of magic causes do not take place or do so in a different or even contrary manner to that expected; the native does not waver in his belief in that invisible but active force. He continues to be attached to it, as

[115 cont.]

813 to a faith or a creed. And only the presence of distinct elements in his civilization and contact with other human groups more advanced and rational (in our sense) is undermining the power of this force which, in great part, constitutes, regulates, and governs his way of life.

121 787 In this study which we present we are not interested in dreams as events tied to the psychic life of the individual, nor are we going to try to interpret them. [116] This is part of another work which will be presented later by other investigators. The phenomenon as such interests us, especially the interpretation the native gives his dreams as revelations of future events, of forthcoming happenings related to his own life, to that of his fellow beings in particular, or to the community in general. In other words, the magic act that denotes, as Thorndike states, "a mental state," a way of feeling and thinking, a method of explaining effects whose causes are unknown. We will, therefore, simply describe a series of dreams and their meaning to the native, without comments except in cases where we consider it strictly necessary in order to clarify certain situations or special institutions to which they refer.

787 But before dealing with this matter, we shall first make a subdivision of dreams into two categories, in accordance with their content, which we may describe as the real and the symbolic. The first would appear to be the work of special spirits who reveal themselves through the medium of dreams to give their assistance and protection to an individual in an almost direct manner: These dreams are so clear, so explicit, that they require no interpretation. They are like a conversation between the individual and the spirit in which the latter tells the former all the things he must do; for example, the herbs that he must take to cure a certain illness from which he is suffering. On the other hand, the other dreams do not have this direct relation but are detached from active reality. Their interpretation — usually made by the shaman — demonstrates phenomena of a socially determined character which should be prevented or hastened. These dreams are those that give rise to the series of ceremonies or rites leading to a conjuration, as we saw in the corresponding chapter.

539 /169 cont./
614 an Indian. He ate tuuma and wore a Guajiro robe. His mother
773 was an old woman. There she had her home. The father was one Saramai who, it is also said, was a god. As Mareiwa was born under an olive tree, the tree never loses its green leaves during any summer. And when there is a storm the Indians take shelter beneath its branches because lightning cannot penetrate there.

"Mareiwa ordered that there should be an Indian girl whom they called Borunka who was the mother of all the Guajiro Indians. Mareiwa gave her a husband by whom she became pregnant, but when the time of her delivery arrived she was not able to give birth. She had already suffered three days of labor pains without birth taking place. The cause was that her genital organ had teeth. Mareiwa extracted them, and later he took from the husband two ribs, the lower ones from each side of his body, to place in Borunka so that she could give birth to children without difficulty, though not without pain.

"Since there is always some loss of blood when there is a childbirth, Mareiwa called together all the little birds: the one called Sangre de Toro /Bull's Blood/ or pincwait he ordered to go and bathe at the spot where the birth had taken place. Also /he called/ the troupial, the icó with black wings and a red breast and crest, and the macaws. The woodpecker arrived late at the bath. Mareiwa said to him: "You came late but I will anoint your crest," and he painted it. For this reason, all these birds have red patches.

"Borunka had several children, and thus the Guajiro went on multiplying. When they became numerous, Mareiwa returned and distributed among them seeds of watermelon, corn, and melon, all of which the Guajiro eat to this day. Until this /170/ time the Guajiro had not sown seed, but had collected only the wild fruits of the forest. Mareiwa brought together all the troupials and woodcocks /zancalargas/. A flock of these he sent far away, very far away, and there they

[113 cont.]

the propitiation of the rain, which is the culmination of the rituals of the Guajiro Indians.

When summer continues overlong and endangers the crops, animals, and the community in general, the shaman gets ready to call for and to attract rain. To effect this he dresses in the way we have seen him do when he cures sickness or casts out epidemics and begins to invoke up his protector spirits that they may aid him in his trance. He chews tobacco and rhythmically sways his torso and head while shaking his maraca. All these acts he carries out while seated on a wooden zoomorphic chair. He then commences to sing loudly to attract his spirits, and when he attains this he asks them to send rain. He tells them that men need it, that they are without food and without water in their wells, and they are near death through hunger and thirst, their animals are dying, and misery and desolation is overrunning their country. At certain moments the shaman goes out from the house where he is carrying out his ceremony and walks around it so as to attract the rain and scare away the evil spirits that are keeping it back. As a result of these ceremonies rain should fall.

But this is not the only method that the natives have at their disposal to attract rain. The propitiation can be effected in a different way without the intervention of the shaman. This is happening now in all the acts of magic in this society, which we may describe as being in a state of disintegration in which the prestige of the shaman has lost importance, and ordinary people have taken over his science. We shall see below a series of methods the natives employ to attract rain without the shaman's intervention.

For example, a kind of adoration is very common which the Indians pay to a certain iguana that is found in the crevices of rocks, especially in the cliffs of the seacoast, an adoration that is shown in a series of fiestas and dances, the purpose of which is to obtain the favor of these reptiles, so that they may place no [114] obstacle in the way of the hoped-for rainfall but let it occur freely. We shall study this association iguana-rainfall more fully in the last chapter.

Other methods used by the Indians to attract rain during summer are: beating their drums for many hours on consecutive

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789 nights and repeating this at sunrise; or shooting their arrows —
821 or a more modern procedure, their shotguns — toward the clouds to make them discharge their moisture. In the first case, it seems as if the drums endeavor to reproduce the sound of thunder during the storms that are usually associated with rain. The native believes that by creating one of the concomitant factors he will bring about the whole desired condition, that is, the production of the whole phenomenon; for him, thunder and rain are two equal and inseparable things, so by obtaining one he will automatically attain the other.

• • •

241 Men and women participate equally in sowing crops with
462 a division of labor which corresponds to the combined magico-biological whole. The men have charge of preparing the soil and making the holes for the seed; the women do the planting and the covering up of the seed. They say that if the grain is planted by the woman, it will have a better chance of growing and developing, and the harvest will be more abundant. The woman is considered as a symbol of fecundity through accomplishing the gestation of the child, and that force she transmits to the seed at the moment she plants it.

• • •

789 During eclipses of the sun or moon the natives cry dis-
821 consolately because they fear that these heavenly bodies will not continue fulfilling their functions; in crying they implore them not to abandon them nor leave the world plunged in darkness. To oblige them to return to normal, the Indians shoot their rifles at them, and in the more remote areas of La Guajira they organize a great noisy shouting, crying and shooting their arrows at the sky, so that the new day will triumph.

• • •

When there is a great deal of lightning during the stormy season, the old Guajiro who still retain a great fear of this natural

[114 cont.]

789 phenomenon — organize, as in the case of the eclipses, noisy
821 groups who shout aloud, [115] begging the lightning to withdraw, to go to the sea and make the storms that frequently lash the coasts of Cabo de la Vela and Chichibacoa.

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When the Guajiro is on the sea and, as frequently happens, his vessel becomes becalmed, he calls on the breeze to return by means of a long-drawn-out whistle, trying every pitch until he gets it to return.

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821 Finally, if at dusk a considerably large, vividly red cloud
787 appears, the native believes that it announces that there will shortly be a war between two clan organizations.

787 Magic and dreams. The Guajiro Indian looks upon his dreams as revelations of the future. His mentality does not con-
813 ceive them as products of the past or as being associated with certain psycho-physiological phenomena, but as previews of his life, as a way of seeing future happenings, as revelations made by the spirits of strange things that will happen to the person dreaming or to those that appear in the dream. These dreams are not, therefore, private personal phenomena but social events, as what they contain affects the entire community or parts of it and determines many of their individual or collective acts, since the Guajiro is always strongly linked to this phenomenon as he is to all other magic; and in this respect he is a determinist. His life, his social and economic activities, his relations with his geographic surroundings, his illnesses, birth and death are determined by this play of magic interactions. It does not
813 matter that the phenomena are not always repeated in the same way or that on many occasions the events expected to occur as the consequence of a certain concatenation of magic causes do not take place or do so in a different or even contrary manner to that expected; the native does not waver in his belief in that invisible but active force. He continues to be attached to it, as

[127 cont.]
714 representation of the re-creation of the universe, the resurgence of nature that changes and disappears, to reappear later.

796 In large part, this could explain the whole of the fiesta. In reality what in La Guajira is being celebrated under the name 821 of the Dance of the Kid is nothing but a true re-creation of the world of the natives of those barren plains. With the arrival of the rains the sea of sand is converted into a green world, the dry beds of the streams become powerful streams of water, the dry brushwood is transformed into green forest, anxiety over thirst disappears, fatigue from sun and desert is changed to rest, hunger to abundance, and worry to hope in the ripening of fruits and the disappearance of the specter of poverty which prowls the sierras and the plains. It is Mareiwa, their divinity, their good spirit, who has made his apparition over the lakes of the Sierra de Nevada, unleashing storms and hurricanes and bringing the promised rains to his creatures.

But, on the other hand, the sexual acts we have just shown 786 to be present at this traditional fiesta of La Guajira should be 796 treated apart as they represent a transgression of the established rigid and severe cultural patterns that refer to carnal relations between men and women. As the general interpretation of the whole of the Guajiro community has not yet been finished, which could give us sufficient data to carry out necessary clarifications, we shall have to limit ourselves to noting certain outstanding facts.

836 Unmarried men and women in La Guajira, when looked at in its normal state, are subject to rigorous restrictions in their sex life. Sexual intercourse before marriage is not allowed to their women as the men want their spouses to be virgin. The [689] bachelor is limited in the satisfaction of his sexual impulses by the law of compensation payment, which forces him in the case of his having relations with an unmarried girl to pay a heavy indemnity by which is covered the harm done to the woman, the offense [128] to her relatives, and the possible pains and dangers of childbirth when pregnancy occurs. And if these impositions [621] are not complied with or if the Indian does not marry the girl, paying the price her relatives demand, revenge and declaration

[130 cont.]

536 Lowie's words, which we have just quoted, serve us well
796 for what we have wished to call theatrical representations in La Guajira, as these also are but simple farces in which they seek to represent some act in the life of the community, in their mythology, or from scenes from the natural life surrounding them, in the midst of the ceremonies that are organized to celebrate the arrival of the rains, the propitiation of these, and the ripening of the fruits [of the soil]. Naturally, as we stated at the beginning, this ceremony is an inseparable whole up to a certain point, a totality in which the most trivial diversions, such as these unimportant representations and some games, are mixed with outstandingly important actions such as the transgression of social patterns in the satisfaction of sexual impulses, which we have just described and analyzed and in which the organization norms are utterly discarded, tradition is broken, and they give free rein to wantonness and [131] pleasure. It is above all a rite. But as Lowie himself affirms: "It is frequent that these important rituals present dramatic elements, because of which it was sometimes believed that a ceremony was nothing more than a dramatized myth. Now we know that when myth and ritual are found associated, most frequently the former has been added later, whether or not it be more ancient.... In short, the ceremonial of primitives at times is something more than pomp, and it can raise itself to the height of a true theatrical representation." (66)

66. Lowie. Op. cit., XVII, 310.

796 It is curious, nevertheless, that in the celebration of this
[a] fiesta dedicated to the propitiation of the rains, nothing related to the myths about them is to be found. Representations of fecundity abound in many of its aspects, as we have just seen in the description of the sexual aspect. But there is no representation related to the rains, at any rate none known to us, unless it be one where the devil and a cloud intervene, or the devil and smoke, as the word to designate the two concepts — cloud and smoke — is the same in Guajiro, sirima. In this dramatization, which we shall describe later, the cloud triumphs over the devil. It could be interpreted as the triumph of the rains over the long

[131 cont.]
summer and over sicknesses, pestilences, and deaths which occur as a consequence of it. But we have no work to sustain this affirmation. Also one must take into account the fact that the natives are not willing that strangers be present at their Fiesta of the Kid; and when they are, the play is much repressed in its natural expression and becomes a pale copy, artificial, almost we might say a special product for exportation. Missionaries have contributed greatly to this since they are opposed to the fiesta, considering it amoral or immoral because of the sexual freedom which is shown during its performance and the representation of natural scenes of the procreative life of animals. All the data that we have are not the product of our own personal observation of the fiesta but are reports collected from different sources in diverse parts of La Guajira. They have, at the very least, the value of data verified several times over.

All this leads us to think that even though the Dance of the Kid is directly related to the rains since it always starts when the rains begin even though it is specially dedicated to Mareiwa, the divinity of the rains, as we shall prove in the coming chapter, even though its name [132] appears to be derived from the stellar constellation of the Seven Kids, iwa, whose association with rain we shall also note in the following chapter, it is primarily a ceremony dedicated to fecundity, fecundity of the soil shown by the sprouting of plant life brought about by the rains. Fecundity and rain are seen, then, as two inseparable factors, two terms in the same equation: life.

We spoke of the aspect of demonstration of ability in theatrical representations when we delimited the areas of study of the ceremonial of the Kid. In effect, according to narrations we have at our disposal about the representative games, which we shall describe in detail in the latter part of this chapter, at the end of each one, out of the two sides which have taken part in the development, one side is seen to triumph over the other due to its greater skill or ability in movement or to the physical strength of those taking part when it is a matter of representations of struggles, as we saw in the game of the hawksbill turtle, and as we shall see in the representation of scenes introducing animals,

[142 cont.]

776 although he sees everything.... Mareigua combines three main spirits and many subaltern ones inferior to Him. [143] Some of these spirits are masculine, some feminine.... An Indian sees that his crop is drying up for lack of water, and far from imploring Heaven for rain, he beats his drum every night and at dawn as if he expected the sound to break up the clouds, or he fires his gun with a similar hope.... Should one of his relatives become ill, he calls in the shaman so that he can with his remedies, his maraca, his tobacco or manilla spittle, and the instructions of his spirits, cure the sick man; instead of appealing to God and asking him to bring his relative back to health." (72)

[821 789]

72. Ibid., II, 65-67.

Jorge Isaacs, the famous Colombian novelist, in the second half of the past century, made an excursion under government authority to study La Guajira and other regions of the country, and he wrote in the report he presented: "Mareigua is the name by which the Guajiro designate God, or better said, the unbegotten one, immaterial force, master of creation." (73)

73. Isaacs. Estudio del Lenguaje Guajiro [Study of the Guajiro Language], 303.

Finally, the ethnologist Professor Hernández de Alba, as a result of his expedition to the peninsula says: "Mareigua. All that is good for the Guajiro: rain, abundance, life, protection, the world in which he lives, all come from Mareigua, the one and only God, always good, never evil...." (74)

74. Hernández de Alba. Etnología Guajira [Guajiro Ethnology], 49-50.

(77 776 The quotations which we have cited lead us to the belief by the Guajiro in an all-powerful god, unique and universal. This

[145 cont.]

776 2. According to data collected in the field among the peo-
773 ple, the son of God (Mareiwa) exists. He was born from the union of the waves and the clouds in a place called Pulówi, in certain "sacred" lakes where human beings may not go, situated in the Sierra Nevada, where there are a number of both fresh- and salt-water lakes surrounded by medicinal plants. Mareiwa
[821] on occasion descends to these places, and it is at these times that heavy rainfall occurs in La Guajira, that is, during the seasons which in the peninsula are called autumn, spring, and winter. Then all the vegetation sprouts, and all the trees, pasture, and plants are green.

3. Another legend states that Mareiwa was born of a woman who became pregnant when, being in her monthly period, she was greatly frightened by the spectacle of a tremendous storm. Without having sexual relations with any mortal, she afterward gave birth in the same way as other women.

4. Guajiro legends relating to Mareiwa also assert that he was born under an olive tree (77) in some place in La Guajira.

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77. The olive tree we refer to in these paragraphs is not the same as that of temperate zones but is an autochthonous tree, whose similarity to the former justifies its name.

The importance of this legend stems from the peculiar character of the tree, which is the only one belonging to the Guajiro flora that escapes the effects of long summers and is always fresh and green, keeping its leaves and bearing fruit throughout the year.

787 5. In his propitiation of the rains when summer lasts too
776 long, the shaman invokes his protector spirits, spirits of good,
821 and especially Fumayule, the name by which curers [curanderos] know Mareiwa.

776 6. In the work and paragraphs already quoted from the
821 work of Professor Hernández de Alba, we find a new relation between Mareiwa and rain; he says: "Mareigua. Everything that is good for the Guajiro: rain, abundance... and He saved

[146] the people during the deluge on the high hill of Pororo, which he made to grow higher as the waters rose." (78)

78. Hernández de Alba. Op. cit., 49-50.

7. When we spoke of natural phenomena in magic, we stated that a kind of veneration was very commonly paid by the natives to an iguana that lives in the crevices of rocks, especially in the cliffs of the coast; veneration that is manifested outwardly by fiestas and dances and is intended to influence the iguana not to put obstacles in the way of the rains, which are under his dominion. Up to this point the fact appears to have no connection with the subject which we are treating, but supported by linguistics, we shall clarify our point of view:

The Guajiro word for iguana is iwána, and it can be split up thus: iwa, "rain" (this is what the Indians call the rain that falls in summer, April); na, particle which seems to denote an abundance of something, as may be seen in these other examples: ipa-na-rú, a La Guajiro place name which means "among many rocks" and corresponds in context to: a conical depression that holds rain water situated among many rocks; garrapatamana, another place name descriptive of its meaning, "a place where there are many animal ticks [garrabatas]. According to the above, iwána means an "abundance of rain."

Now, the word by which the constellation of the Seven Kids is called when in a certain position it coincides with the summer rains, is iwa, the same as "rain." Furthermore, from the name "Mareiwa" we can separate the constant particle, iwa, "rain." Unfortunately, we could discover nothing that might correspond to the first particle, máre, in the vocabulary we collected, nor in others that have been published and which we had the opportunity to consult. But, on reviewing a dictionary of the Arawak language of the Guianas, with which the Guajiro dialect is closely linked, we find that mali is the name of a "certain star"; malidakte is "beginning of drought." "The name is derived from the star mali." (79)

79. Anonymous. Op. cit., 71.

[146 cont.]

174 If we accept the idea that the Guajiro are descended from
192 the Arawak of the Guianas, with whom they are intimately con-
776 nected both by their language and culture, there is nothing
821 strange to be found in the formation of the name Mareiwa from mali, male (the l and the r do not exist in the Guajiro language), and fwa, words that are used to name stars and in consequence must be related to the general Arawak cosmogony. In any case,
776 the linguistic association of star-rain-god-divinity confirms the
824 statement which we have made that Mareiwa [147] is none other than the propitiatory spirit of the rains, and by the same token, that of good harvests, of abundance, and of well-being.

The harsh geographical conditions of La Guajira and the
132 technical incapacity of the native to dominate and put them
182 in his service without incurring the great inconveniences which
776 are above all occasioned by the climate, have caused this being (Mareiwa) to be raised to first position in the category of
[213 protector spirits of the community. Also, the changes brought
178] about in their economy during past centuries have contributed to this advance in status, because since the introduction of stock grazing, winter has become more and more indispensable for the maintenance of pasture, without which the stock would suffer serious losses. We have no data relating to the myths or
178 religion of these Indians at the time of the Conquest but what
776 we have unearthed and the fact that there is a veritable confusion with respect to the origin and functions of Mareiwa point to the fact that, in a certain way, the Guajiro are living in a state of transition with regard to their divinities, we might almost say a moment of true creation of their gods which has not yet been definitively achieved, and for which contact with western civilization has created difficulties which by now are practically insurmountable.

775 Wanurú. As we referred extensively to the wanurú when we were speaking of sickness and the shaman, we shall add only a few details here and systematize the knowledge we have acquired about this matter up to now.

1. The wanurú can harm the Guajiro bodily and spiritually, bodily by means of such sicknesses as attack men, animals,

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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CHAPTER 4

Towards a Mirage

Our donkey caravan tripped along between the sand dunes at a gentle trot. The sun poured what the Indians call its molten gold over us in fierce waves. The donkeys were slow, but our riding-mules were fresh and even tried a trick or two, throwing our photographer, who was no expert, into a cactus bush. That was a pity, for the spikes were as long as knitting needles and unpleasantly hard and sharp. The Indians laughed heartlessly. It was perhaps the only amusing thing that happened to them on the whole trip. 821 522

We had no idea what our men were called. As I have already mentioned, the Indians' first names are secret. They always say: 'I have no name' or 'Call me what you like'. Your name is part of your personality. You cannot surrender it to strangers. If you know another's name, you can acquire a certain hold over him, just as you can harm him, if you had some of his hairs or nail-clippings with which to work magic. The family name, that of the clan, is naturally public. White people usually give Spanish names to the Indians with whom they have to deal, and there are plenty of Juans and Josés in the peninsula now. Usually, however, you give a nickname to the Indians you have temporarily in your service, just as they give their employers nicknames. We discovered that they had christened our photographer 'The Red One'. He was not red-headed at all, but very fair, and because of that, his face was always highly coloured in the heat. I could not get out of them what they called my wife and me. I suppose they thought that we would be offended or regard it as insubordination. They had been 551 [754] [123]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

the demon of illness and death, Wanuru, is called Jirarai 756
Wanuru is the name of all the spirits of the dead which are 776
many, thus we are obviously dealing here with groups of spirits; and where Wanuru acts as guardian or assistant spirits, they no doubt represent the souls of dead medicine men.

One piache, known as a clever rain-maker, told us that 756
when he needed advice over rain-making, he used to go to 776
the burial place to talk with his dead brother's spirit, the 789
brother having been cleverer at it than he. When a piache has to make rain, he seats himself on his stool as for other functions, chews tobacco, shakes his maraca and rhythmically moves his torso and head. He then begins to sing in a high voice, calling upon the spirits and demanding that they bring rain, for people need it, if they are not to die of hunger. Now and again he emerges and dances round the huts, driving away the spirits that are preventing the rain from coming.

The Indians often first try to make rain without the 789
piache's help, by drumming at night or by firing guns and 821
arrows at the clouds. The drumming imitates thunder and can thus, according to the laws of magic, cause storms. The shooting drives away the spirits that are preventing the cloud from dispensing its rain. This is also what they do at eclipses of the sun, when all burst into tears and shoot at the sky to drive away the evil spirit that is preventing the sun from shining. A piache's own spirit does not interfere in his magic-making, for which he uses none but auxiliary spirits. It is not till after his death that a piache's spirit can [775] become active and help some other piache.

The piache has to submit to certain restrictions on diet 756
and love-life. He or she must never have extra-marital 834
intercourse and even marital intercourse must be restricted. A female piache must never spend the night with her husband, but merely pay him fleeting visits that should be as short as possible; she must never allow herself to be caressed by him, and must lie quite still and indifferent during [833] coition. If this is not done, her guardian spirit will be jealous and angry, and may cause trouble. And, preferably, she 756 842

/537 cont./

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sea from the land and the planting of trees and animals to benefit man" /translated from the Spanish/. The original figure of Mareiwa is probably that of a culture-hero. Chaves (1953, p. 183) makes the same assumption, but adds that this personality is "at the present time like God for many mestizos" /translated from the Spanish/. Jahn (p. 183) declares "that the Spanish have identified /Maleiwa/ with the true God or Supreme Being" /translated from the Spanish/. In Torrano (p. 188) one reads "Maréigua = God, Supreme Being" /translated from the Spanish/. Unfortunately even today it is still true that the "Goajiro religion is imperfectly known" /cited in English/ (Armstrong-Métraux, p. 382).

614 He was found as an infant, who grew rapidly like any Indian
812 child. He ate tuuma (12) and dressed like the Guajiro.
773

[262]

12. It was identified for me as tuna, which is the fruit of the Opuntia (Indian fig) and very well-known in South America. Cf. Vegamian, p. 214.

The mother was an old woman; her hut stood in the north. The father, a certain Saramai, was also said to be a god.
[824] Because Mareiwa was born under an oil tree, this tree does
[822]

/537 cont./

614 not lose its green leaves, even in the dry season. The Indians
212 seek shelter under its branches during storms, because lightning
773 will not strike there.
[824]
[121]

/538/ Mareiwa created an Indian woman named Borunka; she became the mother of all the Guajiro people (13).

[114]

13. Chaves (1953, p. 181) reports another myth of the "Origen de los Guajiros," in which, however, the totem clans are not mentioned; therefore, no contradiction of the myth presented here can be brought forward from there.

He also gave her a companion, by whom she became pregnant. When the time of her delivery came, however, she felt incapable of giving birth. The pains lasted for three days without delivery. Her vagina was set with teeth. Mareiwa removed them. At the same time he took two ribs, the lowest one from each side, from her mate. He inserted them in Borunka so that she could later give birth without hindrance, though not without pain.

614 Since loss of blood was connected with delivery since
212 then, Mareiwa summoned all the birds. He commanded the
773 sangre de toro, or pincwait, to wash itself where the birth
825 took place. He gave the same order to the troupials (weaver
844 birds of the family Icteridae), as well as to the icó [ishu, Phoenicotraupis rubra] with the black wings, whose breast feathers and head-tuft are red in color, and finally to the macaws. The woodpecker [Ceophloeus lineatus] arrived late for this bath. Mareiwa said to him, "You came late, to be sure, but I shall paint your tuft anyway," and he painted it red. Thus, the birds mentioned have red spots in their plumage.

614 Borunka bore several children, and the Guajiro pro-
212 ceeded to multiply. When there were many of them, Mareiwa
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[76 cont.]

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775 We can say that in La Guajira among the spirits of the dead there are categories determined by capacity to work evil. Spirits in general are indifferent as long as the established norms regarding their treatment are not violated, such as the fulfillment of the post-mortem ceremonial, avoidance of the use of their names, etc. But when the spirit is that of a suicide, then [762] his standing as an author of evil grows, as the fact of his having violated the established social order places him automatically at the margin of the community: he is a social outcast even in the world of the dead, and his spirit does not wander around as the others do but face downward and at ground level; for this reason he is considered an enemy of the community.

773 A Guajiro legend regarding Katétamína Hill relates that
•823 in remote times there was a majayura ("a young woman") who
762 had sexual relations with her father and became pregnant. According to the legend, on finding herself in this condition, she was so ashamed that she wanted to wipe out her social sin by hanging herself, which she did. Mareiwa, the god of the Guajiro, told her that as punishment for her offense he would change her into a hill. For this reason, say the Indians, Katétamína Hill has the shape of a hanged woman. Ever since, concludes the story, Indians frequently hang themselves when any adverse event disturbs their lives.

762 As the legend transcribed above will indicate, an Indian
775 commits suicide when he cannot carry out some act which is at variance with the established patterns of his family circle or of society in general. Since he cannot be punished for the violation when alive, he must pay the penalty after his death. It is his spirit which receives and feels the consequences of the social sin he has committed. For this reason the general belief to which we have already alluded exists that the spirit of the suicide always wanders face downward and at ground level in the regions of the dead. [77]

762 But if the punishment of the suicide cannot be inflicted on
768 the individual himself while alive, it can, on the other hand, be
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[100 cont.]

also effective on birds, which die in a short time when they have the evil eye put on them. To protect the children they are made to wear rings or bracelets made of jet beads, buzzard [chulo] bones, guache [a certain serpent] teeth, or male and female coral stones. They also avert the evil eye by singing three hymns over the sufferer.

"We also find this superstition in Spain. The physician Rodríguez López, referring to Galician superstitions, writes: 'Here, where the belief in the evil eye is so strongly held, it is exceptional for a mother not to hang round her child's neck certain relics, herbs, horns, or other objects of all shapes and sizes, or at other times to sew them on to their children's clothes, or tie them to their wrists to protect them from the contagious effects of the evil eye.'" (60)

60. Arias, Juan de Dios. Supersticiones Populares [Popular Superstitions], pp. 265-266.

Besides this, in the study made by the Licentiate Panesso Robledo on Antiochian folklore we find the following:

"Not only country people but also city dwellers wear opals, nearly all imitation, to protect themselves from evil actions, and on their children's wrists they tie black beads, called jet but rarely genuine, to keep them safe from the evil eye, a universal superstition whose effects if they really occur are to be imputed to the phenomena of auto-suggestion or hypnotism." (61)

61. Panesso R., Antonio. Del Folklore Antioqueño [Antioquian Folklore], p. 25.

Leaving Colombian folklore and limiting ourselves to that of La Guajira, we find there that jet is the best charm to protect one from the evil eye, [101] which especially affects children. This evil effect is not obtained if the person on whom it is practiced carries jet on his person, since it has the property of counteracting the evil. According to the belief, when the evil eye has been cast upon a person carrying a piece of jet, this

751 [101 cont.]
823 breaks, thus counteracting the evil. In other words, the magic
855 action of the eyes is deviated toward the jet, which directly re-
754 ceives the effect, so liberating its owner from it.

For the same purpose they also use a mineral called salta piedra ["jumping stone"], which is hung by a string from children's wrists. It is yellow and shining.

Pieces of coral, which the women use in their necklaces, [777] bracelets, and anklets as ornaments and bringers of happiness, health, and good fortune, are suspended from children's wrists to forestall the evil eye and some other sicknesses. The mestizos who live in La Guajira wear it attached to their waists by means of a cord.

751 It is also very common to find, as a preventative of this
754 evil, "oxeye" seeds hung by a small cotton string from some
824 part of the body.

Also coconut shell in the shape of a little hand is frequently seen, a shape which is probably more effective made in jet.

754 The evil eye, according to native belief, is exercised by certain people who have a special power in their eyes which causes sickness in those they look at if these are weak, such as children and sick persons, but this harmful action is involuntary in the majority of cases, though some do knowingly use their power and put it into practice with the manifest intention of causing evil. The effects of these "eyes" also extends to plants and animals.

The sickness shows itself in the form of stomach troubles, diarrhea, vomiting, fever, and by general eruptions on the skin. Animals also sicken and die, and plants cease to develop naturally and in the end dry up.

751 Method of warding off the wanurú. Near native habita-
825 tions the owners place horses' skulls, which they say serve to drive off sickness both in children and adults, as they have the effect of frightening away the wanurú. We believe that this attitude is closely allied to another native belief which convinces them that the neighing of horses frightens the spirits that [484] wander on the roads at night. For this reason, when the Indians travel at night, as we saw personally, the horsemen always [102]

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neither was much help. Our route went in a zig-zag from 080
water hole to water hole. I did not feel altogether sure that the Gaffer would find the mission station. From what I could understand of the interpreter's inadequate Spanish and floods of Guajiro, it seemed that when the old man made his trip to the Macuira Hills, there was not yet a mission station there. I knew that it was of relatively recent date. If we could only get to Macuira, we could ask our way to the monks, I felt sure of that. Otherwise we should have to try and find our way to the little harbour of Puerto Estrella on the east coast of the peninsula. To go there involved a detour, but there would certainly be a white person or at least a mestizo there, who would be able to show us the way to Amúruru.

It seemed to us that our baquiano not only wandered round in search of water holes, but also avoided certain ranchos. What, we wondered, was the position with his clan? Was it engaged in a feud just then? I knew little of clan quarrels and blood-feuds, then.

The Gaffer now began asking everyone we met the way to 484
Macuira. It was obvious that he did not know where he 151
was and that we had a bad guide. The Guajiro have a
wonderful sense of direction. They find their way unerringly 823
about their trackless cactus steppes, where every place looks alike. They know every depression in the ground, every eminence, and they all have names. Like the Arabs in the desert, they never forget a way they have once travelled, so it was obvious that the Gaffer had never before been where we were then, that he had simply gone astray. The Indians' ability to follow tracks is also amazing. [224]
They can see by the hoof prints when a strange horse has been in among a herd, and they can track down a strayed bullock, even if it has joined company with others. An Indian can see whether others belong to his clan or not from a long distance off, even when he does not know them personally. They have a clan mark tattooed, or sometimes [302
painted on their thighs, it is true, but an Indian seems to [304
know to which clan they belong, even when you cannot 614]
distinguish those marks through field glasses.

/12 cont./

[862] In this way the replacement is gradual without organic or other complications for the child. c) When breast feeding is kept on overlong and the child is already eating normally and assimilating adult food, the breast is then simply a diversion that is, at times, voluntarily abandoned by the child. In this category may be included the younger children, or sharé, who considerably prolong the period of breast feeding. d) Very exceptionally it may happen that the mother gets annoyed with her child for biting her nipple and as punishment takes it away, but this punishment occurs only when the child is big, as logically, when the child is small, he cannot so bite.

When the mother is not able to travel, in order to deprive the child she wants to wean, or when it will not take a refusal, she rubs her nipple with the sour juice of a plant called wawé [824] and offers her breast to the child, who /13/ on tasting it cries and rejects it. This practice is repeated several times until the child refuses to respond when the breast is offered. This step is taken when the child is two or three years old and it is considered shameful to continue breast feeding so long, or when the child is small and special circumstances oblige the mother to act in this way.

When the child starts to take other food as a substitute for his mother's milk, she feeds him liquids from a vessel made [415 177] from a gourd /totuma/ (1) which she holds, at the same time

1. At present, some use nursing bottles.

training him to hold it also so that he can learn to feed himself; she gives him soup from a spoon, and she puts solid food into his hand. When he is very small she gives him lukewarm food, but later she gives it to him at the temperature it comes from the hearth, warning him to be careful. At two years the child is self-sufficient in these matters.

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/169 cont./
an Indian. He ate tuuma and wore a Guajiro robe. His mother was an old woman. There she had her home. The father was one Saramai who, it is also said, was a god. As Maretwa was born under an olive tree, the tree never loses its green leaves during any summer. And when there is a storm the Indians take shelter beneath its branches because lightning cannot penetrate there.

"Maretwa ordered that there should be an Indian girl whom they called Boruuka who was the mother of all the Guajiro Indians. Maretwa gave her a husband by whom she became pregnant, but when the time of her delivery arrived she was not able to give birth. She had already suffered three days of labor pains without birth taking place. The cause was that her genital organ had teeth. Maretwa extracted them, and later he took from the husband two ribs, the lower ones from each side of his body, to place in Boruuka so that she could give birth to children without difficulty, though not without pain.

"Since there is always some loss of blood when there is a childbirth, Maretwa called together all the little birds: the one called Sangre de Toro /Bull's Blood/ or pincwait he ordered to go and bathe at the spot where the birth had taken place. Also /he called/ the troupial, the iof with black wings and a red breast and crest, and the macawi. The woodpecker arrived late at the bath. Maretwa said to him: 'You came late but I will anoint your crest,' and he painted it. For this reason, all these birds have red patches.

"Boruuka had several children, and thus the Guajiro went on multiplying. When they became numerous, Maretwa returned and distributed among them seeds of watermelon, corn, and melon, all of which the Guajiro eat to this day. Until this /170/ time the Guajiro had not seen seed, but had collected only the wild fruits of the forest. Maretwa brought together all the troupials and woodpecks /uacalaegan/. A flock of these he sent far away, very far away, and there they

/224 cont./

476 of the date work will begin and asks for their co-operation. Meanwhile at his house abundant food is prepared for the occasion and drink in considerable quantity: chicha made from chewed wild yucca or from corn. And each Indian who decides to lend a hand brings the tools required for the job and arrives at sunrise. At night he returns to his dwelling after working all day, generally drunk from the great quantity of chicha or rum which he has drunk. This cycle repeats itself daily during all the time necessary to finish the work. The owner of the house, or one of the volunteers of most experience, assumes direction of all the activities and gives orders which are quickly carried out. We will take as an 476 example the case of the construction of a dwelling. For this, 942 necessary plant materials are located beforehand in the woods of the clan property or in wasteland, and the services of an individual 824 acquainted with the method of housebuilding is also secured beforehand and the work carried out under his direction. The according to the ability of each of the workers, tasks are distributed; some prepare yotojoro (1), which is the roofing material; some

1. The woody part of the cactus called cardón.

lay the roof while others cover the walls with the bark of the trupillo /Mimosaceae family/, with grass stems, or with bahareque /small sticks with canes and clay, sometimes also called bareque/, according to the region or taste /of the owner/. In this way /225/ the work is finished in a short time. By the same procedure the excavation of a well or the building of a dam for rain water is carried out.

476 When it is a matter of preparing ground for sowing or any other agricultural work, the activity is carried out in an identical manner. Some go to give their services to a friend so that once they have finished work on his agricultural land, the friend will [624] immediately reciprocate by lending his assistance on their land. The Guajiro keeps very much in mind the person who refuses to

171 [19 cont.]
#756 invocations of the spirits and in the metamorphosis of the shaman."
755 (16) [Cited in French.] The shaman moves his torso in gyra-

16. Ibid., I, 218.

tion. When he is in trance and effecting a cure which requires the invocation of the spirit, no noise must be made as this will cause the spirit to become frightened and to flee; and being left without his protector spirit, the shaman will suffer violent fits and fall to the ground in severe convulsions. The shaman [826] always carries a piece of manilla in these cases; he chews it and becomes intoxicated with the juice, which induces him to sing with greater verve. The juice of the manilla also serves to spray [824] the body of the patient as well as the walls and all around the house to frighten away the malignant spirit. This custom of the magic use of tobacco is also very common in America; not to overexpand the subject we limit ourselves to giving a simple example cited by Pauly with reference to the Araona Indians of Bolivia: "They use tobacco dust mixed with coca to cure their sick and ward off the evil spirits, chewing it and spitting the juice on the body of the sick person. They also spit it at the heavens to calm the storms and at the river when it is in flood." (17)

[113]

17. Pauly, Antonio. Ensayo de Etnografía Americana. Viajes y Exploraciones [Essay on American Ethnology. Voyages and Explorations], VI, 128.

755 The treatment really begins with a chant of invocation to the spirits. While the ceremony is performed the shaman continually chews tobacco and he rubs the juice formed by the saliva and the juice of the plant over the body of the patient; and immediately after this, he energetically sucks several consecutive times at the affected parts of the body of the sick man to draw [753] out [20] the malignancy. (The sickness that the native has, no matter what may be its special characteristics or from whence it may have arisen, is derived from the malevolent action of the

[69 cont.]

of self-defense. If we take into account the high infant mortality among the Guajiro population, which reaches a very high rate (22.97%) according to the data collected by the investigators Virginia de Pineda Giraldo and María Rosa de Recasens, whose findings were published in the Boletín de Arqueología (47), we

47. Pineda Giraldo Roberto. "Informe preliminar sobre aspectos sociales y económicos de la Guajira [Preliminary Report on Social and Economic Aspects of La Guajira]."

can even better explain the series of prohibitions, of patterns established to protect the future mothers and unborn children from the malevolent influence of the spirits, whether of human, animals, etc.

On the other hand, we can deduce from this study the following points: 1) Medicine practiced by shamans, intermediaries between the two worlds, is carried out almost exclusively on adults, for whom they prescribe the curative methods they deem essential in accord with the patient's illness. 2) On the other hand, curing by [70] divination, which we have called household curing, using a common term, has its field of action among newborn babies and mothers-to-be. 3) In this last type we encounter an extremely interesting fact, the ambivalence of certain animals, represented by their double capacity to cause illness and at the same time to cure it. 4) In the application of household preventative medicine, magic called sympathetic is frequently practiced. 5) In one of the accounts we find the occurrence of the magic action of a plant. This deals with the plant used to make the mammary glands secrete their milk after a mother had lost it and the child still requires to be breast fed. As the plant is able to produce milk, the mother by contact with it will inevitably be able to do the same, according to native belief. This aspect has been fully treated by Castiglione in one of the chapters of his work Encantamiento y Magia [Enchantment and Magic]. We wish to quote only a few paragraphs which will better clarify

[85 cont.]

766 head downward, and then they cover it with a piece of another clay olla, new, usually with a base. The urn is buried in the [634] woods at the foot of a special tree called in Goajiro hurowi ("within us," etymologically), with the idea that the other children that are born will not continue dying. No special ceremony accompanies the burial of the child, which must be carried out by the maternal uncle, since neither the father nor the mother may be present because it is believed that if they should be all their other children would also die as they were born.

765 When the first-born dies, and the work of its burial has 766 been complied with, the mother is put through the following procedure: She is hung in a hammock for three days in a closed room (it is really a small house made especially for the purpose). After three days have passed, she is unhung from the hammock, but she has to continue in seclusion for a further five [634] months (five lunar months), and the husband is prohibited from visiting her, with the idea of avoiding sexual contact. After this seclusion the husband may return, and they resume normal married life. During the time she is in the hammock, the [262] woman is not allowed to receive any food except a medicine called hawapi, which serves for fattening. This medicine is a [228] mixture of scraped roots dissolved in cold water [86] and is drunk after being strained. The wife receives this medicine from her mother, who acts as her nurse.

In other words, the mother, by reason of the death of her [881] first-born, has to repeat the complete cycle of seclusion as at the initiation of young women when they reach puberty. The ceremonial is the same, seclusion, taking of fattening medicine, sexual exclusion of the man, and in general all contact or relations with him, etc.

764 If in spite of these precautions the next child should also die, the previous cycle is not followed, but the baby is buried with all due ceremony. A fiesta is arranged for the burial, a wake is held with the usual distribution of liquor, and animals which the maternal and paternal grandparents supply are sacrificed. The mother undergoes a new special treatment but without those of seclusion.

[97 cont.]
which we have referred on various occasions in this work.

Hunting charms. We could only acquire data about the type of talisman connected with the hunting of deer and rabbits. The object of such a talisman is a double one: on one hand, it inculcates ability and quickness on the part of the hunter who possesses it; and on the other, it exercises a restraining action on the animal he wishes to kill, as [98] according to the native belief, it stops its flight and converts it into an easy prey for the hunter.

The charm for facilitating the hunting of rabbits is made with bejuco leaves, a plant known in La Guajira by the name of figana-yi (figana = "rabbit"). The leaves of this plant, which are used for making the charm, are long and shaped like a cartridge, which gives them a great likeness to rabbit ears. Besides this, it serves as food for rabbits, which they like a great deal.

To make the charm, the hunter carefully collects the leaves, grinds them up, and with the resulting powder makes small pellets resembling rabbit excrement. One of these small balls is carefully tied with a thread and is placed in the middle of the tassel which adorns the hand guard they use when drawing the bow. The effect of the charm is directed against the rabbit, limiting its chance of flight and thus making it easier for the hunter to secure his prey.

The charm used in hunting deer is also made from a plant well known to the hunters. This plant, in form like the bejuco, has wide leaves which shine like a mirror. It abounds in the forest and requires no special cultivation. In La Guajira it is called ungüna-uni (ungüna = tassel; pana = "leaf," "liver"; uni = "tree," "pole"; wuni = "remedy"). It is prepared in a similar way to that for hunting the rabbit and, as in that case, it is carried on the person of the hunter in the shape of small pellets which are tied to the hand guard of his bow. Once finished it takes the name of sipi-infma, (infma = "deer"), and its object is to make the hunting of the deer easier by attracting it toward the hunter, who thus cannot fail to hit it. It also prevents the animal's flight, thus making it, as in the case of the rabbit, an easy prey.

751 [101 cont.]
823 breaks, thus counteracting the evil. In other words, the magic
825 action of the eyes is deviated toward the jet, which directly re-
754 ceives the effect, so liberating its owner from it.

For the same purpose they also use a mineral called salta piedra ["jumping stone"], which is hung by a string from children's wrists. It is yellow and shining.

Pieces of coral, which the women use in their necklaces,
[m] bracelets, and anklets as ornaments and bringers of happiness, health, and good fortune, are suspended from children's wrists to forestall the evil eye and some other sicknesses. The mestizos who live in La Guajira wear it attached to their waists by means of a cord.

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824 part of the body.

Also coconut shell in the shape of a little hand is frequently seen, a shape which is probably more effective made in jet.

754 The evil eye, according to native belief, is exercised by certain people who have a special power in their eyes which causes sickness in those they look at if these are weak, such as children and sick persons, but this harmful action is involuntary in the majority of cases, though some do knowingly use their power and put it into practice with the manifest intention of causing evil. The effects of these "eyes" also extends to plants and animals.

The sickness shows itself in the form of stomach troubles, diarrhea, vomiting, fever, and by general eruptions on the skin. Animals also sicken and die, and plants cease to develop naturally and in the end dry up.

751 Method of warding off the wanurú. Near native habita-
825 tions the owners place horses' skulls, which they say serve to drive off sickness both in children and adults, as they have the effect of frightening away the wanurú. We believe that this attitude is closely allied to another native belief which convinces them that the neighing of horses frightens the spirits that
[484] wander on the roads at night. For this reason, when the Indians travel at night, as we saw personally, the horsemen always [102]

[104 cont.]

226 751 [177 184] Never again during our visit did we come across this type of magic object, which leads us to believe that it does not belong to the Guajiro cultural whole, but that it is due rather to the influence of the mulattoes of the coast who, as is well known, are extremely superstitious.

[756] 778 Charms used to call spirits. The use of these charms, to which we have referred on other occasions, is limited to shamans. They use them to facilitate the arrival of their protector spirits when they are in a curing trance or are carrying out any of the functions related to their status. Up to the present we have not arrived at a satisfactory explanation of their influence on the spirits, but we might now bring together the few data we do have. One of the female shamans who served us as informant and who [776] came from the Sierra [de] Jarara possessed charms to attract her spirits. She explained to us that as those spirits are assistants, some to young shamans, some to old ones, the charms to facilitate the arrival of their spirits are also of two classes: for young shamans and the other for old ones.

The charm is made from the leaf of a plant called in Guajiro [824] moñno, which is found in abundance on Itojoro Hill. A woman expert in such articles makes them there [105] by grinding the leaves of the plant to a paste and shaping this into a rounded form which she keeps in a small bag of red thread. The larger ones are reserved for the older shamans, and the others, combined with some of the former, are for the younger.

778 788 The guará or guale. The guará or guale, difficult to find at present, is a kind of idol made from solid gold or silver and of [325] which only a few examples exist as they are no longer made. This small idol is an anthropomorphic representation in fetal position, [532] and it does not seem to be an autochthonous product of the Guajiro as they themselves assert that these idols come from their [173] distant ancestors, by which they mean the Arhuaco of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta.

This fetish is known sometimes by the name Mareiwa, a divinity or spirit similar to the idea of God but which appears to be nothing else than the spirit of Rain, as we shall see further ahead (cf. "Mareiwa and Wanurú").

[158 cont.]

262 meat of animals sacrificed during the wake of a deceased member of the family. The murderer's self-denial of all solid food in his daily diet is another proof of the intervention of magic in the aspect of the Guajiro's nourishment. The ceremonies of propitiation for rain and the ripening of the harvests are other palpable demonstrations of the intervention of magic in this way.

[269]

754 c) And, finally, in relation to aggression, we see the very marked influence of magic, particularly in the charms which are
789 used to cause injury to certain people: for example, those made of a young woman's hair, the blood of a hummingbird, the tail of a dog, and achiote to make a girl fall in love with a man who later intends to betray her; or the one used by women who, having bought a talisman from a woman expert in those matters, place it in the clothes of a man whom they wish to harm after acquiring an old sandal of his and burning it, so as to cause him
182 bodily and mental injury. Furthermore, magic forewarns and
787 allows an individual to foresee the acts of aggression of which
789 he or a clan or a family group is going to be the victim by the interpretation of the shaman's dream or that of a private person, as was seen in the section "Magic and dreams" in Chapter VIII. The effect of magic on the regimen for individual security and collective stability tends to be that of saving the person or the group, as the case may be, from acts of aggression on the part of potential enemies, such acts being foreseen through magic means properly interpreted.

Names of Plants and Animals

Plants:

104 achiote (Bixa orellana)
192 ahuyama [squash] (Cucurbita máxima)
824 artemisia (f. Synantherae or Compositae)
indigo (f. Leguminosae)
cardon (Pilocereus atroviridis)
mahogany cedar (fam. Cedrilaceae, Sp. Mahogani of Linnaeus)
lupine (Abrus precatorius) [Indian licorice]

[158 cont.]

104 divi-divi (Libidibia coriaria. Jacq.) [158]
192 frailejon (Espeletia spp.)
824 guamacho (Pereskia colombiana. Webb).
guayacan (f. Zigophyllaceae) [In Venezuela, Tabebuia guayacan (family Bignoniaceae)]
plantain (f. Plantaginaceae, sp. Urera)
ortugue (Polygonaceae, g. Rumex)
manzanillo (f. Sapindaceae, sp. Bijuga)
mangrove tree (f. Rhizophoraceae)
ossye (f. Papilionaceae)
nettle (f. Urticaceae)
watermelon (Cucurbita vulgaris)
quina dulce [sweet quina] (Cinchona spp.)
sage (fam. Labiataceae) [Labiatae?]
elder or alder tree (f. Caprifoliaceae)
purslane (f. Portulacaceae, g. Portulaca)
vira-vira (f. Compositae, g. Gnaphalium)
yucca, cassava (Manihot utilissima)

Animals:
104 bee (order Hymenoptera)
192 bittern (Botaurus cayennensis)
825 wasp (order Hymenopt)
owl (Bubo virginianus elatus)
cauquero (sp. of deer)
colibri (fam. Trochilidae)
rabbit (sylvilagus apollinaris)
rattlesnake (Crotalus terrificus)
hunting snake [culebra cazadora] (Clelia clelia)
buzzard (Coragyps atratus foetens)
cattle tick (g. Boophilus)
sparrow hawk (Harpagus bidentatus)
iguana (order of the saurians)
owl (Tyto alba sabanicola)
machacra, sp. of lizard (order of the saurians)
bat (Carollia perspicillata)

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

been confirmed by sooth-sayer and piache. The person selected must learn the profession and practise it. Otherwise, certain death awaits him, for the spirit will not suffer his decisions to be neglected. 756 787 276

Often parents cannot afford to send for a piache, for those who convey the request have to give him a necklace of gold beads. This may mean that the novice's family has to ask well-to-do relatives to pay the fee. When he arrives, the piache examines the candidate and stuffs some manilla into his or her mouth. When he sees that it is beginning to take effect, he intones a monotonous song. As soon as he stops, the novice must proclaim his desire to become a piache and have it granted. He is selected by the spirit, but he does not yet know anything. The apprenticeship then begins. [602]

The piache shuts himself into a suitable hut together with the novice, and there they must stay, hidden from the world, for a month or more. The apprentice is not supposed to be seen by anyone during this time. No one may go in and interrupt the seance. The piache sits on his stool of light wood shaped like an animal. He wears a head-dress made of wool and places a similar one on the novice's head. He then begins singing songs, swinging rattles and making all the gestures, movements and conjurations that he uses to call upon and move the spirits. His instruction continues day after day, sometimes by night as well. He has to keep to a certain diet. Roast maize in particular is usually prescribed. Now and again spirits appear and talk with the novice, encouraging him, not least by expounding how great are the advantages of being a piache, and how rich the presents he receives. 756 [352] [262]

One day the spirit announces that the first period of instruction is over and the novice ready for examination. This is an intermediary examination, for the instruction is not complete. So far it has only included spells and magical songs, and the novice has no knowledge of herbs and poisons. (Knowledge of medicinal herbs is common to all by family tradition.) The songs, gestures and spells have been repeated till the novice knows them all perfectly. [824]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

him and found that he could not make rain at all, but was an impostor, so he was driven away with blows and was glad to escape with his life.

Even in the days when the reputation of the piache stood high, the Guajiro would not infrequently seek the help of the famous medicine men of Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, the so-called *mamás*, in whom many Creoles believed. A Guajiro who could manage to do so would take a sick person there or an article of clothing or some ornament that the invalid had worn. The medicine men of the mountain Indians would use this to diagnose the disease, and the messenger would return with a herbal medicine. The health-bringing plants were broken up and preserved in spirits. People liked to acquire such medicine especially before a child was born; it was then poured into the infant's bath water and the mother drank a gulp of it. The effect of it depended on the magical power of the plants.

The Guajiro themselves used certain plants as medicine. Sometimes these really were effective, but often it was just a question of sorcery. A plant with much milky sap, for example, was laid on a mother's breast if her milk failed. The powers possessed by the mountain Indians of Sierra Nevada were attributed to the circumstance that they possessed the secret of invoking specially powerful spirits, whose essence also permeated the herbal medicines people got from them. The effect of the herbs thus came from the spirits residing in them. Intoxicating drinks acted through the spirits liberated in the process of fermentation; that was a common belief among the Indians.

The Guajiro believed in omens and portents. Various animals foretold misfortune or death. A wild cat wailing round the house at night, a bat that persisted in following one through the darkness, in certain circumstances also a snake beside the house, all portended trouble or sorrow. The Indians paid special attention to the behaviour of a number of birds and interpreted this as indicating the approach of visitors, the imminence of something unpleasant, etc. When they thought they had observed such a

/537 cont./

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sea from the land and the planting of trees and animals to benefit man" /translated from the Spanish/. The original figure of Mareiwa is probably that of a culture-hero. Chaves (1953, p. 183) makes the same assumption, but adds that this personality is "at the present time like God for many mestizos" /translated from the Spanish/. Jahn (p. 183) declares "that the Spanish have identified /Maleiwa/ with the true God or Supreme Being" /translated from the Spanish/. In Torrano (p. 188) one reads "Maréigua = God, Supreme Being" /translated from the Spanish/. Unfortunately even today it is still true that the "Goajiro religion is imperfectly known" /cited in English/ (Armstrong-Métraux, p. 382).

614 He was found as an infant, who grew rapidly like any Indian
812 child. He ate tuuma (12) and dressed like the Guajiro.
773

[262]

12. It was identified for me as tuna, which is the fruit of the Opuntia (Indian fig) and very well-known in South America. Cf. Vegamian, p. 214.

The mother was an old woman; her hut stood in the north. The father, a certain Saramai, was also said to be a god. [324] [321] Because Mareiwa was born under an oil tree, this tree does

/537 cont./

614 not lose its green leaves, even in the dry season. The Indians
212 seek shelter under its branches during storms, because lightning
773 will not strike there.

[824] [821] /538/ Mareiwa created an Indian woman named Borunka; she became the mother of all the Guajiro people (13).

[114] 13. Chaves (1953, p. 181) reports another myth of the "Origen de los Guajiros," in which, however, the totem clans are not mentioned; therefore, no contradiction of the myth presented here can be brought forward from there.

He also gave her a companion, by whom she became pregnant. When the time of her delivery came, however, she felt incapable of giving birth. The pains lasted for three days without delivery. Her vagina was set with teeth. Mareiwa removed them. At the same time he took two ribs, the lowest one from each side, from her mate. He inserted them in Borunka so that she could later give birth without hindrance, though not without pain.

614 Since loss of blood was connected with delivery since
212 then, Mareiwa summoned all the birds. He commanded the
773 sangre de toro, or pincwait, to wash itself where the birth
825 took place. He gave the same order to the troupials (weaver
844 birds of the family Icteridae), as well as to the icó [ishu, Phoenicotraupis rubra] with the black wings, whose breast feathers and head-tuft are red in color, and finally to the macaws. The woodpecker [Ceophloeus lineatus] arrived late for this bath. Mareiwa said to him, "You came late, to be sure, but I shall paint your tuft anyway," and he painted it red. Thus, the birds mentioned have red spots in their plumage.

614 Borunka bore several children, and the Guajiro pro-
212 ceeded to multiply. When there were many of them, Mareiwa
773

/109 cont./

842 The Guajiro also knows that at a fixed time in her life the woman's menstrual cycle ceases, and he affirms that from then onward she will have no more children because her internal organ has "been damaged," that is to say, "it no longer works," and in consequence is incapable of supplying blood, the female element indispensable for fecundation.

* * *

825 The Guajiro also has his own theory with respect to the fecundation of oviparous birds and animals. He believes that in the sexual act the male deposits in the entrails of the female the masculine element necessary for the formation of the new animal. This masculine element unites with the contribution of the female, and when she lays the egg both parts are working together, and if the process of hatching follows successfully, the result is the new being. They compare this last process with that which has been verified in the womb of the woman, with the difference that the necessary nourishment is to be found in the same elements, feminine and masculine, that form the egg. The warmth is contributed by the parents.

The masculine element in the egg is represented by two parts: the red point, or germinative part, without which the development /110/ of the chick cannot take place; in consequence, they consider it of more importance than the white, which from its similarity to the sperm they believe is also supplied by the male. What they call the red point is, according to their opinion, the really vital part, because they have observed that when this is missing, the egg does not hatch in spite of having the other male element, the white, which is of secondary value.

The female contribution is represented by the yolk. They have found on opening a hen that inside it has the so-called "ovarium" containing the yolks or ova, and they believe that this is the only part that nature assigns to the hen.

/110 cont./

825 With respect to the fertilizing of viviparous animals, the Guajiro has certain empirical views obtained from personal observation and his frequent contact with animals. They know that the females of such animals undergo the phenomenon of menstruation but note that it is not definitely periodical and constant, but sporadic. During this biological process the female becomes fertile and looks for a male, because during this period she can make her contribution of menstrual blood. At such a time the male animal feels attracted to the female and he becomes heated, which results in his pursuing the female until he impregnates her. On mating, his semen enters and mixes with the blood in the womb, and thus the new embryo animal is formed, which, like the human being, requires a period of gestation before birth.

They have also observed that once the male has accomplished the fecundation, as menstruation does not return until after the birth takes place, the male does not become heated again for this female, but respects her. He observes this in contrast with man, who has carnal access to a pregnant female even in an advanced period of pregnancy.

593 Behavior of the woman with her husband. The payment which the man makes for the woman establishes the principle that compels her to take upon herself a series of material obligations attendant with the requirements of hospitality, feeding, clothing, and sexual satisfaction; and the nonmaterial ones of submission, obedience, and fidelity. To carry out the first, she avails herself of the money obtained from the sale of the woven articles which she can make, her personal property in livestock, and the corn fields /siembras/ and wild fruits.

When the husband arrives home the woman hurries to hang up his hammock in the enramada /bough-covered shelter/, as this attention is basic in the general norms of etiquette and of hospitality to visitors, relatives, or strangers /111/ who arrive at the house, but above all to the husband. If he returns from a hunting expedition she will have ready for him various containers

[43 cont.]

755 of the same – the bone which is left to dry and then cooked –
764 which also participates in its power, because in the primitive
778 mentality the part is accepted as the whole, or at least shares in the power of the whole, even at a distance.

556 Another meaning that the sacrifice of animals has is that related to the status of the individual in his other life. One of
436 the points of reference of status in La Guajira is wealth, which
437 is nearly always equivalent to the possession of a larger or lesser number of heads of livestock. Livestock represents, in certain aspects, Guajiro currency, since interchanges, blood payments, etc., are always based on a definite number of heads of livestock, besides of course necklaces of tuma, gold, etc.

556 Naturally, if an individual occupies a certain social posi-
764 tion in life, it is logical that when he goes to the other life, to
775 the world of the dead, he occupies an identical position or tries to better the one he had in life. This, then, is one of the reasons why certain of his possessions are placed near or in his tomb, and to complete his "equipment" for the next world, a number of animals are sacrificed, the higher his position in society the greater the number, so that these may give him the desired social position in the world of the spirits.

764 The association, then, is easy to establish: If the individ-
775 ual in dying passes to a new life similar to the one he led on
825 earth, then the animal, a living being with a soul like the man, on dying must also pass on to occupy a place in the other world. This, of course, is only our own supposition. But we find no other explanation of the Guajiro statement that the animals should be sacrificed so that they can accompany their owner to the other world and give him an advantageous position among the other spirits.

764 The sacrifice implies above all an act of magic. The fact
784 that the dead man's close relatives must not eat the meat of the
778 sacrificed animals, because it would be like eating the flesh of their relative himself, establishes the relation between the owner and his property in the sense that the latter shares his personality. And as the dead man is sacred, or at least taboo, that is, sacred in the sense of being untouchable, so also are the things that he owned; the animals – which are [44] to accompany

[48 cont.]

682 murderer's family after the crime were extremely cruel, as was to be expected given the Guajiro social organization. Their homes were burned down, their sources of water supply demol-
[569] ished, three men and four women were killed, and their children enslaved.

782 The interesting part of the subject we are now dealing with
751 lies in the sacrifice of animals. These apparently serve as
761 substitutes for the individuals whose sentence has been revealed in a dream. They take their place and are sacrificed in their stead. As a death has taken place, the evil spirit which had enslaved the future criminal in order to carry out its determination to harm him is now mollified by this act of propitiation. Moreover, as the animal (the black male goat in this case) shares the qualities of its owner by reason of such ownership, a part of the personality of the person sentenced to be punished in the dream is also sacrificed. The individual thus suffers two processes, death in part through the sacrifice of the animal and participation in the sacrifice by bathing in its blood.

171 Possible vestiges of this native belief still persist in
761 Colombian folklore in some parts of the departments of Antioquia,
● 825 Boyacá, Nariño, and Santander. There the people hold the be-
558 lief that when a domestic animal dies, especially if it is an animal that has been much loved by the people of the house, it is a sign that some member of the household had been about to die. The sentence of death which lay on that person, according to the explanation given in all cases, was transferred to the animal by a special concession from God, [49] thus avoiding a greater calamity to the family. In Nariño this belief, according to information from the Licentiate Chaves, appears in popular oral literature. There is in reality a story which tells of a recently married couple who felt or knew (we cannot say how) that they would die very shortly. To avoid this, the wife dedicated herself to breeding cuyes (curíes) [conejillo de Indias, a mammal of the order of rodents], which one by one died off; then she hastened to breed chickens, which also successively died; she then devoted herself to dogs, which also died. With the successive deaths of the animals, they were able to elude their own fate and lived happily together for a long time, free

171 [49 cont.]
538 from the menace of death that had weighed on them, and later
761 they were able to raise their domestic animals with greater
825 success than up to then.

000 Propitiation of the shaman's protector spirit. The sacrifice of animals as propitiation or thanksgiving offering to the spirit or spirits that have taken over the protection of the shaman is fully explained in the previous chapter, for which reason we abstain from making further reference to it.

782 Conclusions. We have the following facts regarding the
174 place of such sacrifices within Guajiro social organization: (a) Sacrifice of animals, of two kinds: one of a ritual funeral character and the other as a prevention of the fulfillment of dreams. (b) Human sacrifice, which may now be considered to have disappeared due to various circumstances which have already been described. (c) The first two exist at times in their original form, and at other times as mere survivals disguised in social rather than ritualistic forms, as happens for example in the sacrifice of animals during the secondary burial or the wake in the ceremony of the first burial. (d) But in any case the three show a distinct magic nature. (e) With respect to the sacrifice of animals we may suppose that in ancient times the animal sacrificed must have been a wild one from the forest obtained by hunting, as the Guajiro Indians, the same as all Colombian Indians and American Indians in general, were completely without, or almost without, any domestic animals, which were acquired only after the Conquest when the colonizing Spaniards imported them from the [Iberian] Peninsula to set up their ranches; (f) Based on this same socio-economic fact, we may presuppose quite an appreciable change in the content and form of certain types of ceremony, because the passing from one economy to another, particularly when it is so radical as [50] that of the
782 Guajiro, who changed his character of nomad hunter to that of herdsman and stock grazer, implies a very appreciable transformation in the general social organization. (g) In the sacrifice of children, and in that of animals in order to ward off the evils foreseen in dreams, we have to admit the contaminating effect of spilled blood — a very important taboo in La Guajira — which increases the malevolent effect of the magic

[54 cont.]

787 But what is most interesting is that each person in La Guajira can learn the signs that determine divination according to the different methods that make this art of prophecy possible, and make use of them in order to help anyone who may ask his aid or to satisfy his own curiosity about many things he desires to know. The women are especially greatly addicted to divinatory arts [55] to find out from a distance what their absent husbands are doing or what may happen to them when they are far from home. The process is as follows: First the tobacco is lit, then a special prayer is recited asking that what is occurring, or is going to happen, be revealed. Then the woman starts to suck on the tobacco and to observe most carefully every change in the tobacco once it begins to burn. For example, if it emits sparks this means that the person about whom the divinatory enquiry is being made is going to receive money; if it opens in the middle it means that the husband is ill; and he is gravely ill if the ash goes black. Other characteristic signs show when the husband has taken another woman and when he is with her.

This circumstance, that any ordinary person can learn the known methods of foretelling the future, is one which interests us at the moment because it appertains to the aspect of medicine we are investigating. These diviners, usually women, are the ones who, in these cases, decide what kind of illness
[755 is attacking the patient — a child — and how it was contracted,
755] (generally by direct contamination through the mother during her pregnancy from an animal that had touched food eaten by her). By the same token, they decide what curing methods must be followed to free the patient from the illness from which he suffers.

To clarify this point we quote several pertinent examples taken from our field notes.

753 It is said in Nazaret, and it is a belief extensively ac-
825 cepted all over the peninsula, that a bird called soche, which is accustomed to withdraw to the Sierra de Macuira during its hours of sleep, is harmful to the native inhabitants when it flies over their homes, as it is a carrier of bronchitis, which it spills on to the roofs of their houses, from whence the children of the home pick up the contagion and die.

[66 cont.]

755 expert in these sicknesses and who devote themselves to applying the remedies and divining the causes of such illnesses indicate by what bird the fruit which the mother ate was contaminated. Once the origin of the sickness has been determined, they proceed to carry out the method of cure which entails hunting and capturing the bird responsible, which, once killed, is roasted, and the meat fed to the child. A sancocho [stew] is also prepared, using portions of the bird, a good part of which is fed to the child. With this medicine the infant should be quickly cured. If this does not effect a cure, the divination has been incorrectly made, and it was not that kind of bird that pecked at the fruit eaten by the mother during her pregnancy. The whole process must therefore be done over again to discover with absolute certainty what animal caused the child's sickness.

843 If a pregnant woman should eat the meat of a hen that has
753 been killed by a sparrow hawk, the child will be born sickly, his excretions will be green, and his crying will be like the cry of a hawk. When they do not know the origin of the sickness, they
755 apply home remedies or those of any local curer [curandero]. If
[757] these do not bring about the desired effect, then they must turn to divination. The diviner will decide that the mother ate the flesh of a chicken that had been killed by a sparrow hawk. The curing method will follow a similar process to that previously noted: a hawk is found and killed; a leg of the creature is taken, and the bone is well cleaned and allowed to dry. When it is sufficiently dry it is boiled, and the child's body bathed with the resulting infusion.

262 The meat of such a hen – contaminated by the hawk
825 which had eaten some of it – is also harmful to children in
842 general, boys and girls, and also adults. Every time it is eaten
it causes sterility. For this reason the magic taboo on this meat is lifted only for the old and the very aged who have already lost their procreative powers and in consequence have nothing to fear in this respect.

766 Household medicine. This system of medicine, which, as we have said, is independent of shamans and diviners, is based above all on the practice of certain magic practices directly

[59 cont.]

843 845 A pregnant woman should never be present at or watch a burial, for if she does so, she will have a difficult childbirth: the infant's arrival will be delayed in a manner both painful and difficult for the mother.

755 758 764 Anyone who may have touched the corpse of a person whose death has not been natural — who has been murdered, for example — is prohibited from approaching the side of one who is sick, because this individual will die because of his presence. This prohibition is also extended to those who have directly assisted in the exhumation of human remains. Furthermore, both of these persons are strictly forbidden to come near [753] children [60] or places where they may be, because their presence, contaminated by the nature of the dead, will cause the children to fall ill.

843 825 Serpents also have magic influence on pregnant women. In this case it is not an influence destined to injure the unborn child but is directed against the mother herself, who feels in various ways in her own flesh the malignant action of the reptile. For instance, if a woman during her term of pregnancy sees a hunting snake [culebra cazadora] and remains looking at it for some time, her child will be born stupid. The explanation that the Indians give for this very generally accepted belief is that as this snake gives the impression of being stupid, because it does not attack people as other snakes do and does them no harm but confines itself to hunting young birds for food, it transmits this quality to the infant. A mother who encounters such a reptile should pretend not to have seen it and automatically look elsewhere.

825 843 845 If during this same period the mother-to-be should see any kind of snake (other than a hunting snake) she will suffer a miscarriage or some kind of painful mishap related to the delivery. To avoid these possible ills, the woman should try to step over the snake. If in spite of this difficulties in childbirth occur, then they resort to a curing method which consists in finding a similar snake, killing it, opening it up carefully, and localizing in the interior of its intestines the water that it has drunk, collecting this and taking it to the sick woman, so that after she has drunk it, her labor will be hastened and will then occur without any serious complications.

[60 cont.]

825 843 845 If in this same condition the woman sees a serpent under a stone or in a hole, her delivery will be delayed, and it will be difficult and long. As in the case immediately preceding this, prevention depends on the indifference shown by the woman toward the snake: She should immediately look away from the creature. But the coincidence of seeing a snake and its being in a hole or under a stone brings about a new complication, since two elements are involved: first, the snake as such as we have seen in the previous accounts; and second, its apparently difficult position, which is transmitted to the woman in the moment of childbirth in the form of delay in the birth and the physical difficulty of its accomplishment.

Also, the childbirth will be delayed several days and will be extremely painful if during her pregnancy the woman's husband commits the imprudence of killing a snake of any kind.

843 825 [534] [61] The snake then, as we noted at the beginning and as we have been able to confirm by means of the examples submitted, exercises a special magic influence on pregnant women. The position of the snake when seen, either directly by the woman or by the husband, makes this influence greater. We also heard from a story told to us that another belief exists related to the snake and women's pregnancy. We cannot say whether it really exists or if it is the product of imagination and legend because the two elements seem to be mixed up. It concerns a certain serpent that attacks people by jumping at them from a tree and forcing its tail into their ears, and the fact that it only attacks women at a certain period of their pregnancy or a pregnant woman's husband at the same period.

According to the story related to us, during the first three months of pregnancy the woman may be attacked by a very exceptional male serpent with three colors: green, black, and white, placed dorsally in the form of an X. (The female of the species, according to the story, has only one color: green.) The male serpent attacks the wife during the early months of pregnancy, as well as her husband. The creature is usually found hidden in the branches of trees which shade paths and can spring like an arrow from its place of ambush, attacking people with great accuracy. With a spring it settles on its victim's head,

[61 cont.]

825 843 twining itself around it, and with its tail, which is very thin, it pierces his ear. The pressure is so great that generally the tip of its tail comes out of the other ear, which causes the death of the person attacked. The method of defense does not invoke magic as in other cases but is limited to the simple precaution [151] taken by the woman of going about with a pañuelo [kerchief] on her head which covers her ears. Hence the serpent winds itself around the head but is unable to introduce its tail into the ear of the victim. The woman, on reaching home or on meeting someone, will be able to take revenge on the snake and kill it. But the snake also takes its own precautions, according to the story, as, if the husband and wife walk together, it will not attack for fear that the man will kill it.

Up to this point the story is no more than an interesting legend, the fruit of the primitive's imagination, but for the study we are interested in the latter part of the story, which runs as follows, has great value. If the same serpent on the other hand sees a woman when her pregnancy is advanced (after the fourth month), the woman seems to have an evil influence on the snake, which appears to suffer from paralysis and becomes helpless, lying on the [62] ground unable to spring into the trees. There in that condition it can be easily killed. If it is not dispatched at this moment, the snake recovers its strength and agility as soon as the woman goes away.

Once again we see the magic interaction of serpent and pregnant woman. But there is this difference between the magic action of the other animals which makes its influence felt through the mother upon the child to be born, and that of the serpent which discharges all its magic power directly on the mother, provoking in her pains and delays at birth, abortions, etc. We would ask why?

We have up to this point collected a series of facts which quite clearly show the magic-participatory action of animals in the lives of the Guajiro natives and above all in what refers to the explanation for the presence of sickness. Furthermore, the action of the snake is related to one of the most interesting phenomena in the life cycle, childbirth, which includes the

[62 cont.]

825 whole period of pregnancy. The duality of childbirth-serpent
843 is brought to our notice with an insistence and disconcerting realism which we will endeavor to explain.

If we look into the Guajiro family organization we can
516 see how that community taken as a homogeneous whole is
621 divided into series of extended family groups which follow the line of maternal filiation. Belonging to a family group are the mother, the sons and daughters of the mother, the sons and daughters of the mother's daughters, and so on successively. The administration of the family is not in the hands of the father, who is not considered as such, but in those of the maternal uncles, the eldest of these being predominant. Inheritance also
428 is determined by this system, and sons inherit nothing from their natural father, but from their mother or their maternal uncles. The property of the father is split up among his nephews, sons of his sister, whom he considers as sons. Patrilocality and
591 matrilocality exist, the former predominating. The family group, wrongly named by some authors casta is very much
614 extended, and to it belong all those bearing the same surname. Each large family group has its own property mark or brand and a representative animal. Thus, for example: [63]

Family groups	Representative animals
Urifna (41)	jaguar

[104]

41. For the convenience of our readers we have adapted the phonetics of all these Guajiro names to Spanish orthography, using the most apparent sounds.

Urfriyd	rattlesnake
Uriyd	snake
Wofriyd	partridge
Uyfrayd	cauquero (a species of deer)
Ipwana	cari-cari
Sfpwana	bittern

[63 cont.]

Family group	Representative animals
Jayérjyd	dog (42)

42. It should be made clear that this animal symbol is, or must be, relatively modern, as the dog was unknown before the Conquest. The substitution of this for some other animal, we do not know which, must have occurred in the Post-conquest era for reasons unknown up to now.

Ápshana	buzzard
Síjuana	wasp
Soryd	catanejo
Pésayd	bee

The social or mythical meaning of these animals representing the extended family groups has been lost. At least we could not obtain any verbal declaration from our informants in which we could perceive the actuating presence of the totem, which is what possibly in olden times these animal figures represented. But we have in some cases been able to establish linguistic correspondence between the name of the family group and its characteristic animal. To verify this we can show some examples (43).

[114]

43. We expound this short linguistic study with some reservations since our stay in La Guajira was relatively short, two months approximately, in which length of time the study of the language scarcely reached the rudimentary stage.

1.	uri or wín	= snake
	wayd	= Indian, people

[63 cont.]

192 wriyū = Indians (people of the snake)
614 2. urāichiser = people of the snake
825 Wuradiru = fish-serpent, (Arawak of Guiana) (44)

44. Taken from: Anonymous: Arawakisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch [Arawak-German Dictionary]. Copy in manuscript form in possession of the Moravian Unity of Brethren at Zittau (translated from the German by Eginhard Menghius).

[64]

wayū = Indian, people
urāriyū = people of the rattlesnake
3. uri = snake
ana = (We do not know the exact meaning of this particle)
uriāna = must be "descendant of the snake,"

or something similar. Here the linguistic correspondence between the family group and the name of its representative animal is lost to us, as the word or words to designate "jaguar" are karāira and kānahaput. But in any case the relation with serpent is interesting.

Another case similar to the former is shown by the Wouriyū family group, which has the partridge for its representative animal. The word for this bird is pér; on the other hand, our breakdown of the word wouriyū – bearing in mind the reservation already referred to is as follows:

w (from wa or wayā, "we") = our [masc., fem.]
oū = eye
uri = snake
yū (from wayū, Indian, people) = people

From which we can deduce that wouriyū can be translated as "people of the eye of our snake."

[64 cont.]

192 In the case of the Uyárayú group, we find another perfect
64 correspondence between the name of the animal and that of the
825 family group:

uyára	= cauquero (a species of deer)
yú	= from wayú Indian, people
uyárayú	= people of the cauquero

64 The foregoing demonstrates the existence within the Guajiro community of the remains of an ancient clan organization, matrilineal and totemic. We say remains because the significance of the totem, as we have noted, has almost completely disappeared, since there does not exist a fixed prohibition against killing certain animals (in this case the animal corresponding to the group) nor any ceremonial ritual related to it. We do not wish to enlarge on this subject of the existence of totems in La Guajira as this will be treated in a later thesis. We only wish to emphasize the value of the serpent in Guajiro
64 magic for which no [65] clearer explanation can be found than
825 the connection it maintains with the ancient beliefs related to
843 the totem. It shows us that the greater percentage of Guajiro totemic clans are connected in their name to this creature; also that the serpent's evil effects fall directly on pregnant women, causing harm not to the children, as occurs with other animals (the fox, sparrow hawk, duck...), but directly to the mother.

• • •

825 The mother-to-be should also avoid seeing a sparrow hawk
843 because if she disobeys this ruling her child will be born bleary eyed, since they say this bird is.

843 A pregnant woman's husband must not go hunting with a
modern weapon — the rifle — since he can do this with the tra-
845 ditional weapons, the bow and arrow, for if he does not obey this rule, his wife's labor will be prolonged for a long time, and no remedies nor any other attempts to help her will hasten the birth in any way. When a husband has failed to obey this magico-preventative medicinal norm, it is necessary to obtain a rifle — preferably the one the husband used in his hunting —

[65 cont.]

843 and very carefully wash it [in water]. Giving the woman this
845 water to drink will permit her to deliver the child immediately.

If a Guajiro father has to set off on a long journey on
751 horseback, leaving behind his newborn son, he must comply
854 with another custom of a magic nature, which requires him to
492 wrap the cinch of his horse about the child for a few minutes. If he fails to do this, the child will be very ill and complain pitifully during the time his father is absent. An equivalent form under the same circumstances is the father's customarily placing his foot on the newborn baby's chest for a brief moment. If this obligation is not complied with, either through forgetfulness or all will on the part of the father, the mother, or some close relative of the child, must find the father's old sandals and place them on the child's chest for a few moments in order to obtain the effect desired, which the ritual action if performed by the father would have accomplished.

751 We venture to attempt an explanation of the last two
854 phenomena as follows: The object that is sought in the fulfillment of these two traditional customs is to drive away from the child the presence of the wanurú or the evil spirit of sickness. The pressure exercised by the father's foot or, lacking this, [66] by
[753 the father's old sandals, symbolizes his presence in the child
826] precisely in the place where the spirits in order to attain their evil designs often lodge in the child's body, i.e., its chest, as we shall have occasion to see in the following chapter. This symbolic presence of the father prevents the spirits from approaching near the child to work it harm. Lastly, the custom of wrapping the cinch of [the harness of] the horse on which the father will be traveling around the body of the child is intimately linked
[825] with the belief of these natives that the horse has the power to frighten away the wanurú, or spirit of sickness, with its snorting; more simply this same protection is achieved by placing a horse's skull in a place near the houses. (Cf. "Amulets, Fetishes, Talismans." Also, in this case there is a substitution of the magic formula (using the cinch instead of the horse), a substitution that has exactly similar effects and the action of which could be based on one of the laws of magic established by Sir J. G. Frazer

[88 cont.]

755 the child in the warm sand, covering it to the base of its head. There is a decided magic intervention, the effect of which we 782 do not know on the part of the sacrificed animal which, as we 825 have said, shares the contaminating quality of its dead owner.

Other beliefs which confirm what has been stated are the 843 following: The husband of a pregnant woman should never, for 845 any motive whatsoever, dig a grave or assist in the construction of a vault for either a primary or secondary burial ceremony, because in such a case his wife's delivery will not be normal; it will be prolonged with danger both to the mother and the child.

Neither should the mother-to-be watch a burial being placed in a vault because the previously mentioned phenomenon will be repeated: She will have a difficult delivery, through delay in the birth and pain.

783 Anyone who has touched a man whose death was not due 753 to natural causes must not come near a sick person because if 764 he does the sick man will quickly die. This also applies to those who have helped in an exhumation or taken part in any of the ceremonies called for by the secondary burial. Neither should such a person go near small children because these will, according to Guajiro belief, automatically begin to cry and twist about, the victims of some sickness.

In general terms, the individual who approaches a corpse, who touches it, or who participates directly in the different ceremonies relating to it becomes contaminated. But he does not suffer the consequences of this contamination in his own person, unless it be a pregnant woman; he takes on the role of transmitting agent. He becomes an intermediary, if we can so call him, between the spirit and children, sick people, or pregnant women, which are the three classes of people preferred by the spirits of the dead on whom to practice their malevolent contaminations. In all three cases the weakness of the contaminated person is evident: the sick person, the child in the womb unable to defend itself, and the newborn also incapable of defending itself against the spirit as it shows in contrast to the other members of the community, that is, the adults on whom it depends for its

751 [101 cont.]
823 breaks, thus counteracting the evil. In other words, the magic
855 action of the eyes is deviated toward the jet, which directly re-
754 ceives the effect, so liberating its owner from it.

For the same purpose they also use a mineral called salta piedra ["jumping stone"], which is hung by a string from children's wrists. It is yellow and shining.

Pieces of coral, which the women use in their necklaces, [777] bracelets, and anklets as ornaments and bringers of happiness, health, and good fortune, are suspended from children's wrists to forestall the evil eye and some other sicknesses. The mestizos who live in La Guajira wear it attached to their waists by means of a cord.

751 It is also very common to find, as a preventative of this
754 evil, "oxeye" seeds hung by a small cotton string from some
824 part of the body.

Also coconut shell in the shape of a little hand is frequently seen, a shape which is probably more effective made in jet.

754 The evil eye, according to native belief, is exercised by certain people who have a special power in their eyes which causes sickness in those they look at if these are weak, such as children and sick persons, but this harmful action is involuntary in the majority of cases, though some do knowingly use their power and put it into practice with the manifest intention of causing evil. The effects of these "eyes" also extends to plants and animals.

The sickness shows itself in the form of stomach troubles, diarrhea, vomiting, fever, and by general eruptions on the skin. Animals also sicken and die, and plants cease to develop naturally and in the end dry up.

751 Method of warding off the wanurú. Near native habita-
825 tions the owners place horses' skulls, which they say serve to drive off sickness both in children and adults, as they have the effect of frightening away the wanurú. We believe that this attitude is closely allied to another native belief which convinces them that the neighing of horses frightens the spirits that [484] wander on the roads at night. For this reason, when the Indians travel at night, as we saw personally, the horsemen always [102]

751 [102]
825 head the party, and these insist that the rest of the caravan who
[184] are riding on burros or are on foot follow them closely.

If the wanurú fears the neighing of horses, it is also afraid in the presence of its skull. The important element in this belief is that its appearance must date from the Post-conquest period, since the natives did not have horses before that event. It is thus a belief acquired through acculturation. Our hypothesis is
171 that it was introduced by the Negroes, as similar beliefs are
175 found in the mining regions of Antioquia, as we can show by
751 quoting Tomas Carrasquilla in his work La Marquesa de Yolombó
825 [The Marchioness of Yolombó], the plot of which is unfolded in colonial times in these regions. He speaks of the popular belief in demonic monsters, especially by the Negro slaves who worked the mines, and refers particularly to a special being whom the simple people named the pate-tarro [pata de tarro, "can foot"], "a giant who had only one foot of flesh and bone. If it were not that this great scoundrel was scared to death by skulls of cows, there would not have remained alive a single pawpaw tree in these mountainous cultivated lands."

The similarity is obvious: A cow's skull keeps away evil spirits and averts their wickedness. The difference lies in something of minor importance — one is the skull of a cow, the other that of a horse. The beings against whom they direct their evil are different by reason of mere accommodation to the cultural atmosphere in which the belief is implanted.

777 Charms for becoming rich. This charm is acquired, as are all others, by purchase from a Guajiro woman experienced in the matter. Almost always the owner of such a charm is a man who by means of its power has acquired considerable wealth, because his charm will not allow him to do any bad business; it counsels him on what operations he must accomplish, it points out to him the profits that he could obtain from certain financial operations, and, above all, it guarantees him success in whatever business he undertakes.

The charm is kept inside a small wool bag, and with it he keeps a gold bead and at times a gold necklace. The part of the charm that we might call nonmaterial is produced by the various

[109 cont.]

551 say his name and not be a close relative must pay a sum de-
[628] cided upon [110] as reparation for this violation of the social norm. Usually they demand in payment the delivery of several head of livestock, necklaces, and other adornments. If the sum
[628] agreed upon by the arbitrators is not paid in due time, war may be provoked.

551 When a girl is born, the father gives her a name which
553 may be the same as her mother's, that of her maternal grandmother, or, secondarily, that of a favorite aunt or cousin, or that of a much appreciated friend. But besides this name which is derived from family sentiment or a friendship of the father's, the girl will also have various capricious nicknames which do not necessarily correspond to natural qualities or defects in her psycho-physical personality or some special circumstance at her birth but can be any arbitrary name which may occur to her father, her mother, or her brothers [and sisters? hermanos] on the spur of the moment. So the girl may grow up with several nicknames, of which in the long run one will win out and be generally adopted.

But when the girl becomes a young woman, when her first menstruation appears and her complicated initiation ceremony is carried out, the changes she experiences in her biological functioning and her social standing also extend to the aspect of her name, and she will no longer wish to respond to the nickname by which she has been called ever since her infancy, but only to her new name, by which she will be known until her death.

551 From the above we note that in La Guajira a person's name is not used among the natives except in a very restricted sense, but on the other hand, the nickname which a person acquires when a child through the intervention of his parents or brothers [siblings? hermanos], is the true, the universal name, which may be used by all his countrymen up to the time of his death.

787 Omens. When a mountain cat [cougar] cries repeatedly
825 throughout the night near the house and remains a long time prowling about, it implies the approaching death of an inmate of that house. The behavior of this animal can become maddening, as at times it will repeat its patrolling and mewing for several

[110 cont.]
787 nights and even can persist in this habit for years.
825 If on successive occasions a person should meet a bat when on the road, it is a sign that he will receive bad news on the way or on arriving at his destination, or that there will be a mishap at the place toward which he is traveling. Furthermore, if during the night he frequently hears a bat, death is approaching some person he knows.

In the chapter "Sickness and Medicine" we have already seen the relationship existing between snakes and pregnant women and a series of facts which place [111] ophidians in an exceptional position in Guajiro mentality, by virtue of the fear that this reptile inspires in the individual through the number of properties, usually malevolent, which are attributed to it. To this we must add the quality of animal omen, because if at dusk or during the night they see the trail of a snake without being able to capture it, the first person who sees the snake itself the following day will suffer the loss of a member of his family or some other misfortune. This happened, they say, to one of the girls in the Nazaret orphanage. One evening they found signs on the patio of the passing of a large snake. The girls looked diligently for it everywhere without being able to locate it, as they were convinced that if they did not find it that night, the first person to see it the following day would have trouble. As a matter of fact, the girls affirmed, the girl who encountered it suffered the loss of her grandmother within a short time.

But in this matter of what we have called omens, it is the birds that have the greatest influence. We could therefore speak of birds of good or bad omen in La Guajira. These birds announce future events according to the position they take up in certain circumstances, which the Guajiro interprets in his own way in accord with certain traditions and fixed rules, which their actions give us to understand. These do not constitute, so to speak, a rigid code, a pre-established and fixed law, but are rather to a certain extent products of chance and the native's imagination, who seeks in all the accompanying circumstances, logical or no, the explanation of any phenomenon. Whatever happens to him in his life is never without reason or cause.

[111 cont.]

787 Someone must know about these happenings and will communi-
825 cate them at the proper time. From this they derive their belief in the announcement of coming events, which they interpret by associations related to certain animals in certain circumstances.

For example, the bird which we call the woodpecker announces to the wayfarer by its song that in the place that he is going to a misfortune will occur, there will be a drunken brawl, or simply that evil spirits live there.

We have already seen the malevolent action of the nocturnal bird which appears frequently in Nazaret and sleeps in the
[753] Sierra de Jarara. The Indians say that it flies over the houses during the night and in its droppings spreads the germs of bronchitis which are absorbed by children who contract the illness and die.

There is also a bird known in the peninsula named cucarachero ["cockroach bird"] — different from the one in the interior of the same name — which wanders over the roofs of houses searching for beetles, scorpions, and small lizards, etc. It makes its nest in trees near houses and frequently sings [112] when it is brooding or raising its young. It is known in La Guajira by the name of waimpirai. This bird and the one called uteté announce by their song when visitors will be coming to the house. The belief exists that these two birds hurry those who are on a journey and counsel them to be speedy so that no misfortune may befall them en route.

Another bird, the one popularly known by the name of alcaraván [bittern] and in Guajiro by that of karré, likes to walk about near the native houses and to go inside them. If at nightfall it should be going about in the vicinity of the houses, the Indians believe it announces the death of someone in the family. The natives' fear of this bird becomes acute when it is not content to move around the house or go inside, but goes into the cooking area and approaches the hearth, because in this case death will very soon carry off one of the members of that home. The creature suffers the consequences of the natives' fear since they drive it from the house with stones and blows.

[112 cont.]

787 Another bird of bad augury is the red owl. If a person who is traveling by night along the road sees one and hears its
825 hoot, this is a signal that a misfortune is about to happen at the spot the walker met the bird or that something will happen to upset him on the road.

If at nightfall the long-drawn out song of the waimpirai is heard, it is an indication that there will be a war between two important clans, or extended families. They say in La Guajira that on a certain occasion, after this omen had occurred, a struggle between two families broke out and 20
[797 members of the Uriyú clan had to take refuge in the convent
628] of Nazaret, defeated by their adversaries who were hunting them down wishing to kill them.

When a hen cackles at daybreak there will surely be a death in the house, particularly when the cackling is repeated on three consecutive days.

312 Natural phenomena in magic. The most important natural phenomenon for the Guajiro is rain, the essential fount for his
132 agriculture and stock grazing and the basis of his present-day
133 economic organization. It is not strange that this is so because if for every community and for living beings in general water is an indispensable element and if many of the divinities and spirits of the primitive Americans center around it, for the Guajiro it is infinitely more essential if we take into consideration the geographical milieu in which he lives and to which we have referred, perhaps insistently, in this work as we consider it of vital importance (cf. "Introduction"). In the whole area there is no river or stream of importance. The soil has a maximum permeability and has to withstand high temperatures; [113] and as the Guajiro have no practical knowledge of the conservation and distribution of rain water, they always live dependent on the winter season for sowing their crops. For
789 this reason many acts of magic have this end in view, but as this aspect will be better understood in the chapter on "Mareiwa and Wanurú," or notions of good and evil, we will confine ourselves in this section to noting some magic acts related to rainfall and to other natural phenomena.

789 The intervention of the shaman, which we have lost
*756 sight of since the second chapter when we described at length his personality and attributes, returns again to participate in

[113 cont.]

789 the propitiation of the rain, which is the culmination of the
*756 rituals of the Guajiro Indians.

When summer continues overlong and endangers the crops, animals, and the community in general, the shaman gets ready to call for and to attract rain. To effect this he dresses in the way we have seen him do when he cures sickness or casts out epidemics and begins to invoke up his protector spirits that they may aid him in his trance. He chews tobacco and rhythmically sways his torso and head while shaking his maraca. All these acts he carries out while seated on a wooden zoomorphic chair. He then commences to sing loudly to attract his spirits, and when he attains this he asks them to send rain. He tells them that men need it, that they are without food and without water in their wells, and they are near death through hunger and thirst, their animals are dying, and misery and desolation is overrunning their country. At certain moments the shaman goes out from the house where he is carrying out his ceremony and walks around it so as to attract the rain and scare away the evil spirits that are keeping it back. As a result of these ceremonies rain should fall.

789 But this is not the only method that the natives have at
178 their disposal to attract rain. The propitiation can be effected in a different way without the intervention of the shaman. This is happening now in all the acts of magic in this society, which we may describe as being in a state of disintegration in which the prestige of the shaman has lost importance, and ordinary people have taken over his science. We shall see below a series of methods the natives employ to attract rain without the shaman's intervention.

789 For example, a kind of adoration is very common which
821 the Indians pay to a certain iguana that is found in the crevices
●825 of rocks, especially in the cliffs of the seacoast, an adoration that is shown in a series of fiestas and dances, the purpose of which is to obtain the favor of these reptiles, so that they may place no [114] obstacle in the way of the hoped-for rainfall but let it occur freely. We shall study this association iguana-rainfall more fully in the last chapter.

789 Other methods used by the Indians to attract rain during
821 summer are: beating their drums for many hours on consecutive

[135 cont.]

536 796 pretend to be eating and playing tranquilly. The devil, another Indian, taking advantage of the carelessness of the men who are occupied with their fun, and covered as always with his black robe, enters the cloud to do them evil. Immediately a fight starts up between the Indians and the devil. In the end the cloud traps the devil and emerges triumphant in the play.

5. The horse race. Horse racing is the sport or trial of 541 prowess most practiced in the ordinary life of the Guajiro. In 536 this sport they try to bring to the fore the name of the horse and 796 the skill of the jockey. In all the large fiestas a number of horse races are always staged, and such is their enthusiasm for them [538] that they are frequently mentioned in some stories told by the natives. [136]

During the Fiesta of the Kid two groups are formed which, 536 as in the previous cases, are under the direction of their respec- 539 tive leaders. Each group has assigned to it an equal number of 796 men, representing so many race horses. The race course having been previously marked out with its starting point and finishing post, one of the singers begins by referring to the goodness of his horse, praising its speediness. The other replies in an identical tone, using eulogistic concepts regarding his animal. They soon arrange a match which they put into practice. One of them says: "There goes my roan horse; he is swifter than the clouds and the wind and braver than any other in La Guajira." The other sings: "This is my chestnut horse. I am sure that he will win because he is swifter than the deer." They start off their horses and run the race. Following them, race another pair, then another, until all the competitors have taken part.

825 The bees and the fruit thieves. There is a kind of small 241 bee in the peninsula which the Indians call wáya. These bees 536 make their nests in trees or in hollow tree trunks. If a blow is 796 struck near the hive, the bees swarm out, attacking and getting into the hair of anybody standing nearby. They get inside the intruders' clothes and swarm all over them, crawling over their bodies, buzzing angrily, bothering their enemies until they are in a state of desperation. The Indians have a habit of collecting 536 hives of these bees and placing them at the entrance to their 796 fields, making use of the bees to defend their harvest from thieves.

[137 cont.]

536 to, always making their peculiar call. In this way they pass over
796 the place where the hammock men are in position; they are arranged two by two in a semicircle, hands held right in left, forming quadrilaterals. The birds reach this point running at the greatest speed possible, when the hammock men stop them by surrounding them to prevent their escape. They struggle, but in the end the semicircle begins to close until it becomes a circle, and the birds are imprisoned inside. An Indian then comes to kill the birds. He does so by taking them one by one by the arm as if this were the wing and by pretending to wring their necks. Once all the birds are taken out from the net the scene ends.

8. Jaguars and dogs. This theatrical game is intended to
[825] show the fortitude and courage of the jaguar and its superiority over dogs. For this reason it requires much care in the selection of the Indians who will take part in it because they must struggle fiercely with each other, and it is essential that the team that
[773] plays the part of jaguars be the conquerors. This has caused us to believe in the mythical value of the jaguar, which actually appears in their legends related to Mareiwa as well as in clan nomenclature. The game consists in engaging in a severe struggle in which the jaguar always manages to overcome the dogs and dominate them through being stronger. The complete description can be summed up thus: The group of jaguars pretends to be settled in a tree; sometimes they actually are. The group representing the dogs arrives, following the scent and the trail until they come to the foot of the tree [138] in which the jaguars are all lurking. On finding them, the dogs bark furiously beneath the tree and provoke the jaguars until they jump down, and it is then that the terrible struggle takes place. When in the end a dog falls to the ground, the jaguar pretends to bite it to pieces, clawing its breast open and attacking its throat, where he starts to devour it. The dog whimpers painfully, goes into convulsions, and stays motionless, as if dead. The jaguar gets up satisfied as he has triumphed, and so ends the play.

9. Dogs and peccaries. Two groups are formed, each one
[533] composed of ten men arranged in line and captained, as is custom-
[526] ary, by a singer, who is the chief of the group. One group represents the peccaries, the other the dogs which are going to hunt them.

776 [146] the people during the deluge on the high hill of Pororo,
821 which he made to grow higher as the waters rose." (78)

78. Hernández de Alba. Op. cit., 49-50.

825 7. When we spoke of natural phenomena in magic, we
821 stated that a kind of veneration was very commonly paid by the natives to an iguana that lives in the crevices of rocks, especially in the cliffs of the coast; veneration that is manifested outwardly by fiestas and dances and is intended to influence the iguana not to put obstacles in the way of the rains, which are under his dominion. Up to this point the fact appears to have no connection with the subject which we are treating, but supported by linguistics, we shall clarify our point of view:

192 The Guajiro word for iguana is iwána, and it can be split
821 up thus: iwa, "rain" (this is what the Indians call the rain that
825 falls in summer, April); na, particle which seems to denote an abundance of something, as may be seen in these other examples: ipa-na-rú, a La Guajiro place name which means "among many rocks" and corresponds in context to: a conical depression that holds rain water situated among many rocks; garrapatamana, another place name descriptive of its meaning, "a place where there are many animal ticks [garrabatas]. According to the above, iwána means an "abundance of rain."

192 Now, the word by which the constellation of the Seven
776 Kids is called when in a certain position it coincides with the
821 summer rains, is íwa, the same as "rain." Furthermore, from the name "Mareiwa" we can separate the constant particle, íwa, "rain." Unfortunately, we could discover nothing that might correspond to the first particle, máre, in the vocabulary we collected, nor in others that have been published and which we had the opportunity to consult. But, on reviewing a dictionary of the Arawak language of the Guianas, with which the Guajiro dialect is closely linked, we find that mali is the name of a "certain star"; malidalte is "beginning of drought." "The name is derived from the star mali." (79)

79. Anonymous. Op. cit., 71.

[147 cont.]

775 and plants either individually, or collectively with the appearance of epidemics; spiritually by inspiring reprehensible actions such as murder, which brings social misfortunes in its wake. In general, all the transgressions of the Guajiro social law – rage, suicide, infidelity, etc. – are inspired by this spirit.

2. They have permanent sites of habitation, especially in unoccupied houses.

3. They are grouped into special categories dependent on the circumstances of their death, which influences their manner of life in the next world.

4. They make their appearance by adopting special [776] bodies, that is, they make themselves visible. In this they differ fundamentally from the spirits of good, like Maraiwa, who manifests himself in no bodily form. In this connection [148] we have the following native belief: If during the night 775 or in the late hours of the afternoon, a sizeable, nocturnal white 825 moth is found in the bedroom, it must not be mistreated or killed. It must be treated with consideration because it is nothing but the spirit of some ancestor – wanurú – who has come on a visit. If it becomes very troublesome and keeps one awake by its fluttering, it must be got out of the room very carefully. [787] If it should be killed, the spirit of the dead incarnated in it would appear in dreams and exclaim: "Why did you kill me? I like you and for that reason I came to visit your home. You have done me harm." And most certainly the spirit would take vengeance in some bad way or another on the person who had violated the rules of hospitality due the spirits of the dead.

775 Yorujá. The concept of Yorujá is more difficult to clarify. He seems to be the same as the wanurú for the following reasons:

1. The natives when they refer to him give one to understand that he is the spirit of the dead.

2. As with the wanurú, he has his sites of fixed habitation, especially in cemeteries, in the crevices of Cabo de la Vela, or hidden in the boughs of trees in the lonely woods of Emejuy in Lower La Guajira.

3. Also, as with the wanurú, he is the cause of both physi- [753] cal and spiritual harm to the natives and to the community in general.

[148 cont.]

775 4. Also like the wanurú, he takes on special forms of dress, such as that of a "king," an arjuna (civilizado), and an [777] Indian. At times flames leap from his eyes and mouth (possibly acculturation from Catholic legends about the devil).

5. There are other beliefs that refer to him, such as the [825] one that states that when during the night a woman should find a praying mantis [mantis religiosa] she should hurriedly throw some cotton seeds and salt on the fire in order that with the flame produced when these catch fire, the malignant spirit, or yorujá, who brings the mantis with him will be frightened away. There is a similarity in this belief to the one that prescribes placing horses' skulls around to frighten the wanurú away from the vicinity of habitations.

• • •

776 775 In summary we would say that the spirits of good are represented by Mareiwa and by a series of other protector spirits, especially those of shamans, which are no other than those of [554] dead curers. Their standing or status depends on that which they had in life, the greater their prestige as curers in this world, [149] the more important will be their position in the next as benevolent spirits. The spirits of evil are represented by dead persons and are of different degrees of danger according to the characteristics of their death. It is presumable that those called yorujá, resembling the devil, the greatest incarnation of evil as an abstract idea, are spirits of the dead of a greater degree of wickedness, while the wanurú, connected almost exclusively with sickness, are spirits of dead persons of a lesser degree of evil.

Finally, the differences between the two categories of spirits — benevolent and malevolent — are of two classes: 1) of a quantitive character, according to their power to do good or evil respectively; 2) of a formal character, referring to the apparition of evil spirits in various bodily forms, and the absence of such forms for good spirits. [151] [Page 150 is blank.]

[158 cont.]

104 divi-divi (Libidibia coriaria. Jacq.) [159]
192 frailejon (Espeletia spp.)
824 guamacho (Pereskia colombiana. Webb).
guayacan (f. Zigophyllaceae) [In Venezuela, Tabebuia guayacan (family Bignoniaceae)]
plantain (f. Plantaginaceae, sp. Ureus)
oxtongue (Polygonaceae, g. Rumex)
mamoncillo (f. Sapindaceae, sp. Bijuga)
mangrove tree (f. Rhizophoraceae)
oxeye (f. Papilionaceae)
nettle (f. Urticaceae)
watermelon (Cucurbita vulgaris)
quina dulce [sweet quina] (Cinchona spp.)
sage (fam. Labiataceae) [Labiatae?]
elder or alder tree (f. Caprifoliaceae)
purslane (f. Portulacaceae, g. Portulaca)
vira-vira (f. Compositae, g. Gnaphalium)
yucca, cassava (Manihot utilissima)

Animals:
104 bee (order Hymenoptera)
192 bittern (belonopterus cayennensis)
825 wasp (order Hymenopt)
owl (Bubo virginianus elatus)
cauquero (sp. of deer)
colibri (fam. Trochuilidae)
rabbit (sylvilagus apollinaris)
rattlesnake (Crotalus terrificus)
hunting snake [culabra cazadera] (Clelia clelia)
buzzard (Coragyps atratus foetens)
cattle tick (g. Boophilus)
sparrow hawk (harpagus bidentatus)
iguana (order of the saurians)
owl (Tyto alba sabandeana)
machorro, sp. of lizard (order of the saurians)
bat (Carollia perspiciliata)

[159 cont.]

104 woodpecker (Ceophloeus lineatus)
192 domestic duck (Anas platyrhynchos)
825 partridge (Perdix rubra)
ray (Rajas batis) [160]
jaguar (félis onça)
troupial (f. Icteridae)
peccary (Pecari)
fox (Canis azaroe)
curí (Cavia anolaimae)
mountain cat (margay tigrina)
deer (Cervus elaphus)

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

In weapons the Goajiro uses the old-fashioned bow and arrow, along with the latest breech-loading rifle. He never strolls ten yards from the rancho without his arrows stuck in his sash and the inseparable bow in his hand. Arrows are of three classes: bolts for killing birds and lizards, *kata*, having a nail or piece of hard wood for a head neatly covered with wax; arrows proper, for killing game and war, *siguarrai*, with iron heads made from old knives filed and worked into shape; and thirdly the terrible poisoned rays, *aisarú*: these are an ordinary arrow-shaft, with two inches of the bony weapon of the sting-ray (*quesaguai*) loosely fastened to the end, well covered with poison. To prevent accidents, each head is covered by a cane sheath. The poison is putrified animal matter—toads, snakes, and other reptiles allowed to putrefy and boiled down. When newly done the poison is said to be weak, the same when too old, so the arrows have to be re-dipped at stated intervals (about nine months). Death subvenes from three to twelve days afterwards, a sort of blood-poisoning, and is tolerably certain if the ray-bone has not been got out (a most difficult operation) and the wound well cauterised with a red-hot nail. The Cocinas of Yuripicho are reputed the best makers, and enjoy a sort of monopoly. A bunch of twenty-four arrows is sold by them for a dress cut of cotton (eight yards. None of the arrows are feathered; the shafts are made from cane, reeds, and also solid wood. As to firearms the Indian prefers the old "Crown" or "Tower" flintlock (*carcabuso*) to the Remington rifle, on account of the uncertainty of getting cartridges. The American flintlock (*carcabuso cayota-panabana*) is also much liked.

411 [177] [278] [125] [752] [437] [177]

The principal industries among the Goajiras are collecting divi-divi, and salt, and breeding horses, mules, donkeys, cattle, and goats, with the accompanying sale of hides. Their animals are celebrated in the neighbouring provinces for being docile, having been all brought up as it were by hand, for the Indian spares neither time nor trouble on his flocks.

[222] 233

With regard to the language, a small grammar was published in 1878 by Rafael Caledon. Unfortunately it was printed in Paris, while the author was in America, and is replete with errors in consequence. The language is a much richer one than is generally supposed, and taken as a whole has a euphonious, pleasing effect on the ear, much more so than the neighbouring Arhuaco. I have no space here to dwell upon its beauties, but cannot dismiss the subject without giving the following three examples of much-used words:—

114 194

Achinga, a name.	Ita, a cup (gourd).	Yara, a headdress.
Tachinga, my name.	Te-ita-in, my cup.	Tekiyara, my headdress.
Pachinga, your name.	Pi-ita-in, your cup.	Pikiyara, your headdress.
Nichinga, his name.	Ni-ita-in, his cup.	Nikiyara, his headdress.
Nuchinga, her name.	Si-ita-in, her cup.	Sikiyara, her headdress.

192

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

As a last word I may say from personal experience that the Goajira
122 is an interesting but not a beautiful country, nor is it a desirable place for travelling, either for pleasure or for commerce. Not that there is any actual danger under ordinary circumstances, but what between drunken bloodthirsty Indians, blood- and tear-money, with all the intricacies of their own peculiar laws, travelling among them is as bad as sitting on a keg of gunpowder before a big fire. It is impossible to foretell when a mere spark, accidentally or intentionally, may blow the whole thing up.

APPENDIX.

List of Tribes or Castes, with their respective animals and favourite resting-places.

361
614
825

Uriana	Canahapar	Tiger		About Tarra and Bahia Honda.
"	Arpané	Rabbit		About Curo and Matumylo coast.
"	Guinpiral	A singing bird		Everywhere.
"	Hebérta	Gecko (lizard)		Only in the plains.
Epéyd	Guaruscho	A species of vultur		Bahia Honda, Puerto Estrella, and plains.
Pushaina	Pulcho	A species of small pecary.		Pusaki, Atalya, and plains.
Ipuana	Mushard	A sort of hawk		Portgio Juny, Cizpana, &c.
Jayarid	Er	Dog		Macuira and plains.
Juayd	Kasbuzia	Rat-snake		Tuta, Hayaru.
Arpashaina	Kamur	Vulture		Guinoma and plains, Cobero.
Sapuana	Garina	Hen		Plains, Guarero.
"	Cirral	A species of stork		(?)
Epinayu	Uyára	A small buck		Portuto, Hayarura.
Jirua or Pleaf	Guariz	Fox		Only in the Macuira valley.
Ferunna	Gliorgher or Guaruscho.	Species of vulture		Only in the Upper Goajira.
Urariyd	Mára	Rattlesnake		Everywhere.
Paumyd	Hucho	(?)		(?)
Bijuata	Cipri	Wasp		Upper Goajira only.
Guariria	Guariz	Fox		Only in the hills of Macuira.
Guaiaria or Guan-uria.	Per	Partridge		Tarra and Upper Goajira.
Arapainayd	Anuwana	Species of vulture		Upper Goajira only.
Sanurid	Hepépa	Owl		" "
Arpuiata	Ierbd	Red cardinal bird		" "
Uelmaid	Are all Costa Indians			Cobero hills only.
Arauujuna	A small, almost unknown tribe in the hills of Macuira.			
Gliorguariyd	Gliorgher or Guaruscho.	Species of vulture		Only in the hills of Upper Goajira.

[262] N.B.—The Sumuridas, a very small caste, eat horseflesh and donkeys. This is considered by the other Indians to be very unclean, who, until lately, did not even eat fowls. All Indians are, however, fond of a species of lizard, "guanker," and iguanas.

[pages 797-840 do not pertain to SC13 Goajiro]

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

piece made the arrow stick in a bush, instead of piercing through it. Other arrows were really harpoons. The head was fastened to the shaft by a string wound round it; it loosened on impact, and the shaft with its cross-piece stuck in the bush, preventing the wounded animal from escaping. One of the youths shot arrows that whistled when they flew through the air. The sound was made by a small hollow seed-case fixed to the shaft. I asked about poisoned arrows and after some hesitation, they produced one, the only one they had. They would not part with it. 411

Here, at last, was one of the notorious poisoned arrows for which both the Indians themselves and the white men entertained the greatest respect. As usual with South American arrows, this one was made of a light reed shaft, into which was stuck a plug of wood to which the actual head was fastened. This consisted of the tail-barb of a sting-ray. The early conquerors of this part of South America encountered Indians who used arrows with heads made of fish-spines. The point of these arrows is roughly four inches long; it is thin and narrow and has fine barbs. It is stuck into the wooden plug, which is split vertically, and secured with a binding of thread. The Indians showed us how easily it became detached. The barbs made it difficult to pull out, and they said that it often broke off, leaving a piece in the wound. [825]

Sting-rays are not uncommon in the lagoons of the border areas of Guajira, and during the rains they are to be found everywhere. They follow the rivers up from the sea and seem to like shallow water, where they lie treacherously buried in the mud of the bottom. If you tread on one, it gives you a very nasty sting. Are they poisonous? Some people say that they are. Some travel writers of the present day have tried to give their readers that impression, but it is not correct. The wound, however, is painful and difficult to heal. It becomes easily infected, which is due to the membranes adhering to the sting. That is what the well-known toxicologist who made an exhaustive examination of my Guajiro arrows when I returned home stated. He pointed out that the sting-ray is also found in the Mediterranean, 136 136 411

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Coajiro SC13

two and shrieks. Francisco put on a spurt and got there ahead of us; then he turned and called to us:

'Hurry, there's a child being born!'

He pointed to our camera, evidently thinking that that was an event to be filmed.

844 The Indians consider childbirth a natural function that does not need to be hidden. It often takes place in the presence of the entire household, even of children, and if neighbours arrive, they can be present too. Even intimate [833] marital acts take place quite openly, to the amazement and [839] embarrassment of a white person. We thought it best for my wife to go in to the woman in labour, while we sat and talked with the grandfather, who was sitting by himself by the fire. Soon some children came and joined us, having evidently been sent away from the scene of the birth, where something apparently had gone wrong. Now they could look their fill at two white men instead.

The old grandfather was talkative. He told us how the [511] eldest son must always come into the world with the wife's family. There, too, a newly married couple live for the first year. If they are staying elsewhere, the husband takes his wife to her parents' home when the child is expected. [843] For a long time she will have been taking various decoctions of herbs and observed certain precautionary measures and rules intended to influence the birth favourably. The wife's family is responsible that all will go well. Should the child or mother die, the man has the right to demand damages of his wife's family. On the other hand, said the old man, the second child is born in the father's family, and they must take the risk. Subsequent children can be born in the couple's own home.

843 A pregnant woman must keep away from funerals, graves and anything to do with death, and it is very important [825] that she takes care not to catch sight of a snake. Snakes have a bad influence on parturition. Under no circumstances may a husband kill a snake while his wife is pregnant. A child is a weak, defenceless being and exposed to attack by dangerous spirits. There is an intimate connection between the father and the child, and what the father does is of

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

The skulls of
778 horses are placed round dwelling-places to repulse spirits,
789 which are held to be very afraid of horses, whether alive or
776 dead. When a caravan travels by night, the men with horses
825 are in the lead, and the spirits flee at once. Once long ago the Indians themselves had an almost superstitious dread of horses; that was when for the first time they saw them used by their white conquerors.

It was said that some piaches had in their possession gold statuettes inherited from the 'ancients'. If that was so, they were presumably pre-Columbian objects found in some grave or kept for centuries by some succession of medicine men.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

791 him and found that he could not make rain at all, but was
789 an impostor, so he was driven away with blows and was glad to escape with his life.

756 Even in the days when the reputation of the piache stood high, the Guajiro would not infrequently seek the help of the famous medicine men of Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, the so-called *mamás*, in whom many Creoles believed. A Guajiro who could manage to do so would take a sick person there or an article of clothing or some ornament that the invalid had worn. The medicine men of the mountain Indians would use this to diagnose the disease, and the messenger would return with a herbal medicine. The health-bringing plants were broken up and preserved in spirits. People liked to acquire such medicine especially before a child was born; it was then poured into the infant's bath water and the mother drank a gulp of it. The effect of it depended on the magical power of the plants.

757 The Guajiro themselves used certain plants as medicine.
824 Sometimes these really were effective, but often it was just a question of sorcery. A plant with much milky sap, for example, was laid on a mother's breast if her milk failed. The powers possessed by the mountain Indians of Sierra Nevada were attributed to the circumstance that they possessed the secret of invoking specially powerful spirits, whose essence also permeated the herbal medicines people got from them. The effect of the herbs thus came from the spirits residing in them. Intoxicating drinks acted through the spirits liberated in the process of fermentation; that was a common belief among the Indians.

787 The Guajiro believed in omens and portents. Various
825 animals foretold misfortune or death. A wild cat wailing round the house at night, a bat that persisted in following one through the darkness, in certain circumstances also a snake beside the house, all portended trouble or sorrow. The Indians paid special attention to the behaviour of a number of birds and interpreted this as indicating the approach of visitors, the imminence of something unpleasant, etc. When they thought they had observed such a

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

portent, they would usually summon a piache or a soothsayer in order to find out for certain. 787 825

Let us now leave medicine men, for it is time to go out on our travels again.

/537 cont./

614 not lose its green leaves, even in the dry season. The Indians
212 seek shelter under its branches during storms, because lightning
773 will not strike there.
[824]
[821] /538/ Mareiwa created an Indian woman named Borunka; she became the mother of all the Guajiro people (13).

[114]

13. Chaves (1953, p. 181) reports another myth of the "Origen de los Guajiros," in which, however, the totem clans are not mentioned; therefore, no contradiction of the myth presented here can be brought forward from there.

He also gave her a companion, by whom she became pregnant. When the time of her delivery came, however, she felt incapable of giving birth. The pains lasted for three days without delivery. Her vagina was set with teeth. Mareiwa removed them. At the same time he took two ribs, the lowest one from each side, from her m[illegible]e. He inserted them in Borunka so that she could later give birth without hindrance, though not without pain.

614 Since loss of blood was connected with delivery since
212 then, Mareiwa summoned all the birds. He commanded the
773 sangre de toro, or pincwait, to wash itself where the birth
● 825 took place. He gave the same order to the troupials (weaver
844 birds of the family Icteridae), as well as to the icó [ishu, Phoenicotraupis rubra] with the black wings, whose breast feathers and head-tuft are red in color, and finally to the macaws. The woodpecker [Ceophloeus lineatus] arrived late for this bath. Mareiwa said to him, "You came late, to be sure, but I shall paint your tuft anyway," and he painted it red. Thus, the birds mentioned have red spots in their plumage.

614 Borunka bore several children, and the Guajiro pro-
212 ceeded to multiply. When there were many of them, Mareiwa
773

/538 cont./

614 returned to them. He distributed among them the seeds of
212 the watermelon (Citrullus vulgaris), maize (Zea), squash,
773 and all the other vegetables with which the Guajiro nourish
[212] themselves. Until that time no Guajiro had laid out a seeded field; before that anyone who wished to eat had reached for the fruit that grew by itself. Mareiwa gathered all the
614 zancalargas (thin-legged grallatores) and weaver birds; he
212 commanded a flock of them to go far away and feed on
773 iguarayas (cereals) and the fruit of the Indian fig (Opuntia).
825 He likewise summoned a flock of rock pigeons; they brought hepechi cherries. Then he distributed the birds over all of Guajira. With their excrement they were to make the simultaneously eliminated seeds germinate; the latter were to grow and cover the whole land with a blanket of plants on which fruit would ripen and serve the people for food.

614 Mareiwa handed over to each native man a pair of goats,
212 donkeys, cattle, horses, and pigs. Then he assembled all
773 the people with their animals in the district of Arachi near
[230] Siapana. There, on a cliff, he engraved the symbols, one of which he intended to assign to each of the family groups, the children of Borunka. They are still visible today on that cliff.

Thus he established there the sign-patterns for the Epiayú, Ipuana, Uriana, Sapuana, Jayariyú, Apshana, Síjuana, Urariyú, Epinayú, Jitnú, Soriyú, Pausayú, Uriyú, Woriyú, Urenanaka, Matpishana, Uyarayú, Wariruyú, Jusayú, Woruboruyú, and others. Mareiwa handed over these property
[422] marks to the people in order that the movable property of one group would not be mistaken for that of the others.

614 Each group has its animal-sign by means of which it
212 distinguishes its property from that of the other groups. This
773 happened for the following reason: these animals were to
825 have become Indians. But they are the herds that Mareiwa
422 had assigned to each group. As punishment he left them in their animal state as symbols of the individual groups which

/538 cont./

614 had been insulted or harmed by them. Thus, the leader of
212 the black vultures /Coragyps atratus foetens/ had eaten a
773 head of cattle of the Epiayú, and he therefore remained the
825 symbol for this group. The caricari /Brazilian falcon/ de-
422 voured an animal of the Ipuana group. The Uriana people now have as their totem-animal the jaguar (Felis onca). The Sapuana group claims for itself the alcaraván /stone curlew/ (Burhinus bistriatus vocifer), the Jayariyú people the dog, the Apshana the kite, the Sijuana the wasp, the Urariyú the rattlesnake (Crotalus terrificius), the Jitnú people the fox (Canis azarae), the Soriyú people the cataneja (macaw, Ara), the Pausayú the black wasp, the Uyarayú the deer (Cervus alaphus), etc.

614 /539/ V. Gutiérrez (p. 170) then presents another myth.
773 This describes how the individual totem-clans were assigned their names and definite districts of residence after a fateful, tragic scene of disobedience of the creatures against their creator took place. This report, too, emphatically brings out the fact that Mareiwa personally, by his will and authority, introduced a totemistic way of life for the first living beings in Guajira. The myth has the dramatic conclusion: "For the last time Mareiwa spoke with them [the totem groups] in order to take his leave. He therefore addressed them: It was my will that you should live here! I am leaving now; I shall be watching you from heaven."

614 The individual totem-districts with the thirty-four clan
101 names are noted on the map (14).[1] The appropriate clan-

193 14. The spelling and pronunciation
194 of the clan designations favored here
614 by and large resemble the Spanish sounds. Young Indians today feel a marked uncertainty in using the correct Spanish names for individual totem-animals; even in the pronunciation of the Guajiro designations

[1] [see p.9.—Analyst]

/52 cont./

881 will mean serious troubles for her family, since the noncompliance with social norms will bring the consequences of her illegal behavior on the family group. In addition she will be lacking in responsibility and will perform badly her role as sister, wife, and mother, just the functions for which she is preparing, and these two factors weigh very much in the life of the Guajiro woman as a member of society. The charms properly applied so that they transmit their power will assure her married happiness: She will not find herself exposed to the problems of polygamy, which imply lack of affection and ill-treatment from the man who buys her for his wife, and in this way she will have the longed-for predominance over him and over the co-wives, who in consequence will take a secondary place by the force of her personality.

Once inside the hammock she must not move nor change
881 her original position, because it is believed that /should she
784 do so/, on being brought down later, she will have one leg longer than the other. Neither may she scratch any part of her body because that will leave visible scars. This matter is very important as the ceremony of the seclusion transforms her physically from a girl to a woman, wholly bound to the canon of beauty held by her group, an aspect, which like the others will also greatly affect her adult life. One must also
[826 take into account that in La Guajira a physical defect has
578] a powerful influence on the individual and to mention it is equivalent to an insult which will give rise to resentment on the part of the adult and could bring sinister consequences upon the offender.

Neither should the initiate spit on the floor, because by doing so her honor will be slandered in her unmarried life as well as later after marriage, as they would say of her, judging by appearances or through unfounded malevolence, that she had dealings with a man. They will say she is a "madcap" /cabeza-loco/, a nickname they give to a woman of easy virtue and which causes discord between men and women and which will deeply affect her legitimate hopes for marriage.

/108 cont./

833 been deprived of her will and that she does not count as a person. For these reasons she regards her marital life as a hard duty to perform, at odds with her own personality. Possibly, for this reason, the man seeks out the mestizo, who is free of these prejudices and for that reason more capable to give and to derive for herself greater satisfaction from her marital life than the pure Indian woman.

595 As it is not uncommon for a man to have two, three, or
833 even more co-wives living together in one house, his conduct in his conjugal relations must be very circumspect if he wishes to preserve, at least in appearance, a cordial or friendly feeling among them, because if he is not circumspect, jealousies will spring up and a bitter struggle of lengthy repercussions ensue. As each one of the wives endeavors to find a motive that will justify her as superior in the eyes of the others, he has to behave with extreme caution. For this reason he sleeps outside in the enramada /bough-covered shelter/ while his women and their children sleep inside the house. He never suggests to any one of them that they should spend the night together, as the one thus favored would announce this preference to place herself on a superior plane. For this reason he receives whichever one goes voluntarily to him to his hammock.

834 The man suspends marital relations during the time the woman's pregnancy is advanced. He does this for fear of causing a miscarriage for which he might be blamed, and because of the belief that it might give rise to a bad delivery.

After the birth of the child, marital life is not resumed until the woman voluntarily asks for it.

842 Ideas about fecundation. The Guajiro knows that fecundation is the result of the combined action of the woman and the man through the means of the sexual act. They know that in this act the man gives an element which joined to the feminine one will form the new being. They say that the
[826] woman has in her internal parts a special organ in which this new being will gradually take form, the womb, called in their

/108 cont./

842 language the urá-hu-chon ("place where babies are formed"). But in order to be fruitful the woman must menstruate at regular [826] intervals. Otherwise they will be sterile, and in La Guajira cases of this are known.

They explain the necessity of menstruation for fecundation by saying that after a woman has had her monthly period, in spite of bathing her body and her exterior genital organs most carefully, there remains in the interior of the womb a small quantity of menstrual blood, the last of that period; and when the sexual act occurs, the male sperm mixing with the female blood will form the new being, who from the first moment shows all the characteristics of an adult in miniature /109/ but needs a period of residence in the maternal womb to be nourished and to develop properly. When this moment arrives, birth takes place. They do not know what causes the difference in sex. They think, furthermore, that the female blood beside being a contribution to the initial formation of the new being is also its food, because they have observed the disappearance of the menstrual cycle during pregnancy.

Consequently, for the loss of blood the mother suffers during her pregnancy (nourishment of the fetus) and during the birth, her relatives claim compensation payment from the husband; they demand two payments in this connection which we have already described in a special section of this chapter.

Now we can understand why the payment made in such circumstances cannot be touched or made use of by the woman when it is a payment of animals, because, as we have said, it would mean that she was figuratively consuming herself, as it represents her lost blood, part of her very life.

The woman during pregnancy acquires certain magic 843 properties and she finds it necessary to observe a large number of taboos in order to carry to a happy fulfillment the gestation which is taking place. She herself is considered a being of potential and dangerous magic for weak and sick people, whom she must not visit because she will instill a feeling of sorrow and sickness in them, and this could cause them to have a relapse or lead to their death.

[45 cont.]

782 quite high, which also gives us an idea of their value in the opinion of the Indians since they considered that the fact of their points being impregnated with the blood of the sacrificed child made them both more poisonous and more accurate.

766 The body of the boy, who had to be between four and six years old, was brought by the father to the hamlet after these magic operations were finished and was buried in the clan cemetery. The burial and the death of the child were secrets. Nobody must know about it. We could not discover if the secret nature of the ceremony was due to the fact that the community [682 might punish the murderer, the mother or maternal aunt, or 789] some member of the child's family on the maternal side, collecting the corresponding sum for his death in accord [46] with customary Guajiro law, or if the reason was that secrecy strengthened the malevolent qualities of the poison on the arrows. It is to be presumed that the latter hypothesis is the more acceptable, since the disappearance of the child and the sale of magic arrows by the father would point him out as the author of the sacrifice.

682 In any case we cannot overlook the aspects of blood in 683 the child sacrifice just mentioned. Spilling blood is one of the 826 crimes most severely punished. Blood, according to everything one can deduce, has great value for the natives, as it is considered an integral part of their human personality, even to confounding it, so to speak, with personality itself, as they do in the case of names. Hence, for the same reason, he who voluntarily or involuntarily sheds the blood of another person is stigmatized and becomes an outcast from society. He becomes unclean, and in consequence has to make the corresponding reparation which at the present time is complied with by paying to the offended party or to his family a determined [411] quantity of valuable objects or animals. For this same reason, arrows contaminated with the blood of the child sacrificed by his father have, or ought to have, according to the Guajiro mentality, an incalculable value due to their participation in 411 the sacrifice and spilling of blood, thanks to its presence on 935 their points. Moreover, if we take into account what the 775 dead man means to the Guajiro as a spirit capable of doing harm

[65 cont.]

843 and very carefully wash it [in water]. Giving the woman this
845 water to drink will permit her to deliver the child immediately.

If a Guajiro father has to set off on a long journey on
751 horseback, leaving behind his newborn son, he must comply
854 with another custom of a magic nature, which requires him to
492 wrap the cinch of his horse about the child for a few minutes. If he fails to do this, the child will be very ill and complain pitifully during the time his father is absent. An equivalent form under the same circumstances is the father's customarily placing his foot on the newborn baby's chest for a brief moment. If this obligation is not complied with, either through forgetfulness or all will on the part of the father, the mother, or some close relative of the child, must find the father's old sandals and place them on the child's chest for a few moments in order to obtain the effect desired, which the ritual action if performed by the father would have accomplished.

751 We venture to attempt an explanation of the last two
854 phenomena as follows: The object that is sought in the fulfillment of these two traditional customs is to drive away from the child the presence of the wanurú or the evil spirit of sickness. The pressure exercised by the father's foot or, lacking this, [66] by
[753 the father's old sandals, symbolizes his presence in the child
826] precisely in the place where the spirits in order to attain their evil designs often lodge in the child's body, i.e., its chest, as we shall have occasion to see in the following chapter. This symbolic presence of the father prevents the spirits from approaching near the child to work it harm. Lastly, the custom of wrapping the cinch of [the harness of] the horse on which the father will be traveling around the body of the child is intimately linked
[825] with the belief of these natives that the horse has the power to frighten away the wanurú, or spirit of sickness, with its snorting; more simply this same protection is achieved by placing a horse's skull in a place near the houses. (Cf. "Amulets, Fetishes, Talismans." Also, in this case there is a substitution of the magic formula (using the cinch instead of the horse), a substitution that has exactly similar effects and the action of which could be based on one of the laws of magic established by Sir J. G. Frazer

[66 cont.]
751 according to which "things which have once been in contact with
854 each other continue to act on each other at a distance after the physical contact has been severed." (45) [Cited in Spanish.]

45. Frazer. La Rama Dorada, [The Golden Bough], III, 27.

751 There is another medical preventative, also of a magic
843 nature, taken to avoid infant mortality in Guajiro marriages after the death of the first-born child. This preventative obliges
[766] them to bury the body in a certain manner. It also imposes upon the mother a further seclusion, such as she underwent on reaching puberty (ceremony of initiation), and entails her taking certain medicines extracted from vegetable roots. If all these prescriptions are not fully complied with, her future children will die successively as soon as they are born.

844 Once the child is born, the placenta must be thrown a long way away from the house and completely lost to sight. If
[777] it is buried it will bring bad luck to the child, who in consequence of such an imprudence will live a weakling and suffer greatly until his death.

853 When only two or three days after the mother has given
827 birth, her breasts badly swell with severe pains and a lack of
755 milk, her husband must place his foot on her naked breast, pressing lightly on it, with which treatment the woman will recover. When a mother loses her milk after a long period of breast feeding and is no longer able to nourish her child, she must be struck on her shoulder and her breasts a number of times with the branches of a plant which is found mainly in the neighborhood of [67] Puerto Estrella and which on being cut emits a white liquid.

826 The Guajiro takes great care of any of his hair which has
754 been cut off, as he is afraid that it can be used to do him harm. This fear is based on the belief that if anyone can obtain possession of a lock of hair, whatever harm he may do to this will react directly on its owner; if that hair, for example, is thrown on the fire, its original owner will suffer a similar fate:

[67 cont.]

826 754 he will die consumed by flames. Likewise, if a lock of human hair is buried with a small quantity of dog excrement, the person who carries out this act of witchcraft can cause any harm he wishes to the owner of the hair.

648 757 Medicine practiced by foreigners. To ensure that his child will be sound and fit and show greater resistance to sickness, the Guajiro father makes use of the medicine of the Arhuaco, who like the other natives we know connect this art directly with magic. It is well to take note, before pursuing this description, that the Arhuaco are held to be excellent doctors by all their neighbors, not only by the Indians but also by mestizos and mulattos, and even by Whites. The fame of these curers is such that sick people from the neighboring cities of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta and even from Maracaibo have themselves carried to them to be cured of their illnesses, or, as a last resort, send them some of their personal articles of underclothing by which the Arhuaco curer determines the sickness from which the individual is suffering and sends the necessary medicines.

The Guajiro have not escaped this influence. Their geographical nearness facilitates communication with the Arhuaco, but we do not know whether this interchange of relations was already established before the Conquest or if it is due to the external influence of the colonists who have settled on the slopes of the Sierra or in regions close to them, who in their turn have transmitted the legend of the fame of the Arhuaco as doctors to the Indians of La Guajira.

757 751 278 843 The fact is that generally, shortly before the birth of a child or when some opportunity presents itself, the father goes to the Arhuaco, and from one of them who knows the preventative or curative value of plants he obtains several of these in order to doctor his child or prevent its sicknesses. Among these herbs are the vira-vira, quina dulce ["sweet quina], the frailejón, and a number of others. These herbs are shredded and put into a bottle containing rum and to this mixture is added two kinds of drops, also of plant juices, which have been carefully [68] "whispered" or "muttered" over by the Arhuaco doctor. These drops, in addition to the plants to which we have previously

[94 cont.]

832 made into a ball. This paste is dissolved in the water that the person wishing to profit by its powers uses in his bath, or some other way which we shall see later.

d) Also considered a love charm is the string of necklaces made of small pieces of coconut shell and worn as ornaments by the Indian girls.

[626] e) A thing that is very commonly used as a love charm, especially by girls, is their own hair.

f) With the hair which has been taken from a girl when her first menstrual period occurs and mixed with hummingbird's blood, dog's tail, and achiote [bija], they make a love charm which has a most powerful effect on the girl to whom the hair belongs. The man who acquires it can consider himself virtually her owner.

g) Lastly, an element that enters decisively in the effective value of love charms is achiote powder, which should be rubbed on certain parts of the body of the owner of the charm when he or she wishes to attain a certain end.

Application and effects. When a woman makes use of a love [262] charm which will give her the power always to be attractive to her husband and to regain his lost love or to win it, she should not eat any roasted food while she is trying to apply the qualities of her charm. She must also take the charm and rub it all over her body when she has recently given birth to a child or during her menstrual period. It is then that she should deny herself all [262] roasted food (meat, roasted corn, etc.) on which there has been direct action from fire. She should also abstain from all [95] kinds of milk, should not go out in the sun, and should not let her face be seen by another woman. This last point is very important as if this should happen the effects she seeks will be obtained not by the person following the indicated regimen but will [834] automatically be transferred to the woman who has seen her face. The woman who is owner of the charm must also abstain from cohabiting with her husband. When she bathes, she must do so not in the brook but inside her own home. The bathing must be done by another woman, starting at the crown of her head, then her shoulders, then her breast, and thus on to the whole body.

[95 cont.]

832 Once she has finished her bath, she must hang up her dress over her hammock to dry, also inside the house. It is also necessary for her to apply achiote powder to certain parts of her body, such as under her arms, on her breasts, on her genital organs, etc., with the object of aiding the magic action of the charm on those parts, and avoiding the loss or lessening of the magic power. This special regimen must be carried through for four consecutive days, at the end of which the effect has already been obtained — or at least there is no longer the fear that it may pass to some other person.

In general, every man or woman who possesses a charm keeps his body (armpits, breasts, genital organs, etc.) permanently dusted with achiote powder.

The men also make use of the same charms as the women. The magic power of these charms enables them to obtain the wholehearted love of women without their own affections becoming involved.

881 When a young woman reaches the age of puberty, and her
832 first menstrual period arrives, a love charm is hung about her neck during all the time that she is kept indoors and hanging up in her hammock (ritual of initiation of young girls). This charm will give her the quality of being admired and loved by men. The plan in wearing this token is that when she leaves her seclusion she will find the man who will buy her for a wife
[602] at a good price. The charm is hung about the adolescent girl's neck by her mother or by a maternal aunt.

When a girl's mother or aunt finds out that she has not
832 been happy in her love life, they obtain charms which will make her more lovable and desirable.

[826] Women should be very careful of their hair when it has been cut after the appearance of their first menstruation because
832 if a man gets hold of it he practically becomes the owner of the
673 woman, for by mixing it with hummingbird blood, dog's tail, and achiote he can make a charm which will act directly against the owner of the hair. The man, with the firm intention of causing her harm, may show her the charm or better still may produce it when she has her back to him. [96] The woman because of this simple charm becomes madly enamored with the man

[96 cont.]

832 673 and is made foolish and boastful of the difficult position she is placed in.

This charm, capable of such mischief according to the belief of the natives, is used especially when a man wishes to cause some woman harm or to mock either her or her relatives.

754 832 578 Fortunately for women in general they have a way to scoff at, or revenge themselves on, the men who have been false and whose love they no longer want – only revenge. For such cases they buy a charm from the old Indian women who know of these things, a charm which they place among the clothing of the man on whom they wish to effect a malevolent action. Then they obtain an old sandal belonging to their victim and burn it. It is most important that the sandal should be old so that the sweat of the man in question, as part of his personality, should have soaked into it. [826 828]

With these two simple things, the Indian women affirm, the man loses his senses, he goes about as if stupefied, neglects his person, is a failure and a brutish person thereafter. So sure are they of this that they say that a mad Indian living in Nazaret is in that condition because of a charm like that we have just described after he had been one of the most elegant and well dressed of Indians.

832 Another love charm is used not to regain a man's love that has been lost but to retain affection that is desired; and as it is the woman's property – for evil against the man – this aims at making the man unable to take another woman. This charm, like others, is obtained from the old Indian women of the Sierra de Jarara, and it is made of carefully ground herbs to which they add achiote, an excellent substance for charms. The mixture is wrapped in a rag, or it is kept in a little wool bag.

The effect of love charms can be diverted to other purposes. For example, when a woman wants her husband to make her a special present she goes to her charm, picks it up, shakes it well, and looks firmly at it, at the same time asking for the desired object. The charm works, and the woman obtains what she wished for.

Necklaces of small perforated discs of coconut shell are transformed into love charms when the women experts in this

[96 cont.]

832 witchcraft have "whispered" over them, that is, when they repeat over them a series of magic incantations which have the object of giving them the power to make a man, or men, love the owner [97] as she may desire, and especially her husband when it is the case of a married woman.

We have seen in previous paragraphs how the hair of a pubescent girl serves as a base for men to make magic charms which can be used against the girl. But the hair of such girls in different circumstances serves to attract men in general and causes a woman to be looked on with such deference by a man that he buys her to take as a wife at a good price. For this [826 reason the young Guajiro woman, especially those of the Sierra 302] de Jarara, keep their hair when it is cut. At times to make the action more effective and to obtain better and quicker results, they place it under a patch of cow dung. The association of [237] their hair with cow dung is founded on a socio-economic phenomenon which we might briefly clarify.

556 We have seen repeatedly that wealth in La Guajira is 583 calculated by the number of heads of livestock that an individual owns; and it can be observed how a wife in their social or- 832 ganization is obtained by purchase. When the buyer is a rich man he pays in heads of cattle or horses; when poor, in goats and sheep. Hence it is clear every woman aspires to be paid for in cows and in a greater number than those paid for other women, as this establishes an advance in her social status. This is the reason why she buries her hair under cow dung and not that of any other animal. She has made a very primitive association but [237] one that speaks for itself. It would appear that the magic attraction is brought about by the dung, and the results desired are increased if this is from the cow, the animal of most value in La Guajira.

826 In any case, young women are most careful about leaving their cut hair about where it could be picked up by another person, and for this reason they guard it all their lives, giving it in this way a sacred quality. This characteristic which we have called sacred stems from the magic connection established by the primitive between a person and the different parts of his body, to

[97 cont.]
826 which we have referred on various occasions in this work.

Hunting charms. We could only acquire data about the
224 type of talismans connected with the hunting of deer and rabbits. The object of such a talisman is a double one; on one hand, it inculcates ability and quickness on the part of the hunter who possesses it; and on the other, it exercises a restraining action on the animal he wishes to kill, as [98] according to the native belief, it stops its flight and converts it into an easy prey for the hunter.

[824] The charm for facilitating the hunting of rabbits is made with bejuco leaves, a plant known in La Guajira by the name of átpana-pi (átpana = "rabbit"). The leaves of this plant, which are used for making the charm, are long and shaped like a cartridge, which gives them a great likeness to rabbit ears. Besides this, it serves as food for rabbits, which they like a great deal.

To make the charm, the hunter carefully collects the leaves, grinds them up, and with the resulting powder makes small pellets resembling rabbit excrement. One of these small balls is carefully tied with a thread and is placed in the middle of the tassel which adorns the hand guard they use when drawing the bow. The effect of the charm is directed against the rabbit, limiting its chance of flight and thus making it easier for the hunter to secure his prey.

The charm used in hunting deer is also made from a plant
[824] well known to the hunters. This plant, in form like the bejuco, has wide leaves which shine like a mirror. It abounds in the
[192] forest and requires no special cultivation. In La Guajira it is called supána-unú; (su = neuter; pana = "leaf," "liver"; unú = "tree," "pole"; wunú = "remedy"). It is prepared in a similar way to that for hunting the rabbit and, as in that case, it is carried on the person of the hunter in the shape of small pellets
[192] which are tied to the hand guard of his bow. Once finished it takes the name of sipi-iráma, (iráma = "deer"), and its object is to make the hunting of the deer easier by attracting it toward the hunter, who thus cannot fail in his shot. It also prevents the animal's flight, thus making it, as in the case of the rabbit, an easy prey.

[119 cont.]

787 interpretations, will suffice to show that the life of these Indians is built around natural and supernatural phenomena impregnated with a magic factor, and that it is difficult to separate them.

789 826 Other magical acts. The belief exists among these natives that to eat another person's leavings of food implies the acquiring of his qualities. Thus, if one eats the leavings of someone having white hair, one's own hair will become white. Women are therefore very addicted to eating food left by white women when they visit them because they want to obtain a paler complexion. It is also quite common among the men to eat food left by those who are distinguished for their bravery because by this they may acquire some of their courage. This belief extends to everything that may have contact with the person's mouth or breath. Cigar and cigarette butts have this same virtue. They also believe that if an Indian smokes a cigarette butt that has been thrown away by a foreigner, he will acquire one of the qualities of that foreigner — his beard.

778 789 This gives us a clue to the existence of what some authors have called mana. It is nothing more than a memory which shows itself in the magic phenomena we have been describing. The idea is not clear but it may be presumed to have existed in former times. Mana is a force that transmits qualities; it is both energy and vitality, which in spite of being intangible impregnates everything it touches. It can be absorbed or acquired in different ways, and from this we derive the explanation which has been given for cannibalism in some primitive tribes. Its concomitant effect is that it has led the Guajiro to keep one of the aspects of this idea: that food, and in general all objects that have been in intimate contact with a person who has certain characteristics, superior in the eyes of the native since he wants them and would feel more complete with them, bring him that force, that singular essence, through magnetization — permit us the term for its graphicness — which it has acquired by touching the possessor of such qualities. [120]

The object, or the food, has robbed, so to speak, a little mana from the individual who was in intimate contact with it.

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7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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881 invitation. Again cattle are butchered, and there is drinking
584 and dancing and horse-racing. Numbers of men come to see if they would like to put themselves forward as suitors. The more eminent guests are received in the house itself, and the girl is now present. Her shorn hair has grown and been trimmed to a page-boy cut, and she wears her best clothes
[754 and new ornaments. She hides her hair clippings carefully
826] in a bag, for she does not want to risk anyone getting hold of them and using them to acquire power over her by the arts of magic. Later, she will secretly bury them under a
[789 cow pat. That will help to increase her herds. The droppings
514] of various animals play a great part in the magic of the Guajiro, and it would seem that there is negro influence here as well.

881 The girl has now been born again—she is a new person, a woman. She knows all that an adult woman needs to know and can do everything that a wife and mother should be able to do. Pale and lovely, she steps out into life once more and inquisitive young men swarm round her. The rich give a big feast, the poor provide simpler fare, but it is always a great occasion.

[582] A Guajiro man will never marry a girl before she has undergone this period of confinement, which means that people seldom marry too early. It is said that in the old days
[595 rich old men with several wives sometimes bought little
831] poor girls as concubines, believing that that would enhance their virility.

The girl's long segregation is intended to protect her from the supernatural dangers that are thought to threaten her, especially during this sensitive period of transition from childhood to womanhood. The girl can also be dangerous to others through being exposed to attack by spirits. It is only practical that during this period she should practise handicrafts.

252 Going back to the house, we found the women at the fires, which there were protected by special small cactus
[354] screens. There was no need to have them under a roof at that time of the year, only to shelter them from the wind. The pots stood over the fire supported on three stones.

/13 cont./

862 At the stage when the child is too young to feed himself, it is usually the mother who feeds him or one of the relatives (aunt, grandmother, or siblings). Also, he may be helped by female servants entrusted to look after him, who coach him so that he may learn to feed himself.

827 853 755 If, after the delivery and before the milk appears, the woman should have inflamed and painful breasts, the husband must place his bare foot on them for a short time in order to make the swelling disappear. When the milk is delayed, they beat the shoulders of the mother with a herb which has the property of producing a milky substance in abundance. Quick and safe results are also obtained by using an infusion of vira-vira.

* * *

853 The Guajiro mother may be obliged to ask for assistance in the natural feeding of her child: a) when, after delivery, for some pathological reason she cannot feed him because her milk has dried up; b) because she has previously lost several children of a very early age due to gastroenteritis, which is attributed to nutritive deficiency in her milk or to something in it which makes it unhealthy; c) when she has had twins, and she feels unable to feed both children; d) when the mother's milk suddenly begins to become scarce while the child is very small.

In such circumstances she looks for a wet nurse, not because she refuses to feed the child since, as far as we were able to find out, the mother wants to do it herself and considers her maternity frustrated when circumstances force her to find another mother to substitute for her, but because necessity drives her to do so in order to save the child from starvation and death. Apart from the /14/ loving care and the pleasure she feels in fulfilling this function, there are various reasons which induce her to feed her child naturally: Scarcity of milk in a poor mother involves a hardship in rearing the child as she does not always have goat's milk (the best milk in their opinion) available, and

[13 cont.]

*756 764 With respect to the hysterical attacks so characteristic of shamans, there exists considerable confirmation of this in a fact which is connected with the death of these curers. Custom demands that when one of them dies, it is essential that their wake be kept for three consecutive days and nights, because as these attacks oocur frequently and at times last for a considerable time, there is a fear that the shaman may not be really dead and that consequently he may be buried alive if the mourners do not wait for a reasonable time to see if he recovers.

*756 276 3) A magic plant, tobacco, is involved in the making of a new shaman in two ways: (a) The aspiring shaman must chew it for several consecutive days in order to enter into a state of ecstasy and so provoke the absorption of the spirit by his person. One must remember that at the moment the initiate has an attack, a piece of tobacco or manilla is put into his mouth. When [827] he recovers consciousness, he belches loudly because of the action of the tobacco, and these belches are considered to be canticles of praise and gratitude to the spirit which desires to reside in him. The establishment of relations between the spirit and the medicine-man aspirant by means of a magic plant, such as the tobacco we [171] have referred to, is found also among the Conibo: "The apprentice shaman of the Conibo of the Ucayali receives his medical science from a spirit. To enter into communication with the latter, the shaman drinks a decoction of tobacco and smokes as much as he can in a hermetically sealed hut." (8) [Cited in French.]

8. Métraux. Op. cit., 204.

*756 787 (b) The diviner must see in the different changes in the embers of the tobacco whether the individual whose future he foretells after an attack of illumination will become a true shaman or not. His verdict is final.

4) Dreams, or at least hallucinations, are decisive factors in the determination of the quality of shaman.

*756 5) The vocation of shaman cannot be renounced. Better said, it does not depend upon the individual himself; once the symptoms have appeared and the diviner has given a favorable

[66 cont.]
751 according to which "things which have once been in contact with
834 each other continue to act on each other at a distance after the physical contact has been severed." (45) [Cited in Spanish.]

45. Frazer. La Rama Dorada, [The Golden Bough], III, 27.

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[36 cont.]

171 is universal. It is, so to speak, the ultimate end of his mission
*756 in the community. Professor Pinto reaffirms it when, speaking
787 of the Tupinambá pagé, he writes as follows. "Another of the functions or callings of the pagé was to communicate with the spirits or with the devil.... Frequently, as Nóbrega gives us to understand, by means of the maraca ...." And further on: "Naturally, the power to communicate with the spirits raised the pagé to the category of xamá. The xamá in Herbert König's exact definition is characterized by his faculty of speaking with the spirits, especially, in his moments of trance or ecstasy. Or, as Robert H. Lowie explains, the xamá is a kind of "medium" who possesses the gift of relating himself with the supernatural and serving as its interpreter." (31) [Cited in French.]

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31. Pinto Recife, Esteban. La extraña figura del Pagé Tupinambá [The Strange Figure of the Tupinambá Pagé], pp. 323-324.

171 Our contention regarding the involuntary nature of the pro-
*756 fession of shaman, and by the same token its irrenouncibility, is sustained by this report which Métraux has taken from Nimuendajú with reference to the Bororó: "The Bororó who is called upon to become a bari (medicine man) receives a mysterious order to deliver himself up in the bush, where the spirit will manifest itself to him in the form of a monkey or a water hog and will demand his submission. As a sign of acquiescence, he will give up his bow and arrows. His head will whirl; a thousand colors will dance before his eyes; he has become a bari." (32) [Cited in French.]

32. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 203.
Italics are ours.

*756 Apart from this domination to which the spirits subject the
● 828 shaman, converting him into a creature at the service of their wishes, there is another factor, perhaps more important in its external form than the previous ones and one that makes us think more of the double life of the shaman: This is his frequent attacks,

[36 cont.]

*756 attacks which are considered as an apparent death, a separation
828 of the soul from the body of the shaman in order that he may obtain a better communication with the spirit. These attacks take place frequently in the ordinary life of the shaman and appear especially when he is interrupted in his state of ecstasy or of illumination, in his moments of spiritual conversation, and suggest, in a certain way, an elation, a way of escaping from the [37] earthly life to inhabit for a few moments the world of the dead, which is his real world to which he belongs through the express decision of his protector spirits.

773 The shaman in oral literature: Our colleague Licentiate
539 Chaves collected in La Guajira a series of stories which were published in the Boletín de Arqueología, one of which refers to the shaman Umaralá. This story tells us that in "former times there were bad shamans who collected much and did not cure." (33) The one who changed this situation was Umaralá, making

33. Chaves. Op. cit., 321.

use of certain secrets for cures, accompanied by chants and shaking of the maraca. He was initiated into the magic arts by his aunt, who was a good shaman. His initiation coincided precisely with a relapse from an illness which he had contracted during a period of pestilence in La Guajira. The symptoms described in the story are the following: "He lost his power of speech, suffered continuous attacks, lost consciousness." His aunt dedicated herself to his care, and he "heard the arguments that his aunt sustained in her chants with the spirit of the dead, who was none other than Jirairai, who however criticized all the old shaman's chants. He clearly heard the spirit say: "Either you die or your son dies." (34) The shaman invoked the help

34. Chaves. Op. cit., 321-322.

of a new spirit, but in the end she died in order to save her nephew.

The latter, together with his bond servant, buried his aunt and complied with all the ceremonies pertaining to the dead,

[96 cont.]

832 673 and is made foolish and boastful of the difficult position she is placed in.

This charm, capable of such mischief according to the belief of the natives, is used especially when a man wishes to cause some woman harm or to mock either her or her relatives.

754 832 578 Fortunately for women in general they have a way to scoff at, or revenge themselves on, the men who have been false and whose love they no longer want – only revenge. For such cases they buy a charm from the old Indian women who know of these things, a charm which they place among the clothing of the man on whom they wish to effect a malevolent action. Then they obtain an old sandal belonging to their victim and burn it. It is most important that the sandal should be old so that the sweat of the man in question, as part of his personality, should have soaked into it. [826 828]

With these two simple things, the Indian women affirm, the man loses his senses, he goes about as if stupefied, neglects his person, is a failure and a brutish person thereafter. So sure are they of this that they say that a mad Indian living in Nazaret is in that condition because of a charm like that we have just described after he had been one of the most elegant and well dressed of Indians.

832 Another love charm is used not to regain a man's love that has been lost but to retain affection that is desired; and as it is the woman's property – for evil against the man – this aims at making the man unable to take another woman. This charm, like others, is obtained from the old Indian women of the Sierra de Jarara, and it is made of carefully ground herbs to which they add achiote, an excellent substance for charms. The mixture is wrapped in a rag, or it is kept in a little wool bag.

The effect of love charms can be diverted to other purposes. For example, when a woman wants her husband to make her a special present she goes to her charm, picks it up, shakes it well, and looks firmly at it, at the same time asking for the desired object. The charm works, and the woman obtains what she wished for.

Necklaces of small perforated discs of coconut shell are transformed into love charms when the women experts in this

[103 cont.]

789 This charm is personal and nontransferable. If a person who is not the legitimate owner should touch it, he has to submit to the diet just described or his punishment will be madness; [262 828] his character will be changed, he will have fits of anger without apparent or justified cause, he will suffer from permanent nervousness, and his mind will be come deranged. However, he may look at the charm with the owner's permission without suffering any change in personality. It is useless to steal the charm as it will give no aid to the thief but will remain faithful to its original owner and will most likely cause harm to him who may have appropriated it illegally.

As do nearly all charms, it has its special covering and is kept together with achiote in three successive bags which have been knitted from wool by [104] the same Indian woman who inspired the charm with its magic power. As a matter of fact it is not known of what the charm is made because it cannot be completely uncovered.

787 What is the quality it possesses that makes it so valuable?
789 The native belief insists that when the owner sleeps it makes him dream what is going to happen to him down to the most insignificant detail. During his sleep it tells him who his hidden enemies are, what people wish to do him harm, where they will spy on him when he is traveling on the road, what difficulties he will encounter in the negotiation of an agreement, what words he should use, etc. The owner of the charm wakes up with a start, gets up immediately, quickly finds the charm, and taps it lightly, which averts all evil.

According to the Indians, the charm is like another person that is in every place where its owner is not; it knows the intentions of other people, deduces what is going to happen, and warns its master.

226 Charm for the sea. In Ríohacha one of the Indians who
751 assisted in fishing and the cartage of cargo to and from the ship at the wharf wore, hanging from his neck, a piece of bark of a tree the species of which we could not determine. When we asked him the reason for the charm, he explained that he wore it to safeguard himself from the waves of the sea, that is, to avoid being drowned if some day he should fall into the sea.

[123 cont.]

796 533 539 b) Of the songs which are sung in this ceremony of propitiation of rain, there are some of a simple, humorous character making fun of neighboring native groups, pointing out their defects, such as we transcribe below: [124]

I do not love the men of Ríohacha
Because they like to smoke tobacco;
I do not like the men of Nazaret,
Because they have a very sweet tooth.

But there are others of a typical erotic flavor, sung by the [831] men, which are nothing more than an invitation to love, the story of their manliness, of their value as males. We translate literally a fragment which we heard in Uribía:

Come to me, my sister.
Come to me, my woman.
I am a male.

Do not look at him
—At that youngster —
Walk straight and correctly.
Walk straight and correctly.
Walk straight and correctly.

I am here.
I am the male.
I bring with me my rifle
And my revolver.
I am a male.
You were very charming, my love.

Oh, that I may take an Indian girl!
I will pay for her
Because I am rich.

Many songs such as this are sung at the Dance of the Kid, but we were unable to take down the words because, as we have said, songs do not exist as such. They are not stereotyped and established with definite words and unchangeable form but are improvised, making use of every recourse, especially stories of past incidents, to which they adapt a well-known tune.

[124 cont.]

585 c) There is another very important fact in this sexual aspect of the fiesta that we are describing, which is what we might call proof of virginity. [125]

Virginity in woman is highly valued by the natives in spite of the fact that at the present time, due to economic ac- [836 178] culturative factors, it is increasingly difficult to find virgins among marriageable women, a state of affairs that the Indian male is well aware of. But it is always a matter of pride and something to be boasted of for a Guajiro man to find on his marriage night that his bride is a virgin. It is the custom, [583] furthermore, that if the man marries not knowing that his wife has lost her virginity and has the consequent disillusion on his wedding night, the bride's relatives have to return a part of the livestock which the man paid for her, especially the family neck- lace. The Indian's concern about this matter, which remains hidden when he is in a normal state, comes to the surface dur- [578 273] ing his drunken bouts, when he will sing about his wife, extolling her and boasting of having had a virgin in his marriage hammock, or insulting and degrading her in coarse improvisations when he considers that he has been defrauded.

524 796 831 This attitude toward sex on the part of the native, or better said this value he places on the virginity of his future wives, is expressed in a sort of game which is played at the Dance of the Kid. To play it, the girls gather in a group about a singer who [539] sings such a song as this: "Let us see, my pretty miss, if you are a virgin, if truly you have not run around too freely, if no young male has put his hands on your body." He then passes his hands over each girl's body, tickling her. He starts at her big toe and goes upward, touching her instep, calves, knees, thighs, genitals, hips, stomach, torso, breasts, armpits, and continues up her neck until he reaches the top of her head. The girl who remains quiet, indifferent, without laughing and without even a smile wins the test and is declared a virgin. The singer then sings again: "You are indeed a virgin, my lovely majayura....," and chants a veritable song of flattery and finishes by escorting her to a set place. He then continues with the rest of the girls gathered there, repeating the same routine. When a girl moves or laughs,

[125 cont.]

524 the singer says to her: "You are not a virgin, I would never
796 have believed this of you, but it is true. A pity, my pretty
831 majayura, that you have not your virginity and that men have had their bodies over yours." He than places her in a place separate from the virgins. When he finishes doing this with all the girls in the group, he distributes prizes to the virgins, to
[431] those who have triumphed in the trial, and he eulogizes them again. The girls later return the presents which are only simulated gifts.

114 The French writer Roger Callois has interpreted these fiestas carried out from ancient to present times in a chapter called [126] "La transgresión sagrada. Teoría de la Fiesta" [The Sacred Sin. Theory of the Fiesta], and he says in this respect; "To their normal way of life, occupied with their daily work, peaceful, surrounded by a system of prudent prohibitions where the maxim quieta non movere maintains law and order in their world, there is opposed the effervescence of the fiesta. This, if only its external aspects are considered, shows identical reactions at every civilized level. It implies a great number of excited, noisy people. These conglomerations of masses greatly influence the starting of and the contagion of an exultation which spends itself in shouts and gestures and encourages the uncontrolled abandonment of all to the most irresponsible impulses. Even today when without doubt the now impoverished fiestas have very little effect on the greyish background of the monotonous everyday life of the people and appear to be sporadic, spread out, almost stagnated, there may still be distinguished in their celebrations some miserable vestiges of the collective abandonment which characterized these ancient riotous celebrations." And later he states: "In the so-called primitive civilizations the contrast is very much more clearly marked. The fiesta lasts several weeks, even several months, interrupted by intervals of rest of from four to five days. At times it required several years to gather together the quantity of comestibles and delicacies which would be not only consumed or despatched ostentatiously but also destroyed and wasted purely and simply because waste and destruction are forms of excess

[128 cont.]

796 requirement being the girl's consent; and she, in spite of the
786 loss of her virginity, in spite of her illegal maternity, does not descend in status nor bring into her community a new being inferior in standing in any way to the others. [129]

This in large part explains the large attendance of youths of both sexes at the ceremony of the Dance of the Kid, which pleases the patron who sponsors the rite because it gives a greater solemnity to the rite and in that way aids in the propitiation of the rains, and, in consequence, the harvests will be of good quality and more abundant.

d) A proof that these ceremonies break away from the
535 sexual order established in the community is the frequent rep-
524 resentation of the sexual act of animals combined with other
796 dramatizations which we shall study later. Here are some exam-
831 ples.

The hawksbill turtle. Participants arrange themselves in a long line, or chain, firmly clasping each others' waists. They symbolize in this manner the sexual act of the hawksbill turtle. This line belongs to one singer who says in his song that his turtles are performing their sexual act as they are in heat. Another band is also headed by its singer. Their role consists in trying to separate the turtles, by tugging, each one separately, at the chain made by the turtles. The turtle that is separated from its team is taken over as a trophy by the other team, but if this group is unable to pull them away it loses the match. The activity lasts until all the turtles of the chain have been separated from their team or until the opposite band that is attempting to do this declares itself beaten.

The kid. This game is played on a cleared field. A group
526 of Indians holding each others' hands form a circle, making be-
535 lieve it is a corral in which female goats are kept at night. Out-
831 side the corral are the male goats represented by other Indians
796 who, in full view of the animals enclosed, march round the corral and make successive attempts to enter. The Indians who represent the fence fend them off but finally one or two males are able to force their way in. Once inside, they imitate and copy all the attitudes of the male when aroused; they chase the females, pursue and smell them, and end by simulating the sexual act. At

[129 cont.]

526 this moment the owner of the goats arrives to look over his flock,
535 and he states in his song that none of his animals are missing,
796 they are fat because pasture is fresh and abundant, and he an-
●831 nounces that he is about to mark them. He starts by taking out
[429] each female goat one by one and pretends to cut its ear, which is the way to mark such animals. He keeps up his song, referring to what he is doing. "I have many goats and now I shall lack neither meat nor milk; I am rich...."

e) We would add to the above the fact that Indian girls of
[556] the wealthy class do not take part in these gatherings, or they
796 do so on very rare occasions, as their prestige [130] would
786 diminish seriously in consequence of the opinion held of the fiesta that only those girls go to it who want to get a husband readily or to satisfy their sexual urges. Besides, it is the obligation of each man to flirt with or treat with familiarity the girl who becomes his partner in the dance, and her obligation is to supply him during the dance with roasted corn, bread, meat, chicha, etc.

Summarizing up to this point, we can state that the Dance of the Kid is a festival in which the Guajiro Indians seek to propitiate the rains at the same time that it celebrates their arrival and fecundity: fecundity in fruits; fecundity in animals, as dramatized in the ceremonies just described; and fecundity among men, in human beings, who are free from the restrictions which are imposed on them by the community in ordinary daily life to maintain social order.

* * *

536 Theatrical representations. "Drama is particularly difficult to classify because so often it gets mixed up with religion.... On the other hand, dramatic scenes can be executed for collective entertainment or as farces with no special pretentions, as for example in a Tahitian pantomime which represents the theft of a basket of food from a sleeping servant; although it can occur, on occasion, that these simple and uncertain experiments develop into real dramas." (65)

65. Lowie. Antropología Cultural [Cultural Anthropology], XI, 194-195.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

881 invitation. Again cattle are butchered, and there is drinking
584 and dancing and horse-racing. Numbers of men come to see if they would like to put themselves forward as suitors. The more eminent guests are received in the house itself, and the girl is now present. Her shorn hair has grown and been trimmed to a page-boy cut, and she wears her best clothes
[754 and new ornaments. She hides her hair clippings carefully in a bag, for she does not want to risk anyone getting hold
826] of them and using them to acquire power over her by the arts of magic. Later, she will secretly bury them under a
[789 cow pat. That will help to increase her herds. The droppings of various animals play a great part in the magic of the
514] Guajiro, and it would seem that there is negro influence here as well.

881 The girl has now been born again—she is a new person, a woman. She knows all that an adult woman needs to know and can do everything that a wife and mother should be able to do. Pale and lovely, she steps out into life once more and inquisitive young men swarm round her. The rich give a big feast, the poor provide simpler fare, but it is always a great occasion.

[582] A Guajiro man will never marry a girl before she has undergone this period of confinement, which means that people seldom marry too early. It is said that in the old days
[595 rich old men with several wives sometimes bought little
831] poor girls as concubines, believing that that would enhance their virility.

The girl's long segregation is intended to protect her from the supernatural dangers that are thought to threaten her, especially during this sensitive period of transition from childhood to womanhood. The girl can also be dangerous to others through being exposed to attack by spirits. It is only practical that during this period she should practise handicrafts.

262 Going back to the house, we found the women at the fires, which there were protected by special small cactus
[354] screens. There was no need to have them under a roof at that time of the year, only to shelter them from the wind. The pots stood over the fire supported on three stones.

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

756 ought not to have children. The spirits can show her
842 various magical tricks to avoid this, but if she should become pregnant, she can count on the spirit's help in labour. Not even the male piache is allowed to partake of
[831] love more than fleetingly, almost casually. There must be no real affection involved.

756 A woman piache cannot practice during menstruation.
[841] No piache may eat meat from animals he has received in payment for his services. These, like other gifts, he does not enjoy, but he can give them to his sons. Nor is he allowed to eat meat from animals sacrificed at funerals or such feasts. While invoking or conjuring spirits he should restrict his diet to maize gruel.

A piache can cure all, but not himself. Sometimes, perhaps, a sympathetic spirit may give him a little advice, which will always help; but if he falls seriously ill, he summons a
[766 colleague, who performs the usual sorcery. When a piache
768] dies, his rattle, diadem and other attributes are chopped up and buried in some remote and secret place. The dead
[775] piache's soul roams like those of all mortals and often clings to the burial place, but it is never alone, being always in company with its guardian spirit. Both can later help a new piache.

The medicine man is thus called to his profession by revelation and no attention is paid to sex, social position or age. Women have been magicians in Guajira from of old, as is shown by their myths. The piache belongs to two worlds: those of man and of the spirits. He has not chosen to belong to them and must continue in both. He is the intermediary between these two worlds, but nowadays his influence is dwindling. As civilization penetrates the peninsula, the part he plays is becoming less and less important.

756 The first really great piache was Umaralá, of whom the
173 Indians relate the following:

In the olden days there were plenty of piaches who took big fees, but did little. Umaralá made his cures with secret remedies and with songs accompanied on his maraca rattle. He lost his mother early, but was adopted as her own by his maternal aunt, who also considered all her possessions his.

/190 cont./

684 682 When the abortion is provoked by the woman when she is in an advanced stage of pregnancy, the husband demands compensation payment, and the act is considered a homicide.

684 838 An offense of a very grave character for an individual and his relatives is the attempt made by a homosexual to abuse him. Generally, this aggressive act is directed against defenseless young boys, who can be physically forced to submit. Their relatives demand compensation payment, not only for the physical molestation suffered by their relative but for the psychological and social significance of the offense, which completely devolves on them.

684 839 Exhibitionism of a sexual type is considered a punishable act because it entails an offense against the modesty of those present, and if /191/ the spectator is a person of high standing, it implies moreover a grave offense to his high status which demands respect from others; in this case the payment is greater and may cause strong reprisals to be taken against the offender's relatives. These offenses may refer to homosexual practices, suggestions or representations real or imaginary of copulation, or exhibition of the genital organs. Both sexes may undress in public without the spectators feeling offended, as happens at the public baths, where the women bathe without concern, taking care to cross their legs. The man holds the penis to his waist in a way that his hairiness covers him and so does not offend the modesty of the bystanders. [515 831]

684 Other aspects which have to be taken into consideration are the offenses that the woman can inflict on the man during married life. Let us remember that Guajiro women, even to this day, are bought without their wishes being taken into account, and that those who cannot avoid this marriage -- by means of suicide, flight, or breaking with the community -- may refuse to cohabit with the husband imposed on them or to satisfy his sexual desires. The man then abandons such a woman or demands compensation payment for the pain her attitude has caused him and refuses to resume his position as

/51 cont./

881 As soon as the menses appear, the head of the girl is closely shaved. She is placed naked but wrapped in a robe /manta/ in a supine position in a hammock which is slung up close to the ridgepole inside the house. Beneath the hammock a cloth is strung so that the girl cannot be seen from below.

In this position and as immobile as possible, she remains for five days (some say for only three), without eating and complying with a series of rules which later will have importance in her adult life. For this reason these rules must be observed by her to the letter, and she must be closely watched and counseled by a kinswoman, generally a maternal aunt, who does not leave her by day or night while she is suspended above, reminding her of what she should do and prohibiting her from doing what is tabooed so that she may not suffer the consequences in her future life.

Before being placed in the hammock, the woman who is [278 in charge of her gives her a herb drink to make her vomit a 789] great deal, with the aim that the girl will hurl out, along with the food she took when she was not yet adult, all her infantile psychological characteristics, such as her mischievous and disobedient nature, her imagination, her way of thinking and believing, her /52/ irresponsibility, her incapacity for work, and, moreover, all those characteristic bodily mannerisms of a girl. Beyond this, the mother a kinswoman, or female friend [832 who may have a potent love charm considered of great effectiveness, places it on her neck or, if it is for external application, rubs it on the genital organs, on the breasts, and all over the body as prescribed, because at this particular time it is effective and especially because it is the propitious moment to acquire powers of attracting the opposite sex, qualities she will have to have in adult life to obtain the married happiness for which she is now being prepared.

If these two prescriptions are not complied with or are carried out faultily, the girl, changed into an adult, will be lacking in judgment and common sense in her actions, which

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881 While the girl is in the hammock, friends and relatives keep arriving in large numbers, announced by the family, es-
292 pecially when welcoming well-to-do people, and then they start preparations for the feast: preparation of beverages and slaughtering of animals. All the consanguineous relatives contribute their share and foregather to join in what is called the chichamaya dance, during which are passed around large quantities of rum for the men, chicha for the women, and meat for all the participants. The guests turn up dressed in their best dress-up clothes: the men with their wide festival belts, their finest robes, their headbands (kiára) with the crest of feathers, or lacking such, hats adorned with feathers. The women /wear/ robes of brilliant colors, plenty of jewelry, very long shawls which hang down their backs nearly to the ground, sandals with large, brightly colored tassels, and, above all, facial painting,
[302] preferably red, very carefully applied. On these occasions they dance through the night, the following morning, and the afternoon, and in this latter part of the day they may hold horse races on which large bets are wagered.

881 When the prescribed number of days are over, during which the girl has not satisfied any of her body needs, not
784 having taken any food during that time, according to what they say, her relatives unsling the hammock in the early hours of dawn and the girl descends, faint with hunger. The first food she receives is a drink of bija /achiote/ dissolved in water. Presently, little by little, they add to her diet thin corn mazamorra without milk or salt, and later a little milk and
[262] meat. She must not, for example, eat any animal udder, because by doing so she would age prematurely and her face would be lined with wrinkles, deep and numerous, like that food.

881 The girl is bathed with four earthen jugs of water which have been previously left exposed to the evening dew, as this
832 gives it a special quality for whitening, which is important for the high appreciation both men and women have for a

/53 cont./

88| light-colored skin; For this reason, during the period of seclu-
832 sion the girl is bathed every morning with this water by the woman charged with looking after her. There was some talk of a second bathing at nightfall, but we could find no confirmation of this.

88| After being lowered, the girl is confined in a room separate from the house, the walls of which are sufficiently thick to prevent her being seen from outside, or, more generally, she is placed in a small room communicating with the house by a small opening so low and narrow that one can only enter it by crawling and which is closed off by a wooden door or a cloth to keep the adolescent from being seen. This room is built or improvised by the male relatives of the girl, who from this moment /54/ may not see her while the seclusion lasts. During all this period she is taken care of by one of her maternal kinswomen who is thoroughly acquainted with this rite of passage, who has the time to spare to devote to this service, who enjoys the full confidence of the family, and possesses all the ideal qualities of an adult woman, so that she may make of the novice someone similar to herself. It is also essential that she should know well the whole corpus of Guajiro culture so as to be able to instruct the initiate in it, especially the aspects relating to marriage and maternity. And, finally, she is required to be well practiced in domestic duties, especially in weaving. However, in these technical matters she may be replaced by, or receive help from, another close female relative in the training of the novice.

This woman bears the responsibility for the diet and medical care of the girl; she must herself prepare the prescribed
[514] foods and serve them to her, look after her hygiene, supplying her with a utensil to satisfy her body needs (a wooden box with a little sand), and require of her pupil that she keep her head
[832] covered with a kerchief, so that her growing hair may grow very black and shiny, which is of particular importance within their ideal of feminine beauty and also because this hair, as

/54 cont./

881 well as the whole organism of the future woman, must be com-
832 pletely renewed and different from what she had when she was
a child and which she leaves behind on suffering the first menstruation, as well as each one of her childish psychic and physical habits.

One of the principal preoccupations of the person responsi-
881 ble for the care of the novice is her medication. This medical
278 treatment includes especially the daily and repeated drinking of infusions or juices of certain herbs which are intended to assist her to reach perfection in all that is related to her future life. One of these medicines is the herb called hawapi, which is obtained from the herbsellers of the Sierra de Jarara and Sierra de Macuira, who grind it carefully into a paste which hardens with time. They daily scrape off a small portion of this, which is dissolved in water and given to the girl before her first meal, after the daily bath, at midday, and at sunset. The aim of this is to give the young woman a bodily aspect different from the childish one she had, as by its means she loses her drawn-out lines and her sex is defined by the development of her breasts, of her hips, and all of the adult female form, following the accepted canons of feminine physical beauty: a tall body with broad hips, breasts well developed, erect, solid, and having pronounced curves but firm of flesh. This herb, according to local belief, supplies fat to the essential parts of the body. /55/

Another of the medical attentions is directed to avoiding the return of menstruation during all the time the girl is secluded. If she is well cared for, says the Guajiro woman, it will not reappear; otherwise, however, it will. To obtain this result she has recourse to the empirical and traditional knowledge which she has of plants, and she gives her a series of juices or potions to avoid menstruation. The women say that these medicines influence their married life, as the woman who is well looked after during her seclusion will have easy deliveries, normal pregnancies, healthy children who will grow

/57 cont./

881 will soon be bought with heads of cattle. This signifies that her value will be high, such as corresponds to a woman of standing. She likewise takes great care that her hair does not fall into strange hands, as it is believed that it might be used [882] by some man who wants to do her harm by making with it a magic charm which would have the quality of causing her to fall in love with him; he on his part would scorn her and abuse her, as she would be left submissive to his will.

After the haircutting she is dressed in the traditional costume of an adult woman and is decked out with the customary jewelry and ornaments in accord with her family rank. She receives this jewelry from her mother, from her maternal aunts, and from her grandmother, and they are placed on her by the woman charged with caring for her or by a well-to-do kinswoman, so that they may never be lost. After this, they apply the facial painting, also for the first time, which, it being a feast day, should be made from red annatta /bija/. Then she makes her appearance at the feast, and she may dance and be courted. At this moment, crucial for her life, she must give signs of adult capabilities, showing evidence of the worth of the years of her novitiate, not only in the physical aspect of her fair skin and dark hair, in her mature figure, in her dress and ornaments, but also in the proper fulfillment of cultural patterns. The relatives carry on the feast as long as they can or think in keeping with their position. Afterward, the woman, ready now for marriage and motherhood, starts to comply with the patterns established in her culture for the adult woman.

Summarizing, we can say that the initiation of young
881 women has the following characteristics: /58/
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1. It has the significance of a new birth, preceded by a process of spiritual-physical transformation which converts the girl into an adult woman.

2. It is a system of preparation for adult social life, in the sense that /by its means/ are acquired knowledge of proper cultural patterns.

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583 The married man is the head of a new cell, and this im-
885 plies family and social obligations. These he must face up to as a head of a family under peril of loss of prestige and lowering of position. With the coming of children his position becomes more and more extended, as his duties and rights are becoming joined and broadened, for to the obligations of a husband are added those of a father. And these are further complicated on contracting marriages with new women, as then he has reached, according to the Guajiro way of thinking, the maximum development of his male personality.

Valuation of virginity and of the woman. The value of
581 the Guajiro woman is fixed by the marriage payment, that is to
562 say, it is the economic assessment of her worth. The conditions of this valuation, traditional among the upper classes (as the lower classes have lost them through socio-economic conditions which even influence those of some standing), may be summarized thus:

The physical qualities which make a Guajiro woman
581 desirable are those that comply with the traditional aesthetic
832 norm and are those that the woman after her seclusion (Cf. Initiation of Young Women) makes every endeavor to acquire at any cost: tall stature, balanced by well distributed flesh which gives her an appearance of robustness and full-bodiedness, so that when walking decked out in her ample clothes, she has an appearance both elegant and majestic; wide and robust hips (probably with an unconscious biological end in mind, or a sexual one, or a combination of both); small and upright breasts, as the opposite is considered almost repulsive; and, above all, firm flesh. This last is probably the most desired quality, as the man openly confesses that when his woman over the years loses it, he replaces her by another one who has it. The shape of the legs has no importance, probably because with the full, long dress they are out of sight. In the main, they are thin in relation to the body and frequently bowlegged /?cascorvas/.

/61 cont./

581 832 [298 842 847]

A woman tries to maintain these qualities as she well knows that they form the center of attraction to a man and that maternity steadily destroys them. This may be one of the reasons for the increasing use of birth control, for which they take herbs that do not allow them to conceive, abortives of all kinds, and they take advantage of their knowledge of their periods of sterility and avoid sexual intercourse at other than these periods.

Their facial features are of no great importance to them so long as they conform to the anthropological norms of the group. They prefer a face with large, dark eyes and beautiful, healthy teeth. Also, they are especially attracted by the whiteness of the skin as it indicates social standing because it is a sign that the woman is better able to look after herself by protecting herself from the sun of the region. During her /62/ seclusion the girl does not expose herself to the sunlight, and her greatest pride is that her skin has become whiter. Every morning she bathes with water left out previously in the evening dew, which besides having magic effects has the property of whitening the skin, and when she goes visiting she always covers her face with facial paints -- a customary practice required by etiquette, which also protects her from the sun's rays. During her seclusion the girl also complies with other beautifying and magic practices, such as denying herself certain meat like deer meat or animal udder, since this last, for example, will wrinkle her rapidly and she will lose some of her physical attractiveness.

A woman is well aware that her future married life will be affected in great measure by her preserving an agreeable appearance and that if the man does not feel satisfied she will be relegated to second place, and he will acquire another woman. For this reason she continually struggles to benefit by all known means to recapture her husband and retain him and avoid his acquiring other women. This is the reason that the mother, when her daughter is in the hammock ready to be hoisted up during her initiation, places on her a love charm which has the property of attracting men and of which we spoke in a previous chapter.

/62 cont./

581 The Guajiro woman also knows that men admire dress and so endeavors to adapt hers to their taste: robes of light, attractive colors, amply cut, considerably ornamented (acculturation), and for feast days or visiting all the collection of jewelry: bracelets, anklets, necklaces of several strings or thick chains with a pendant, numerous rings with big stones, especially tumas, jewelry she was given on finishing her seclusion by her maternal relative of the most distinction and prestige. From then onward she begins to wear them, in smaller quantities when she is at home, but the whole set when attending a feast or visiting. In Jarara a distinctive mark of high social standing is the use of earrings /orejeras may mean earplugs. -- Translator/, because in this region the women, who are not very careful in their dress, use this ornament which is an indication of their social and economic position.

832 291 301 554 304

581 The combination, then, of dress and physical appearance are two essential conditions of the attractiveness of the Guajiro woman, which determine her success in order to be bought at a good price or that her husband may not lose interest because of other marriages. The preservation of her physical attractions is a struggle which she maintains for these two reasons; also, dressing well, apart from making her attractive, is a sign of the class to which she belongs and which she must preserve at any sacrifice, as therein lies the prestige of her kin and the maintenance of their status. /63/

In addition to the sexual incentive expressed in previous paragraphs, the Guajiro seeks in his marriage an economic value, that is to say, a woman who possesses certain qualifications that will assure him a certain latitude. The payment he makes for a wife permits him to demand of her his keep and that of his children, for which reason he seeks one capable of complying with this custom by her own efforts.

The work that the woman can carry out to fulfill this economic responsibility is of a domestic nature: the making of hammocks /chinchorros and hamacas/, bags, belts, pottery,

[93 cont.]
438 in charms, which usually have no magic value and are a com-
789 plete fraud. These women are accustomed to putting in a small
673 wool bag something that has the appearance of a charm and selling it as the legitimate article.

632 5. A love charm is worth about 300 Colombian pesos, and
435 just the loan of it for a few days to a friend for him to get the
426 desired results is paid for. Such a temporary loan is worth 100 Colombian pesos.

632 6. Besides the love charms which are strictly Guajiro,
[791] there are others that the so-called "Gocha" women sell. There are many of these women in Maracaibo and Zulia. Unfortunately, we could not obtain any special data about these makers of magic charms, of whom there are many on the eastern borders of La Guajira.

7. The charms serve equally for either sex; what varies is in general terms the effects of the charm.

8. Some personal objects, such as hair, sandals, etc., may form the basis of a love charm of great magic potential. This potential is above all due to the possession of a part of the personality of the person whom one wishes to harm.

9. Different love charms can be mixed together.

10. Charms may be acquired among civilizados. This kind of magic material is carefully kept in glass containers made especially for this purpose. [94]

Love charms. The Guajiro Indian, man or woman, knows and uses different charms to attract or repel love. They have them of different classes as regards form, preparation, and raw material. Some of them are the following:

a) One has the shape and general appearance of the excrement of the machorro, (a species of lizard). It has been stated that one of the magic objects used by the shaman is a small wool bag containing a paste prepared by a herbalist that is in the shape of goat excrement and is used to attract the spirits.

b) Another, which is kept inside a small glass receptacle, looks like a stone and is accompanied by some small pieces of coral.

c) Another is made in the following way: The root of a herb, very abundant on Itojoro Hill, is ground and [the paste]

[94 cont.]

832 made into a ball. This paste is dissolved in the water that the person wishing to profit by its powers uses in his bath, or some other way which we shall see later.

d) Also considered a love charm is the string of necklaces made of small pieces of coconut shell and worn as ornaments by the Indian girls.

[626] e) A thing that is very commonly used as a love charm, especially by girls, is their own hair.

f) With the hair which has been taken from a girl when her first menstrual period occurs and mixed with hummingbird's blood, dog's tail, and achiote [bija], they make a love charm which has a most powerful effect on the girl to whom the hair belongs. The man who acquires it can consider himself virtually her owner.

g) Lastly, an element that enters decisively in the effective value of love charms is achiote powder, which should be rubbed on certain parts of the body of the owner of the charm when he or she wishes to attain a certain end.

Application and effects. When a woman makes use of a love [262] charm which will give her the power always to be attractive to her husband and to regain his lost love or to win it, she should not eat any roasted food while she is trying to apply the qualities of her charm. She must also take the charm and rub it all over her body when she has recently given birth to a child or during her menstrual period. It is then that she should deny herself all [262] roasted food (meat, roasted corn, etc.) on which there has been direct action from fire. She should also abstain from all [95] kinds of milk, should not go out in the sun, and should not let her face be seen by another woman. This last point is very important as if this should happen the effects she seeks will be obtained not by the person following the indicated regimen but will [834] automatically be transferred to the woman who has seen her face. The woman who is owner of the charm must also abstain from cohabiting with her husband. When she bathes, she must do so not in the brook but inside her own home. The bathing must be done by another woman, starting at the crown of her head, then her shoulders, then her breast, and thus on to the whole body.

[95 cont.]

832 Once she has finished her bath, she must hang up her dress over her hammock to dry, also inside the house. It is also necessary for her to apply achiote powder to certain parts of her body, such as under her arms, on her breasts, on her genital organs, etc., with the object of aiding the magic action of the charm on those parts, and avoiding the loss or lessening of the magic power. This special regimen must be carried through for four consecutive days, at the end of which the effect has already been obtained — or at least there is no longer the fear that it may pass to some other person.

In general, every man or woman who possesses a charm keeps his body (armpits, breasts, genital organs, etc.) permanently dusted with achiote powder.

The men also make use of the same charms as the women. The magic power of these charms enables them to obtain the wholehearted love of women without their own affections becoming involved.

881 832 When a young woman reaches the age of puberty, and her first menstrual period arrives, a love charm is hung about her neck during all the time that she is kept indoors and hanging up in her hammock (ritual of initiation of young girls). This charm will give her the quality of being admired and loved by men. The plan in wearing this token is that when she leaves her seclusion she will find the man who will buy her for a wife at a good price. The charm is hung about the adolescent girl's [602] neck by her mother or by a maternal aunt.

832 When a girl's mother or aunt finds out that she has not been happy in her love life, they obtain charms which will make her more lovable and desirable.

[826] Women should be very careful of their hair when it has been cut after the appearance of their first menstruation because 832 if a man gets hold of it he practically becomes the owner of the 673 woman, for by mixing it with hummingbird blood, dog's tail, and achiote he can make a charm which will act directly against the owner of the hair. The man, with the firm intention of causing her harm, may show her the charm or better still may produce it when she has her back to him. [96] The woman because of this simple charm becomes madly enamored with the man

[96 cont.]
832 673 and is made foolish and boastful of the difficult position she is placed in.

This charm, capable of such mischief according to the belief of the natives, is used especially when a man wishes to cause some woman harm or to mock either her or her relatives.

754 832 578 Fortunately for women in general they have a way to scoff at, or revenge themselves on, the men who have been false and whose love they no longer want – only revenge. For such cases they buy a charm from the old Indian women who know of these things, a charm which they place among the clothing of the man on whom they wish to effect a malevolent action. Then they obtain an old sandal belonging to their victim and burn it. It is most important that the sandal should be old so [826 828] that the sweat of the man in question, as part of his personality, should have soaked into it.

With these two simple things, the Indian women affirm, the man loses his senses, he goes about as if stupefied, neglects his person, is a failure and a brutish person thereafter. So sure are they of this that they say that a mad Indian living in Nazaret is in that condition because of a charm like that we have just described after he had been one of the most elegant and well dressed of Indians.

832 Another love charm is used not to regain a man's love that has been lost but to retain affection that is desired; and as it is the woman's property – for evil against the man – this aims at making the man unable to take another woman. This charm, like others, is obtained from the old Indian women of the Sierra de Jarara, and it is made of carefully ground herbs to which they add achiote, an excellent substance for charms. The mixture is wrapped in a rag, or it is kept in a little wool bag.

The effect of love charms can be diverted to other purposes. For example, when a woman wants her husband to make her a special present she goes to her charm, picks it up, shakes it well, and looks firmly at it, at the same time asking for the desired object. The charm works, and the woman obtains what she wished for.

Necklaces of small perforated discs of coconut shell are transformed into love charms when the women experts in this

[96 cont.]

832 witchcraft have "whispered" over them, that is, when they repeat over them a series of magic incantations which have the object of giving them the power to make a man, or men, love the owner [97] as she may desire, and especially her husband when it is the case of a married woman.

We have seen in previous paragraphs how the hair of a pubescent girl serves as a base for men to make magic charms which can be used against the girl. But the hair of such girls in different circumstances serves to attract men in general and causes a woman to be looked on with such deference by a man that he buys her to take as a wife at a good price. For this [826 reason the young Guajiro woman, especially those of the Sierra 302] de Jarara, keep their hair when it is cut. At times to make the action more effective and to obtain better and quicker results, they place it under a patch of cow dung. The association of [237] their hair with cow dung is founded on a socio-economic phenomenon which we might briefly clarify.

556 We have seen repeatedly that wealth in La Guajira is 583 calculated by the number of heads of livestock that an individual owns; and it can be observed how a wife in their social or- 832 ganization is obtained by purchase. When the buyer is a rich man he pays in heads of cattle or horses; when poor, in goats and sheep. Hence it is clear every woman aspires to be paid for in cows and in a greater number than those paid for other women, as this establishes an advance in her social status. This is the reason why she buries her hair under cow dung and not that of any other animal. She has made a very primitive association but [237] one that speaks for itself. It would appear that the magic attraction is brought about by the dung, and the results desired are increased if this is from the cow, the animal of most value in La Guajira.

826 In any case, young women are most careful about leaving their cut hair about where it could be picked up by another person, and for this reason they guard it all their lives, giving it in this way a sacred quality. This characteristic which we have called sacred stems from the magic connection established by the primitive between a person and the different parts of his body, to

[157 cont.]

181 mental outlook it originates — imbued, as we have affirmed,
771 with an animistic determinism — and the beliefs it implies in
the different angles of Guajiro human activity, as it will have
789 been possible to observe throughout the length of the work we are presenting. So much is this so that the very basic impulses of the individual are seen in many circumstances to be influenced by magic.

a) To prove this in the sexual aspect it suffices for us to
834 cite again some facts already described and explained in previous chapters, such as the taboos imposed on the shamans, especially when they are women and according to which they should cohabit exclusively with their husbands, avoid caresses, motions, prolonged coitus, and pregnancy, and never exercise their functions during their menstrual periods. Besides this, it can be seen in the lifting of sexual taboos, or better said, the permitted violation of the norms which rule the community in this respect during the celebration of the Fiesta of the Kid, which reaches the point of allowing the consummation of the carnal act among the unmarried, an act absolutely prohibited in their society in normal times and which would provoke — as fully explained in the corresponding section — compensation payment and even interclan war with its tremendous consequences of persecution, annihilation, and slavery. It can also be observed in what we called the "proof of virginity," which permits a male to caress the bodies of young women who take part in the fiesta, an action prohibited, as in the previous case, in normal times.
[832] Among the charms we also found some that act in this way, and also significant is the act of rubbing bixa ointment on the genital organs and breasts to make them more effective in love-making.

b) In the matter of food we saw proofs of the influence
262 of magic, especially related to the life of the shaman, particularly when he is in one of his "illumination" trances or in a curing ceremony. This influence also shows itself in the shaman's initiation, in the initiation of [158] young women, in the magic contamination of food by some animals which can cause sickness in newborn children, and in the prohibition against eating the flesh of the hawk which produces sterility in young and old of both sexes. Also, it is found in relatives being forbidden to eat the

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88 Francisco whispered to me that there was a girl in there. She had been shut up ever since the first signs of womanhood had appeared and would stay there a long time, emerging in due course pale and beautiful. While shut up she was called *majayura*.

The girl was not supposed to show herself to outsiders, but we dangled knives and glass beads and she was allowed out to be photographed. As long as a girl is confined, her family may not see her. She is guarded by an old woman, a near relative, and it was she we bribed—to let us take the picture.

When a girl first menstruates, she at once tells her mother or other close female relative. She is then given an emetic so that she rids herself of any food she ate before she became a woman. The implication being, one imagines, that she also rids herself of all childish ideas, vomiting them up. Then her hair is cut off, and she is rolled naked in a tunic and laid in a hammock that is hoisted up to the roof at the back of the hut. There she must lie, fasting, for three or four days, while an elderly woman relative keeps watch over her. [832] Often an amulet that will make men like her is placed beside her in the hammock. She has to lie motionless and neither scratch nor spit; these could have a deleterious effect.

News of the event has now gone out to relations and others, and everyone turns up wearing their finery, painted and ornamented. Cattle are butchered and they dance the so-called *chichamaya*. Sometimes there are horse-races as well. After some days the girl is allowed to leave her hammock and is washed with water that has been put out in the [271] dew, which is considered to give a light complexion. She may now begin eating small quantities of maize gruel and other prescribed foods. Then she is shut up in the little hut or in a separate part of the larger dwelling-house, but at all events hidden from the world. Not infrequently the little hut is built as part of the greater.

[832] The girl's guardian sees that she drinks certain decoctions of herbs intended to develop her physically, so that she is to the taste of Guajiro men.

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How must a girl look to find favour with them? She must be tall, broad-hipped and have firm prominent breasts and well-rounded curves. Flabbiness the men do not like, but they do not seem to worry about the shape of their women's legs. These, of course, are hidden beneath the wide tunic, but the wind sweeps this against them, outlining them. It is fortunate for the Guajiro women that their men do not attach importance to the shape of their legs, for they are seldom lovely. To our eyes they seem too short and badly shaped. The men attach much importance to gentle, dignified behaviour. The Guajiro girl should have large eyes and good teeth, but the most important thing of all is that she should be light-skinned; that is the hall-mark of gentility. No girl ever neglects her beauty decoctions, not even when she is in the charge of the nuns at the mission station and thus not isolated as the rule is at home. The rules she has to observe and the medicines she must take are of importance not only for her appearance, but also for her physique. If she follows her instructions, she will give birth without difficulty and there will be no risk of the baby being stillborn. Her mother and her family are held to be partially responsible if the first-born dies in or after birth, for that means that on some point the complicated rules governing the girl's period of incarceration have been neglected.

A girl is by no means idle while she is shut up; quite the contrary. She spins and weaves industriously, under supervision of the old woman, and learns the details of housekeeping and how to prepare different foods. Actually she will know most of this already, having taken a more or less active part in the work of the household ever since she was able to walk. She also receives instruction in how to behave, is initiated into the duties incumbent upon a housewife, what she must do as spouse and mother, in the various aspects of married life and in the mysteries of sex.

No man is allowed to enter the girl's little hut, and she is not allowed to meet men, receive visitors or be with her family, if visitors come. When the guardian considers that the girl can be let out, usually after a year or two—the news spreads quickly and guests start to come with or without

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later, for he has been brought up always to try and make things right.

During her period of isolation a girl also learns how to satisfy her husband erotically and always to be ready, when he is excited. To retain his love she may employ magic as well as her own natural powers of attraction. Knowing that a woman loses some of her looks and attraction during pregnancy, wives often try, after having had several children, to hinder fertilization by taking certain herbal drugs and by magical means.

'Polygamy is permitted, is it not, Mauana?'

'Yes, a man can take several wives. As long as he pays the bride-price, no one can say anything, but her family would never allow a better-class girl to become the second wife of anyone. And you see, custom decrees that a Guajiro wife, whether the first or a concubine, must acquiesce if the husband takes a new wife. Similarly, it is considered that wives ought to live in peace and friendship. They must receive a new concubine cordially and all show their best side to the husband. They must help each other to watch the children and not display jealousy if the husband prefers one to the others.

'That is how it should be, but the reality is quite different. Very often the wives live in the same house, which naturally leads to conflict more easily than when each has her own hut. Jealousy or envy are common in these harems. Enmity and quarrelling are not infrequent, nor is actual fighting. The wives spy upon each other, destroy each other's things and make all sorts of scenes. One or other perhaps comes to hate the husband. It is said that a certain man, who shall be nameless, had noticed something of the sort and did not dare to be at home while a family feud lasted. An enemy could have bribed one of his wives to put poison in his maize beer.'

'That does not sound pleasant!'

'No, polygamy undoubtedly has its drawbacks!' Mauana agreed. 'I myself have only one wife, but several bed slaves,' he added with an artful look in his eye.

Even though all a man's marriages are considered legal,

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273 quarrelsome, the parting drink of spirits having had its effect. One old man after much swaying in the saddle was finally thrown off by his jibbing mule. He landed in a prickly bush and became frantic. He wanted to see blood. Luckily his weapons were on his saddle, but he managed to remove one of his spurs and began stabbing with it at those who were trying to help him up. Francisco received a jab, but he and a couple of others managed to overpower the old ruffian, whom they bound and tied to his saddle. Then his wife led him and his mount away.

609 574 One by one the groups went off in their various directions. We came to the rancho of the young Indian, our new [361] friend. He had several big huts, built on the sand, where there was no greenery or shade. He explained that when the rains came, it did not become swampy there, as in most other places, but the water ran through the sand and you could [286] walk dry-shod. There were looms in several of the open huts. At one sat our host's young, light-complexioned wife, [832] who undoubtedly was a great beauty by Guajiro standards, and in another his aged mother with a wrinkled clever face.

[272] We were offered goat's milk as a refreshment. I was always amazed at the care with which these Indians collected the small quantities of milk the goats yielded, for each gave a mere squirt. We took a gulp of goat's milk in order to avoid having to drink spirits.

The women were in a great bustle, evidently getting a spread ready. The Guajiro are hospitable, and when strangers or friends come they must have the best the house can provide. If need be, the host gives up his own hammock and lies on the ground.

439 778 Our host had plenty of hammocks. After resting a while, my wife went inside to look at the weaving, while I produced one of the pistols I had bought at an auction and demonstrated it, shooting a couple of shots, the noise and smoke of which appeared highly satisfactory to our host. Hastily he drew me aside and whispered that he had something that ought to interest me. He had *ienu* and was willing to part with this precious, sought-after article in exchange for my noisy pistol. After all I had a companion without a

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wife and he perhaps could do with it. I knew what unu was, but had never expected to be offered a secret magical object by an Indian who scarcely knew me. 439 778

Unu was one of the many *cóntra* or instruments of magic used by the Indians either to protect or help the possessor. Unu stimulated love. The Guajiro have not only their old Indian magic, but some of Spanish-Moorish and African negro origin. Where these cóntra are concerned, it would be most interesting, though difficult, to find out which were of red, black or white origin. They differ in character, but one and all can be lent or hired to a person of the same sex and can be used by that person with as much effect as when used by the owner himself. 778 [751 832]

A unu love magic was most difficult and expensive to acquire. The equivalent of £30 or £40 was the current price, while the owner will normally charge £10 or £15 if he hires it out. A cóntra must not be shown to any unauthorized person, as its power may then transfer itself to the person who happens to see it. 778 832 [435]

Love talismans were of different kinds. That considered to be of the best quality was a tiny pouch containing small pieces of what looked like the droppings of some sort of lizard. The magic stuffs of Guajira often imitate the excrement of various animals. Others consist of little stones in a glass bottle, or a decoction of herbs, which the person on whom the magic is to be worked has to take or wash in. One powerful and unfailing love specific is the hair clippings of the confined majayura girl, mixed with the blood of humming birds and other ingredients, but that can only be used on the girl in question. With her, however, it cannot fail.

The love magic the young Indian now said he would give me was one of those little pouches, thus very precious. He was willing to let it go because he liked my pistol so much. He had no further need of a love specific now that he had got himself a beautiful wife with its help—and, he might have added, thanks to a good supply of cattle. And if he ever wanted another cóntra, well, he knew where to get one. But he would not get any more wives. He was a

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778 Christian now and intended to have done with such things,
832 and the Father had said that it was better to turn to a saint.
And, of course, I was asked to say nothing about the transaction—that was always done in such cases.

I, of course, was keen to do business.

[784] 'But remember now not to eat roast meat or maize, nothing that has been in direct contact with fire. Otherwise you may fare badly.'

One has to observe certain rules of diet and behaviour when using a cóntra, but not so long as it lies idle.

The little pouch with the love specific thus passed into my possession, and I gave it our photographer to keep in the pocket of his camera case, as I had done with other small objects.

After we returned to the mission I told Francisco of my acquisition. He did not seem at all surprised, so evidently he and the young Indian had been in touch before the offer was made. I also told Francisco that Gladtvet was looking after the talisman, and he nodded understandingly. Gladtvet had no wife with him and no doubt would like to captivate a nice young girl, if one came his way.

574 Our host, whom Francisco told me would one day be a
778 chief, asked us to stay the night. He was of course prepared
832 to place a slave at the disposal of the solitary white man as hospitality required, but, he added, the prettiest girl in the
[567] house was a debtor-slave, whom he could not order, so the white man would have to charm her, if he wished to have her. It would be a good opportunity to try the talisman I had just acquired. Francisco said afterwards that it would not have been a reliable test of the talisman's efficacy, since undoubtedly the girl would have been very easily conquered by a large silver coin. Altogether, he considered, it would have been more practical for me to have bought a slave for Gladtvet than that expensive love charm, since, as he pointed out, slaves were cheap now, at the height of the dry season, owing to the shortage of food.

It was no use trying to explain to Francisco that this magic talisman, like all the other things I had bought from the Indians, was to go into a museum. He would merely

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have got the impression that I intended to keep it in a safe place in order to exploit it commercially, that is to say, hire it out to applicants. He could never have understood what a museum was.

We declined our host's invitation as politely as we could. Gladtvet's interest in his female slaves—who now had their faces painted black into the bargain—was very lukewarm.

We were served a dish of goat's meat, from a goat that our friend had been given at the funeral. Unfortunately it was old and tough, and my wife had to leave almost her entire helping. That was not regarded impolite in Guajira. On the contrary our hostess looked delighted and hastily removing it and herself to a very short distance, set about engulfing it. One might have thought that she did not get enough to eat, but no Guajiro wife was underfed in a well-to-do household. Often they had more food than they wanted. Why, then, did she not leave the helping for her slaves? Because she wanted what had been left by the lightest-complexioned woman she had ever seen, since one can become fairer oneself by eating what such a being has touched. For that reason, my wife, as a gesture of politeness, often left some of her food when we ate in Indian houses, to the delight of the women of the household. What I left would have been of use only to the medicine man, and that because I was a learned man.

On our return to the mission, the monks gave us a large piece of beef, which we grilled.

'Ay, ay,' said Francisco after the feast, 'the photographer señor should not have eaten grilled meat. I forgot his cóntra.'

'His cóntra?'

'Yes, he has the cóntra now. He ought to have eaten something else. What will happen now?'

The next day Gladtvet had a pain in his stomach and Francisco became frightened. Francisco had been brought up at the mission and considered himself a good Catholic, but that did not prevent him believing in magic. However, our medicine chest relieved Gladtvet's pains more easily than Francisco expected.

778 Francisco and I had several talks about the love cóntra. He pointed out that it was important for the man or woman 832 wishing to use such a talisman to powder certain parts of his or her body with red schiste powder. He gave me detailed instructions which I wrote down, as Francisco thought, in order to instruct Gladtvet, so that he should be ready, if he discovered a suitable object.

The women have love charms as well as the men. With a really effective one a woman can make sure of her husband's love for ever, or win back the love she has lost. When she intends to use such means, she must keep indoors and diet [784] for four days and nights, not expose herself to the sun nor see another woman's face, and she must avoid all milk and anything roasted. She must bath indoors and powder herself. There is a talisman which the wise women of the Jarará Hills manufacture, a stuff of herbs wrapped in a piece of cloth, which prevents a husband from taking another woman.

778 Sometimes a woman will make a man fall in love with her as an act of revenge. To do this she must get hold of one of 832 his old sandals or something he has worn. This she burns 784 and resultant cóntra is introduced into the man's clothes or belongings. This often ends in the man becoming mad. A man can also avenge himself by making a girl fall in love with him, if he can manage to get some of her hair clippings. For that reason women hide these most carefully all their lives.

An Indian, when greatly attracted by a girl, will often 778 make the greatest sacrifices and undergo all sorts of diffi- 832 culties to get her. Having succeeded, he will often go off quite soon with his herds to some other part of the peninsula. After that he is not heard of again, and his wife is left to support herself as best she can. That shows that she had attracted him by means of a cóntra which had been very effective, but that she had then been incautious enough to let it go from her, or it may have lost its power.

There are cóntras for other things than love, e.g., for luck in hunting and in war, to acquire wealth and reputation and to protect oneself against certain spirts or dangers.

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the men were already quite drunk. Everyone was chattering, 764
laughing and enjoying themselves. It was more like a fair than a funeral. The sun was in the zenith and there was no shade anywhere. Most of the men had removed their cloaks, only putting them on to go to the bier and lament; but the women kept their tunics on; there were no half-naked women to be seen there. Some of them had tunics of light bought material, and when the wind pressed the cloth against their bodies their forms stood out like reliefs and [832] their skins shone through the thin material. Many of the men devoured them with their eyes, but the women's interest seemed riveted to the steaming boiled meat.

We met a thin and obviously poor Indian who expressed satisfaction at the number of funerals that had lately taken place. He had been attending them uninterruptedly for almost a month, had had meat every day and was beginning to put on weight. Yet he was not high in the social scale. Each person was entertained in accordance with his social [554] rank.

There was not much sleep that night. Lamentation continued beside the bier all night, while sounds of singing, shouts and squabbling came from the Indian camp. We had been told that it would be a day or two before the dead man was buried. That is not done until all the cattle allotted for the funeral have been slaughtered. A number of beasts had been set aside to provide the meat the guests took away with them, and others were being saved for the subsequent funeral. We knew that in two years' time the dead man's bones would be dug up and another feast held.

In that climate a body should not remain above ground even two days, and yet the funerals of the rich lasted much longer. Thus they swathe the bodies of the rich in as many pieces of cloth as possible and in several cow-hides in an attempt to keep the stench from being too offensive. There 766
was a lot of talk about the funeral of a rich chief, José Dolores, that had taken place some years before. How many cattle were slaughtered on that occasion is not known for certain—the monks said about three thousand—but it is known that the feast lasted two and a half months. The body

/105 cont./

513 But the family influence of the woman's consanguineous kin is most marked and most decisive in her marital life when her marriage is the result of an illegal act: abduction or seduction. The reason for this rests or the fact that it brings into play the prestige of the clan group.

When the marriage is performed in accordance with the Catholic ritual, it is not unusual for the maternal family to use its influence in order to see that the marriage is accompanied by the traditional Guajiro marriage payment, with the object of ensuring that the new family cell will not remain outside society and outside Guajiro culture. /106/

833 Sexual life. The sexual aspect is one of the basic attractions in the matrimonial life of the Guajiro. The man expects his wife to satisfy him sexually, and similarly the woman when she marries knows beforehand that one of her principal duties is to have marital relations with her husband, and, more than that, to satisfy his inclinations in this matter, putting aside her own desires and wishes, offering herself willingly each time that he asks and adopting the positions that will give him greatest pleasure.

The woman gives no importance to her own wishes and whims in their marital relations for two reasons: first, because she considers and knows -- by reason of the instruction she received during her seclusion -- that that is her obligation and in great part the happiness of her conjugal life is based on it. Second, because /she knows that/ by satisfying even the smallest sexual caprices of her husband she acquires great dominance over him. For this reason she restrains the natural repugnance which these acts may cause her because, furthermore, she has to take into account that although a Guajiro may be quite satisfied and proud of his wife as the mistress of the house, as the administrator of the family possessions, as a good worker, as an expert in all cultural norms, etc., if with the passage of time and particularly with frequent maternity she loses her physical attractions, he will replace her with a younger woman, who will follow the

/106 cont./

833 general rule of giving herself up docilely as an instrument of pleasure to her husband in order to gain dominance over him and to gradually succeed in replacing the previous wife.

All these considerations impel the woman to make use of her sex appeal in the marriage in order to maintain her ascendancy over her husband and avoid at all cost that he should buy another woman who would cause her to lose her importance and her initial dominance. And it is also for this that she tries as far as lies in her power to retain the real source of her attractiveness and makes use of medicinal herbs or submits to a series of magic rituals designed to preserve her physical attractiveness and to prevent maternity to the point of making it impossible.

Although the Guajiro is passionately attached to the woman who gives him greatest /sexual/ satisfaction, he does not fail [593] to recognize and highly prize other qualities, especially when he is about to buy his first wife. The reason for this lies in the fact that she, and not the others, will represent him socially on all occasions of collective life.

Conjugal relations of a couple who are pure Indian are carried out openly without precautions against the presence of outsiders -- either at home or in the fields -- even in front of the smaller children, /107/ who from a tender age are accustomed to see calmly these biological acts.

If the woman gives way to the will of her husband who claims satisfaction at any time or place, she expects on her part a satisfaction of her own desires, to which the man accedes if possible for fear of adultery on the wife's part, which would lower his prestige.

595 The Guajiro is accustomed to live close to the woman or
833 women whom he most desires, or to visit them frequently and spend long periods at their side. During these periods the other co-wives show jealousy or find opportunities for infidelity. Since in a way the husband's prestige rests on doing so, the Guajiro goes from one place to another cohabiting with his women without taking heed of his excesses as he thinks that this

/107 cont./

595 833 is clear proof of his manliness, that it gives him greater physical strength and better development of his masculine functions, a very important aspect this as it corresponds to the Guajiro ideal of a man.

When special circumstances force him to be absent from his women for more than three days, it is not rare that he will suddenly abandon his work, and although he may have to walk a long distance or make big sacrifices, he will go off to his favorite wife. She, knowing that the man wants her and that she has been chosen from among all the others to satisfy him, does her utmost to please him and thus once again assure her superior position over the other co-wives and eliminate them from her husband's life in a permanent and hidden struggle against polygamy.

833 The biological act in married couples has no formal limits, but when it is a matter of illicit relations the woman does not permit any deviation from the normal, going as far as not to permit the man seeing her body as she considers that by doing so she becomes a toy or plaything, a mere instrument of pleasure, like an animal, shameless and without any sense of dignity. For this reason she keeps still and absolutely quiet as she does not want the man in one of his frequent drunken sprees to hold her up to ridicule. Also because /she thinks doing otherwise might cause him to/ classify her as one of the slaves who cannot in view of their status offer any resistance to the demands of their owners.

It must be observed that if it is true that the married woman lends herself to the caprices of her husband for the reasons noted, it is also true that she feels internally both disgust and disillusion for marriage and its functions, which convert her in her opinion primarily into an object of pleasure, which puts aside or into a secondary place the other possibilities and qualities which the Guajiro woman might possess, and, as in the case of the illicit relations mentioned above, she sees herself lowered /108/ from her standing of a free woman, of a rational human being. She feels that she has

/108 cont./

833 been deprived of her will and that she does not count as a person. For these reasons she regards her marital life as a hard duty to perform, at odds with her own personality. Possibly, for this reason, the man seeks out the mestizo, who is free of these prejudices and for that reason more capable to give and to derive for herself greater satisfaction from her marital life than the pure Indian woman.

595 As it is not uncommon for a man to have two, three, or
833 even more co-wives living together in one house, his conduct in his conjugal relations must be very circumspect if he wishes to preserve, at least in appearance, a cordial or friendly feeling among them, because if he is not circumspect, jealousies will spring up and a bitter struggle of lengthy repercussions ensue. As each one of the wives endeavors to find a motive that will justify her as superior in the eyes of the others, he has to behave with extreme caution. For this reason he sleeps outside in the enramada /bough-covered shelter/ while his women and their children sleep inside the house. He never suggests to any one of them that they should spend the night together, as the one thus favored would announce this preference to place herself on a superior plane. For this reason he receives whichever one goes voluntarily to him to his hammock.

834 The man suspends marital relations during the time the woman's pregnancy is advanced. He does this for fear of causing a miscarriage for which he might be blamed, and because of the belief that it might give rise to a bad delivery.

After the birth of the child, marital life is not resumed until the woman voluntarily asks for it.

842 Ideas about fecundation. The Guajiro knows that fecundation is the result of the combined action of the woman and the man through the means of the sexual act. They know that in this act the man gives an element which joined to the feminine one will form the new being. They say that the
[826] woman has in her internal parts a special organ in which this new being will gradually take form, the womb, called in their

[28 cont.]

756 834 833 Referring to the sexual aspect, we have the following facts: 1) a woman of licentious habits can never get to exercise the office of shaman; the spirit would never take up residence within her; 2) the unmarried woman who is initiated into the profession may have sexual relations only when she marries in accordance with established rites, but with certain limitations. [29] She may cohabit with her husband, and exclusively with him, in spite of the phrases used by the spirit at the time of initiation, "You may not sleep (cohabit) with your husband," but she must carry out the sexual act quickly and get up from the matrimonial hammock as soon as it is finished; for if not, they will see in the doorway of their habitation a shadow, in appearance like a civilizado, who will speak into her ear saying: "I do not like your sleeping with your husband because you do not belong to him. You are mine, you are my loved one." The woman therefore must perform coitus as hurriedly as if she were committing a crime.

756 842 When a woman shaman marries, her spirit advises her as follows: "So that you may not have children, since you are always with your husband in spite of my prohibition, put skeins of wool on your wrists and on your ankles and around your waist like a sirapo [loincloth], and tie a piece of onion to the wool." The Indian woman who related this said that she had obeyed the spirit's instructions in every detail, and she had never had any more children. The spirit demanded a gold necklace from her as recompense for its counsel.

756 834 776 787 Another female shaman with whom we had the opportunity to converse recounted the following to us: When she married, the spirit told her that it cared for her no longer. When she inquired the cause of this, the spirit replied that it was due to the fact that after having been with her husband, she had a smell of male goat, an odor which it did not like. The shaman explained to the spirit that she had married because her parents had sold her. The spirit was quite angered with her and had no wish to return to inspire her; it did not want her to marry because she belonged to it and not to anyone else. Finally it agreed to the formula that she might cohabit with her husband but must not linger over the sexual act.

[29 cont.]

*756 When the woman becomes pregnant, the spirit puts up with the situation without getting angry, but it does not show any such ●833 834 patience if she delays a length of time in the sexual act with her husband, or if she sleeps by his side throughout the night.

The female shaman's obligation, in the sexual aspect, goes to the length of forcing her to be but a passive entity during coitus, not permitting her body the slightest motion and also not permitting any endearments from her husband before the sexual act. When these dispositions are disobeyed, the shaman finds [787] herself suffering during the night from especially terrifying and horrible dreams which fill her with fears and anxieties.

*756 The man who marries a shaman gets to understand his wife's situation, and for this reason he is prudent in his actions: 693 He does not demand anything but the strictly indispensable, and he is in accord with her in all matters related to her special state. [30]

*756 But in spite of all these prohibitions, the female shaman 776 who becomes pregnant receives aid from the spirit at the time 844 of giving birth. This assistance consists of an easy delivery of her baby and of counsel her spirit gives her on the simplest form of giving birth, the remedies she should take, etc.

*756 The shaman must not perform ceremonial acts of curing 841 when she is in her menstrual period because the patient will be- 843 come worse instead of improving. However, pregnancy does not present any obstacle to her activities, and she may accomplish cures during the entire period of gestation.

*756 In the case of a male shaman, the spirit permits him to be 834 with his wife, but for a very short time; he is also allowed, as [595] are the rest of the Guajiro, to have several wives.

In summary, women shamans must cohabit exclusively with their husbands, avoiding all endearments, movements, the prolongation of coitus, and pregnancy. They may not exercise their functions during their menstrual periods. The male shaman also must be moderate in the sexual aspect and limit himself to his wife, or wives, as the case may be.

*756 The food taboo is limited to prohibiting the shaman from 262 eating the flesh of such animals as he has received in payment

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applies mainly to children. These then become slave-workers and by right should be liberated once they have paid off with their work the sum for which they were bought, but that may not always be done. It is the mother, the uncle or the aunts who decide when a child is to be sold. This seems cruel to us now, yet it is not so long ago that children in the country were auctioned as workers in Sweden and elsewhere. 735 567

The owner of these slave-workers is bound to provide them with food and clothing as he must his slaves; thus children sold into slavery at least do not starve to death as they well might at home. 614

An Indian who has been unable to pay his debts must in certain circumstances go and serve his creditor. That is reminiscent of our own ancient slavery for debt. The obligation to work for another can also be a punishment laid upon a thief or a robber. As long as the slave-worker's clan is able to take action against the master if he goes beyond his entitlement, the position of the slave-worker is different from that of the slave; but if his clan is weak and unable to help him, he can be utterly in his master's power. At times a whole clan may become so weak that it has to seek the support of a stronger clan, and thereby becomes bound to work for the latter and is entirely dependent upon it. 567 686 [685]

While the master of a female slave may use her as he will, he has no right to have intercourse with a female slave-worker. Nor can he prevent others from entering into relations with her. If her clan has any voice in affairs, it will require damages of anyone who seduces her; but if her clan is powerless, then the female slave-worker is without support either of her clan or her master, and not infrequently ends as a prostitute. Prostitution is contrary to Indian law, but nowadays it does exist. 567 833 614 [548]

Even if a girl's clan is insignificant it will always demand damages, if someone has had relations with the girl and made her pregnant. Usually the man will pay up, that being the decent thing to do. Perhaps he wishes to marry the girl; in that case he must first pay her master the debt

567 which occasioned her becoming a slave-worker, and then
614 pay a bride-price to her family. The girl becomes free and,
833 of course, her child is born free.

567 Real slaves are those taken in war. Nowadays they seldom take men or boys prisoner, but prefer to kill them instead. Otherwise there is always a risk that eventually they will try to avenge themselves. Women and girls are
628 mostly spared and made slaves. Civil strife is common, and
648 the Macuira Hills were no more peaceful than other areas, but the Indians were reluctant to harm the monks, though on occasion even they became involved.

One day a violent feud broke out between two clans. The chief of one clan himself led the fighting and had determined that the enemy was to be utterly exterminated. The battle raged quite close to the mission. To be anywhere near the Indians when they are fighting is dangerous, for those with rifles are seldom able to shoot and stray bullets fly everywhere. Poisoned arrows are also in the air, but they are better aimed and do not travel so far.

628 One day the monks heard that this chief had captured a
727 couple of boys of the enemy clan and had ordered that they
797 should be burned alive. The boys were reported to have been tied to a tree, round which a large fire had been lit,
648 after which the chief's men had gone away, leaving the boys to their fate. Two of the monks set off at once for the tree. As they hurried along rain began to fall and they hoped that that might put the fire out and so save the boys' lives. When they arrived, however, one of the boys was already dead, having been suffocated by the smoke. The other was still alive and the monks carried him back with them, though they scarcely expected him to survive, for he was very badly burned. It seems pointless and cruel to kill little boys, but the Indians were afraid that, if they spared them, they would take vengeance later; thus, when they heard what had happened, they sent a message saying that the monks must hand the boy over.

The monks replied that the boy was dead. That was the only way of saving his life—if it could be saved. He died during the night, however, and was buried in the mission's

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and shrieks. Francisco put on a spurt and got there ahead of us; then he turned and called to us:

'Hurry, there's a child being born!'

He pointed to our camera, evidently thinking that that was an event to be filmed.

844 The Indians consider childbirth a natural function that does not need to be hidden. It often takes place in the presence of the entire household, even of children, and if neighbours arrive, they can be present too. Even intimate [833] marital acts take place quite openly, to the amazement and [834] embarrassment of a white person. We thought it best for my wife to go in to the woman in labour, while we sat and talked with the grandfather, who was sitting by himself by the fire. Soon some children came and joined us, having evidently been sent away from the scene of the birth, where something apparently had gone wrong. Now they could look their fill at two white men instead.

The old grandfather was talkative. He told us how the [591] eldest son must always come into the world with the wife's family. There, too, a newly married couple live for the first year. If they are staying elsewhere, the husband takes his wife to her parents' home when the child is expected. [843] For a long time she will have been taking various decoctions of herbs and observed certain precautionary measures and rules intended to influence the birth favourably. The wife's family is responsible that all will go well. Should the child or mother die, the man has the right to demand damages of his wife's family. On the other hand, said the old man, the second child is born in the father's family, and they must take the risk. Subsequent children can be born in the couple's own home.

843 A pregnant woman must keep away from funerals, graves and anything to do with death, and it is very important [825] that she takes care not to catch sight of a snake. Snakes have a bad influence on parturition. Under no circumstances may a husband kill a snake while his wife is pregnant. A child is a weak, defenceless being and exposed to attack by dangerous spirits. There is an intimate connection between the father and the child, and what the father does is of

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the first wife retains a privileged position. She will be of the best family and the highest in rank. She is the hostess.

One day, when I was standing talking with Mauana, he pointed to a couple walking past and said eagerly:

'You should picture those with your apparatus.'

I photographed the two, who to me appeared very ordinary. The woman had her cheeks and nose painted red. Mauana whispered to me that the woman was not a woman, but that they were two men living together. Later we came across several Indian men who did women's work and wore women's dress. This was not considered really right, but it was looked upon with indulgence. In the early days of discovery gold coins were found on the coast by Santa Marta which depicted 'shameful acts contrary to Nature'. Among the Guajiros' relatives in the West Indies there were chiefs who had whole harems of boys.

'We were talking of bride-price and buying women slaves,' said I, to revert to more normal things. 'What does a poor youth do, who possesses nothing?'

Everyone agreed that it was a pity about any such. The law had definite regulations for intercourse between man and woman, and any infringement involved a claim for damages. If anyone seduced a woman, he must pay considerable compensation to her relatives, however willing she may have been; but if he took her against her will, it costs him considerably more. A poor man cannot pay and therefore risks losing his life as a punishment. The Indians admitted that here and there on the border there was prostitution, but it was mostly mestizo women who lent themselves to that. In Guajira proper, there were no prostitutes. Both the chiefs and the monks told us that. Thus in the interior, a young man without means must live a life of abstinence. The time when the dances of the kid were performed would be his only opportunity of enjoying a woman's favours, provided he could find a willing partner. At this time the otherwise strict code is suspended and free love permitted.

Mauana had promised to arrange a dance, but of another kind. The dances of the kid are performed during the rainy

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price. Thus the well-to-do send slaves or servants to the dances. 796 786

These dances also have a practical significance. They take place at the start of the rains when vegetation shoots up and help is needed in keeping weeds under. Those taking part in the dance must weed their host's ground during the day, as a return for their food and the dancing at night. They have to do something during the feast which lasts for weeks at a time. Naturally holding such a dance-feast is a costly business, but as a compensation the giver has work done for him. Therefore the feast moves from rancho to rancho, while there is work to be done. [474]

Actually all the dancers ought to be at home working during this time, for all plantations will become overgrown if they are neglected, but the young people are tempted by the feast, the dancing and love-making, and the opportunity to get free of the bonds of strict convention for a time. The fertility of the crops is promoted by different erotic performances, although the Indians no longer seem fully aware that this is their significance. These are typical magical fertility rites.

The actual dance of the kid is performed in different ways. Sometimes the couples are in lines one behind the other, the men holding the girl in front round the waist. First they all dance forwards, and then they turn. At each turn they change partners, the men singing: 'Lend me your partner for my travelling companion.' Another way of performing the dance is very like a long-dance in Sweden. Each group of dancers is led by a singer who always improvises his song, so that the words are always new. [535]

The dance begins at sunset and continues for several hours, after which the dancers all make off into the darkness, two by two, and spend the night with each other. Usually, a couple will stick together throughout the feast. Intercourse must be of the girl's own free will, but involves the man in no obligations, neither compensation for her lost virginity nor damages if a child should result. This is recognized by the girl's family, because it is a result of the freedom allowed during the dance of the kid. If, after the feast, a man wishes [833]

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756 During this period of confinement the novice is always having to chew tobacco, and it is during periods of nicotine-
[776] intoxication that the spirits appear to him. After his first examination the novice is given a diadem and a rattle, *maraca*, as symbols of his new dignity.

The novice's family must now arrange a dance and sacri-
[535] fice sheep or goats. A chichamaya is performed during one or two days and nights. Those taking part are ceremoniously painted. The animals are slaughtered and offered to the spirits who partake of them during the night. After that the dancers can eat. No one, however, may touch the meat till
[782] it has lain, wrapped in leaves, at the spirits' disposition and thereafter been dedicated by the piache, who spits tobacco juice upon it and pronounces spells over it.

The apprenticeship, of course, is not over, and again the novice is shut away from the world. Now comes a period of instruction in the art of chewing tobacco, that is to say, how, where and when that is to be done and what are correct ways to summon spirits, cure illness, make rain, protect cattle, halt epidemics and much more that the medicine man may be called upon to do. The instructing piache transfers his spirit to the apprentice, and exhorts the former not to start by trying to cure adults, but to practise on children. The spirit also forbids erotic association.

After a few months the apprentice will be ready to qualify. Large quantities of maize beer are then prepared and invitations sent out.

756 While the guests are drinking and dancing the novice
787 sits, still isolated, practising. The spirit comes and orders him or her to send for a beast of certain colour and with specific markings, which is to be sacrificed to the spirit. When that has been done, and it must be done, the spirit demands some necklaces of gold beads—any number up to ten—which have to be hung up in the novice's hut. As soon as these have been collected with the help of relatives—often as a loan—the spirit pronounces himself satisfied and informs them that the novice's apprenticeship is over. He or
[533] she can now begin to practise. But, the spirit adds, there

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must be no intimate association with women, not even with a wife! 756 787

The spirit has not merely accepted the novice as a piache, but has entered into him, possessed him and will accompany him during all his magical seances. As a person a piache is of no importance, but when the mighty spirit fills him he becomes the equal of the real spirits. He cures the sick exclusively by supernatural means, with the help of the spirits. Of real medicine he knows nothing. According to the Indians' ideas there are no natural causes of illness and death, which are ascribed entirely to dangerous spirits. [833] [755] [753]

When a piache is summoned to cure a sick person, he must be given a gold necklace or some other valuable gift. He brings with him two maraca rattles, the usual magical instrument of the South American Indians, and a stool shaped like an animal. If necessary, he can sit on some other stool. One of his magical instruments is small pellets made by someone with a great knowledge of herbs and formed like goat's excrement, which are intended to attract the spirits.

While the piache is in his trance everyone must remain silent, otherwise the spirit may take fright and leave the piache's body, at which he will fall to the ground in convulsions and be ill. The piache chews tobacco all the time, and with the resultant magical saliva he smears his patient's body and often the walls and roof of the hut as well. He sings a song, invoking the spirit and sucks the parts of his patient's body that hurt, thereby drawing out the cause of the illness: poisoned spirit arrows that have been shot at the sick person's body. [755]

Usually the piache is alone with his patient, but sometimes he will allow a near relative to be present and help. The songs the piache sings are about how his own spirit is seeking everywhere for the patient's. The demon of the illness has gone off with it and holds it prisoner. When the demon is found, it is forced to release the patient's spirit against a ransom. For this the piache demands cattle, goats or sheep with special markings or ornaments, cloaks, etc.

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the demon of illness and death, Wanuru, is called Jirarai 756
Wanuru is the name of all the spirits of the dead which are 776
many, thus we are obviously dealing here with groups of spirits; and where Wanuru acts as guardian or assistant spirits, they no doubt represent the souls of dead medicine men.

One piache, known as a clever rain-maker, told us that 756
when he needed advice over rain-making, he used to go to 776
the burial place to talk with his dead brother's spirit, the brother having been cleverer at it than he. When a piache 789
has to make rain, he seats himself on his stool as for other functions, chews tobacco, shakes his maraca and rhythmically moves his torso and head. He then begins to sing in a high voice, calling upon the spirits and demanding that they bring rain, for people need it, if they are not to die of hunger. Now and again he emerges and dances round the huts, driving away the spirits that are preventing the rain from coming.

The Indians often first try to make rain without the 789
piache's help, by drumming at night or by firing guns and 821
arrows at the clouds. The drumming imitates thunder and can thus, according to the laws of magic, cause storms. The shooting drives away the spirits that are preventing the cloud from dispensing its rain. This is also what they do at eclipses of the sun, when all burst into tears and shoot at the sky to drive away the evil spirit that is preventing the sun from shining. A piache's own spirit does not interfere in his magic-making, for which he uses none but auxiliary spirits. It is not till after his death that a piache's spirit can [775] become active and help some other piache.

The piache has to submit to certain restrictions on diet 756
and love-life. He or she must never have extra-marital 834
intercourse and even marital intercourse must be restricted. A female piache must never spend the night with her husband, but merely pay him fleeting visits that should be as short as possible; she must never allow herself to be caressed by him, and must lie quite still and indifferent during [833] coition. If this is not done, her guardian spirit will be jealous and angry, and may cause trouble. And, preferably, she 756 [illegible]

/6 cont./

843 They are normal although extremely small and undernourished. As the months pass, such an infant gradually recovers from the prenatal treatment and toward the end of the third year reaches normal size and acquires the usual physical characteristics of a child of ordinary type.

The Guajiro mother does not like to adopt this treatment, but she will make use of it when in previous cases she has had a difficult delivery. She is proud of the large size and robustness of her children, and it is a cause of pleasure to her when they are admired. It is more usual for her to employ another group [262] of practices, dietetic ones, such as those which advise abstaining from eating cheese, butter at meals, or fat meat, adding milk to corn mazamorra, and drinking large quantities of water daily before eating, during the entire pregnancy, in order to prevent the too active growth of the fetus and to have, as a result, a less difficult delivery.

The practices we have been describing are also recommended to keep the woman from developing to an exaggerated size which would hinder her movements both in carrying out her domestic duties and in the long distances she has to walk.

843 During the final months of pregnancy, she abstains from 784 sexual relations, both by her own wish and that of her husband, in the belief that /7/ they would cause the child to be born [834] sickly and the delivery to be prolonged, possibilities which are their main concern and the avoidance of which justifies the practice of any treatment that prevents them. Also, during the final months of her pregnancy, the woman is prohibited, within practical limits, from lifting heavy things, carrying water from wells and loads of seeds, carting firewood, or loading burros. But only women of outstanding economic position who have female bond servants and slaves to carry out such chores are able to observe these precautions. It is not rare, therefore, to find that the Guajiro woman is obliged to do her daily work to the detriment of her condition, for after one of these exertions, a woman is liable to suffer an immediate miscarriage.

/108 cont./

833 been deprived of her will and that she does not count as a person. For these reasons she regards her marital life as a hard duty to perform, at odds with her own personality. Possibly, for this reason, the man seeks out the mestizo, who is free of these prejudices and for that reason more capable to give and to derive for herself greater satisfaction from her marital life than the pure Indian woman.

595 As it is not uncommon for a man to have two, three, or
833 even more co-wives living together in one house, his conduct in his conjugal relations must be very circumspect if he wishes to preserve, at least in appearance, a cordial or friendly feeling among them, because if he is not circumspect, jealousies will spring up and a bitter struggle of lengthy repercussions ensue. As each one of the wives endeavors to find a motive that will justify her as superior in the eyes of the others, he has to behave with extreme caution. For this reason he sleeps outside in the enramada /bough-covered shelter/ while his women and their children sleep inside the house. He never suggests to any one of them that they should spend the night together, as the one thus favored would announce this preference to place herself on a superior plane. For this reason he receives whichever one goes voluntarily to him to his hammock.

834 The man suspends marital relations during the time the woman's pregnancy is advanced. He does this for fear of causing a miscarriage for which he might be blamed, and because of the belief that it might give rise to a bad delivery.

After the birth of the child, marital life is not resumed until the woman voluntarily asks for it.

Ideas about fecundation. The Guajiro knows that
842 fecundation is the result of the combined action of the woman and the man through the means of the sexual act. They know that in this act the man gives an element which joined to the feminine one will form the new being. They say that the
[826] woman has in her internal parts a special organ in which this new being will gradually take form, the womb, called in their

[16 cont.]

*756 over, the young shaman [17] was secluded for two months in her home. She dedicated this period to practicing chewing tobacco, and the act of invoking the spirits, the way of curing the sick, bringing rainfall, "shamanizing," animals, keeping pestilence away, etc. The maraca and the crown (kiara, in Guajiro) were made by her during this seclusion, although they could have been bought or ordered to be made by others. At the end of this two *756 months' seclusion, it was essential, in order to terminate the 787 young shaman's cycle of initiation into shamanism, to prepare 796 ten containers of corn chicha and to invite many Indians from different sections to be present at the true graduation of the initiate. That night, while the others danced and drank, the young shaman remained practicing her arts. It is common on these occasions for the spirit to approach the aspiring shaman and say, for example: "Go look for an animal of such-and-such characteristics (it describes the desired animal minutely in all its details) and kill it. If you disobey me you will faint, have an attack, and you will never become a shaman." The young initiate then passes on the order to her relatives, who must hasten to look for the animal described by the spirit and sacrifice it. When the celebration has ended, the spirit returns to tell the [301 426] young girl: "Hang up ten necklaces in your room so that I may come down and help you." (These necklaces must be made of gold beads). The aspiring shaman acquires these necklaces with the help of her relatives and friends, even on loan, and hangs [782] them in her room so that she can "shamanize." The spirit, grateful for her ready obedience and for the offering, approaches her once again and says: "Now you will make a truly good [834] shaman." And it warns her: "Now you may not sleep (cohabit) with your husband."

*756 Exercising the profession. When all these rites and cere-787 monies preparatory to entering the way of life of the shaman have been complied with, the person chosen, as his protector spirit affirms, may then dedicate himself to that calling. The spirit itself has conferred such power. Better still, it has descended into the novice; it has entered his body to accompany him in every professional act, to communicate the arts indispensable or

[28 cont.]

K756 834 833 Referring to the sexual aspect, we have the following facts: 1) a woman of licentious habits can never get to exercise the office of shaman; the spirit would never take up residence within her; 2) the unmarried woman who is initiated into the profession may have sexual relations only when she marries in accordance with established rites, but with certain limitations. [29] She may cohabit with her husband, and exclusively with him, in spite of the phrases used by the spirit at the time of initiation, "You may not sleep (cohabit) with your husband," but she must carry out the sexual act quickly and get up from the matrimonial hammock as soon as it is finished; for if not, they will see in the doorway of their habitation a shadow, in appearance like a civilizado, who will speak into her ear saying: "I do not like your sleeping with your husband because you do not belong to him. You are mine, you are my loved one." The woman therefore must perform coitus as hurriedly as if she were committing a crime.

K756 842 When a woman shaman marries, her spirit advises her as follows: "So that you may not have children, since you are always with your husband in spite of my prohibition, put skeins of wool on your wrists and on your ankles and around your waist like a sirapo [loincloth], and tie a piece of onion to the wool." The Indian woman who related this said that she had obeyed the spirit's instructions in every detail, and she had never had any more children. The spirit demanded a gold necklace from her as recompense for its counsel.

K756 834 776 787 Another female shaman with whom we had the opportunity to converse recounted the following to us: When she married, the spirit told her that it cared for her no longer. When she inquired the cause of this, the spirit replied that it was due to the fact that after having been with her husband, she had a smell of male goat, an odor which it did not like. The shaman explained to the spirit that she had married because her parents had sold her. The spirit was quite angered with her and had no with to return to inspire her; it did not want her to marry because she belonged to it and not to anyone else. Finally it agreed to the formula that she might cohabit with her husband but must not linger over the sexual act.

[29 cont.]

756 533 834 When the woman becomes pregnant, the spirit puts up with the situation without getting angry, but it does not show any such patience if she delays a length of time in the sexual act with her husband, or if she sleeps by his side throughout the night.

The female shaman's obligation, in the sexual aspect, goes to the length of forcing her to be but a passive entity during coitus, not permitting her body the slightest motion and also not permitting any endearments from her husband before the sexual act. When these dispositions are disobeyed, the shaman finds [787] herself suffering during the night from especially terrifying and horrible dreams which fill her with fears and anxieties.

756 693 The man who marries a shaman gets to understand his wife's situation, and for this reason he is prudent in his actions: He does not demand anything but the strictly indispensable, and he is in accord with her in all matters related to her special state. [30]

756 776 944 But in spite of all these prohibitions, the female shaman who becomes pregnant receives aid from the spirit at the time of giving birth. This assistance consists of an easy delivery of her baby and of counsel her spirit gives her on the simplest form of giving birth, the remedies she should take, etc.

756 84 843 The shaman must not perform ceremonial acts of curing when she is in her menstrual period because the patient will become worse instead of improving. However, pregnancy does not present any obstacle to her activities, and she may accomplish cures during the entire period of gestation.

756 834 [595] In the case of a male shaman, the spirit permits him to be with his wife, but for a very short time; he is also allowed, as are the rest of the Guajiro, to have several wives.

In summary, women shamans must cohabit exclusively with their husbands, avoiding all endearments, movements, the prolongation of coitus, and pregnancy. They may not exercise their functions during their menstrual periods. The male shaman also must be moderate in the sexual aspect and limit himself to his wife, or wives, as the case may be.

756 262 The food taboo is limited to prohibiting the shaman from eating the flesh of such animals as he has received in payment

[85 cont.]

766 head downward, and then they cover it with a piece of another clay olla, new, usually with a base. The urn is buried in the [824] woods at the foot of a special tree called in Guajiro huruwá ("within us," etymologically), with the idea that the other children that are born will not continue dying. No special ceremony accompanies the burial of the child, which must be carried out by the maternal uncle, since neither the father nor the mother may be present because it is believed that if they should be all their other children would also die as they were born.

765 When the first-born dies, and the work of its burial has 766 been complied with, the mother is put through the following procedure: She is hung in a hammock for three days in a closed room (it is really a small house made especially for the purpose). After three days have passed, she is unslung from the hammock, but she has to continue in seclusion for a further five [834] months (five lunar months), and the husband is prohibited from visiting her, with the idea of avoiding sexual contact. After this seclusion the husband may return, and they resume normal married life. During the time she is in the hammock, the [262] woman is not allowed to receive any food except a medicine called hawapi, which serves for fattening. This medicine is a [278] mixture of scraped roots dissolved in cold water [86] and is drunk after being strained. The wife receives this medicine from her mother, who acts as her nurse.

In other words, the mother, by reason of the death of her [881] first-born, has to repeat the complete cycle of seclusion as at the initiation of young women when they reach puberty. The ceremonial is the same, seclusion, taking of fattening medicine, sexual exclusion of the man, and in general all contact or relations with him, etc.

764 If in spite of these precautions the next child should also die, the previous cycle is not followed, but the baby is buried with all due ceremony. A fiesta is arranged for the burial, a wake is held with the usual distribution of liquor, and animals which the maternal and paternal grandparents supply are sacrificed. The mother undergoes a new special treatment but without those of seclusion.

[94 cont.]

832 made into a ball. This paste is dissolved in the water that the person wishing to profit by its powers uses in his bath, or some other way which we shall see later.

d) Also considered a love charm is the string of necklaces made of small pieces of coconut shell and worn as ornaments by the Indian girls.

[626] e) A thing that is very commonly used as a love charm, especially by girls, is their own hair.

f) With the hair which has been taken from a girl when her first menstrual period occurs and mixed with hummingbird's blood, dog's tail, and achiote [bija], they make a love charm which has a most powerful effect on the girl to whom the hair belongs. The man who acquires it can consider himself virtually her owner.

g) Lastly, an element that enters decisively in the effective value of love charms is achiote powder, which should be rubbed on certain parts of the body of the owner of the charm when he or she wishes to attain a certain end.

Application and effects. When a woman makes use of a love [262] charm which will give her the power always to be attractive to her husband and to regain his lost love or to win it, she should not eat any roasted food while she is trying to apply the qualities of her charm. She must also take the charm and rub it all over her body when she has recently given birth to a child or during her menstrual period. It is then that she should deny herself all [262] roasted food (meat, roasted corn, etc.) on which there has been direct action from fire. She should also abstain from all [95] kinds of milk, should not go out in the sun, and should not let her face be seen by another woman. This last point is very important as if this should happen the effects she seeks will be obtained not by the person following the indicated regimen but will [834] automatically be transferred to the woman who has seen her face. The woman who is owner of the charm must also abstain from cohabiting with her husband. When she bathes, she must do so not in the brook but inside her own home. The bathing must be done by another woman, starting at the crown of her head, then her shoulders, then her breast, and thus on to the whole body.

[128 cont.]

836 [21] of war to the death will result between the clans affected.

One has to take into account the fact that a woman who [583] has been bought for wife is relatively valuable, and the native is not always in a position to accumulate the number of animals sufficient to pay for her, although it is considered an obligation on the part of his relatives to assist him when the time for his marriage arrives. As prostitution is so limited because of the [548] condition of inferiority in which it places the woman who traffics in sex, the situation of the unmarried male in this respect is difficult. We repeat again that we make this statement on the [178] basis of the facts of La Guajira social customs in normal times, and not on the basis of the present period when they are suffering from ever increasing problems of hunger, poverty, and acculturation, phenomena which are overthrowing all their traditional institutions.

Presenting the question in these terms, one can appreciate the trying position of the bachelor Guajiro native who is without slaves and without economic resources to enable him to buy a wife. He lives within a regimen of limitations and restrictions [834] which reach even to sexual taboos which can be divided into two classes: special cases, especially applicable to the sex life of shamans, as we have seen; and general cases, applicable to the whole community and which go to the extreme of provoking [195] curious euphemisms in the language when the word for the genital organ is phonetically similar to some other word, as in the case with the word for dog.

796 These restrictions must be considered in the totality of 786 the social norms, but this is not the moment to expound on them as they will be fully covered in this review as an interpretation of the whole of Guajiro society. However, we wish to point out their presence in the Dance of the Kid, or better said their absence, since, as we have said, these restrictions disappear, and there is complete sexual freedom which permits the minstrel to caress the young maids on the pretext of deciding their virginity or loss of it, a thing that in normal times would not be permitted, and to go to the extreme of countenancing carnal union without economic or social consequences, the only

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181 mental outlook it originates — imbued, as we have affirmed,
771 with an animistic determinism — and the beliefs it implies in
789 the different angles of Guajiro human activity, as it will have been possible to observe throughout the length of the work we are presenting. So much is this so that the very basic impulses of the individual are seen in many circumstances to be influenced by magic.

a) To prove this in the sexual aspect it suffices for us to
834 cite again some facts already described and explained in previous chapters, such as the taboos imposed on the shamans, especially when they are women and according to which they should cohabit exclusively with their husbands, avoid caresses, motions, prolonged coitus, and pregnancy, and never exercise their functions during their menstrual periods. Besides this, it can be seen in the lifting of sexual taboos, or better said, the permitted violation of the norms which rule the community in this respect during the celebration of the Fiesta of the Kid, which reaches the point of allowing the consummation of the carnal act among the unmarried, an act absolutely prohibited in their society in normal times and which would provoke — as fully explained in the corresponding section — compensation payment and even interclan war with its tremendous consequences of persecution, annihilation, and slavery. It can also be observed in what we called the "proof of virginity," which permits a male to caress the bodies of young women who take part in the fiesta, an action prohibited, as in the previous case, in normal times.
[832] Among the charms we also found some that act in this way, and also significant is the act of rubbing bixa ointment on the genital organs and breasts to make them more effective in love-making.

b) In the matter of food we saw proofs of the influence
262 of magic, especially related to the life of the shaman, particularly when he is in one of his "illumination" trances or in a curing ceremony. This influence also shows itself in the shaman's initiation, in the initiation of [158] young women, in the magic contamination of food by some animals which can cause sickness in newborn children, and in the prohibition against eating the flesh of the hawk which produces sterility in young and old of both sexes. Also, it is found in relatives being forbidden to eat the

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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Our provisions were at an end. We had been too generous and not rationed them strictly, the men having complained of hunger the whole time. Now we were suffering for it.

Away in the distance, well out of range, we saw a *venado*, a deer, making off through the cactus with graceful bounds. Where did the deer drink? Surely they would not dare approach the Indians' water-holes, which were either guarded or covered.

'Deer do not drink,' said the Indians. 'They are content with the dew they can lick out of the cactus flowers.'

We were thus without both food and water. We whites had tinned food, but the Indians only appreciated the empty tins. The Lad then offered to get us some food and water. He had not been away more than an hour, when he returned with a young girl carrying a live kid in her arms. She wore nothing but the remnants of a woman's loin cloth, and apparently knew that white people did not approve of nakedness, for she tried to hide her charms behind the kid. We therefore gave her a piece of white cloth in payment, although it was really a pity to let her cover herself, for she was the shapeliest Indian girl we had yet seen in the peninsula. The cloth would protect her from the sun and make her fair-skinned and beautiful, so she was overjoyed and offered to show us the way to what she said was a much better water hole.

This new water hole was shaded by some divi-divi trees—the trees were withered and their shade sparse—and surrounded by reddish hillocks. It was not very deep and a couple of women were bathing in it. They paid no attention to us, nakedness in the bath being considered decent. Our Indians and animals were able to drink as much as they liked there, and we also filled our water-containers. Then we moved on looking for a suitable place in which to eat our goat in peace.

Gladivet, our photographer, put up the tent to give us a little shade, and meanwhile the Indians slaughtered the kid and cut it up. My wife cooked the pieces we had taken for ourselves, helped by the little girl who had come with us. She was now wearing the piece of cloth like a pinafore and

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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and shrieks. Francisco put on a spurt and got there ahead of us; then he turned and called to us:

'Hurry, there's a child being born!'

He pointed to our camera, evidently thinking that that was an event to be filmed.

The Indians consider childbirth a natural function that does not need to be hidden. It often takes place in the presence of the entire household, even of children, and if neighbours arrive, they can be present too. Even intimate marital acts take place quite openly, to the amazement and embarrassment of a white person. We thought it best for my wife to go in to the woman in labour, while we sat and talked with the grandfather, who was sitting by himself by the fire. Soon some children came and joined us, having evidently been sent away from the scene of the birth, where something apparently had gone wrong. Now they could look their fill at two white men instead.

The old grandfather was talkative. He told us how the eldest son must always come into the world with the wife's family. There, too, a newly married couple live for the first year. If they are staying elsewhere, the husband takes his wife to her parents' home when the child is expected. For a long time she will have been taking various decoctions of herbs and observed certain precautionary measures and rules intended to influence the birth favourably. The wife's family is responsible that all will go well. Should the child or mother die, the man has the right to demand damages of his wife's family. On the other hand, said the old man, the second child is born in the father's family, and they must take the risk. Subsequent children can be born in the couple's own home.

A pregnant woman must keep away from funerals, graves and anything to do with death, and it is very important that she takes care not to catch sight of a snake. Snakes have a bad influence on parturition. Under no circumstances may a husband kill a snake while his wife is pregnant. A child is a weak, defenceless being and exposed to attack by dangerous spirits. There is an intimate connection between the father and the child, and what the father does is of

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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the demon of illness and death, Wanuru, is called Jirarai 756
Wanuru is the name of all the spirits of the dead which are 776
many, thus we are obviously dealing here with groups of spirits; and where Wanuru acts as guardian or assistant spirits, they no doubt represent the souls of dead medicine men.

One piache, known as a clever rain-maker, told us that 756
when he needed advice over rain-making, he used to go to 776
the burial place to talk with his dead brother's spirit, the 789
brother having been cleverer at it than he. When a piache has to make rain, he seats himself on his stool as for other functions, chews tobacco, shakes his maraca and rhythmically moves his torso and head. He then begins to sing in a high voice, calling upon the spirits and demanding that they bring rain, for people need it, if they are not to die of hunger. Now and again he emerges and dances round the huts, driving away the spirits that are preventing the rain from coming.

The Indians often first try to make rain without the 789
piache's help, by drumming at night or by firing guns and 821
arrows at the clouds. The drumming imitates thunder and can thus, according to the laws of magic, cause storms. The shooting drives away the spirits that are preventing the cloud from dispensing its rain. This is also what they do at eclipses of the sun, when all burst into tears and shoot at the sky to drive away the evil spirit that is preventing the sun from shining. A piache's own spirit does not interfere in his magic-making, for which he uses none but auxiliary [775]
spirits. It is not till after his death that a piache's spirit can become active and help some other piache.

The piache has to submit to certain restrictions on diet 756
and love-life. He or she must never have extra-marital 834
intercourse and even marital intercourse must be restricted. A female piache must never spend the night with her husband, but merely pay him fleeting visits that should be as short as possible; she must never allow herself to be caressed by him, and must lie quite still and indifferent during [833]
coition. If this is not done, her guardian spirit will be jealous
and angry, and may cause trouble. And, preferably, she 756 842

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865 693 Nevertheless, there are cases where the elder brother attempts to impose his authority and oblige a younger brother to obey his orders, building up his part. From ten years of age onward the relation between brothers and sisters becomes rougher and occasionally quarrelsome, but after passing puberty and initiation, when the girl has become a woman and the boy an adult, their relationship takes on a definite shape, to be reflected in the future friendship between the two and in the ties that will exist between the brothers and the children of the sisters, over whom they will exercise their authority and protection.

We have already described one of the aggressive acts between brothers on the part of the older toward the younger, in the theft of food behind the back of the mother or whoever represents authority /in the home/. There is another form of aggression which the younger child adopts in order to get what he wants from his elders and from his siblings: He throws himself on the ground, where he rolls and kicks, screaming and crying inconsolably. His mother punishes him to stop him from giving way to his bad temper, considering his action harmful because when big he might continue with his rages and while in that mood cause grave injury to his people and to himself. For in reality when the Guajiro becomes furious, he goes completely 152 out of his mind and commits deeds he would not dream of doing 865 in his proper senses. If he cannot get his way he becomes so [762] angry /32/ that often he will hang himself, doing this in such a rage that he loses his instinct of self-preservation and even when he is half dead will insist on finishing himself off, so throwing the responsibility of his death onto the person who caused his bad temper. If his mother is unable to control these exhibitions of childish rage, it will continue with him during his youth and as a man will become increasingly worse, often causing him to leave home in the excess of his fury and giving rise to suicide when he is thwarted or opposed.

864 6. Delinquent acts that may appear among children about ten years old are the sexual relations between girls and their 835 brothers when the latter are busy with their pastoral tasks and

/32 cont./

864 the girls go into the woods to round up the burros or for other chores.
835 We know that if the mother learns of these happenings she immediately hands out punishment; we also know that it is considered very bad because of its prematurity, because of the act in itself, and because of reasons of blood relationship; but we do not know in what way punishment is meted out or the reaction and the social and family attitude when it becomes known. The fact is that the mother with girls of that age prevents their meeting their brothers outside her personal vigilance. The disregard of that prohibition even if it is not presumed that such a delinquent act
864 has taken place leads to punishment, because the mother knows
581 that these prepubertal relations will later have a decisive influence on the girl when she seeks marriage, as the future husband expects her to come virgin to him and the payment he makes for her includes such a concept. If she is not he has the right to claim a compensation payment and to obtain the legal refund of part of the animals he has paid; or they are obliged to admit it before the marriage, with the prospect that they will be denounced or the hoped-for /marriage/ purchase will not go through. In any case, with foreknowledge or without, the loss of her virginity reduces the value of a marriageable woman in the eyes of the men seeking her as wife.

861 There are punishments of various kinds. Some are corporal and consist of striking the child, and these are the most frequent. They slap them on the mouth when they are insolent when given an order or when they give a sharp answer to the father or mother. They are punched and kicked or are whipped with lassos or riding whips, with twigs from the woods or cudgels, but the mother generally beats them with a bunch of nettles when they commit any kind of naughtiness, such as throwing themselves on the floor and rolling around from temper, sneaking out of the house without permission, disobeying an order, etc. /33/ In order to punish them the mother tries to take them by surprise and catch them firmly by the arm or hand so that she may punish them before they can escape her. She beats their legs or shoulders with the nettles as these parts are usually bare. This punishment is very painful

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857 462 A joint duty of children of both sexes is the care of their younger brothers or sisters when circumstances require it, though this is mainly performed by girls when there are any of the right age.

b) Girls. Little girls five years old are given small tasks, such as carrying messages, going to the fields to take some small item to the father or an uncle, drawing water in vessels so that the elders may bring it on burros up to the house. At six or seven they begin to do some cooking. From ten to twelve years, that is to say at, the prepubertal age, they are initiated into the different ways of weaving, and they can go alone from [835] one settlement to another. It is at this time that they occasionally have sexual relations with their brothers or with their father.

857 462 252 Almost from the time she can look after herself -- toward three or four years of age -- the girl assists her mother in all her work, especially when she is the eldest and when she belongs to a family with few economic resources. In the kitchen she learns to prepare food such as mazamorra, bollos /rolls/, and arepa /ground-corn griddlecakes/; to hull corn and grind it with the traditional equipment, the pestle and mortar made of stone; to light and keep the fire going; to handle the pots on it and build new hearths; and, in time, to prepare the various kinds of chicha and the customary soups for special occasions, to make use of the different fruits, both wild and cultivated, and to serve up various local dishes such as sancocho de chivo /goat-meat stew/, the way of preparing meat etc., until, having arrived at the moment of puberty, she is on the whole acquainted with all the customary culinary procedures.

Other work they are taught to do quite young is fetching water and firewood as well as a series of household chores such as house cleaning, taking care of the younger children, and at times feeding them and keeping them clean. They are sent to the woods to bring in the burros that are used for carrying water or fruit or serve for the women to ride on. /46/

857 462 232 They also start to lend a hand in the harvest and accompany the women when they collect wild fruits such as olives,

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836 The virginity of the single woman is becoming very rare in La Guajira. Premarital relations have been occurring with greater frequency in recent years as a consequence of the social disintegration of this indigeneous group, caused by a multiplicity of reasons, among which stand out: the influence of the so-called white groups, among whom free union is common practice; emigration to regions such as Venezuela, where the Indian women break away from the norms of their ancestors and find an atmosphere which does not resent the sexual adventures of women but rather stimulates them; the scarcity and hunger in certain regions which push the inhabitants toward the urban centers of the peninsula, where the woman gives herself in exchange for the wherewithal to satisfy her vital needs of food and dress, an attitude which her relatives recognize and tolerate because, indirectly, it also helps them. The premarital relations forced by circumstances or encouraged by them have been creating a social class of women which previously did not exist nor could fit within her social organization: the prostitute. It must be noted that it is the mestizo woman (mixture of Indian with white or negro) who more easily takes this road.

[548] [563]

Also one has to take into account the premature premarital relations that have always existed in La Guajira and which take place between the girls and their brothers, and even their fathers, when the girls are about ten or more, when they go to the fields or the countryside in general and meet the boys who are devoting themselves to pasturing. (Cf. Chap. II.)

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836 558 178 The common type of furtive sexual relations of the adult woman causes her to drop in social esteem and particularly in that of the men, producing, indirectly, the phenomenon that virginity as a basis for marriage has become overvalued. Before, it was a fact that was logically expected as an essential, and the lack of this condition created social and psychic problems.

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582 evident, a Catholic missionary married them according to the
588 Catholic ritual. This act seemed a crime to the natives: that a Guajiro woman should be legally married to her maternal uncle was impossible to understand. Rumors and a kind of social vacuum began to surround the pair, and even threats, to the point that, seeing life was becoming impossible for them among their own people, they abandoned all they possessed and migrated to a distance, where there would be no Guajiro who knew their story, in order that they might not have to put up with the social situation which their illegal conduct toward their traditions had provoked.

582 The pure Guajiro is the one who preserves in its most extreme form the principles of exogamy among the different family groups. Mestizo men, educated and influenced by the kinship principles followed by whites, reduce the wideness of the scope of this prohibition against the marriage of individuals within the same clan and marry /95/ female first cousins in the maternal line, defying the natural revulsion of the Indians who still consider such unions incestuous.

835 We must note again that it is not rare for girls before puberty to cohabit with their own brothers (in the Guajiro sense) and with their father, naturally without pregnancy as a consequence, but with the loss of their virginity. Guajiro mythology contains a
[773] story of a girl who, having become pregnant by her own father, overcome by her physical condition and the social ostracism which her action had provoked, hanged herself, thus establishing this type of suicide as a means of a woman's doing away with herself when her wishes are opposed, especially in cases where she is obliged to marry a man whom she dislikes or in circumstances similar to those in the story.

These incestuous sexual relations are frequent in nearly every part of La Guajira. They happen when little girls go from one settlement to another carrying a message or to the woods in search of the pack animals or of fruit, at the same time that the boys are there looking after the livestock. Usually these relations cannot be considered as a violation, as the girls consent willingly, a state

/95 cont./

835 of affairs of which we could find no evidence after puberty and the seclusion had taken place. It appears that the only case we can quote is the one referred to above and which is preserved in the traditional lore.

583 Catholic marriage. Guajiro marriage is the basis of all the legal organization of the peninsula, because in it, represented by the marriage payment, are concentrated all economic life and social laws. For these reasons Catholic marriage encounters much opposition on the part of the native and causes a series of problems for those who contract it.

The first of these is that such a marriage is done outside of the family social organization and leaves whoever contracts it dependent on their own efforts to confront the social collectivity of the peninsula. We shall see why: If contracting a Catholic marriage means for the woman that her relatives do not receive the customary payment as recompense for bringing her up and as a backing in the future for her and her desendants, the system of mutual aid between consanguineous groups which demands repayment at some future date, will create a very difficult situation for her father as an active member of the clan, since, on not receiving money for the first daughter that marries, he cannot comply with the system of repayment and mutual help, which his relatives then resent and which diminishes his prestige, since it was with this payment that he expected to pay the debts he incurred when he bought his wife. /96/

The woman who marries according to the Catholic rite also encounters another series of problems with her consanguineous group: Her husband, although legal, is an intruder and the direct cause of all the troubles which overtake them. It is difficult for them to tolerate him because, besides being the person who separated their relative from her consanguineous ties, it was he who obliged her to break with all legal tradition, putting them all in a secondary role. He acquires, then, the standing of a lover, because they feel that such a marriage is as illegal as is having a concubine in our culture. He has acquired a wife without paying for her and for this reason is considered to have usurped a right

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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riage. A Guajiro woman has no right to sell her body. The law does not recognize prostitution.

A married woman's relatives and clan do not leave her entirely in her husband's hands. He may not do as he likes with her, nor cause her suffering. Suffering and discomfort she is bound to experience in childbirth, however, and of that he is the primary cause; thus whether as a result of legal or illegal relations, the man must compensate the mother for her confinement by giving her family a few cattle. The woman herself may not eat their meat under any circumstances.

Originally the Guajiro clans were exogamous; members were not allowed to marry within the clan. That is no longer insisted upon, but not only brothers and sisters, but maternal males and cousins on the mother's side, are still reckoned among the forbidden degrees. It is unthinkable that an Indian girl should marry her maternal uncle; that would be like having her father for her husband. It once happened that an uncle and niece had a secret relationship and the girl became pregnant. A monk married them, but the Indians regarded the relationship as a heinous crime and the whole district reacted so violently that the couple had to leave the peninsula and go far away, where there was no risk of meeting members of their tribe.

There is nothing to prevent an Indian getting himself several wives. Infrequently white men have married into Guajiro families and they too have had to pay a bride-price. A number of poor Creoles have contracted Guajiro marriages with poor girls. I have already mentioned how foreign oil workers made Guajiro marriages. In those early days there were no arrangements made for employees' families, and the Guajiro girls suited those primitive conditions very well, though as a rule such marriages with Indian girls were very short-lived, as those of the Creoles with them still are. The girl is soon abandoned, if that can be done without risk, the girl's family in such cases being powerless. So the Indians told me.

The monks had already told us that where Creoles had married Guajiro girls of good family, those marriages had

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555 two; she increases the man's prestige because in carrying out her
581 duties as mistress of his house and representative of the home,
593 she knows by suitable attentions (agreeable talk, preparation of food according to traditional custom, hospitality appropriate to the social standing of a guest, etc.) how to win everybody's appreciation, consideration, and respect.

Furthermore, as the maintenance of prestige rests partly on the wife, the knowledge of the psychic and legal life and customs of the society in which she lives enables her to act correctly and without errors. She will maintain due solemnity in carrying out the most important acts in life, as, for example: the seclusion of young women, marriage, illness, etc., so strengthening her status. She will also rule her family more correctly and constitute herself the guardian of tradition, which is so respected by the Guajiro and in which resides the strength of their culture.

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583 The price that the Guajiro man pays for his wife includes
636 several conditions among which is the assumed virginity as he will expect his wife to come to the marriage as such each time that marriage penetrates into his psychic life, and he will feel defrauded if she does not, so much more if the status of the bride is high and even more if she is his first wife.

The man takes into account various aspects of virginity:
[554] First, he finds a special attractiveness in the virgin woman for the satisfaction of deflowering her, which, apart from the sexual attractiveness, gives him in the future a reason for boasting and prestige, the halo of a fortunate man which /66/ fills him with pride and gives him a feeling of superiority. Second, and from the economic point of view, because he has paid the price asked, convinced that his wife is a property which belongs to him, wholly and exclusively. Third, because he thinks that if a woman has given herself to another man, secretly, it was because she was drawn to him by a great affection or because she is a

/66 cont./

583 836 cabeza loco /madcap/, according to the Guajiro expression, two things which he cannot bring himself to accept: the first, because he considers that having paid for his wife, she should belong to him from years back and the thought that someone else has possessed her makes him feel that he has been defrauded in his payment; the second, because he fears this may repeat itself in the future and conjugal fidelity will be doubtful when he is away on his duties as a nomadic herdsman. This doubt, in time, becomes an obsession, and it sows difficulties in their matrimonial relations, because the uneasiness of the man may explode when least expected for any cause that fires his passion of jealousy. He is always jealous of someone, and he fills his life permanently with questions, suspicions, precautions, and traps, in the attempt to discover who was his predecessor, whose name the woman will hide with the same zeal that he shows in trying to find it out. This doubt even reaches his children, because the man feels he has no certainty of his paternity. He spies on every small detail about his wife in her behavior with the men he is acquainted with, to learn if one of them could be the father; he checks minutely the physical appearance of his child, his gestures, his expressions, to see if he can find any similarity to someone he knows, also consulting the opinion of others in order to get that peace of mind he so much desires in himself.

If the man should confirm that the woman has belonged successively to several men, he asks the return of his payment, or he abandons her after humiliating her to compensate himself for his inner suffering.

Generally, the man on confirming that the woman he has bought is not a virgin immediately presents his claim for compensation payment to her relatives. Initially he informs the father (among the mestizos) or the closest maternal uncle. The claim for compensation payment demands the immediate return of half of the property given in payment for the woman, as this amount is the evaluation of the extent of the fraud which has been practiced on his spirit and his pocket, the rest being left as payment for his future cohabitation with her. With this reimbursement

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583 836 the man feels satisfied, because the price paid included, tacitly, her virginity. If the woman's relatives do not handle the situation prudently, reprisals and hostilities may take place between the two groups. Also in these cases the man will claim the necklace which he gave the woman as a sign of their betrothal the day the marriage was arranged. But he does not do this with an eye to gain but to make the woman suffer some part of the humiliation /67/ he himself felt on learning of the deception. Furthermore, as the necklace is a sign of engagement, asking for its return resembles an act of breaking it, although, in point of fact, the woman continues to be tied to the man with matrimonial obligations.

At times the man will follow another norm of conduct, especially at the present time when this state of affairs occurs more frequently and the claims for compensation payment for this condition are losing importance: He himself assumes the punishment for the deception. He roughly inquires of the woman: "Why are you not a virgin when I bought you believing that you were? Why don't you say who possessed you before I did?" He goes from insult to action and beats the woman, who, recognizing her inferior situation does not dare to protest.

It is possible that the Indian will not at first go beyond insulting the woman in private, but under the influence of alcohol the [152] resentment grows out of hand, and it is then that, in the presence of his friends, he will recount his problem and complain. Not content with this, he makes up songs referring to the subject which contain insulting commentaries and will sing them to his wife when with his friends to humiliate her in front of them and so obtain some satisfaction for what he personally suffers. In this [571] state of drunkenness it is not uncommon that he will beat his wife, shielding himself from reproach by the fact that as he has not been repaid the part of the marriage payment due him, her relatives are not in a position to protest.

Often with time the matter gets forgotten, and it only crops up on certain occasions when they quarrelsomely bring up all the past with its emotional content, due to some disobedience on the

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583 836 part of the woman, a rough gesture, or a rude answer. Sometimes the matter is settled by the woman's being abandoned.

If the woman divulges the name of the man who originally possessed her, or if it is learned by some means, the husband will present his claim for compensation for abuse, because the one who enjoyed her, without payment, made use of something which belonged to him by act and right of purchase.

[587] The economic valuation of virginity can be confirmed by the fact that a widow who refuses to live in marital life with the maternal nephews of her late husband must pay a sum equal to that paid for her by her husband, less a discount for not now being a virgin. Also, when a woman has committed adultery, the husband has to be compensated for the offense received, and a payment is then made which is less than that for which the woman was bought, as a discount equivalent to the value put on her virginity is allowed, it being supposed that this existed at the time of her marriage. /68/

The Guajiro woman who is not a virgin and is about to be bought generally prefers, in consideration of the consequences, to inform her future husband of the facts. She tells him: "I warn you I am not a maiden, but if you truly care for me you have to buy me as I am. I tell you this beforehand so you can think it over and not throw it up to me afterward, seeing that I am not deceiving you." The woman is forced to make this confession in view of what might occur later when her lie is found out. Nevertheless, she will suffer much uncertainty as she has to face this dilemma: To tell the man offering to buy her and thereby expose herself to the possibility that he will withdraw, disillusioned and goaded by the desire to find out who had done such a thing and whether she would be faithful to him in their married life, and, furthermore, exposing herself to the danger that he might divulge her "secret" on a day of heavy drinking, by which her prestige before everyone would be wrecked and no man would come forward to buy her for a wife; or not tell him and suffer the consequences. However, it sometimes happens that the man reacts to

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the situation in a different manner. He says: "The past does not matter to me. I suppose he did not cut out your organ." In this way the woman gets tranquilly married, and the husband, aware of the facts, makes no later claims, though it may happen that the price paid is lower, although this is not usual, as the man in recognition of the woman's confession shows a generous attitude.

In the case when the woman who is about to be bought has received payment for abuse, the man takes into account the intervention of the maternal family who saw to it that the feminine elements of the group were respected, which proves to him that it is a family group that insists on the law being complied with and for this reason has sufficient prestige and masculine elements to enforce it and is a group that, because of the payment he will make, will look after the security and stability of his marriage. Also, the knowledge of every one of the details of what happened (violation or marriage not carried out because of the nonpayment of the second payment) is an adequate palliative which excuses, to the Indian's way of thinking, what has occurred and does not constitute a deception or an economic or moral fraud.

[684] When in consequence of premarital relations a pregnancy has resulted, the man who causes it must pay for the birth in addition to the abuse, in accordance with Guajiro tradition: a number of animals to the mother or the immediate relatives for the troubles of pregnancy and for the birth itself, which includes the pain suffered and the blood lost. If this woman is later bought, an amount is deducted from the payment, which tacitly amounts to the value of her virginity, already paid for in the sum given for the abuse. It can, however, occur, and in effect it does occur, that the man /69/ ignores the past when he has a special affection or feels greatly attracted by the woman, in which case he pays the price asked without the afore-mentioned discount.

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836 The virginity of the single woman is becoming very rare in La Guajira. Premarital relations have been occurring with greater frequency in recent years as a consequence of the social disintegration of this indigeneous group, caused by a multiplicity of reasons, among which stand out: the influence of the so-called white groups, among whom free union is common practice; emigration to regions such as Venezuela, where the Indian women break away from the norms of their ancestors and find an atmosphere which does not resent the sexual adventures of women but rather stimulates them; the scarcity and hunger in certain regions which push the inhabitants toward the urban centers of the peninsula, where the woman gives herself in exchange for the wherewithal to satisfy her vital needs of food and dress, an attitude which her relatives recognize and tolerate because, indirectly, it also helps them. The premarital relations forced by circumstances or encouraged by them have been creating a social class of women which previously did not exist nor could fit within her social organization: the prostitute. It must be noted that it is the mestizo woman (mixture of Indian with white or negro) who more easily takes this road.

[548] [563]

Also one has to take into account the premature premarital relations that have always existed in La Guajira and which take place between the girls and their brothers, and even their fathers, when the girls are about ten or more, when they go to the fields or the countryside in general and meet the boys who are devoting themselves to pasturing. (Cf. Chap. II.)

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836 558 178 The common type of furtive sexual relations of the adult woman causes her to drop in social esteem and particularly in that of the men, producing, indirectly, the phenomenon that virginity as a basis for marriage has become overvalued. Before, it was a fact that was logically expected as an essential, and the lack of this condition created social and psychic problems.

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836 Today this causes less repercussion, and the phenomena which were
558 aroused in the society and the individual have become weakened.
178 But by contrast, it /virginity/ is an object of greater search, and the man who is successful /70/ in finding a virgin bride publicizes it as an individual reason for prestige. Furthermore, men are complaining less and less when their wives have not come as virgins to the nuptial hammock, and they only make it the subject of satirical songs when they are drunk. That is to say, they take the matter more broadmindedly, giving it the character of an accomplished fact and almost to be expected.

684 Violation and rape. The payment for abuse is that which the Guajiro must pay for illicit sexual relations with an unmarried woman, being a material compensation for the improper use made of her and returning to the woman her position of respected spinster, with the possibility that another man will court her and buy her for himself, without the fact of the abuse weighing as a dishonor in her past or having any echo in the future. It is also the compensation to the maternal relatives of the woman for the material and moral offense of violation of a right. They receive this payment because, by not accepting it, they would lower their kinswoman, and through her all of the family, to the category of "a dog or a burro," with no one to make their rights valid, and in order to prevent others wishing to do the same thing to other women of the family, which would bring the prestige of the group to an end. Also, because the man made use of a right which he should have paid for beforehand, to compensate the woman's relatives for rearing her and for the social support they have given her. The payment covers two distinct aspects of different value: violation and rape.

684 In the first case, as it is considered that the woman has shown
839 willingness in the act, only the abuse is taken into account. In the second, as force has been used, a compensation payment is demanded not only for abuse but for violation, specifying that the man used force and thereby humiliated the woman, made her dishonor and her physical weakness more obvious, and offended

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583 177 from one or the other when the blame for any particular act falls directly on one of the parents. Each one is free to punish the children, without asking the approval of the other; neither feels inhibited about giving an order, nor is it necessary to consult the relatives of either before making a decision. In this way, authority makes itself felt in the home, is more closely linked with the parents, less liable to interference from consanguineous relatives, and less limited, making the education of the children easier for this reason and ensuring a unity of authority in the home.

Marriage through sexual relations between the unmarried.

636 583 Sexual relations before marriage are strictly forbidden in the Guajiro community except during the celebration of the Dance of the Kid (ceremony of propitiation of the rain and the harvest) when it is permitted without /99/ entailing social punishment for those guilty. When times are normal a compensation claim for abuse or usufruct is presented, or a mutual pact made for marriage, legalizing in this way the antisocial act committed. The varieties that may appear in this regard are the following:

583 For abduction, which may have two aspects, sham abduction and real abduction.

Sham abduction is looked upon with favor by the woman's maternal relatives, who, knowing about the affectionate relations between her and an individual belonging to an important family group with whom it would be very convenient to be linked by marriage even without an offer for her hand or the stipulation of payment, let the girl go with her lover without offering any opposition. After a time they present their compensation claim, and the man sends his relatives who are acting as his sponsors /padrinas familiares/ to make an arrangement with the woman's maternal relatives. They then come to a reasonable agreement, and the man hurries to pay the price arranged. This proceeding is carried through peacefully, always counting on the good faith and acquiescence of the two families, although it does have the appearance of an abduction.

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840 836 When the girl is of easy virtue /ligera de cascos/, generally a mestizo of low class, she frequently has sexual intercourse while unmarried, hiding it carefully from her relatives. She receives presents from her lover to satisfy her needs or wishes for adornment or clothes which she could never manage to obtain honorably. But she avoids pregnancy, which according to her own ideas is possible by not having sexual relations during the ten days following menstruation, or by obliging the civilizado man with whom she is living to use contraceptives.

836 It also happens sometimes that a middle-class girl, seduced by her sweetheart with the promise of matrimony, consents to live with him and keep their illicit relations secret. The man says to her: "Don't tell anyone, because I cannot buy you for my wife now. If you say nothing, within a year I shall have sufficient money, and then I will buy you. You will see best how you can fix things so that your people do not know." But on occasion the woman becomes pregnant, and her relatives, when they know about it, oblige her to confess who caused her condition, and, as we have said before, she is usually badly beaten. Then they present the compensation claim against the man. The girl's relatives feel that with this act they have been deeply offended, since an abuse of one of their women lowers everyone in the whole clan group, putting them in the class of slaves without relatives to claim retribution for offenses committed against them, and establishing a precedent before all the community which puts them in a position in which all their women can easily be possessed by anyone who feels like it, because no family male power protects them. Also, the men lose prestige as influential persons in the group and as men who are not afraid to face bravely and successfully any situation like the present one to protect the honor of the clan. For this reason, the woman who has had illicit sexual relations and realizes she is pregnant does everything possible, as we have seen, to produce an abortion, and in the majority of cases she is successful. /101/

Because of these difficult situations, when a Guajiro sees a woman friend or relative of his talking to a man, he has no

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836 compunction in reproaching her, saying: "What! Is that man your father, your uncle, or your brother that you go walking with him, talking and laughing?" She must at once stop talking to the man and submissively pay attention to the admonition, because if not, the individual in question will go to her parents' house and will say to them: "Who is this that your daughter is talking and laughing with? Has he perhaps already bought her?" And her parents, very much annoyed at her conduct, will interrogate the girl more or less in this manner: "Who is this whom they tell me you are talking to? What does he want from you?" She will answer that he is her sweetheart and wants to buy her, to which her parents reply: "It is not to you that he has to speak but to us. Do not speak to him again."

839 583 Apart from these cases, which one might call voluntary, there are cases of violation which, as we know, give cause for a compensation claim for the illegal use of the girl, compounded by the abuse of subjecting her against her will and for the injuries she may have suffered on being violated. If she becomes pregnant as a consequence of such a union, then the corresponding compensation claim will be made for the troubles of pregnancy and labor. But the action by which the woman suffered will not be made the object of recrimination, nor will it lower her value in the eyes of the Guajiro collectivity, if the payment for what has happened is paid in full. There is nothing to object to after that, either in her or in her relatives, and the child will belong to her and will not be the object either of rejection or contempt.

Lastly, it is necessary to take into account the frequent violations of young women still in seclusion by rich Indians, when the girls belong to a poor group and their relatives have to leave them alone in the hut for some reason or other. They say that, as the woman is under treatment and during this time whoever is in charge of her avoids the appearance of menstruation by means of herbs, she does not become pregnant if she has sexual relations. But if such an act does occur, the woman is taken out of seclusion immediately, and the corresponding compensation claim is presented.

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or later on if it is impossible at that moment. Sometimes, if the person died tragically, the house is burned. The reason given for this custom is that the illness was produced by an evil spirit which from then onward takes up residence there, taking possession of the house and able to continue killing the rest of the occupants. At the present time this custom is generally reduced to abandoning the habitation that the dead man occupied. They believe that at night one can feel lamentations there and that the spirit of the dead person frequently returns to that place to show his unrest if his relatives have forgotten him in the special cult of the dead. The tragic character of the case is accentuated when the person died violently in that place, in which case the house is definitely abandoned, because the frequent repetition of the scene during the night would make it impossible to live there. When the death occurred as the result of /162/ illness, and the house is not abandoned, if another member of the family should die in it of the same sickness, then it is absolutely necessary that they leave it, as to them it is a clear indication that the spirits of that sickness also reside in the house and sooner or later will kill off all its occupants. /163/

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THE SMALL FAMILY

Nowadays the Guajiro man and woman have their first sexual experiences very early, more or less toward the age of ten, but formal marriage is later for the men than the women. Premarital sex relations are casual events. The man may continue them sometimes to a more advanced age, but these also are occasional and their consequences -- pregnancy -- may

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592 836 lead him to pay for abuse or to marriage. In these days prostitution of the Guajiro woman frees the man from these legal dangers and gives him, as it does to bachelors in our society, free access to women before marriage without the attendant unfavorable consequences of previous times.

592 582 The Guajiro man marries for the first time at an age that varies between seventeen and the maximum of twenty-five, an age which coincides with his economic independence from the family nucleus. With his own livestock and with the gifts he receives from his relatives, he buys a woman but remains in debt to his family until he can repay them by the sale of the first of his daughters in marriage. Once his wife has been handed over, he begins his marital life, (some times, when the marriage has been by abduction, he starts beforehand), traditionally in the maternal home from which place, as the [591] family increases, the new cell will move to the father's hamlet /ranchería/ where the young couple will build their own home, or they will make it in the wife's hamlet.

592 611 602 The first child of this union is born, as a general rule, at the wife's home, that is, in that of her maternal relatives, and the mother is attended by her mother or her aunts, or by her grandmother in the maternal line, or when these are not available, by her married sisters. Nowadays the services of a midwife are employed. This child belongs to the maternal house as it is of their blood, since the mother is the one who transmits this quality, and even if the birth of the child is not preceded by a union legal in the concept of the Guajiro, the consanguineous tie does not differ in its transmission. It is always the mother who transmits this characteristic, and being hers and in no /164/ way counting on the father, the child not only takes the maternal surname but is also included within the kinship circle to which his mother belongs. Thus we have:

1. His legitimate feminine ascendants are his mother, maternal grandmother, and maternal great-grandmother, etc.

2. Also, the maternal aunts in different degrees are his relatives.

[124 cont.]

585 c) There is another very important fact in this sexual aspect of the fiesta that we are describing, which is what we might call proof of virginity. [125]

Virginity in woman is highly valued by the natives in spite of the fact that at the present time, due to economic ac- [836 178] culturative factors, it is increasingly difficult to find virgins among marriageable women, a state of affairs that the Indian male is well aware of. But it is always a matter of pride and something to be boasted of for a Guajiro man to find on his marriage night that his bride is a virgin. It is the custom, [583] furthermore, that if the man marries not knowing that his wife has lost her virginity and has the consequent disillusion on his wedding night, the bride's relatives have to return a part of the livestock which the man paid for her, especially the family neck- [578 273] lace. The Indian's concern about this matter, which remains hidden when he is in a normal state, comes to the surface during his drunken bouts, when he will sing about his wife, extolling her and boasting of having had a virgin in his marriage hammock, or insulting and degrading her in coarse improvisations when he considers that he has been defrauded.

524 796 831 This attitude toward sex on the part of the native, or better said this value he places on the virginity of his future wives, is expressed in a sort of game which is played at the Dance of the Kid. To play it, the girls gather in a group about a singer who [539] sings such a song as this: "Let us see, my pretty miss, if you are a virgin, if truly you have not run around too freely, if no young male has put his hands on your body." He then passes his hands over each girl's body, tickling her. He starts at her big toe and goes upward, touching her instep, calves, knees, thighs, genitals, hips, stomach, torso, breasts, armpits, and continues up her neck until he reaches the top of her head. The girl who remains quiet, indifferent, without laughing and without even a smile wins the test and is declared a virgin. The singer then sings again: "You are indeed a virgin, my lovely majayura....," and chants a veritable song of flattery and finishes by escorting her to a set place. He then continues with the rest of the girls gathered there, repeating the same routine. When a girl moves or laughs,

[127 cont.]
314 representation of the re-creation of the universe, the resurgence of nature that changes and disappears, to reappear later.

796 In large part, this could explain the whole of the fiesta. In reality what in La Guajira is being celebrated under the name 821 of the Dance of the Kid is nothing but a true re-creation of the world of the natives of those barren plains. With the arrival of the rains the sea of sand is converted into a green world, the dry beds of the streams become powerful streams of water, the dry brushwood is transformed into green forest, anxiety over thirst disappears, fatigue from sun and desert is changed to rest, hunger to abundance, and worry to hope in the ripening of fruits and the disappearance of the specter of poverty which prowls the sierras and the plains. It is Mareiwa, their divinity, their good spirit, who has made his apparition over the lakes of the Sierra de Nevada, unleashing storms and hurricanes and bringing the promised rains to his creatures.

786 But, on the other hand, the sexual acts we have just shown to be present at this traditional fiesta of La Guajira should be 796 treated apart as they represent a transgression of the established rigid and severe cultural patterns that refer to carnal relations between men and women. As the general interpretation of the whole of the Guajiro community has not yet been finished, which could give us sufficient data to carry out necessary clarifications, we shall have to limit ourselves to noting certain outstanding facts.

836 Unmarried men and women in La Guajira, when looked at in its normal state, are subject to rigorous restrictions in their sex life. Sexual intercourse before marriage is not allowed to their women as the men want their spouses to be virgin. The [681] bachelor is limited in the satisfaction of his sexual impulses by the law of compensation payment, which forces him in the case of his having relations with an unmarried girl to pay a heavy indemnity by which is covered the harm done to the woman, the offense [128] to her relatives, and the possible pains and dangers of childbirth when pregnancy occurs. And if these impositions [628] are not complied with or if the Indian does not marry the girl, paying the price her relatives demand, revenge and declaration

[128 cont.]
of war to the death will result between the clans affected.

One has to take into account the fact that a woman who has been bought for wife is relatively valuable, and the native is not always in a position to accumulate the number of animals sufficient to pay for her, although it is considered an obligation on the part of his relatives to assist him when the time for his marriage arrives. As prostitution is so limited because of the condition of inferiority in which it places the woman who traffics in sex, the situation of the unmarried male in this respect is difficult. We repeat again that we make this statement on the basis of the facts of La Guajira social customs in normal times, and not on the basis of the present period when they are suffering from ever increasing problems of hunger, poverty, and acculturation, phenomena which are overthrowing all their traditional institutions.

Presenting the question in these terms, one can appreciate the trying position of the bachelor Guajiro native who is without slaves and without economic resources to enable him to buy a wife. He lives within a regimen of limitations and restrictions which reach even to sexual taboos which can be divided into two classes: special cases, especially applicable to the sex life of shamans, as we have seen; and general cases, applicable to the whole community and which go to the extreme of provoking curious euphemisms in the language when the word for the genital organ is phonetically similar to some other word, as in the case with the word for dog.

These restrictions must be considered in the totality of the social norms, but this is not the moment to expound on them as they will be fully covered in this review as an interpretation of the whole of Guajiro society. However, we wish to point out their presence in the Dance of the Kid, or better said their absence, since, as we have said, these restrictions disappear, and there is complete sexual freedom which permits the minstrel to caress the young maids on the present of deciding their virginity or loss of it, a thing that in normal times would not be permitted, and to go to the extreme of countenancing carnal union without economic or social consequences, the only

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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bride-price. (A refusal by the girl's family to accept the offerings can lead to a serious conflict between the two families.) The deputation then returns home and informs the suitor. He does not try to haggle. That is not done. Also he has a fairly good idea beforehand what he will be asked to pay. If his relatives can afford it, the price is paid in a lump sum in cows, which is the grandest method of payment. The cows are driven to the bride's house by slaves and followed by the bridegroom's maternal uncles, who are responsible for making settlement. They are given a festive reception and return with gifts of meat from a freshly slaughtered animal. The bridegroom does not go on this occasion either. He arrives later with some cows for his mother-in-law, which constitute a reward for the bridal bed, a beautiful hammock she has woven. This symbolizes his right of possession of the girl. 584

In the old days it was considered that a bride ought to be virgin, although now that manners are not so strict, this is not so strictly insisted upon. The white man usually explains the girl's period of confinement as being intended to protect her innocence; yet she would surely have more opportunity to kick over the traces when living by herself in a little hut, than if she were with her family and always under their eye. Among the better families at least, a husband can demand return of part of the bride-price if he discovers that he is not the first to enjoy the girl's favours. A bride who is not a virgin should thus command a lower price than a virgin. A girl with a child, or a wife another man has returned, commands even less, just as with the Moors, though that is not to say that the custom came from them. 585 836

Nowadays a sensible girl tells her intended husband if she has had an affair, before the bride-price is settled, and thereby complications are avoided. A young man will seldom hesitate to marry a girl making such a confession.

A man's inmost thoughts often emerge under the influence of intoxication, when he sits in his hammock improvising a song, as the Indians do. Sorrowfully he may chant: 'Ah, ah, ah, ah, when I married my wife was not a maid.' If she was, he will sing: 'Ah, ah, ah, my bride was innocent.' [533]

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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water but is given an herbal purgative. Her hair is cut short. Generally 551
several of her relatives stay around the door of the hut, and strangers and men with an eye to matrimony may look in. During this period the girl is taught the duties of married life and such skills as weaving, sewing, and making hammocks. When she emerges, stout and bleached, a special festival is held, when she resumes her ornaments and puts on the adult clothes that she has made during her confinement. She is now considered marriageable. The length of her confinement depends on her status, though theoretically it lasts until her hair again reaches the [557
nape of her neck. Poor girls are secluded only a few weeks, rich girls 556]
up to 2 years.

Sexual life and marriage.—Little is known about the sexual life of 536
the *Goajiro*. A certain amount of promiscuous love making occurs among the young people at the biweekly festivals. Dances also provide an opportunity for sexual advances.

There are some male transvestites who carry on only female activities 538
and are ridiculed by the men.

When a man desires to marry he sends his father or uncle as inter- 584
mediary, then pays a bride price which has been set by the girl's relatives. 583
The payment is usually in cattle, but goats, pearls, liquor, cotton cloth, 602
and gold ornaments also are used. The father retains the purchase price only when his first daughter marries; the income of subsequent marriages goes to the girl's senior maternal uncles. The mother also receives part of the income. A son obtains the cattle for the bride payment from the increase of his father's herds.

Intermarriage between the sibs is frequent, and many of the *Goajiro* 582
give their daughters to "civilizados" from Maracaibo and Río Hacha, who pay higher prices and find such a tie with the Indians useful in their trading relations.

The marriage ceremony consists of a series of feasts and exchanges of 585
presents between the two families. The wedding night is spent at the [581]
rancheria of the bride's mother, but the nuptial hammock (specially woven by the female relatives of the bride) is hung from a tree some distance away from the house. For a period of days and even months the bridegroom leaves his bride at dawn and returns only after sunset. In [604]
this way the groom shows respect to his mother-in-law.

Polygyny is general. The number of wives depends on the economic 595
status of the husband, some men having as many as 20. Each wife lives in her own house, where her husband occasionally visits her. The man, as head of the polygynous household, supervises the daily slaughter of [592]
animals and the distribution of meat and corn to each household according to the number of its members.

If a wife shirks her domestic duties she may be divorced and her hus- 586
band may claim the return of the bride price cattle, plus their increase and

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At the present time the family concept of the woman is changing because of the conduct of mestizo and even pure Indian women brought about by changes in their economic situation and by contact with whites. Gradually, the traditional organization of the marriage payment and fidelity based on the payment is being broken down, because it is the women themselves and not their relatives who receive the payment, and for their activities as prostitutes. The phenomenon is noted not only in the centers of the interior which wave contacts with whites and Negroes -- principally traders and civil authorities -- but also and especially in Maracaibo and some of the towns in the department of Magdalena, to which they have been obliged to emigrate. However, they maintain the family concept of mutual assistance and share their income with their close relatives, not as before in the form of the marriage payment but as income earned in the sex market.

Prenatal care and birth. A woman learns that she is pregnant when she feels a loss of appetite and repugnance for food. The later disappearance of the menstrual period confirms the suspicion, and she immediately sees to it that her husband is informed of the event, so that he may know of his coming fatherhood. Also, in the case where she has had extramarital relations in the absence of the husband, the woman, when she feels these early symptoms of pregnancy, goes in search of him, cohabits with him, and later can tell him of her condition, thus avoiding possible later suspicions. From the time of the ending of the first menstrual period, she begins to count the months, and she expects delivery after the eighth month.

Before the arrival of a child, the woman complies with established rules intended to avoid a lengthy and difficult delivery as well as to safeguard the new arrival from sickness which would affect his normal mental and physical well-being. Included in these prescriptions are to be found some of useful and practical value and others with a marked magic aspect. These magic observances generally affect both parents, although some only refer to the woman, /5/ others exclusively to the man (1).

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§39 583 In the cases that we have described, as in that of abduction, the relatives of the girl oblige the seducer to marry by paying the stipulated price, or to pay an amount they arrive at for the abuse committed. If neither of these alternatives is complied with, the enmity of the two groups involved becomes so bitter that war ensues. /102/

Marriage by adultery. When a woman commits adultery and the case is known, attempts are made to settle the matter legally: the lover is obliged by the maternal relatives to pay what is claimed by the legitimate husband, or to pay to them the value of a usual marriage, in which case the woman involved on the litigation becomes his lawful wife, according to Guajiro law.

§37 583

At the present time this custom, which previously used to end with the death of the lover, the husband, or of both, since the husband tried to solve the problem in this way in spite of future consequences, is now dying out due to the emigration of the men and the growing prostitution among the women, both in and outside the peninsula, for the many reasons already seen.

Marriage of female bond servants and slaves. Although this aspect will be treated fully in the chapter headed Slavery and Bond Service, we would like to present it, if only summarily, in this chapter so as not to disturb the order of the ideas we are tracing.

583 567

The women and children taken prisoners in the wars which strong clan groups declare on weak ones when these have caused the death of one of their members enter into the state of slavery. This means that the all-powerful will of their owner may be imposed on every act of their lives, even up to his being able to kill them without possibility of claim, since their relatives who would be the claimants have been slaughtered or dispersed.

In this way adult women and girl slaves may be sold, and in effect are, especially to be taken to Curaçao, Trinidad, etc.; they may be given away to their owners' relatives, or used in domestic service. If the master of a woman slave wishes to

/117 cont./

583 978 these or have been brutally kicked or beaten with sticks or dragged by their hair, etc. The only sanction, the claim made by the woman's family, is frequently not made, and these episodes end in one of two ways: First, with the death of the woman, in which case her husband makes some payment, under pressure of popular opinion of outsiders or of his own relatives, who refuse to admit into their midst a criminal with no justifiable motive, or because of the possible connections and alliances which his wife's relatives may be able to make in an extreme case like this. Second, with the suicide of the woman, since she hangs herself, blind with pain, anger, and mental suffering, and in order that the blame of her death may fall on her husband. This solution is tragic and very common, and as a result when a husband has murdered his wife, he tries to make it look like suicide. In Manaure we witnessed one of these cases, where the death was made to appear to be suicide by hanging, when the real cause of the woman's death was a kick in the stomach. Among the information we gathered is a reference to a similar case in Lower La Guajira, in which the cause of death was discovered only when the relatives of the woman washed her body before embalming it, as is the custom in La Guajira.

583 837 A fourth cause of ill-treatment is suspected or proven unfaithfulness on the part of the woman; the resentment appears when the man gets drunk or when the woman disobeys or gives some reason for complaint. He says in this case: "You didn't obey me because what I order is not ordered by so-and-so" (here he uses the name of her lover if he knows it) or "by the man who has taken my place" (if he does not know or only suspects it.) Frequently, he adds insults and blows. In these cases of suspicion or proof of infidelity, the lack of understanding between the couple increases and the ill-treatment extends itself to the children, whose paternity the father is beginning to doubt. At times, although the infidelity has been clearly proved, the man does not leave his wife nor apply the corresponding legislation, because he loves her and

/117 cont./

583 prefers to pardon her, but the offense he has received shows
837 itself at times in aggressive action and ill-treatment, for which he is sorry later, as we have said.

When suspicion does not reach the proportions of reality, the married life of the couple is naturally less calm than it was. The husband tries to obtain proofs at all costs /118/ and lives a life of constant alertness, trying to induce his wife to confess and looking for an opportunity to catch her infraganti (for further explanation see the section Adultery in this chapter).

593 As a fifth cause of marital ill-treatment one may cite the woman's deficient compliance with the obligations she is supposed to undertake, which may result from two reasons: First, the husband may have paid a low price for her when he made the marriage payment arrangements; second, she may have been forced by her relatives to marry a man she did not like at a time when she was in love with another man. If the husband knows of this situation, he makes it a basis for his insults, refers to it as the palpable cause of her lack of attention to him and to the management of her home. He will say, for example: "You don't want to attend to me because I am not that so-and-so, whom you used to love so much. Of course you would be glad to serve and obey him in everything. But you will have to serve and attend to me, although you dont's like it, because you are my wife and not his."

On occasion it is disobedience of the husband's prohibitive orders which lead to his attack. He tells his wife, for instance, not to leave the house, and she in spite of this leaves the house and goes visiting somewhere. Then the Guajiro, believing his rights are being flouted, punishes and mistreats the woman in order to force her to submit to his every wish, which is to him a symbol of his manhood.

595 Relations between co-wives. Life between the different wives of a man fluctuates between genuine comradeship and an infernal struggle.

/123 cont./

595 He has the best livestock on her land; it is she who is really considered as his main wife, who represents him in rank, and whose children belong to a higher group than the rest. And it is to her home and not to that of any of his other wives that the Guajiro takes his friends when he owes them some attention, if they are people of a status equal or superior to his own.

She adopts an attitude of simulated indifference before society with regard to the polygamy of her husband. She does not comment on the matter or associate with the others, although in the lower classes she is frequently obliged to live with them, in which case she will tenaciously defend her privileges.

Also, the Guajiro man at the present time marries by the Catholic rite but later contracts other marriages under the Guajiro system. In these cases it is not unusual for the first wife to be unaware of his subsequent marriage, since the husband hides it, but she may also get to hear of it because of the general practice of selling information among some women. In such a situation she maintains a reserved attitude before outsiders, and although she really recognizes the importance of such acts, she behaves as though her husband's later marriage means nothing in her life; she considers such things as misdeings on her husband's part and regards other wives, even those legally bought, as concubines and their children as having the illegitimate standing they would have in our society.

As the acquisition of each new wife may bother the previous ones, he does not insist that they attend the marriage ceremony, unless they are pleased about it because the new wife is an intimate friend or a sister.

Adultery. We have seen in this chapter that the man's first reaction to knowledge of his wife's adultery is to kill /124/ her lover and bring on all the consequences this death may entail or, as an alternative, to demand indemnification from his wife's maternal relatives for the offense suffered. However, when the man cares very much for his wife, he may forgive her after a terrible quarrel. It can happen that she may go away for some time with another man, and her husband will later live with her

/124 cont./

837 again without any claim whatever. They may live together peacefully again without the man's making any reproaches, /at least/ when he is not drunk.

The causes which have extended the problem of adultery, together with prostitution, are very diverse and have made the oly type of law, already described, ineffective to a certain degree. Because in modern times infidelity does not occupy its former important place in the mind of the Guajiro; cases of it multiply and the previous scruple of regarding it as an antisocial act is disappearing. The growing emigration of men to Venezuela in search of work, which leaves women abandoned for long periods; the contact of women with other cultures which have different ideas about such matters; the economic misery accentuated by the long summers; the opportunity to earn a little money through extramarital relations, which helps to sustain them; the breaking up of native social institutions; and the easy ways that the guilty parties now have of escaping the consequences of their actions are all new causes, which together with the traditional ones which have led the Guajiro woman to break the social principle of marital fidelity -- such as being forced into a marriage when in love with another man; the lack of control and of sexual satisfaction resulting from one man's being permitted to have a great number of women -- all these causes tend to increase the problem of adultery now more than before, since in the old days the law was followed to the letter in spite of the social convulsions which its application might provoke.

[SR3] The attitude of a man who suspects his wife of infidelity is always one of violence, because he feels himself outrageously defrauded; from then on he becomes a tyrant to his wife and takes advantage of every opportunity to hurt her, insult her, and pour scorn on her. The woman in such cases limits herself to emphatically and constantly denying her guilt and adopting the position of one unjustly accused. The testimony of someone who has surprised her in the act is necessary to make her

/124 cont./

837 confess and admit her guilt. Her conduct when she commits adultery /125/ is always under cover. Thus, if during a long absence of her husband she has had relations with another man and, her menstrual period failing to appear, she fears she is pregnant, she goes to look for her husband on the pretext of taking a present and lives with him in order to supply herself with an alibi. As the pregnancy advances she makes her husband believe that it originated on that occasion, thus defending herself from the possible consequences of her infidelity. The husband, who does not bother much about dates, accepts the alibi as a fact. However, certain cases are cited in which the man has later become aware of the deception, usually from observing a marked likeness the child bears to the real father. Then he concentrates on making his wife confess her offense or on trying to prove it himself. If she confesses, then he invokes the law covering adultery; if she does not, there is nothing he can do legally, but he delights in throwing his suspicions in her face; he gets drunk with his friends and sings insulting and offensive songs to her; he treats her badly, hitting her on any pretext. As for the child whose paternity he doubts, he dislikes it, barely tolerating its presence and waiting until it grows up to see if the physical likeness becomes clearer so that he can take advantage of it as decisive proof against his wife and demand the prescribed payment. He spies on her every movement. He leaves the house declaring that he is going to be away a long time and returns when least expected, or he hides and watches the movements of his wife when she goes out to get water, firewood, etc., and follows her tracks until at times he discovers the place she meets her lover, and
837 if he finds there the proofs of infidelity he seeks and the tracks
687 of the lover, he goes home hurriedly and brings his wife to the spot to confront her with everything and to oblige her by force of blows to confess. Sometimes he manages to catch the guilty couple together, and in the exaltation of his jealousy he kills both the woman and her lover. Sometimes the lover manages to escape, and at other times, after a furious fight, they both

/125 cont./

•837 die, which complicates the situation gravely, because it brings
684 the three clan groups into the picture: the woman's, the man's, and the lover's. In such cases, the payment usually falls on the group weakest both socially and economically, even though it may have lost one of its members, is least to blame, or has acted only in self-defense. If the lover is of low standing and dies, his relatives must pay the husband and the wife's relatives the amount established.

586 If in any case of adultery the man possesses sufficient proof
837 to accuse his wife, he can demand from her maternal relatives the return of the purchase price plus the indemnity considered just /126/ and the children they have had; if, on the other hand, the relatives can prove that before the adultery the man mistreated her, neither the payment nor the indemnity are justified, and with the return of one of the children of the marriage to the man, the whole matter is closed. At the same time the man loses his right to the woman, this being the only case of true dissolution of marriage.

Dissolution of marriage. A Guajiro marriage can, in a way,
586 be considered indissoluble. The woman who is bought according to the law of La Guajira is considered as the husband's personal property, property assured by the girl's relatives, who have received payment for her, and this restrains the girl from behaving in any way different from the traditional.

Proved adultery can be the cause of disuniting the pair, as we have just seen. In such a case, the offended husband demands the return of the payment made when he bought his wife, with which the tie is considered broken and the woman may abandon the home and return to her kin, losing the right to keep her children, who are of her blood and her family but in this case pass into the possession of the husband.

The lover, who cannot consider himself free of responsibility for the problem he has created, becomes, voluntarily or involuntarily, by the payment which he has to make to the woman's relatives, the husband of the woman accused of adultery.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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567 sider themselves entitled to the female slaves. The owner, however, is bound to give a slave enough food from his own kitchen or to provide maize or other raw ingredients for him or her to cook. He must also provide a male slave [435] with a wife, either giving him a female slave or buying a girl for him from some poor clan for ten goats. The state of [428] slavery is hereditary; thus the children of slaves belong to the owner of their parents. If the owner of a male slave should buy a poor free girl to make him a wife, her children [611] will be free, since relationship is reckoned on the female side. If a free man pays a bride-price for a slave, she becomes free; but if he merely buys her for a house-slave she remains a slave. Male slaves are set to work in the fields or with the herds. Female slaves perform domestic occupations. Sometimes a female slave becomes nurse to the owner's children. [571] The laws of Guajira hospitality require that the master of a 837 house place a female slave at his guests' disposal for the night.

The Indians, of course, have the right to punish their slaves, but the chastisement is seldom excessive. Slaves are treated as superior domestic animals, or perhaps I ought to say, as we treat domestic animals, for the Creoles, the Indians' neighbours, are not animal-lovers. Naturally there are cruel Indians too. The monks once came across a poor little slave girl out in the wilds. Her hands were so badly burned that she could not use them. She had been trying to keep herself alive by gnawing at cactus with her mouth. They took her back with them. It transpired that her mistress had lost her temper with her, thrust her hands into the fire and then driven her away.

The Indians make a distinction between slaves taken in war, who are their master's property, and dependent workers. These latter have to do what their master tells them, but he does not dispose of their persons. I called them slave-workers. They can be sold, but in theory it is only their labour that is transferred.

735 In times of distress the poor not infrequently have to get 567 rid of members of the family who are unable to contribute to their own support, and this they do by selling them. This

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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586 minus an amount considered equivalent for the sexual right he had exer-
[845 cised. If a woman dies in her first childbirth the husband may demand
583] the full return of the bride price (Simons, 1885, p. 792, however, states
that the wife's relatives demand compensation from the husband).
586 Adultery entails divorce with full return of the bride price. It rarely
837 occurs, however, as the wife will be treated badly by her own relatives.
At his death a man's wives are inherited by his brother, and next by his
587 sister's sons; the women may avoid this by making a payment equivalent
768 to their bride price. If he is of the Catholic faith his children may claim
184 to be his legal heirs, which leads to conflict with the maternal nephews.
(See Social Organization, p. 374.)

562 The influence of women in political affairs is sometimes noticeable.
622 There are cases of female chiefs, and women are respected enough so as to be able to intervene and stop brawls.

764 **Death.**—Funerals are accompanied by festivities which last days or even
[55 weeks, according to the wealth of the family. There are some differences
184] in the funeral ceremonies which are apparently associated with the particular sibs. These funeral feasts afford the best opportunity for display of wealth, and more than 1,000 head of livestock may be butchered. Every mourner who comes to the feast contributes animals for slaughter and continues to do so as long as he cares to remain. After the mourning period, marked by weeping and lamenting interspersed with drinking and feasting, the corpse, which has lain in a hammock slung from the rafters,
[787] is sewn up in hides by the women (men may not touch a dead body) and carried to the cemetery of the tribe. For a year or so, the body may be temporarily consigned to a shallow grave marked by a pile of stones. Food and drink are often placed in the grave, and, if the deceased had been a warrior, his bows and arrows are put in. A year or two later the bones
764 are exhumed and reburied in a large urn. The exhumation is generally
765 done at night and is accompanied by a feast. The remains are carried in a funeral procession to the dead person's birthplace, where they are buried in the family's own cemetery. The funeral urn is placed in a vertical position with the narrow neck of the jar protruding above ground to permit the free entry and exit of the spirit and to allow the remains of other members of the family to be added from time to time. A cactus hedge surrounds the cemetery, and in wet weather half a calabash is placed over the opening of each jar to keep out the rain. Whenever two relatives of a recently deceased person meet, they bow to the ground, shouting and groaning, for several minutes. (For a slightly different account of the burial of a rich man, see Simons, 1885, p. 792.)

751 If a person is stricken with smallpox the whole tribe moves away, only
766 the family of the sick person remaining. When the death occurs they bury the body below the floor and burn the hut over the grave.

/140 cont./

567 those who took part in the war. If the head of the expedition is a maternal uncle of the offended man, his share is considered as already included in the portion which his small family receives. Also, when an expedition enslaves captives, its chief will usually later distribute /141/ among his close relatives part of the booty which has come to him: first to his mother, then to his sisters and his aunts, and then to the rest of his relatives, if there is a sufficient number /of slaves/; the same is done by the rest of the relatives /of the injured family/ when the booty has been considerable; booty includes slaves and their personal property, real property, and their livestock. As a general rule, slaves acquired by the defeat of a group become the property of the relatives of the injured man as a recompense for the wrong done.

Treatment of slaves. The slave is considered by his master as a thing, as any item of property; he can dispose of him freely, either selling him, giving him away, or making use of his labor; [83] he can take female slaves as his women and make use of the males in homosexual practices if he is deviant in this way. He may even kill them without it being considered a social offense /falta/, because of the fact that as the slave belongs to a consanguineous group which has been annihilated or at least conquered, no one can make a claim for his death. Women slaves may be used as objects of pleasure by the sons or the maternal nephews /sic/ of the master as soon as they reach the age of puberty, the age at which boys begin to seek them out to require love making without their parents being aware of the fact, obliging them to have sexual relations about which they are unable to protest, as the boy is, in a way, also their master; it appears /moreover/ that female slaves customarily are willing to accede to the wishes of the boy.

Rights and privileges of slaves. The slave has to be fed by the master, who generally gives him the remains from his meals, although he may at times give him corn to make mazamorra; clothing also must be supplied by the owner, and it is considered an obligation of the master to supply wives for male slaves, for

/141 cont./

567 which purpose he gives them women slaves he owns, or buys for them women of a poor clan for whom he will pay an insignificant price, ten male goats, for example. When a slave becomes pregnant by one of the master's sons, the mother must allow the slave's pregnancy to proceed normally and limit herself to reproaching the boy.

Rights, privileges, and powers of the master. Masters are absolute owners of the goods of their slaves. As slavery is always the consequence of war between two clan groups /caused/ by an offence by one against the other, /142/ the property of all the members of the conquered group passes under the control of the victors according to the system of distribution explained above. That is, the fields, pastures, woods, water, wells, domestic utensils, clothes, livestock, jewelry, etc., of the conquered group become the property of the conquerors. As regards the slaves themselves, we have the following facts: Males are put to work by the master in all activities, especially in agriculture and pasturing, and are made use of as objects of homosexual pleasure if the master is a /sexual/ deviant. (We have no data on homosexuality as social etiquette, that is, lending a slave for homosexual practices to sodomitical guests). The owner may punish his slaves freely even to killing them.

Women /slaves/ are used, as we saw previously, in domestic labor, weaving, etc; they are obliged to act as wet nurses of the children of the master at his wife's request. In this case, the slave's child has to be weaned and brought up on corn mazamorra; the slaves also carry out the role of nursemaids to the children, and are used as objects of sexual pleasures by the master, the master's sons, and his guests, following a formula of social etiquette in La Guajira. We do not know of any datum which can confirm homosexuality practiced with female slaves by their mistresses, nor of the corresponding aspect of hospitality.

In remote times, old women, young women, girls, and youths, boys, and adult males were enslaved, but at the present time it is almost a norm to keep only women as slaves of war.

/190 cont./

When the abortion is provoked by the woman when she is in an advanced stage of pregnancy, the husband demands compensation payment, and the act is considered a homicide.

An offense of a very grave character for an individual and his relatives is the attempt made by a homosexual to abuse him. Generally, this aggressive act is directed against defenseless young boys, who can be physically forced to submit. Their relatives demand compensation payment, not only for the physical molestation suffered by their relative but for the psychological and social significance of the offense, which completely devolves on them.

Exhibitionism of a sexual type is considered a punishable act because it entails an offense against the modesty of those present, and if /191/ the spectator is a person of high standing, it implies moreover a grave offense to his high status which demands respect from others; in this case the payment is greater and may cause strong reprisals to be taken against the offender's relatives. These offenses may refer to homosexual practices, suggestions or representations real or imaginary of copulation, or exhibition of the genital organs. Both sexes may undress in public without the spectators feeling offended, as happens at the public baths, where the women bathe without concern, taking care to cross their legs. The man holds the penis to his waist in a way that his hairiness covers him and so does not offend the modesty of the bystanders.

Other aspects which have to be taken into consideration are the offenses that the woman can inflict on the man during married life. Let us remember that Guajiro women, even to this day, are bought without their wishes being taken into account, and that those who cannot avoid this marriage -- by means of suicide, flight, or breaking with the community -- may refuse to cohabit with the husband imposed on them or to satisfy his sexual desires. The man then abandons such a woman or demands compensation payment for the pain her attitude has caused him and refuses to resume his position as

/191 cont./

684 husband until this payment has been made. It is very common for the man not to make any demand for money for the hurt inflicted but to try to revenge himself by his future attitude. The Guajiro women say that a woman once initiated into sexual life acquires the need for repetition of the act. Then the man refuses to satisfy her, does not frequent the home, and does not give the slightest sign of his affection. The woman is in fact abandoned and yet in the situation of a married woman without a husband, with the obligations inherent in marriage and none of its rights.

Another aspect considered as an aggressive act is the fraud entailed when a man discovers that the woman he has married is not a virgin (See Valuation of virginity in the chapter, Premarital Considerations).

684 As homosexuality is very much disapproved of in the culture and regarded as almost an enforced degeneration of
● 838 the young slaves, whoever practices it draws on himself the
628 contempt and scorn of society, and his status is compared to that of those outside society. It is the custom, when two groups are at enmity, to hurl an insult which must result in a decision by arms. This insult consists in telling the enemy that their men would not even serve as women for their opponents. The hidden aim is to avoid legal proceedings and to start a war without quarter, in which they hope to obtain more advantages than by peaceful and orderly negotiation. /192/

682 The most serious aggressive act is homicide. No attenuating circumstances are taken into account, not even that the killing was involuntary or done in self-defense, since the Guajiro solely considers the act itself: An individual took the life of another and serves punishment.

Let us consider some aspects of this type of aggression.

1. Voluntary homicide, that is, one person killing another consciously and deliberately.

2. Involuntary homicide, that is, one person killing another without intending to execute an aggressive act, such as

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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One day we met three slave-workers. They were sitting on a hillside gnawing at roast goat's feet. Talking with them we discovered that they had to serve their master without wages. Must they do so all their lives? we asked. Perhaps not, but they were bound to work for him till certain debts and obligations had been paid off, and these seemed very complicated and vague. 567

The real slaves for life are the prisoners taken in war. Thus there are various forms of slavery in Guajira. It is, of course, an ancient phenomenon, of which the whites would seem to have taken advantage rather than to have combatted. [727]

Slavery is a form of punishment. Formerly it was only conquered people and prisoners of war who were kept as slaves. This was usual among several Indian peoples, especially the Aruaks, to which group the Guajiro belong. [197] With them slavery has been systematized.

Let us see how it is that someone becomes a slave. If an Indian has been insulted or killed, his clan demands compensation. If this is not paid, war breaks out between the two clans and those taken prisoner are treated as slaves without further ado. The Indians, however, never begin a war for the purpose of obtaining slaves. The slaves are reckoned as part of the damages, and they and the possessions of the conquered are divided among the victors according to certain principles. The eldest maternal uncle, mother, nephew, brothers and the leader of the fighting are entitled to damages; and if there is enough, the leader of the warriors will usually distribute some of the booty to his nearest relatives, mother, sisters, and maternal aunts. All the property of the enslaved prisoners-of-war passes into the hands of the victors: their pastures, water-holes, cattle, utensils, clothing, ornaments. 626 567

Slaves are the property of their masters, who can do with them as they see fit; sell them, give them away, kill them or use their labour and, if they are women, have intercourse with them as they may desire. The same goes for the men, if their master is a homosexual, as is not unusual in Guajira. The owner's unmarried sons or nephews also con- 567 [838]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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the first wife retains a privileged position. She will be of the best family and the highest in rank. She is the hostess.

One day, when I was standing talking with Mauana, he pointed to a couple walking past and said eagerly:

'You should picture those with your apparatus.'

I photographed the two, who to me appeared very ordinary. The woman had her cheeks and nose painted red. Mauana whispered to me that the woman was not a woman, but that they were two men living together. Later we came across several Indian men who did women's work and wore women's dress. This was not considered really right, but it was looked upon with indulgence. In the early days of discovery gold coins were found on the coast by Santa Marta which depicted 'shameful acts contrary to Nature'. Among the Guajiros' relatives in the West Indies there were chiefs who had whole harems of boys.

'We were talking of bride-price and buying women slaves,' said I, to revert to more normal things. 'What does a poor youth do, who possesses nothing?'

Everyone agreed that it was a pity about any such. The law had definite regulations for intercourse between man and woman, and any infringement involved a claim for damages. If anyone seduced a woman, he must pay considerable compensation to her relatives, however willing she may have been; but if he took her against her will, it costs him considerably more. A poor man cannot pay and therefore risks losing his life as a punishment. The Indians admitted that here and there on the border there was prostitution, but it was mostly mestiso women who lent themselves to that. In Guajira proper, there were no prostitutes. Both the chiefs and the monks told us that. Thus in the interior, a young man without means must live a life of abstinence. The time when the dances of the kid were performed would be his only opportunity of enjoying a woman's favours, provided he could find a willing partner. At this time the otherwise strict code is suspended and free love permitted.

Mauana had promised to arrange a dance, but of another kind. The dances of the kid are performed during the rainy

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A Caspian man, dressed and painted as a woman. He lived with another man and performed all the tasks of the housewife

Little girl with gold bands round her neck and ankles

After burial: woman weeping by the urn containing the dead man's bones

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[Facing p. 112]

S:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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water but is given an herbal purgative. Her hair is cut short. Generally 881
several of her relatives stay around the door of the hut, and strangers and men with an eye to matrimony may look in. During this period the girl is taught the duties of married life and such skills as weaving, sewing, and making hammocks. When she emerges, stout and bleached, a special festival is held, when she removes her ornaments and puts on the adult clothes that she has made during her confinement. She is now considered marriageable. The length of her confinement depends on her status, though theoretically it lasts until her hair again reaches the [554
nape of her neck. Poor girls are secluded only a few weeks, rich girls 556]
up to 2 years.

Sexual life and marriage.—Little is known about the sexual life of 836
the *Goajiro*. A certain amount of promiscuous love making occurs among the young people at the biweekly festivals. Dances also provide an opportunity for sexual advances.

There are some male transvestites who carry on only female activities 838
and are ridiculed by the men.

When a man desires to marry he sends his father or uncle as inter- 584
mediary, then pays a bride price which has been set by the girl's relatives. 583
The payment is usually in cattle, but goats, pearls, liquor, cotton cloth, 602
and gold ornaments also are used. The father retains the purchase price only when his first daughter marries; the income of subsequent marriages goes to the girl's senior maternal uncles. The mother also receives part of the income. A son obtains the cattle for the bride payment from the increase of his father's herds.

Intermarriage between the sibs is frequent, and many of the *Goajiro* 582
give their daughters to "civilizados" from Maracaibo and Río Hacha, who pay higher prices and find such a tie with the Indians useful in their trading relations.

The marriage ceremony consists of a series of feasts and exchanges of 585
presents between the two families. The wedding night is spent at the [431]
ranchería of the bride's mother, but the nuptial hammock (specially woven by the female relatives of the bride) is hung from a tree some distance away from the house. For a period of days and even months the bridegroom leaves his bride at dawn and returns only after sunset. In [606]
this way the groom shows respect to his mother-in-law.

Polygyny is general. The number of wives depends on the economic 595
status of the husband, some men having as many as 20. Each wife lives in her own house, where her husband occasionally visits her. The man, as head of the polygynous household, supervises the daily slaughter of [592]
animals and the distribution of meat and corn to each household according to the number of its members.

If a wife shirks her domestic duties she may be divorced and her hus- 586
band may claim the return of the bride price cattle, plus their increase and

/89 cont./

836 Today this causes less repercussion, and the phenomena which were
558 aroused in the society and the individual have become weakened.
MB But by contrast, it /virginity/ is an object of greater search, and the man who is successful /70/ in finding a virgin bride publicizes it as an individual reason for prestige. Furthermore, men are complaining less and less when their wives have not come as virgins to the nuptial hammock, and they only make it the subject of satirical songs when they are drunk. That is to say, they take the matter more broadmindedly, giving if the character of an accomplished fact and almost to be expected.

Violation and rape. The payment for abuse is that which the
634 Guajiro must pay for illicit sexual relations with an unmarried woman, being a material compensation for the improper use made of her and returning to the woman her position of respected spinster, with the possibility that another man will court her and buy her for himself, without the fact of the abuse weighing as a dishonor in her past or having any echo in the future. It is also the compensation to the maternal relatives of the woman for the material and moral offense of violation of a right. They receive this payment because, by not accepting it, they would lower their kinswoman, and through her all of the family, to the category of "a dog or a burro," with no one to make their rights valid, and in order to prevent others wishing to do the same thing to other women of the family, which would bring the prestige of the group to an end. Also, because the man made use of a right which he should have paid for beforehand, to compensate the woman's relatives for rearing her and for the social support they have given her. The payment covers two distinct aspects of different value: violation and rape.

In the first case, as it is considered that the woman has shown
634 willingness in the act, only the abuse is taken into account. In
● 839 the second, as force has been used, a compensation payment is demanded not only for abuse but for violation, specifying that the man used force and thereby humiliated the woman, made her dishonor and her physical weakness more obvious, and offended

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684 her maternal relatives by reducing them to the level of a con-
839 quered group whose women are the easy prey of any man as they have no one strong enough to back the claim for them. For this an increase in the payment is included as indemnity. Also, if when the assault took place the woman was injured, the payment is further increased because they also collect compensation payment for the spilling of blood, the common link of kinship and vital element of the body.

It frequently occurs in certain places where the economic differences between different groups are very pronounced, that when a young girl is in the period of seclusion and her relatives have had to leave her alone in her room to attend to work outside the house, rich Indians take advantage of the occasion to violate her. In such a case /71/ when the offended group obtains the backing of another group that is as strong as that of the offender's, the payment for abuse is very high, because in addition to the lowering of family prestige, they consider the value of the girl's seclusion and her isolation from men to have been lost, to placing her and her relatives on an inferior plane by not being able to comply in full with the traditional formalities usual in order to become a complete woman in the Guajiro sense. If the payment is not effected due to the inferiority and lack of backing of the offended group, one of the members of the clan, feeling the humiliation of his kinswoman, will wait for an opportunity to kill the culprit, but by doing so he will cause the destruction and exile of his family group.

684 It can happen, and it is very frequent at the present time, that a woman has received payment for successive abuses. The young girl, demoralized for various reasons, gives herself secretly to a man, an act which on becoming known leads to a claim for compensation payment. It may also come about that a woman comes to be bought as a wife after what has happened. As the young Guajiro woman considers it an honor to be bought rapidly and at a good price, she looks enviously at the luck of such women, and since she thinks that they owe it to their way she tries to do the same. This increases the frequency of the act, which in

/101 cont./

836 compunction in reproaching her, saying: "What! Is that man your father, your uncle, or your brother that you go walking with him, talking and laughing?" She must at once stop talking to the man and submissively pay attention to the admonition, because if not, the individual in question will go to her parents' house and will say to them: "Who is this that your daughter is talking and laughing with? Has he perhaps already bought her?" And her parents, very much annoyed at her conduct, will interrogate the girl more or less in this manner: "Who is this whom they tell me you are talking to? What does he want from you?" She will answer that he is her sweetheart and wants to buy her, to which her parents reply: "It is not to you that he has to speak but to us. Do not speak to him again."

839 583 Apart from these cases, which one might call voluntary, there are cases of violation which, as we know, give cause for a compensation claim for the illegal use of the girl, compounded by the abuse of subjecting her against her will and for the injuries she may have suffered on being violated. If she becomes pregnant as a consequence of such a union, then the corresponding compensation claim will be made for the troubles of pregnancy and labor. But the action by which the woman suffered will not be made the object of recrimination, nor will it lower her value in the eyes of the Guajiro collectivity, if the payment for what has happened is paid in full. There is nothing to object to after that, either in her or in her relatives, and the child will belong to her and will not be the object either of rejection or contempt.

Lastly, it is necessary to take into account the frequent violations of young women still in seclusion by rich Indians, when the girls belong to a poor group and their relatives have to leave them alone in the hut for some reason or other. They say that, as the woman is under treatment and during this time whoever is in charge of her avoids the appearance of menstruation by means of herbs, she does not become pregnant if she has sexual relations. But if such an act does occur, the woman is taken out of seclusion immediately, and the corresponding compensation claim is presented.

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•839 583 In the cases that we have described, as in that of abduction, the relatives of the girl oblige the seducer to marry by paying the stipulated price, or to pay an amount they arrive at for the abuse committed. If neither of these alternatives is complied with, the enmity of the two groups involved becomes so bitter that war ensues. /102/

839 583 Marriage by adultery. When a woman commits adultery and the case is known, attempts are made to settle the matter legally: the lover is obliged by the maternal relatives to pay what is claimed by the legitimate husband, or to pay to them the value of a usual marriage, in which case the woman involved on the litigation becomes his lawful wife, according to Guajiro law.

At the present time this custom, which previously used to end with the death of the lover, the husband, or of both, since the husband tried to solve the problem in this way in spite of future consequences, is now dying out due to the emigration of the men and the growing prostitution among the women, both in and outside the peninsula, for the many reasons already seen.

583 587 Marriage of female bond servants and slaves. Although this aspect will be treated fully in the chapter headed Slavery and Bond Service, we would like to present it, if only summarily, in this chapter so as not to disturb the order of the ideas we are tracing.

The women and children taken prisoners in the wars which strong clan groups declare on weak ones when these have caused the death of one of their members enter into the state of slavery. This means that the all-powerful will of their owner may be imposed on every act of their lives, even up to his being able to kill them without possibility of claim, since their relatives who would be the claimants have been slaughtered or dispersed.

In this way adult women and girl slaves may be sold, and in effect are, especially " to be taken to Curaçao, Trinidad, etc.; they may be given away to their owners' relatives, or used in domestic service. If the master of a woman slave wishes to

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684 682 When the abortion is provoked by the woman when she is in an advanced stage of pregnancy, the husband demands compensation payment, and the act is considered a homicide.

684 838 An offense of a very grave character for an individual and his relatives is the attempt made by a homosexual to abuse him. Generally, this aggressive act is directed against defenseless young boys, who can be physically forced to submit. Their relatives demand compensation payment, not only for the physical molestation suffered by their relative but for the psychological and social significance of the offense, which completely devolves on them.

684 839 Exhibitionism of a sexual type is considered a punishable act because it entails an offense against the modesty of those present, and if /191/ the spectator is a person of high standing, it implies moreover a grave offense to his high status which demands respect from others; in this case the payment is greater and may cause strong reprisals to be taken against the offender's relatives. These offenses may refer to homosexual practices, suggestions or representations real or imaginary of copulation, or exhibition of the genital organs. Both sexes may undress in public without the spectators feeling offended, as happens at [515 831] the public baths, where the women bathe without concern, taking care to cross their legs. The man holds the penis to his waist in a way that his hairiness covers him and so does not offend the modesty of the bystanders.

684 Other aspects which have to be taken into consideration are the offenses that the woman can inflict on the man during married life. Let us remember that Guajiro women, even to this day, are bought without their wishes being taken into account, and that those who cannot avoid this marriage -- by means of suicide, flight, or breaking with the community -- may refuse to cohabit with the husband imposed on them or to satisfy his sexual desires. The man then abandons such a woman or demands compensation payment for the pain her attitude has caused him and refuses to resume his position as

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*756 When the woman becomes pregnant, the spirit puts up with
633 the situation without getting angry, but it does not show any such
834 patience if she delays a length of time in the sexual act with her husband, or if she sleeps by his side throughout the night.

The female shaman's obligation, in the sexual aspect, goes to the length of forcing her to be but a passive entity during coitus, not permitting her body the slightest motion and also not permitting any endearments from her husband before the sexual act. When these dispositions are disobeyed, the shaman finds
[787] herself suffering during the night from especially terrifying and horrible dreams which fill her with fears and anxieties.

*756 The man who marries a shaman gets to understand his
693 wife's situation, and for this reason he is prudent in his actions: He does not demand anything but the strictly indispensable, and he is in accord with her in all matters related to her special state. [30]

*756 But in spite of all these prohibitions, the female shaman
776 who becomes pregnant receives aid from the spirit at the time
844 of giving birth. This assistance consists of an easy delivery of her baby and of counsel her spirit gives her on the simplest form of giving birth, the remedies she should take, etc.

*756 The shaman must not perform ceremonial acts of curing
●841 when she is in her menstrual period because the patient will be-
843 come worse instead of improving. However, pregnancy does not present any obstacle to her activities, and she may accomplish cures during the entire period of gestation.

*756 In the case of a male shaman, the spirit permits him to be
834 with his wife, but for a very short time; he is also allowed, as
[595] are the rest of the Guajiro, to have several wives.

In summary, women shamans must cohabit exclusively with their husbands, avoiding all endearments, movements, the prolongation of coitus, and pregnancy. They may not exercise their functions during their menstrual periods. The male shaman also must be moderate in the sexual aspect and limit himself to his wife, or wives, as the case may be.

*756 The food taboo is limited to prohibiting the shaman from
262 eating the flesh of such animals as he has received in payment

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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756 ought not to have children. The spirits can show her
842 various magical tricks to avoid this, but if she should become pregnant, she can count on the spirit's help in labour. Not even the male piache is allowed to partake of
[831] love more than fleetingly, almost casually. There must be no real affection involved.

756 A woman piache cannot practice during menstruation.
[841] No piache may eat meat from animals he has received in payment for his services. These, like other gifts, he does not enjoy, but he can give them to his sons. Nor is he allowed to eat meat from animals sacrificed at funerals or such feasts. While invoking or conjuring spirits he should restrict his diet to maize gruel.

A piache can cure all, but not himself. Sometimes, perhaps, a sympathetic spirit may give him a little advice, which will always help; but if he falls seriously ill, he summons a
[766 colleague, who performs the usual sorcery. When a piache
768] dies, his rattle, diadem and other attributes are chopped up and buried in some remote and secret place. The dead
[775] piache's soul roams like those of all mortals and often clings to the burial place, but it is never alone, being always in company with its guardian spirit. Both can later help a new piache.

The medicine man is thus called to his profession by revelation and no attention is paid to sex, social position or age. Women have been magicians in Guajira from of old, as is shown by their myths. The piache belongs to two worlds: those of man and of the spirits. He has not chosen to belong to them and must continue in both. He is the intermediary between these two worlds, but nowadays his influence is dwindling. As civilization penetrates the peninsula, the part he plays is becoming less and less important.

756 The first really great piache was Umaralá, of whom the
173 Indians relate the following:

In the olden days there were plenty of piaches who took big fees, but did little. Umaralá made his cures with secret remedies and with songs accompanied on his maraca rattle. He lost his mother early, but was adopted as her own by his maternal aunt, who also considered all her possessions his.

I

PRENATAL CARE. BIRTH. CHILDREN.

842 Valuation of children. Every Guajiro family group endeavors to increase the number of its members as much as possible. As a consequence, every birth is acclaimed with happiness so that no newborn suffers from the problem that his arrival may not be welcomed by his parents or relatives. On the contrary, he will always find his place within the group, in which it is hoped that he will play his part adequately.

614 The fact is that the importance of any group depends on the number of its members, as it can be observed that, although some groups are economically strong, the relative scarcity of men causes the loss of directive positions and influence. Relations between clan groups are on a par when they are more or less matched in the number of their males; otherwise any problem pending between them will be decided in favor of the side where the greater influence of the men weighs more. In order to balance forces, the weak group must seek alliance with other groups.

614 Notwithstanding the general eagerness to increase numerically in order to keep the balance or a more just social situation
554 throughout the peninsula, there are some groups that are not so inclined. These are those that have fallen into an inferior state which obliges them to be put at the margin of Guajiro life, where they end up suffering all kinds of injustice and ill-treatment from the others who, finding no force to withstand them, profit by this and, for any reason whatsoever, confiscate their property, deny them all rights, and burden them with demeaning situations like bond service. Such, in brief, is the lot of groups that have few male members and few economic
614 resources. This being so, as a sort of passive defense, the wom-
554 en refuse to conceive: They make use of every empirical re-
842 course to limit maternity. They use herbs which are prescribed

614 /1 cont./
554 for delaying menstruation during the seclusion following the
[842] appearance of puberty, so that the organism may become weakened and the menstrual cycle no longer appears, with which their matrimonial life does not bear fruit. They know beforehand /2/ the destiny of their children. When they become
[567] of useful age a stronger group will fall upon them to enslave them under any pretext -- such as the loss of an animal whose disappearance will be attributed to them without any outcry or civil authority aroused to impede this, and, the injustice inflicted being proved, without any punishment being applied to the aggressor group. Their daughters will be taken as wives
614 without the necessary Guajiro payment, or, simply, they will
554 abuse them, there being no family backing to oppose the de-
593 mands of the men belonging to the stronger groups. If a daughter should be bought, only a nominal payment will be made to silence the protests of her family, but later a very heavy matrimonial retribution will be demanded. Generally, the husband will brag about the way in which he ill-treats the girl, knowing that she is unprotected and that her relatives have insufficient power to demand justice. Thus it is not rare that poor wives are killed by their husbands after a life in which the unfortunate women have been subjected to cruel beatings and even mutilation. And if the family has no alliance with any powerful groups, the death is not indemnified. The mothers also know that should
614 one of their sons, accidentally or in self-defense, wound or kill
554 a member of a stronger family group, the repirsal taken will
628 not be preceded by a demand for compensation payment or any of the legal requirements usually stipulated, but that his whole group will be destroyed or enslaved and deprived of its clan lands, fields, sources of water supply, and personal effects. For such reasons these weak groups are allowing themselves to die out by reducing their birth rate to a minimum.

882 Regarding the special wishes of each group as to the sex of its future descendants, we feel the need of making an analysis of the valuation which each has in the society.

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562 [842] The father hopes that his first-born will be a boy, as he sees in him a future helper in herding tasks and a companion on long trips. The maternal family also desires that the first-born be a son because, although he does not hereafter increase the family, beoause of /the system of/ matrilinear descent, he does contribute to its prestige, as on the number of males depends the family prestige and influence, since it is they who represent it in situations of conflict with other groups and who, because of this prestige, make it possible for their relatives to live a more peaceful life by checking the misbehavior of members of other groups with the women of their group, maintaining the peaceful equilibrium of the conjugal life and preserving a mutual respect for the rights and duties of both sides.

Furthermore, on their importance depends, indirectly, the maintenance of their womenfolks' social standing, as no other Guajiro /3/ would become involved in acts of violation or seduction against them for fear of reprisal. Their daughters, rather, will be bought by men of their own social rank, which would eliminate the possibility of their being lowered. Also, should a relative die, the indemnity is more certain, for fear that the group might impose payment and justice by its own might.

However, the male members always present difficulties. The women of the group are always bound by the conduct of the men, for whatever illegal act is committed against another group affects them directly as reprisals are directed against them. On the other hand, when it becomes known that the men [579] are foregathering, the women must be near by, because the men overindulge in rum and under its influence become aggressive and give free rein to their dislikes and hatreds. The women's role then is to try to keep arguments from degenerating into wrangling and bloodshed by endeavoring prudently to patch up such difficulties as they develop.

[583] Furthermore, although it is true that male economic help is the greater in cases where the group requires mutual

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[512] co-operation, it is also true that their marriages demand heavy [583] disbursements from everyone, not only in animals but in jewelry -- gold ornaments -- which a man's female relatives give him to be handed over to his future wife as a sign of the engagement. Also, the children of a man's marriage are not his in our sense of the word, so that in spite of the expense borne by the family, it does not become strengthened by the increase. All the children belong to the maternal family group according to Guajiro law.

[842] The wife concurs with her husband in hoping that her first child will be a son but thereafter hopes for a large family of girls, who will enrich and increase the family group to which they belong with children and marriage payments, for a woman [611] in Guajiro society has no less importance than a man, as it is she who transmits relationship and, therefore, increases with her offspring the number of consanguineous relatives. In the woman rest the hopes of her relatives for indemnification for the care they gave her in her youth and the maintenance of her social rank, because, on being bought, the eldest daughter indemnifies her father and his family for the expenses they had in livestock and ornaments in buying her mother. The others, with their marriage payments, increase the maternal income and, to a certain extent augment with this sum the economic backing for future children and for the support of the husband, and form a nest egg to help should any difficult situation of their own or of their family /4/ arise. Moreover, as women have lately been [797] improving the technique of their handwork by the instruction they receive in the Capuchin mission, and these articles are readily sold in the markets of the interior as well as in the neighboring markets of Valledupar and Maracaibo, the woman really constitutes an important economic force that helps to overcome the precarious financial situation in the home, which is aggravated by the intensely hot summers which do not permit all-season agricultural activity and weaken the livestock. With the revenue so obtained she supports her husband, feeds and clothes herself, her children, and her close relatives.

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843 278 Sometimes a woman who knows that her delivery is likely to be difficult takes various herbs, which she buys from the women of the Sierra de Jarara, who understand their curative properties, or gets someone to obtain them from the Arhuaco /Cagaba/ Indians, to whom they frequently go in search of medical remedies.

844 278 At the time that labor pains begin, the woman takes infusions of various herbs which her relatives have previously obtained. With these the delivery progresses rapidly, and the birth occurs quickly and successfully. Also during delivery she takes one or more doses of the juice of the herb which serves to reduce the size of the fetus.

842 278 Once the child is born and in case the placenta is delayed, the woman drinks the juice from the pulp of a pumpkin (Crescecia Cujeta) and that of a new /nueva/ herb with the purpose, once the delivery has occurred, of preventing an early recurrence of pregnancy once sexual life is renewed. This has the property of preventing conception for a period up to four years when taken in larger than normal dosage.

844 If the herbal remedies do not produce the hoped-for result, the woman's relatives with her assistance recapitulate the taboos that were possibly violated during the months of pregnancy by her, by her husband, or by both, and they endeavor to make some sort of reparation. Thus, for example, if she had seen a snake in its hole or if her husband had killed it, or if she had looked fixedly at it and had not complied with the precept to step over it to arrest its baleful influence, as is their belief, her relatives go in search of a snake of the same species, which they kill and bring to place on the abdomen of the woman in labor, after which the delivery is successfully accomplished. Should they find that the husband was hunting with firearms or had simply fired a gun, they proceed to wash /8/ the barrel of the firearm in question and give this water to the woman to drink. With this the delivery is quickly completed.

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581 832 298 842 847

A woman tries to maintain these qualities as she well knows that they form the center of attraction to a man and that maternity steadily destroys them. This may be one of the reasons for the increasing use of birth control, for which they take herbs that do not allow them to conceive, abortives of all kinds, and they take advantage of their knowledge of their periods of sterility and avoid sexual intercourse at other than these periods.

Their facial features are of no great importance to them so long as they conform to the anthropological norms of the group. They prefer a face with large, dark eyes and beautiful, healthy teeth. Also, they are especially attracted by the whiteness of the skin as it indicates social standing because it is a sign that the woman is better able to look after herself by protecting herself from the sun of the region. During her /62/ seclusion the girl does not expose herself to the sunlight, and her greatest pride is that her skin has become whiter. Every morning she bathes with water left out previously in the evening dew, which besides having magic effects has the property of whitening the skin, and when she goes visiting she always covers her face with facial paints -- a customary practice required by etiquette, which also protects her from the sun's rays. During her seclusion the girl also complies with other beautifying and magic practices, such as denying herself certain meat like deer meat or animal udder, since this last, for example, will wrinkle her rapidly and she will lose some of her physical attractiveness.

A woman is well aware that her future married life will be affected in great measure by her preserving an agreeable appearance and that if the man does not feel satisfied she will be relegated to second place, and he will acquire another woman. For this reason she continually struggles to benefit by all known means to recapture her husband and retain him and avoid his acquiring other women. This is the reason that the mother, when her daughter is in the hammock ready to be hoisted up during her initiation, places on her a love charm which has the property of attracting men and of which we spoke in a previous chapter.

/100 cont. /

840 836 When the girl is of easy virtue /ligera de cascos/, generally a mestizo of low class, she frequently has sexual intercourse while unmarried, hiding it carefully from her relatives. She receives presents from her lover to satisfy her needs or wishes for adornment or clothes which she could never manage to obtain honorably. But she avoids pregnancy, which according to her own ideas is possible by not having sexual relations during the ten days following menstruation, or by obliging the civilizado man with whom she is living to use contraceptives.

836 It also happens sometimes that a middle-class girl, seduced by her sweetheart with the promise of matrimony, consents to live with him and keep their illicit relations secret. The man says to her: "Don't tell anyone, because I cannot buy you for my wife now. If you say nothing, within a year I shall have sufficient money, and then I will buy you. You will see best how you can fix things so that your people do not know." But on occasion the woman becomes pregnant, and her relatives, when they know about it, oblige her to confess who caused her condition, and, as we have said before, she is usually badly beaten. Then they present the compensation claim against the man. The girl's relatives feel that with this act they have been deeply offended, since an abuse of one of their women lowers everyone in the whole clan group, putting them in the class of slaves without relatives to claim retribution for offenses committed against them, and establishing a precedent before all the community which puts them in a position in which all their women can easily be possessed by anyone who feels like it, because no family male power protects them. Also, the men lose prestige as influential persons in the group and as men who are not afraid to face bravely and successfully any situation like the present one to protect the honor of the clan. For this reason, the woman who has had illicit sexual relations and realizes she is pregnant does everything possible, as we have seen, to produce an abortion, and in the majority of cases she is successful. /101/

Because of these difficult situations, when a Guajiro sees a woman friend or relative of his talking to a man, he has no

/108 cont./

833 been deprived of her will and that she does not count as a person. For these reasons she regards her marital life as a hard duty to perform, at odds with her own personality. Possibly, for this reason, the man seeks out the mestizo, who is free of these prejudices and for that reason more capable to give and to derive for herself greater satisfaction from her marital life than the pure Indian woman.

595 833 As it is not uncommon for a man to have two, three, or even more co-wives living together in one house, his conduct in his conjugal relations must be very circumspect if he wishes to preserve, at least in appearance, a cordial or friendly feeling among them, because if he is not circumspect, jealousies will spring up and a bitter struggle of lengthy repercussions ensue. As each one of the wives endeavors to find a motive that will justify her as superior in the eyes of the others, he has to behave with extreme caution. For this reason he sleeps outside in the enramada /bough-covered shelter/ while his women and their children sleep inside the house. He never suggests to any one of them that they should spend the night together, as the one thus favored would announce this preference to place herself on a superior plane. For this reason he receives whichever one goes voluntarily to him to his hammock.

834 The man suspends marital relations during the time the woman's pregnancy is advanced. He does this for fear of causing a miscarriage for which he might be blamed, and because of the belief that it might give rise to a bad delivery.

After the birth of the child, marital life is not resumed until the woman voluntarily asks for it.

Ideas about fecundation. The Guajiro knows that 842 fecundation is the result of the combined action of the woman and the man through the means of the sexual act. They know that in this act the man gives an element which joined to the feminine one will form the new being. They say that the [826] woman has in her internal parts a special organ in which this new being will gradually take form, the womb, called in their

/108 cont./

842 language the urá-hu-chon ("place where babies are formed").
But in order to be fruitful the woman must menstruate at regular
[826] intervals. Otherwise they will be sterile, and in La Guajira
cases of this are known.

They explain the necessity of menstruation for fecundation by saying that after a woman has had her monthly period, in spite of bathing her body and her exterior genital organs most carefully, there remains in the interior of the womb a small quantity of menstrual blood, the last of that period; and when the sexual act occurs, the male sperm mixing with the female blood will form the new being, who from the first moment shows all the characteristics of an adult in miniature /109/ but needs a period of residence in the maternal womb to be nourished and to develop properly. When this moment arrives, birth takes place. They do not know what causes the difference in sex. They think, furthermore, that the female blood beside being a contribution to the initial formation of the new being is also its food, because they have observed the disappearance of the menstrual cycle during pregnancy.

Consequently, for the loss of blood the mother suffers during her pregnancy (nourishment of the fetus) and during the birth, her relatives claim compensation payment from the husband; they demand two payments in this connection which we have already described in a special section of this chapter.

Now we can understand why the payment made in such circumstances cannot be touched or made use of by the woman when it is a payment of animals, because, as we have said, it would mean that she was figuratively consuming herself, as it represents her lost blood, part of her very life.

843 The woman during pregnancy acquires certain magic
properties and she finds it necessary to observe a large number of
taboos in order to carry to a happy fulfillment the gestation
which is taking place. She herself is considered a being of potential and dangerous magic for weak and sick people, whom she must not visit because she will instill a feeling of sorrow and sickness in them, and this could cause them to have a relapse or lead to their death.

/109 cont./

842 The Guajiro also knows that at a fixed time in her life the woman's menstrual cycle ceases, and he affirms that from then onward she will have no more children because her internal organ has "been damaged," that is to say, "it no longer works," and in consequence is incapable of supplying blood, the female element indispensable for fecundation.

• • •

825 The Guajiro also has his own theory with respect to the fecundation of oviparous birds and animals. He believes that in the sexual act the male deposits in the entrails of the female the masculine element necessary for the formation of the new animal. This masculine element unites with the contribution of the female, and when she lays the egg both parts are working together, and if the process of hatching follows successfully, the result is the new being. They compare this last process with that which has been verified in the womb of the woman, with the difference that the necessary nourishment is to be found in the same elements, feminine and masculine, that form the egg. The warmth is contributed by the parents.

The masculine element in the egg is represented by two parts: the red point, or germinative part, without which the development /110/ of the chick cannot take place; in consequence, they consider it of more importance than the white, which from its similarity to the sperm they believe is also supplied by the male. What they call the red point is, according to their opinion, the really vital part, because they have observed that when this is missing, the egg does not hatch in spite of having the other male element, the white, which is of secondary value.

The female contribution is represented by the yolk. They have found on opening a hen that inside it has the so-called "ovarium" containing the yolks or ova, and they believe that this is the only part that nature assigns to the hen.

[28 cont.]

*756 834 833 Referring to the sexual aspect, we have the following facts: 1) a woman of licentious habits can never get to exercise the office of shaman; the spirit would never take up residence within her; 2) the unmarried woman who is initiated into the profession may have sexual relations only when she marries in accordance with established rites, but with certain limitations. [29] She may cohabit with her husband, and exclusively with him, in spite of the phrases used by the spirit at the time of initiation, "You may not sleep (cohabit) with your husband," but she must carry out the sexual act quickly and get up from the matrimonial hammock as soon as it is finished; for if not, they will see in the doorway of their habitation a shadow, in appearance like a civilizado, who will speak into her ear saying: "I do not like your sleeping with your husband because you do not belong to him. You are mine, you are my loved one." The woman therefore must perform coitus as hurriedly as if she were committing a crime.

*756 842 When a woman shaman marries, her spirit advises her as follows: "So that you may not have children, since you are always with your husband in spite of my prohibition, put skeins of wool on your wrists and on your ankles and around your waist like a sirapo [loincloth], and tie a piece of onion to the wool." The Indian woman who related this said that she had obeyed the spirit's instructions in every detail, and she had never had any more children. The spirit demanded a gold necklace from her as recompense for its counsel.

*756 834 776 767 Another female shaman with whom we had the opportunity to converse recounted the following to us: When she married, the spirit told her that it cared for her no longer. When she inquired the cause of this, the spirit replied that it was due to the fact that after having been with her husband, she had a smell of male goat, an odor which it did not like. The shaman explained to the spirit that she had married because her parents had sold her. The spirit was quite angered with her and had no wish to return to inspire her; it did not want her to marry because she belonged to it and not to anyone else. Finally it agreed to the formula that she might cohabit with her husband but must not linger over the sexual act.

[58 cont.]

755 expert in these sicknesses and who devote themselves to applying the remedies and divining the causes of such illnesses indicate by what bird the fruit which the mother ate was contaminated. Once the origin of the sickness has been determined, they proceed to carry out the method of cure which entails hunting and capturing the bird responsible, which, once killed, is roasted, and the meat fed to the child. A sancocho [stew] is also prepared, using portions of the bird, a good part of which is fed to the child. With this medicine the infant should be quickly cured. If this does not effect a cure, the divination has been incorrectly made, and it was not that kind of bird that pecked at the fruit eaten by the mother during her pregnancy. The whole process must therefore be done over again to discover with absolute certainty what animal caused the child's sickness.

843 If a pregnant woman should eat the meat of a hen that has
753 been killed by a sparrow hawk, the child will be born sickly, his excretions will be green, and his crying will be like the cry of a hawk. When they do not know the origin of the sickness, they
755 apply home remedies or those of any local curer [curandero]. If
[757] these do not bring about the desired effect, then they must turn to divination. The diviner will decide that the mother ate the flesh of a chicken that had been killed by a sparrow hawk. The curing method will follow a similar process to that previously noted: a hawk is found and killed; a leg of the creature is taken, and the bone is well cleaned and allowed to dry. When it is sufficiently dry it is boiled, and the child's body bathed with the resulting infusion.

262 The meat of such a hen — contaminated by the hawk
825 which had eaten some of it — is also harmful to children in
842 general, boys and girls, and also adults. Every time it is eaten
888 it causes sterility. For this reason the magic taboo on this meat is lifted only for the old and the very aged who have already lost their procreative powers and in consequence have nothing to fear in this respect.

756 Household medicine. This system of medicine, which, as we have said, is independent of shamans and diviners, is based above all on the practice of certain magic practices directly

[86 cont.]

766 751 In these magic practices we can observe the following facts: 1) The burial of the first-born infant face downward in a funeral urn prevents succeeding children dying in the same way. If he is buried face upward, the future children will all unfailingly die. The spirit of the child is, then, like that of all other [775] dead adults, a spirit capable of doing harm, but its influence can be easily counteracted by varying the normal position of the head at the time of burial. 2) There is here the intervention of a special tree, the huruwá, the reason for which is at present unknown to us but which presupposes its possessing certain magic properties, as it is below this tree and no other that the body of the first-born must be buried. 3) The presence of the father or of the mother at the moment of burial would cause the death of their future children, which corroborates the above statement [775 842] that the spirit of the dead, even that of the newborn child, by its death makes its influence felt in the matter of conception, as we have seen in other cases. (Cf. "Magic and Sacrifice" and "Sickness and Medicine"). 4) The mother has to undergo or relive the ceremonial of the initiation rite as this, which is also directly connected with magic, prepares a woman for her life as such. If we make an analysis we can presume or reproduce the mental processes of the Indian in this case. If the initiation rite has as its special function the preparation of the woman for her place in society and in the family and if, in spite of it, the first-born – which implicates one of her principal functions: conception – dies, it must mean that the said rite was not carried out in all solemnity, all and each of its [87] fundamental parts were not complied with, and it is necessary to repeat them. The mother of a dead first-born is placed then in the condition of an adolescent.

* * *

858 We said in one of the sections in the chapter "Sickness and Medicine" that the child is regarded by primitives as a being defenseless up to a certain point, and that for this reason he needs

3: Wilbert E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 SC13 Goajiro SC13

Twenty six fundamental kinship terms by which the Goajiro designate their relatives were recorded. Most terms are applied to more than one relative so that the system is classificatory in type. Among the Goajiro, kinship terms are almost exclusively used in reference, while in addressing a person teknonyms are employed, e.g.; nĭshi pĭichí – father of pĭichí (nĭ – prefix, 3rd pers. singl. masc.; (a)shi – father; pĭichí – baciro). The term corresponds to a male person who is the father of a boy child. This practice of teknonymy presupposes the presence of personal names. Either sex can be given a name in remembrance of an event which occurred on their birthday, e.g., "the one of the full moon," "the one of the blossoms of that tree," "the one of the war between . . .," etc. More frequently, however, personal names differ from each other by sex. Boys are called after strong and wild animals, such as baciro (pĭichí), tiger (karáira), pig (pĭrĭkĭ), wild cat (músĭ), while girls' names are ornamental and flattering, e.g., "brilliant one" (hɛrótsĭ), brownish one (murĭachong), etc. 601 551

The teknonym employed to address a person is derived from the name of the eldest son, and in default of sons, from that of the eldest daughter. Personal names are used in addressing unmarried persons. It is a disgrace, however, for an adult not to have children. Grandparents may be called by a teknonym referring either to a son or to a grandchild. [842]

Kinship terms are never employed in the forms as listed above, but only with possessive prefixes, e.g., tashí – my father; pĭshii – your father; nĭshí – his father; sĭshí – her father; washí – our father; hashí – your (pl.) father; nashí – their father. In the table, kinship terms are represented by their root forms. As a friendly gesture, people may address each other by general terms such as "brother," "sister," etc., or they may call any small child "son" or "grandchild." 601 [572] [576]

Of particular interest is the distinction the Goajiro make between "blood-relatives" and "flesh-relatives." Blood-relatives are all patrilineally related persons, whereas "flesh-relatives" are related to Ego through the mother's line. Kinship ties between flesh-relatives are considered to be stronger than those existing between blood-relatives. In practical life this would mean that Ego would have to help his maternal uncle in a fight against his own father. Among all kinsmen the maternal uncle possesses the greatest authority and his word counts most in all domestic affairs. Frequently, therefore, we find the extended family clustered around the homestead of the maternal uncle, which makes the Goajiro a matrilineal avunculocal society. Otherwise residence is matrilocal. Any one of the three arĭur-relatives (maternal uncle), as listed in the table above, may replace the true maternal uncle in case of his death. But only his sister's children can be heirs of his possessions (including his wife or wives). 601 602 611 [604] [591] [768] [428]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

later, for he has been brought up always to try and make things right.

During her period of isolation a girl also learns how to satisfy her husband erotically and always to be ready, when he is excited. To retain his love she may employ magic as well as her own natural powers of attraction. Knowing that a woman loses some of her looks and attraction during pregnancy, wives often try, after having had several children, to hinder fertilization by taking certain herbal drugs and by magical means.

'Polygamy is permitted, is it not, Mauana?'

'Yes, a man can take several wives. As long as he pays the bride-price, no one can say anything, but her family would never allow a better-class girl to become the second wife of anyone. And you see, custom decrees that a Guajiro wife, whether the first or a concubine, must acquiesce if the husband takes a new wife. Similarly, it is considered that wives ought to live in peace and friendship. They must receive a new concubine cordially and all show their best side to the husband. They must help each other to watch the children and not display jealousy if the husband prefers one to the others.

'That is how it should be, but the reality is quite different. Very often the wives live in the same house, which naturally leads to conflict more easily than when each has her own hut. Jealousy or envy are common in these harems. Enmity and quarrelling are not infrequent, nor is actual fighting. The wives spy upon each other, destroy each other's things and make all sorts of scenes. One or other perhaps comes to hate the husband. It is said that a certain man, who shall be nameless, had noticed something of the sort and did not dare to be at home while a family feud lasted. An enemy could have bribed one of his wives to put poison in his maize beer.'

'That does not sound pleasant!'

'No, polygamy undoubtedly has its drawbacks!' Mauana agreed. 'I myself have only one wife, but several bed slaves,' he added with an artful look in his eye.

Even though all a man's marriages are considered legal,

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

796 to marry his partner, he must pay for her in the normal
786 way. Otherwise the young men and girls just give each other mementoes.

One of the games forming part of the dance of the kid is the so-called virginity test. The girls gather round a singer who improvises a variation of the theme: 'Let us see, pretty maid, if you have kept your innocence, if any man's hands have touched your body.' He then runs his hands over each girl in turn from the tip of her big toe, over her leg, knee, crotch, belly, chest and neck to the crown of her head, all the while trying to tickle her. Whoever neither laughs nor moves is declared a virgin and lauded by the singer. She goes and stands on one side, while those who cannot keep from laughing and so are not virgins, go to the other. Afterwards pretence presents are given to the 'virgins'.

796 When young people are gathered together as during the
● 842 dance of the kid festival, all sorts of dance-games and
524 pantomimes are performed. Some are connected with fertility rites, as those imitating the mating-play of turtles and goats. In the latter, the girl 'goats' are enclosed in a ring of men who try to prevent the male 'goats' from getting inside it. If any of the youths manage to leap in, they behave exactly like billy goats, pursuing the 'nannies', nosing at them and pretending to mount them. A number of the games have no erotic connection, but refer to all sorts of events in the lives of men and animals. Animals are imitated most faithfully.

One of the games depicts a meeting between the low-
796 landers and highlanders of Guajira. Each of the two sides
524 has a singing leader. They exchange greetings and then each describes the situation in their homes: in the one plenty of rain, good harvests, plenty to eat and fat cattle; in the other drought, starvation and misery.

Those who are lucky with their climate then invite the others to their territory, and they all dance off in the same
[423] direction. The game is a reference to the fact that the low-
[231] landers have the right against payment to send their herds to upper Guajira at certain times of the year to graze.

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

the demon of illness and death, Wanuru, is called Jirarai 756
Wanuru is the name of all the spirits of the dead which are 776
many, thus we are obviously dealing here with groups of spirits; and where Wanuru acts as guardian or assistant spirits, they no doubt represent the souls of dead medicine men.

One piache, known as a clever rain-maker, told us that 756
when he needed advice over rain-making, he used to go to 776
the burial place to talk with his dead brother's spirit, the 789
brother having been cleverer at it than he. When a piache has to make rain, he seats himself on his stool as for other functions, chews tobacco, shakes his maracs and rhythmically moves his torso and head. He then begins to sing in a high voice, calling upon the spirits and demanding that they bring rain, for people need it, if they are not to die of hunger. Now and again he emerges and dances round the huts, driving away the spirits that are preventing the rain from coming.

The Indians often first try to make rain without the 789
piache's help, by drumming at night or by firing guns and 821
arrows at the clouds. The drumming imitates thunder and can thus, according to the laws of magic, cause storms. The shooting drives away the spirits that are preventing the cloud from dispensing its rain. This is also what they do at eclipses of the sun, when all burst into tears and shoot at the sky to drive away the evil spirit that is preventing the sun from shining. A piache's own spirit does not interfere in his magic-making, for which he uses none but auxiliary [775] spirits. It is not till after his death that a piache's spirit can become active and help some other piache.

The piache has to submit to certain restrictions on diet 756
and love-life. He or she must never have extra-marital 834
intercourse and even marital intercourse must be restricted. A female piache must never spend the night with her husband, but merely pay him fleeting visits that should be as short as possible; she must never allow herself to be caressed by him, and must lie quite still and indifferent during [833] coition. If this is not done, her guardian spirit will be jealous and angry, and may cause trouble. And, preferably, she 756
842

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

756 ought not to have children. The spirits can show her various magical tricks to avoid this, but if she should ●842 become pregnant, she can count on the spirit's help in labour. Not even the male piache is allowed to partake of [831] love more than fleetingly, almost casually. There must be no real affection involved.

756 A woman piache cannot practice during menstruation. [841] No piache may eat meat from animals he has received in payment for his services. These, like other gifts, he does not enjoy, but he can give them to his sons. Nor is he allowed to eat meat from animals sacrificed at funerals or such feasts. While invoking or conjuring spirits he should restrict his diet to maize gruel.

A piache can cure all, but not himself. Sometimes, perhaps, a sympathetic spirit may give him a little advice, which will always help; but if he falls seriously ill, he summons a [766 colleague, who performs the usual sorcery. When a piache 768] dies, his rattle, diadem and other attributes are chopped up and buried in some remote and secret place. The dead [775] piache's soul roams like those of all mortals and often clings to the burial place, but it is never alone, being always in company with its guardian spirit. Both can later help a new piache.

The medicine man is thus called to his profession by revelation and no attention is paid to sex, social position or age. Women have been magicians in Guajira from of old, as is shown by their myths. The piache belongs to two worlds: those of man and of the spirits. He has not chosen to belong to them and must continue in both. He is the intermediary between these two worlds, but nowadays his influence is dwindling. As civilization penetrates the peninsula, the part he plays is becoming less and less important.

756 The first really great piache was Umaralá, of whom the 173 Indians relate the following:

In the olden days there were plenty of piaches who took big fees, but did little. Umaralá made his cures with secret remedies and with songs accompanied on his maraca rattle. He lost his mother early, but was adopted as her own by his maternal aunt, who also considered all her possessions his.

/4 cont./

562 177 At the present time the family concept of the woman is changing because of the conduct of mestizo and even pure Indian women brought about by changes in their economic situation and by contact with whites. Gradually, the traditional organization of the marriage payment and fidelity based on the payment is being broken down, because it is the women themselves and not their relatives who receive the payment, and for their [548] activities as prostitutes. The phenomenon is noted not only in the centers of the interior which wave contacts with whites and Negroes -- principally traders and civil authorities -- but also and especially in Maracaibo and some of the towns in the department of Magdalena, to which they have been obliged to emigrate. However, they maintain the family concept of mutual assistance and share their income with their close relatives, not as before in the form of the marriage payment but as income earned in the sex market.

843 Prenatal care and birth. A woman learns that she is pregnant when she feels a loss of appetite and repugnance for food. The later disappearance of the menstrual period confirms the suspicion, and she immediately sees to it that her husband is informed of the event, so that he may know of his coming fatherhood. Also, in the case where she has had extramarital relations [835] in the absence of the husband, the woman, when she feels these early symptoms of pregnancy, goes in search of him, cohabits with him, and later can tell him of her condition, thus avoiding possible later suspicions. From the time of the ending of the first menstrual period, she begins to count the months, and she expects delivery after the eighth month.

Before the arrival of a child, the woman complies with established rules intended to avoid a lengthy and difficult delivery as well as to safeguard the new arrival from sickness which would affect his normal mental and physical well-being. Included in these prescriptions are to be found some of useful and practical value and others with a marked magic aspect. These magic observances generally affect both parents, although some only refer to the woman, /5/ others exclusively to the man (1).

/5 cont./

843

1. Pineda Giraldo, Roberto.
Aspectos de la magia en la Guajira
/Aspects of Magic in La Guajira/,
Revista del Instituto Etnológico
Nac., Vol. III, No. 1, 1947.
Bogotá, 1950.

843 For example, the mother must not eat food that has been tasted
734 by an animal, for if she does her child will develop stomach trouble and will perform its natural functions in the manner of that animal; neither the man nor the woman should watch a snake in its hole nor should the man kill it, because if he does the mother's labor will be long and difficult. The mother-to-be should never attend a primary or secondary burial nor the man dig a grave, as this also may bring on a long and difficult delivery in addition to the child's suffering serious illness, etc.

843 During the period of pregnancy, the husband avoids irritating his wife and satisfies her wishes or desires, because otherwise his child may be born, for example, with a marked expression of anxiety on his face. However much she should contradict him, he should not make use of his authority or beat her, in deference to her condition and also because such conduct would bring grave consequence, for should the wife lose her child through ill-treatment, the responsibility would fall on him and his assets, and he would have to make payment to his wife in compensation for the injury caused. However, there are Guajiro who beat their wives when they are with child, when they know them to be of such low social standing that their relatives will not have sufficient power to assert their rights.

The Guajiro believes that certain actions which influence the psyche of the pregnant woman will have a physical repercussion on the coming infant. This is one of the reasons why the husband takes care to safeguard his wife and please her, avoiding causing her annoyance, scolding her, or ill-treating her. However, among these beliefs there are some which serve to solve satisfactorily certain problems which may arise from the breaking

/5 cont./

843 of social norms. In La Guajira, for example, adultery is at present very commonly practiced with whites and Negroes, and so to explain the appearance of children of a different color or of features distinct from Indian ones, the Guajiro woman appeals to the following belief: If a pregnant woman should receive a shock due to the sudden appearance of some person, her child will be born the color of that person.

We have already seen that if during her pregnancy a mother experiences an intense desire to possess some object and is not able to find it and satisfy her wish, the child will be born with the anxious facial expression of the mother and later will cry continually for no apparent reason. In these beliefs the Indian also sees the explanation of the birth of twins and of abnormal children. By the same token, the husband's duty is to prevent such impressions on the /6/ future mother, because a strong feeling of fear during the first months of pregnancy may cause her to have twins, or the impression made on her by an animal or by a physically defective person may cause her to give birth to an abnormal child. This imposes an obligation on the man when on the road to walk ahead in order to warn his wife of the presence of any such phenomena, so that she may avoid seeing them.

Another set of precautions are observed by the woman to prevent her delivery being long and painful. Among these we may name the following:

During her pregnancy she makes use of a special kind of herb which is found wild on the banks of streams and in the mountains, grinding it carefully to make a soft paste with which, from the fifth month onward until her delivery, she massages her stomach every day at dawn, leaving the juice of the herb on her skin throughout the day. When she wishes to make the treatment more effective, she applies the paste from the third month. The infant whose mother has undergone this treatment is born normal but is so reduced in size and weight that he resembles a fetus of four months. Thus the delivery is extremely easy and rapid. Infants who have been subjected to this kind of prenatal treatment are not born sickly or with nervous defects.

/6 cont./

843 They are normal although extremely small and undernourished. As the months pass, such an infant gradually recovers from the prenatal treatment and toward the end of the third year reaches normal size and acquires the usual physical characteristics of a child of ordinary type.

The Guajiro mother does not like to adopt this treatment, but she will make use of it when in previous cases she has had a difficult delivery. She is proud of the large size and robustness of her children, and it is a cause of pleasure to her when they [262] are admired. It is more usual for her to employ another group of practices, dietetic ones, such as those which advise abstaining from eating cheese, butter at meals, or fat meat, adding milk to corn mazamorra, and drinking large quantities of water daily before eating, during the entire pregnancy, in order to prevent the too active growth of the fetus and to have, as a result, a less difficult delivery.

The practices we have been describing are also recommended to keep the woman from developing to an exaggerated size which would hinder her movements both in carrying out her domestic duties and in the long distances she has to walk.

843 During the final months of pregnancy, she abstains from
784 sexual relations, both by her own wish and that of her husband,
in the belief that /7/ they would cause the child to be born
[834] sickly and the delivery to be prolonged, possibilities which are their main concern and the avoidance of which justifies the practice of any treatment that prevents them. Also, during the final months of her pregnancy, the woman is prohibited, within practical limits, from lifting heavy things, carrying water from wells and loads of seeds, carting firewood, or loading burros. But only women of outstanding economic position who have female bond servants and slaves to carry out such chores are able to observe these precautions. It is not rare, therefore, to find that the Guajiro woman is obliged to do her daily work to the detriment of her condition, for after one of these exertions, a woman is liable to suffer an immediate miscarriage.

/7 cont./

843 278 Sometimes a woman who knows that her delivery is likely to be difficult takes various herbs, which she buys from the women of the Sierra de Jarara, who understand their curative properties, or gets someone to obtain them from the Arhuaco /Cagaba/ Indians, to whom they frequently go in search of medical remedies.

844 278 At the time that labor pains begin, the woman takes infusions of various herbs which her relatives have previously obtained. With these the delivery progresses rapidly, and the birth occurs quickly and successfully. Also during delivery she takes one or more doses of the juice of the herb which serves to reduce the size of the fetus.

842 278 Once the child is born and in case the placenta is delayed, the woman drinks the juice from the pulp of a pumpkin (Crescecia Cujeta) and that of a new /nueva/ herb with the purpose, once the delivery has occurred, of preventing an early recurrence of pregnancy once sexual life is renewed. This has the property of preventing conception for a period up to four years when taken in larger than normal dosage.

844 If the herbal remedies do not produce the hoped-for result, the woman's relatives with her assistance recapitulate the taboos that were possibly violated during the months of pregnancy by her, by her husband, or by both, and they endeavor to make some sort of reparation. Thus, for example, if she had seen a snake in its hole or if her husband had killed it, or if she had looked fixedly at it and had not complied with the precept to step over it to arrest its baleful influence, as is their belief, her relatives go in search of a snake of the same species, which they kill and bring to place on the abdomen of the woman in labor, after which the delivery is successfully accomplished. Should they find that the husband was hunting with firearms or had simply fired a gun, they proceed to wash /8/ the barrel of the firearm in question and give this water to the woman to drink. With this the delivery is quickly completed.

/108 cont./

842 language the urá-hu-chon ("place where babies are formed").
But in order to be fruitful the woman must menstruate at regular
[826] intervals. Otherwise they will be sterile, and in La Guajira cases of this are known.

They explain the necessity of menstruation for fecundation by saying that after a woman has had her monthly period, in spite of bathing her body and her exterior genital organs most carefully, there remains in the interior of the womb a small quantity of menstrual blood, the last of that period; and when the sexual act occurs, the male sperm mixing with the female blood will form the new being, who from the first moment shows all the characteristics of an adult in miniature /109/ but needs a period of residence in the maternal womb to be nourished and to develop properly. When this moment arrives, birth takes place. They do not know what causes the difference in sex. They think, furthermore, that the female blood beside being a contribution to the initial formation of the new being is also its food, because they have observed the disappearance of the menstrual cycle during pregnancy.

Consequently, for the loss of blood the mother suffers during her pregnancy (nourishment of the fetus) and during the birth, her relatives claim compensation payment from the husband; they demand two payments in this connection which we have already described in a special section of this chapter.

Now we can understand why the payment made in such circumstances cannot be touched or made use of by the woman when it is a payment of animals, because, as we have said, it would mean that she was figuratively consuming herself, as it represents her lost blood, part of her very life.

843 The woman during pregnancy acquires certain magic
properties and she finds it necessary to observe a large number of taboos in order to carry to a happy fulfillment the gestation which is taking place. She herself is considered a being of potential and dangerous magic for weak and sick people, whom she must not visit because she will instill a feeling of sorrow and sickness in them, and this could cause them to have a relapse or lead to their death.

[29 cont.]

*756 833 834 When the woman becomes pregnant, the spirit puts up with the situation without getting angry, but it does not show any such patience if she delays a length of time in the sexual act with her husband, or if she sleeps by his side throughout the night.

The female shaman's obligation, in the sexual aspect, goes to the length of forcing her to be but a passive entity during coitus, not permitting her body the slightest motion and also not permitting any endearments from her husband before the sexual act. When these dispositions are disobeyed, the shaman finds [787] herself suffering during the night from especially terrifying and horrible dreams which fill her with fears and anxieties.

*756 693 The man who marries a shaman gets to understand his wife's situation, and for this reason he is prudent in his actions: He does not demand anything but the strictly indispensable, and he is in accord with her in all matters related to her special state. [30]

*756 776 844 But in spite of all these prohibitions, the female shaman who becomes pregnant receives aid from the spirit at the time of giving birth. This assistance consists of an easy delivery of her baby and of counsel her spirit gives her on the simplest form of giving birth, the remedies she should take, etc.

*756 841 843 The shaman must not perform ceremonial acts of curing when she is in her menstrual period because the patient will become worse instead of improving. However, pregnancy does not present any obstacle to her activities, and she may accomplish cures during the entire period of gestation.

*756 834 [595] In the case of a male shaman, the spirit permits him to be with his wife, but for a very short time; he is also allowed, as are the rest of the Guajiro, to have several wives.

In summary, women shamans must cohabit exclusively with their husbands, avoiding all endearments, movements, the prolongation of coitus, and pregnancy. They may not exercise their functions during their menstrual periods. The male shaman also must be moderate in the sexual aspect and limit himself to his wife, or wives, as the case may be.

*756 262 The food taboo is limited to prohibiting the shaman from eating the flesh of such animals as he has received in payment

[41 cont.]

764 1. The first of these types refers to the custom established
782 among them of sacrificing, during the wake of any member of the community, a number of animals belonging to the dead man (cows, bulls, goats, sheep), the meat of which is divided among those attending the wake along with the corresponding drink, which in these days is rum but in times past was chicha.

The reason given for the sacrificing of animals during a
[767] wake in answer to the question is that this is done in deference to the guests and especially to those whom we could call "professional mourners," who spend all day and all night moaning over the corpse. But on observing certain practices and particularly certain taboos regarding the meat of these sacrificed animals, one has to think rather of the ritual character of the sacrifice.

It is a fact that the relatives — sons, daughters, nephews
262 [and nieces, sabrinos], brothers [and sisters, hermanos] etc. —
764 of the deceased cannot eat the meat of animals sacrificed during
783 the wake or during the later ceremony of secondary burial, as this,
782 according to their belief, would be equivalent to eating their dead kinsman's flesh. This taboo, imposed on the deceased's relatives, serves to prove to us — so far as it is possible to deduce — the ritual aspect of the sacrifice of the dead man's livestock, stock which on being slaughtered takes on the same untouchable or magical quality, which the individual takes on when he disappears from the world of the living and enters the universe of the dead. [42] To put this more plainly, the animals sacrificed are contaminated by their dead owner.

The untouchable quality of the animal sacrificed at the
[765] wake or in the ceremony that accompanies the second burial is supported by the following fact. The belief exists in La
[843 Guajira that if during pregnancy the mother or the father of the
753] future child is present at the exhuming of a corpse, the child is born sickly, suffers from permanent diarrhea and night sweats,
755 and gets more and more pale and progressively thinner. Its
765 illness continues to get worse, and none of the familiar remedies have the desired effect. The parents then resort to the following system of curing (a system which with some variations is also common among the people of the town of Santander). They wait until there is an exhumation ceremony, and then

[57 cont.]

W 854 291 a wooly substance from another tree which is very similar to the balso. So dressed, the infant Indian, lifted onto the bare shoulders of its mother or clinging to her knees, appears in reality very like a small monkey. With only this savage dress, these Indians are quite happy." ... (40)

40. Anon. Op. cit., 2d, I, 37.

W 854 The missionary is right when he compares these children to small monkeys. The idea of dressing the child in so peculiar a costume is not just to protect him from the vagaries of the climate, or to dress him with greater or lesser aesthetic taste, but to safeguard him from evil spirits by means of this disguise, which constitutes a veritable transformation of his physical personality. The child on being dressed up in this extraordinary covering is really changed into another being, so that the evils he might attract to himself lose their effectiveness since the spirits are deceived by the substitution that has been made.

G 755 A method of curing very similar to that we have just described is the one used when a newborn child shows signs of intestinal trouble and diarrhea, evacuating something like spittle. The woman who is acting as diviner discovers by her art that the sickness attacking the infant is due to its mother G [753] having allowed a duck to eat part of her food. For this reason the child passes its fecal matter in a way similar to that of a duck. How does one proceed, then, to restore the infant to health? The feathers around the anus of the duck are plucked out, burned, and the ashes are reduced to powder. As soon as the infant's bowels have moved, his mother must clean him carefully and then apply the powder of the ashes of the feathers around his anal sphincter. If the diviner's diagnosis has been correct, the child should recover quickly on the application of the prescribed remedy. [58]

G If during her pregnancy the mother should eat fruit which ● [843] has been previously pecked at by any kind of bird, the child 753 on being born will have stomach trouble and his excrement will 755 be similar to that of the bird. The Indian women who are

[58 cont.]

755 expert in these sicknesses and who devote themselves to applying the remedies and divining the causes of such illnesses indicate by what bird the fruit which the mother ate was contaminated. Once the origin of the sickness has been determined, they proceed to carry out the method of cure which entails hunting and capturing the bird responsible, which, once killed, is roasted, and the meat fed to the child. A sancocho [stew] is also prepared, using portions of the bird, a good part of which is fed to the child. With this medicine the infant should be quickly cured. If this does not effect a cure, the divination has been incorrectly made, and it was not that kind of bird that pecked at the fruit eaten by the mother during her pregnancy. The whole process must therefore be done over again to discover with absolute certainty what animal caused the child's sickness.

843 If a pregnant woman should eat the meat of a hen that has
753 been killed by a sparrow hawk, the child will be born sickly, his excretions will be green, and his crying will be like the cry of a hawk. When they do not know the origin of the sickness, they
755 apply home remedies or those of any local curer [curandero]. If
[757] these do not bring about the desired effect, then they must turn to divination. The diviner will decide that the mother ate the flesh of a chicken that had been killed by a sparrow hawk. The curing method will follow a similar process to that previously noted: a hawk is found and killed; a leg of the creature is taken, and the bone is well cleaned and allowed to dry. When it is sufficiently dry it is boiled, and the child's body bathed with the resulting infusion.

262 The meat of such a hen — contaminated by the hawk
825 which had eaten some of it — is also harmful to children in
842 general, boys and girls, and also adults. Every time it is eaten
888 it causes sterility. For this reason the magic taboo on this meat is lifted only for the old and the very aged who have already lost their procreative powers and in consequence have nothing to fear in this respect.

756 Household medicine. This system of medicine, which, as we have said, is independent of shamans and diviners, is based above all on the practice of certain magic practices directly

[58 cont.]

755 associated with some prohibitions of a taboo nature or with established social customs, the origin and in part even significance of which is unknown. But what attracts our attention in this aspect of Guajiro medical [59] practice is preventative rather than curative nature. To demonstrate this, we quote some examples:

753 During the period of pregnancy, neither the father nor the
755 mother should be present at the exhumation of the dead, a cere-
843 mony which the Indians hold to comply with the rites of the secondary burial. If this injunction is disobeyed, the infant about to be born will, at birth or a few days later, have a sickly appearance and will be afflicted with constant diarrhea and night sweats, and will be characterized by a very pronounced paleness and extreme thinness.

755 If this occurs, if through carelessness the parents witness the exhumation of a corpse during the mother's pregnancy and her child is born sickly, they will not try to blame the child's illness on any other cause than that just stated. In accordance with this decision, they will proceed to apply the curing method appropriate for such an emergency, which, as we noted in the previous chapter, "Magic and Sacrifice," is as follows: (a) They wait until there is a fiesta of a ceremonial nature for the exhumation of human remains and then place the infant inside the recently opened body of the animal that has been sacrificed for the ceremony. (b) If the infant cannot be taken to the place where the ceremony is being held, a bone of the sacrificed animal is taken, left to dry, and cooked, and the infant is bathed in this water. (c) If there is no possibility of a ceremony of the type described being held in the near future, a hole is made in the sand, and the child is buried therein up to its neck and is then covered with the loose earth.

843 Neither should the husband of a pregnant woman under any
845 circumstances dig a grave or assist in the construction of a vault
764 (an element of acculturation) destined for the primary or secon-
[177] dary burial of any person. If he does his wife will suffer the consequences of this disrespect in her delivery, which will not be normal: prolonged for several days, very painful, and with serious consequences for the mother and for the coming child.

[59 cont.]

843 845 A pregnant woman should never be present at or watch a burial, for if she does so, she will have a difficult childbirth: the infant's arrival will be delayed in a manner both painful and difficult for the mother.

755 758 784 Anyone who may have touched the corpse of a person whose death has not been natural – who has been murdered, for example – is prohibited from approaching the side of one who is sick, because this individual will die because of his presence. This prohibition is also extended to those who have directly assisted in the exhumation of human remains. Furthermore, both of these persons are strictly forbidden to come near [753] children [60] or places where they may be, because their presence, contaminated by the nature of the dead, will cause the children to fall ill.

843 825 Serpents also have magic influence on pregnant women. In this case it is not an influence destined to injure the unborn child but is directed against the mother herself, who feels in various ways in her own flesh the malignant action of the reptile. For instance, if a woman during her term of pregnancy sees a hunting snake [culebra cazadora] and remains looking at it for some time, her child will be born stupid. The explanation that the Indians give for this very generally accepted belief is that as this snake gives the impression of being stupid, because it does not attack people as other snakes do and does them no harm but confines itself to hunting young birds for food, it transmits this quality to the infant. A mother who encounters such a reptile should pretend not to have seen it and automatically look elsewhere.

825 843 845 If during this same period the mother-to-be should see any kind of snake (other than a hunting snake) she will suffer a miscarriage or some kind of painful mishap related to the delivery. To avoid these possible ills, the woman should try to step over the snake. If in spite of this difficulties in childbirth occur, then they resort to a curing method which consists in finding a similar snake, killing it, opening it up carefully, and localizing in the interior of its intestines the water that it has drunk, collecting this and taking it to the sick woman, so that after she has drunk it, her labor will be hastened and will then occur without any serious complications.

[60 cont.]

825 If in this same condition the woman sees a serpent under a stone or in a hole, her delivery will be delayed, and it will be 843 difficult and long. As in the case immediately preceding this, 845 prevention depends on the indifference shown by the woman toward the snake: She should immediately look away from the creature. But the coincidence of seeing a snake and its being in a hole or under a stone brings about a new complication, since two elements are involved: first, the snake as such as we have seen in the previous accounts; and second, its apparently difficult position, which is transmitted to the woman in the moment of childbirth in the form of delay in the birth and the physical difficulty of its accomplishment.

Also, the childbirth will be delayed several days and will be extremely painful if during her pregnancy the woman's husband commits the imprudence of killing a snake of any kind.

[61] The snake then, as we noted at the beginning and 843 as we have been able to confirm by means of the examples sub- 825 mitted, exercises a special magic influence on pregnant women. [538] The position of the snake when seen, either directly by the woman or by the husband, makes this influence greater. We also heard from a story told to us that another belief exists related to the snake and women's pregnancy. We cannot say whether it really exists or if it is the product of imagination and legend because the two elements seem to be mixed up. It concerns a certain serpent that attacks people by jumping at them from a tree and forcing its tail into their ears, and the fact that it only attacks women at a certain period of their pregnancy or a pregnant woman's husband at the same period.

According to the story related to us, during the first three months of pregnancy the woman may be attacked by a very exceptional male serpent with three colors: green, black, and white, placed dorsally in the form of an X. (The female of the species, according to the story, has only one color: green.) The male serpent attacks the wife during the early months of pregnancy, as well as her husband. The creature is usually found hidden in the branches of trees which shade paths and can spring like an arrow from its place of ambush, attacking people with great accuracy. With a spring it settles on its victim's head,

[61 cont.]

825 twining itself around it, and with its tail, which is very thin, it
843 pierces his ear. The pressure is so great that generally the tip of its tail comes out of the other ear, which causes the death of the person attacked. The method of defense does not invoke magic as in other cases but is limited to the simple precaution
[751] taken by the woman of going about with a pañuelo [kerchief] on her head which covers her ears. Hence the serpent winds itself around the head but is unable to introduce its tail into the ear of the victim. The woman, on reaching home or on meeting someone, will be able to take revenge on the snake and kill it. But the snake also takes its own precautions, according to the story, as, if the husband and wife walk together, it will not attack for fear that the man will kill it.

Up to this point the story is no more than an interesting legend, the fruit of the primitive's imagination, but for the study we are interested in the latter part of the story, which runs as follows, has great value. If the same serpent on the other hand sees a woman when her pregnancy is advanced (after the fourth month), the woman seems to have an evil influence on the snake, which appears to suffer from paralysis and becomes helpless, lying on the [62] ground unable to spring into the trees. There in that condition it can be easily killed. If it is not dispatched at this moment, the snake recovers its strength and agility as soon as the woman goes away.

Once again we see the magic interaction of serpent and pregnant woman. But there is this difference between the magic action of the other animals which makes its influence felt through the mother upon the child to be born, and that of the serpent which discharges all its magic power directly on the mother, provoking in her pains and delays at birth, abortions, etc. We would ask why?

We have up to this point collected a series of facts which quite clearly show the magic-participatory action of animals in the lives of the Guajiro natives and above all in what refers to the explanation for the presence of sickness. Furthermore, the action of the snake is related to one of the most interesting phenomena in the life cycle, childbirth, which includes the

[62 cont.]

825 whole period of pregnancy. The duality of childbirth-serpent
843 is brought to our notice with an insistence and disconcerting realism which we will endeavor to explain.

If we look into the Guajiro family organization we can
596 see how that community taken as a homogeneous whole is
621 divided into series of extended family groups which follow the line of maternal filiation. Belonging to a family group are the mother, the sons and daughters of the mother, the sons and daughters of the mother's daughters, and so on successively. The administration of the family is not in the hands of the father, who is not considered as such, but in those of the maternal uncles, the eldest of these being predominant. Inheritance also
428 is determined by this system, and sons inherit nothing from their natural father, but from their mother or their maternal uncles. The property of the father is split up among his nephews, sons of his sister, whom he considers as sons. Patrilocality and
591 matrilocality exist, the former predominating. The family group, wrongly named by some authors casta is very much
614 extended, and to it belong all those bearing the same surname. Each large family group has its own property mark or brand and a representative animal. Thus, for example: [63]

Family groups	Representative animals
Uriána (41)	jaguar

[104]

41. For the convenience of our readers we have adapted the phonetics of all these Guajiro names to Spanish orthography, using the most apparent sounds.

Uráriyú	rattlesnake
Uriyú	snake
Woúriyú	partridge
Uyárayú	cauquero (a species of deer)
Ipwana	cari-cari
Sápwana	bittern

[64 cont.]

192 In the case of the Uyárayú group, we find another perfect
614 correspondence between the name of the animal and that of the
825 family group:

uyára	= cauquero (a species of deer)
yú	= from wayú Indian, people
uyárayú	= people of the cauquero

614 The foregoing demonstrates the existence within the Guajiro community of the remains of an ancient clan organization, matrilineal and totemic. We say remains because the significance of the totem, as we have noted, has almost completely disappeared, since there does not exist a fixed prohibition against killing certain animals (in this case the animal corresponding to the group) nor any ceremonial ritual related to it. We do not wish to enlarge on this subject of the existence of totems in La Guajira as this will be treated in a later thesis. We only wish to emphasize the value of the serpent in Guajiro
614 magic for which no [65] clearer explanation can be found than
825 the connection it maintains with the ancient beliefs related to
843 the totem. It shows us that the greater percentage of Guajiro totemic clans are connected in their name to this creature; also that the serpent's evil effects fall directly on pregnant women, causing harm not to the children, as occurs with other animals (the fox, sparrow hawk, duck...), but directly to the mother.

• • •

825 The mother-to-be should also avoid seeing a sparrow hawk
843 because if she disobeys this ruling her child will be born bleary eyed, since they say this bird is.

843 A pregnant woman's husband must not go hunting with a
modern weapon — the rifle — since he can do this with the tra-
845 ditional weapons, the bow and arrow, for if he does not obey this rule, his wife's labor will be prolonged for a long time, and no remedies nor any other attempts to help her will hasten the birth in any way. When a husband has failed to obey this magico-preventative medicinal norm, it is necessary to obtain a rifle — preferably the one the husband used in his hunting —

[65 cont.]

843 and very carefully wash it [in water]. Giving the woman this
845 water to drink will permit her to deliver the child immediately.

If a Guajiro father has to set off on a long journey on
751 horseback, leaving behind his newborn son, he must comply
854 with another custom of a magic nature, which requires him to
492 wrap the cinch of his horse about the child for a few minutes. If he fails to do this, the child will be very ill and complain pitifully during the time his father is absent. An equivalent form under the same circumstances is the father's customarily placing his foot on the newborn baby's chest for a brief moment. If this obligation is not complied with, either through forgetfulness or all will on the part of the father, the mother, or some close relative of the child, must find the father's old sandals and place them on the child's chest for a few moments in order to obtain the effect desired, which the ritual action if performed by the father would have accomplished.

751 We venture to attempt an explanation of the last two
854 phenomena as follows: The object that is sought in the fulfillment of these two traditional customs is to drive away from the child the presence of the wanurú or the evil spirit of sickness. The pressure exercised by the father's foot or, lacking this, [66] by
[753 the father's old sandals, symbolizes his presence in the child
826] precisely in the place where the spirits in order to attain their evil designs often lodge in the child's body, i.e., its chest, as we shall have occasion to see in the following chapter. This symbolic presence of the father prevents the spirits from approaching near the child to work it harm. Lastly, the custom of wrapping the cinch of [the harness of] the horse on which the father will be traveling around the body of the child is intimately linked
[825 with the belief of these natives that the horse has the power to frighten away the wanurú, or spirit of sickness, with its snorting; more simply this same protection is achieved by placing a horse's skull in a place near the houses. (Cf. "Amulets, Fetishes, Talismans." Also, in this case there is a substitution of the magic formula (using the cinch instead of the horse), a substitution that has exactly similar effects and the action of which could be based on one of the laws of magic established by Sir J. G. Frazer

[66 cont.]
751 according to which "things which have once been in contact with
each other continue to act on each other at a distance after the physical contact has been severed." (45) [Cited in Spanish.]

45. Frazer. La Rama Dorada [The Golden Bough], III, 27.

751 There is another medical preventative, also of a magic
843 nature, taken to avoid infant mortality in Guajiro marriages after the death of the first-born child. This preventative obliges
[766] them to bury the body in a certain manner. It also imposes upon the mother a further seclusion, such as she underwent on reaching puberty (ceremony of initiation), and entails her taking certain medicines extracted from vegetable roots. If all these prescriptions are not fully complied with, her future children will die successively as soon as they are born.

844 Once the child is born, the placenta must be thrown a long way away from the house and completely lost to sight. If
[777] it is buried it will bring bad luck to the child, who in consequence of such an imprudence will live a weakling and suffer greatly until his death.

853 When only two or three days after the mother has given
827 birth, her breasts badly swell with severe pains and a lack of
755 milk, her husband must place his foot on her naked breast, pressing lightly on it, with which treatment the woman will recover. When a mother loses her milk after a long period of breast feeding and is no longer able to nourish her child, she must be struck on her shoulder and her breasts a number of times with the branches of a plant which is found mainly in the neighborhood of [67] Puerto Estrella and which on being cut emits a white liquid.

826 The Guajiro takes great care of any of his hair which has
754 been cut off, as he is afraid that it can be used to do him harm. This fear is based on the belief that if anyone can obtain possession of a lock of hair, whatever harm he may do to this will react directly on its owner; if that hair, for example, is thrown on the fire, its original owner will suffer a similar fate:

[67 cont.]

826 he will die consumed by flames. Likewise, if a lock of human
754 hair is buried with a small quantity of dog excrement, the person who carries out this act of witchcraft can cause any harm he wishes to the owner of the hair.

648 Medicine practiced by foreigners. To ensure that his child
757 will be sound and fit and show greater resistance to sickness, the Guajiro father makes use of the medicine of the Arhuaco, who like the other natives we know connect this art directly with magic. It is well to take note, before pursuing this description, that the Arhuaco are held to be excellent doctors by all their neighbors, not only by the Indians but also by mestizos and mulattos, and even by Whites. The fame of these curers is such that sick people from the neighboring cities of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta and even from Maracaibo have themselves carried to them to be cured of their illnesses, or, as a last resort, send them some of their personal articles of underclothing by which the Arhuaco curer determines the sickness from which the individual is suffering and sends the necessary medicines.

The Guajiro have not escaped this influence. Their geographical nearness facilitates communication with the Arhuaco, but we do not know whether this interchange of relations was already established before the Conquest or if it is due to the external influence of the colonists who have settled on the slopes of the Sierra or in regions close to them, who in their turn have transmitted the legend of the fame of the Arhuaco as doctors to the Indians of La Guajira.

757 The fact is that generally, shortly before the birth of a
751 child or when some opportunity presents itself, the father goes
278 to the Arhuaco, and from one of them who knows the preventa-
843 tive or curative value of plants he obtains several of these in order to doctor his child or prevent its sicknesses. Among these herbs are the vira-vira, quina dulce ["sweet quina], the frailejón, and a number of others. These herbs are shredded and put into a bottle containing rum and to this mixture is added two kinds of drops, also of plant juices, which have been carefully [68] "whispered" or "muttered" over by the Arhuaco doctor. These drops, in addition to the plants to which we have previously

[68 cont.]

757 referred, are what contain the curative properties because of their
751 magic force. These medicines are applied in the following
278 manner: The infusion of herbs with rum and the drops "whis-
843 pered over" are added to previously boiled water, and the child is bathed at birth with this mixture. When the mother feels the pains of approaching childbirth, she also takes a glass of this mixture and repeats this a few moments after the child is born, which helps her to get rid of the placenta.

• • •

75 Thus far the notes that we have concerning the magico-preventative or curative medical methods of the Indians of La Guajira [sic]. These show first, how medicine, like birth, sickness, and death, is subject to a series of cultural patterns, the result of the individual's relations, magic or spiritualistic (so far as the spirit of the dead is concerned), with his environ-
774 ment. The latter are to be understood in their widest meaning, since as Doctor W. Born says:

> "Primitive man's intellectual world is not really limited to sorcery since there are too many enigmas facing young humanity such as birth and death, dreams and sickness. To explain these, primitive man appeals to various supernatural forces. From experiences in the world of dreams, he derived the belief in a soul as a clear explanation of the consciousness of "ego," which is opposed to the destiny of death. The power of the soul to free itself from its body (as dreams seemed to indicate) accepted, it was natural that he should accept the possibility of the existence of independent and active souls in nature. This state renders feasible not only a polydemonism but also the notion of a material soul. Polydemonism admits that a demon, a sort of soul, lives in everything in nature, while the substance of the soul is an invisible energy which emanates from objects. As the substance

[87 cont.]

858 greater protection than the adult as, owing to his limited defensive capacity, illnesses can readily take possession of his body. We made reference in that section to the malevolent action of certain animals as well as the influence of the dead, the contamination exercised by their spirits on conception and on small children. And now we return to refer especially to this last aspect. We also saw how the harmful effects of animals centered especially on unborn infants due to carelessness on the part of pregnant mothers or of the husbands, and this is repeated equally with regard to funerals.

[764] When the grave destined for a dead person is opened, small children who go to the funeral, relatives of the deceased, must pass in file over it with the object that death will be delayed and will not overcome them while very young.

843 When speaking of sacrifice (cf. Chapter III) as well as 753 when speaking of medicine among the Guajiro Indians in its magic aspect, we quoted the general belief in La Guajira, which [171] is known also as an aspect of folklore in various parts of Colombia, among them Santander and Nariño, that if during pregnancy, the father or the mother of the child to be born has been present at the exhumation of any human remains, the child will be born sickly, will suffer from diarrhea, night sweating, paleness, and loss of weight. The characteristic of something touched by death which the corpse has makes it contagious and, so to speak, contaminates the mother of the infant, who because of his weakness is incapable of resisting its influence. If in this case one considers the folklore aspect, the explanation which is given is that the cold of death has affected the child through the person of its mother or its father in the presence of the corpse. The explanation in the case of Guajiro appears to 755 us to be somewhat more complicated, as we had occasion to show above, although the curing processes tend in reality to extract the cold of death from the body of the child after it is born. The method of curing considered infallible by them is to bury the child in the still warm carcass of an animal sacrificed [88] during a wake, and only when there is no such possibility do they make use of the substitute, the bone, or of burying

[88 cont.]

755 the child in the warm sand, covering it to the base of its head. There is a decided magic intervention, the effect of which we 782 do not know on the part of the sacrificed animal which, as we 825 have said, shares the contaminating quality of its dead owner.

Other beliefs which confirm what has been stated are the ●843 following: The husband of a pregnant woman should never, for 845 any motive whatsoever, dig a grave or assist in the construction of a vault for either a primary or secondary burial ceremony, because in such a case his wife's delivery will not be normal; it will be prolonged with danger both to the mother and the child.

Neither should the mother-to-be watch a burial being placed in a vault because the previously mentioned phenomenon will be repeated: She will have a difficult delivery, through delay in the birth and pain.

783 Anyone who has touched a man whose death was not due 753 to natural causes must not come near a sick person because if 764 he does the sick man will quickly die. This also applies to those who have helped in an exhumation or taken part in any of the ceremonies called for by the secondary burial. Neither should such a person go near small children because these will, according to Guajiro belief, automatically begin to cry and twist about, the victims of some sickness.

In general terms, the individual who approaches a corpse, who touches it, or who participates directly in the different ceremonies relating to it becomes contaminated. But he does not suffer the consequences of this contamination in his own person, unless it be a pregnant woman; he takes on the role of transmitting agent. He becomes an intermediary, if we can so call him, between the spirit and children, sick people, or pregnant women, which are the three classes of people preferred by the spirits of the dead on whom to practice their malevolent contaminations. In all three cases the weakness of the contaminated person is evident: the sick person, the child in the womb unable to defend itself, and the newborn also incapable of defending itself against the spirit as it shows in contrast to the other members of the community, that is, the adults on whom it depends for its

[120 cont.]

843 There is another series of magic acts related to those recently enumerated, which also share the qualities of another individual but which differ from them in two aspects: first because they are indirect, that is, because the child receives them through his mother during the period of gestation; second because they are not so directly related with the notion of mana but could be included in what we might call phenomena of autosuggestion because they only consist of one sudden impression or a strong unsatisfied desire which causes anguish. Some of these are the following.

When a woman is pregnant and she gets a strong shock through the sudden apparition of someone, the child when born will have the same skin color as the person who has startled her.

On the other hand, if during her pregnancy, especially [845] during the early months, the mother should be greatly frightened, twins will be born to her. In this aspect regarding twins, there is also the belief that these are born when the woman has been [853] asked and has refused to give the breast to a twin child whose own mother was unable to feed it.

Finally, when during the time of her pregnancy a woman has a very strong desire to possess something, as for instance a dress, a necklace, any special or particular kind of ornament, and she searches anxiously for it but does not find it and so does not satisfy her wish, her child will be born under the influence of her unfulfilled desire and will carry on its face the dissatisfied look of its mother: He will have his mouth half open, an anxious look, and will be continually crying and upset. [121]

VIII

Magic as the Origin of the Theater in La Guajira (The Dance of the Kid)

128 It may perhaps be overbold to use the title which heads this chapter, and this may even apply to the contents and the statements which we make in it, because here some concepts will be confused which could be treated separately, such as the

7:Bolinder T-8 (1920, 1955) 1957
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and shrieks. Francisco put on a spurt and got there ahead of us; then he turned and called to us:

'Hurry, there's a child being born!'

He pointed to our camera, evidently thinking that that was an event to be filmed.

844 The Indians consider childbirth a natural function that does not need to be hidden. It often takes place in the presence of the entire household, even of children, and if neighbours arrive, they can be present too. Even intimate [833] marital acts take place quite openly, to the amusement and [834] embarrassment of a white person. We thought it best for my wife to go in to the woman in labour, while we sat and talked with the grandfather, who was sitting by himself by the fire. Soon some children came and joined us, having evidently been sent away from the scene of the birth, where something apparently had gone wrong. Now they could look their fill at two white men instead.

The old grandfather was talkative. He told us how the [591] eldest son must always come into the world with the wife's family. There, too, a newly married couple live for the first year. If they are staying elsewhere, the husband takes his wife to her parents' home when the child is expected. [843] For a long time she will have been taking various decoctions of herbs and observed certain precautionary measures and rules intended to influence the birth favourably. The wife's family is responsible that all will go well. Should the child or mother die, the man has the right to demand damages of his wife's family. On the other hand, said the old man, the second child is born in the father's family, and they must take the risk. Subsequent children can be born in the couple's own home.

843 A pregnant woman must keep away from funerals, graves and anything to do with death, and it is very important [825] that she takes care not to catch sight of a snake. Snakes have a bad influence on parturition. Under no circumstances may a husband kill a snake while his wife is pregnant. A child is a weak, defenceless being and exposed to attack by dangerous spirits. There is an intimate connection between the father and the child, and what the father does is of

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

importance. Thus, while the child is on the way, he must not 843
hunt with firearms, but only with bow and arrow. If he [224]
goes on a journey of any length after the child has come into the world, he must lay his saddle-girth round the babe or put his foot on its chest before he leaves. If he forgets to do that one can lay a pair of his old sandals on its breast.

If the first-born dies, it is feared that the others will do 766
the same. The baby is placed head down in an urn with a 844
lid and buried beneath a certain kind of tree. The mother often has to undergo another period of confinement, it being thought that all the rules had not been observed during her real period of puberty, and that that had an unfavourable effect on childbirth. If all the instructions are not observed, there is danger that the other children will also die.

My wife came back and told us that the child was born 844
and all had gone well. It was the third child. The woman had lain on her back on the ground with legs straddled, and they had strewn a thick layer of fine sand under her crotch, so that the babe should land softly. An aunt of the woman's helped her, and her husband was there and helped to lift her and hold her during the final pains. The mother was now to keep quiet for a few days and, above all, not expose herself to the sun.

The old man explained that the rich let their women rest 846
for weeks after giving birth, living on maize gruel and [556]
light food, while poor mothers have to go out and work as usual straight away. The child has the breast in the evening 853
when the mother goes to bed; at three in the morning when everyone gets up, and occasionally during the day. In the better families the child is weaned with the help of maize gruel and goat's milk and a female slave takes charge of it, the mother having so many other duties. There are even some who keep wet-nurses, he said.

Then more men appeared and a woman who sat behind 854
my wife, just outside the circle. I distributed tobacco and conversation became lively. My wife was surprised that Indian babies were allowed to sit upright so early. She was told that at first the mother supports it with her hand, and

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

inherit. They hold him in great respect. A man's chief heir 614
is thus his eldest nephew and he takes particular care of him. [604]
During his lifetime a well-to-do man will give his sons [428]
enough cattle to ensure that they will not be left destitute [431]
when he dies. Each clan has its name and its symbol: the jaguar, rattle-snake, king vulture, dog, etc., but this has no connection with totemism or magic. The Indians think no more of their name's meaning than we do, when people have animal names. They often joke about them.

A number of the clans are large and powerful, others small and weak, sometimes entirely dependent on one of the big clans. Those born into a big clan are fortunate, for they have power behind them and can count on support and help if they are insulted, threatened or robbed, for the members of a clan stick together whatever happens, united by the bond of blood. The same blood flows in all their veins. The Indians imagine that the human grows from a [843] drop of the mother's blood, and that the foetus feeds on the new vital fluid—for they know that menstruation ceases during pregnancy.

A man does not possess the right to dispose of his blood [752] or his life. They both belong to the clan. If he hurts himself so that blood flows he must pay damages to his clan for shedding their blood. Suicide is also punishable, though [762] not at all unusual. After an unsuccessful attempt at suicide, the clan will claim damages, even if no blood has been shed. An Indian wanting to take his own life hangs himself. Such importance is attached to the shedding of blood, that, 683
if someone strikes another and makes his nose bleed, this is 614
regarded as an aggravating circumstance and increases the compensation the victim demands. His whole clan will consider itself insulted. In fact, one can really say that an Indian only has the usufruct of his life and blood.

It is the same with the land. The land in the peninsula is 423
owned by the clans, each of which has its own defined territory. The cultivable areas are not large and lie round the 614
few water-courses that are not dry during most of the year. These plantations are traditionally exploited by certain families in each clan and are inherited by the eldest nephews.

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

726 on equal terms. He then approached the enemy from the left while making quick movements, jumps, and turns, with his legs apart and his knees bent. More recently, according to Ernst (1887 c), war is not declared, attempts being made to take the enemy by surprise.

[797] Wars last indefinitely, sometimes being broken by a peace brought about by an influential "civilizado" or the Capuchin monks, the latter sometimes paying the retribution demanded out of their own pockets.

579 Some tribes, such as the *Cosina* of Serranía Cosina (actually a conglomeration of outcastes rather than a sib), make their living almost entirely by robbery and pillage, destroying houses, stealing cattle, and killing or enslaving their enemies.

LIFE CYCLE

843 **Birth and childhood.**—During pregnancy a woman continues to do her heavy work up to the very hour of delivery. At childbirth, the shaman

844 pronounces various spells over the patient and applies poultices made of

[156] dried flowers, roots, etc. A large, heavy stone placed over the womb and vigorous massaging bring about the birth. If the placenta is not soon expelled, the woman drinks a medicine concocted by the medicine man. As soon as the child is safely delivered the father serves rum and chicha

[484] to all his relatives. If the pains of childbirth appear when the sib is on the march, the woman mounts and rides ahead so that when the sib catches up the event is practically over. The husband cuts the cord with his machete and cauterizes its ends with a glowing ember. The woman

[854] then continues on the march with the child in a sling on her back. When the permanent camp is reached she washes herself and the child.

851 Baptism is a Christian ceremony which the *Goajiro* have adopted, and

551 most of the Indians are called by Spanish names, as their real names may

177 not be mentioned. Teknonymy is practiced; a parent is addressed by its child's name plus a prefix, nushi or sushi for the father, ni or si for the mother. Thus, a father may be called Nushijuan after a son or Sushijuana after a daughter.

857 At 6 or 7, girls learn to grind salt, pick cotton, and tend the smaller

868 animals; the boys imitate their fathers.

855 Parents are said to show little affection for their children, sometimes

[435] selling them at Sinamaica. They receive $10 or $15 for a child of 8 or 9 years. The purchaser becomes the child's guardian, teaches him the Catholic faith, and keeps him until he is 17 years old. These children

[736 rarely return home. Abandoned children are taken to the San Antonio

797] orphanage, where the girls continue to wear their *Goajiro* dress, but the boys are put into jackets and pants.

881 **Girls' puberty.**—At her first menstruation a girl is isolated in a small dark hut and stripped of all her ornaments. She lies in a hammock, sometimes hoisted near the roof. For the first 2 days she drinks no

/7 cont./

843 278 Sometimes a woman who knows that her delivery is likely to be difficult takes various herbs, which she buys from the women of the Sierra de Jarara, who understand their curative properties, or gets someone to obtain them from the Arhuaco /Cagaba/ Indians, to whom they frequently go in search of medical remedies.

844 278 At the time that labor pains begin, the woman takes infusions of various herbs which her relatives have previously obtained. With these the delivery progresses rapidly, and the birth occurs quickly and successfully. Also during delivery she takes one or more doses of the juice of the herb which serves to reduce the size of the fetus.

842 278 Once the child is born and in case the placenta is delayed, the woman drinks the juice from the pulp of a pumpkin (Crescecia Cujeta) and that of a new /nueva/ herb with the purpose, once the delivery has occurred, of preventing an early recurrence of pregnancy once sexual life is renewed. This has the property of preventing conception for a period up to four years when taken in larger than normal dosage.

844 If the herbal remedies do not produce the hoped-for result, the woman's relatives with her assistance recapitulate the taboos that were possibly violated during the months of pregnancy by her, by her husband, or by both, and they endeavor to make some sort of reparation. Thus, for example, if she had seen a snake in its hole or if her husband had killed it, or if she had looked fixedly at it and had not complied with the precept to step over it to arrest its baleful influence, as is their belief, her relatives go in search of a snake of the same species, which they kill and bring to place on the abdomen of the woman in labor, after which the delivery is successfully accomplished. Should they find that the husband was hunting with firearms or had simply fired a gun, they proceed to wash /8/ the barrel of the firearm in question and give this water to the woman to drink. With this the delivery is quickly completed.

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VI

MATERNITY

844 Care of the mother at childbirth. The responsibility for the life and well-being of the children is shared by the father and the mother, but it falls directly on the mother when the father is absent from home during her pregnancy or delivery; she must give him a full account of his children, since otherwise he will put in a claim against her for any supposed neglect, making her pay for the death of the child. This is why the woman during the delivery of her child submits to all the customary prescriptions covering these cases and seeks the help of her relatives and their backing, because the responsibility in the last instance will fall on them, since it is they who must pay the corresponding indemnity.

The first child is born in the maternal home. If the mother is not already there, the husband should take her to her maternal home before the event, with the careful attention necessary so that no ill-effects are caused by her traveling. At the moment of delivery she is preferably attended by her mother, or if she is not available, by her eldest aunt or by the most important and knowledgeable aunt in preference to the others, should the first be unavailable. The grandmother may also assist if she is still capable. In the absence of the relatives just mentioned, the sisters are asked to help. The married ones are preferred to the unmarried, but in the event of special urgency one of these will [175] be called in. It would seem that these preferences are due to white influence because in localities less in contact with the said /white/ culture there is less concern in this regard.

For some time now they have been making use of Indian women expert in midwifery, who give their services for a fee. The midwife may be accompanied and aided by the mother of the pregnant woman in the first place or successively by the others just enumerated if they wish to be present and co-operate in the delivery.

/129 cont./

844 At later births the Guajiro mother may be obliged by special circumstances to receive assistance from other persons. When she lives with her husband's relatives she gets help from her mother-in-law or from one of her husband's aunts. If she should be alone and her home is some distance from neighbors, she will arrange beforehand for the presence of a midwife and for her /130/ assistance later or that of a very friendly neighbor. Nevertheless, there are occasions when she can receive no other aid than from her sisters-in-law, and then married women are preferred to single ones. If the woman is alone with her husband, he, being acquainted with the physiological process, will help her because he knows what to do and because circumstances oblige him to intervene. But it is frequent for a woman to give birth alone because the event takes her by surprise on the road while she is traveling, or in the woods while gathering fruit, or in the forest, where she has gone to round up the animals, collect firewood, etc. Also /she gives birth alone/ when her home is located in a remote place and she is unable to get help in time.

The place of birth of the infant varies according to his seniority, that is to say, the first is born -- as we have seen -- in the home of the mother's parents or of her most important uterine kinswoman. It is arranged to occur there for two reasons: so that her relatives may take charge of the case and give better care to the mother and child; and because the birth of the first child is considered the most difficult and if the woman is not with her relatives the latter cannot assume responsibility for her life before the husband, who in the event of his not having taken her to them will have to face the consequences before her relatives, who may present a claim for compensation payment in case of the death of the mother, of the child, or of both. Also included in this is their feeling about the death of a first-born child, which by their magic interpretation requires the mother to submit to a special after-treatment, which is handled by the maternal consanguineous relatives and which has been spoken of in a previous chapter.

/130 cont./

844 The second child is usually born in the house of the husband's parents where the couple sometimes goes to reside. The former in this case take over the responsibility for the life of the child and the welfare of the mother and baby.

The third and subsequent children are born at the place where the parents established their permanent residence.

When the woman can obtain assistance, she waits until she feels the birth pains with a certain intensity and frequency and then calls the woman who will deliver the child. We have no knowledge of the use of any means to accelerate the birth. The woman who acts as midwife gets together beforehand a large gourd for a low seat, which she uses for the birth. She places it on something soft (clothing) or on the ground in the central part of the room, or on a small mound of sand which is covered with cloths onto which the child can fall without getting hurt at the moment of birth.

At the beginning of the delivery the mother walks about the room or the house, and when labor is advanced she is seated on the edge of the seat, or gourd, /131/ with her legs apart, in position to give birth. During the spasms of pain she supports her elbows on her knees and presses her stomach, as she is told to do by her helper, and keeps as still as possible, because otherwise the head of the child as it emerges might be rubbed against the edge of the seat, and thus he might be hurt or even killed, for which she or the midwife could be held to blame and be obliged to pay the husband for the mishap.

Another way of giving birth is to squat when birth is imminent or to kneel, bending forward to help the descent and egress of the baby. Also nowadays the mother is made to lie supine on the ground on some clothes, with her legs drawn up and open.

The child is received into the hands of whoever is assisting the mother, or else the latter bends over to let him fall onto the pile of sand and clothes laid on the floor for this purpose, or when she happens to be outside the home onto some leaves if the birth has given her time to collect them. The mother then awaits the afterbirth, after which she lies in her hammock with her baby

/131 cont./

844 wrapped in clothes either specially prepared for the event or improvised. The umbilical cord has already been tied by the midwife, and in the cases of unaided childbirth the mother does this herself, even cutting it with a splinter of wood and tying it as best she can with a vegetable fiber.

184 The midwife or the mother takes the afterbirth out of the house
844 and throws it some distance away (a custom of Upper La Guajira) so that it shall be lost. They believe that if they bury it the newborn baby will have bad luck, will sicken and slowly die practically by wasting away. Nevertheless, there are regions, as in Uribia, where the custom prevails of burying it outside the house; in other parts, as in Jarara, the usual way is to put it under a fireplace /fogón/, which is then lit to give strength to the child and ward off infantile sickness.

845 When the delivery shows signs of complications or is abnormally delayed, the male consanguineous relatives in the house are asked to help by lifting up the woman by her armpits during the spasms of labor pains and by this means accelerate the process. Her husband may help at these moments, but at the present time children, youths, and virgins are not allowed to be present, although there are regions, such as Jarara, where the woman gives birth in a passageway or under the enramada /bough-covered shelter/, in full view of everyone, even her small children. There is no concern at all over this matter; childbirth is considered a normal phenomenon and unmarried women may also be present. /132/

[556] Rich and powerful women go to Maracaibo to have their children when their previous births have been difficult, as there they have clinics and doctors at their disposal.

844 Midwives. The midwife is a woman, usually married, who has lived her own professional experiences and has had further experience among her consanguineous relatives. Practice, inborn ability, and empirical knowledge of the phenomenon give these women a certain technique which makes them so famous that their services are greatly in demand. Some of them also know what care and attention the pregnant woman should receive as regards

/132 cont./

844 diet and the magic preventatives required for a healthy baby and an easy delivery; they also often have a knowledge of the properties of certain herbs of which they make frequent use in the exercise of their profession, as well as the magic requisites necessary to counteract the ill-effects of the violation of some taboo during the period of pregnancy, a transgression which may cause abnormally long labor.

For this reason their services are very efficient and highly valued by the community; on their expertness and the success of the cases they handle during their career depend their reputation, their popularity, and the fee they receive.

[564] The midwife's position is an honorable one. Hers is not an occupation that can be looked down on; although it is not practiced by women of high class, it does give those who exercise it a certain elevation in their familial and general status.

Prior to the birth an arrangement is made regarding the services of the midwife. She is paid according to the economic capacity of the future mother, adding something more to the agreed-on fee when the delivery happens to be extremely prolonged and difficult, that is, when it requires greater effort and assistance than the normal case. The usual payment includes a length of material for a robe (ten yards) of the color and quality requested by the midwife; several bottles of rum (five or more), some ornament, etc. The midwife's request is not always the same but varies in accordance with her personal needs at the time. Also she must be well fed all the time that her presence is necessary in the home of the mother.

846 Postnatal regimen. Guajiro mothers follow a special regimen which is in accordance with their social position. Those of strong 556 clan groups who have at their disposal a large number of women servants and slaves can enjoy /133/ the luxury of remaining undisturbed without being bothered by any domestic duties, aided by their maternal kinswomen or those who replace these in caring for them. Guajiro women say that when the first child is born it is customary for the mother to remain in bed and out of the sunlight

[29 cont.]

*756 When the woman becomes pregnant, the spirit puts up with
633 the situation without getting angry, but it does not show any such
834 patience if she delays a length of time in the sexual act with her husband, or if she sleeps by his side throughout the night.

The female shaman's obligation, in the sexual aspect, goes to the length of forcing her to be but a passive entity during coitus, not permitting her body the slightest motion and also not permitting any endearments from her husband before the sexual act. When these dispositions are disobeyed, the shaman finds
[787] herself suffering during the night from especially terrifying and horrible dreams which fill her with fears and anxieties.

*756 The man who marries a shaman gets to understand his
693 wife's situation, and for this reason he is prudent in his actions: He does not demand anything but the strictly indispensable, and he is in accord with her in all matters related to her special state. [30]

*756 But in spite of all these prohibitions, the female shaman
776 who becomes pregnant receives aid from the spirit at the time
844 of giving birth. This assistance consists of an easy delivery of her baby and of counsel her spirit gives her on the simplest form of giving birth, the remedies she should take, etc.

*756 The shaman must not perform ceremonial acts of curing
841 when she is in her menstrual period because the patient will be-
843 come worse instead of improving. However, pregnancy does not present any obstacle to her activities, and she may accomplish cures during the entire period of gestation.

*756 In the case of a male shaman, the spirit permits him to be
834 with his wife, but for a very short time; he is also allowed, as
[595] are the rest of the Guajiro, to have several wives.

In summary, women shamans must cohabit exclusively with their husbands, avoiding all endearments, movements, the prolongation of coitus, and pregnancy. They may not exercise their functions during their menstrual periods. The male shaman also must be moderate in the sexual aspect and limit himself to his wife, or wives, as the case may be.

*756 The food taboo is limited to prohibiting the shaman from
262 eating the flesh of such animals as he has received in payment

[66 cont.]
751 according to which "things which have once been in contact with
854 each other continue to act on each other at a distance after the physical contact has been severed." (45) [Cited in Spanish.]

45. Frazer. La Rama Dorada [The Golden Bough], III, 27.

751 There is another medical preventative, also of a magic
843 nature, taken to avoid infant mortality in Guajiro marriages after the death of the first-born child. This preventative obliges
[766] them to bury the body in a certain manner. It also imposes upon the mother a further seclusion, such as she underwent on reaching puberty (ceremony of initiation), and entails her taking certain medicines extracted from vegetable roots. If all these prescriptions are not fully complied with, her future children will die successively as soon as they are born.

844 Once the child is born, the placenta must be thrown a long way away from the house and completely lost to sight. If
[777] it is buried it will bring bad luck to the child, who in consequence of such an imprudence will live a weakling and suffer greatly until his death.

853 When only two or three days after the mother has given
827 birth, her breasts badly swell with severe pains and a lack of
755 milk, her husband must place his foot on her naked breast, pressing lightly on it, with which treatment the woman will recover. When a mother loses her milk after a long period of breast feeding and is no longer able to nourish her child, she must be struck on her shoulder and her breasts a number of times with the branches of a plant which is found mainly in the neighborhood of [67] Puerto Estrella and which on being cut emits a white liquid.

826 The Guajiro takes great care of any of his hair which has
754 been cut off, as he is afraid that it can be used to do him harm. This fear is based on the belief that if anyone can obtain possession of a lock of hair, whatever harm he may do to this will react directly on its owner; if that hair, for example, is thrown on the fire, its original owner will suffer a similar fate:

[71 cont.]

811 feeling. Not being able to understand the logical processes of life with its principal phenomena of birth, development, growth, old age, and death, the Indian looks for an explanation that agrees, at least in appearance, with his beliefs, with his limited capacity for knowledge, and he steadfastly adheres to the traditions received in cultural inheritance, traditions which all have a subjective flavor and in which the supernatural, the purely metaphysical – even within the physical phenomenon itself – dominates the intellectual and sensible panorama. If at first he attributed the phenomenon of birth to the supernatural action, far off in space, of an animal, a plant, or other object which in course of time became his totem in his mythical ancestor made divine, later his mental explorations try to find a new explanation; his totem for different causes having now lost its value and only remaining with him as a vague memory, he tries to find, let us say, a new explanation which agrees better with the reality surrounding him. Hence we find him affirming, like the Guajiro, that birth is due to the union of the masculine semen with the menstrual blood, which produces the fetus. The association, even if not exact, is not extraordinarily far from the truth in as much as the association of both these factors brings about an apparent conjunction of the same in order to accomplish the complicated processes of fertility and birth.

811 844

761 177

But, in the explanation of the phenomenon of death, it is the realms of the unknown which continue to exert a major influence on the minds of primitives and, in the present case, on the minds of the Guajiro in particular. It is true that the constant influence of missionaries, colonists, traders and stock breeders, teachers and soldiers has started to change the state of things, inculcating in the Indian another class of beliefs which are not always coincident with reality, for the simple reason that three different races live together in our country, [72] and all are equally fanatical in their beliefs: the Negro with his fetishism and fantastic mythology; the Indian also with his mythology and his subjection to the spirits of the dead; and the Spaniard, as fanatic as the rest or as renegade. But it is also true that in the Indian's personality there still remains strongly impressed his primitive beliefs, his traditions accumulated over thousands of years, which

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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302 called *yara* if made of plaited straw, and *capanase* if made of wool,
291 with large tassel (worn behind). The two can be combined and adorned with a couple of feathers in front. When made entirely of feathers, it becomes *teróma*. An Indian's toilet would not be complete without
[293] a *hapiquito*, a piece of leather fastened round the left wrist by a twist of wool to receive the recoil of the bow-string when shooting. Paint is
302 common to both sexes, and in excess. They assert that it saves their complexions from the sun. The last thing an Indian does, on mounting horse for the day's journey, is to call for the powder-box, and plentifully besprinkle his face. The powders *mapuatepo* or *marua* are rotten wood;
[386] *guasapai*, a black stain from a wild nut; and *parisa*, very popular among the fairer sex, is the colour extracted from a leaf and mixed with fat.

291 The woman's dress is invariably, at present, made from foreign cotton,
[177] and is a plain sack with a hole for the head and two others for the arms. With the wind it blows out and makes her look like a balloon. The white cotton is dyed black with divi-divi, or yellowish-brown with mora
[386] (yellow wood), or reddish-brown with the suckers of mangroves. The Indians are exceptionally clean and nice in their dress, and, however
[515] poor, keep a reserve suit for state occasions. Women alone wear the *pána* and the *sirapo*. The pána are like a pair of braces; long strings
301 of beads passing over each shoulder to cross each other on the breast and back, held in position at the waist by the sirapo, a sort of sash or belt made of beads likewise. Small strings a few ounces in weight are placed on the female child a few months after birth, and gradually increased, according to the strength of the child and the purse of the parents. Pánas are made with any beads except black, a red variety with white eye (*iserhón*) preferred, and weigh from 2 to 10 lbs. With sirapos any coloured bead will do, *pinar* or black ones the rule, and they weigh from 1 to 10 lbs. A married woman may wear the pána until
[844] her first confinement, when it is laid aside. Poor Indians who cannot afford beads for the pána make it of cotton dyed black and braided. Among the many necklaces, tumas are the most valuable. These curious
[172] perforated stones are only found in the graves of prehistoric races, both in the peninsula itself and the Sierra Nevada. There are many varieties. The round ones varying in size from a large marble to a pea are *tóma* (a name generalised by the Spaniards); those in shape of small charm-barrels are *amururú*; the pear-shaped, according as they are long or dumpy, *peringa*, and *guariraiupa*; the bugle is *parauria*, &c. Mineralogically they are bits of red jaspor, cornelian, and reddish sardonyx. Their value depends upon the intensity of red and size. A large one at
[435] present is worth a head of cattle; a necklace has from 15 to 30, varying in size. Bracelets are as varied and in as much profusion as necklaces; they are called *hápusa*, from *shapo*, the hand. On the feet they also wear strings of cornelians and beads. They have two names, the aristocratic *cashihandr* and the common *guaurithesa*.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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and shrieks. Francisco put on a spurt and got there ahead of us; then he turned and called to us:

'Hurry, there's a child being born!'

He pointed to our camera, evidently thinking that that was an event to be filmed.

844 The Indians consider childbirth a natural function that does not need to be hidden. It often takes place in the presence of the entire household, even of children, and if neighbours arrive, they can be present too. Even intimate [833] marital acts take place quite openly, to the amazement and [839] embarrassment of a white person. We thought it best for my wife to go in to the woman in labour, while we sat and talked with the grandfather, who was sitting by himself by the fire. Soon some children came and joined us, having evidently been sent away from the scene of the birth, where something apparently had gone wrong. Now they could look their fill at two white men instead.

The old grandfather was talkative. He told us how the [591] eldest son must always come into the world with the wife's family. There, too, a newly married couple live for the first year. If they are staying elsewhere, the husband takes his wife to her parents' home when the child is expected. [843] For a long time she will have been taking various decoctions of herbs and observed certain precautionary measures and rules intended to influence the birth favourably. The wife's family is responsible that all will go well. Should the child or mother die, the man has the right to demand damages of his wife's family. On the other hand, said the old man, the second child is born in the father's family, and they must take the risk. Subsequent children can be born in the couple's own home.

843 A pregnant woman must keep away from funerals, graves and anything to do with death, and it is very important [825] that she takes care not to catch sight of a snake. Snakes have a bad influence on parturition. Under no circumstances may a husband kill a snake while his wife is pregnant. A child is a weak, defenceless being and exposed to attack by dangerous spirits. There is an intimate connection between the father and the child, and what the father does is of

71Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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importance. Thus, while the child is on the way, he must not 843
hunt with firearms, but only with bow and arrow. If he
goes on a journey of any length after the child has come into [224]
the world, he must lay his saddle-girth round the babe or
put his foot on its chest before he leaves. If he forgets to
do that one can lay a pair of his old sandals on its breast.

If the first-born dies, it is feared that the others will do 766
the same. The baby is placed head down in an urn with a 844
lid and buried beneath a certain kind of tree. The mother
often has to undergo another period of confinement, it
being thought that all the rules had not been observed
during her real period of puberty, and that that had an un-
favourable effect on childbirth. If all the instructions are
not observed, there is danger that the other children will
also die.

My wife came back and told us that the child was born 844
and all had gone well. It was the third child. The woman had
lain on her back on the ground with legs straddled, and
they had strewn a thick layer of fine sand under her crotch,
so that the babe should land softly. An aunt of the woman's
helped her, and her husband was there and helped to lift
her and hold her during the final pains. The mother was
now to keep quiet for a few days and, above all, not expose
herself to the sun.

The old man explained that the rich let their women rest 846
for weeks after giving birth, living on maize gruel and [556]
light food, while poor mothers have to go out and work as
usual straight away. The child has the breast in the evening 853
when the mother goes to bed; at three in the morning when
everyone gets up, and occasionally during the day. In the
better families the child is weaned with the help of maize
gruel and goat's milk and a female slave takes charge of it,
the mother having so many other duties. There are even
some who keep wet-nurses, he said.

Then more men appeared and a woman who sat behind 854
my wife, just outside the circle. I distributed tobacco and
conversation became lively. My wife was surprised that
Indian babies were allowed to sit upright so early. She was
told that at first the mother supports it with her hand, and

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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562 riage. A Guajiro woman has no right to sell her body. The [548] law does not recognize prostitution.

A married woman's relatives and clan do not leave her 562 entirely in her husband's hands. He may not do as he likes 614 with her, nor cause her suffering. Suffering and discomfort 844 she is bound to experience in childbirth, however, and of that he is the primary cause; thus whether as a result of legal or illegal relations, the man must compensate the mother for her confinement by giving her family a few [431] cattle. The woman herself may not eat their meat under any circumstances.

Originally the Guajiro clans were exogamous; members 582 were not allowed to marry within the clan. That is no 614 longer insisted upon, but not only brothers and sisters, but maternal males and cousins on the mother's side, are still reckoned among the forbidden degrees. It is unthinkable that an Indian girl should marry her maternal uncle; that would be like having her father for her husband. It once happened that an uncle and niece had a secret relationship 835 and the girl became pregnant. A monk married them, but the Indians regarded the relationship as a heinous crime and the whole district reacted so violently that the couple [626] had to leave the peninsula and go far away, where there was no risk of meeting members of their tribe.

There is nothing to prevent an Indian getting himself [595] several wives. Infrequently white men have married into 648 Guajiro families and they too have had to pay a bride-price. 582 A number of poor Creoles have contracted Guajiro marriages with poor girls. I have already mentioned how foreign oil workers made Guajiro marriages. In those early days there were no arrangements made for employees' families, and the Guajiro girls suited those primitive conditions very well, though as a rule such marriages with Indian girls were very short-lived, as those of the Creoles with them still are. The girl is soon abandoned, if that can be done without risk, the girl's family in such cases being powerless. So the Indians told me.

The monks had already told us that where Creoles had married Guajiro girls of good family, those marriages had

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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726 on equal terms. He then approached the enemy from the left while making quick movements, jumps, and turns, with his legs apart and his knees bent. More recently, according to Ernst (1887 c), war is not declared, attempts being made to take the enemy by surprise.

[797] Wars last indefinitely, sometimes being broken by a peace brought about by an influential "civilizado" or the Capuchin monks, the latter sometimes paying the retribution demanded out of their own pockets.

579 Some tribes, such as the *Cosina* of Serranía Cosina (actually a conglomeration of outcastes rather than a sib), make their living almost entirely by robbery and pillage, destroying houses, stealing cattle, and killing or enslaving their enemies.

LIFE CYCLE

843 **Birth and childhood.**—During pregnancy a woman continues to do her heavy work up to the very hour of delivery. At childbirth, the shaman

844 pronounces various spells over the patient and applies poultices made of

[156] dried flowers, roots, etc. A large, heavy stone placed over the womb and vigorous massaging bring about the birth. If the placenta is not soon expelled, the woman drinks a medicine concocted by the medicine man. As soon as the child is safely delivered the father serves rum and chicha

[484] to all his relatives. If the pains of childbirth appear when the sib is on the march, the woman mounts and rides ahead so that when the sib catches up the event is practically over. The husband cuts the cord with his machete and cauterizes its ends with a glowing ember. The woman

[854] then continues on the march with the child in a sling on her back. When the permanent camp is reached she washes herself and the child.

851 Baptism is a Christian ceremony which the *Goajiro* have adopted, and

551 most of the Indians are called by Spanish names, as their real names may

177 not be mentioned. Teknonymy is practiced; a parent is addressed by its child's name plus a prefix, nushi or sushi for the father, ni or si for the mother. Thus, a father may be called Nushijuan after a son or Sushijuana after a daughter.

857 At 6 or 7, girls learn to grind salt, pick cotton, and tend the smaller

868 animals; the boys imitate their fathers.

855 Parents are said to show little affection for their children, sometimes

[435] selling them at Sinamaica. They receive $10 or $15 for a child of 8 or 9 years. The purchaser becomes the child's guardian, teaches him the Catholic faith, and keeps him until he is 17 years old. These children

[736 rarely return home. Abandoned children are taken to the San Antonio

797] orphanage, where the girls continue to wear their *Goajiro* dress, but the boys are put into jackets and pants.

881 **Girls' puberty.**—At her first menstruation a girl is isolated in a small dark hut and stripped of all her ornaments. She lies in a hammock, sometimes hoisted near the roof. For the first 2 days she drinks no

/537 cont./

614 not lose its green leaves, even in the dry season. The Indians
212 seek shelter under its branches during storms, because lightning
773 will not strike there.
[824]
[821]

/538/ Mareiwa created an Indian woman named Borunka; she became the mother of all the Guajiro people (13).

[114]

13. Chaves (1953, p. 181) reports another myth of the "Origen de los Guajiros," in which, however, the totem clans are not mentioned; therefore, no contradiction of the myth presented here can be brought forward from there.

He also gave her a companion, by whom she became pregnant. When the time of her delivery came, however, she felt incapable of giving birth. The pains lasted for three days without delivery. Her vagina was set with teeth. Mareiwa removed them. At the same time he took two ribs, the lowest one from each side, from her mate. He inserted them in Borunka so that she could later give birth without hindrance, though not without pain.

614 Since loss of blood was connected with delivery since
212 then, Mareiwa summoned all the birds. He commanded the
773 sangre de toro, or pincwait, to wash itself where the birth
825 took place. He gave the same order to the troupials (weaver
844 birds of the family Icteridae), as well as to the icó [ishu, Phoenicotraupis rubra] with the black wings, whose breast feathers and head-tuft are red in color, and finally to the macaws. The woodpecker [Ceophloeus lineatus] arrived late for this bath. Mareiwa said to him, "You came late, to be sure, but I shall paint your tuft anyway," and he painted it red. Thus, the birds mentioned have red spots in their plumage.

614 Borunka bore several children, and the Guajiro pro-
212 ceeded to multiply. When there were many of them, Mareiwa
773

/9 cont./

766 the time of other deaths are suppressed, and the eldest maternal uncle takes charge of the burial. Neither the father nor the mother may see the dead child nor assist at the burial, so as to avoid the death of future children.

The first-born having died and the burial requirements 766 having been complied with, the mother must submit, if she 881 wishes to prevent the death of her other children, to a special 845 treatment which is practically a repetition of the ceremonies and the regimen to which she was subjected at her initiation on reaching puberty. Apparently it is believed that she did *not* fully comply on that occasion with the customary rites and prescriptions meant to convert her into an adult woman with all the functions attached to that state. It is to this fault that the Guajiro appears to attribute the death of the first-born.

766 The mother is suspended for three days in a hammock near the ridgepole of the house. She remains there fasting, covered 881 with a cloth so as not to /10/ to be seen. Let down at the end of this interval, she takes some bija /achiote, or seeds of the annatto tree/ as her first food and thin corn mazamorra; a female uterine relative takes care of her, probably more strictly than during her seclusion at puberty, and she stays for five months in an outbuilding adjoining the household or in a room where she cannot be seen except by other women, speaks softly, submits to a nourishing diet, and is deprived of sexual contact with her husband. Also, the process of fattening with the root of hawapi is repeated as well as the use of herbs to delay the reappearance of menstruation. After this seclusion she returns to her husband's side and takes up her marital life.

766 If another child should have the same fate as the first, the usual burial ceremony takes place: a wake is organized, and animals are distributed as in the case of the death of an adult, the animals being supplied by the maternal and paternal grandparents. The tradition forms having been complied with, the dead child is buried in the cemetery of his ancestors. The mother is given special treatment by the professional herbalists,

/10 cont./

766 but seclusion is not repeated, as the death of children is now attributed to diverse causes, some magic and some natural. Once these causes are eliminated, the native believes he has solved the problem.

845 Birth of twins. The reasons the Guajiro cites to explain the birth of twins have a distinct magic character. Although it is not considered as a foreshadowing of lamentable happenings, it is recognized as a heavy burden, especially when the mother has insufficient means or when the number of children is already large. However, there is never any attempt whatever to end the life of twins when they arrive. They rear them in the best way possible following the same customary regimen used for other children and overcoming difficulties as much as possible.

The reasons the Guajiro gives to explain the birth of twins are the following: During the early months of pregnancy, and especially in the first month, the mother has suffered some very intense emotion on being startled by someone or on receiving some unexpected bad news, etc.; or also she may have mocked some other woman who had borne twins, or, worse still, having been able to assist the other woman and having been asked to help as a wet nurse (the mother being unable to feed her young ones), she refused.

853 Feeding and clothing the baby. The newborn child is not fed until three days after birth, when the milk appears in the mother's breasts, an appearance which varies but is generally within the term of three days. However, this custom is frequently not observed even /11/ on the first day due to insinuations of the family or the midwife when the child appears to be extremely hungry.

The child is not suckled at regular intervals, if by this is meant fixed hours which the mother or wet nurse must hold to. The mother feeds the child when he asks by crying or by demanding by word of mouth, according to his age, and also in order to comfort him when he is hurt or in pain, and when she wishes him to go off to sleep. Only a few mestizos, because

/131 cont./

844 wrapped in clothes either specially prepared for the event or improvised. The umbilical cord has already been tied by the midwife, and in the cases of unaided childbirth the mother does this herself, even cutting it with a splinter of wood and tying it as best she can with a vegetable fiber.

184 844 The midwife or the mother takes the afterbirth out of the house and throws it some distance away (a custom of Upper La Guajira) so that it shall be lost. They believe that if they bury it the newborn baby will have bad luck, will sicken and slowly die practically by wasting away. Nevertheless, there are regions, as in Uribia, where the custom prevails of burying it outside the house; in other parts, as in Jarara, the usual way is to put it under a fireplace /fogón/, which is then lit to give strength to the child and ward off infantile sickness.

845 When the delivery shows signs of complications or is abnormally delayed, the male consanguineous relatives in the house are asked to help by lifting up the woman by her armpits during the spasms of labor pains and by this means accelerate the process. Her husband may help at these moments, but at the present time children, youths, and virgins are not allowed to be present, although there are regions, such as Jarara, where the woman gives birth in a passageway or under the enramada /bough-covered shelter/, in full view of everyone, even her small children. There is no concern at all over this matter; childbirth is considered a normal phenomenon and unmarried women may also be present. /132/

[556] Rich and powerful women go to Maracaibo to have their children when their previous births have been difficult, as there they have clinics and doctors at their disposal.

844 Midwives. The midwife is a woman, usually married, who has lived her own professional experiences and has had further experience among her consanguineous relatives. Practice, inborn ability, and empirical knowledge of the phenomenon give these women a certain technique which makes them so famous that their services are greatly in demand. Some of them also know what care and attention the pregnant woman should receive as regards

[58 cont.]

755 associated with some prohibitions of a taboo nature or with established social customs, the origin and in part even significance of which is unknown. But what attracts our attention in this aspect of Guajiro medical [59] practice is preventative rather than curative nature. To demonstrate this, we quote some examples:

753 During the period of pregnancy, neither the father nor the
755 mother should be present at the exhumation of the dead, a cere-
843 mony which the Indians hold to comply with the rites of the secondary burial. If this injunction is disobeyed, the infant about to be born will, at birth or a few days later, have a sickly appearance and will be afflicted with constant diarrhea and night sweats, and will be characterized by a very pronounced paleness and extreme thinness.

755 If this occurs, if through carelessness the parents witness the exhumation of a corpse during the mother's pregnancy and her child is born sickly, they will not try to blame the child's illness on any other cause than that just stated. In accordance with this decision, they will proceed to apply the curing method appropriate for such an emergency, which, as we noted in the previous chapter, "Magic and Sacrifice," is as follows: (a) They wait until there is a fiesta of a ceremonial nature for the exhumation of human remains and then place the infant inside the recently opened body of the animal that has been sacrificed for the ceremony. (b) If the infant cannot be taken to the place where the ceremony is being held, a bone of the sacrificed animal is taken, left to dry, and cooked, and the infant is bathed in this water. (c) If there is no possibility of a ceremony of the type described being held in the near future, a hole is made in the sand, and the child is buried therein up to its neck and is then covered with the loose earth.

843 Neither should the husband of a pregnant woman under any
845 circumstances dig a grave or assist in the construction of a vault
764 (an element of acculturation) destined for the primary or secondary burial of any person. If he does his wife will suffer the con-
[177] sequences of this disrespect in her delivery, which will not be normal: prolonged for several days, very painful, and with serious consequences for the mother and for the coming child.

[59 cont.]

843 A pregnant woman should never be present at or watch a
845 burial, for if she does so, she will have a difficult childbirth: the infant's arrival will be delayed in a manner both painful and difficult for the mother.

755 Anyone who may have touched the corpse of a person
758 whose death has not been natural – who has been murdered,
764 for example – is prohibited from approaching the side of one who is sick, because this individual will die because of his presence. This prohibition is also extended to those who have directly assisted in the exhumation of human remains. Furthermore, both of these persons are strictly forbidden to come near
[753] children [60] or places where they may be, because their presence, contaminated by the nature of the dead, will cause the children to fall ill.

843 Serpents also have magic influence on pregnant women.
825 In this case it is not an influence destined to injure the unborn child but is directed against the mother herself, who feels in various ways in her own flesh the malignant action of the reptile. For instance, if a woman during her term of pregnancy sees a hunting snake [culebra cazadora] and remains looking at it for some time, her child will be born stupid. The explanation that the Indians give for this very generally accepted belief is that as this snake gives the impression of being stupid, because it does not attack people as other snakes do and does them no harm but confines itself to hunting young birds for food, it transmits this quality to the infant. A mother who encounters such a reptile should pretend not to have seen it and automatically look elsewhere.

If during this same period the mother-to-be should see
825 any kind of snake (other than a hunting snake) she will suffer a
843 miscarriage or some kind of painful mishap related to the de-
845 livery. To avoid these possible ills, the woman should try to step over the snake. If in spite of this difficulties in childbirth occur, then they resort to a curing method which consists in finding a similar snake, killing it, opening it up carefully, and localizing in the interior of its intestines the water that it has drunk, collecting this and taking it to the sick woman, so that after she has drunk it, her labor will be hastened and will then occur without any serious complications.

[60 cont.]

825 If in this same condition the woman sees a serpent under
843 a stone or in a hole, her delivery will be delayed, and it will be
845 difficult and long. As in the case immediately preceding this, prevention depends on the indifference shown by the woman toward the snake: She should immediately look away from the creature. But the coincidence of seeing a snake and its being in a hole or under a stone brings about a new complication, since two elements are involved: first, the snake as such as we have seen in the previous accounts; and second, its apparently difficult position, which is transmitted to the woman in the moment of childbirth in the form of delay in the birth and the physical difficulty of its accomplishment.

Also, the childbirth will be delayed several days and will be extremely painful if during her pregnancy the woman's husband commits the imprudence of killing a snake of any kind.

[61] The snake then, as we noted at the beginning and
843 as we have been able to confirm by means of the examples sub-
825 mitted, exercises a special magic influence on pregnant women.
[538] The position of the snake when seen, either directly by the woman or by the husband, makes this influence greater. We also heard from a story told to us that another belief exists related to the snake and women's pregnancy. We cannot say whether it really exists or if it is the product of imagination and legend because the two elements seem to be mixed up. It concerns a certain serpent that attacks people by jumping at them from a tree and forcing its tail into their ears, and the fact that it only attacks women at a certain period of their pregnancy or a pregnant woman's husband at the same period.

According to the story related to us, during the first three months of pregnancy the woman may be attacked by a very exceptional male serpent with three colors: green, black, and white, placed dorsally in the form of an X. (The female of the species, according to the story, has only one color: green.) The male serpent attacks the wife during the early months of pregnancy, as well as her husband. The creature is usually found hidden in the branches of trees which shade paths and can spring like an arrow from its place of ambush, attacking people with great accuracy. With a spring it settles on its victim's head,

[64 cont.]

192 In the case of the Uyárayú group, we find another perfect
614 correspondence between the name of the animal and that of the
825 family group:

uyára	= cauquero (a species of deer)
yú	= from wayú Indian, people
uyárayú	= people of the cauquero

614 The foregoing demonstrates the existence within the Guajiro community of the remains of an ancient clan organization, matrilineal and totemic. We say remains because the significance of the totem, as we have noted, has almost completely disappeared, since there does not exist a fixed prohibition against killing certain animals (in this case the animal corresponding to the group) nor any ceremonial ritual related to it. We do not wish to enlarge on this subject of the existence of totems in La Guajira as this will be treated in a later thesis. We only wish to emphasize the value of the serpent in Guajiro
614 magic for which no [65] clearer explanation can be found than
825 the connection it maintains with the ancient beliefs related to
843 the totem. It shows us that the greater percentage of Guajiro totemic clans are connected in their name to this creature; also that the serpent's evil effects fall directly on pregnant women, causing harm not to the children, as occurs with other animals (the fox, sparrow hawk, duck...), but directly to the mother.

* * *

825 The mother-to-be should also avoid seeing a sparrow hawk
843 because if she disobeys this ruling her child will be born bleary eyed, since they say this bird is.

843 A pregnant woman's husband must not go hunting with a modern weapon — the rifle — since he can do this with the tra-
845 ditional weapons, the bow and arrow, for if he does not obey this rule, his wife's labor will be prolonged for a long time, and no remedies nor any other attempts to help her will hasten the birth in any way. When a husband has failed to obey this magico-preventative medicinal norm, it is necessary to obtain a rifle — preferably the one the husband used in his hunting —

[65 cont.]

843 and very carefully wash it [in water]. Giving the woman this
845 water to drink will permit her to deliver the child immediately.

If a Guajiro father has to set off on a long journey on
751 horseback, leaving behind his newborn son, he must comply
854 with another custom of a magic nature, which requires him to
492 wrap the cinch of his horse about the child for a few minutes. If he fails to do this, the child will be very ill and complain pitifully during the time his father is absent. An equivalent form under the same circumstances is the father's customarily placing his foot on the newborn baby's chest for a brief moment. If this obligation is not complied with, either through forgetfulness or all will on the part of the father, the mother, or some close relative of the child, must find the father's old sandals and place them on the child's chest for a few moments in order to obtain the effect desired, which the ritual action if performed by the father would have accomplished.

751 We venture to attempt an explanation of the last two
854 phenomena as follows: The object that is sought in the fulfillment of these two traditional customs is to drive away from the child the presence of the wanurú or the evil spirit of sickness. The pressure exercised by the father's foot or, lacking this, [66] by
[753 the father's old sandals, symbolizes his presence in the child
826] precisely in the place where the spirits in order to attain their evil designs often lodge in the child's body, i.e., its chest, as we shall have occasion to see in the following chapter. This symbolic presence of the father prevents the spirits from approaching near the child to work it harm. Lastly, the custom of wrapping the cinch of [the harness of] the horse on which the father will be traveling around the body of the child is intimately linked
[825 with the belief of these natives that the horse has the power to frighten away the wanurú, or spirit of sickness, with its snorting; more simply this same protection is achieved by placing a horse's skull in a place near the houses. (Cf. "Amulets, Fetishes, Talismans." Also, in this case there is a substitution of the magic formula (using the cinch instead of the horse), a substitution that has exactly similar effects and the action of which could be based on one of the laws of magic established by Sir J. G. Frazer

[88 cont.]

755 the child in the warm sand, covering it to the base of its head. There is a decided magic intervention, the effect of which we 782 do not know on the part of the sacrificed animal which, as we 825 have said, shares the contaminating quality of its dead owner.

Other beliefs which confirm what has been stated are the 843 following: The husband of a pregnant woman should never, for 845 any motive whatsoever, dig a grave or assist in the construction of a vault for either a primary or secondary burial ceremony, because in such a case his wife's delivery will not be normal; it will be prolonged with danger both to the mother and the child.

Neither should the mother-to-be watch a burial being placed in a vault because the previously mentioned phenomenon will be repeated: She will have a difficult delivery, through delay in the birth and pain.

783 Anyone who has touched a man whose death was not due 753 to natural causes must not come near a sick person because if 764 he does the sick man will quickly die. This also applies to those who have helped in an exhumation or taken part in any of the ceremonies called for by the secondary burial. Neither should such a person go near small children because these will, according to Guajiro belief, automatically begin to cry and twist about, the victims of some sickness.

In general terms, the individual who approaches a corpse, who touches it, or who participates directly in the different ceremonies relating to it becomes contaminated. But he does not suffer the consequences of this contamination in his own person, unless it be a pregnant woman; he takes on the role of transmitting agent. He becomes an intermediary, if we can so call him, between the spirit and children, sick people, or pregnant women, which are the three classes of people preferred by the spirits of the dead on whom to practice their malevolent contaminations. In all three cases the weakness of the contaminated person is evident: the sick person, the child in the womb unable to defend itself, and the newborn also incapable of defending itself against the spirit as it shows in contrast to the other members of the community, that is, the adults on whom it depends for its

[120 cont.]

843 There is another series of magic acts related to those recently enumerated, which also share the qualities of another individual but which differ from them in two aspects: first because they are indirect, that is, because the child receives them through his mother during the period of gestation; second because they are not so directly related with the notion of mana but could be included in what we might call phenomena of autosuggestion because they only consist of one sudden impression or a strong unsatisfied desire which causes anguish. Some of these are the following.

When a woman is pregnant and she gets a strong shock through the sudden apparition of someone, the child when born will have the same skin color as the person who has startled her.

On the other hand, if during her pregnancy, especially [845] during the early months, the mother should be greatly frightened, twins will be born to her. In this aspect regarding twins, there is also the belief that these are born when the woman has been [853] asked and has refused to give the breast to a twin child whose own mother was unable to feed it.

Finally, when during the time of her pregnancy a woman has a very strong desire to possess something, as for instance a dress, a necklace, any special or particular kind of ornament, and she searches anxiously for it but does not find it and so does not satisfy her wish, her child will be born under the influence of her unfulfilled desire and will carry on its face the dissatisfied look of its mother: He will have his mouth half open, an anxious look, and will be continually crying and upset. [121]

VIII

Magic as the Origin of the Theater in La Guajira (The Dance of the Kid)

128 It may perhaps be overbold to use the title which heads this chapter, and this may even apply to the contents and the statements which we make in it, because here some concepts will be confused which could be treated separately, such as the

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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By the shore. Held by father and sister, these were the only twins we ever saw. The Guajiro let twins live

Right: *Indian girls*

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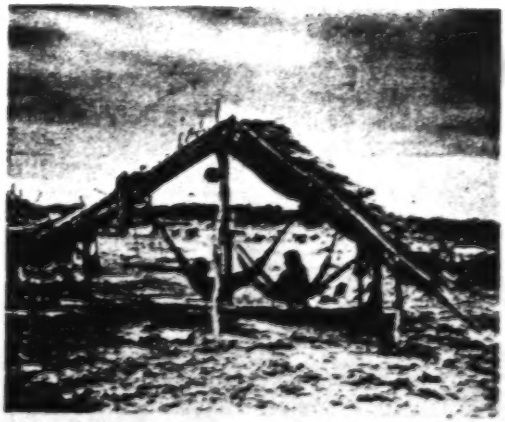
352 *A simple Indian hut*



[Facing p. 32]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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How must a girl look to find favour with them? She must be tall, broad-hipped and have firm prominent breasts and well-rounded curves. Flabbiness the men do not like, but they do not seem to worry about the shape of their women's legs. These, of course, are hidden beneath the wide tunic, but the wind sweeps this against them, outlining them. It is fortunate for the Guajiro women that their men do not attach importance to the shape of their legs, for they are seldom lovely. To our eyes they seem too short and badly shaped. The men attach much importance to gentle, dignified behaviour. The Guajiro girl should have large eyes and good teeth, but the most important thing of all is that she should be light-skinned; that is the hall-mark of gentility. No girl ever neglects her beauty decoctions, not even when she is in the charge of the nuns at the mission station and thus not isolated as the rule is at home. The rules she has to observe and the medicines she must take are of importance not only for her appearance, but also for her physique. If she follows her instructions, she will give birth without difficulty and there will be no risk of the baby being still-born. Her mother and her family are held to be partially responsible if the first-born dies in or after birth, for that means that on some point the complicated rules governing the girl's period of incarceration have been neglected.

A girl is by no means idle while she is shut up; quite the contrary. She spins and weaves industriously, under supervision of the old woman, and learns the details of housekeeping and how to prepare different foods. Actually she will know most of this already, having taken a more or less active part in the work of the household ever since she was able to walk. She also receives instruction in how to behave, is initiated into the duties incumbent upon a housewife, what she must do as spouse and mother, in the various aspects of married life and in the mysteries of sex.

No man is allowed to enter the girl's little hut, and she is not allowed to meet men, receive visitors or be with her family, if visitors come. When the guardian considers that the girl can be let out, usually after a year or two—the news spreads quickly and guests start to come with or without

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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586 minus an amount considered equivalent for the sexual right he had exer-
[845 cised. If a woman dies in her first childbirth the husband may demand
583] the full return of the bride price (Simons, 1885, p. 792, however, states that the wife's relatives demand compensation from the husband).
586 Adultery entails divorce with full return of the bride price. It rarely
837 occurs, however, as the wife will be treated badly by her own relatives. At his death a man's wives are inherited by his brother, and next by his
587 sister's sons; the women may avoid this by making a payment equivalent
768 to their bride price. If he is of the Catholic faith his children may claim
184 to be his legal heirs, which leads to conflict with the maternal nephews. (See Social Organization, p. 374.)

562 The influence of women in political affairs is sometimes noticeable.
622 There are cases of female chiefs, and women are respected enough so as to be able to intervene and stop brawls.

764 **Death.**—Funerals are accompanied by festivities which last days or even
[554 weeks, according to the wealth of the family. There are some differences
184] in the funeral ceremonies which are apparently associated with the particular sibs. These funeral feasts afford the best opportunity for display of wealth, and more than 1,000 head of livestock may be butchered. Every mourner who comes to the feast contributes animals for slaughter and continues to do so as long as he cares to remain. After the mourning period, marked by weeping and lamenting interspersed with drinking and feasting, the corpse, which has lain in a hammock slung from the rafters,
[784 is sewn up in hides by the women (men may not touch a dead body) and carried to the cemetery of the tribe. For a year or so, the body may be temporarily consigned to a shallow grave marked by a pile of stones. Food and drink are often placed in the grave, and, if the deceased had been a warrior, his bows and arrows are put in. A year or two later the bones
764 are exhumed and reburied in a large urn. The exhumation is generally
765 done at night and is accompanied by a feast. The remains are carried in a funeral procession to the dead person's birthplace, where they are buried in the family's own cemetery. The funeral urn is placed in a vertical position with the narrow neck of the jar protruding above ground to permit the free entry and exit of the spirit and to allow the remains of other members of the family to be added from time to time. A cactus hedge surrounds the cemetery, and in wet weather half a calabash is placed over the opening of each jar to keep out the rain. Whenever two relatives of a recently deceased person meet, they bow to the ground, shouting and groaning, for several minutes. (For a slightly different account of the burial of a rich man, see Simons, 1885, p. 792.)

751 If a person is stricken with smallpox the whole tribe moves away, only
766 the family of the sick person remaining. When the death occurs they bury the body below the floor and burn the hut over the grave.

/132 cont./

844 diet and the magic preventatives required for a healthy baby and an easy delivery; they also often have a knowledge of the properties of certain herbs of which they make frequent use in the exercise of their profession, as well as the magic requisites necessary to counteract the ill-effects of the violation of some taboo during the period of pregnancy, a transgression which may cause abnormally long labor.

For this reason their services are very efficient and highly valued by the community; on their expertness and the success of the cases they handle during their career depend their reputation, their popularity, and the fee they receive.

[564] The midwife's position is an honorable one. Hers is not an occupation that can be looked down on; although it is not practiced by women of high class, it does give those who exercise it a certain elevation in their familial and general status.

Prior to the birth an arrangement is made regarding the services of the midwife. She is paid according to the economic capacity of the future mother, adding something more to the agreed-on fee when the delivery happens to be extremely prolonged and difficult, that is, when it requires greater effort and assistance than the normal case. The usual payment includes a length of material for a robe (ten yards) of the color and quality requested by the midwife; several bottles of rum (five or more), some ornament, etc. The midwife's request is not always the same but varies in accordance with her personal needs at the time. Also she must be well fed all the time that her presence is necessary in the home of the mother.

846 556 Postnatal regimen. Guajiro mothers follow a special regimen which is in accordance with their social position. Those of strong clan groups who have at their disposal a large number of women servants and slaves can enjoy /133/ the luxury of remaining undisturbed without being bothered by any domestic duties, aided by their maternal kinswomen or those who replace these in caring for them. Guajiro women say that when the first child is born it is customary for the mother to remain in bed and out of the sunlight

/133 cont./

●846 556 for one month, taking light food such as thin mazamorros with milk, cojosa /chicha made of sour milk/, etc.; to be bathed with hot water at daybreak by her kinswomen or by the midwife, who also take charge of the newborn child and of all domestic activities. As the first delivery takes place in the home of her uterine kinswomen, these activities naturally are reduced to a minimum. When the second child arrives, if the delivery has been easy, the period of care is shortened, and in the following deliveries the rest period is restricted to what her domestic duties will permit, as then she gives birth in her own home and in many cases alone.

Among the poorer classes, in which the woman carries the burden of all the domestic chores, such as attending to her husband and carrying out economically lucrative crafts in addition to agricultural work and collecting, etc., the /special/ regimen followed by the mother becomes very attenuated. Her activity is not really interrupted except while she is giving birth and from that moment her normal life continues. In the hamlets on the outskirts of Uribia, we had the opportunity to visit two women who had just given birth. The births had taken place in an enramada /bough-covered shelter/, and afterward with the newborn babies in their arms, the mothers went about their ordinary household duties. They did not even protect themselves from the burning rays of the sun, as one of them was out in the open just at midday, cooking trupillo pods to eat and going about her other domestic work. In reply to our remarks on this behavior, she said that she did not feel in the least indisposed and she was not accustomed to follow any special regimen at all. We got the same reply from the other Guajiro mother, who said that she had gone on with her normal activities the same afternoon that she had had her child. One woman was from Jarara and the other from upper La Guajira.

G [55 cont.]
755 When the child at birth, or a few days afterward, is afflicted with stomach-ache and other characteristic symptoms determined by divination, the cause is that the mother during her pregnancy had imprudently eaten a watermelon which previously had been tasted by a fox. This fact having been proved by the art and talent of the diviner, she proceeds to carry out the cure of the infant, which consists of searching out a fox, killing and quartering it, separating the bones from the flesh and burning them and reducing them to powder. The powder resulting from this calcination is used to anoint around the child's anal sphincter after an evacuation. A part of the meat of the dead animal is roasted and is given [56] to the sick child. If both remedies are applied at the opportune moment, the child will rapidly recover – at least this is the Guajiro belief.

G It might be thought that in this case it would be logical
753 for the affected person to be the mother herself, as it was she
854 who ate the contaminated fruit, but one must bear in mind that to the primitive, the infant, as with us, is a relatively defenseless being. For this reason he requires greater protection, because evil things, due to his weak defenses, will readily make a prey of his small body. The evil things in this case are represented by the wicked spirits whose object is to spread sickness. To uphold our statement it is sufficient to quote the case of the
W Witoto Indians, inhabitants of the Amazonian selva, with their
846 social institution called the covada [couvade] and their general custom of covering their children's bodies with curly vegetable fibers to disguise them and give them the appearance of small monkeys. Let us see what couvade is: "The one most concerned with this affair" – the birth of the new child – "is the husband because it is he who has to bear the rigors of the strict diet involved. In practice, once natus est homo and the essential obstetrical duties are carried out, the Indian mother hands over the fruit of her womb to the husband. He takes charge of the infant and, acting as if he were the mother, takes it with him to his hammock where he stays for eight days, keeping to a diet which might well be adopted by the most fastidious lady. But before he does this he first of all puts on mourning, that is, he paints himself

[56 cont.]

846 black so that he looks like an African . . . . During the eight days the Indian woman attends to all the husband's work in the sown fields, loads yucca, collects firewood, etc. Later the Indian, once he has finished his period of diet, rises from his hammock, goes to the river, and with a thorough bathing washes off the black ointment until he becomes clean again and his natural self, as they say, in Adam's clothing." (39)

39. Anonymous: Relaciones Interesantes y datos históricos sobre las Misiones del Caquetá y Putumayo [Interesting stories and historical data about the Caquetá and Putumayo missions], 2d., I, 36-37.

In this socio-magic incident of relevant importance, in which the missionary saw nothing more than a curious aspect of Indian life, what is shown is really a change of personality when confronted with an evil spirit: The man is transformed into a woman (at least he behaves like one, taking charge of the newborn child and carrying out the roles that a woman should perform during the eight days of regulation diet), and the mother behaves as if she were the father (also substituting for him in the work which is his responsibility), and all this is done with the
846 object of warding off evil spirits from the newborn child. In
854 addition to the father completes his disguise by covering his body with what [57] the missionaries called "mourning" [luto], that is, with black paint with which he anoints his whole body. Deceived by all these tricks carried out by both the parents, the evil spirits should not know where to find the baby — who ought to be beside his mother — and so he — the child — is safe from their evil influence.

854 But this system to protect the child does not stop there.
291 It continues, according to the missionaries, as "they take the child and until it is about two years old dress it in a garment so peculiar that at first sight one doubts whether it is a human being or not. They cover all its body except its face with the juice of a tree ... very sticky, and over this juice is spread

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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importance. Thus, while the child is on the way, he must not 843
hunt with firearms, but only with bow and arrow. If he [224]
goes on a journey of any length after the child has come into
the world, he must lay his saddle-girth round the babe or
put his foot on its chest before he leaves. If he forgets to
do that one can lay a pair of his old sandals on its breast.

If the first-born dies, it is feared that the others will do 766
the same. The baby is placed head down in an urn with a 844
lid and buried beneath a certain kind of tree. The mother
often has to undergo another period of confinement, it
being thought that all the rules had not been observed
during her real period of puberty, and that that had an un-
favourable effect on childbirth. If all the instructions are
not observed, there is danger that the other children will
also die.

My wife came back and told us that the child was born 844
and all had gone well. It was the third child. The woman had
lain on her back on the ground with legs straddled, and
they had strewn a thick layer of fine sand under her crotch,
so that the babe should land softly. An aunt of the woman's
helped her, and her husband was there and helped to lift
her and hold her during the final pains. The mother was
now to keep quiet for a few days and, above all, not expose
herself to the sun.

The old man explained that the rich let their women rest 846 ●
for weeks after giving birth, living on maize gruel and [556]
light food, while poor mothers have to go out and work as
usual straight away. The child has the breast in the evening
when the mother goes to bed; at three in the morning when 853
everyone gets up, and occasionally during the day. In the
better families the child is weaned with the help of maize
gruel and goat's milk and a female slave takes charge of it,
the mother having so many other duties. There are even
some who keep wet-nurses, he said.

Then more men appeared and a woman who sat behind 854
my wife, just outside the circle. I distributed tobacco and
conversation became lively. My wife was surprised that
Indian babies were allowed to sit upright so early. She was
told that at first the mother supports it with her hand, and

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A woman tries to maintain these qualities as she well knows that they form the center of attraction to a man and that maternity steadily destroys them. This may be one of the reasons for the increasing use of birth control, for which they take herbs that do not allow them to conceive, abortives of all kinds, and they take advantage of their knowledge of their periods of sterility and avoid sexual intercourse at other than these periods.

Their facial features are of no great importance to them so long as they conform to the anthropological norms of the group. They prefer a face with large, dark eyes and beautiful, healthy teeth. Also, they are especially attracted by the whiteness of the skin as it indicates social standing because it is a sign that the woman is better able to look after herself by protecting herself from the sun of the region. During her /62/ seclusion the girl does not expose herself to the sunlight, and her greatest pride is that her skin has become whiter. Every morning she bathes with water left out previously in the evening dew, which besides having magic effects has the property of whitening the skin, and when she goes visiting she always covers her face with facial paints -- a customary practice required by etiquette, which also protects her from the sun's rays. During her seclusion the girl also complies with other beautifying and magic practices, such as denying herself certain meat like deer meat or animal udder, since this last, for example, will wrinkle her rapidly and she will lose some of her physical attractiveness.

A woman is well aware that her future married life will be affected in great measure by her preserving an agreeable appearance and that if the man does not feel satisfied she will be relegated to second place, and he will acquire another woman. For this reason she continually struggles to benefit by all known means to recapture her husband and retain him and avoid his acquiring other women. This is the reason that the mother, when her daughter is in the hammock ready to be hoisted up during her initiation, places on her a love charm which has the property of attracting men and of which we spoke in a previous chapter.

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548 Consequences. The consequences that prostitution has brought
177 to Guajiro society are various: The first and decisive one is the almost absolute wreck of the social organization due to the destruction of marriage, the mainstay of social life based on the purchase of a woman, who by this transaction becomes the private property of the man in the matrimonial sense. If she is unfaithful there arise the claim for compensation payment and the whole series of consequences which we have seen previously, all tending to preserve conjugal fidelity. On the woman's turning to prostitution, the legal norms which establish that marriage payment and the very constitution of the family become useless as it erases the essential character of the family: i.e., procreation. There is an end to the principle of the establishment of new social cells and fecundation takes second place. It is the biological satisfaction that is sought, not the procreation of children, a phenomenon which constitutes a grave social problem for, although many people accept contraceptives, others through ignorance or thoughtlessness on the part of the man do not use them, and the natural consequences of pregnancy are not long
[847] delayed. Then they have recourse to all the abortives they know of empirically, using the herbs whose active qualities are claimed by the old women of the Sierra de Macuira, or those they have traditionally learned from their ancestors, or they ask the assistance of a woman practiced in these matters, who for a fee provokes the abortion by traumatic massage on the abdomen of the pregnant woman and keeps the secret.

848 Besides abortives, the Guajiro woman uses potions of herbs which sterilize her for a time, up to three years, without stopping menstruation, and others which interrupt the menstrual cycle for long periods with the result that her sexual relations do not lead to pregnancy. She even appeals to magic to get this result, for example, by drinking, while fasting, a potion made from mule's
[237] excrement left to soak overnight and then decanted. They believe that as this animal is sterile so will the woman who imbibes the preparation.

[17 cont.]

*756 787 carrying out his function as community curer, and witch so that he will be able to act with certainty in curing illnesses, in the propitiation of the rainfall indispensable for good harvests, as well as in his tasks of keeping away pestilences and epidemics which could decimate the people under his care.

As has been seen in the section treating the period of training, this is limited first of all to transmitting to the new shaman the most successful way of insuring that the spirit can reach him. His science in no manner implies that he possess knowledge relating to the medicinal value of plants, of animals, etc., but it does imply that the process of apprenticeship, or better said his science, [18] is based on the successful invocation of the spirit, which has the true wisdom, which is the only curer in reality, the all-powerful able to propitiate rain and cast out pestilences and epidemics and whose science is manifested through the medium of the medicine man whenever the spirit wishes to carry out its designs. The shaman by himself and for himself is worthless. He is an ordinary man, subject as are others to the evil influences of the spirits of sickness and death. His fundamental value rests in the absorption into himself of a powerful spirit which places him on a footing of equality with the spirits of the other world, and in many cases even on a superior one, when it enables him frequently to emerge triumphant in the cure of sickness.

*756 755 One has to emphasize in the personality of the Guajiro shaman the fact that he has almost exclusively the function of making contact with the supernatural world, and it is by this means that he endeavors to effect the cure of his patients. He is partially or totally ignorant of medicine based on herbs, animals, parts of animals, or any other type of cure other than that exercised directly by the protector spirits that use him as their intermediary.

As will be seen in the corresponding chapters, the majority of child cures are effected by female diviners with the indicated methods, which are based on what is called participative or contaminant magic. Also, the herbs actually very few — which [*758 847] are used to cause abortion, to restrict the growth of the fetus,

[18 cont.]
*756 to bring on lactation, to gain weight, etc., are partly public
755 knowledge and partly privately known by a few families who tra-
[208 ditionally preserve the secret of their use for their personal benefit.
847] By what has been previously stated we see how the cere-
mony of healing is a perpetual invocation of the spirit, a con-
tinual fear that it might withdraw its aid for whatever motive,
and a perennial anxiety to satisfy its slightest wish in order to
obtain the success sought. To give evidence for this we shall
see how the Guajiro shaman effects a cure when he has been
called in to handle one.

First of all, before he initiates such activities, he demands
[431] a gift. For this reason whenever a native needs the services of
the shaman for magico-medical attention for some relative, he
goes to present himself to the shaman with a gold necklace or
some other valuable present.

Each time the shaman goes to cure a sick person he takes
171 with him two maracas. This custom is rather widespread in
*756 South America, where the magic power of the maraca appears
755 to be extraordinary and is commonly accepted, although with
some variations from tribe to tribe whether in the [19] quality
of its different parts, in the artifacts adornment, in the manner
of using it, etc. To corroborate this it is sufficient to quote
Professor Métraux again, who says, in reference to the apprentice
shaman: "During his initiation the novice learns to make use of
the accessories indispensable to the magic art. The most im-
portant of all, that which in some manner symbolizes the profes-
sion is the maraca or rattle made from a calabash containing some
seeds or pebbles and provided with a handle." (15) [Cited in
French.]

15. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 217.

[352] The medicine man accommodates himself in a seat especially
reserved for such occasions and carved in wood in the form of an
animal, but if such an artifact is lacking, he will use any con-
venient seat. The custom of using a seat of this type is also found
in the Guianas. "The wooden seat is an equally indispensable
accessory for the shaman of the Guianas. It is often carved in the
form of a jaguar, an animal that plays an important part in the

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548 Consequences. The consequences that prostitution has brought
177 to Guajiro society are various: The first and decisive one is the almost absolute wreck of the social organization due to the destruction of marriage, the mainstay of social life based on the purchase of a woman, who by this transaction becomes the private property of the man in the matrimonial sense. If she is unfaithful there arise the claim for compensation payment and the whole series of consequences which we have seen previously, all tending to preserve conjugal fidelity. On the woman's turning to prostitution, the legal norms which establish that marriage payment and the very constitution of the family become useless as it erases the essential character of the family: i.e., procreation. There is an end to the principle of the establishment of new social cells and fecundation takes second place. It is the biological satisfaction that is sought, not the procreation of children, a phenomenon which constitutes a grave social problem for, although many people accept contraceptives, others through ignorance or thoughtlessness on the part of the man do not use them, and the natural consequences of pregnancy are not long delayed. Then they have recourse to all the abortives they know
[847] of empirically, using the herbs whose active qualities are claimed by the old women of the Sierra de Macuira, or those they have traditionally learned from their ancestors, or they ask the assistance of a woman practiced in these matters, who for a fee provokes the abortion by traumatic massage on the abdomen of the pregnant woman and keeps the secret.

●848 Besides abortives, the Guajiro woman uses potions of herbs which sterilize her for a time, up to three years, without stopping menstruation, and others which interrupt the menstrual cycle for long periods with the result that her sexual relations do not lead to pregnancy. She even appeals to magic to get this result, for example, by drinking, while fasting, a potion made from mule's
[237] excrement left to soak overnight and then decanted. They believe that as this animal is sterile so will the woman who imbibes the preparation.

/93/

583 177 Permanent marriages take place generally between women of standing and whites of recognized influence, and they are more stable. The conduct of the woman and her relatives is in accord with the rank of her husband, and he on his part maintains toward his wife a certain courtesy and gives her the good treatment she deserves as a person of high status. In these cases it is not unusual that the woman has been bought in accord with Guajiro legal tradition and that the marriage lasts; but frequently it is ratified later in the Catholic church, or both forms were used from the first moment.

177 595 848 It is possible, also, that the white man, following Guajiro custom and in spite of his Catholic marriage, has other wives of lower status than the first, who always keeps the rank of legitimate wife in our sense and on whom depends the social representation of the children, the only heirs of the father and of the home, legal center of the family. The other women, although bought according to Guajiro law, acquire more or less the rank of concubines in our culture, and their children, the position of illegitimate ones. Catholic missionary influence and relations with whites have made the Indian come to regard his form of marriage as a little immoral. For this reason they now say when speaking of a Guajiro woman married with the rites of their culture: "She is So-and-so's woman," and the woman who has been married by Catholic rite says: "I am So-and-so's wife." Thus when one asks a Guajiro woman, for example, "Where is your husband?", one must be careful to use the right word for husband /marido/ or spouse /esposo/, using the first word in the case of a marriage according to peninsula rites and the second in the case of a Catholic marriage, the word "marido" being considered offensive when improperly used. As a consequence of this fact, the concept of legitimate and illegitimate children has sprung up, a concept which has no place in primitive Guajiro law. A child even though born as the result of illicit relations is a child without adjectives, either of scorn or contempt. In such cases the mother has received by force through her relatives the payment for her abuse and the

/93 cont./

177 birth in such a way that they are never placed outside the pale of
595 the law. This may be due to the uterine line of kinship in which
848 the father does not count in the recognition of children.

In these cases of marriage between whites and Guajiro women there also occurs a union of these two ideas. The white man refuses to buy the woman or legitimize their union through the [583] necessary traditional proceedings demanded by her culture. The refusal to comply with the main traditional requisite makes the man unacceptable, and he is considered an intruder.

The children, illegitimate /94/ according to the paternal mentality, meet a natural reluctance among their mother's relatives, who however in the long run have to accept them.

582 Consanguineous marriage. Although the Guajiro community is in an obvious process of disintegration, there is a characteristic which is strongly maintained: exogamy, which, at the present time, does not mean the prohibition of marriage within the same clan group, but within a limited circle of close consanguineous kin: brothers /and sisters, hermanos/, uncles /and aunts, tíos/, and ascendants in the female line. Thus today in La Guajira we find marriages between individuals of the same clan, since the tie has weakened so much that although they belong to the same clan group, they do not consider themselves relatives.

If the marriage takes place within the small family circle, the opinion of society and of the relatives is never favorable. They cannot explain why nor wish to accept that an individual should marry a consanguineal kin included among those just mentioned. Their magical beliefs reinforce this, because these beliefs establish the prohibition that a man must not marry a relative, or he will be come bald.

582 Guajiro mentality cannot accept as natural the marriage of
598 a woman to her maternal uncle. This would be incest at its worst, because the maternal uncle has the position that a father has with us. There was a case, and a similar attitude has always been observed in like cases, of a Guajiro girl who had sexual relations with her maternal uncle. After pregnancy became

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583 Real abduction takes place when a Guajiro youth is not yet able to buy a woman with his own possessions, or does not want to collect payments from the family to buy her, or because, in the case of a new wife (polygamy), he resorts to this action, often thinking that he will be able to avoid the payment altogether or get a price or installments more in keeping with what possessions he has. He then abducts a woman and goes away as far as possible, taking his cattle with him. This abduction offers two possibilities when the claim for compensation payment is presented to him and in fact to his relatives: first, to pay the price of the woman through a later arrangement, in which case the marriage is legalized. The payment is usually made in two installments. Second, to cover the price of the abuse, that is, the usufruct he has taken of the woman without previous payment and later, if she is pregnant, for the pregnancy and the pains of delivery. In this case the payment is less than that of a poor marriage and does not give the man any right over the woman or over her child.

583 Illicit pregnancy. When an unmarried woman becomes pregnant, the maternal family is gravely offended, and it is not 848 unusual for her brothers to beat her brutally, saying, "You have not been bought, and you are like a burro," and they try to make her confess who /100/ the guilty man is. The mother and the aunts intervene also, scolding her harshly. Very poor families, knowing that it is all useless and that they cannot make the man comply with their compensation claim for abuse, resign themselves to the situation almost without protest. The most they say to the girl when she has the child, in the most contemptuous way, is, "You have given birth like a bitch," that is to say, "You, whose pregnancy and labor pains nobody paid for, you, whose maternity is not even recognized by he who caused it, you, who do not have a man who honors you in your maternity, you are like a bitch that gives birth alone and does not even know who caused its pregnancy." When the woman is of high class she is nearly always abandoned by her relatives.

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796 aspects: 1) it shows ability in theatrical representations; (2) dancing, such as we have described in previous paragraphs, accompanied by songs; 3) a very interesting sexual aspect, in which the cultural patterns which govern Guajiro society are [786] broken, permitting the possibility of a certain sexual freedom without the consequences attached to such in normal times. We will begin with this last aspect, leaving for later a discussion of what their songs, plays, or drama really are.

Sexual aspect. a) The man, when the moment for dancing 796 arrives, takes a partner who usually accompanies him on every 786 evening of the dance. When they end by liking each other, as a result of dancing together, the couples leave the dancing group and withdraw to the forest to satisfy their sexual desires.

In normal times in the community this act would lead to 684 outbreaks of fighting in which the clans of the two participants 628 would clash. The man would be summoned and would be under an obligation to pay a large sum for the harm done and a further sum for the dangers and pains of childbirth in case of pregnancy; or he would find himself obliged to buy the woman for wife in reparation for the fault he had committed. In case he failed to comply with one of these requirements, vengeance and war would follow. But none of this happens during this time of fiesta. 796 If a man who has been with a woman during these nights of 786 dancing (which can go on for three or four months) cares to take her as his wife, he must pay for her the price arranged with her relatives, but if he does not want to do this, his total obligation [431] is limited to a present of a robe. She on her part will give him a similar gift or simply a belt for his loincloth. Afterward they do not meet each other except on casual occasions.

Furthermore, if, owing to intimacies during the dance between unmarried couples, a child should be born, the father has [848] no responsibility toward it or to the girl's relatives. The child is accepted by the girl's family; it is not looked down on, and it participates under conditions of equality with the legitimate heirs in all the duties and rights of the other members of the family group.

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Birth and death of the first-born. The father must pay the
851 expenses of pregnancy and delivery, as well as those occasioned by the celebration of the birth of his first child, and he is expected to offer a special feast at his own expense at the place where the birth occurred. The news of the birth of the child spreads rapidly and draws relatives and friends from all parts. At midday the dance, which lasts all night, begins, in which the
[534 single women and all the men take part. The rhythm is supplied
535] by a double-headed drum made of deer or goat hide. The dancing takes place within a large circle, around the edges of which the couples participating and the curious onlookers gather. The women attend in their finest dresses without forgetting their ornaments (necklaces, bracelets, and anklets) and wear wound round the head a handkerchief, which falls over the shoulder, and have their faces very carefully painted. The men wear broad belts wonderfully embroidered and feather headpieces.

[273] The father must supply his guests with Guajiro rum or with smuggled foreign liquor. Also chicha (made from chewed corn)
[541] is prepared and is served liberally. Apart from the dancing there may be horse racing, if the people are rich, and for this they bring their finest animals. At dawn the next day cattle, if the father is rich, and goats are slaughtered, which are prepared and divided among the participants according to their importance in the family, the group, and the total collectivity in general. All the participants return to their homes by sunrise.

In addition to the father, the maternal and paternal relatives
[431] join in the celebration of the birth, bringing gifts for the newly born. The father also makes him a present of heads of livestock,
[428] which constitute almost the only inheritance he will get during his lifetime, as it is the nephews of the father, (sons of his sister) who inherit the capital and not the sons, according to law, when the marriage has been carried out according to the Guajiro rite.

851 The paternal grandfather also shows his recognition and
431 generosity toward his grandson. If he owns livestock, he is
603 obliged to give a pair of each -- horses, burros, cows, goats,

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851 431 [603] sheep, fowl. The maternal grandfather has a similar obligation, and he is expected to give as much as the other. It is customary for the most notable /connotado/ maternal uncle to show his affection and recognition of his nephew -- his veritable son -- by making him a special gift of heads of livestock. /9/

In addition, the female neighbors and friends of the mother come to visit her, and they do not fail to bring some present for the new infant, such as balls of thread to make his hammock, his swaddling clothes, etc.

With the livestock received at his birth the child starts his capital. His animals are cared for by his father, together with those belonging to the mother, or by the most outstanding maternal uncle who has shown most affection for his nephew activities until the boy becomes capable of looking after his own interests.

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766 The death of the first-born child is an event of outstanding importance because of the consequences it may bring about. This is one of the reasons why the father is greatly concerned about the first pregnancy of his wife and why he endeavors to take her to the home of her relatives in order that her child may be born there, placing on them the responsibility he seeks to avoid. This is cause enough for later births not to be attended by the maternal relatives, and in the long run the woman may have to give birth alone through force of circumstances.

The wife and her relatives acknowledge responsibility for the first-born's death and not only for his death as such but also as it may bear upon the birth of future children. When the first-born dies he is placed in a clay pitcher head downward, covered with the base of a new clay jar, and buried in the woods, not in the clan cemetery but certainly in land belonging to his family, at the foot of a pole called huruwá, so that the other children to be born will not also die. All ceremonies usual at

726 on equal terms. He then approached the enemy from the left while making quick movements, jumps, and turns, with his legs apart and his knees bent. More recently, according to Ernst (1887 c), war is not declared, attempts being made to take the enemy by surprise.

[747] Wars last indefinitely, sometimes being broken by a peace brought about by an influential "civilizado" or the Capuchin monks, the latter sometimes paying the retribution demanded out of their own pockets.

579 Some tribes, such as the *Cosina* of Serranía Cosina (actually a conglomeration of outcastes rather than a sib), make their living almost entirely by robbery and pillage, destroying houses, stealing cattle, and killing or enslaving their enemies.

LIFE CYCLE

843 **Birth and childhood.**—During pregnancy a woman continues to do her heavy work up to the very hour of delivery. At childbirth, the shaman

844 pronounces various spells over the patient and applies poultices made of

[156] dried flowers, roots, etc. A large, heavy stone placed over the womb and vigorous massaging bring about the birth. If the placenta is not soon expelled, the woman drinks a medicine concocted by the medicine man. As soon as the child is safely delivered the father serves rum and chicha

[484] to all his relatives. If the pains of childbirth appear when the sib is on the march, the woman mounts and rides ahead so that when the sib catches up the event is practically over. The husband cuts the cord with his machete and cauterizes its ends with a glowing ember. The woman

[854] then continues on the march with the child in a sling on her back. When the permanent camp is reached she washes herself and the child.

● 851 Baptism is a Christian ceremony which the *Goajiro* have adopted, and

551 most of the Indians are called by Spanish names, as their real names may

177 not be mentioned. Teknonymy is practiced; a parent is addressed by its child's name plus a prefix, nushi or sushi for the father, ni or si for the mother. Thus, a father may be called Nushijuan after a son or Sushijuana after a daughter.

857 At 6 or 7, girls learn to grind salt, pick cotton, and tend the smaller

868 animals; the boys imitate their fathers.

855 Parents are said to show little affection for their children, sometimes

[435] selling them at Sinamaica. They receive $10 or $15 for a child of 8 or 9 years. The purchaser becomes the child's guardian, teaches him the Catholic faith, and keeps him until he is 17 years old. These children

[536 rarely return home. Abandoned children are taken to the San Antonio

797] orphanage, where the girls continue to wear their *Goajiro* dress, but the boys are put into jackets and pants.

881 **Girls' puberty.**—At her first menstruation a girl is isolated in a small dark hut and stripped of all her ornaments. She lies in a hammock, sometimes hoisted near the roof. For the first 2 days she drinks no

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Finally, it remains to be discovered whether a people neighboring the Busintana is familiar with the musical bow. I have already said that this was not the case among the rest of the Arhuaco.

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Among the Goajiro Indians, along with the "trompa," a musical bow with horsehair string is used. One end of the bow is put in the mouth, and a narrow, uneven stick is drawn over

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the string. The strange material of the string already /194/ points to late influence; there are various African traits in the

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Goajiro culture, as I shall try to show in a future monograph. Moreover, the musical bow here is small, poorly made, and is used mostly by boys. Among the Motilon Indians on the Maraca,

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too, boys play it (see below /untranslated/). Here one must likewise assume that the Indians learned how to use it only in post-Columbian times, probably from the mulattoes living in the flat country.

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As far as the Chimila are concerned, De Brettes says that he saw hanging at the entrance of a hut a small bow 30 centimeters long, with accompanying arrows. He does not know what this is used for (192). I myself, during my brief visit among these

192 /from p. 257 of the foreign text/. De Brettes, p. 462.

Indians, did not see such a bow, but they told me that in connection with the naming of boys they use a bow decorated with

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feathers. Among the Ijca, the "sponsor" presents the little child with a tiny bow of palm wood. Naturally, this is no more in-

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tended as a musical instrument than the Chimila bow. Since the bow was already used in former times at religious ceremonies, which is not uncommon in South America, one can at least imagine that a musical bow, which even in size comes close to the symbolic bow, might easily find some use at these. The ceremonial must be observed, one must not forget anything, but an addition is easily achieved. The argument of Lumholtz is therefore not

conclusive, as I have noted earlier. An instrument named marimba

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766 but seclusion is not repeated, as the death of children is now attributed to diverse causes, some magic and some natural. Once these causes are eliminated, the native believes he has solved the problem.

845 Birth of twins. The reasons the Guajiro cites to explain the birth of twins have a distinct magic character. Although it is not considered as a foreshadowing of lamentable happenings, it is recognized as a heavy burden, especially when the mother has insufficient means or when the number of children is already large. However, there is never any attempt whatever to end the life of twins when they arrive. They rear them in the best way possible following the same customary regimen used for other children and overcoming difficulties as much as possible.

The reasons the Guajiro gives to explain the birth of twins are the following: During the early months of pregnancy, and especially in the first month, the mother has suffered some very intense emotion on being startled by someone or on receiving some unexpected bad news, etc.; or also she may have mocked some other woman who had borne twins, or, worse still, having been able to assist the other woman and having been asked to help as a wet nurse (the mother being unable to feed her young ones), she refused.

853 Feeding and clothing the baby. The newborn child is not fed until three days after birth, when the milk appears in the mother's breasts, an appearance which varies but is generally within the term of three days. However, this custom is frequently not observed even /11/ on the first day due to insinuations of the family or the midwife when the child appears to be extremely hungry.

The child is not suckled at regular intervals, if by this is meant fixed hours which the mother or wet nurse must hold to. The mother feeds the child when he asks by crying or by demanding by word of mouth, according to his age, and also in order to comfort him when he is hurt or in pain, and when she wishes him to go off to sleep. Only a few mestizos, because

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853 of white education or medical prescription, try to regulate the feeding of their children, but they break the rule frequently, lengthening or shortening the interval in accordance with the [805] appetite of the child and guiding themselves by the position of the sun.

The child has his first meal of the day approximately at three o'clock in the morning, the time that the Guajiro begins [512] his daily work, the last meal at bedtime. At this latter meal the child nurses until, either satiated or sleeping, he lets go of his mother's breast. However, every Guajiro mother habitually feeds her child during the night if he wakes up and cries.

The mother feeds her child herself unless abnormal circumstances prevent this. If the milk completely satisfies the child in quantity and quality, the mother does not add other food, nor does she substitute it during the first six to eight months. From then onward she adds to his diet thin corn mazamorra with 862 a little milk, preferably goat's milk, oat soup, milk, and, much later, cheese and meat. If the mother's milk begins to fail soon after the child's birth, she endeavors to supplement this lack by other suitable food such as sweetened mazamorra or simple dishes of rice meal, mixed with goat's milk, later this same milk alone, until she gradually weans her child to adult food, going through the process just outlined. She also tries to reserve her own milk to give to the child during the night and so avoid having to prepare food during the hours of rest. The first meal at dawn, however, may be a prepared one, as the Guajiro mother, as we have already stated, is an early riser in order to take advantage of the cooler hours of the day to do her work. Before weaning, if the mother's milk supply keeps up, the child learns to eat other foods such as cow's milk and goats milk, corn griddlecake, bread -- if it is to be had, mazamorra, and fruit such as the iguaraya, mamoncillo /honey berry/, olive, and mango. When the child begins to sit up, the mother holds him in her arms during mealtime and gives him bites of food. The child learns to want and ask for food. Thus once he is weaned,

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862 At the stage when the child is too young to feed himself, it is usually the mother who feeds him or one of the relatives (aunt, grandmother, or siblings). Also, he may be helped by female servants entrusted to look after him, who coach him so that he may learn to feed himself.

827 853 [755] If, after the delivery and before the milk appears, the woman should have inflamed and painful breasts, the husband must place his bare foot on them for a short time in order to make the swelling disappear. When the milk is delayed, they beat the shoulders of the mother with a herb which has the property of producing a milky substance in abundance. Quick and safe results are also obtained by using an infusion of vira-vira.

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853 The Guajiro mother may be obliged to ask for assistance in the natural feeding of her child: a) when, after delivery, for some pathological reason she cannot feed him because her milk has dried up; b) because she has previously lost several children of a very early age due to gastroenteritis, which is attributed to nutritive deficiency in her milk or to something in it which makes it unhealthy; c) when she has had twins, and she feels unable to feed both children; d) when the mother's milk suddenly begins to become scarce while the child is very small.

In such circumstances she looks for a wet nurse, not because she refuses to feed the child since, as far as we were able to find out, the mother wants to do it herself and considers her maternity frustrated when circumstances force her to find another mother to substitute for her, but because necessity drives her to do so in order to save the child from starvation and death. Apart from the /14/ loving care and the pleasure she feels in fulfilling this function, there are various reasons which induce her to feed her child naturally: Scarcity of milk in a poor mother involves a hardship in rearing the child as she does not always have goat's milk (the best milk in their opinion) available, and

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853 she runs up against the difficulty of accustoming the child to this kind of food, which may cause its death; furthermore, a wet nurse is often out of the question, for unless she is a relative who will do it without charge, it is almost impossible for a poor woman to meet the cost. For this reason the arrival of twins in a poor family is a hard blow, but in these circumstances every Guajiro woman whose services as wet nurse are solicited will consent, as she believes that a refusal would involve her in a double delivery in the future.

Thus, recourse to a wet nurse is limited to mothers with economic resources, who obtain the services of one with a child of an age approximately the same as their own and bring her into the home. The wet nurse receives a payment which has [465] been agreed upon beforehand, either in money, clothes, or animals, as well as her food, in which the mother takes special interest for the benefit of her own child, as also her clothes, which the mother also supplies. The wet-nurse's child is usually left with her relatives, who feed him by bottle on goat's milk, mazamorra, and other food which substitute for the mother's breast, and even if he stays with his mother, he is weaned in order to give a greater amount of breast milk to the other child. Sometimes he is given the breast, but the child of the house in which the mother serves is always given preference. His sustenance, in this case, is included in the payment agreed on.

Generally, the wet nurse engaged by a Guajiro wife is of lower social standing, and she gives her services in exchange for the personal advantages that accrue, since her situation in the house is good for the reasons mentioned, and her standing in the family collectivity is improved, because in a certain physical sense she is comparable with the mother, as on her depends the rearing and the health of the child. This establishes a link and a mutual relationship between them, and the wet nurse acquires a certain superiority as well as a physical bond with the child whom she nourishes. By this, if she is a slave, her position is eased and improved, and she gains in consideration and status. The same conditions apply if she is a bond servant.

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853 Wet nurses can be classed in four groups: 1. The relative who gives her services voluntarily and gratuitously, with the idea of mutual aid /within the family/. The mother feels, however, the moral obligation to repay her for the help given in her time of need, and this she does by taking food and /15/ presents to her relative's house. The child may be taken to the home of the wet nurse or stay in its own if the nurse lives in the same place as the mother. This is the only recourse for the poorer Guajiro woman when confronted with the problem of having given birth to twins or being unable to nurse her own child.
2. A voluntary wet nurse obtained from among friends and neighbors, whose recompense is similar to that in the previous case. This action serves to improve friendship, and the favor given remains a personal debt which should be repaid by the mother when the /volunteer/ wet nurse finds herself in a similar situation. The child is taken to the home of the wet nurse.
3. The paid wet nurse, of whom we have already spoken, whose fee obliges her to give efficient service, even to the point of weaning her own child. She must also act as nursemaid, which requires her to leave her own child in the home of her relatives.
4. The wet nurse who is not free, that is to say, one who is a bond servant or slave and who, being in the necessary condition, is ordered by her masters to give this service and is obliged to do so because of her condition of a nonfree person. In this case, as in the previous one, her own child is deprived of the breast if she cannot satisfactorily feed both children, her own and that of her masters. The child of the wet nurse is fed on special food supplied by her mistress.

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854 The Guajiro mother who is about to be confined prepares certain articles she is going to need. These preparations are quite limited, and it is not unusual for the delivery to begin without her having prepared something to serve as a "layette"

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751 according to which "things which have once been in contact with
each other continue to act on each other at a distance after the physical contact has been severed." (45) [Cited in Spanish.]

45. Frazer. La Rama Dorada [The Golden Bough], III, 27.

751 There is another medical preventative, also of a magic
843 nature, taken to avoid infant mortality in Guajiro marriages after the death of the first-born child. This preventative obliges
[766] them to bury the body in a certain manner. It also imposes upon the mother a further seclusion, such as she underwent on reaching puberty (ceremony of initiation), and entails her taking certain medicines extracted from vegetable roots. If all these prescriptions are not fully complied with, her future children will die successively as soon as they are born.

844 Once the child is born, the placenta must be thrown a long way away from the house and completely lost to sight. If
[777] it is buried it will bring bad luck to the child, who in consequence of such an imprudence will live a weakling and suffer greatly until his death.

853 When only two or three days after the mother has given
827 birth, her breasts badly swell with severe pains and a lack of
755 milk, her husband must place his foot on her naked breast, pressing *lightly* on it, with which treatment the woman will recover. When a mother loses her milk after a long period of breast feeding and is no longer able to nourish her child, she must be struck on her shoulder and her breasts a number of times with the branches of a plant which is found mainly in the neighborhood of [67] Puerto Estrella and which on being cut emits a white liquid.

826 The Guajiro takes great care of any of his hair which has
754 been cut off, as he is afraid that it can be used to do him harm. This fear is based on the belief that if anyone can obtain possession of a lock of hair, whatever harm he may do to this will react directly on its owner; if that hair, for example, is thrown on the fire, its original owner will suffer a similar fate:

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of self-defense. If we take into account the high infant mortality among the Guajiro population, which reaches a very high rate (32.97%) according to the data collected by the investigators Virginia de Pineda Giraldo and María Rosa de Recasens, whose findings were published in the Boletín de Anqueología (47), we

47. Pineda Giraldo Roberto. "Informe preliminar sobre aspectos sociales y económicos de la Guajira [Preliminary Report on Social and Economic Aspects of La Guajira]."

can even better explain the series of prohibitions, of patterns established to protect the future mothers and unborn children from the malevolent influence of the spirits, whether of humans, animals, etc.

On the other hand, we can deduce from this study the following points: 1) Medicine practiced by shamans, intermediaries between the two worlds, is carried out almost exclusively on adults, for whom they prescribe the curative methods they deem essential in accord with the patient's illness. 2) On the other hand, curing by [70] divination, which we have called household curing, using a common term, has its field of action among newborn babies and mothers-to-be. 3) In this last type we encounter an extremely interesting fact, the ambivalence of certain animals, represented by their double capacity to cause illness and at the same time to cure it. 4) In the application of household preventative medicine, magic called sympathetic is frequently practiced. 5) In one of the accounts we find the occurrence of the magic action of a plant. This deals with the plant used to make the mammary glands secrete their milk after a mother had lost it and the child still requires to be breast fed. As the plant is able to produce milk, the mother by contact with it will inevitably be able to do the same, according to native belief. This aspect has been fully treated by Castiglione in one of the chapters of his work Encantamiento y Magia [Enchantment and Magic]. We wish to quote only a few paragraphs which will better clarify

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843 There is another series of magic acts related to those recently enumerated, which also share the qualities of another individual but which differ from them in two aspects: first because they are indirect, that is, because the child receives them through his mother during the period of gestation; second because they are not so directly related with the notion of mana but could be included in what we might call phenomena of autosuggestion because they only consist of one sudden impression or a strong unsatisfied desire which causes anguish. Some of these are the following.

When a woman is pregnant and she gets a strong shock through the sudden apparition of someone, the child when born will have the same skin color as the person who has startled her.

On the other hand, if during her pregnancy, especially [845] during the early months, the mother should be greatly frightened, twins will be born to her. In this aspect regarding twins, there is also the belief that these are born when the woman has been [853] asked and has refused to give the breast to a twin child whose own mother was unable to feed it.

Finally, when during the time of her pregnancy a woman has a very strong desire to possess something, as for instance a dress, a necklace, any special or particular kind of ornament, and she searches anxiously for it but does not find it and so does not satisfy her wish, her child will be born under the influence of her unfulfilled desire and will carry on its face the dissatisfied look of its mother: He will have his mouth half open, an anxious look, and will be continually crying and upset. [121]

VIII

Magic as the Origin of the Theater in La Guajira (The Dance of the Kid)

128 It may perhaps be overbold to use the title which heads this chapter, and this may even apply to the contents and the statements which we make in it, because here some concepts will be confused which could be treated separately, such as the

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

importance. Thus, while the child is on the way, he must not 843
hunt with firearms, but only with bow and arrow. If he [224]
goes on a journey of any length after the child has come into
the world, he must lay his saddle-girth round the babe or
put his foot on its chest before he leaves. If he forgets to
do that one can lay a pair of his old sandals on its breast.

If the first-born dies, it is feared that the others will do 766
the same. The baby is placed head down in an urn with a 844
lid and buried beneath a certain kind of tree. The mother
often has to undergo another period of confinement, it
being thought that all the rules had not been observed
during her real period of puberty, and that that had an un-
favourable effect on childbirth. If all the instructions are
not observed, there is danger that the other children will
also die.

My wife came back and told us that the child was born 844
and all had gone well. It was the third child. The woman had
lain on her back on the ground with legs straddled, and
they had strewn a thick layer of fine sand under her crotch,
so that the babe should land softly. An aunt of the woman's
helped her, and her husband was there and helped to lift
her and hold her during the final pains. The mother was
now to keep quiet for a few days and, above all, not expose
herself to the sun.

The old man explained that the rich let their women rest 846
for weeks after giving birth, living on maize gruel and [556]
light food, while poor mothers have to go out and work as
usual straight away. The child has the breast in the evening 853
when the mother goes to bed; at three in the morning when
everyone gets up, and occasionally during the day. In the
better families the child is weaned with the help of maize
gruel and goat's milk and a female slave takes charge of it,
the mother having so many other duties. There are even
some who keep wet-nurses, he said.

Then more men appeared and a woman who sat behind 854
my wife, just outside the circle. I distributed tobacco and
conversation became lively. My wife was surprised that
Indian babies were allowed to sit upright so early. She was
told that at first the mother supports it with her hand, and

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853 Wet nurses can be classed in four groups: 1. The relative who gives her services voluntarily and gratuitously, with the idea of mutual aid /within the family/. The mother feels, however, the moral obligation to repay her for the help given in her time of need, and this she does by taking food and /15/ presents to her relative's house. The child may be taken to the home of the wet nurse or stay in its own if the nurse lives in the same place as the mother. This is the only recourse for the poorer Guajiro woman when confronted with the problem of having given birth to twins or being unable to nurse her own child.
2. A voluntary wet nurse obtained from among friends and neighbors, whose recompense is similar to that in the previous case. This action serves to improve friendship, and the favor given remains a personal debt which should be repaid by the mother when the /volunteer/ wet nurse finds herself in a similar situation. The child is taken to the home of the wet nurse.
3. The paid wet nurse, of whom we have already spoken, whose fee obliges her to give efficient service, even to the point of weaning her own child. She must also act as nursemaid, which requires her to leave her own child in the home of her relatives.
4. The wet nurse who is not free, that is to say, one who is a bond servant or slave and who, being in the necessary condition, *is ordered by her masters to give this service and is obliged* to do so because of her condition of a nonfree person. In this case, as in the previous one, her own child is deprived of the breast if she cannot satisfactorily feed both children, her own and that of her masters. The child of the wet nurse is fed on special food supplied by her mistress.

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854 The Guajiro mother who is about to be confined prepares certain articles she is going to need. These preparations are quite limited, and it is not unusual for the delivery to begin without her having prepared something to serve as a "layette"

/15 cont./

854 /ajuar/ for the coming child. Many times the mother is forced to improvise items by using old robes to wrap him in or a bag made of agave fiber for his hammock to protect him from the cold at night.

The Guajiro woman who is in contact with civilization and is comfortably off economically prepares a hammock for the arrival of the child, or weaves it or has it made afterward, using the hanks of cotton thread she has received as gifts. Children 854 wear clothes only when they go on trips. If they are baptized 291 in the Catholic faith, they receive their outfit /ajuar/ from their [608 godmother, who is also expected to present a dress to the mother. 431] As the child usually goes about naked, they do not make any clothes to wear. Some rather long cloths useful as swaddling clothes and coverlets are prepared and serve various purposes. Wherever possible the mothers try to avoid the child's dirtying them with his excretions, in order to lighten the problem of cleanliness, since water is scarce. /16/

854 Neither are the Guajiro mothers in the habit of wrapping bellybands round their infants. The navel is left exposed even [164] when it is not completely healed. For this reason ruptures are frequent as well as the death of the newly born due to infection of the navel. But they do use a kind of awning fixed over the [136] child's hammock to protect him from falling centipedes, snakes, and scorpions that abound in the roofs of the huts, which are covered with plant materials.

* * *

Care, training, and treatment of young children. From birth the child is looked after by people other than his mother, as she is obliged to seek such assistance to be able to attend to her other domestic obligations or to rest and have someone to whom she can delegate this care. When she goes to a place relatively near by, the mother does not take the child but leaves it in the care of his older brothers and sisters or her relatives, when they

/16 cont./

854 live together, or her mother if she lives near by. If the mother does not return in time to feed the child, the relatives who are taking care of him will try to initiate him into taking some new food. When the trips are for a long time, the mother takes her little ones along seated on the burro which serves as their transport, in order to avoid the problem of starting them off on a new kind of food when they are very small or when she has no one in whose care she can leave them.

Frequently, the child will attach himself to a relative who shows him kindnesses or small attentions, but he prefers the care and company of his mother above all others and shows his happiness in her presence. This situation can change when the child passes his third year, an age when he begins to lose his devotion to his mother and to show it for a maternal uncle or aunt to whom he becomes attached and whom he follows as they carry out their various duties, even leaving his mother for long periods.

If the mother is poor and has no assistance in bringing up her child -- because she lives far away from her relatives and cannot afford the services of a female slave or bond servant -- she has to take care of him by herself. When the child is very small she [482] carries him in her arms except when he is sleeping, although at times he sleeps in her lap. When he has grown bigger and can sit up, his hammock is tied at the top to prevent his falling out when he wakes up.

The fourth month, when he starts to sit up, she carries him [482] during the day astride her hip and held by her arm. /17/ It must be noted that during the first month he is carried on her shoulder in an upright position, and he is seated on her legs, recumbent on her lap. At two months she does not give him this support for his back, and it is not unusual at four months for her to seat him [145] on the ground. From this time onward he begins to crawl, and it is then that the mother starts giving him slightly less personal attention as she lets him crawl about without worrying about what [165] he picks up to eat or drink, so that it is at this age that the greatest number of stomach troubles and an increase in infantile mortality occur.

/17 cont./

●854 863 With regard to the training of the child in carrying out his bodily functions, it is the mother or whoever is responsible for him who teaches him; it is usually the mother or his wet nurse. The child learns /18/ shortly after birth to be clean because his mother is concerned with making do with the few pieces of cloth and a scarcity of soap or water to wash them with. Moreover, as the child goes bare, there is little difficulty, when he shows signs of wishing to relieve himself, in taking advantage of the moment to see that he does it in the proper place. Also, she will see that her small child does these necessary functions shortly after feeding, and as she has him in her arms for long periods when he is small, at the least sign of his need she holds him in the right position. If she is seated on the ground or on some object near to the ground, she crosses her legs leaving an opening over which she seats the child so that his excrement falls on the sandy soil, and later she cleans it up. This operation is carried out when the child finishs his meal or whenever he shows signs of needing relief. In this way the child associates the position with the action of fulfilling his need, and he forms the habit of cleanliness, until there comes a time that he is *cross or cries if he is not placed in the accustomed position. As* he grows, his bodily functions become more regular, and when he starts to walk, it becomes more simple; he learns to squat and later to withdraw to some spot outside the house or to cry out to be taken to such a spot if he is still too small. He also learns to call this function by its proper name or by a special one of his own invention. Later, between three and four he fulfils these necessities without outside help.

The training with reference to urinating is also simple and is a lesser problem for the mother. It worries her less than the former function and follows more or less an identical training process. She moves him to one side so that he does not wet her, [514] and later she shows him, if a boy, how to take the Adult position, or if a girl, to sit on her heels. As the child is naked, the problem is very simple. The child wets his bed for a while, and

/18 cont./

854 for this reason the hammock is made of agave fiber, which re-
863 sists rot, and although a child of a year may still wet the bed, it is usual by the time he reaches this age, and even before, for him to have the habit of cleanliness formed and this problem not to exist, because of previous training. It may be that the child is helped in this by the hot and dry climate of the region, by the reduced quantity of liquid he absorbs during the day, by the physiological phenomenon of perspiration which causes much elimination, and because the mother rises early, at daybreak, and calls the child to his organic necessities, a custom which in time forms a habit, so keeping him dry in bed. /19/

854 When the small family lives apart, especially from the wife's relatives, the rearing and initial training of the children is limited to its members and their maids and female bond servants and slaves if there are any. This training is mainly simple and personal and consists in regulating his daily and nightly feeding, sleep, cleanliness, and beginning to crawl and walk. As the culmination of his preliminary training comes speech.

In this early teaching the average poorer mother plays the main role, as only the better-off mother has the advantage of help from female bond servants, slaves, and servants or wet nurses. We have already seen how the mother carries out these duties or how they are equally fulfilled by whoever assists her.

When she has to go out she leaves the child in the care of her husband, who, following the instructions he receives, feeds the child, watches its cleanliness, its rest, and safety according to customary patterns. At other times the older brothers and sisters have this duty.

[595] If several women live together with a man, it is not unusual that during the absence of one, the others will take care of her children and take her place in protecting and caring for them whether the child is tiny or older. This practice, naturally, occurs only when there is no ill will or hatred between the various co-wives.

[596] When the family life is lived within the maternal family grouping, or when two sisters are co-wives and live in the same

/19 cont./

854 house, the training and care of the children is simplified by the
59 joint support and action of the two sisters, who do not object to giving each other mutual aid in sharing domestic duties and the care of the children during the absence of one of the sisters, so that the children are well cared for and trained as if they were members of one family. In the case of daughters who live together with their respective children in their mother's house, the unity among them is almost equal to the case just described. Thus the absence of the mother is willingly filled in by the desire of the others to assist her and temporarily fill her place. It may also be the common mother /of the daughters/ -- the grandmother /of the children/ -- who replaces all the daughters, or a maternal aunt, or even the grandmother -- great-grandmother of the children -- if she is still of an age to do so, a female cousin, etc. In these cases the mother's influence is amplified with that of her maternal relatives who care for the children by trying to adhere to the general norm of conduct and the particular ways that each mother uses.

854 Another influence that is being felt and can be perceived
591 more clearly at the present time with the problem of crossbreeding and of Catholic marriage is the /20/ acknowledged participation of the paternal relatives in the training. We know that Guajiro marriage is usually matrilocal, but it can happen that later on it may change into a patrilocal one, the children then coming under the influence of the paternal relatives who also assist the mother. In these two cases there seems to be a sort of transfer of the feeling of kinship, and although the maternal may be more powerful in certain aspects, the paternal by fact acquires prerogatives which it wields actively: The new generation comes under the influence of both branches, which co-operate in their rearing and training.

* * *

854 The mother shows every affection for her small child, above all while it is being breast fed, but later the demonstrations of

/20 cont./

§54 affection are not so apparent, and the child develops into a small adult, obeying family authority in his activities and conduct. Now start his training in work, punishments, and learning to put his physical strength to practical use in family life, as he is given responsibilities and duties in the home.

We have already seen how the mother carries her child in her arms while he is not yet sitting up or crawling. It is at this period that she shows him her affection. If he cries or is fretful, she places him upright on her shoulder and gently pats his arms to quieten him and get him to sleep; she lays him horizontally on her lap to put him to sleep, or puts him in his hammock and rocks and lulls him to sleep. While she is working and the child is outdoor, she lays him on rags or matting near to her work, chats to him in baby language and loving pet names. If the child becomes fretful, she lifts him up, offers him the breast, or holds him in her lap while trying to carry on with her work.

To satisfy the child's need to move and to develop his muscles, she seats him on her legs when he is quite small and later helps him to stand up and take steps, stimulating his endeavors with words and cries or laughing at his attempts or tumbles. Lullabies

[53] are very common, and there are typical ones with conventional words and music, or extemporaneous ones, which are in the nature of the description of some action, fable, or story that is hit upon, or simply one that tells the child that she is busy and he should be good and go to sleep. The tune may be one of those generally used for such lullabies or that of any favorite Guajiro song.

When the child wakes the mother picks him up from his hammock, speaks to him in baby language, pets him, and calls him endearing names /21/. This is the time to feed him, and while she does this she calls him some pet name and pats his shoulders rhythmically. Sometimes she will tickle him, she will teasingly take away her nipple to replace it playfully at once, thus stopping his process. She lets him play with her hair and even allows him to try to grip her face. The other relatives,

/21 cont./

854 including the men, excite his attention and try to make him laugh; they repeat phrases and words praising his baby efforts, they move a homemade toy in front of him, and praise his progress in talking or crawling or walking and endeavor to stop his crying by picking him up, crooning to him, or playing games with him.

• • •

551 The name. In La Guajira everyone has several names. It appears that originally these were two, but later, with the practice of Catholic baptism, the number increased to three, as follows: a) The individual's personal name which is never used by outsiders but only by the person's closest blood relatives. b) The nickname, which actually becomes his personal name as it substitutes for the latter in order to avoid its being used by outsiders, thus giving the bearer a name for practical purposes. This nickname may be derived from some physical or mental quality or defect, from a resemblance to some object, a difference from others, from some circumstance or special occurrence in his life -- for example, at his birth -- from a distortion of his Spanish name, or from an invention of a younger brother who called his older brother by a word of his own invention or the name of an article he is able to pronounce. Both the family and outsiders usually use this name. c) The Spanish name, given at the Catholic baptism, which takes a very secondary place because, if there is a nickname, it will be used in preference to this, which is only used when having dealings with a white or for legal matters. Frequently, the Spanish name becomes so mispronounced that it is mistaken for a nickname.

One could say that every child is given different names by his mother, father, and brothers until a time comes when one is generally accepted and adopted. Although some names may refer to special occurrences or have a literal translation, others are adopted merely for the sound effect even though their translation (if such is possible) may be repugnant (for example, orko, a girl's name, meaning "horse gall").

G [55 cont.]
755 When the child at birth, or a few days afterward, is afflicted with stomach-ache and other characteristic symptoms determined by divination, the cause is that the mother during her pregnancy had imprudently eaten a watermelon which previously had been tasted by a fox. This fact having been proved by the art and talent of the diviner, she proceeds to carry out the cure of the infant, which consists of searching out a fox, killing and quartering it, separating the bones from the flesh and burning them and reducing them to powder. The powder resulting from this calcination is used to anoint around the child's anal sphincter after an evacuation. A part of the meat of the dead animal is roasted and is given [56] to the sick child. If both remedies are applied at the opportune moment, the child will rapidly recover - at least this is the Guajiro belief.

G It might be thought that in this case it would be logical
753 for the affected person to be the mother herself, as it was the
854 who ate the contaminated fruit, but one must bear in mind that to the primitive, the infant, as with us, is a relatively defenseless being. For this reason he requires greater protection, because evil things, due to his weak defenses, will readily make a prey of his small body. The evil things in this case are represented by the wicked spirits whose object is to spread sickness. To uphold our statement it is sufficient to quote the case of the
W Witoto Indians, inhabitants of the Amazonian selva, with their
846 social institution called the covada [couvade] and their general custom of covering their children's bodies with curly vegetable fibers to disguise them and give them the appearance of small monkeys. Let us see what couvade is: "The one most concerned with this affair" - the birth of the new child - "is the husband because it is he who has to bear the rigors of the strict diet involved. In practice, once natus est homo and the essential obstetrical duties are carried out, the Indian mother hands over the fruit of her womb to the husband. He takes charge of the infant and, acting as if he were the mother, takes it with him to his hammock where he stays for eight days, keeping to a diet which might well be adopted by the most fastidious lady. But before he does this he first of all puts on mourning, that is, he paints himself

Witoto SCM

[56 cont.]

84 black so that he looks like an African . . . . During the eight days the Indian woman attends to all the husband's work in the sown fields, loads yucca, collects firewood, etc. Later the Indian, once he has finished his period of diet, rises from his hammock, goes to the river, and with a thorough bathing washes off the black ointment until he becomes clean again and his natural self, as they say, in Adam's clothing." (39)

39. Anonymous: Relaciones Interesantes y datos históricos sobre las Misiones del Caquetá y Putumayo [Interesting stories and historical data about the Caquetá and Putumayo missions], Id., I, 36-37.

In this socio-magic incident of relevant importance, in which the missionary saw nothing more than a curious aspect of Indian life, what is shown is really a change of personality when confronted with an evil spirit: The man is transformed into a woman (at least he behaves like one, taking charge of the newborn child and carrying out the roles that a woman should perform during the eight days of regulation diet), and the mother behaves as if she were the father (also substituting for him in the work which is his responsibility), and all this is done with the 846 object of warding off evil spirits from the newborn child. In 854 addition to the father completes his disguise by covering his body with what [57] the missionaries called "mourning" [luto], that is, with black paint with which he anoints his whole body. Deceived by all these tricks carried out by both the parents, the evil spirits should not know where to find the baby — who ought to be beside his mother — and so he — the child — is safe from their evil influence.

859 But this system to protect the child does not stop there. 291 It continues, according to the missionaries, as "they take the child and until it is about two years old dress it in a garment so peculiar that at first sight one doubts whether it is a human being or not. They cover all its body except its face with the juice of a tree ... very sticky, and over this juice is spread

[57 cont.]

W a wooly substance from another tree which is very similar to the
859 balso. So dressed, the infant Indian, lifted onto the bare
291 shoulders of its mother or clinging to her knees, appears in reality very like a small monkey. With only this savage dress, these Indians are quite happy." ... (40)

40. Anon. Op. cit., 2d, I, 37.

W The missionary is right when he compares these children
859 to small monkeys. The idea of dressing the child in so peculiar a costume is not just to protect him from the vagaries of the climate, or to dress him with greater or lesser aesthetic taste, but to safeguard him from evil spirits by means of this disguise, which constitutes a veritable transformation of his physical personality. The child on being dressed up in this extraordinary covering is really changed into another being, so that the evils he might attract to himself lose their effectiveness since the spirits are deceived by the substitution that has been made.

G A method of curing very similar to that we have just
755 described is the one used when a newborn child shows signs of intestinal trouble and diarrhea, evacuating something like spittle. The woman who is acting as diviner discovers by her
G art that the sickness attacking the infant is due to its mother
[753] having allowed a duck to eat part of her food. For this reason the child passes its fecal matter in a way similar to that of a duck. How does one proceed, then, to restore the infant to health? The feathers around the anus of the duck are plucked out, burned, and the ashes are reduced to powder. As soon as the infant's bowels have moved, his mother must clean him carefully and then apply the powder of the ashes of the feathers around his anal sphincter. If the diviner's diagnosis has been correct, the child should recover quickly on the application of the prescribed remedy. [58]

G If during her pregnancy the mother should eat fruit which
[842 has been previously pecked at by any kind of bird, the child
753 on being born will have stomach trouble and his excrement will
755 be similar to that of the bird. The Indian women who are

[65 cont.]

843 and very carefully wash it [in water]. Giving the woman this
845 water to drink will permit her to deliver the child immediately.

If a Guajiro father has to set off on a long journey on horseback, leaving behind his newborn son, he must comply with another custom of a magic nature, which requires him to wrap the cinch of his horse about the child for a few minutes. If he fails to do this, the child will be very ill and complain pitifully during the time his father is absent. An equivalent form under the same circumstances is the father's customarily placing his foot on the newborn baby's chest for a brief moment. If this obligation is not complied with, either through forgetfulness or all will on the part of the father, the mother, or some close relative of the child, must find the father's old sandals and place them on the child's chest for a few moments in order to obtain the effect desired, which the ritual action if performed by the father would have accomplished.

751 854 492

We venture to attempt an explanation of the last two phenomena as follows: The object that is sought in the fulfillment of these two traditional customs is to drive away from the child the presence of the wamuré or the evil spirit of sickness. The pressure exercised by the father's foot or, lacking this, [66] by the father's old sandals, symbolizes his presence in the child precisely in the place where the spirits in order to attain their evil designs often lodge in the child's body, i.e., its chest, as we shall have occasion to see in the following chapter. This symbolic presence of the father prevents the spirits from approaching near the child to work it harm. Lastly, the custom of wrapping the cinch of [the harness of] the horse on which the father will be traveling around the body of the child is intimately linked with the belief of these natives that the horse has the power to frighten away the wamuré, or spirit of sickness, with its snorting; more simply this same protection is achieved by placing a horse's skull in a place near the houses. (Cf. "Amulets, Fetishes, Talismans." Also, in this case there is a substitution of the magic formula (using the cinch instead of the horse), a substitution that has exactly similar effects and the action of which could be based on one of the laws of magic established by Sir J.G. Frazer

751 854

[753 756]

[755]

[66 cont.]
751 according to which "things which have once been in contact with
854 each other continue to act on each other at a distance after the physical contact has been severed." (45) [Cited in Spanish.]

45. Frazer. La Rama Dorada, [The Golden Bough], III, 27.

751 There is another medical preventative, also of a magic
843 nature, taken to avoid infant mortality in Guajiro marriages after the death of the first-born child. This preventative obliges
[766] them to bury the body in a certain manner. It also imposes upon the mother a further seclusion, such as she underwent on reaching puberty (ceremony of initiation), and entails her taking certain medicines extracted from vegetable roots. If all these prescriptions are not fully complied with, her future children will die successively as soon as they are born.

844 Once the child is born, the placenta must be thrown a long way away from the house and completely lost to sight. If
[777] it is buried it will bring bad luck to the child, who in consequence of such an imprudence will live a weakling and suffer greatly until his death.

853 When only two or three days after the mother has given
827 birth, her breasts badly swell with severe pains and a lack of
755 milk, her husband must place his foot on her naked breast, pressing lightly on it, with which treatment the woman will recover. When a mother loses her milk after a long period of breast feeding and is no longer able to nourish her child, she must be struck on her shoulder and her breasts a number of times with the branches of a plant which is found mainly in the neighborhood of [67] Puerto Estrella and which on being cut emits a white liquid.

826 The Guajiro takes great care of any of his hair which has
754 been cut off, as he is afraid that it can be used to do him harm. This fear is based on the belief that if anyone can obtain possession of a lock of hair, whatever harm he may do to this will react directly on its owner; if that hair, for example, is thrown on the fire, its original owner will suffer a similar fate:

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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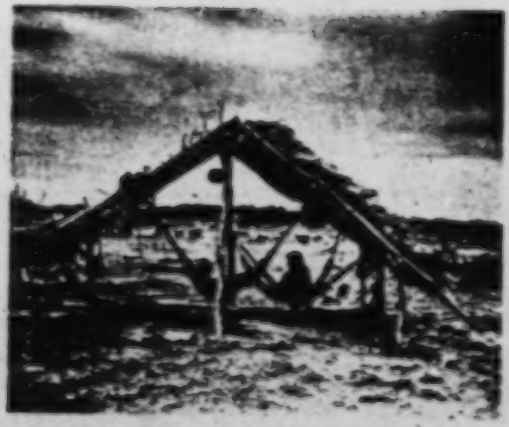
516
142
291
[854
845]

By the shore. Held by father and sister, these were the only twins we ever saw. The Guajiro let twins live

Right: *Indian girls*

342
513
352 *A simple Indian hut*



[Facing p. 32]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Geajiro SC13

importance. Thus, while the child is on the way, he must not 843
hunt with firearms, but only with bow and arrow. If he [224]
goes on a journey of any length after the child has come into
the world, he must lay his saddle-girth round the babe or
put his foot on its chest before he leaves. If he forgets to
do that one can lay a pair of his old sandals on its breast.

If the first-born dies, it is feared that the others will do 766
the same. The baby is placed head down in an urn with a 844
lid and buried beneath a certain kind of tree. The mother
often has to undergo another period of confinement, it
being thought that all the rules had not been observed
during her real period of puberty, and that that had an un-
favourable effect on childbirth. If all the instructions are
not observed, there is danger that the other children will
also die.

My wife came back and told us that the child was born 844
and all had gone well. It was the third child. The woman had
lain on her back on the ground with legs straddled, and
they had strewn a thick layer of fine sand under her crotch,
so that the babe should land softly. An aunt of the woman's
helped her, and her husband was there and helped to lift
her and hold her during the final pains. The mother was
now to keep quiet for a few days and, above all, not expose
herself to the sun.

The old man explained that the rich let their women rest 846
for weeks after giving birth, living on maize gruel and [556]
light food, while poor mothers have to go out and work as
usual straight away. The child has the breast in the evening 853
when the mother goes to bed, at three in the morning when
everyone gets up, and occasionally during the day. In the
better families the child is weaned with the help of maize
gruel and goat's milk and a female slave takes charge of it,
the mother having so many other duties. There are even
some who keep wet-nurses, he said.

Then more men appeared and a woman who sat behind 854
my wife, just outside the circle. I distributed tobacco and
conversation became lively. My wife was surprised that
Indian babies were allowed to sit upright so early. She was
told that at first the mother supports it with her hand, and

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

also encourages it to crawl and walk. Indian babies can sit without help, when a white baby is still unable to raise itself. At six months the brown Indian baby is already a toddler.

The conversation turned on to the upbringing of children. Even in its earliest games the Indian babe imitates its parents' occupations, thus amusing itself and learning at the same time. The Indians are very careful to see that from the beginning the children learn to distinguish between the men's and women's spheres of work. An Indian father would be very indignant if he saw his baby son playing at cooking, which is not male work. Therefore the son accompanies his father to the herds even as quite an infant, while his sister will stay at home.

We had already noticed that children were sometimes chastized, which is not usual among other primitive Indians. The old women saw that they behaved themselves and were not disobedient. Food was rationed both for the children and the grown-ups, and it was considered very shabby to pinch another's helping. To drop anything edible on to the ground was strictly punished, and the worst offence of all was for a child in anger to throw food on to the ground and trample it. Possibly this was yet another relic of Moorish custom, for in Morocco it is considered a serious crime to spill crumbs of bread. When the children became bigger they were merely scolded, but they were then generally no longer under their parents' supervision, but with relations with whom they spend long periods. The first-born son usually grows up with his eldest maternal uncle, who is the boy's real guardian, and he teaches him cattle-rearing and agriculture and the queer laws of his people.

Girls also go to their mother's relations and help in the household. We had already seen how a Guajiro boy had to work. He had to be at it from the moment he stepped out of his hammock at three in the morning. First he and some others gathered the cattle to water them. If they were watered at a deep casimba, he had to run up and down with water-jars to fill the troughs of hollowed-out trunks. He

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

726 on equal terms. He then approached the enemy from the left while making quick movements, jumps, and turns, with his legs apart and his knees bent. More recently, according to Ernst (1887 c), war is not declared, attempts being made to take the enemy by surprise.

[941] Wars last indefinitely, sometimes being broken by a peace brought about by an influential "civilizado" or the Capuchin monks, the latter sometimes paying the retribution demanded out of their own pockets.
579 Some tribes, such as the *Coeina* of Serranía Coeina (actually a conglomeration of outcastes rather than a sib), make their living almost entirely by robbery and pillage, destroying houses, stealing cattle, and killing or enslaving their enemies.

LIFE CYCLE

843 **Birth and childhood.**—During pregnancy a woman continues to do her heavy work up to the very hour of delivery. At childbirth, the shaman pronounces various spells over the patient and applies poultices made of
844 [156] dried flowers, roots, etc. A large, heavy stone placed over the womb and vigorous massaging bring about the birth. If the placenta is not soon expelled, the woman drinks a medicine concocted by the medicine man. As soon as the child is safely delivered the father serves rum and chicha to all his relatives. If the pains of childbirth appear when the sib is
[818] on the march, the woman mounts and rides ahead so that when the sib catches up the event is practically over. The husband cuts the cord with his machete and cauterizes its ends with a glowing ember. The woman
[859] then continues on the march with the child in a sling on her back. When the permanent camp is reached she washes herself and the child.

85 Baptism is a Christian ceremony which the *Goajiro* have adopted, and
55 most of the Indians are called by Spanish names, as their real names may
177 not be mentioned. Teknonymy is practiced; a parent is addressed by its child's name plus a prefix, *nushi* or *sushi* for the father, *ni* or *si* for the mother. Thus, a father may be called Nushijuan after a son or Sushijuana after a daughter.

85 At 6 or 7, girls learn to grind salt, pick cotton, and tend the smaller
868 animals; the boys imitate their fathers.

885 Parents are said to show little affection for their children, sometimes
[836] selling them at Sinamaica. They receive $10 or $15 for a child of 8 or 9 years. The purchaser becomes the child's guardian, teaches him the Catholic faith, and keeps him until he is 17 years old. These children
536 rarely return home. Abandoned children are taken to the San Antonio
791 orphanage, where the girls continue to wear their *Goajiro* dress, but the boys are put into jackets and pants.

881 **Girls' puberty.**—At her first menstruation a girl is isolated in a small dark hut and stripped of all her ornaments. She lies in a hammock, sometimes hoisted near the roof. For the first 2 days she drinks no

/48 cont./

252 at the heart, which they eat, for by cooking in this way it be-
262 comes soft and digestible. They also include in their diet soups and special dishes made of beans.

264 The boys employed in work other than pasturing, who stay
262 at home or can readily return there, take the usual breakfast upon rising; later, when the hours of heat begin and the Guajiro returns to his home to rest on his hammock in the shade of his enramada /a bough-covered shelter/, he eats a meal which is more or less similar to that described above, and, toward seven at night, another.

A boy will add to his usual meals what he can find by picking wild fruit, hunting small animals or birds, by stealing food at home, and by drinking the milk he can obtain from the goats or other animals he has in his care.

264 We must add in conclusion that in no case does the woman occupy the first place when food is being served if there are men in the family. At the most she may occupy her mother's place if no older female relatives are present, it falling on her in this case to serve the food. If there are female slaves or bond servants or maids in the home these will carry out this duty under her supervision. These cases when the mother is replaced by the daughters in the task of serving the meals to the family are not frequent, as it is customary for the head woman not to leave her post for any lengthy interval without placing her responsibilities in the hands of a person competent to replace her.

• • •

855
513 The child of middle years keeps the same hours for sleeping as the adult. Generally, the child possesses from his birth
[352] onward an Indian-style hammock /chinchorro or hamaca/ /49/,
[843] that is to say, one made of cords of twisted agave fibers arranged in horizontal rows. This type of hammock is meant for young children, because bed-wetting at night is frequent in some cases, but especially because it is strong, cheap, and readily replaceable. We never heard of a case of a child sleeping on the ground.

/49 cont./

855 Sometimes they may share their hammock with a brother, not
513 a common occurrence, or sleep on occasion in that of an adult.

The hours of sleep are regularly those from eight at night to three in the morning, when the child takes up his pastoral duties. During the hours of midday heat, he may return (when pasturing near by) to sleep under the bough-covered shelter /enramada/ at home, or drowse in the woods under the trees. If he is not a herder, he may get up later in the morning and will also take a siesta during the hot part of the day. He sleeps in his usual clothes, the guayuco /loincloth/, only loosening somewhat the belt at his waist which holds it, to lessen the tension.

In the regions of the mountains, where it is cold in the early morning, hammocks are placed near the hearth where a fire has been left burning or which is lit during the night to temper the low temperature, and no one sleeps outside the house but inside. At times a sheepskin or that of some other animal or a robe /manta, "robe, usually worn by women"/ is thrown on the hammock, or for want of these, they get up and huddle round the fire to warm up and then go back to their hammocks and try to sleep until the intense cold obliges them to repeat the process.

• • •

291 The boy goes about naked up to a certain age, variable
855 according to the group. For instance in regions which are in contact with the whites, when around six or seven years old, they wear a guayuco very similar to that of an adult, held up by a homemade belt. They use no other addition, unless occasionally they get some other item of clothing, generally from a white source, which they keep on until it is worn out. When they are old enough to put on the guayuco /loincloth/ and even before if they to pasture the cattle, they start to use guaireñas

/49 cont./

29/ (Guajiro sandals made at home) to protect their feet from the
855 hot, sandy soil. They very rarely use a hat, and at a more advanced age, and at times it is replaced by a kiórа /headband/,
[342] but without feathers, as these are a special privilege of the adult to be used on feast days. They go about, then, generally bareheaded and exposed to the strong rays of the sun. Almost at the period of transition from childhood to puberty,
[415] Guajiro boys begin to make use of small woven woolen pouches which are attached to the belt and which serve /50/ as a purse and a depository for charms /contras/ (in the case of adults), small objects for personal use, etc.

30/ Boys do not use necklaces. Only, and with the sense of
778 their being a protection rather than an ornament, they wear
855 when they are small jet beads on their wrists, small pieces of coconut husk or coral, a piece of wood of medicinal value to prevent grippe, or some object of magic value, things they leave off using toward their fifth or sixth year.

29/ With a girl the period of complete nakedness is shorter
855 than with a boy, although there are regions in the peninsula where they may be older, owing to the poverty of the relatives, who are unable to supply them with clothes until they are past the average age for dressing. The girl is dressed in a garment which is practically a man's guayuco and which, later when an adult, she uses as an undergarment, like a pair of pants. It is a belt of white or striped cloth, doubled and placed between the legs, held at the ends to the waist by what is called a sirapo, a kind of wide, heavy belt made of glass beads or seed-glass beads of all colors. The girl's trunk remains naked until much later. During the prepubertal period, when the development of the mammary glands begins to be marked, she puts on a sort of blouse made with the technique for hammocks (horizontal threads held together by some cross threads), which is intended, as the girl is already beginning to be initiated into the art of weaving and consequently is in a stooping position much of the time, to keep her from becoming hunchbacked; also for reasons of modesty and because this blouse, as

291 /50 cont./
855 it fits very tightly, facilitates the normal development of her
breasts. Like the boys, the girls wear some wrist ornaments,
301 magic preventatives, and it is not rare for them to wear some
751 necklace with magic objects which have been "made sacred,"
855 to avoid bad influences; nor /is it rare/ that they already have
[304] their ears pierced and occasionally wear earrings, although
this ornament is for grown women. They do not cover the head
302 and usually wear the hair short, as if it had been shaved and
855 the hair was in an advanced state of growing in again. Never-
291 theless, though the garb described is the usual thing, the present-day girl frequently uses the adult robe /manta/ from the time she is very small, especially among upper-class mestizos. /51/

III

INITIATION OF YOUNG WOMEN

881 The life of a girl approaching puberty becomes less free in the upper classes, because her maternal relatives apparently then take her into account and endeavor to train her in feminine activities. In the lower classes the same preoccupation is shown, but oriented in another direction, as her labor has already been made use of very early in the family life, since, as we have already stated, they see in her the future adult woman for which reason they discourage her somewhat in her comings and goings into the woods, although it is also true that they show more concern than if they treated her as a child. Furthermore, they start to use blouses, as we described in the previous chapter, and she is told at a convenient time of the biological phenomenon which is to take place in her: menstruation. When the time comes and this shows itself, her first reaction is to inform her mother, or in her absence, the kinswoman with the most authority.

[100 cont.]

also effective on birds, which die in a short time when they have the evil eye put on them. To protect the children they are made to wear rings or bracelets made of jet beads, buzzard [chulo] bones, guache [a certain serpent] teeth, or male and female coral stones. They also avert the evil eye by singing three hymns over the sufferer.

"We also find this superstition in Spain. The physician Rodriguez López, referring to Galician superstitions, writes: 'Here, where the belief in the evil eye is so strongly held, it is exceptional for a mother not to hang round her child's neck certain relics, herbs, horns, or other objects of all shapes and sizes, or at other times to sew them on to their children's clothes, or tie them to their wrists to protect them from the contagious effects of the evil eye.'" (60)

60. Arias, Juan de Dios. Supersticiones Populares [Popular Superstitions], pp. 265-266.

Besides this, in the study made by the Licentiate Panesso Robledo on Antiochian folklore we find the following:

"Not only country people but also city dwellers wear opals, nearly all imitation, to protect themselves from evil actions, and on their children's wrists they tie black beads, called jet but rarely genuine, to keep them safe from the evil eye, a universal superstition whose effects if they really occur are to be imputed to the phenomena of auto-suggestion or hypnotism." (61)

61. Panesso R., Antonio. Del Folklore Antioqueño [Antioquian Folklore], p. 25.

Leaving Colombian folklore and limiting ourselves to that of La Guajira, we find there that jet is the best charm to protect one from the evil eye, [101] which especially affects children. This evil effect is not obtained if the person on whom it is practiced carries jet on his person, since it has the property of counteracting the evil. According to the belief, when the evil eye has been cast upon a person carrying a piece of jet, this

751 [101 cont.]
823 breaks, thus counteracting the evil. In other words, the magic
855 action of the eyes is deviated toward the jet, which directly re-
754 ceives the effect, so liberating its owner from it.

For the same purpose they also use a mineral called salta piedra ["jumping stone"], which is hung by a string from children's wrists. It is yellow and shining.

Pieces of coral, which the women use in their necklaces,
[777] bracelets, and anklets as ornaments and bringers of happiness, health, and good fortune, are suspended from children's wrists to forestall the evil eye and some other sicknesses. The mestizos who live in La Guajira wear it attached to their waists by means of a cord.

751 It is also very common to find, as a preventative of this
754 evil, "oxeye" seeds hung by a small cotton string from some
824 part of the body.

Also coconut shell in the shape of a little hand is frequently seen, a shape which is probably more effective made in jet.

754 The evil eye, according to native belief, is exercised by certain people who have a special power in their eyes which causes sickness in those they look at if these are weak, such as children and sick persons, but this harmful action is involuntary in the majority of cases, though some do knowingly use their power and put it into practice with the manifest intention of causing evil. The effects of these "eyes" also extends to plants and animals.

The sickness shows itself in the form of stomach troubles, diarrhea, vomiting, fever, and by general eruptions on the skin. Animals also sicken and die, and plants cease to develop naturally and in the end dry up.

751 Method of warding off the wanurú. Near native habita-
825 tions the owners place horses' skulls, which they say serve to drive off sickness both in children and adults, as they have the effect of frightening away the wanurú. We believe that this attitude is closely allied to another native belief which convinces them that the neighing of horses frightens the spirits that
[484] wander on the roads at night. For this reason, when the Indians travel at night, as we saw personally, the horsemen always [102]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

also encourages it to crawl and walk. Indian babies can sit without help, when a white baby is still unable to raise itself. At six months the brown Indian baby is already a toddler.

The conversation turned on to the upbringing of children. Even in its earliest games the Indian babe imitates its parents' occupations, thus amusing itself and learning at the same time. The Indians are very careful to see that from the beginning the children learn to distinguish between the men's and women's spheres of work. An Indian father would be very indignant if he saw his baby son playing at cooking, which is not male work. Therefore the son accompanies his father to the herds even as quite an infant, while his sister will stay at home.

We had already noticed that children were sometimes chastized, which is not usual among other primitive Indians. The old women saw that they behaved themselves and were not disobedient. Food was rationed both for the children and the grown-ups, and it was considered very shabby to pinch another's helping. To drop anything edible on to the ground was strictly punished, and the worst offence of all was for a child in anger to throw food on to the ground and trample it. Possibly this was yet another relic of Moorish custom, for in Morocco it is considered a serious crime to spill crumbs of bread. When the children became bigger they were merely scolded, but they were then generally no longer under their parents' supervision, but with relations with whom they spend long periods. The first-born son usually grows up with his eldest maternal uncle, who is the boy's real guardian, and he teaches him cattle-rearing and agriculture and the queer laws of his people.

Girls also go to their mother's relations and help in the household. We had already seen how a Guajiro boy had to work. He had to be at it from the moment he stepped out of his hammock at three in the morning. First he and some others gathered the cattle to water them. If they were watered at a deep casimba, he had to run up and down with water-jars to fill the troughs of hollowed-out trunks. He

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

milked the cows and then watched the herds, keeping a particular eye on the calves, kids and lambs, which a beast of prey might take. He also had to look out for two-legged thieves. He soon learned where pasture was best and most suitable. He could see to the cattle, knew what to do when they fell ill and how to break in horses. The older ones were expert at tracking animals that had strayed—they could do this at the age of ten. He would have made himself a bow and arrows almost as soon as he could walk and have practised with them. With these he shot edible lizards and small birds. He set snares for doves. He watched at the men's deer traps by night and he took part in the slaughter. During the rains he helped to weed his maternal uncle's plots and prepare them for sowing. If he belonged to a fisher family on the coast he had to take part in his father's trips out to sea and dive for pearls. When not otherwise occupied he made carrying-nets. 857 231 857 224 857

'Do you see those,' said the old man, pointing to some bottles and bowls of calabash rind lying on a roof drying in the sun. 'It is the young ones who make those. They scrape out the inside and then carve figures in the rind while it is fresh and soft. You want to buy them, you say? That's nothing to sell. The children will gladly give you them.' [322]

The children brought us their calabashes. They had to explain what the figures signified and naturally I gave them things in exchange.

It goes without saying that both boys and girls often have to run errands and sometimes act as nursemaid. Little girls have to learn to fetch water and look after the fire. Then they are shown how to make maize gruel and they have to practise baking maize cakes. They soon get to know all the wild and cultivated plants used in the Indian household. Then they take part in the harvest, which is the women's affair.

In those families which own many head of cattle, the sons, once they return from staying with their uncles, are often left much to themselves, for their fathers have no time for them. Their fathers neglect their upbringing and never administer physical punishment, since they risk being called 855

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

upon to pay damages by their wives' clans if they do. They will give their sons cattle—sons do not inherit from their fathers—and these they have to look after themselves from the age of fifteen or sixteen. In the better families youths of this age are often rather wild, trying to imitate the older men, drinking more than they can take, being noisy and butting in when their elders are talking. The grown-ups take this quite calmly, pretending they are not there. 'They grow out of it,' they say.

The young men usually settle down when they marry. They must then stand on their own feet and assume family responsibilities.

We now had a much better idea of life in Guajira. As we slowly waded through the sand back to the mission station, Gladwet said:

'One ought to ride on camels here.'

Perhaps the Indians ought to have had camels. That would have made another reason to call the peninsula the Arabia of South America.

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

726 on equal terms. He then approached the enemy from the left while making quick movements, jumps, and turns, with his legs apart and his knees bent. More recently, according to Ernst (1887 c), war is not declared, attempts being made to take the enemy by surprise.

[727] Wars last indefinitely, sometimes being broken by a peace brought about by an influential "civilizado" or the Capuchin monks, the latter sometimes paying the retribution demanded out of their own pockets.

579 Some tribes, such as the Cosinas of Serranía Cosina (actually a conglomeration of outcastes rather than a sib), make their living almost entirely by robbery and pillage, destroying houses, stealing cattle, and killing or enslaving their enemies.

LIFE CYCLE

943 **Birth and childhood.**—During pregnancy a woman continues to do her heavy work up to the very hour of delivery. At childbirth, the shaman pronounces various spells over the patient and applies poultices made of

944 [945] boiled flowers, roots, etc. A large, heavy stone placed over the womb and vigorous massaging bring about the birth. If the placenta is not soon expelled, the woman drinks a medicine concocted by the medicine man. As soon as the child is safely delivered the father serves rum and chicha to all his relatives. If the pains of childbirth appear when the sib is

[946] on the march, the woman remains and rides ahead so that when the sib catches up the event is practically over. The husband cuts the cord with his machete and cauterizes its ends with a glowing ember. The woman

[950] then continues on the march with the child in a sling on her back. When the permanent camp is reached she washes herself and the child.

[951] Baptism is a Christian ceremony which the *Goajiro* have adopted, and

[952] most of the Indians are called by Spanish names, as their real names may

777 not be mentioned. Teknonymy is practiced; a parent is addressed by its child's name plus a prefix, *mulé* or *mulé* for the father, *ni* or *si* for the mother. Thus, a father may be called Mulé-juan after a son or Sushi-juana after a daughter.

[957] At 6 or 7, girls learn to grind salt, pick cotton, and tend the smaller

[958] animals; the boys imitate their fathers.

[959] Parents are said to show little affection for their children, sometimes selling them at Sinamaica. They receive $10 or $15 for a child of 8 or 9

[960] years. The purchaser becomes the child's guardian, teaches him the Catholic faith, and keeps him until he is 17 years old. These children

[961] 79 rarely return home. Abandoned children are taken to the San Antonio orphanage, where the girls continue to wear their *Goajiro* dress, but the boys are put into jackets and pants.

[962] **Girls' puberty.**—At her first menstruation a girl is isolated in a small dark hut and stripped of all her ornaments. She lies in a hammock, sometimes hanged near the roof. For the first 3 days she drinks no

/17 cont./

848 Preparation for achieving the upright position is started off by the mother, since when he is three months or sometimes less, she stands him on his feet, supporting him by the armpits and, later, the child will do the same by himself, holding on to his mother's shoulders. When he is going about his usual life on the floor, once he can sit up alone, he finds opportunities to make use of his legs, and once he comes upon something to grip he can pull himself up. With such help he starts off on his first steps, and from the tenth or eleventh month (the fourteenth at the latest), with individual differences, he starts to take his first steps without assistance. Then his mother will fix below the inner eaves /alero/ of the house a horizontal rail of a handy length and height for the child to practice his newly acquired skill.

848 At two years the infant walks all about the house as well as along the paths that lead to the well or the corn field. If it is
857 a boy, the father, the older brothers, or the uncles like to take
231 him with them when they go to near-by places to graze the livestock, so that he may learn and become strong. On these excursions the child begins learning his future work, first by observation and later by participating, when his age permits, until he becomes expert. It usually happens that the Guajiro shows a marked preference even as a child for some certain class of livestock and so, when he is a little bigger, he is put in charge of these, a responsibility he discharges with pleasure during the greater part of the day in the company of his father, uncle, or brothers. After an early breakfast he collects the part of the flock or herd he is responsible for, or he brings them out of the corral where they have slept. He pastures them during the day, never letting them out of his sight, lying down in the shade during the hottest hours of the day, or returning to his hammock at home if not too far away. Toward nightfall he returns home with the livestock to water them and put them into the corrals, or after counting them he leaves them near by in a safe place close to the house.

/23 cont./

551 chronologically because of things that happen or because an alteration in appearance gives rise to such a change, which supplant the former one.

Games. On general lines, the play /lódicas/ activities in 857 which children take part are in direct relation to the division of 462 labor by sex. Thus, it is strictly forbidden for them to amuse themselves in games which in real life do not correspond to their sex. Boys, for instance, are not allowed to play with dolls or to cook, and girls must not practice archery. The father will openly oppose and invoke all his authority in the small family, to keep his sons, even in play, from doing girl's work. This sense of the division of work which controls their games causes the child, alone or backed up by the influence of his father and of his maternal uncles, to refuse to do anything which does not correspond to the activities of his sex, as it is believed that games or pastimes different from those traditionally established for each sex create a liking for, or a tendency toward, the work of the opposite sex. The Guajiro wants his men to have all the accepted masculine attributes, and his women to be wholly feminine. One of the ways of violating this ideal is shown by intervening in activities of the other sex, either in play when children or in work when adult. Thus, the father will say to the little girl, "You are not to practice archery. Are you a tomboy that you should do such a thing?" And the woman who works on harnesses for animals they also consider very mannish and lowered in her standing as a woman.

Children -- both male and female -- in La Guajira take part in two kinds of play lódicas: games properly so called and pastimes /24/ which serve as an apprenticeship and training for their work as adults.

Among the first and as a pursuit for boys, one may include 524 games with ropes which, although they do develop manual quickness and ability, are not played for this purpose. These games are practiced either alone or in a group. In the former case, the object is to gain command of the technique and to learn to

/24 cont./

524 participate later in the competitions in which the child challenges his playmates to make a certain figure in the shortest time. Other forms of competition are: that of interposing difficulties in forming the figure, making a greater number of them, or the invention of new ones.

Spinning tops is another game which is played with notable intensity and variations, as the boys learn and practice the different ways known of handling this toy in their country, such as dancing it on the hand, beating the opponent by smashing his top with the opposing one, etc. For this game a special vocabulary and rules have been established as well as techniques to win when taking the offensive or tactics for defense.

They also play with glass marbles or, when lacking these, palm seeds with the edible endocarp. For example, they make "houses" by placing three marbles in the form of a triangle as a base and superimposing a fourth. The game consists in knocking them down with a fifth marble. He who manages to do this takes for himself the marbles or seeds originally placed. Another variation consists of several players placing their marbles on the floor. In strict order each one tries, by flicking his marble with his thumb levering against the index finger, to hit the marbles of his opponents or to place his own at a previously arranged distance from theirs, to win and get their marbles.

● 85 [34] But these games are practically only for town children or those kept in school, as the average child has little leisure to play, for from a very early age he is a valuable work unit who must concentrate his activities on carrying out some task, leaving him little time for such diversions. Also, he lives isolated in very lonely places and consequently will rarely meet companions to play with.

[24] Boys also play ball games, which they learn at school, and they learn to act in the Festival of the Kid at harvest time when they take the parts of small animals, children, gifts, or ornaments.

Imitative play activities are the pretending and exercise of adult activities. The child amuses himself, for example, by practicing /26/ hunting, walking and killing small animals such

/26 cont./

857 as the machorro /edible lizard/, or shooting arrows at something white or at pigeons. These are his diversions when he is herding at the times when the animals are resting or quietly feeding.

As a pastime he practices the exercise of controlling the animals he is in charge of and especially his skill in subduing and lassoing them. This gives him great satisfaction as well as training him for his future life. Also of great interest is horse riding and competing in races, which stimulate competition and /help in/ acquiring training.

Thus, the Guajiro boy can learn and play at the same time, and these activities are permitted, as his relatives find them advantageous, since they fit him for the activities he will have to carry out as an adult. Moreover, the life of the Guajiro boy is spent for the most part in the woods, and his home life is reduced practically to the hours of nightly rest and meals. During the day he is only in the company of his older brothers, his maternal uncle, or his father, and it is while with them that he may indulge in the luxury of playing, or at the times when he is free from chores. For this reason and because one sex is not allowed to take part in the play activities of the other, the possibilities of mixed games are very limited.

In spite of the endeavors of the mothers to keep their sons by every means from playing, or getting together, with the sons [64] of neighbors -- because of the danger there exists of incurring a compensation payment if a companion of another clan is injured -- at times they do join us, and it is then that they play the games just described. The boys also look for companions to help them in their chores, such as carrying a message, bringing in an animal, etc.

The girls' play activities are almost always of a type useful in training them for feminine duties. The girls, spending more time at home than the boys, have less chance of escaping from family pressure, which in the poorer classes requires them to assist their mothers in household duties and care of the younger children from a very early age. When they belong to better-class families who have female servants or slaves, they pass their

/25 cont./

857 time playing with dolls, and in make-believe cooking, and visiting, activities they will be carrying out when older.

During all the time of our stay in La Guajira, we saw no games specially designed for girls beyond those just stated, but it should be noted that when they are together with other girls of their own age they are quite happy /26/ to carry out the household duties with which they are charged, such as bringing water from the well, looking for firewood, etc., as they take advantage of the opportunity to climb trees to look for fruit or simply to swing in the branches, activities which their mothers complain about because they tear their clothes, for which they are punished.

The only mixed activity we had occasion to observe between boys and girls of six to twelve years was the game of sweethearts; they made jokes and played at being annoyed or unwilling and imitated all the attitudes of a couple in love. /27/

II
THE CHILD IN THE MIDDLE YEARS

Punishment. Encouragement. Childish Reaction to Punishment. Training.

861 The Guajiro Indians expect their children to comply with the established norms of conduct, and if they break these rules they are punished in different ways. This reaction is not systematic, as breaking a rule does not mean that punishment will necessarily follow. When it produces no harmful effect, a lapse may be passed over, but if it should cause serious harm the child is punished in consequence. In the question of punishment it would appear that the parents follow the principle of accumulation, that is to say, to put up patiently with a series of misdeeds on the part of the children and at a certain moment to take advantage of an opportunity, at times insignificant, to show their authority and establish the precedent that their orders and wishes are to be

/29 cont./

867 positive or negative. He must fulfill as if he were a small adult the obligations that are imposed on him, carry out the chores that he is charged with, and assume satisfactorily the responsibilities he has to discharge. /30/

867 Thus, boys and girls must carry messages from one place to another, from the house to the fields, for example. The girls 857 bring firewood from the woods and work in the kitchen, etc., while the boys carry out efficiently the pasturing of the heads. These are positive orders. Of negative nature there are, for example, those that forbid the climbing of trees for fear they will tear their clothes; sneaking away from home to go among neighbors, especially when the neighbors belong to a different clan, as the mother always fears that if for some reason or other her son has a quarrel with a playmate and they come to blows, or if directly or indirectly he causes blood to flow, she will be responsible economically for the damage done as immediate compensation payment will be demanded. They likewise fear that some criminal act might be committed by the children, the consequences of which would fall on the instigator.

3. Children should never fail to tell the truth; even though 867 what they are saying is the product of childish imagination, this does not excuse or mitigate such a lack of truth; it is considered as an open lie by the family and clearly merits punishment. The child should never make a statement that is not true; that is to say, he is prohibited from lying in any possible form or manner. The Guajiro believes that if children lie they do it, deliberately, and if the vice is not corrected it will have troublesome consequences both in the family life and in the whole social collectivity because there is a compensation payment for slander, deceit, etc. Besides it could bring about difficult situations between individuals of the clan, with lamentable consequences. One exception appears to us to be that adults and even the older children boast of their strength, of their prowess in hunting, in war, and in their love affairs, and even about their economic standing. Frequently, they are imaginary happenings that they boast and crow about.

/42 cont./

868 them for long spells, working at her apprenticeship in the art,
883 which she must perfect and complete during the time of seclusion at her initiation, very likely under the vigilant care of the same women. /43/

867 Also, from her elder maternal kinswomen the girl acquires all the cultural legacy of the group as well as the particular traditions of her extended family. She experiences and participates in the daily cult of the dead, and at times when an exhumation or wake takes place she attends, accompanying the women of her family, so becoming initiated into all the ceremonies and prescriptions. She also goes with them when she is approaching the threshold of puberty to be company for them on their visits in order to learn comportment in social life; she also learns the norms of hospitality when visitors come to her home, and she has to assist her kin in fulfilling them adequately. Slowly, by indirect participation, she learns the use of love cóntras /charms/ in the feminine struggle for predominance in the polygamous household, and she comes to know of these problems as she sees them being worked out in the lives of her mother and her relatives. She also gets to know of the intergroup struggles and their consequences; of migration; of magic in all its intensity; of legal norms; things she learns by constant repetition of cases which have occurred in the peninsula and which she hears referred to by her relatives and friends, men and women who frequent the house.

All this cultural life reaffirms and completes the special training received during the seclusion which follows her first menstruation, when she is committed to the care of her kinswomen, who will give her detailed private and personal techniques and information and the specialties traditionally entrusted to certain families, if she is a member of such, such as, for example, the making of pottery, medicinal and magical knowledge of herbs, preparation of charms of various sorts, etc.

857 Childhood occupations. The occupations of the child are
442 determined by its sex, just as in the matter of games, so that

/43 cont./

857 462 they are oriented toward and are practiced in terms of this biological division. Let us analyze this separately:

a) Boys: We saw when speaking of games how adult men are opposed to a mother's obliging a boy to carry out feminine jobs as they think that such work degrades him, means a loss of manly dignity, will cause him to become effeminate, and will militate against their making of him a brave man, the ideal of the Guajiro. The boy begins the activities corresponding to his sex at an early age, almost as soon as he can follow his father or favorite maternal uncle about in their daily pastoral work, especially the first-born, as the father, as we have already noted, expresses his wish for the first-born to be a boy so that he can join him in his comings and goings.

857 462 231 So from the time he is very young, the boy rises at three in the morning, goes in search of the livestock that sleep in the corrals or fields /44/ near by, and drives them to water. During the day he keeps the herd together in the places where there is grass, not going too far away from the wells, watching them continually to prevent thefu, especially of the young calves by wild animals, or those entangled in brambles; during the long summer he learns the job of casimbero /"water controlled" -- Tr./, that is to say, to wait at the edge of the casimba (1) for the arrival of the animals who are in search of

1. An artificial well.

water, in order to give them enough, putting it in the troughs that surround the well. He learns to milk, a job that is generally given to the men, though in grand houses it is frequently done by the female bond servants and slaves. He also learns from the grownups to whose care he is entrusted how to handle newly born animals and sick ones, to lasso them, to master them in order to brand them; to mark goats by a cut in the ear; to break in horses; to recognize the good points of a saddle horse; to track an animal that is lost by the tracks it leaves,

/44 cont./

857 462 231 an activity he would practice from an early age as he is obliged to find all animals that wander away; to make bows and arrows and walk animals when hunting. On his own part, with his small friends he organizes hunts for machorros (2) and various

857 462 234

2. Edible lizard.

kinds of birds and makes traps in the wells for pigeons. He helps catch the seasonal birds which arrive at harvest time, keeps watch during the night on traps set for deer, learns to slaughter the animals required for household consumption and to make the best use of them.

857 462 241 In agricultural work he helps in the task of clearing his maternal uncle's land of trees, and later looks after his own piece if he has such, clearing it and leaving it ready for the women to sow the seed; he also plants fruit trees and creepers and attends to weeding. Harvesting work is done by the women. In places where fishing is practiced, he takes part, when he is about ten years old, in related activities, such as opening to extract pearls. He also takes part in making farm tools, sacks, harnesses, hats, coconut-husk necklaces, etc., when his elders are employed in these activities.

857 462 415 To the boy falls the preparation of gourd vessels, basins, cups, plates, etc., used for different domestic purposes. The job of preparing the gourd dishes includes all the processes from picking the fruit when /45/ ripe, opening it and taking out the pith, and, when the rind is still tender, incising decorative [531] designs on it with a metal knife or the sharp point of a bone or stone. These designs are usually of his own personal invention.

857 462 Lastly, he may be given odd jobs to do such as the delivering of a message, the fetching of some necessary article or other, accompanying someone sent from his home, etc., but fundamentally he devotes himself to his pasturing, the constant occupation of the Guajiro.

/45 cont./

A joint duty of children of both sexes is the care of their younger brothers or sisters when circumstances require it, though this is mainly performed by girls when there are any of the right age.

b) Girls. Little girls five years old are given small tasks, such as carrying messages, going to the fields to take some small item to the father or an uncle, drawing water in vessels so that the elders may bring it on burros up to the house. At six or seven they begin to do some cooking. From ten to twelve years, that is to say at, the prepubertal age, they are initiated into the different ways of weaving, and they can go alone from one settlement to another. It is at this time that they occasionally have sexual relations with their brothers or with their father.

Almost from the time she can look after herself -- toward three or four years of age -- the girl assists her mother in all her work, especially when she is the eldest and when she belongs to a family with few economic resources. In the kitchen she learns to prepare food such as mazamorra, bollos /rolls/, and arepa /ground-corn griddlecakes/; to hull corn and grind it with the traditional equipment, the pestle and mortar made of stone; to light and keep the fire going; to handle the pots on it and build new hearths; and, in time, to prepare the various kinds of chicha and the customary soups for special occasions, to make use of the different fruits, both wild and cultivated, and to serve up various local dishes such as sancocho de chivo /goat-meat stew/, the way of preparing meat etc., until, having arrived at the moment of puberty, she is on the whole acquainted with all the customary culinary procedures.

Other work they are taught to do quite young is fetching water and firewood as well as a series of household chores such as house cleaning, taking care of the younger children, and at times feeding them and keeping them clean. They are sent to the woods to bring in the burros that are used for carrying water or fruit or serve for the women to ride on. /46/

They also start to lend a hand in the harvest and accompany the women when they collect wild fruits such as olives,

/46 cont./

857 462 [222] [482] iguarayas, and trupillo pods, as well as in gathering divi-divi, which is sold in the port towns for export; their labor is used for portering (women's work): they carry on their backs or shoulders the collected fruit, the firewood, and the water when the family does not own the necessary animals.

When ten or over the girl, taught by her elder kinswomen, starts to handle the spindle and loom, work in which she perfects herself during the seclusion of her initiation.

857 184 556 In general her occupations during childhood are affected by the economic and social position of her relatives, since a child of a well-to-do family will spend her childhood playing, without occupying herself with domestic chores except occasionally, since she is not considered as a small-sized adult as happens among poor families, but as a little girl, and she is treated as such. Certain light duties might be imposed but never a definite or clear-cut responsibility. She is expected to obey, mainly so that she recognize the authority of her elders, but when she enters the prepubertal age her mother and relatives start to take a more personal interest in her and to think it to be the opportune time to start training her in the duties pertaining to her position and her sex, teaching her all the household occupations that she will later improve on and become expert in during her seclusion, which will last longer the greater the wealth of the family.

264 592 Food, sleep, dress, and ornaments. Even before weaning, when this is delayed beyond the first year, or at times before, the child starts being fed adult food. By that time he asks his mother for food and she gives it to him, when he is small, more generously than she can at a later date; but later on he himself looks for it and, in order to satisfy his hunger, frequently steals food from his mother that she has put away, and this obliges the mother to hide it. (Cf. Punishment, Chap. II.)

The apportioning of food in a Guajiro household is done by the mother, who serves each one his share, starting with the husband, afterward the children, she being the last to eat. If she has a preference for a child, she shows it at this time by

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

also encourages it to crawl and walk. Indian babies can sit without help, when a white baby is still unable to raise itself. At six months the brown Indian baby is already a toddler.

The conversation turned on to the upbringing of children. Even in its earliest games the Indian babe imitates its parents' occupations, thus amusing itself and learning at the same time. The Indians are very careful to see that from the beginning the children learn to distinguish between the men's and women's spheres of work. An Indian father would be very indignant if he saw his baby son playing at cooking, which is not male work. Therefore the son accompanies his father to the herds even as quite an infant, while his sister will stay at home.

We had already noticed that children were sometimes chastined, which is not usual among other primitive Indians. The old women saw that they behaved themselves and were not disobedient. Food was rationed both for the children and the grown-ups, and it was considered very shabby to pinch another's helping. To drop anything edible on to the ground was strictly punished, and the worst offence of all was for a child in anger to throw food on to the ground and trample it. Possibly this was yet another relic of Moorish custom, for in Morocco it is considered a serious crime to spill crumbs of bread. When the children became bigger they were merely scolded, but they were then generally no longer under their parents' supervision, but with relations with whom they spend long periods. The first-born son usually grows up with his eldest maternal uncle, who is the boy's real guardian, and he teaches him cattle-rearing and agriculture and the queer laws of his people.

Girls also go to their mother's relations and help in the household. We had already seen how a Guajiro boy had to work. He had to be at it from the moment he stepped out of his hammock at three in the morning. First he and some others gathered the cattle to water them. If they were watered at a deep casimba, he had to run up and down with water-jars to fill the troughs of hollowed-out trunks. He

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

milked the cows and then watched the herds, keeping a particular eye on the calves, kids and lambs, which a beast of prey might take. He also had to look out for two-legged thieves. He soon learned where pasture was best and most suitable. He could see to the cattle, knew what to do when they fell ill and how to break in horses. The older ones were expert at tracking animals that had strayed—they could do this at the age of ten. He would have made himself a bow and arrows almost as soon as he could walk and have practised with them. With these he shot edible lizards and small birds. He set snares for doves. He watched at the men's deer traps by night and he took part in the slaughter. During the rains he helped to weed his maternal uncle's plots and prepare them for sowing. If he belonged to a fisher family on the coast he had to take part in his father's trips out to sea and dive for pearls. When not otherwise occupied he made carrying-nets.

'Do you see those,' said the old man, pointing to some bottles and bowls of calabash rind lying on a roof drying in the sun. 'It is the young ones who make those. They scrape out the inside and then carve figures in the rind while it is fresh and soft. You want to buy them, you say? That's nothing to sell. The children will gladly give you them.'

The children brought us their calabashes. They had to explain what the figures signified and naturally I gave them things in exchange.

It goes without saying that both boys and girls often have to run errands and sometimes act as nursemaid. Little girls have to learn to fetch water and look after the fire. Then they are shown how to make maize gruel and they have to practise baking maize cakes. They soon get to know all the wild and cultivated plants used in the Indian household. Then they take part in the harvest, which is the women's affair.

In those families which own many head of cattle, the sons, once they return from staying with their uncles, are often left much to themselves, for their fathers have no time for them. Their fathers neglect their upbringing and never administer physical punishment, since they risk being called

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

726 on equal terms. He then approached the enemy from the left while making quick movements, jumps, and turns, with his legs apart and his knees bent. More recently, according to Ernst (1887 c), war is not declared, attempts being made to take the enemy by surprise.

[641] Wars last indefinitely, sometimes being broken by a peace brought about by an influential "civilizado" or the Capuchin monks, the latter sometimes paying the retribution demanded out of their own pockets.
579 Some tribes, such as the *Cosina* of Serrania Cosina (actually a conglomeration of outcastes rather than a sib), make their living almost entirely by robbery and pillage, destroying houses, stealing cattle, and killing or enslaving their enemies.

LIFE CYCLE

§43 **Birth and childhood.**—During pregnancy a woman continues to do her heavy work up to the very hour of delivery. At childbirth, the shaman
§44 pronounces various spells over the patient and applies poultices made of
[156] dried flowers, roots, etc. A large, heavy stone placed over the womb and vigorous massaging bring about the birth. If the placenta is not soon expelled, the woman drinks a medicine concocted by the medicine man. As soon as the child is safely delivered the father serves rum and chicha
[157] to all his relatives. If the pains of childbirth appear when the sib is on the march, the woman mounts and rides ahead so that when the sib catches up the event is practically over. The husband cuts the cord with his machete and cauterizes its ends with a glowing ember. The woman
[158] then continues on the march with the child in a sling on her back. When the permanent camp is reached she washes herself and the child.

§5 Baptism is a Christian ceremony which the *Goajiro* have adopted, and
55 most of the Indians are called by Spanish names, as their real names may
177 not be mentioned. Teknonymy is practiced; a parent is addressed by its child's name plus a prefix, *nushi* or *nushi* for the father, *ni* or *ei* for the mother. Thus, a father may be called Nushijuan after a son or Sushijuana after a daughter.

● §57 At 6 or 7, girls learn to grind salt, pick cotton, and tend the smaller
§61 animals; the boys imitate their fathers.

§55 Parents are said to show little affection for their children, sometimes
[536] selling them at Sinamaica. They receive $10 or $15 for a child of 8 or 9 years. The purchaser becomes the child's guardian, teaches him the Catholic faith, and keeps him until he is 17 years old. These children
536 rarely return home. Abandoned children are taken to the San Antonio
79 orphanage, where the girls continue to wear their *Goajiro* dress, but the boys are put into jackets and pants.

§51 **Girls' puberty.**—At her first menstruation a girl is isolated in a small dark hut and stripped of all her ornaments. She lies in a hammock, sometimes hoisted near the roof. For the first 2 days she drinks no

/34 cont./

861 The reactions of the child to the punishment he receives for the different offenses considered punishable are diverse. Thus we see that during his early years, on being beaten he will scream, cry, and try to run away or endeavor to show his resentment by becoming enraged and throwing himself on the floor, where he rolls furiously, an attitude he will also assume if he cannot get his own way. On again being beaten with nettles for this act, he takes warning and only at long intervals will he have a relapse, because he is threatened by a repetition of the punishment.

861 When he is able to walk and run perfectly well, the child attempts to escape punishment whenever possible by running 858 away when he sees his mother or the person who means to punish him, or he endeavors to keep away from home in the hope that their annoyance will pass. When the beatings are very severe or very frequent or he considers them unjust, it is common for the boy to run away, going as far away as possible, in search of an uncle or relative who will offer him protection. The flight from home is more usual among boys than among girls and is more liable to occur toward the prepubertal age, because the youth feels restricted by family demands and /35/ aspires to get free of them. At this age corporal punishment and deprivation of food are punishments much less used, but criticism and verbal reproaches are the most used, and the young people react violently against these. In the cases where the scolding comes from the father, which is rare, the mother tries to pacify the boy, pointing out that he should not give such importance to the matter. But when it is she herself who reprehends him, the furious boy leaves home or stays in the house sulking and not speaking to anyone, showing his resentment and refusing to eat. When he leaves home, the mother allows a certain time to pass, during which she makes inquiries as to his whereabouts and what he has said. Then she asks an uncle, a brother, or his favorite friend to speak to him and persuade him to return. When he comes back she makes no allusion to the matter, and home life then goes on as usual.

[86 cont.]

766 751 In these magic practices we can observe the following facts: 1) The burial of the first-born infant face downward in a funeral urn prevents succeeding children dying in the same way. If he is buried face upward, the future children will all unfailingly die. The spirit of the child is, then, like that of all other [775] dead adults, a spirit capable of doing harm, but its influence can be easily counteracted by varying the normal position of the head at the time of burial. 2) There is here the intervention of a special tree, the huruwá, the reason for which is at present unknown to us but which presupposes its possessing certain magic properties, as it is below this tree and no other that the body of the first-born must be buried. 3) The presence of the father or of the mother at the moment of burial would cause the death of their future children, which corroborates the above statement [775 842] that the spirit of the dead, even that of the newborn child, by its death makes its influence felt in the matter of conception, as we have seen in other cases. (Cf. "Magic and Sacrifice" and "Sickness and Medicine"). 4) The mother has to undergo or relive the ceremonial of the initiation rite as this, which is also directly connected with magic, prepares a woman for her life as such. If we make an analysis we can presume or reproduce the mental processes of the Indian in this case. If the initiation rite has as its special function the preparation of the woman for her place in society and in the family and if, in spite of it, the first-born — which implicates one of her principal functions: conception — dies, it must mean that the said rite was not carried out in all solemnity, all and each of its [87] fundamental parts were not complied with, and it is necessary to repeat them. The mother of a dead first-born is placed then in the condition of an adolescent.

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858 We said in one of the sections in the chapter "Sickness and Medicine" that the child is regarded by primitives as a being defenseless up to a certain point, and that for this reason he needs

[87 cont.]

852 greater protection than the adult as, owing to his limited defensive capacity, illnesses can readily take possession of his body. We made reference in that section to the malevolent action of certain animals as well as the influence of the dead, the contamination exercised by their spirits on conception and on small children. And now we return to refer especially to this last aspect. We also saw how the harmful effects of animals centered especially on unborn infants due to carelessness on the part of pregnant mothers or of the husbands, and this is repeated equally with regard to funerals.

[104] When the grave destined for a dead person is opened, small children who go to the funeral, relatives of the deceased, must pass in file over it with the object that death will be delayed and will not overcome them while very young.

853 853 When speaking of sacrifice (cf. Chapter III) as well as when speaking of medicine among the Guajiro Indians in its magic aspect, we quoted the general belief in La Guajira, which [71] is known also as an aspect of folklore in various parts of Colombia, among them Santander and Nariño, that if during pregnancy, the father or the mother of the child to be born has been present at the exhumation of any human remains, the child will be born sickly, will suffer from diarrhea, night sweating, paleness, and loss of weight. The characteristic of something touched by death which the corpse has makes it contagious and, so to speak, contaminates the mother of the infant, who because of his weakness is incapable of resisting its influence. If in this case one considers the folklore aspect, the explanation which is given is that the cold of death has affected the child through the person of its mother or its father in the presence of the corpse. The explanation in the case of Guajiro appears to 855 us to be somewhat more complicated, as we had occasion to show above, although the curing processes tend in reality to extract the cold of death from the body of the child after it is born. The method of curing considered infallible by them is to bury the child in the still warm carcass of an animal sacrificed [88] during a wake, and only when there is no such possibility do they make use of the substitute, the bone, or of burying

/26 cont./

857 time playing with dolls, and in make-believe cooking, and visiting, activities they will be carrying out when older.

During all the time of our stay in La Guajira, we saw no games specially designed for girls beyond those just stated, but it should be noted that when they are together with other girls of their own age they are quite happy /26/ to carry out the household duties with which they are charged, such as bringing water from the well, looking for firewood, etc., as they take advantage of the opportunity to climb trees to look for fruit or simply to swing in the branches, activities which their mothers complain about because they tear their clothes, for which they are punished.

The only mixed activity we had occasion to observe between boys and girls of six to twelve years was the game of sweethearts; they made jokes and played at being annoyed or unwilling and imitated all the attitudes of a couple in love. /27/

III

THE CHILD IN THE MIDDLE YEARS

Punishment. Encouragement. Childish Reaction to Punishment. Training.

861 The Guajiro Indians expect their children to comply with the established norms of conduct, and if they break these rules they are punished in different ways. This reaction is not systematic, as breaking a rule does not mean that punishment will necessarily follow. When it produces no harmful effect, a lapse may be passed over, but if it should cause serious harm the child is punished in consequence. In the question of punishment it would appear that the parents follow the principle of accumulation, that is to say, to put up patiently with a series of misdeeds on the part of the children and at a certain moment to take advantage of an opportunity, at times insignificant, to show their authority and establish the precedent that their orders and wishes are to be

/27 cont./

861 respected. This sudden reaction may be due to personal feelings of the parents; for example, when the mother is repressing some disappointment she will often relieve her feelings by punishing her child, somewhat unjustly, for some fault or faults previously committed. However, it may be that naughtiness is immediately followed by punishment.

Furthermore, the parents being confronted with a repetition of an act previously punished, persistently remind the child of what he suffered before and the possibility of again feeling more severe punishment because of his repeated disobedience, or they simply show him the objects used to press him with a view to compelling him to submit to the paternal will.

The most common causes for punishment are the following:

862 1. Acts against normal feeding habits, such as stealing food,
693 frequently practiced by children for various reasons: a) because he is the last to receive his helping at mealtime; b) because adults ostensibly get preference when any special dish is being served; c) because in times of scarcity it is the elders who avail themselves of the short rations, which provokes a feeling of inferiority in the child that his hunger helps to emphasize and forces him to steal to remedy the situation. This theft may be /28/ of several kinds: Stealing of food which is immediately eaten, since it is cooked or does not require cooking, such as chicha, milk, cheese, panela, sweets, fruit, or a special dish that the mother is keeping in expectation of a visitor or is meant for her husband or an invalid. To steal this food that the mother hangs from the ceiling or puts in some hiding place means that the child must take advantage of some carelessness on the part of the mother to carry out his act.

Another kind is the theft of food that is not to be eaten immediately but that is taken to be hidden and eaten later when he needs it -- while away from home pasturing the animals or when going off surreptitiously to hunt.

Another form of food stealing is that done by the eldest brother or the one with a sweeter tooth than the others. On being handed

/32 cont./

864 the girls go into the woods to round up the burros or for other chores.
835 We know that if the mother learns of these happenings she immediately hands out punishment; we also know that it is considered very bad because of its prematurity, because of the act in itself, and because of reasons of blood relationship; but we do not know in what way punishment is meted out or the reaction and the social and family attitude when it becomes known. The fact is that the mother with girls of that age prevents their meeting their brothers outside her personal vigilance. The disregard of that prohibition even if it is not presumed that such a delinquent act
864 has taken place leads to punishment, because the mother knows
581 that these prepubertal relations will later have a decisive influence on the girl when she seeks marriage, as the future husband expects her to come virgin to him and the payment he makes for her includes such a concept. If she is not he has the right to claim a compensation payment and to obtain the legal refund of part of the animals he has paid; or they are obliged to admit it before the marriage, with the prospect that they will be denounced or the hoped-for /marriage/ purchase will not go through. In any case, with foreknowledge or without, the loss of her virginity reduces the value of a marriageable woman in the eyes of the men seeking her as wife.

861 There are punishments of various kinds. Some are corporal and consist of striking the child, and these are the most frequent. They slap them on the mouth when they are insolent when given an order or when they give a sharp answer to the father or mother. They are punched and kicked or are whipped with lassos or riding whips, with twigs from the woods or cudgels; but the mother generally beats them with a bunch of nettles when they commit any kind of naughtiness, such as throwing themselves on the floor and rolling around from tempes, sneaking out of the house without permission, disobeying an order, etc. /33/ In order to punish them the mother tries to take them by surprise and catch them firmly by the arm or hand so that she may punish them before they can escape her. She beats their legs or shoulders with the nettles as these parts are usually bare. This punishment is very painful

/33 cont./

861 but does not produce bad aftereffects as blows with sticks do, and it makes the child take warning and promise not to repeat his disobedience; before a relapse, it is sufficient to mention the punishment for him to comply with the order given him.

Another quite common form of punishment is to take the child and put him into a mesh bag of agave fiber, sling it on one of the high branches of an enramada /bough-covered shelter/ and rotate it until the child is nauseated and vomits, becoming unconscious. He is then lowered and left on the ground until he recovers. The mere threat of repeating this punishment or just showing him the bag is sufficient for him to do as he is told. These punishments are generally inflicted for disobedience.

Stealing food may also be punished in a like manner. This disobedience may also be corrected by the child's losing his ration of food, which is considered the hardest punishment of all and which the child willingly exchanges for the worst of beatings. This kind of punishment is considered unjust by the society, but it is nevertheless employed, especially when the child has pettishly or in a temper thrown away his food, to remind him, moreover, that he had wasted it before.

When children up to five years of age are very gluttonous, the mother will serve them a very large helping of food and oblige them to eat all of it until they vomit. She believes that in this way she will cure what she considers a defect. Beatings are the usual way of checking gluttony, stealing food from the mother or younger brothers, wasting or damaging it, not wishing to share it with a brother or with a friend. When the child refuses to eat and spurns his food with disgust after having been punished or reprehended, his mother pretends not to see and lets the child have his way, or she takes it away, leaving him without food.

There are punishments of a different order from the preceding, based on the recalling of a punishment previously suffered, when they repeat to the culprit what he said on being punished, his sobs and promises, trying to mimic each one of the details humiliating for the little one, to shame him, or showing him

/33 cont./

861 what was used for his punishment, such as the nettles or the bag. Terrified by these, he will obey the commands of his elders.

On giving an order or forbidding a child to do something, they may threaten him various times beforehand in order to ensure obedience. /34/

When the boy or girl is approaching puberty or has passed it, the verbal reprimand or scolding is the more common. This [762] nagging disapproval may be repeated to a point where the boy or girl in desperation will leave home or even commit suicide. Another way to enforce obedience from a young child or to get him to sleep is to frighten him, when he is very small, telling him that the cocón (1) will take him or that some old drunk will

1. Degeneration of the word coco, used in Colombia to frighten children in expressions such as: "The coco will take you" and "There comes the coco," etc.

carry him off. The small child is frightened and obeys, but when he is older he loses his fears and the threats are no longer of any use.

The mother, the aunts, and the grandmothers take the [602] principal part in applying punishments; also the maternal uncles. [689] The father's part is limited in this respect as his children are not considered to belong to his clan (cf. kinship) so that should he go too far and draw blood from the boy or should the boy kill himself or become ill through his fault, the mother would claim compensation payment from her husband. Nevertheless, this is reciprocal, for if the son commits suicide because of the punishment inflicted by the mother, it is the father who then presents the corresponding claim for compensation payment.

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861 The reactions of the child to the punishment he receives for the different offenses considered punishable are diverse. Thus we see that during his early years, on being beaten he will scream, cry, and try to run away or endeavor to show his resentment by becoming enraged and throwing himself on the floor, where he rolls furiously, an attitude he will also assume if he cannot get his own way. On again being beaten with nettles for this act, he takes warning and only at long intervals will he have a relapse, because he is threatened by a repetition of the punishment.

When he is able to walk and run perfectly well, the child
861 attempts to escape punishment whenever possible by running
858 away when he sees his mother or the person who means to punish him, or he endeavors to keep away from home in the hope that their annoyance will pass. When the beatings are very severe or very frequent or he considers them unjust, it is common for the boy to run away, going as far away as possible, in search of an uncle or relative who will offer him protection. The flight from home is more usual among boys than among girls and is more liable to occur toward the prepubertal age, because the youth feels restricted by family demands and /35/ aspires to get free of them. At this age corporal punishment and deprivation of food are punishments much less used, but criticism and verbal reproaches are the most used, and the young people react violently against these. In the cases where the scolding comes from the father, which is rare, the mother tries to pacify the boy, pointing out that he should not give such importance to the matter. But when it is she herself who reprehends him, the furious boy leaves home or stays in the house sulking and not speaking to anyone, showing his resentment and refusing to eat. When he leaves home, the mother allows a certain time to pass, during which she makes inquiries as to his whereabouts and what he has said. Then she asks an uncle, a brother, or his favorite friend to speak to him and persuade him to return. When he comes back she makes no allusion to the matter, and home life then goes on as usual.

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861 Another very usual reaction is that of learning each day to dissemble and show astuteness in avoiding punishment. When he sees the attention of his mother or his elders is distracted, he will do what has been forbidden: go to visit at a neighboring house, steal food, climb trees, etc. Later he will lie barefacedly to avoid the possible punishment.

861 When a boy is very frequently punished, which does happen in some homes where the mother is continually beating the chil-
593 dren, the child becomes sullen and withdrawn; he stays away from home, passing most of his time out and about or in the neighbors' houses, endeavoring to avoid the presence of his parents. We have heard of a mother who asked her eldest son, who was in Venezuela, for money as she needed it urgently. His answer was: "I have no mother. She was a tyrant to me and to my brothers, and I plan to bring them here with me so she will not be able to beat them for nothing. I will send her no money as she was always so wicked and cruel she does not deserve it." When the mother learned of this reply, her reaction was to cruelly beat all her younger children as a warning to them not to
[762] do what their elder brother had done. The husband reprehended her for her cruelty, and she ended by hanging herself. There are several similar cases which show the later resentment of some sons against their parents for the harshness of their treatment during their childhood. A boy can bear a permanent grudge, and as soon as he feels strong enough to oppose his will to that of his mother or his elders in general, he becomes stubborn and
[762] stands up to them. On occasion, if opposed in his deepest feelings and blind with fury because of some punishment inflicted, he will hang himself, by which deed the consequences of his
[689] death fall on the originator of the punishment, as the other parent will put in a claim for compensation payment, alleging that the boy was so exasperated it drove him to /36/ to take his own life. This law of obligatory payment tends to limit the application as well as the violence of the punishment, although, in spite of it children are cruelly treated in many homes.

/36 cont./

884 Toward the prepubertal age the boy begins to show his reaction to family punishments and controls, a liberating phase which culminates after puberty with the handing over of his animals when he marries, or before if his pastoral ability allows his taking full charge of them. Then, with his economic independence assured, he is freed from the discipline of the small family. He wants to figure as an adult and take an active part in the life of the community. For the male there is a difficulty as regards the coming of age because they have no initiation rite so that the time of his independence is subject to his economic circumstances and is in consequence elastic. On the other hand, in the case of women the biological phenomenon of menstruation marks the end of their childhood and their transformation to womanhood with all its privileges, rights, and duties.

* * *

861 The mother and the persons charged with the care and training of the child not only make use of punishment to obtain his obedience and submission to traditional norms of conduct but also have recourse to other kinds of stimuli which we might call positive. For example, when the boy tends to cry overmuch and is cowardly when faced by some slight problem, he is told: "Don't cry so much. Are you a girl that you go about crying so much? We should send you to take part in a wake /veloriar/ (1)."

[164]
[152]

1. Veloriar is used to indicate attendance and participation in the wake for a dead person, during which those present weep mournfully over the corpse.

If the crying is caused by an injury which the mother had foreseen, she says to him: "I told you so; you alone are to blame; no one did you any harm so you need not cry as it is all

/36 cont./

861 your fault; and as you would not listen to me, you can suffer the consequences." Or she consoles him by saying: "Don't cry, it doesn't really hurt; It is not worth crying about. Be a man." If the one hurt is a girl, the mother soothes her saying: "Why are you crying when you are braver than any man? You always behave with more pluck than they do."

Another way to get them to respect an order is to have recourse to stimulation by comparison. "Your brother -- or so-and-so -- obeys /37/ his mother promptly and helps her without being told what to do."* Or she tells him, to encourage his efforts: "Why won't you be able to do such a thing if X... who is smaller than you already can do it?"

Obedience and submission are also achieved with presents. When the parents go to a village, they bring back for the son something he has wanted. They will also promise him some gift, trying to satisfy his taste or the particular liking of the child. "I will give you such-and-such a sweet cake"; "I will give you this"; "I will let you go to that place"; "I will let you play with your friend if you will do what I ask promptly and well."

* * *

769 The cult of the dead is fundamental in the social life of the
867 Guajiro, and the child is instructed in it. This cult represents, moreover, another bond of union among the living, by its reminder of a tie of common blood, which relates to a third person to whom mutual relationship is recognized; moreover, it makes common cause with the incidents of his life and death, evoking a strong sense of solidarity.

The cult of the dead expressly implies a series of obligations in which the child is instructed and compliance with which is directly associated with the maintenance of the status of the dead person's family group, obligations which this training tends to render unavoidable.

Probably the cornerstone of this instruction is the daily calling to mind of dead relatives, for at three o'clock in the morning,

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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854 also encourages it to crawl and walk. Indian babies can sit without help, when a white baby is still unable to raise itself. At six months the brown Indian baby is already a toddler.

868 The conversation turned on to the upbringing of children. Even in its earliest games the Indian babe imitates its parents' occupations, thus amusing itself and learning at the same time. The Indians are very careful to see that from the beginning the children learn to distinguish between the men's and women's spheres of work. An Indian father would be very indignant if he saw his baby son playing at cooking, which is not male work. Therefore the son accompanies his father to the herds even as quite an infant, while his sister will stay at home.

861 We had already noticed that children were sometimes chastized, which is not usual among other primitive Indians. The old women saw that they behaved themselves and were not disobedient. Food was rationed both for the [262] children and the grown-ups, and it was considered very shabby to pinch another's helping. To drop anything edible on to the ground was strictly punished, and the worst offence of all was for a child in anger to throw food on to the ground and trample it. Possibly this was yet another relic of Moorish custom, for in Morocco it is considered a serious crime to spill crumbs of bread. When the children became bigger they were merely scolded, but they were 604 then generally no longer under their parents' supervision, 855 but with relations with whom they spend long periods. The 868 first-born son usually grows up with his eldest maternal uncle, who is the boy's real guardian, and he teaches him cattle-rearing and agriculture and the queer laws of his people.

231 Girls also go to their mother's relations and help in the 857 household. We had already seen how a Guajiro boy had to [602] work. He had to be at it from the moment he stepped out of his hammock at three in the morning. First he and some others gathered the cattle to water them. If they were watered at a deep casimba, he had to run up and down with water-jars to fill the troughs of hollowed-out trunks. He

/11 cont./

862 the child is organically ready to assimilate adult food. This gradual method is much easier than when /12/ the mother, because of scarcity of her milk toward the sixth month or from special circumstances, is forced to do it.

Weaning age varies in accordance with the wish of the mother and the special circumstances which may require it. The general custom is to breast feed up to three years, but one finds mothers who nurse their children up to a year, others up to two, and it is not at all rare to find some who do so until after the third year.

The usual causes which influence the Guajiro mother to stop nursing her child are: a) A new pregnancy, because the majority of the mothers believe that the milk then produced has a bad effect on the nursing child as well as on the coming one. Nevertheless, there are exceptions to this custom in addition to the fact that the child may be returned to the breast when the mother has delivered the new infant. But these are special cases. However, it must be taken into account that pregnancies among the Guajiro do not occur rapidly one after the other, owing to the knowledge of contraceptives of which we have already spoken, which allows the mothers a long period of breast feeding for their children. It should also be noted that the Guajiro mother never tells the child that her ceasing to breast feed him is due to the arrival of another baby, so that, it appears to us, such a possibly pernicious insinuation does not influence the child's future behavior. b) Long trips which the mother must make on which she cannot be accompanied by her small child. When the child is somewhat older, she uses her absence as an opportunity to wean him, but if he is still young she is forced by circumstances to do it.

Weaning methods are personal and depend on the wishes or ideas of the mother or on the circumstances of the moment, but they can be grouped into several categories: a) Sudden weaning, when the mother has to go away. b) When the mother's milk is scarce she supplements breast feeding with other food.

/11 cont./

§53 of white education or medical prescription, try to regulate the feeding of their children, but they break the rule frequently, lengthening or shortening the interval in accordance with the [805] appetite of the child and guiding themselves by the position of the sun.

The child has his first meal of the day approximately at three o'clock in the morning, the time that the Guajiro begins [52] his daily work, the last meal at bedtime. At this latter meal the child nurses until, either satiated or sleeping, he lets go of his mother's breast. However, every Guajiro mother habitually feeds her child during the night if he wakes up and cries.

The mother feeds her child herself unless abnormal circumstances prevent this. If the milk completely satisfies the child in quantity and quality, the mother does not add other food, nor does she substitute it during the first six to eight months. From then onward she adds to his diet thin corn mazamorra with §62 a little milk, preferably goat's milk, oat soup, milk, and, much later, cheese and meat. If the mother's milk begins to fail soon after the child's birth, she endeavors to supplement this lack by other suitable food such as sweetened mazamorra or simple dishes of rice meal, mixed with goat's milk, later this same milk alone, until she gradually weans her child to adult food, going through the process just outlined. She also tries to reserve her own milk to give to the child during the night and so avoid having to prepare food during the hours of rest. The first meal at dawn, however, may be a prepared one, as the Guajiro mother, as we have already stated, is an early riser in order to take advantage of the cooler hours of the day to do her work. Before weaning, if the mother's milk supply keeps up, the child learns to eat other foods such as cow's milk and goats milk, corn griddlecake, bread -- if it is to be had, mazamorra, and fruit such as the iguaraya, mamoncillo /honey berry/, olive, and mango. When the child begins to sit up, the mother holds him in her arms during mealtime and gives him bites of food. The child learns to want and ask for food. Thus once he is weaned,

/12 cont./

862 In this way the replacement is gradual without organic or other complications for the child. c) When breast feeding is kept on overlong and the child is already eating normally and assimilating adult food, the breast is then simply a diversion that is, at times, voluntarily abandoned by the child. In this category may be included the younger children, or sharé, who considerably prolong the period of breast feeding. d) Very exceptionally it may happen that the mother gets annoyed with her child for biting her nipple and as punishment takes it away, but this punishment occurs only when the child is big, as logically, when the child is small, he cannot so bite.

When the mother is not able to travel, in order to deprive the child she wants to wean, or when it will not take a refusal, [824] she rubs her nipple with the sour juice of a plant called wawá and offers her breast to the child, who /13/ on tasting it cries and rejects it. This practice is repeated several times until the child refuses to respond when the breast is offered. This step is taken when the child is two or three years old and it is considered shameful to continue breast feeding so long, or when the child is small and special circumstances oblige the mother to act in this way.

When the child starts to take other food as a substitute for his mother's milk, she feeds him liquids from a vessel made [415 177] from a gourd /totuma/ (1) which she holds, at the same time

1. At present, some use nursing bottles.

training him to hold it also so that he can learn to feed himself; she gives him soup from a spoon, and she puts solid food into his hand. When he is very small she gives him lukewarm food, but later she gives it to him at the temperature it comes from the hearth, warning him to be careful. At two years the child is self-sufficient in these matters.

/13 cont./

862 At the stage when the child is too young to feed himself, it is usually the mother who feeds him or one of the relatives (aunt, grandmother, or siblings). Also, he may be helped by female servants entrusted to look after him, who coach him so that he may learn to feed himself.

827 853 [755] If, after the delivery and before the milk appears, the woman should have inflamed and painful breasts, the husband must place his bare foot on them for a short time in order to make the swelling disappear. When the milk is delayed, they beat the shoulders of the mother with a herb which has the property of producing a milky substance in abundance. Quick and safe results are also obtained by using an infusion of vira-vira.

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853 The Guajiro mother may be obliged to ask for assistance in the natural feeding of her child: a) when, after delivery, for some pathological reason she cannot feed him because her milk has dried up; b) because she has previously lost several children of a very early age due to gastroenteritis, which is attributed to nutritive deficiency in her milk or to something in it which makes it unhealthy; c) when she has had twins, and she feels unable to feed both children; d) when the mother's milk suddenly begins to become scarce while the child is very small.

In such circumstances she looks for a wet nurse, not because she refuses to feed the child since, as far as we were able to find out, the mother wants to do it herself and considers her maternity frustrated when circumstances force her to find another mother to substitute for her, but because necessity drives her to do so in order to save the child from starvation and death. Apart from the /14/ loving care and the pleasure she feels in fulfilling this function, there are various reasons which induce her to feed her child naturally: Scarcity of milk in a poor mother involves a hardship in rearing the child as she does not always have goat's milk (the best milk in their opinion) available, and

/27 cont./

861 respected. This sudden reaction may be due to personal feelings of the parents; for example, when the mother is repressing some disappointment she will often relieve her feelings by punishing her child, somewhat unjustly, for some fault or faults previously committed. However, it may be that naughtiness is immediately followed by punishment.

Furthermore, the parents being confronted with a repetition of an act previously punished, persistently remind the child of what he suffered before and the possibility of again feeling more severe punishment because of his repeated disobedience, or they simply show him the objects used to press him with a view to compelling him to submit to the paternal will.

The most common causes for punishment are the following:

•862 1. Acts against normal feeding habits, such as stealing food,
693 frequently practiced by children for various reasons: a) because he is the last to receive his helping at mealtime; b) because adults ostensibly get preference when any special dish is being served; c) because in times of scarcity it is the elders who avail themselves of the short rations, which provokes a feeling of inferiority in the child that his hunger helps to emphasize and forces him to steal to remedy the situation. This theft may be /28/ of several kinds: Stealing of food which is immediately eaten, since it is cooked or does not require cooking, such as chicha, milk, cheese, panela, sweets, fruit, or a special dish that the mother is keeping in expectation of a visitor or is meant for her husband or an invalid. To steal this food that the mother hangs from the ceiling or puts in some hiding place means that the child must take advantage of some carelessness on the part of the mother to carry out his act.

Another kind is the theft of food that is not to be eaten immediately but that is taken to be hidden and eaten later when he needs it -- while away from home pasturing the animals or when going off surreptitiously to hunt.

Another form of food stealing is that done by the eldest brother or the one with a sweeter tooth than the others. On being handed

/28 cont./

862 their share of food, they quickly eat theirs and wait till the mother
673 is not there to snatch the share of a younger or weaker brother by force, by stealth, by deception, by false promises, or by coercion in some form, such as threatening to reveal to the parents some misdeed not known to them.

862 In general, the growing Guajiro child is never satisfied with
261 the amount of food he gets, and in his craving for more he places no normal restraint on his appetite. He is always capable of eating more than he can normally hold, even to the point of suffering, in the hope of building up a reserve or because, feeling himself undernourished, he finds pleasure and satisfaction in eating to repletion. He always eats as if he were starving, which sometimes is the case, but at other times is only the remembrance of past hunger and the fear of its repetition.

Parents believe that the habit of these small thefts may lead to bigger robberies from people not relatives, which would bring about a series of troubles to the family group to which the young delinquent belongs. Also, the food stolen may be necessary and even indispensable for home use, and the theft means that an adult, a sick relative, or a visitor whom they wish or need to look after is deprived of it. One has to bear in mind that in certain parts of the country the sources of food supplies are so few that food is scrupulously rationed to last out until new supplies become available.

Children are also punished as their parents want them to behave abstemiously and uncomplainingly during the long spells of scarcity so frequent in this country, /29/ although they have their reward later when, in time of abundant harvest, food is plentiful and extravagantly used, only sufficient seed being retained for the next sowing. During these times of scarcity the Guajiro lives on a very reduced food ration and puts up with hunger and thirst to an incredible degree, and mothers want their children to achieve a similar standard: to behave like adults in such circumstances.

862 A further motive for correction and punishment is when the
574 child refuses to share the food that has been given to him or that

/29 cont./

862 he himself has obtained by his own efforts, with a brother, rela-
579 tive, or friend who comes to the house. He is made to do so by force if he does not do so voluntarily, for this hospitality is the norm of conduct in La Guajira, as it is customary for the group to afford mutual aid, and the sharing of food is one of the most obvious manifestations of this. For the Guajiro, whether he possesses much or little, will share it with his consanguineous relatives; norms of hospitality founded on the basis of strengthening their own personal prestige, as well as that of their clan, oblige the individual to receive a guest courteously in accordance with his status and that of his group and with his standing as a visitor, a welcome that has the quality of reciprocating attentions of a similar nature received from the guest and a desire to repay the same with interest. For this reason the parents believe that they should make their child comply with these social precepts and show himself to be generous, such being ideal character traits in the opinion of the Guajiro. They regard such cases as an opportunity to train him to comply with established custom; they fear that in the future the boy may not comply with those principles which form the economic link between members of the consanguineous group and are the basis of clan social etiquette. For this reason they punish the child and oblige him to comply.

862 Another cause for punishment in this matter of food is the waste of food, more so if the child should stamp on it in a temper. In that case, he is severely punished. We believe that the Guajiro is right, because fear of the scarcity of food is an ever present problem which causes both adults and children to eat beyond the limit of their normal appetites in times of abundance. For this reason they believe that if the child wastes food he will suffer shortages greater than ever, and this punishment, by social law, will apply, as is natural, to all of them.

* * *

867 2. A principle that the child must comply with under parental authority is submission to orders given him, whether

/46 cont./

264 giving him a portion that is larger and better than the others,
592 which is grumbled at and envied by the rest. When there are numerous daughters and only one boy in the family, he is the favored one and, in the absence of the father, is served in his place on the dishes the father customarily uses for his food and is served first as is done with /47/ the latter. When there are several sons these privileges go to the eldest. When food is scarce the elders are the first to get it, and whatever remains is divided among the children of middle years. The same occurs when there are special dishes, which the children may occasionally taste if the father or uncle gives them some. But usually there is not enough for the child; when he grows up and is a man he will have his share of these special dishes. This makes the boys envious, and they will snatch whatever one of them may receive, or the eldest will leave the smallest without food after having eaten his share as quickly as possible, and it also explains the theft of food and provisions in spite of the punishments inflicted by the mother, which have been enumerated in another section.

Should the child have a noticeable liking for a certain kind of food, the mother indulges him when possible, giving him a larger portion of it, but this behavior cannot always be repeated as the boy must learn to eat everything, as it is not possible for him to be allowed to eat just the food he considers most appetizing. Furthermore, each child has his own dishes
[415 and cutlery for eating, such as gourd plates and spoons, etc.,
422] which he recognizes and insists on being served from. These articles are usually their private property.

862 The child of middle years shares fully in adult food by gradual change from his infant diet after weaning and by the adequate rationing of his new foods, so that his organism becomes accustomed to them and more readily assimilates them. First of all, the mother's milk is replaced by goat's milk and later by thin mazamorra prepared with a little milk, until he gets only this. They gradually feed him the various kinds of

/47 cont./

chichas and cojosa (sour milk), and, when he cuts his teeth, solid food which had previously had to be mashed for easier swallowing. After passing this period, the child eats the same as any adult, with slight differences marked by the family organization, as we have just seen, receiving the plain food served since it is unusual for him to share in any special dishes which the adult members of the household may eat.

During periods of scarcity the gathering and use of wild fruits is an important item in the household economy. The Guajiro, when he finds any such fruit, will immediately eat as much as he can, until satiety is reached. Regularity in hours of eating is very difficult in such circumstances -- one might say that the Guajiro has no fixed mealtimes, but that he eats when he obtains some food. In normal times and in homes where the shortage of food is not much felt, the family's hours /48/ for meals are more or less as follows: On rising, very early, they take a little coffee with panela, if there is any, or more often a gourdful of cojosa (1); in the evening after

1. Milk which is left to sour in special food vessels.

sunset, upon returning from work, they have their principal meal composed of mazamorra with milk, some rolls or corn griddlecakes and coffee or a chicha of fruit, corn, or yucca. The normal diet does not include the daily eating of meat, which is only eaten on certain rare occasions, the same as cheese and certain vegetables such as ahuyamas /Cucurbita berucosa/, gourds, yucca, etc. Toasted corn with salt or something sweet is frequently eaten, rice soup (a very much-used food), dry rice, or a soup of trupillo pods /Mimosaceae/, which are chewed after having been parboiled, the fibers later being spat out, or mixed with milk. At periods when food is in short supply, they have the habit of making use of the tender shoots of cacti, which are roasted over a flame in order to get

/17 cont./

With regard to the training of the child in carrying out his bodily functions, it is the mother or whoever is responsible for him who teaches him. It is usually the mother or his wet nurse. The child learns /18/ shortly after birth to be clean because his mother is concerned with making do with the few pieces of cloth and a scarcity of soap or water to wash them with. Moreover, as the child goes bare, there is little difficulty, when he shows signs of wishing to relieve himself, in taking advantage of the moment to see that he does it in the proper place. Also, she will see that her small child does these necessary functions shortly after feeding, and as she has him in her arms for long periods when he is small, at the least sign of his need she holds him in the right position. If she is seated on the ground or on some object near to the ground, she crosses her legs leaving an opening over which she seats the child so that his excrement falls on the sandy soil, and later she cleans it up. This operation is carried out when the child finishes his meal or whenever he shows signs of needing relief. In this way the child associates the position with the action of fulfilling his need, and he forms the habit of cleanliness, until there comes a time that he is cross or cries if he is not placed in the accustomed position. As he grows, his bodily functions become more regular, and when he starts to walk, it becomes more simple; he learns to squat and later to withdraw to some spot outside the house or to cry out to be taken to such a spot if he is still too small. He also learns to call this function by its proper name or by a special one of his own invention. Later, between three and four he fulfils these necessities without outside help.

The training with reference to urinating is also simple and is a lesser problem for the mother. It worries her less than the former function and follows more or less an identical training process. She moves him to one side so that he does not wet her, and later she shows him, if a boy, how to take the Adult position, or if a girl, to sit on her heels. As the child is naked, the problem is very simple. The child wets his bed for a while, and

/18 cont./

[59] for this reason the hammock is made of agave fiber, which re-
[63] sists rot, and although a child of a year may still wet the bed, it is usual by the time he reaches this age, and even before, for him to have the habit of cleanliness formed and this problem not to exist, because of previous training. It may be that the child is helped in this by the hot and dry climate of the region, by the reduced quantity of liquid he absorbs during the day, by the physiological phenomenon of perspiration which causes much elimination, and because the mother rises early, at daybreak, and calls the child to his organic necessities, a custom which in time forms a habit, so keeping him dry in bed. /19/

[64] When the small family lives apart, especially from the wife's relatives, the rearing and initial training of the children is limited to its members and their maids and female bond servants and slaves if there are any. This training is mainly simple and personal and consists in regulating his daily and nightly feeding, sleep, cleanliness, and beginning to crawl and walk. As the culmination of his preliminary training comes speech.

In this early teaching the average poorer mother plays the main role, as only the better-off mother has the advantage of help from female bond servants, slaves, and servants or wet nurses. We have already seen how the mother carries out these duties or how they are equally fulfilled by whoever aints her.

When she has to go out she leaves the child in the care of her husband, who, following the instructions he receives, feeds the child, watches its cleanliness, its rest, and safety according to customary patterns. At other times the older brothers and sisters have this duty.

[65] If several women live together with a man, it is not unusual that during the absence of one, the others will take care of her children and take her place in protecting and caring for them whether the child is tiny or older. This practice, naturally, occurs only when there is no ill will or hatred between the various co-wives.

[66] When the family life is lived within the maternal family grouping, or when two sisters are co-wives and live in the same

/48 cont./

252 at the heart, which they eat, for by cooking in this way it be-
262 comes soft and digestible. They also include in their diet soups and special dishes made of beans.

264 The boys employed in work other than pasturing, who stay
262 at home or can readily return there, take the usual breakfast upon rising; later, when the hours of heat begin and the Guajiro returns to his home to rest on his hammock in the shade of his enramada /a bough-covered shelter/, he eats a meal which is more or less similar to that described above, and, toward seven at night, another.

A boy will add to his usual meals what he can find by picking wild fruit, hunting small animals or birds, by stealing food at home, and by drinking the milk he can obtain from the goats or other animals he has in his care.

264 We must add in conclusion that in no case does the woman occupy the first place when food is being served if there are men in the family. At the most she may occupy her mother's place if no older female relatives are present, it falling on her in this case to serve the food. If there are female slaves or bond servants or maids in the home these will carry out this duty under her supervision. These cases when the mother is replaced by the daughters in the task of serving the meals to the family are not frequent, as it is customary for the head woman not to leave her post for any lengthy interval without placing her responsibilities in the hands of a person competent to replace her.

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513 The child of middle years keeps the same hours for sleeping as the adult. Generally, the child possesses from his birth
[352] onward an Indian-style hammock /chinchorro or hamaca/ /49/,
[263] that is to say, one made of cords of twisted agave fibers arranged in horizontal rows. This type of hammock is meant for young children, because bed-wetting at night is frequent in some cases, but especially because it is strong, cheap, and readily replaceable. We never heard of a case of a child sleeping on the ground.

/31 cont./

865 693 Nevertheless, there are cases where the elder brother attempts to impose his authority and oblige a younger brother to obey his orders, building up his part. From ten years of age onward the relation between brothers and sisters becomes rougher and occasionally quarrelsome, but after passing puberty and initiation, when the girl has become a woman and the boy an adult, their relationship takes on a definite shape, to be reflected in the future friendship between the two and in the ties that will exist between the brothers and the children of the sisters, over whom they will exercise their authority and protection.

We have already described one of the aggressive acts between brothers on the part of the older toward the younger, in the theft of food behind the back of the mother or whoever represents authority /in the home/. There is another form of aggression which the younger child adopts in order to get what he wants from his elders and from his siblings: He throws himself on the ground, where he rolls and kicks, screaming and crying inconsolably. His mother punishes him to stop him from giving way to his bad temper, considering his action harmful because when big he might continue with his rages and while in that mood cause grave injury to his people and to himself. For in reality when the Guajiro becomes furious, he goes completely 152 out of his mind and commits deeds he would not dream of doing 865 in his proper senses. If he cannot get his way he becomes so [762] angry /32/ that often he will hang himself, doing this in such a rage that he loses his instinct of self-preservation and even when he is half dead will insist on finishing himself off, so throwing the responsibility of his death onto the person who caused his bad temper. If his mother is unable to control these exhibitions of childish rage, it will continue with him during his youth and as a man will become increasingly worse, often causing him to leave home in the excess of his fury and giving rise to suicide when he is thwarted or opposed.

864 835 6. Delinquent acts that may appear among children about ten years old are the sexual relations between girls and their brothers when the latter are busy with their pastoral tasks and

/32 cont./

864 the girls go into the woods to round up the burros or for other chores.
835 We know that if the mother learns of these happenings she immediately hands out punishment; we also know that it is considered very bad because of its prematurity, because of the act in itself, and because of reasons of blood relationship; but we do not know in what way punishment is meted out or the reaction and the social and family attitude when it becomes known. The fact is that the mother with girls of that age prevents their meeting their brothers outside her personal vigilance. The disregard of that prohibition even if it is not presumed that such a delinguent act
864 has taken place leads to punishment, because the mother knows
581 that these prepubertal relations will later have a decisive influence on the girl when she seeks marriage, as the future husband expects her to come virgin to him and the payment he makes for her includes such a concept. If she is not he has the right to claim a compensation payment and to obtain the legal refund of part of the animals he has paid; or they are obliged to admit it before the marriage, with the prospect that they will be denounced or the hoped-for /marriage/ purchase will not go through. In any case, with foreknowledge or without, the loss of her virginity reduces the value of a marriageable woman in the eyes of the men seeking her as wife.

861 There are punishments of various kinds. Some are corporal and consist of striking the child, and these are the most frequent. They slap them on the mouth when they are insolent when given an order or when they give a sharp answer to the father or mother. They are punched and kicked or are whipped with lassos or riding whips, with twigs from the woods or cudgels, but the mother generally beats them with a bunch of nettles when they commit any kind of naughtiness, such as throwing themselves on the floor and rolling around from temper, sneaking out of the house without permission, disobeying an order, etc. /33/ In order to punish them the mother tries to take them by surprise and catch them firmly by the arm or hand so that she may punish them before they can escape her. She beats their legs or shoulders with the nettles as these parts are usually bare. This punishment is very painful

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later, for he has been brought up always to try and make things right.

During her period of isolation a girl also learns how to satisfy her husband erotically and always to be ready, when he is excited. To retain his love she may employ magic as well as her own natural powers of attraction. Knowing that a woman loses some of her looks and attraction during pregnancy, wives often try, after having had several children, to hinder fertilization by taking certain herbal drugs and by magical means. 881 864 [832] [842]

'Polygamy is permitted, is it not, Mauana?' 595

'Yes, a man can take several wives. As long as he pays the bride-price, no one can say anything, but her family would never allow a better-class girl to become the second wife of anyone. And you see, custom decrees that a Guajiro wife, whether the first or a concubine, must acquiesce if the husband takes a new wife. Similarly, it is considered that wives ought to live in peace and friendship. They must receive a new concubine cordially and all show their best side to the husband. They must help each other to watch the children and not display jealousy if the husband prefers one to the others.

'That is how it should be, but the reality is quite different. Very often the wives live in the same house, which naturally leads to conflict more easily than when each has her own hut. Jealousy or envy are common in these harems. Enmity and quarrelling are not infrequent, nor is actual fighting. The wives spy upon each other, destroy each other's things and make all sorts of scenes. One or other perhaps comes to hate the husband. It is said that a certain man, who shall be nameless, had noticed something of the sort and did not dare to be at home while a family feud lasted. An enemy could have bribed one of his wives to put poison in his maize beer.'

'That does not sound pleasant!'

'No, polygamy undoubtedly has its drawbacks!' Mauana agreed. 'I myself have only one wife, but several bed slaves,' he added with an artful look in his eye.

Even though all a man's marriages are considered legal,

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865 4. The child should adopt certain habits in the conduct of his relations with his parents and relatives: to listen submissively to remarks without a haughty reply or showing unwillingness to carry out orders or making gestures that might appear arrogant; never to give a rude answer to whoever gives them orders about their work; never to answer discourteously nor in a way to show displeasure or arrogance when reprehended or punished nor to run away in these circumstances, as then the punishment would be greater; never to use bad words in Spanish as that implies a double offense: that of making use of a foreign language as well as bad words as such, besides coarseness and insults between adults lead to the compensation payment, which (as all of these social payments do) falls on the relatives. /31/

[191 195] 689

5. Besides aggressive acts toward his elders, we have those that can occur with his playmates or his own relatives and which acquire a more serious character when they affect his friends from other clans, and when from the verbal offense -- which may also have to be compensated -- they pass to fighting, because if blood should be shed the mother of the injured boy will make her claim for compensation payment (unless both combatants are hurt, in which case it is cancelled). In these cases of bloodshed, as will be seen hereafter, the relative social and economic strength or weakness of each of the clans to which the combatants belong is an important factor, as the stronger group always imposes its interpretation of justice on the weaker. These are the reasons that compel the mother to try to prevent her children from playing with those of another clan to forestall such possible claims. In spite of this, however, the boys escape her vigilant eye, ignore her orders, and manage to get together in most of their boyish activities. The prohibition to join up with boys of another clan develops also from the fact that if a boy is invited to join another group and some accident should occur, the responsibility will fall on the group of the boy who extended the invitation.

865 593 The relationship between siblings is usually peaceful especially between those of the same sex. They readily become comrades.

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865 693 Nevertheless, there are cases where the elder brother attempts to impose his authority and oblige a younger brother to obey his orders, building up his part. From ten years of age onward the relation between brothers and sisters becomes rougher and occasionally quarrelsome, but after passing puberty and initiation, when the girl has become a woman and the boy an adult, their relationship takes on a definite shape, to be reflected in the future friendship between the two and in the ties that will exist between the brothers and the children of the sisters, over whom they will exercise their authority and protection.

We have already described one of the aggressive acts between brothers on the part of the older toward the younger, in the theft of food behind the back of the mother or whoever represents authority /in the home/. There is another form of aggression which the younger child adopts in order to get what he wants from his elders and from his siblings: He throws himself on the ground, where he rolls and kicks, screaming and crying inconsolably. His mother punishes him to stop him from giving way to his bad temper, considering his action harmful because when big he might continue with his rages and while in that mood cause grave injury to his people and to himself. For in reality when the Guajiro becomes furious, he goes completely 152 out of his mind and commits deeds he would not dream of doing 865 in his proper senses. If he cannot get his way he becomes so [762] angry /32/ that often he will hang himself, doing this in such a rage that he loses his instinct of self-preservation and even when he is half dead will insist on finishing himself off, so throwing the responsibility of his death onto the person who caused his bad temper. If his mother is unable to control these exhibitions of childish rage, it will continue with him during his youth and as a man will become increasingly worse, often causing him to leave home in the excess of his fury and giving rise to suicide when he is thwarted or opposed.

864 835 6. Delinquent acts that may appear among children about ten years old are the sexual relations between girls and their brothers when the latter are busy with their pastoral tasks and

/29 cont./

862 574 he himself has obtained by his own efforts, with a brother, relative, or friend who comes to the house. He is made to do so by force if he does not do so voluntarily, for this hospitality is the norm of conduct in La Guajira, as it is customary for the group to afford mutual aid, and the sharing of food is one of the most obvious manifestations of this. For the Guajiro, whether he possesses much or little, will share it with his consanguineous relatives; norms of hospitality founded on the basis of strengthening their own personal prestige, as well as that of their clan, oblige the individual to receive a guest courteously in accordance with his status and that of his group and with his standing as a visitor, a welcome that has the quality of reciprocating attentions of a similar nature received from the guest and a desire to repay the same with interest. For this reason the parents believe that they should make their child comply with these social precepts and show himself to be generous, such being ideal character traits in the opinion of the Guajiro. They regard such cases as an opportunity to train him to comply with established custom; they fear that in the future the boy may not comply with those principles which form the economic link between members of the consanguineous group and are the basis of clan social etiquette. For this reason they punish the child and oblige him to comply.

862 Another cause for punishment in this matter of food is the waste of food, more so if the child should stamp on it in a temper. In that case, he is severely punished. We believe that the Guajiro is right, because fear of the scarcity of food is an ever present problem which causes both adults and children to eat beyond the limit of their normal appetites in times of abundance. For this reason they believe that if the child wastes food he will suffer shortages greater than ever, and this punishment, by social law, will apply, as is natural, to all of them.

* * *

867 2. A principle that the child must comply with under parental authority is submission to orders given him, whether

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867 positive or negative. He must fulfill as if he were a small adult the obligations that are imposed on him, carry out the chores that he is charged with, and assume satisfactorily the responsibilities he has to discharge. /30/

867 857 Thus, boys and girls must carry messages from one place to another, from the house to the fields, for example. The girls bring firewood from the woods and work in the kitchen, etc., while the boys carry out efficiently the pasturing of the herds. These are positive orders. Of negative nature there are, for example, those that forbid the climbing of trees for fear they will tear their clothes; sneaking away from home to go among neighbors, especially when the neighbors belong to a different clan, as the mother always fears that if for some reason or other her son has a quarrel with a playmate and they come to blows, or if directly or indirectly he causes blood to flow, she will be responsible economically for the damage done as immediate compensation payment will be demanded. They likewise fear that some criminal act might be committed by the children, the consequences of which would fall on the instigator.

867 3. Children should never fail to tell the truth; even though what they are saying is the product of childish imagination, this does not excuse or mitigate such a lack of truth; it is considered as an open lie by the family and clearly merits punishment. The child should never make a statement that is not true; that is to say, he is prohibited from lying in any possible form or manner. The Guajiro believes that if children lie they do it, deliberately, and if the vice is not corrected it will have troublesome consequences both in the family life and in the whole social collectivity because there is a compensation payment for slander, deceit, etc. Besides it could bring about difficult situations between individuals of the clan, with lamentable consequences. One exception appears to us to be that adults and even the older children boast of their strength, of their prowess in hunting, in war, and in their love affairs, and even about their economic standing. Frequently, they are imaginary happenings that they boast and crow about.

/36 cont./

861 your fault; and as you would not listen to me, you can suffer the consequences." Or she consoles him by saying: "Don't cry, it doesn't really hurt; It is not worth crying about. Be a man." If the one hurt is a girl, the mother soothes her saying: "Why are you crying when you are braver than any man? You always behave with more pluck than they do."

Another way to get them to respect an order is to have recourse to stimulation by comparison. "Your brother -- or so-and-so -- obeys /37/ his mother promptly and helps her without being told what to do." Or she tells him, to encourage his efforts: "Why won't you be able to do such a thing if X... who is smaller than you already can do it?"

Obedience and submission are also achieved with presents. When the parents go to a village, they bring back for the son something he has wanted. They will also promise him some gift, trying to satisfy his taste or the particular liking of the child. "I will give you such-and-such a sweet cake"; "I will give you this"; "I will let you go to that place"; "I will let you play with your friend if you will do what I ask promptly and well."

* * *

769 The cult of the dead is fundamental in the social life of the Guajiro, and the child is instructed in it. This cult represents,
867 moreover, another bond of union among the living, by its reminder of a tie of common blood, which relates to a third person to whom mutual relationship is recognized; moreover, it makes common cause with the incidents of his life and death, evoking a strong sense of solidarity.

The cult of the dead expressly implies a series of obligations in which the child is instructed and compliance with which is directly associated with the maintenance of the status of the dead person's family group, obligations which this training tends to render unavoidable.

Probably the cornerstone of this instruction is the daily calling to mind of dead relatives, for at three o'clock in the morning,

/37 cont./

769 more or less, when the people who sleep in the house have not yet risen from bed, the woman of most authority in the home -- 867 the mother, the grandmother, the maternal aunt, or the eldest sister -- begins to recall their departed ones by a long-drawn-out wail the same as is customary in the lamentations at the wake, and immediately following she starts sobbing and in a mournful tone recites an account of her sorrows for the death of her relatives. She says, for example: "Oh! We have no mother; it is sad she did not die of some sickness, but that they killed her . . . ," and she goes on describing her death with all the sorrowful details: the humiliations and troubles she had to put up with from another group, emphasizing especially this death has not been satisfied, that is to say, is without a just compensation payment, that those who killed her are living tranquilly; that the family blood was spilled by people who are still unpunished. She then relates the social dangers that threaten her family at the moment from other groups, their anxieties over the coming summer /the dry season/ which will further impoverish /38/ them and thus bring them less justice, but returning continually to the theme of the dead relative, going back even to the long past death of some other member of the family who often even her own mother had not known, associating in this way the family dead of different periods, referring again to his or her natural or violent death with all its details, trying in accordance with the Guajiro point of view to discover the person who, for whatever motive, is responsible for the deed, making the whole weight of responsibility fall on him or her as a relief to her sorrow.

Once this narration has ended, the sobbing is suspended for a few minutes, and then another of the women of the house returns to the same subject in identical form, until every adult woman in the house has unbosomed her sorrow, referring to the past with its bitterness and to the anxieties of the future, recalling the memory of their lost ones and the causes of their deaths. This daily repetition results in the children's not only learning the cult of the dead but also the past history and the fellowship of feeling of the family group. They learn to admire the virtues

/38 cont./

769 of their ancestors or to sympathize with their humilations, share
in their hatreds and common sorrows, as well as to learn to per-
867 form this practice and repeat and transmit it when they form
their own homes.

764 Furthermore, the presence and participation of the children
in the ceremonies which are performed at the death of a relative
769 are meant to teach them through experience each one of these
867 ceremonies. Thus he learns and has engraved on him the feel-
ing of mutual support that exists between related members of
a group, such as the financial help that must be forthcoming,
when it is a case of a poor relative, in order to be able to
sacrifice animals and to see to the necessary amount of liquor
and hospitality customary on such occasions, and the shrouding
of the corpse, the etiquette that life beyond the grave demands
from the wife, the relatives who intervene in these activities
and their behavior (such as their weeping at the foot of the
corpse), fasting and abstinence from meat: in fact every one of
the established cultural patterns obligatory at these times, and
it is an apprenticeship which the child receives through ex-
planation and personal observation.

The child also shares in the family life during the days
immediately after the burial; in the offerings that are taken to
the dead one when it is feared, by magical indications, that his
life beyond the grave is not normal for lack of something that
he needs; in the periodical visits made to the grave and in the
bonfires that for several nights are lit to illuminate the path of
the dead.

Later he joins in the ceremony of exhumation. He knows
769 his part and that of his immediate relatives and, as in the
571 previous cases, each one /39/ of the traditional norms. But
867 the most important thing about all these activities is not to
learn to carry them out correctly, but to establish the sense of
solidarity with the dead one, with the family, and with the society
in which he lives. With the dead, by fulfilling an obligation
of consanguinity in order to assure him -- even by coercion of

/39 cont./

769 his spirit -- a proper life in the future. With his family, by
571 mutual aid and solidarity in sorrow and in their joint economic
effort, and in the case of a violent death, by making common
867 cause in order to obtain effective justice and the negotiation
for the compensation payment, in order that the blood spilled
may be properly atoned for.

He also learns the extent of the injury to a dead relative, linked to the mention of his name, which may revive all the sorrows, feelings, and painful past of the group.

Regarding society, the child learns how he, personally, must behave and also what the behavior of his group must be, the rules that he should comply with so that his prestige be not diminished since such would involve the lowering of the prestige of his group and have its repercussions when they try to obtain justice after any friction. This is what causes the bonds of consanguinity to tighten more and more and manifest themselves in the generous gifts each individual member subscribes to help another at a time when the clan, as a group, is being appraised by outsiders; and it is this that the child must learn, really learn: proper cult practices for his ancestors at the moment of their death and later, corresponding to their social status and that of the consanguineous relatives.

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604 The training of a child of the middle years is not connected to the localization of the family, because at this period he breaks away from the small family circle in order to live with his other relatives for long periods of time.

When the marriage is solemnized under the Guajiro rite and when that tradition is still followed, the young boy is initiated and instructed almost entirely by the maternal uncle of most importance or of highest standing in the family circle. So, once the little boy can get around alone from place to place, this uncle, who generally will have in his possession all the

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604 presents of livestock the boy received at his birth or later or the legacies from his father, takes him under his care. He, the uncle, is not only responsible for looking after his social conduct and for instructing him in normal behavior while he is under his 868 care but also for teaching him the work of pasturing. He takes 604 the boy with him /40/ when he is so occupied, and he passes on his knowledge in order that the boy may become a well-trained owner of livestock or, if he is poor, that he may learn how to look after them, because it is not infrequent that a Guajiro has in his charge the livestock of some rich man, and with these he teaches his nephew.

As the preference of a Guajiro for one special type of livestock shows up early in his life, the uncle should guide him along those lines, giving him every kind of advice in the best way to care for them, with practice to prove his theories.

867 604 During this time the uncle not only passes on his knowledge of stock raising to the boy but, when talking to him of the past of his group or family, when he recounts some incident, when correcting him or telling him a story, he passes on the strict traditions of the community. For it is the uncle at this period who is responsible for his nephew, and as he considers him his actual son, he tries to make of him someone similar to himself.

868 604 Another of the uncle's responsibilities is to show the youngster how to carry out agricultural duties at the right seasons. If he owns agricultural land he will usually give him a plot so that the boy can till it when he acquires the strength to do so; or else he continues to teach him on his own piece of land until he is trained in these activities. This handing over of a plot of land, as well as of his livestock when the boy is considered capable of handling his personal property successfully, is the basis of his family and economic independence and the road toward the purchase of his first wife, by which the boy becomes a man and is ready to live his life as an adult. This plot of [428] land, for which he inherits rights of cultivation, gives him a certain prestige because arable land of fertile quality is scarce,

868 /40 cont./
604 and if he inherits a piece he will acquire the status of the uncle
[728] who has made him the owner.

The boy also learns from the uncle skill in certain tasks in which the latter is practiced, such as the making of harness and weapons, housebuilding, and other accomplishments like horse riding, lassoing, horse racing, etc.

868 Another very important function also learnt from the uncle,
604 although it might be self-taught, is that of arbitrator or cacique. From the uncle the boy takes in the legal tradition of the peninsula, and, listening to stories of acts which have occurred in the past, he learns the line of reasoning observed, the psychology, and the problems of his kin, the mastery of the language, all essential requirements for success when the responsibility passes into his hands.

868 While living with the uncle the boy also becomes adept
604 at hunting, as he accompanies him on his expeditions, during which he learns all the necessary details until he becomes expert in all /41/ respects, including laying traps to catch the animals that damage the crops. And secondarily, in addition to hunting and livestock or pastoral activity, the boy learns the art of stalking, which in hunting is important in order to get better results and is useful in stock raising also, for various reasons, such as finding a lost animal or following up thieves who attack his herd, etc.

868 Also, in war he is on this relative's side, because, accord-
721 ing to traditional Guajiro law, war unites the consanguineous
604 relatives on the maternal side. So he learns, when warlike deeds are spoken of, how to carry them out, and it is not unusual for him personally to experience the conclusions. He puts these ideas into practice when his kin go to war, headed by the maternal uncle of highest standing or the consanguineous head of most prestige. He goes with them to swell their ranks, so putting into practice what his theoretical education has taught him. Indirectly he has been training for the fray when employed in making weapons for hunting and perfecting himself

/42 cont./

868 them for long spells, working at her apprenticeship in the art,
883 which she must perfect and complete during the time of seclusion at her initiation, very likely under the vigilant care of the same women. /43/

867 Also, from her elder maternal kinswomen the girl acquires all the cultural legacy of the group as well as the particular traditions of her extended family. She experiences and participates in the daily cult of the dead, and at times when an exhumation or wake takes place she attends, accompanying the women of her family, so becoming initiated into all the ceremonies and prescriptions. She also goes with them when she is approaching the threshold of puberty to be company for them on their visits in order to learn comportment in social life; she also learns the norms of hospitality when visitors come to her home, and she has to assist her kin in fulfilling them adequately. Slowly, by indirect participation, she learns the use of love cóntras /charms/ in the feminine struggle for predominance in the polygamous household, and she comes to know of these problems as she sees them being worked out in the lives of her mother and her relatives. She also gets to know of the intergroup struggles and their consequences; of migration; of magic in all its intensity; of legal norms; things she learns by constant repetition of cases which have occurred in the peninsula and which she hears referred to by her relatives and friends, men and women who frequent the house.

All this cultural life reaffirms and completes the special training received during the seclusion which follows her first menstruation, when she is committed to the care of her kinswomen, who will give her detailed private and personal techniques and information and the specialties traditionally entrusted to certain families, if she is a member of such, such as, for example, the making of pottery, medicinal and magical knowledge of herbs, preparation of charms of various sorts, etc.

857 Childhood occupations. The occupations of the child are
42 determined by its sex, just as in the matter of games, so that

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818 Preparation for achieving the upright position is started off by the mother, since when he is three months or sometimes less, she stands him on his feet, supporting him by the armpits and, later, the child will do the same by himself, holding on to his mother's shoulders. When he is going about his usual life on the floor, once he can sit up alone, he finds opportunities to make use of his legs, and once he comes upon something to grip he can pull himself up. With such help he starts off on his first steps, and from the tenth or eleventh month (the fourteenth at the latest), with individual differences, he starts to take his first steps without assistance. Then his mother will fix below the inner eaves /alero/ of the house a horizontal rail of a handy length and height for the child to practice his newly acquired skill.

818 At two years the infant walks all about the house as well as
857 along the paths that lead to the well or the corn field. If it is
231 a boy, the father, the older brothers, or the uncles like to take him with them when they go to near-by places to graze the livestock, so that he may learn and become strong. On these excursions the child begins learning his future work, first by observation and later by participating, when his age permits, until he becomes expert. It usually happens that the Guajiro shows a marked preference even as a child for some certain class of livestock and so, when he is a little bigger, he is put in charge of these, a responsibility he discharges with pleasure during the greater part of the day in the company of his father, uncle, or brothers. After an early breakfast he collects the part of the flock or herd he is responsible for, or he brings them out of the corral where they have slept. He pastures them during the day, never letting them out of his sight, lying down in the shade during the hottest hours of the day, or returning to his hammock at home if not too far away. Toward nightfall he returns home with the livestock to water them and put them into the corrals, or after counting them he leaves them near by in a safe place close to the house.

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Another of the uncle's responsibilities is to show the young- 608 604 ster how to carry out agricultural duties at the right seasons. If he owns agricultural land he will usually give him a plot so that the boy can till it when he acquires the strength to do so; or else he continues to teach him on his own piece of land until he is trained in these activities. This handing over of a plot of land, as well as of his livestock when the boy is considered capable of handling his personal property successfully, is the basis of his family and economic independence and the road toward the purchase of his first wife, by which the boy becomes a man and is ready to live his life as an adult. This plot of [628] land, for which he inherits rights of cultivation, gives him a certain prestige because arable land of fertile quality is scarce,

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868 ing to traditional Guajiro law, war unites the consanguineous
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604 deeds are spoken of, how to carry them out, and it is not unusual for him personally to experience the conclusions. He puts these ideas into practice when his kin go to war, headed by the maternal uncle of highest standing or the consanguineous head of most prestige. He goes with them to swell their ranks, so putting into practice what his theoretical education has taught him. Indirectly he has been training for the fray when employed in making weapons for hunting and perfecting himself

/41 cont./

868 721 604 in the way they are used. When taking part in these warlike operations he makes use of all his social and legal training, and puts into practice the tradition of his group, besides which the basic principle of consanguineous relationship, mutual aid, and backing to resist aggression from outside elements is brought home to him.

593 604 178 It is almost entirely from his maternal uncle that he learns the cultural patterns of his masculine world, as the uncle becomes for him a mold and patterns, whose example he should follow as the leading male figure on the family level. But with the process of acculturation the influence of the father has now come to the fore. Nowadays, when the father expresses a wish that his first-born should be a son, to be a companion to him in his life as a shepherd, he thereby indicates that it is he who is going to educate his sons, or at least the first-born, supplanting to a certain extent the old family figure represented by the maternal uncle. In this case the boy shares with his father the care of his own livestock as well as his father's herd, and even his mother's dowry when her elder relatives consider it advisable. And there, as in the previous case, the boy learns both the economic and cultural side of group life and becomes attached to his father both in affection and materially, a tie that did not exist before but may lead him later to take a hand in his interest, thus bringing about something previously unheard of in Guajiro tradition, that the son goes to fight in the ranks of his father's group, without any consequent claim for compensation payment or other social demand being made.

Also, as when he is with his maternal uncle, he can join in and learn at his father's side agricultural lore, hunting, fishing, and how to go on excursions into the surrounding country; /42/ he also learns the technique of masculine occupations, but what it appears he cannot yet participate in is the political life of his father as cacique, or arbitrator, as this still remains an inheritance possible only from his maternal uncle, nor in the activities relating to the shaman /piache/ as an institution.

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593 With respect to the training of girls, the mother and the maternal relatives play an overwhelming part. When the family lives an isolated life, the influence of the maternal relatives diminishes, as we previously had occasion to see, but as the girl approaches puberty, she may be sent to the home of her grandmother or maternal aunts with whom she will live and whose influence will surround her at this period. We should moreover consider the occupations of a girl as she passes through different phases. When she is very young, in the poorer Guajiro 868 home, she is counted on as a helpmate to assist and replace the mother in her domestic duties so that with her and the other adult women of the family she learns to take her part in household activities: care of the children, drawing water and fetching firewood, cooking food, keeping up the fire, cleaning house, washing clothes, etc.

868 Later comes the time for her to help in the agricultural 462 work. As emigration has reduced the population of La Guajira 167 in the past few years, women have found themselves obliged to carry out work traditionally done by men. Thus there is a need to employ all hands available, and the girls of prepubertal age must contribute their help in the work. Although clearing away trees and underbrush and plowing are men's work, these are now being done by women in addition to the traditional jobs usually expected of them, such as sowing and harvesting, in which latter activity they are more effective than the men. The girls are trained in all these operations alongside the older women until they become completely expert.

868 Another angle of feminine economic life is weaving. 883 Only when she is at the prepubertal age, do the mother and her female uterine relatives take charge of training the girl, as they consider that at this age her babyhood is over and it is necessary that she should give up the freedom she has so far enjoyed in order to take an interest in weaving. If there is an aunt skilled /at weaving/ at home, she will teach the girl; if not, she goes to the home of some kinswomen and stays with

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868 them for long spells, working at her apprenticeship in the art,
883 which she must perfect and complete during the time of seclusion at her initiation, very likely under the vigilant care of the same women. /43/

867 Also, from her elder maternal kinswomen the girl acquires all the cultural legacy of the group as well as the particular traditions of her extended family. She experiences and participates in the daily cult of the dead, and at times when an exhumation or wake takes place she attends, accompanying the women of her family, so becoming initiated into all the ceremonies and prescriptions. She also goes with them when she is approaching the threshold of puberty to be company for them on their visits in order to learn comportment in social life; she also learns the norms of hospitality when visitors come to her home, and she has to assist her kin in fulfilling them adequately. Slowly, by indirect participation, she learns the use of love cóntras /charms/ in the feminine struggle for predominance in the polygamous household, and she comes to know of these problems as she sees them being worked out in the lives of her mother and her relatives. She also gets to know of the intergroup struggles and their consequences; of migration; of magic in all its intensity; of legal norms; things she learns by constant repetition of cases which have occurred in the peninsula and which she hears referred to by her relatives and friends, men and women who frequent the house.

All this cultural life reaffirms and completes the special training received during the seclusion which follows her first menstruation, when she is committed to the care of her kinswomen, who will give her detailed private and personal techniques and information and the specialties traditionally entrusted to certain families, if she is a member of such, such as, for example, the making of pottery, medicinal and magical knowledge of herbs, preparation of charms of various sorts, etc.

857 Childhood occupations. The occupations of the child are
442 determined by its sex, just as in the matter of games, so that

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

whom to exercise his begging propensities. To mention the dead before the relations is a dreadful offence, often punished by death; for if it happens in the dead person's rancho, with nephew or uncle present, they will assuredly kill the offender on the spot if possible. If not on the spur of the moment, it resolves itself into a heavy fine, usually two or more oxen. Even if none of the dead person's relations are present, any friend can carry the news to the relations, and compensation is at once required. When not given it is forcibly taken, probably resented, and the two castes are at war. It is not wise to mention names of any sort in the Goajira in mixed company. 551 628 689

Another peculiar case: if a child dies in the custody of the mother or father, and they are living separate at the time of its death, then tear-money has to be paid by the one, under whose care the child died, to the other. This is "Taguira suchirua tachón," "My tears on account of my child." To demand payment for debts, *achecuka*, is one thing, and to demand compensation, *nauga*, is another. They are generally pretty punctual in paying debts; should the debtor die, the creditor is secure, for the relations will suffer anything rather than allow the name of their dead to be abused. The following case of murder I witnessed in Ataipa. Some Pushaiuas drinking, one got on to a strange horse, and was ordered off by the owner, on not complying he was shot dead. Both parties being poor and near relations, it was arranged as follows: First payment, eight sheep, two oxen, one horse, two necklaces of cornelian beads, two sirapos of black beads (about 16 lbs.). Six months afterwards, second payment, similar to first. A few months after a third payment is asked, but is more an extra than anything else. After second payment all animosity ceases, and the two families can look again at each other on meeting. Should an Indian in attempting to kill another be wounded or killed, his family demand the same as though no attempt were made. 672 682 [426] [626] [628]

Among domestic customs, the one that calls most attention is shutting up their young girls on arriving at womanhood. The custom is religiously carried out throughout the country. Each girl is enclosed in a separate little hut by herself. She is stripped of all her ornaments, even to her beads and sirapo, and all her clothing with the exception of the long loose cotton gown, nor is she allowed to cut her hair. For the first couple of days, drinking water is denied her, the only food being *hayupa*, a composition of medicinal herbs. According to birth, a rigorous diet is observed the first month, no meat being allowed. She can be freely mentioned and is merely alluded to by her relations as "sartiee suru pauru," "she is shut up in her house." The term of retirement varies according to the wealth and rank of her family. Poor people cannot afford to keep girls idle more than a couple of weeks or a month; whereas the rich confine them for one, two, or even four years. It is while in this state that she learns all women's requirements— 881 [278] [262] [556] [368]

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

88 weaving, making dresses, hammocks, sashes, &c., sewing, and all the
[868] little knick-knacks Indians love so well.

The confinement is not so isolated as it seems, generally several of her female relations are round the door with the enclosed, who of course becomes rather stout, much blanched, almost white, and some exceedingly beautiful. Strangers and men are not excluded from peeping in through
[584] the door, always with an eye to matrimony, and she can be sold and liberated at once, though her husband if rich prefers leaving her to complete her term of schooling. On re-entering to society again, a special festival, *akuitis*, is held with dancing, &c. An ox is killed, and the girl is dressed in the clothes she has made; her hair is cut and she resumes all her beads, necklaces, bracelets, and other ornaments.

562 Women are much respected by the Goajiros. In a quarrel or drunken
[579] brawl, women often save bloodshed by stepping in and tearing the weapons out of their husband's or brother's hand. Travelling with women is consequently perfectly safe, and in case of danger, if one undertakes to protect a stranger, he may rely upon coming out all right.

583 Matrimony is a mere case of barter. The girl is sold for a certain price, fixed by the father. This is paid by the intended husband, and divided by the father, who appropriates the best part for himself and his relations, the rest going to the wife's relations. As it is chiefly in
585 cattle, these are killed and a kind of bridal festival held. There is no other ceremony. A wife is under obligation to support her husband,
593 find him in food, clothes, &c. She does most of the trading, and a
[462] contract made with an Indian is worthless, should his better half object. An Indian cannot inflict bodily injury on his wife, for he becomes liable
[583] to her relations, and should she die during childbirth he has to repay the father what he gave for her. But if the wife is untrue (a rare occur-
[684] rence) he demands from the father the price he paid for her, who if he cannot refund, helps him to recover from the seducer, plus tear or compensation from his mother-in-law. At the husband's death, the
587 wife becomes a legacy to his brother, usually the youngest; if there are
768 none, then his nephew inherits her. The daughter of a chief is worth,
583 according to his wealth and power (i. e. the number of men he can dispose of in a fight) from 6 to 150 head of cattle (12*l.* to 300*l.*).

764 When a person dies, a grand drinking festival is given, that lasts as long as there is anything to drink—days, and even weeks, with the wealthy. These latter are buried twice, and have two festivals. A rich person is always buried in the rancho, and on the spot where he was born; being often carried for that purpose immense distances. A fire is lighted every night from sunset to sunrise in front of the grave, for the sole use of the dead. Immense piles of wood are gathered for this purpose, as the body is kept two years in the house. Then all the relations can meet on a certain day, and the second feast takes place, when the bones are carefully gathered, placed in a jar, and consigned to the

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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How must a girl look to find favour with them? She must be tall, broad-hipped and have firm prominent breasts and well-rounded curves. Flabbiness the men do not like, but they do not seem to worry about the shape of their women's legs. These, of course, are hidden beneath the wide tunic, but the wind sweeps this against them, outlining them. It is fortunate for the Guajiro women that their men do not attach importance to the shape of their legs, for they are seldom lovely. To our eyes they seem too short and badly shaped. The men attach much importance to gentle, dignified behaviour. The Guajiro girl should have large eyes and good teeth, but the most important thing of all is that she should be light-skinned; that is the hall-mark of gentility. No girl ever neglects her beauty decoctions, not even when she is in the charge of the nuns at the mission station and thus not isolated as the rule is at home. The rules she has to observe and the medicines she must take are of importance not only for her appearance, but also for her physique. If she follows her instructions, she will give birth without difficulty and there will be no risk of the baby being stillborn. Her mother and her family are held to be partially responsible if the first-born dies in or after birth, for that means that on some point the complicated rules governing the girl's period of incarceration have been neglected.

A girl is by no means idle while she is shut up; quite the contrary. She spins and weaves industriously, under supervision of the old woman, and learns the details of housekeeping and how to prepare different foods. Actually she will know most of this already, having taken a more or less active part in the work of the household ever since she was able to walk. She also receives instruction in how to behave, is initiated into the duties incumbent upon a housewife, what she must do as spouse and mother, in the various aspects of married life and in the mysteries of sex.

No man is allowed to enter the girl's little hut, and she is not allowed to meet men, receive visitors or be with her family, if visitors come. When the guardian considers that the girl can be let out, usually after a year or two—the news spreads quickly and guests start to come with or without

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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854 also encourages it to crawl and walk. Indian babies can sit without help, when a white baby is still unable to raise itself. At six months the brown Indian baby is already a toddler.

868 The conversation turned on to the upbringing of children. Even in its earliest games the Indian babe imitates its parents' occupations, thus amusing itself and learning at the same time. The Indians are very careful to see that from the beginning the children learn to distinguish between the men's and women's spheres of work. An Indian father would be very indignant if he saw his baby son playing at cooking, which is not male work. Therefore the son accompanies his father to the herds even as quite an infant, while his sister will stay at home.

861 We had already noticed that children were sometimes chastized, which is not usual among other primitive Indians. The old women saw that they behaved themselves and were not disobedient. Food was rationed both for the [262] children and the grown-ups, and it was considered very shabby to pinch another's helping. To drop anything edible on to the ground was strictly punished, and the worst offence of all was for a child in anger to throw food on to the ground and trample it. Possibly this was yet another relic of Moorish custom, for in Morocco it is considered a serious crime to spill crumbs of bread. When the children became bigger they were merely scolded, but they were 604 then generally no longer under their parents' supervision, 855 but with relations with whom they spend long periods. The 868 first-born son usually grows up with his eldest maternal uncle, who is the boy's real guardian, and he teaches him cattle-rearing and agriculture and the queer laws of his people.

231 Girls also go to their mother's relations and help in the 857 household. We had already seen how a Guajiro boy had to [602] work. He had to be at it from the moment he stepped out of his hammock at three in the morning. First he and some others gathered the cattle to water them. If they were watered at a deep casimba, he had to run up and down with water-jars to fill the troughs of hollowed-out trunks. He

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

726 on equal terms. He then approached the enemy from the left while making quick movements, jumps, and turns, with his legs apart and his knees bent. More recently, according to Ernst (1887 c), war is not declared, attempts being made to take the enemy by surprise.

[797] Wars last indefinitely, sometimes being broken by a peace brought about by an influential "civilizado" or the Capuchin monks, the latter sometimes paying the retribution demanded out of their own pockets.
579 Some tribes, such as the *Cosina* of Serranía Cosina (actually a conglomeration of outcastes rather than a sib), make their living almost entirely by robbery and pillage, destroying houses, stealing cattle, and killing or enslaving their enemies.

LIFE CYCLE

843 **Birth and childhood.**—During pregnancy a woman continues to do her heavy work up to the very hour of delivery. At childbirth, the shaman
844 pronounces various spells over the patient and applies poultices made of
[756] dried flowers, roots, etc. A large, heavy stone placed over the womb and vigorous massaging bring about the birth. If the placenta is not soon expelled, the woman drinks a medicine concocted by the medicine man. As soon as the child is safely delivered the father serves rum and chicha
[484] to all his relatives. If the pains of childbirth appear when the sib is on the march, the woman mounts and rides ahead so that when the sib catches up the event is practically over. The husband cuts the cord with his machete and cauterizes its ends with a glowing ember. The woman
[854] then continues on the march with the child in a sling on her back. When the permanent camp is reached she washes herself and the child.

851 Baptism is a Christian ceremony which the *Goajiro* have adopted, and
551 most of the Indians are called by Spanish names, as their real names may
177 not be mentioned. Teknonymy is practiced; a parent is addressed by its child's name plus a prefix, nushi or sushi for the father, ni or si for the mother. Thus, a father may be called Nushijuan after a son or Sushijuana after a daughter.

857 At 6 or 7, girls learn to grind salt, pick cotton, and tend the smaller
868 animals; the boys imitate their fathers.

855 Parents are said to show little affection for their children, sometimes
[435] selling them at Sinamaica. They receive $10 or $15 for a child of 8 or 9 years. The purchaser becomes the child's guardian, teaches him the Catholic faith, and keeps him until he is 17 years old. These children
[736 rarely return home. Abandoned children are taken to the San Antonio
797] orphanage, where the girls continue to wear their *Goajiro* dress, but the boys are put into jackets and pants.

881 **Girls' puberty.**—At her first menstruation a girl is isolated in a small dark hut and stripped of all her ornaments. She lies in a hammock, sometimes hoisted near the roof. For the first 2 days she drinks no

/9 cont./

766 the time of other deaths are suppressed, and the eldest maternal uncle takes charge of the burial. Neither the father nor the mother may see the dead child nor assist at the burial, so as to avoid the death of future children.

The first-born having died and the burial requirements
766 having been complied with, the mother must submit, if she
●881 wishes to prevent the death of her other children, to a special
845 treatment which is practically a repetition of the ceremonies and the regimen to which she was subjected at her initiation on reaching puberty. Apparently it is believed that she did not fully comply on that occasion with the customary rites and prescriptions meant to convert her into an adult woman with all the functions attached to that state. It is to this fault that the Guajiro appears to attribute the death of the first-born.

766 The mother is suspended for three days in a hammock near the ridgepole of the house. She remains there fasting, covered
881 with a cloth so as not to /10/ to be seen. Let down at the end of this interval, she takes some bija /achiote, or seeds of the annatto tree/ as her first food and thin corn mazamorra; a female uterine relative takes care of her, probably more strictly than during her seclusion at puberty, and she stays for five months in an outbuilding adjoining the household or in a room where she cannot be seen except by other women, speaks softly, submits to a nourishing diet, and is deprived of sexual contact with her husband. Also, the process of fattening with the root of hawapi is repeated as well as the use of herbs to delay the reappearance of menstruation. After this seclusion she returns to her husband's side and takes up her marital life.

766 If another child should have the same fate as the first, the usual burial ceremony takes place: a wake is organized, and animals are distributed as in the case of the death of an adult, the animals being supplied by the maternal and paternal grandparents. The tradition forms having been complied with, the dead child is buried in the cemetery of his ancestors. The mother is given special treatment by the professional herbalists,

291 /50 cont./
855 it fits very tightly, facilitates the normal development of her
301 breasts. Like the boys, the girls wear some wrist ornaments,
751 magic preventatives, and it is not rare for them to wear some
855 necklace with magic objects which have been "made sacred,"
to avoid bad influences; nor /is it rare/ that they already have
[304] their ears pierced and occasionally wear earrings, although
this ornament is for grown women. They do not cover the head
302 and usually wear the hair short, as if it had been shaved and
855 the hair was in an advanced state of growing in again. Never-
291 theless, though the garb described is the usual thing, the present-
day girl frequently uses the adult robe /manta/ from the time
she is very small, especially among upper-class mestizos. /51/

III

INITIATION OF YOUNG WOMEN

881 The life of a girl approaching puberty becomes less free
in the upper classes, because her maternal relatives apparently
then take her into account and endeavor to train her in fem-
inine activities. In the lower classes the same preoccupation
is shown, but oriented in another direction, as her labor has
already been made use of very early in the family life, since,
as we have already stated, they see in her the future adult
woman for which reason they discourage her somewhat in her
comings and goings into the woods, although it is also true that
they show more concern than if they treated her as a child.
Furthermore, they start to use blouses, as we described in the
previous chapter, and she is told at a convenient time of the
biological phenomenon which is to take place in her: men-
struation. When the time comes and this shows itself, her first
reaction is to inform her mother, or in her absence, the kins-
woman with the most authority.

/51 cont./

881 As soon as the menses appear, the head of the girl is closely shaved. She is placed naked but wrapped in a robe /manta/ in a supine position in a hammock which is slung up close to the ridgepole inside the house. Beneath the hammock a cloth is strung so that the girl cannot be seen from below.

In this position and as immobile as possible, she remains for five days (some say for only three), without eating and complying with a series of rules which later will have importance in her adult life. For this reason these rules must be observed by her to the letter, and she must be closely watched and counseled by a kinswoman, generally a maternal aunt, who does not leave her by day or night while she is suspended above, reminding her of what she should do and prohibiting her from doing what is tabooed so that she may not suffer the consequences in her future life.

Before being placed in the hammock, the woman who is [208 789] in charge of her gives her a herb drink to make her vomit a great deal, with the aim that the girl will hurl out, along with the food she took when she was not yet adult, all her infantile psychological characteristics, such as her mischievous and disobedient nature, her imagination, her way of thinking and believing, her /52/ irresponsibility, her incapacity for work, and, moreover, all those characteristic bodily mannerisms of a girl. Beyond this, the mother a kinswoman, or female friend [832] who may have a potent love charm considered of great effectiveness, places it on her neck or, if it is for external application, rubs it on the genital organs, on the breasts, and all over the body as prescribed, because at this particular time it is effective and especially because it is the propitious moment to acquire powers of attracting the opposite sex, qualities she will have to have in adult life to obtain the married happiness for which she is now being prepared.

If these two prescriptions are not complied with or are carried out faultily, the girl, changed into an adult, will be lacking in judgment and common sense in her actions, which

/52 cont./

881 will mean serious troubles for her family, since the noncompliance with social norms will bring the consequences of her illegal behavior on the family group. In addition she will be lacking in responsibility and will perform badly her role as sister, wife, and mother, just the functions for which she is preparing, and these two factors weigh very much in the life of the Guajiro woman as a member of society. The charms properly applied so that they transmit their power will assure her married happiness: She will not find herself exposed to the problems of polygamy, which imply lack of affection and ill-treatment from the man who buys her for his wife, and in this way she will have the longed-for predominance over him and over the co-wives, who in consequence will take a secondary place by the force of her personality.

881 Once inside the hammock she must not move nor change
784 her original position, because it is believed that /should she do so/, on being brought down later, she will have one leg longer than the other. Neither may she scratch any part of her body because that will leave visible scars. This matter is very important as the ceremony of the seclusion transforms her physically from a girl to a woman, wholly bound to the canon of beauty held by her group, an aspect, which like the others will also greatly affect her adult life. One must also
[826 take into account that in La Guajira a physical defect has
578] a powerful influence on the individual and to mention it is equivalent to an insult which will give rise to resentment on the part of the adult and could bring sinister consequences upon the offender.

Neither should the initiate spit on the floor, because by doing so her honor will be slandered in her unmarried life as well as later after marriage, as they would say of her, judging by appearances or through unfounded malevolence, that she had dealings with a man. They will say she is a "madcap" /cabeza-loco/, a nickname they give to a woman of easy virtue and which causes discord between men and women and which will deeply affect her legitimate hopes for marriage.

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881 While the girl is in the hammock, friends and relatives
292 keep arriving in large numbers, announced by the family, especially when welcoming well-to-do people, and then they start preparations for the feast: preparation of beverages and slaughtering of animals. All the consanguineous relatives contribute their share and foregather to join in what is called the chichamaya dance, during which are passed around large quantities of rum for the men, chicha for the women, and meat for all the participants. The guests turn up dressed in their best dress-up clothes: the men with their wide festival belts, their finest robes, their headbands (kiára) with the crest of feathers, or lacking such, hats adorned with feathers. The women /wear/ robes of brilliant colors, plenty of jewelry, very long shawls which hang down their backs nearly to the ground, sandals with large, brightly colored tassels, and, above all, facial painting,
[302] preferably red, very carefully applied. On these occasions they dance through the night, the following morning, and the afternoon, and in this latter part of the day they may hold horse races on which large bets are wagered.

881 When the prescribed number of days are over, during which the girl has not satisfied any of her body needs, not
784 having taken any food during that time, according to what they say, her relatives unsling the hammock in the early hours of dawn and the girl descends, faint with hunger. The first food she receives is a drink of bija /achiote/ dissolved in water. Presently, little by little, they add to her diet thin corn mazamorra without milk or salt, and later a little milk and
[262] meat. She must not, for example, eat any animal udder, because by doing so she would age prematurely and her face would be lined with wrinkles, deep and numerous, like that food.

881 The girl is bathed with four earthen jugs of water which have been previously left exposed to the evening dew, as this
832 gives it a special quality for whitening, which is important for the high appreciation both men and women have for a

/53 cont./

88 light-colored skin; For this reason, during the period of seclusion the girl is bathed every morning with this water by the woman charged with looking after her. There was some talk of a second bathing at nightfall, but we could find no confirmation of this.

After being lowered, the girl is confined in a room separate from the house, the walls of which are sufficiently thick to prevent her being seen from outside, or, more generally, she is placed in a small room communicating with the house by a small opening so low and narrow that one can only enter it by crawling and which is closed off by a wooden door or a cloth to keep the adolescent from being seen. This room is built or improvised by the male relatives of the girl, who from this moment /54/ may not see her while the seclusion lasts. During all this period she is taken care of by one of her maternal kinswomen who is thoroughly acquainted with this rite of passage, who has the time to spare to devote to this service, who enjoys the full confidence of the family, and possesses all the ideal qualities of an adult woman, so that she may make of the novice someone similar to herself. It is also essential that she should know well the whole corpus of Guajiro culture so as to be able to instruct the initiate in it, especially the aspects relating to marriage and maternity. And, finally, she is required to be well practiced in domestic duties, especially in weaving. However, in these technical matters she may be replaced by, or receive help from, another close female relative in the training of the novice.

This woman bears the responsibility for the diet and medical care of the girl; she must herself prepare the prescribed foods and serve them to her, look after her hygiene, supplying her with a utensil to satisfy her body needs (a wooden box with a little sand), and require of her pupil that she keep her head covered with a kerchief, so that her growing hair may grow very black and shiny, which is of particular importance within their ideal of feminine beauty and also because this hair, as

/54 cont./

881 well as the whole organism of the future woman, must be com-
832 pletely renewed and different from what she had when she was a child and which she leaves behind on suffering the first menstruation, as well as each one of her childish psychic and physical habits.

One of the principal preoccupations of the person responsi-
881 ble for the care of the novice is her medication. This medical
278 treatment includes especially the daily and repeated drinking of infusions or juices of certain herbs which are intended to assist her to reach perfection in all that is related to her future life. One of these medicines is the herb called hawapi, which is obtained from the herbsellers of the Sierra de Jarara and Sierra de Macuira, who grind it carefully into a paste which hardens with time. They daily scrape off a small portion of this, which is dissolved in water and given to the girl before her first meal, after the daily bath, at midday, and at sunset. The aim of this is to give the young woman a bodily aspect different from the childish one she had, as by its means she loses her drawn-out lines and her sex is defined by the development of her breasts, of her hips, and all of the adult female form, following the accepted canons of feminine physical beauty: a tall body with broad hips, breasts well developed, erect, solid, and having pronounced curves but firm of flesh. This herb, according to local belief, supplies fat to the essential parts of the body. /55/

Another of the medical attentions is directed to avoiding the return of menstruation during all the time the girl is secluded. If she is well cared for, says the Guajiro woman, it will not reappear; otherwise, however, it will. To obtain this result she has recourse to the empirical and traditional knowledge which she has of plants, and she gives her a series of juices or potions to avoid menstruation. The women say that these medicines influence their married life, as the woman who is well looked after during her seclusion will have easy deliveries, normal pregnancies, healthy children who will grow

/55 cont./

881 278 normally, and above all she will not be worn out by too frequent childbearing, since all these remedies in the long run are made use of to avoid the woman's having these cares, so much so that in the case of the very poor girls sterilization or at least a very limited fecundity is hoped for, because they know that they and their offspring will be practically in the hands of the stronger groups who can easily enslave their sons and daughters and nephews and nieces by the arbitrary and exaggerated use of legal institutions.

881 278 787 Even if the girl enters the Capuchin mission and for this reason does not go through with the initiation in her home, and even if her parents, influenced by the missionaries, decide to forego this custom or are prevented by poverty from holding it, she does not forget -- and her companions back her up -- to take the medicines prescribed even though she does not undergo the regimen of seclusion. During a long period of time -- which shows what value she herself sets on her novitiate -- every morning she takes the juice of herbs which she knows of or which are given to her, to avoid menstruation and to obtain the objectives mentioned above. (In order to clarify further of the significance with respect to maternity in the initiation of young women, we refer the reader to the section Death of the First-born, Chap. I, pp. 10 ff.)

881 286 The economic aspect which she must learn and which by the perfection and acquisition of new techniques now plays a very important part is that of weaving. The woman during her seclusion improves her knowledge of this trade, which she began to learn during her prepubertal period. This matter has so much importance that in cases where a girl has been abducted and her maternal relatives present their claim for compensation payment, the man can refuse to buy her, alleging she is not able to weave. Furthermore, the woman by weaving earns money for the support of the home which is in her care. She must also supply her kin, including her husband, with guayucos /loincloths/, saddle blankets /pellones/, and other woven necessities.

/55 cont./

Also, she has to acquire full knowledge of domestic duties: how to prepare special dishes as well as the ordinary ones; the norms of hospitality toward her friends and those of her husband, and toward him especially; what in her married life she is allowed to do; the consequences of her conduct in married life; /56/ the problems of polygamy and the way to face them; her role as administrator of the home; feminine life as such; the sexual act; notions on fertility, pregnancy, and prohibitons when in this condition; legal obligations that her husband should comply with; giving birth; diet, etc; her role within the family as intermediary-regulator of relations between her people on the one hand and the husband and his relatives on the other, her co-wives and the children of these if they live a life in common, etc. She likewise learns the past history of her group with all its eminent members and their deeds, its economic position, its status, etc., all of which will show her how to identify herself with them and acquire the affectionate contacts which the consanguineous tie imposes.

A special condition during her seclusion is the isolation of the girl from all the male members of the house and from those who come to visit. She is not allowed to see them or to be visited by them. No man is permitted to enter her room so that it is redundant to state that she is prohibited from all sexual relations. So much is this so that it has occurred (in areas where there is little or no contact with whites, where the poor Indian woman is at the mercy of the abuses of the rich) that girls during their seclusion have been violated by a powerful Indian, and her parents have terminated the seclusion and made the man pay (if they can muster enough backing) for the abuse committed but not for the possible pregnancy, as they do not believe that this will happen if the girl has been properly cared for. If a man should enter her temporary lodging, she is expected to hide herself and not look at him.

Lastly, she must observe the custom of speaking softly to the woman who is caring for her and to her female visitors, and of speaking little and not laughing stridently.

/56 cont./

The duration of the seclusion was longer in past years, longer than at the present time, and there still may be found cases among rich families where this period is extended to five years, but normally among poor families it may last only one month or even less, and in the middle-income group it averages six months to one year.

Once the family in conclave or the mother and the aunts decide to terminate the seclusion, the final feast is given, in which the girl appears and behaves as an adult. She is presented as such, and she is given the opportunity to occupy the place of, and to take part in the activities corresponding to, a marriageable young girl. Frequently at this feast some interested guest may offer to buy her for his wife.

The news of the "coming out" of the young girl is rapidly spread throughout the peninsula. All the friends of the family arrive at the feast, as also the important people of the region, who have been invited beforehand, and, very specially, all the well-to-do marriageable men. If the woman is of estimable qualities and talents, /57/ those who are looking for a wife for the first time attend. The family preparations for such a feast are very complete, according to their status. There is an abundance of drinks for all, men and women, music for dancing, horse racing when they want to give more splendor to the gathering, and slaughtering of animals. The maternal relatives make their donations and meet to help their relatives in the fulfillment of the customary norms of hospitality. The more important visitors are received in the house itself and given preferencial attention, according to their standing. The girl is bathed for the last time at dawn with the traditional earthen jugs of water, and her hair is cut in the fashion, that is to say, leaving it a short, disheveled mop. This is done by an experienced woman of eminence who can transmit her excellent personal qualities to the girl. The latter carefully keeps her hair in her bag with her intimate personal possessions and later places it under fresh cow dung with the hope that the

/57 cont./

88/ will soon be bought with heads of cattle. This signifies that her value will be high, such as corresponds to a woman of standing. She likewise takes great care that her hair does not fall into strange hands, as it is believed that it might be used by some man who wants to do her harm by making with it a magic charm which would have the quality of causing her to fall in love with him; he on his part would scorn her and abuse her, as she would be left submissive to his will.

After the haircutting she is dressed in the traditional costume of an adult woman and is decked out with the customary jewelry and ornaments in accord with her family rank. She receives this jewelry from her mother, from her maternal aunt, and from her grandmother, and they are placed on her by the woman charged with caring for her or by a well-to-do kinswoman, so that they may never be lost. After this, they apply the facial painting, also for the first time, which, it being a feast day, should be made from red annatta /bija/. Then she makes her appearance at the feast, and she may dance and be courted. At this moment, crucial for her life, she must give signs of adult capabilities, showing evidence of the worth of the years of her novitiate, not only in the physical aspect of her fair skin and dark hair, in her mature figure, in her dress and ornaments, but also in the proper fulfillment of cultural patterns. The relatives carry on the feast as long as they can or think in keeping with their position. Afterward, the woman, ready now for marriage and motherhood, starts to comply with the patterns established in her culture for the adult woman.

Summarizing, we can say that the initiation of young 89/ women has the following characteristics: /58/ 162

1. It has the significance of a new birth, preceded by a process of spiritual-physical transformation which converts the girl into an adult woman.

2. It is a system of preparation for adult social life, in the sense that /by its means/ are acquired knowledge of proper cultural patterns.

/58 cont./

881 182 3. It represents a period of apprenticeship during which she acquires mastery of the general techniques of the culture and the specific ones pertaining to her family.

4. From the knowledge obtained from the past history of her consanguineous family group, the initiate is identified with it, giving rise to the reaffirmation of the bonds of union, as an adult member participating in it.

5. It is a period of preparation for the perfect fulfillment of the socio-physical function of motherhood.

6. Lastly, it constitutes a thorough training in the biological and social functions of the woman in carrying out well her role as a wife. /59/

IV

PREMARITAL CONSIDERATIONS

562 Independence of the man. In the Guajiro family organization the man occupies a privileged position which is apparent from his childhood onward.

The father, as we have seen, hopes that his first-born will be a boy, and the maternal family also cheerfully accepts that wish, as it is the male elements that strengthen and give prestige to the family, who defend it in disputes with other groups, and who can help the group forward as a powerful economic factor.

For these reasons Guajiro boys are reared with more freedom and privileges than girls. In the absence of the father, the eldest son, or in any case the male child, takes the father's place in important matters in the home, being consulted by his mother, who respects his opinion, and he occupies his father's place and has his privileges at meals.

[11 cont.]
*756 might dedicate herself to her teaching. The woman shaman called for the purpose recognized at once that our informant had the spirit appropriate to her calling and began the tutelage of the new curer [curandera].

Another woman shaman narrated the first symptoms of her vocation in this way. When she had reached the age of reason, [881] that is, about ten or eleven years of age (the time of the initiation for the change from girl to young woman: the beginning of puberty), she felt one day a need to perform a bodily function. She went into the woods to do this, but no matter how much she tried she was unable to do it. This situation repeated itself several times. At night she dreamed that a spirit descended and, [787] taking her by the hand, led her to a stream where there was a big field of plantain and ahuyama. At sunrise the next day [12] she woke up depressed and trembling. She heard a voice in her ear saying, "Eat manilla and macuira (3)." She frequently lost [226]

3. A plant with a leaf similar to that of tobacco.

consciousness and when she came to again was weak and trembling. When she ate what was ordered, the shivering and feeling of illness disappeared as if by enchantment, and she remained in perfect health. She was going to be a shaman. Her mother, who was already one, announced this fact and prepared to begin her training according to the rules.

*756 From the personal statements of these two shamans which
787 we have just reported and from other relative data that we have
171 been able to obtain by word of mouth from other informants, we can deduce the following: 1) The graduations to the rank of shaman (the illumination, we might better call it) are revelations of the wanurú ("spirit of death") which enters the body of certain persons chosen by it, that they may exercise the office of curer magicians. As a proof of the presence of the spirit in new shamans through manifestations of revelation, we may see among the Bororó tribe of Brazil, for example, how the spirit appears in the shape of a monkey or water hog (4), and among the

4. Métraux, Alfred. Le Chamanisme chez les Indiens de l'Amérique du Sud Tropicale

[85 cont.]

766 head downward, and then they cover it with a piece of another clay olla, new, usually with a base. The urn is buried in the [824] woods at the foot of a special tree called in Guajiro huruwá ("within us," etymologically), with the idea that the other children that are born will not continue dying. No special ceremony accompanies the burial of the child, which must be carried out by the maternal uncle, since neither the father nor the mother may be present because it is believed that if they should be all their other children would also die as they were born.

765 When the first-born dies, and the work of its burial has been complied with, the mother is put through the following 766 procedure: She is hung in a hammock for three days in a closed room (it is really a small house made especially for the purpose). After three days have passed, she is unslung from the hammock, but she has to continue in seclusion for a further five [834] months (five lunar months), and the husband is prohibited from visiting her, with the idea of avoiding sexual contact. After this seclusion the husband may return, and they resume normal married life. During the time she is in the hammock, the [262] woman is not allowed to receive any food except a medicine called hawapi, which serves for fattening. This medicine is a [278] mixture of scraped roots dissolved in cold water [86] and is drunk after being strained. The wife receives this medicine from her mother, who acts as her nurse.

In other words, the mother, by reason of the death of her [881] first-born, has to repeat the complete cycle of seclusion as at the initiation of young women when they reach puberty. The ceremonial is the same, seclusion, taking of fattening medicine, sexual exclusion of the man, and in general all contact or relations with him, etc.

764 If in spite of these precautions the next child should also die, the previous cycle is not followed, but the baby is buried with all due ceremony. A fiesta is arranged for the burial, a wake is held with the usual distribution of liquor, and animals which the maternal and paternal grandparents supply are sacrificed. The mother undergoes a new special treatment but without those of seclusion.

[95 cont.]

832 Once she has finished her bath, she must hang up her dress over her hammock to dry, also inside the house. It is also necessary for her to apply achiote powder to certain parts of her body, such as under her arms, on her breasts, on her genital organs, etc., with the object of aiding the magic action of the charm on those parts, and avoiding the loss or lessening of the magic power. This special regimen must be carried through for four consecutive days, at the end of which the effect has already been obtained — or at least there is no longer the fear that it may pass to some other person.

In general, every man or woman who possesses a charm keeps his body (armpits, breasts, genital organs, etc.) permanently dusted with achiote powder.

The men also make use of the same charms as the women. The magic power of these charms enables them to obtain the wholehearted love of women without their own affections becoming involved.

● 88 832 When a young woman reaches the age of puberty, and her first menstrual period arrives, a love charm is hung about her neck during all the time that she is kept indoors and hanging up in her hammock (ritual of initiation of young girls). This charm will give her the quality of being admired and loved by men. The plan in wearing this token is that when she leaves her seclusion she will find the man who will buy her for a wife at a good price. The charm is hung about the adolescent girl's neck by her mother or by a maternal aunt.

[602] When a girl's mother or aunt finds out that she has not been happy in her love life, they obtain charms which will make her more lovable and desirable.

832 Women should be very careful of their hair when it has been cut after the appearance of their first menstruation because if a man gets hold of it he practically becomes the owner of the woman, for by mixing it with hummingbird blood, dog's tail, and achiote he can make a charm which will act directly against the owner of the hair. The man, with the firm intention of causing her harm, may show her the charm or better still may produce it when she has her back to him. [96] The woman because of this simple charm becomes madly enamored with the man

[826] 832 673

[155 cont.]

182 individual or of the dead, in the aspect which we have called
626 "Omens and Augural Birds," in the behavior followed by individ-
789 uals who wish to call up a breeze during a windless calm at sea or to send away eclipses and lightning which, according to their belief, are malevolent.

• • •

789 A very interesting aspect of magic is its use for and against
595 some of the cultural institutions and their institutionalized patterns; for example, the use of love charms and the compliance with certain norms after the period of seclusion accompanying the ceremonies at the time of a young woman's initiation. Her aim is to fight against polygamy, with a view either to obtaining predominance over other wives or, better, to prevent the man who has acquired her for his wife from acquiring more women with whom she would have to share his life. Possibly due to the influence of acculturation, there is a tendency toward monogamy on the part of the women. The men, however, tend toward polygamy for prestige, since for it they must have a good economical position, as the price of women is high, increasingly so the greater their social position.

[177] [654]

751 [156] Another institution that we see directly affected by
771 magic is this same initiation of young women. We saw how
881 the death of a first-born child required a series of ceremonies to prevent future children dying at birth, one after the other, and we stated that one of the principal ceremonies consisted in the observance of certain norms which bring to mind very clearly the initiation of the young mother. Their idea would seem to be that one of the causes of the death of the first-born was the deficient carrying out of the magic-biological-social ceremonial to which the girl must submit to prepare for her life as an adult.

[156]

764 Also the norms relating to the dead and the belief in a
775 life beyond the grave rest almost exclusively on magic, and
771 through it their prestige and their functioning are kept up. Magic
626 is also the cause of the fear and respect which relatives and friends show to their dead, and it is magic which also promotes all the ceremonial rites that are celebrated in this connection.

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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whom to exercise his begging propensities. To mention the dead before the relations is a dreadful offence, often punished by death; for if it happens in the dead person's rancho, with nephew or uncle present, they will assuredly kill the offender on the spot if possible. If not on the spur of the moment, it resolves itself into a heavy fine, usually two or more cows. Even if none of the dead person's relations are present, any friend can carry the news to the relations, and compensation is at once required. When not given it is forcibly taken, probably resented, and the two castes are at war. It is not wise to mention names of any sort in the Goajira in mixed company. 551 628 689

Another peculiar case: if a child dies in the custody of the mother or father, and they are living separate at the time of its death, then tear-money has to be paid by the one, under whose care the child died, to the other. This is "Taguira suchirua tachón," "My tears on account of my child." To demand payment for debts, *achecaha*, is one thing, and to demand compensation, *manya*, is another. They are generally pretty punctual in paying debts; should the debtor die, the creditor is [426] secure, for the relations will suffer anything rather than allow the name [626] of their dead to be abused. The following case of murder I witnessed in Ataipa. Some Pushaines drinking, one got on to a strange horse, and was ordered off by the owner, on not complying he was shot dead. Both parties being poor and near relations, it was arranged as follows: First payment, eight sheep, two oxen, one horse, two necklaces of cornelian beads, two sirapes of black beads (about 16 lbs.). Six months afterwards, second payment, similar to first. A few months after a third payment is asked, but is more an extra than anything else. After second payment all animosity ceases, and the two families can look again at each other on meeting. Should an Indian in attempting [628] to kill another be wounded or killed, his family demand the same as though no attempt were made. 672 682

Among domestic customs, the one that calls most attention is shutting up their young girls on arriving at womanhood. The custom is religiously carried out throughout the country. Each girl is confined in a separate little hut by herself. She is stripped of all her ornaments, even to her beads and sirapo, and all her clothing with the exception of the long loose cotton gown, nor is she allowed to cut her hair. For the first couple of days, drinking water is denied her, the only food being *kayuape*, a composition of medicinal herbs. According to [278] birth, a rigorous diet is observed the first month, no meat being allowed. [262] She can be freely mentioned and is merely alluded to by her relations as "*aurlua aura pauru*," "she is shut up in her house." The term of retirement varies according to the wealth and rank of her family. Poor [556] people cannot afford to keep girls idle more than a couple of weeks or a month; whereas the rich enclose them for one, two, or even four years. It is while in this state that she learns all women's requirements— [868] 881

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1[illegible]5
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881 weaving, making dresses, hammocks, sashes, &c., sewing, and all the
[868] little knick-knacks Indians love so well.

The confinement is not so isolated as it seems, generally several of her female relations are round the door with the enclosed, who of course becomes rather stout, much blanched, almost white, and some exceedingly beautiful. Strangers and men are not excluded from peeping in through
[584] the door, always with an eye to matrimony, and she can be sold and liberated at once, though her husband if rich prefers leaving her to complete her term of schooling. On re-entering to society again, a special festival, *ahuitis*, is held with dancing, &c. An ox is killed, and the girl is dressed in the clothes she has made; her hair is cut and she resumes all her beads, necklaces, bracelets, and other ornaments.

562 Women are much respected by the Goajiros. In a quarrel or drunken
[579] brawl, women often save bloodshed by stepping in and tearing the weapons out of their husband's or brother's hand. Travelling with women is consequently perfectly safe, and in case of danger, if one undertakes to protect a stranger, he may rely upon coming out all right.

583 Matrimony is a mere case of barter. The girl is sold for a certain price, fixed by the father. This is paid by the intended husband, and divided by the father, who appropriates the best part for himself and his relations, the rest going to the wife's relations. As it is chiefly in
585 cattle, these are killed and a kind of bridal festival held. There is no other ceremony. A wife is under obligation to support her husband,
593 find him in food, clothes, &c. She does most of the trading, and a
[462] contract made with an Indian is worthless, should his better half object. An Indian cannot inflict bodily injury on his wife, for he becomes liable
[583] to her relations, and should she die during childbirth he has to repay the father what he gave for her. But if the wife is untrue (a rare occur-
[684] rence) he demands from the father the price he paid for her, who if he cannot refund, helps him to recover from the seducer, plus tear or compensation from his mother-in-law. At the husband's death, the
587 wife becomes a legacy to his brother, usually the youngest; if there are
764 none, then his nephew inherits her. The daughter of a chief is worth,
583 according to his wealth and power (i. e. the number of men he can dispose of in a fight) from 6 to 150 head of cattle (12*l.* to 300*l.*).

764 When a person dies, a grand drinking festival is given, that lasts as long as there is anything to drink—days, and even weeks, with the wealthy. These latter are buried twice, and have two festivals. A rich person is always buried in the rancho, and on the spot where he was born; being often carried for that purpose immense distances. A fire is lighted every night from sunset to sunrise in front of the grave, for the sole use of the dead. Immense piles of wood are gathered for this purpose, as the body is kept two years in the house. Then all the relations can meet on a certain day, and the second feast takes place, when the bones are carefully gathered, placed in a jar, and consigned to the

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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until they reached marriageable age. Even when they were 291
little they wore belts of seed pearls which were added to
with the years, and other strings of beads were put round [301]
their shoulders and across their chests. A girl of eight or
ten might carry fifteen or twenty pounds weight of beads
and pearls. The string round the waist was made of black
beads, but those on the upper part of the body had to be of
different colours.

The rich used gold and coral. Necklaces of gold beads 301
were traditional, but every other bead had to be black and [556]
be either a seed-pearl or of glass. Poor girls used plaits of
cotton threads on their torsos instead of strings of beads.
All who could, wore sandals with pompoms to protect [271]
their feet against the thorns on the ground.

Women slaves and slave-workers were often not given 291
protective tunics by their masters and therefore went about 567
perpetually half-naked. Being unable to protect themselves
from the sun, they become darker skinned than the others.

The women's dress was thus colourless—unless they had 302
bought some coloured cloth from a white trader. To make
up for this, they painted their faces with patterns, mostly [386]
using the violet dye of a fruit called *genipa*. The men
painted themselves too, but restricted this to a few lines.
Only the women took real pains about painting themselves.
It was mainly their faces they painted, but on occasion their
arms and legs could also be covered with patterns. When on
a journey, the women painted their noses and cheeks all
over with black or red paint. This was not done for the [751]
sake of appearance, but to protect themselves against sun-
burn. We tried the method ourselves and found it excellent.
If one did not follow the Indians' example there, one easily
got badly burned. The Indians regard this protective effect [789]
as supernatural—all paint is magical and the pattern has
secret significance. The women showed my wife red and
brown powders that they had and advised her to try them.

All at once the women were in a hurry. They had 881
remembered that the men were due and hastened to the fires
and their pots. We roamed around and came across a small
hut, entirely closed, standing just behind the big houses.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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●88 | Francisco whispered to me that there was a girl in there. She had been shut up ever since the first signs of womanhood had appeared and would stay there a long time, emerging in due course pale and beautiful. While shut up she was called *majayura*.

The girl was not supposed to show herself to outsiders, but we dangled knives and glass beads and she was allowed out to be photographed. As long as a girl is confined, her family may not see her. She is guarded by an old woman, a near relative, and it was she we bribed—to let us take the picture.

When a girl first menstruates, she at once tells her mother or other close female relative. She is then given an emetic so that she rids herself of any food she ate before she became a woman. The implication being, one imagines, that she also rids herself of all childish ideas, vomiting them up. Then her hair is cut off, and she is rolled naked in a tunic and laid in a hammock that is hoisted up to the roof at the back of the hut. There she must lie, fasting, for three or four days, while an elderly woman relative keeps watch over her. [832] Often an amulet that will make men like her is placed beside her in the hammock. She has to lie motionless and neither scratch nor spit; these could have a deleterious effect.

News of the event has now gone out to relations and others, and everyone turns up wearing their finery, painted and ornamented. Cattle are butchered and they dance the so-called *chichamaya*. Sometimes there are horse-races as well. After some days the girl is allowed to leave her ham- [297] mock and is washed with water that has been put out in the dew, which is considered to give a light complexion. She may now begin eating small quantities of maize gruel and other prescribed foods. Then she is shut up in the little hut or in a separate part of the larger dwelling-house, but at all events hidden from the world. Not infrequently the little hut is built as part of the greater.

[832] The girl's guardian sees that she drinks certain decoctions of herbs intended to develop her physically, so that she is to the taste of Guajiro men.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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How must a girl look to find favour with them? She must be tall, broad-hipped and have firm prominent breasts and well-rounded curves. Flabbiness the men do not like, but they do not seem to worry about the shape of their women's legs. These, of course, are hidden beneath the wide tunic, but the wind sweeps this against them, outlining them. It is fortunate for the Guajiro women that their men do not attach importance to the shape of their legs, for they are seldom lovely. To our eyes they seem too short and badly shaped. The men attach much importance to gentle, dignified behaviour. The Guajiro girl should have large eyes and good teeth, but the most important thing of all is that she should be light-skinned; that is the hall-mark of gentility. No girl ever neglects her beauty decoctions, not even when she is in the charge of the nuns at the mission station and thus not isolated as the rule is at home. The rules she has to observe and the medicines she must take are of importance not only for her appearance, but also for her physique. If she follows her instructions, she will give birth without difficulty and there will be no risk of the baby being stillborn. Her mother and her family are held to be partially responsible if the first-born dies in or after birth, for that means that on some point the complicated rules governing the girl's period of incarceration have been neglected.

A girl is by no means idle while she is shut up; quite the contrary. She spins and weaves industriously, under supervision of the old woman, and learns the details of housekeeping and how to prepare different foods. Actually she will know most of this already, having taken a more or less active part in the work of the household ever since she was able to walk. She also receives instruction in how to behave, is initiated into the duties incumbent upon a housewife, what she must do as spouse and mother, in the various aspects of married life and in the mysteries of sex.

No man is allowed to enter the girl's little hut, and she is not allowed to meet men, receive visitors or be with her family, if visitors come. When the guardian considers that the girl can be let out, usually after a year or two—the news spreads quickly and guests start to come with or without

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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881 invitation. Again cattle are butchered, and there is drinking
584 and dancing and horse-racing. Numbers of men come to see if they would like to put themselves forward as suitors. The more eminent guests are received in the house itself, and the girl is now present. Her shorn hair has grown and been trimmed to a page-boy cut, and she wears her best clothes
[754 and new ornaments. She hides her hair clippings carefully
826] in a bag, for she does not want to risk anyone getting hold of them and using them to acquire power over her by the arts of magic. Later, she will secretly bury them under a
[789 cow pat. That will help to increase her herds. The droppings
514] of various animals play a great part in the magic of the Guajiro, and it would seem that there is negro influence here as well.

881 The girl has now been born again—she is a new person, a woman. She knows all that an adult woman needs to know and can do everything that a wife and mother should be able to do. Pale and lovely, she steps out into life once more and inquisitive young men swarm round her. The rich give a big feast, the poor provide simpler fare, but it is always a great occasion.

[582] A Guajiro man will never marry a girl before she has undergone this period of confinement, which means that people seldom marry too early. It is said that in the old days
[595 rich old men with several wives sometimes bought little
831] poor girls as concubines, believing that that would enhance their virility.

The girl's long segregation is intended to protect her from the supernatural dangers that are thought to threaten her, especially during this sensitive period of transition from childhood to womanhood. The girl can also be dangerous to others through being exposed to attack by spirits. It is only practical that during this period she should practise handicrafts.

252 Going back to the house, we found the women at the fires, which there were protected by special small cactus
[354] screens. There was no need to have them under a roof at that time of the year, only to shelter them from the wind. The pots stood over the fire supported on three stones.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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585 Mauana said that while she is in confinement a girl will
[881] have been taught, among other things, the attentions cus-
tom requires her to show her husband.

When he arrives home, she hastens to hang up his ham-
593 mock and offer him something to drink. She at once prepares
a meal, if one is not yet ready. The master of the house has
[264] his own crockery, from which he alone eats, and his wife
must see that he has his favourite dishes and that they are
properly cooked. If he has returned from a journey or from
hunting, she must see that he has water to wash in and a
clean guayuco. Once he has taken his place in the hammock,
she sits on the ground and tells him the day's events. If he
falls asleep, she sits in silence.

When the husband's friends or other people come to see
[574] him, the wife's place is again on the ground beside his
hammock. She does not butt in upon the men's conversa-
tion, but knows how to be amusing if she is spoken to. She
must see that each guest has a hammock to rest in and offer
everyone refreshments. Men are proud to have such a
hostess for a wife.

[574] In the husband's absence a wife must receive visitors
courteously, but observe caution, if they are men. She will
hang a hammock under a roofed shelter close to the house,
but will not let the visitor inside. She will then offer him
refreshments and sit down beside his hammock with some
handwork.

It goes without saying that she must take good care of her
husband's belongings and property, for he is often forced
to be away with his herds. She must also take care of her
[273] husband himself, when he is drunk, as he not infrequently
is. When fights occur at feasts, the women, as we know,
[579] throw themselves between the men to avoid bloodshed. A
wife is responsible for her husband, when he is drunk. If
she has not bothered to keep an eye on him and he is beaten
or killed, the fault is hers. Or he may take his own life
[762] while intoxicated—suicide for mere trifles is not unusual—
and then too she can be held responsible, if she has not
intervened. If he hurts her or destroys any of her things
while he is drunk, she knows that he will make rich amends

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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later, for he has been brought up always to try and make things right.

During her period of isolation a girl also learns how to satisfy her husband erotically and always to be ready, when he is excited. To retain his love she may employ magic as well as her own natural powers of attraction. Knowing that a woman loses some of her looks and attraction during pregnancy, wives often try, after having had several children, to hinder fertilization by taking certain herbal drugs and by magical means.

'Polygamy is permitted, is it not, Mauana?'

'Yes, a man can take several wives. As long as he pays the bride-price, no one can say anything, but her family would never allow a better-class girl to become the second wife of anyone. And you see, custom decrees that a Guajiro wife, whether the first or a concubine, must acquiesce if the husband takes a new wife. Similarly, it is considered that wives ought to live in peace and friendship. They must receive a new concubine cordially and all show their best side to the husband. They must help each other to watch the children and not display jealousy if the husband prefers one to the others.

'That is how it should be, but the reality is quite different. Very often the wives live in the same house, which naturally leads to conflict more easily than when each has her own hut. Jealousy or envy are common in these harems. Enmity and quarrelling are not infrequent, nor is actual fighting. The wives spy upon each other, destroy each other's things and make all sorts of scenes. One or other perhaps comes to hate the husband. It is said that a certain man, who shall be nameless, had noticed something of the sort and did not dare to be at home while a family feud lasted. An enemy could have bribed one of his wives to put poison in his maize beer.'

'That does not sound pleasant!'

'No, polygamy undoubtedly has its drawbacks!' Mauana agreed. 'I myself have only one wife, but several bed slaves,' he added with an artful look in his eye.

Even though all a man's marriages are considered legal,

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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the chief game. The *Goajiro* who live near the coast sometimes catch 22
fish (with hook and line), lobsters, mollusks, and crabs.

Cattle raising.—The *Goajiro* are primarily nomadic cattle raisers and, 231
consequently, depend upon the water supply. In the rainy season they 221
seek natural depressions, which they sometimes enlarge artificially, where [512]
the water may gather. In case of drought they wander toward the sea, where wells 30 to 40 feet (9 to 12 m.) deep are dug.

Besides cattle the *Goajiro* keep sheep, goats, horses (pl. 72, *bottom, left*), mules, pigs, and domestic fowls, which they take with them wherever 231
they go. An estimate gives them 100,000 cattle, 200,000 sheep and goats, 20,000 horses and mules, and 30,000 donkeys. As cattle are a measure [556]
of wealth, the Indians are reluctant to kill them for food, but they utilize [631]
the milk or export the animals to Curaçao and Aruba in exchange for textiles and corn. Each tribe has its own cattle brand, and the annual [522]
round-up and branding is an occasion for great festivities. Horse races and other sports take place, and large quantities of food and drink are [527]
consumed.

Food preparation.—*Goajiro* diet consists almost entirely of meat and 262
milk products. Goats and sheep are killed every day or two for meat, 252
and the milk of the cows is made into butter and cheese. This diet is supplemented by yuca, cactus fruit, sugar, rice, and plantains, the last three obtained from Colombian and Venezuelan traders in exchange for skins. Meat that is not immediately consumed is suspended from tall poles, and skins are pegged to the ground and salted in preparation for sale. Butter is made by stirring the cream with a fluted stick in a calabash or wooden bucket. To make cheese, rennet is added to skimmed milk in a trough, and the curds are put in a primitive wooden cheese press, which is weighted with a heavy rock.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Although the *Goajiro* are of a common origin, they are divided into 614
sibs ("castes" or "tribes"), each living within a rather limited area 361
(Simons, 1885, p. 796). The sibs are split into local groups, which occupy extended villages or rancherías, each with 2 to 50 houses (ranchos) and 10 to 250 or more Indians. Houses are always within gunshot distance of one another and so disposed that surprise attacks would be difficult. If a village is at all permanent, a protective cactus hedge surrounds it.

Goajiro nomadism makes elaborate houses unnecessary. Dwellings 342
are mere lean-tos, arbors, and temporary gabled roofs supported on poles. Thatch is made from the core of the cactus, split lengthwise. Rough [352]
tables, chairs with rawhide seats, and benches are often used. The hammock is always present. House walls are often lacking, but a corner [33]
of the hut may be closed off for a girl's puberty seclusion. When mi-

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726 on equal terms. He then approached the enemy from the left while making quick movements, jumps, and turns, with his legs apart and his knees bent. More recently, according to Ernst (1887 c), war is not declared, attempts being made to take the enemy by surprise.

[741] Wars last indefinitely, sometimes being broken by a peace brought about by an influential "civilizado" or the Capuchin monks, the latter sometimes paying the retribution demanded out of their own pockets.
679 Some tribes, such as the *Cosina* of Serrania Cosina (actually a conglomeration of outcastes rather than a sib), make their living almost entirely by robbery and pillage, destroying houses, stealing cattle, and killing or enslaving their enemies.

LIFE CYCLE

843 **Birth and childhood.**—During pregnancy a woman continues to do her heavy work up to the very hour of delivery. At childbirth, the shaman
844 pronounces various spells over the patient and applies poultices made of
[154] dried flowers, roots, etc. A large, heavy stone placed over the womb and vigorous massaging bring about the birth. If the placenta is not soon expelled, the woman drinks a medicine concocted by the medicine man. As soon as the child is safely delivered the father serves rum and chicha
[848] to all his relatives. If the pains of childbirth appear when the sib is on the march, the woman mounts and rides ahead so that when the sib catches up the event is practically over. The husband cuts the cord with his machete and cauterizes its ends with a glowing ember. The woman
[850] then continues on the march with the child in a sling on her back. When the permanent camp is reached she washes herself and the child.

85 Baptism is a Christian ceremony which the *Goajiro* have adopted, and
55 most of the Indians are called by Spanish names, as their real names may
177 not be mentioned. Teknonymy is practiced; a parent is addressed by its child's name plus a prefix, *nushi* or *sushi* for the father, *ni* or *si* for the mother. Thus, a father may be called Nushijuan after a son or Sushijuana after a daughter.

857 At 6 or 7, girls learn to grind salt, pick cotton, and tend the smaller
864 animals; the boys imitate their fathers.

865 Parents are said to show little affection for their children, sometimes
[866] selling them at Sinamaica. They receive $10 or $15 for a child of 8 or 9 years. The purchaser becomes the child's guardian, teaches him the Catholic faith, and keeps him until he is 17 years old. These children
[536] rarely return home. Abandoned children are taken to the San Antonio
79 orphanage, where the girls continue to wear their *Goajiro* dress, but the boys are put into jackets and pants.

• 881 **Girls' puberty.**—At her first menstruation a girl is isolated in a small dark hut and stripped of all her ornaments. She lies in a hammock, sometimes hoisted near the roof. For the first 2 days she drinks no

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water but is given an herbal purgative. Her hair is cut short. Generally 881
several of her relatives stay around the door of the hut, and strangers and men with an eye to matrimony may look in. During this period the girl is taught the duties of married life and such skills as weaving, sewing, and making hammocks. When she emerges, stout and bleached, a special festival is held, when she resumes her ornaments and puts on the adult clothes that she has made during her confinement. She is now considered marriageable. The length of her confinement depends on her status, though theoretically it lasts until her hair again reaches the [554
nape of her neck. Poor girls are secluded only a few weeks, rich girls 556]
up to 2 years.

Sexual life and marriage.—Little is known about the sexual life of 836
the *Goajiro*. A certain amount of promiscuous love making occurs among the young people at the biweekly festivals. Dances also provide an opportunity for sexual advances.

There are some male transvestites who carry on only female activities 838
and are ridiculed by the men.

When a man desires to marry he sends his father or uncle as inter- 584
mediary, then pays a bride price which has been set by the girl's relatives. 583
The payment is usually in cattle, but goats, pearls, liquor, cotton cloth, 602
and gold ornaments also are used. The father retains the purchase price only when his first daughter marries; the income of subsequent marriages goes to the girl's senior maternal uncles. The mother also receives part of the income. A son obtains the cattle for the bride payment from the increase of his father's herds.

Intermarriage between the sibs is frequent, and many of the *Goajiro* 582
give their daughters to "civilizados" from Maracaibo and Río Hacha, who pay higher prices and find such a tie with the Indians useful in their trading relations.

The marriage ceremony consists of a series of feasts and exchanges of 585
presents between the two families. The wedding night is spent at the [93]
rancheria of the bride's mother, but the nuptial hammock (specially woven by the female relatives of the bride) is hung from a tree some distance away from the house. For a period of days and even months the bridegroom leaves his bride at dawn and returns only after sunset. In [604]
this way the groom shows respect to his mother-in-law.

Polygyny is general. The number of wives depends on the economic 595
status of the husband, some men having as many as 20. Each wife lives in her own house, where her husband occasionally visits her. The man, as head of the polygynous household, supervises the daily slaughter of [592]
animals and the distribution of meat and corn to each household according to the number of its members.

If a wife shirks her domestic duties she may be divorced and her hus- 586
band may claim the return of the bride price cattle, plus their increase and

/42 cont./

593 With respect to the training of girls, the mother and the maternal relatives play an overwhelming part. When the family lives an isolated life, the influence of the maternal relatives diminishes, as we previously had occasion to see, but as the girl approaches puberty, she may be sent to the home of her grandmother or maternal aunts with whom she will live and whose influence will surround her at this period. We should moreover consider the occupations of a girl as she passes through different phases. When she is very young, in the poorer Guajiro
868 home, she is counted on as a helpmate to assist and replace the mother in her domestic duties so that with her and the other adult women of the family she learns to take her part in household activities: care of the children, drawing water and fetching firewood, cooking food, keeping up the fire, cleaning house, washing clothes, etc.

868 Later comes the time for her to help in the agricultural
869 work. As emigration has reduced the population of La Guajira
867 in the past few years, women have found themselves obliged to carry out work traditionally done by men. Thus there is a need to employ all hands available, and the girls of prepubertal age must contribute their help in the work. Although clearing away trees and underbrush and plowing are men's work, these are now being done by women in addition to the traditional jobs usually expected of them, such as sowing and harvesting, in which latter activity they are more effective than the men. The girls are trained in all these operations alongside the older women until they become completely expert.

868 Another angle of feminine economic life is weaving.
813 Only when she is at the prepubertal age, do the mother and her female uterine relatives take charge of training the girl, as they consider that at this age her babyhood is over and it is necessary that she should give up the freedom she has so far enjoyed in order to take an interest in weaving. If there is an aunt skilled /at weaving/ at home, she will teach the girl; if not, she goes to the home of some kinswomen and stays with

/42 cont./

them for long spells, working at her apprenticship in the art, which she must perfect and complete during the time of seclusion at her initiation, very likely under the vigilant care of the same women. /43/

Also, from her elder maternal kinswomen the girl acquires all the cultural legacy of the group as well as the particular traditions of her extended family. She experiences and participates in the daily cult of the dead, and at times when an exhumation or wake takes place she attends, accompanying the women of her family, so becoming initiated into all the ceremonies and prescriptions. She also goes with them when she is approaching the threshold of puberty to be company for them on their visits in order to learn comportment in social life; she also learns the norms of hospitality when visitors come to her home, and she has to assist her kin in fulfilling them adequately. Slowly, by indirect participation, she learns the use of love *ciferas* /charms/ in the feminine struggle for predominance in the polygamous household, and she comes to know of these problems as she sees them being worked out in the lives of her mother and her relatives. She also gets to know of the intergroup struggles and their consequences; of migration; of magic in all its intensity; of legal norms; things she learns by constant repetition of cases which have occured in the peninsula and which she hears referred to by her relatives and friends, men and women who frequent the house.

All this cultural life reaffirms and completes the special training received during the seclusion which follows her first menstruation, when she is committed to the care of her kinswomen, who will give her detailed private and personal techniques and information and the specialties traditionally entrusted to certain families, if she is a member of such, such as, for example, the making of pottery, medicinal and magical knowledge of herbs, preparation of charms of various sorts, etc.

Childhood occupations. The occupations of the child are determined by its sex, just as in the matter of games, so that

/36 cont./

884 Toward the prepubertal age the boy begins to show his reaction to family punishments and controls, a liberating phase which culminates after puberty with the handing over of his animals when he marries, or before if his pastoral ability allows his taking full charge of them. Then, with his economic independence assured, he is freed from the discipline of the small family. He wants to figure as an adult and take an active part in the life of the community. For the male there is a difficulty as regards the coming of age because they have no initiation rite so that the time of his independence is subject to his economic circumstances and is in consequence elastic. On the other hand, in the case of women the biological phenomenon of menstruation marks the end of their childhood and their transformation to womanhood with all its privileges, rights, and duties.

• • •

861 The mother and the persons charged with the care and training of the child not only make use of punishment to obtain his obedience and submission to traditional norms of conduct but also have recourse to other kinds of stimuli which we might call positive. For example, when the boy tends to cry overmuch and is cowardly when faced by some slight problem, he is told: "Don't cry so much. Are you a girl that you go about crying so much? We should send you to take part in a wake /veloriar/ (1)."

[764]
[152]

1. Veloriar is used to indicate attendance and participation in the wake for a dead person, during which those present weep mournfully over the corpse.

If the crying is caused by an injury which the mother had foreseen, she says to him: "I told you so; you alone are to blame; no one did you any harm so you need not cry as it is all

/56 cont./

881 184 556 The duration of the seclusion was longer in past years, longer than at the present time, and there still may be found cases among rich families where this period is extended to five years, but normally among poor families it may last only one month or even less, and in the middle-income group it averages six months to one year.

884 881 Once the family in conclave or the mother and the aunts decide to terminate the seclusion, the final feast is given, in which the girl appears and behaves as an adult. She is presented as such, and she is given the opportunity to occupy the place of, and to take part in the activities corresponding to, a marriageable young girl. Frequently at this feast some interested guest may offer to buy her for his wife.

881 The news of the "coming out" of the young girl is rapidly spread throughout the peninsula. All the friends of the family arrive at the feast, as also the important people of the region, who have been invited beforehand, and, very specially, all the well-to-do marriageable men. If the woman is of estimable qualities and talents, /57/ those who are looking for a wife for the first time attend. The family preparations for such a feast are very complete, according to their status. There is an abundance of drinks for all, men and women, music for dancing, horse racing when they want to give more splendor to the gathering, and slaughtering of animals. The maternal relatives make their donations and meet to help their relatives in the fulfillment of the customary norms of hospitality. The more important visitors are received in the house itself and given preferential attention, according to their standing. The [308] girl is bathed for the last time at dawn with the traditional earthen jugs of water, and her hair is cut in the fashion, that is to say, leaving it a short, disheveled mop. This is done by an experienced woman of eminence who can transmit her excellent personal qualities to the girl. The latter carefully keeps her hair in her bag with her intimate personal possessions and later places it under fresh cow dung with the hope that she

/59 cont./

884 It is toward his fifteenth year that the beginning of the age of manhood is noticed, and with it, the boy starts to break free from family tutelage, giving his opinions and making decisions on his own account. This independence, as we have already had occasion to see, is linked to the complete handing over to him of his animals, as he is already well practiced in the matter of livestock care to which he has been accustomed since his early years. It is also linked to agricultural work done on his own account, since he can develop new land when the traditional family land becomes scarce owing to excessive subdivision or monopoly by some member or members.

However, although his independence has increased, his relatives consider they have the right to ask him to account for his actions and oblige him to assume a fixed line of conduct, because he must always circumscribe his conduct to the family norms. At sixteen his physical development affirms his desire for independence, and at seventeen, or even before, he accentuates his manly traits so as to give the impression that he is a man in every sense of the word, and he becomes a caricature of that: he drinks ostentatiously at family gatherings; quarrels with his elders, expressing his opinions in a loud voice, and lets his boastful and arrogant comments be heard; he exaggerates the actions in which he has taken part; he adopts extreme positions in the face of unalterable situations; he shows off in any danger, /60/ trying to convince others of his grown-up manly qualities. At the beginning he is admitted reluctant-
885 ly into the men's gatherings, but this situation changes into one of acquiescence which becomes full acceptance as the measure of his personality becomes definitively delineated, and the boy is converted into a real economic force, until he fills a clear and definitive position in the family and social group.

This position of equilibrium is not reached until his twentieth year and in many cases not until the twenty-fifth, depending on personal qualities. And among all these extreme masculine attitudes that the youth adopts to establish his status

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/60 cont./

885 as an adult man in his group, it is probably marriage which definitively gives him his passport of citizenship, if we may so express it, as this includes not only the biological act of a physical coming of age and its legal recognition, but it also carries with it an interesting social aspect in that the Guajiro who contracts marriage, if it is true that he then reaches the maximum expression of freedom, must, on his part, pay back in his behavior and usefulness to society some of what he possesses through it. In other words, his personality is definitively formed, and he is considered a member fully entitled to all rights, but with the obligation to comply fully with all those duties which up to that moment had been gradually meted out to him, according to his age.

And in order to marry, the man must comply with a series
583 of social and legal requisites traditionally established, which
885 lead him to contract long-term obligations with all his relatives and with society in general, obligations which restrain that freedom of action longed for in his youth and which constrain him to depend more and more on his family and the group. If, for example, he has had to ask for assistance in order to pay for his wife, he takes on as a result legal obligations with all his relatives and friends who helped him, obligations which will never end throughout his life. Upon getting married, furthermore, if it is true that he will be considered an able member capable of surviving economically by himself, the advice that his father gives him on handing over his livestock shows him that although he will have backing in the family, he must have recourse to all his forces in order to attend to his sustenance and the fulfillment of his matrimonial duties: "Now you are married and must make your own home; you have to be a different man from now on. You can't laze around but must carefully watch your animals and those of your wife and administer everything she has. You must put up the fence round your corn field to help maintain your wife and your children. You must be a man and not a lazybones now that you are married."

/61/

583 The married man is the head of a new cell, and this im-
885 plies family and social obligations. These he must face up to
as a head of a family under peril of loss of prestige and lowering
of position. With the coming of children his position becomes
more and more extended, as his duties and rights are becoming
joined and broadened, for to the obligations of a husband are
added those of a father. And these are further complicated on
contracting marriages with new women, as then he has reached,
according to the Guajiro way of thinking, the maximum develop-
ment of his male personality.

Valuation of virginity and of the woman. The value of
581 the Guajiro woman is fixed by the marriage payment, that is to
582 say, it is the economic assessment of her worth. The conditions
of this valuation, traditional among the upper classes (as the
lower classes have lost them through socio-economic conditions
which even influence those of some standing), may be summarized
thus:

581 The physical qualities which make a Guajiro woman
desirable are those that comply with the traditional aesthetic
832 norm and are those that the woman after her seclusion (Cf.
Initiation of Young Women) makes every endeavor to acquire
at any cost: tall stature, balanced by well distributed flesh
which gives her an appearance of robustness and full-bodiedness,
so that when walking decked out in her ample clothes, she has
an appearance both elegant and majestic; wide and robust hips
(probably with an unconscious biological end in mind, or a
sexual one, or a combination of both); small and upright
breasts, as the opposite is considered almost repulsive; and,
above all, firm flesh. This last is probably the most desired
quality, as the man openly confesses that when his woman over
the years loses it, he replaces her by another one who has it.
The shape of the legs has no importance, probably because
with the full, long dress they are out of sight. In the main,
they are thin in relation to the body and frequently bowlegged
/?cascorvas/.

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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upon to pay damages by their wives' clans if they do. They will give their sons cattle—sons do not inherit from their fathers—and these they have to look after themselves from the age of fifteen or sixteen. In the better families youths of this age are often rather wild, trying to imitate the older men, drinking more than they can take, being noisy and butting in when their elders are talking. The grown-ups take this quite calmly, pretending they are not there. 'They grow out of it,' they say.

The young men usually settle down when they marry. They must then stand on their own feet and assume family responsibilities.

We now had a much better idea of life in Guajira. As we slowly waded through the sand back to the mission station, Gladtvet said:

'One ought to ride on camels here.'

Perhaps the Indians ought to have had camels. That would have made another reason to call the peninsula the Arabia of South America.

/253 cont./

559 548 with respect to social questions as fundamental as marriage, there has been a change in the judgment of prostitution and concubinage, two ways by which a woman escapes from legal strictures, almost always because of necessity or the special circumstances in which her group is placed.

X

559 542 888 We should note here the important fact that the functions ascribed to the working Guajiro woman no longer count when she has passed through her adult change of life, that is to say, when she has passed the menopause. From this moment it appears that she enjoys absolute freedom within the community to do those things that are prohibited a woman before she reaches that condition, such as to become inebriated, to smoke, to indulge in sexual liberties; certain taboos now no longer refer to her, and the cultural patterns need not be so rigorously complied with; she is not obliged to become the wife of the heirs of the dead husband, etc. Her status again becomes effective with all its attached functions after her death, as we shall see.

XI

559 769 775 The active presence of an individual in Guajiro society is not lost at his death. In the concept that these natives have about death, clearly expressed in the study made by my husband to which we have /254/ made reference several times, every member of the community continues being a member of it and exercises influence over his fellow men after his death. His status in the afterlife is determined by the same conditions that he had during his earthly life; the acquiring of greater wealth and of prestige confers a higher status in the world of the spirits.

[58 cont.]

755 expert in these sicknesses and who devote themselves to applying the remedies and divining the causes of such illnesses indicate by what bird the fruit which the mother ate was contaminated. Once the origin of the sickness has been determined, they proceed to carry out the method of cure which entails hunting and capturing the bird responsible, which, once killed, is roasted, and the meat fed to the child. A sancocho [stew] is also prepared, using portions of the bird, a good part of which is fed to the child. With this medicine the infant should be quickly cured. If this does not effect a cure, the divination has been incorrectly made, and it was not that kind of bird that pecked at the fruit eaten by the mother during her pregnancy. The whole process must therefore be done over again to discover with absolute certainty what animal caused the child's sickness.

843 If a pregnant woman should eat the meat of a hen that has
753 been killed by a sparrow hawk, the child will be born sickly, his excretions will be green, and his crying will be like the cry of a hawk. When they do not know the origin of the sickness, they
755 apply home remedies or those of any local curer [curandero]. If
[757] these do not bring about the desired effect, then they must turn to divination. The diviner will decide that the mother ate the flesh of a chicken that had been killed by a sparrow hawk. The curing method will follow a similar process to that previously noted: a hawk is found and killed; a leg of the creature is taken, and the bone is well cleaned and allowed to dry. When it is sufficiently dry it is boiled, and the child's body bathed with the resulting infusion.

262 The meat of such a hen — contaminated by the hawk
825 which had eaten some of it — is also harmful to children in
842 general, boys and girls, and also adults. Every time it is eaten
888 it causes sterility. For this reason the magic taboo on this meat is lifted only for the old and the very aged who have already lost their procreative powers and in consequence have nothing to fear in this respect.

766 Household medicine. This system of medicine, which, as we have said, is independent of shamans and diviners, is based above all on the practice of certain magic practices directly